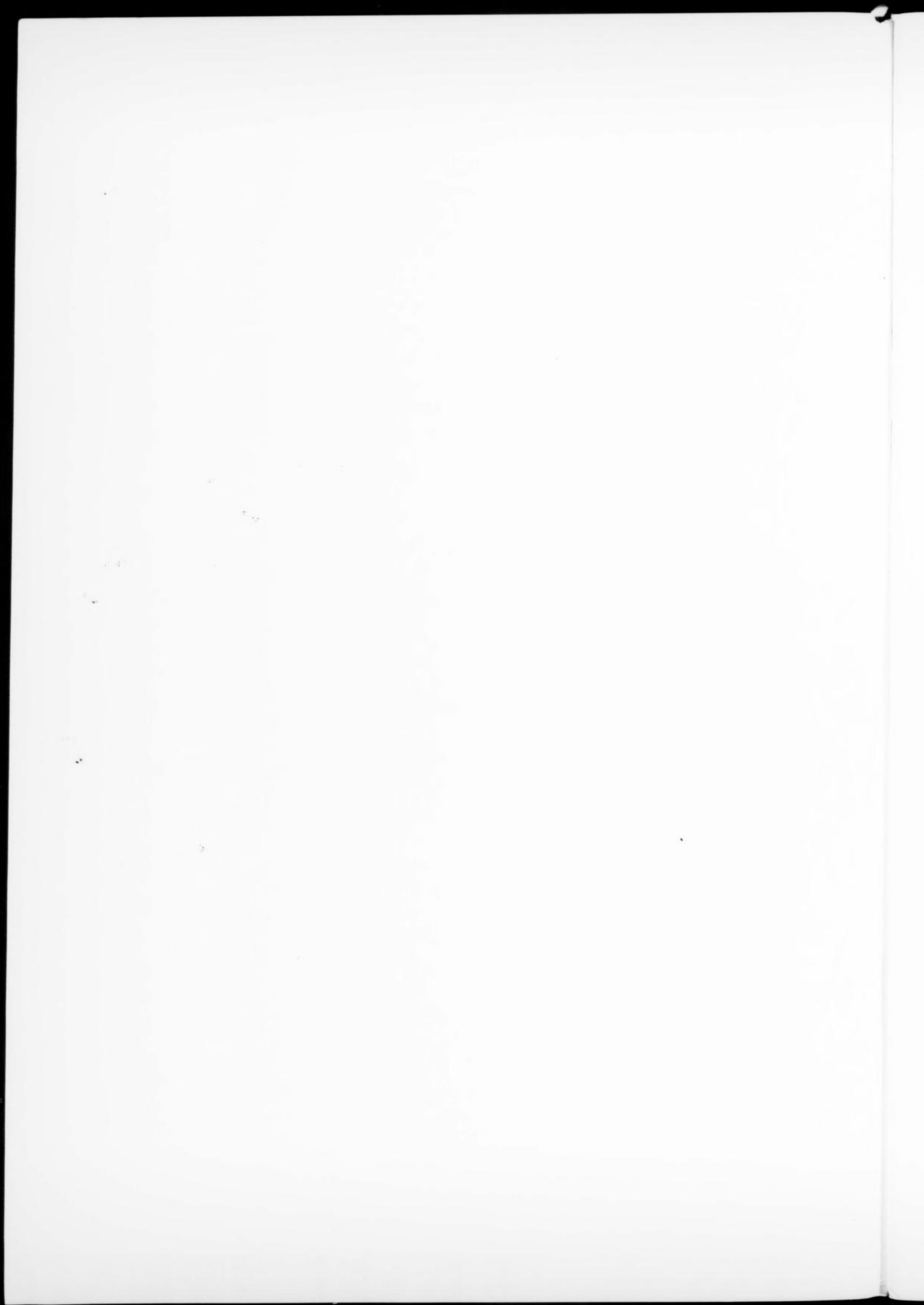


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**Student Revolt
in France**
PAGE 70

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM



WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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Communique

of meeting of preparatory commission of international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties

A meeting of the Preparatory Commission of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Budapest over April 24-28.

The meeting was attended by representatives of fifty-four parties: Communist Party of the United States, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Chile, Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Guatemalan Party of Labor, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of India, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Israel, Jordanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Colombia, Polish United Workers' Party, Communist Party of Lesotho, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxemburg, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Moroccan Communist Party, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany—West Berlin, Italian Communist Party, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto Rican Communist Party, Communist Party

of Salvador, Communist Party of Spain, Swiss Party of Labor, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Sudanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela, and the representative of an illegal party.

Another fifteen fraternal parties which have announced that they will take part in the International Conference were for various reasons unable to send representatives to the meeting of the Preparatory Commission.

All the representatives present took part in the discussion, touching upon a wide range of problems of the struggle against imperialism, for unity of action by the Communist and Workers' parties and by all the anti-imperialist forces. Suggestions were made concerning the agenda of the Conference.

As fixed by the Commission, the International Conference will open in Moscow on November 25.

The Commission considered the content and method of drafting the documents and other matters pertaining to Conference preparations.

A working group to draft conference materials was set up.

Any party wishing to take part in the work of this group can do so.

The working group had its first meeting on April 28.

The proposals of the working group will be considered at the next meeting of the Commission in September. The agreed materials will be sent to the central committees of all the parties.

The Commission called upon those par-

*Pravda, April 30, 1968.

ties not yet involved in the Conference preparations to participate in this work in the interest of promoting the unity of action of the Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces in the fight against imperialism.

The Commission has requested those parties unable to be represented in the pre-

paratory work to submit materials and proposals for the Conference agenda.

The meeting of the Preparatory Commission with its comradely free exchange of views demonstrated the striving of the Communist and Workers' parties for international cooperation in the fight for common aims.

Internationalism and the national tasks of the Communist Parties

GEORGES COGNIOT

"Great and beautiful is my heritage,
Its name—time, for time is my element."

These lines from Goethe fully apply to the work of Karl Marx, for his ideas transcend time. Marx's doctrine, developed and enriched in the 150 years since his birth, is a powerful motive force of world progress.

One of the fundamental problems of modern history and politics is the relationship between the international solidarity of the workers and their national sentiment. To this Marxism gives a clear and exhaustive answer: to be a Communist is to be a devoted patriot and a sincere internationalist.

Why? Because the Communists' national pride, their love of country and people, are imbued with a revolutionary spirit. They are convinced that correctly understood national interests are identical with the interests of the fight for socialism, the common cause of the workers of all lands. And the more a man loves his country, the more reason has he to be a socialist, for only socialism assures his country unity, strength and grandeur. And the deeper he absorbs socialist ideas, the stronger will be his feeling of internationalism.

"A little internationalism," Jaurès once remarked, "estranges us from our own country; much internationalism brings us closer to it."

* * *

Marx and Engels were guided by the fact that capitalism is an international force. Victory over it requires international brotherhood of the workers. Hence the slogan proclaimed by them in the *Communist Manifesto*: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country," the *Manifesto* says. "To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood." It has internationalized "intellectual production" and brought about the "universal interdependence of nations." Consequently, the struggle of the proletariat is no longer "in substance, a national struggle."

This was confirmed by momentous events shortly after the appearance of the

Manifesto. The June 1848 rising in Paris made it painfully clear that the triumph of reaction in one country was bound to have repercussions in others.

Ten years later, in 1857-58, came the first world economic crisis. Starting in the United States, it spread to Britain, Scandinavia, North Germany and, finally, France. Its impact was felt in South America, in Batavia and in Singapore. The "universal interdependence of nations" thus stood out as a very tangible reality.

And still another example of economic internationalization is provided by the American Civil War of 1861-65. It drastically reduced American supplies of raw cotton to Europe, with resultant production cutbacks in the British cotton industry, then the world's biggest. And although this signified hardship for the workers, especially in Lancashire, they never abandoned their solidarity with the Americans fighting the Southern slave-owners.

The first pamphlet, published in 1865, of the French section of the International Workingmen's Association contained this passage: "By dint of hard effort we have won solidarity, at least in Europe and America, on such issues as oppression or emancipation, autocracy and aristocracy or democracy."

That, too, was the tone of Marx's instructions to representatives of the Provisional Central Council at the Geneva Congress of the First International: "One of the great aims of the Association is to get the workers of various countries not only to *feel*, but also *act* as brothers and comrades fighting for liberation in the ranks of a single army." The First International organized effective international solidarity campaigns with striking and locked-out workers — Paris coppersmiths, Belgian metal workers and miners, Geneva building workers. "The labor issue," the International declared in a statement on the Geneva lockouts, "is not a transient or local one — it is an issue of world history."

And it was thanks to the work of Marx and the First International that the cause of the Paris Commune became the common cause of the workers everywhere.

In this age of imperialism, the acceleration and extension of international exchange of material and spiritual values, economic interdependence, the tendency towards gradual obliteration of national differences, are manifested with much greater force and on a much wider scale. The national frameworks have become too

narrow for capitalism; because of the low standard of living of the working people the national market cannot absorb all of the goods and services produced. Processes affecting every aspect of national life can be traced to the ever-present impact of international interdependence.

"Already under capitalism, all economic, political and spiritual life," Lenin wrote, "is becoming more and more international. Socialism will make it completely international." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 246.)

It is therefore safe to say that now, as in the days of Lenin, international proletarian solidarity is even more necessary than in the days of Marx.

Proletarian internationalism implies, first and foremost, cooperation in working for peace. But it goes beyond that: its dominant element is concerted international effort by the working people for the triumph of socialism and communism. This requires consistent and sustained struggle to range against imperialism the three main revolutionary forces of our time—the community of socialist states, the national-liberation movement, and the labor movement in the capitalist countries. Indeed, proletarian internationalism is inconceivable without this program of uniting the three components of the world revolutionary process, a program that carries forward Lenin's slogan: "Workers of all lands and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!"

The march of history has fully confirmed the soundness of this strategy. The international situation imperatively requires, to quote Le Duan, First Secretary of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, "the creation of a united world front against U.S.-led world imperialism." Experience has shown that the aggressiveness and recklessness of the imperialists, notably their American variety, increases with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and aggravation of all its contradictions. More and more frequently the imperialists resort to provocation, intervention and war.

They have unleashed war against the people of Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists persist in their provocations against the Republic of Cuba and are interfering in the internal affairs of other Latin American countries. Their agents are waging war against progressive Arab states in the Middle East. In Europe, they are encouraging the revenge-seeking faction in West Germany. In Asia, they are working to convert the whole of Japan into their strategic base.

There has been much talk of late in Europe of the "American challenge," of America's economic and technical superiority. However, the American challenge is more than economic penetration, more even than the danger of economic subjection. It should be seen as an outright menace to national independence and freedom and to world peace.

Intensified U.S. aggression does not, of course, mean that the balance of world forces has changed in its favor. What it does mean is that the extreme reactionaries are bent on reversing the tide of history, on regaining their lost positions. That is precisely why Communist unity, unity of all the world's revolutionary forces, is today of such vital importance.

Ever since the Chinese Communist Party leaders launched out on a policy that runs counter to the decisions of international Communist meetings and set out to split the movement, the other Communist parties have worked with patience and persistence to overcome the difficulties and differences in the world Communist movement. They have consistently emphasized the need and the possibility of united action against imperialism. They have urged unity to help the heroic people of Vietnam, support the national-liberation movement, uphold world peace and further the vital interests and ultimate aims of the working class.

The danger becomes all the greater when the poison of nationalism spreads to Party and state leaders, when pretty-bourgeois nationalism becomes government policy supported by backward views and sentiments. Lenin always stressed the need for "uncompromising struggle against contamination of the proletariat with bourgeois nationalism, even of the most refined kind" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 27).

In our times there is a very special need to strengthen the socialist community politically, economically and militarily. For there is no misreading the fact that anti-communist propaganda is working overtime to undermine the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement, to sow dissension among the forces of progress.

That being so, the desire to strengthen world Communist unity is no more than natural. It found expression at the recent Consultative Meeting in Budapest, which paved the way for a new international conference. The parties represented at Budapest believe that preparation of the

conference is a major factor in promoting world Communist unity.

The material and political aid of the CPSU to the valiant people of Vietnam is a brilliant example of international solidarity.

The Soviet Communist Party has always shown its firm resolve to support the popular struggle against colonial oppression and neo-colonialism, its desire to cooperate with all countries that have won through to independence, and its readiness to help strengthen the anti-imperialist front in every continent. The CPSU is extending its fraternal ties with the workers and their organizations in capitalist countries.

The Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence offers optimal conditions for effective proletarian internationalism. And by making use of these conditions the USSR is steadily increasing its economic and technical potential, and thereby its ability more effectively to support peoples battling for social and national emancipation. Peaceful coexistence, then, is not a policy of retarding the march of history, of hardening the international status quo to the detriment of the workers and the oppressed nations.

Lenin said in May 1921: "We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy . . . The struggle in this field has now become global. Once we solve this problem, we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437). The growing economic strength of the Soviet Union and the increasing well-being of its people, the flowering of socialist democracy, the achievements of Soviet national policy and the progress of Soviet science—all enhance the power of attraction of communist ideas. The building of communism is the Soviet Union's most valuable contribution to the liberation of mankind.

The supreme form of proletarian internationalism is taking shape in the relations between the socialist countries. Socialist internationalism has become the bedrock of relations between the fraternal countries that have cast off the capitalist yoke. Nor is that merely a slogan or an idea—it is the very embodiment of a new type of economic and political relations. Closer unity of the socialist countries is based on the principles of voluntariness, equality and mutual advantage. Communists in these countries believe that the attitude to the Soviet Union is the touchstone of internationalism. "There never was, and never will be, such

a thing as anti-Soviet communism," Comrade Kadar said with full justification at the 23rd CPSU Congress.

* * *

The building of communism in the USSR exemplifies the full identification of the labor movement's international and national aims. National nihilism is absolutely alien to Marxism.

Some might object that Marx and Engels proclaimed, in the *Manifesto*, that the workers have no country. But it will be appreciated that this phrase, as conceived by its authors, means simply that the ruling class denies the workers a worthy place in the nation, which it tries to rule and exploit as its private property. That, too, was the underlying thought in the remark of the French philosopher Auguste Comte that the workers are compelled to "pitch camp" in the nation, just as the nomad tribes used to camp in the towns.

Marx and Engels explained the real meaning of their formula. The *Manifesto* says: "The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

"The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."

This gives us the positive meaning of the formula: the proletariat has nothing in common with bourgeois nationalism but, while not turning its back on national dignity, it tries to win it, to constitute itself the nation, just as it seeks to win democracy.

Marx and Engels always showed a keen interest in the national question. A revolutionary's attitude to oppressed nations, they stressed, was the touchstone of his convictions. In a letter to Engels (July 5, 1870) Marx describes how he "sounded out" a young Russian revolutionary by asking him about his attitude to Poland.

Marx and Engels devoted much time and attention to the national question in Ireland. Marx wrote in his *Confidential Note* (March 28, 1870): "A nation that oppresses another nation is forging its own fetters. Consequently, the position of the International Association on the Irish issue is perfectly clear. A prior condition for liberating the British working class must

be replacement of the present coercive union or, in other words, the subjection of Ireland, by a free and equal alliance if possible, and complete secession of Ireland if necessary."

Marx had to wage a long and hard battle to uphold that principle against the influence of Proudhon. Proudhon, it will be recalled, was opposed to the unification of Italy, was contemptuous of the Poles, favored retention of the Holy Alliance, the oppressor of Europe's nations, and during the American Civil War sided with the slave-owning South. His stand on the national question created many difficulties for the present-day Proudhonists when they gathered for a discussion in Brussels University on November 24 and 25, 1965.

Though capitalism had not yet entered its imperialist stage at the time of the First International, the Asian and African nations were already subjected to colonial oppression. The International's first congress met after suppression of the Taiping rebellion in China, which Engels described as "a people's war for salvation of the Chinese nation," and after the rebellion in India was drowned in blood. A peasant revolt in Algeria coincided with the Paris Commune.

Throughout these years Marx and Engels denounced the intrinsic hypocrisy and barbarism of the bourgeois civilization introduced by the colonialists and mercilessly castigated the rulers of India and Algeria. These pronouncements by the founders of scientific socialism were the embryo of the doctrine, later formulated by Lenin, of alliance of the working class of capitalist countries and the oppressed masses of the colonies and dependencies.

After a profound study of the experience of the national-liberation movements in Ireland, the Balkans, Poland and other countries Marx and Engels set forth the fundamental tenets of the theory of the nation and national movements. They were the first to prove that the nation is a product of historical progress during the decay of feudalism and the rise of capitalism, and that the exploitation and oppression of one nation by another is a product of capitalist rule. "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanished, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end." (*Communist Manifesto*.)

This is why the classics of Marxism saw the national question as part of the general question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx and Engels established the unity of the national and international tasks of the proletariat.

Under imperialism, the national question gained in importance. Lenin carried forward the teaching of Marx and Engels on the nation and the national-liberation struggle. Guided by Marxism, he proclaimed and applied the right of nations to self-determination. As early as February 1917 the French government secured the promise of Russian support for the partitioning of Germany and the establishment of a Rhenish state. In exchange, France was to allow Tsarist Russia a free hand in settling its own western frontier or, in other words, to sell Poland to it. Six months earlier, in June 1916, Britain provided, in agreement with Russia and France, for the partitioning of the nations of the Middle East. And the Germany of Wilhelm II, for its part, was intent on subjugating Belgium, northern France and the Slav peoples.

In a world in which Lenin announced new rights of the peoples in the name of Marxism, the Great Powers still regarded colonial rule as immutable. Even "republican" France, the France of "human rights," tried to justify colonialism through its philosophers, such as Ernest Renan. "There is nothing shocking about the conquest of one country of inferior race by a superior race which establishes itself there to govern it . . . Just as conquest between equal races should be condemned, the regeneration of inferior or degenerate races by superior ones is part of the providential order of mankind."

Credit is due to Marxism-Leninism for having established, in the face of imperialist savagery and barbarity, the humanist principles of national and racial equality.

In affirming the right of every nation to self-determination, Lenin had to combat the opportunist program of national cultural autonomy advanced by such leaders of the Second International as Bauer and Renner. All that those leaders were willing to concede to the nationalities was the right to settle their cultural questions, while all economic and political power was left in the hands of the ruling classes of the dominant nation. Lenin had also to combat leftist errors, such as those committed by Rosa Luxemburg, who argued that the slogan of the right of nations to self-deter-

mination would lead to the establishment of dwarf states and would disperse the revolutionary forces.

Lenin was right. Contemporary history shows the vitality and dynamism of the national idea. Dozens of independent states have come into being in Asia and Africa on the basis of the principle of self-determination, and this has greatly increased the revolutionary forces.

Lenin's model of settling the national question equipped the Communist and Workers' parties and enabled them to bring the oppressed peoples into the fight against capitalism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

* * *

However, the peoples of the ex-colonies are not the only ones to be faced with national tasks. These tasks are no less important to the working class of the capitalist countries or to its Communist parties.

What the peoples of every big capitalist country need is a national rebirth, the path to which lies through the socialist revolution.

These peoples live in disorder and irrationality. Their productive forces are growing at a fast rate and their labor productivity shows a considerable rise, but most of the fruits of this growth of social capacities benefit only the few. It is estimated that there are 30 to 70 million poor in the United States, the figure for France is set at 12 million and in Japan, 60 per cent of the families live in straitened circumstances. The incomes gap is widening in all countries. The economy swings between inflation and recession. All economic decisions are made in favor of a handful of monopolists, who in almost every country derive the biggest profits from the war industry.

The nations want living and working conditions and economic and political institutions in keeping with the possibilities of the era of science and technology.

The nations refuse to be an object of the monopoly clique, they want to be the subject of history, to come of age, to shape their destinies as they see fit. This emancipation is known as socialism. "I sing the motherland that is, but thrice the one that will be," said Mayakovsky.

Socialism has demonstrated—notably in the case of Russia, which the old regime in 1917 plunged into a terrible national catastrophe — that it brings the peoples, in addition to moral and political unity, well-being, culture and science, power and

grandeur. Today all enlightened and consistent patriotism leads to socialism.

Hence the Communist parties emerge as the real national parties.

Revolutionaries have not always been fully aware of this national function of their organization. Anarchist leftism, anarcho-syndicalist traditions and intoxication with high-sounding "revolutionary" phrases, on the one hand, and opportunist narrow-mindedness and hidebound corporativism, on the other, dulled the sense of national responsibility. In Italy the workers who were compelled to emigrate cursed their country (*Porca Italia!*), and in France the Herveists of earlier days "hoisted the flag on a dunghill."

The Communist parties have the historical merit of awakening the working class to its objectively national function. By stressing that it was the class destined to bury capitalism and build socialism, they helped it realize that it was the exponent of the historical interests of the entire nation and must, therefore, assume all the positive elements of the national past and all the preoccupations of the people's present and future. The party of the working class called on all the representatives of the nation who work and think to join its ranks. We know, in particular, that renowned writers, painters and scientists, men and women who have brought glory to their nations, have joined the Communist parties.

In 1926 the French Communist Party at its Lille congress set out with determination to uphold national interests. It took a stand against the attempt of American Shylocks to levy a heavy tribute on the fruits of French labor in payment of war debts. Three years earlier, during the occupation of the Ruhr, the Party had championed the national cause all alone by coming out courageously against a move which, the Party showed, could result in nothing but a strengthening of chauvinism, ultra-nationalism and the revanchist elements in Germany.

The French Communist Party persevered in this national policy of defending French interests during the fascist aggression against Republican Spain and in the days of the Munich tragedy. The year 1968 sees the thirtieth anniversary of the disgraceful anti-national surrender of the bourgeoisie of France and Britain to Hitler, to whom they delivered Czechoslovakia and gave a free hand in the East. In the French parliament, only 74 deputies voted against the

betrayal perpetrated at Munich, and 73 of them were Communists. The Communist Party was alone in campaigning against acceptance of the *diktat*.

The contradiction between the objectively national function of the working class and the lack of proper awareness of this function on the part of the mass of workers was resolved thanks to Maurice Thorez, especially from 1934 onwards, in the anti-fascist struggle which could not — precisely because it was at once an anti-fascist and national struggle—have been led by any other class as surely and as firmly as the working class led it. The French workers came to realize that they were heirs to and continuators of the finest democratic and humanist traditions of our country against the fascists, whose leaders served foreign interests and were in Hitler's pay.

The French bourgeoisie acted on the slogan "Better Hitler than the Popular Front." The French Communist Party recalled time and again, with reference to the case of our country, the aptness of Lenin's statement that when it is a question of class profits, the bourgeoisie betrays its country and makes mercenary deals with any foreigners against its own people.

Everyone knows that the anti-fascist struggle played the same role in Italy and other countries.

During the war the people described the French Communist Party as "le parti des fusillés" for the sacrifices its members had made to the national cause. Many Communist parties could be described in the same way. They, too, restored the country to the working people.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to exploit national feelings for anti-communist purposes. Indeed, the cosmopolitanism of the big bourgeoisie has made all the applicable to it the maxim "My country is where I can fill my purpose."

Even in France, despite the contradictions ranging the big bourgeoisie of the country against the American monopolies, we see that when the bourgeois government has to choose between a democratic solution and a solution favorable to foreign interests but in line with capitalist principles, the latter solution wins the upper hand. When the government had to decide whether to nationalize Bull, the big electronics enterprise, or to let General Electric take over, it preferred American control to nationalization.

Nowhere can the bourgeoisie claim any

longer that it represents genuine national thinking.

In France, Italy and in many other capitalist countries the working class is already conscious of being the national class. It knows that its responsibilities encompass the whole of national reality and national history. In these countries the Communist Party is accountable to public opinion for every problem, whether it concerns family welfare, the film industry, educational reform or public health.

The function of the Communist Party is not just to uphold the everyday interests of the working people and the demands of the underprivileged, despite the importance of this effort which has earned for the French Communists the title "advocates of the nation," conferred on them by a bourgeois journalist. It is not restricted to criticizing and questioning the functioning of society in order to wrest reforms, however useful such criticism may be. Nor is it merely to make socialist propaganda. The Communist parties are parties capable of governing and they have constructive and national solutions for every problem.

The French Communist Party, for example, is ready to assume government responsibilities. But it does not want to take up these responsibilities in order to pursue bourgeois policies like Wilson in Britain. It wants to take them up in order to carry out a national policy.

As the French Communists see it, the nation is the totality of the social strata that are victims of monopoly politics and can and must rally around the working class—the backbone of the nation. It is the peasants and handicraftsmen, the office employees and technicians, the teachers and research workers, and the small independent employers. Hence real democracy, whose establishment is the content of any national policy, will follow anti-monopoly lines. It will restrict monopoly power by effecting the gradual nationalization of key industries and banks, democratizing the management of the public sector, planning the economy on democratic principles, and so on. This real democracy will be a continuous political creative effort and a step toward socialist power.

That is how the Communists of the capitalist countries see their national task.

This task implies, first of all, a fight against the sworn enemy of national independence, U.S. imperialism, whose tentacles reach across the globe.

The best defense against U.S. economic penetration is to extend public control, found public companies with a view to setting up new industries, nationalize the economy, etc. The monopolies of all the capitalist countries, the French monopolies included, have shown that they lack the ability or the will to represent the national interests in the face of that penetration. Belgium is not the only country where the Prime Minister may well ask himself whether in the next few years there will no longer be the "drawers of water" for the Americans. What M. Van den Boeynants said some time ago could be echoed by many of his colleagues. It is time for those who are selling the national industry to the big American companies to forfeit their key positions.

In foreign policy there is a highly important question bearing on the national tasks of numerous Communist parties. It is whether the countries of Western Europe should become integrated in the Atlantic military bloc under U.S. leadership or whether their national interests bid them reject U.S. tutelage and dissociate themselves from military blocs generally.

The French Communist Party declares for non-renewal of the Atlantic pact on its expiration in 1969 and for the withdrawal of France from the pact at that date. It rejects the prospect of the country being dragged, as a member of the Atlantic Alliance dominated by the United States, into a war for interests that would be those of American imperialism and not of France. The American policy of aggression and the claim to the role of world policeman are an increasingly obvious danger to the independence of the peoples and to peace.

Until the military blocs of the Atlantic pact and the Warsaw Treaty are dissolved simultaneously — a development which every effort must be made to bring about — the national interests of France demand that it stay out of military blocs. Thus France would be completely free to play an active role in favor of collective security and international cooperation, particularly with European countries, without discrimination.

More than one European nation, socialist or non-socialist, is endangered by the revanchist policy of the West German rulers, who, aided by the U.S. imperialists, refuse to recognize as definitive the frontiers resulting from World War II, lay an official claim to a "healthy" nationalism and aim in the immediate future to block the de-

velopment of socialism in neighboring countries.

In these conditions the fight for a system of collective security in Europe is a pivotal issue for the international working-class movement. It is a national task of the Communist parties. Furthermore, the attitude to the German Democratic Republic, the only peaceful German state, is a decisive criterion of the sincerity of the allegiance to peace and European security which various powers swear. The Communist parties are working for the recognition of the GDR by the governments of their countries.

The supranational government of the Europe of Six, for which some forces are actively campaigning, would find itself under the virtual hegemony of an expansionist and revanchist Germany empowered by the United States. Characteristically, most of the partisans of a "political" Europe come out at the same time for maintaining the Atlantic pact. The French Communist Party, being opposed to both nationalist isolation and national renunciation, considers that national independence is one of the foundations of a democratic foreign policy and that, on the other hand, there is a need of increasingly vigorous economic and political cooperation between all the countries of the real Europe.

A supranational political authority denying national sovereignty would at the same time amount to the negation of democracy. What good would it do to the French working class to establish democratic institutions if they had no powers, the fortunes and lives of the French being decided by a cosmopolitan government in which their voice might easily be that of a minority without a following?

All the voices being raised today for "condemning the nation," declaring the right to self-determination to be "unreasonable and totalitarian" and overcoming "the anarchy of patriotisms" are merely the expression, conscious or unconscious, of the will and interests of monopoly capital. They

are reminiscent of the arguments which General Lechère, the French representative of the Atlantic bloc, advanced in *Revue de Défense nationale* in February 1948. "The national concept," he wrote, "with all its connotations of unity, common interest and action is entirely outdated. It no longer corresponds to reality." These arguments have been disproved.

The Communist Party knows that the nation is a reality, and it combats the propaganda of cosmopolitanism, the ideology of trusts without country. In all countries it combats racism, another ideology being spread and fostered by the bourgeoisie to justify the oppression of nations.

Racism is an indelible stain on the American, Rhodesian and South African bourgeoisie. In Europe it is advocated by the NPD, the West German neo-fascist party, whose advertisers, such as H. Suendermann and Arthur Erhardt, foment hatred for the "black or yellow or brown" peoples and call for an alliance against them — an "alliance of the white peoples, with the decisive participation of the German nation inhabiting the *Lebensraum* it has inherited from history."

* * *

In every respect, the Communist parties acquit themselves honorably of their national task.

The Vietnam patriots' victorious resistance is evidence of the growing ability of the nations to defend their freedom and their right to live. In Vietnam and wherever else the peoples have to wage an armed struggle for their independence, the Communists are in the forefront of the struggle. The ideas of the patriots of Vietnam, linked with the ideas of all fighters against imperialism in Africa and Latin America, are near and dear to the Communists of the whole world, in which the Party in many cases constitutes a great national force deeply rooted in the people and indispensable to shaping the future of the country.

Czechoslovakia: vital problems of the Communist Party

Interview with **ALEXANDER DUBCEK**
First Secretary, Central Committee
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

(Q) What in your view are the main tasks facing you in building a comprehensive socialist society in Czechoslovakia?

(A) Shortly after the country's liberation by the Soviet Army in 1945, the Communist Party declared that, by its policy of building the new republic, it would seek to win the support of the majority of the peoples, Czechs and Slovaks. This was the period of national-democratic revolution. The Communist Party enjoyed mass support, won in self-sacrificing struggle for the national and social interests before the Second World War and during the Hitler occupation, when the Communists were the most devoted and militant Resistance fighters.

And so, our aim was to win majority support for the socialist reconstruction and the democratic refashioning of society through the new system of people's democracy. We began on that immediately after the liberation. There followed steady, uninterrupted revolutionary and social progress based on our nationalized industries (enterprises with more than 500 workers) and the National Committees, through which we worked toward our democratic and socialist goals.

That policy won for the Communists the support of the majority of the working people. It generated considerable political activity among all sections of the population, not only workers, peasants and intellectuals, but also the middle strata, the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie who actively supported the socialist development.

And these social forces and their representatives gave us unstinted support in February 1948 when, reacting to the attempt to stage a reactionary coup, the Communist Party submitted its program for the continued advance of socialism. The will of the masses, clearly and democratically expressed, was for the socialist development of our society. For the workers and peasants, the middle strata and intellectuals, February 1948 was the culminating point and synthesis of the democratic and socialist gains of our two peoples.

However, subsequent events were to show that this was not adequately used to stimulate policies based on the majority of the people. And this at a time when reactionaries were no longer in power, and when the problems of switching to the direct building of socialism were posed in all their magnitude.

After 1948, the influence of the cold war, plus an oversimplified conception of socialism, led to deformation of the system of democratic centralism, to a weakening of democratic relations in the Party and in the administration, and to extension of the executive branch, the apparatus, which often exceeded its authority in relation to elected bodies and representatives of the different social groups. The class interests of the workers and peasants were not consistently pursued, and the changed social structure was not always taken into account.

Socialist construction progressively transformed the country. Socialist produc-

tion relations were firmly established, exploitation of man by man was abolished, and a new economic and political structure took shape. Class antagonists gave way to cooperation, and socialism was accepted as the future of Czechoslovak society.

However, these changes in the structure and dynamics of the different social groups led, in the sixties, to certain conflict situations. The conflicts resulted from an interpretation of the socialist development based on a model designed for the early phase, but which was not adjusted to the new socialist realities.

This was sharply expressed last year in the conflict which clearly revealed the conservative attitude of some Party leaders who either could not or did not want to march in step with the new developments and who were reluctant to work out solutions for the pressing problems. These included democracy in the Party, relations between Party, economic and administrative bodies, relationships between nationalities, full rectification of the errors that resulted from infringement of Party principles and socialist law, etc.

For quite a long time there had been sharp criticism in the lower Party, administrative and economic organizations of the incorrect political practises and grave shortcomings deriving from the concept of automatic political development. This, in turn, was the result of a wrong understanding of the role of the Communist Party, which led to all power being vested in Party officials.

The decisions of the Central Committee sessions of October and December 1967 and January and April 1968, were based on the need for a new policy generated by the conscious and combined socialist efforts of the classes and strata that make up our society. The need, in other words, was for a genuine democracy which is inseparable from socialism, of which the Communist Party is the mind and heart. These new tasks are set forth in the Party's Action Program adopted by the April Central Committee meeting. We abandoned the old concept of centralism which, having become the established pattern, hardened the hierarchical vertical pattern of relations and allowed little or no room for extensive development of civil rights and freedoms. Consequently, the work of all the institutions set up for the express purpose of promoting democracy was largely formal.

The Party's main task, I think, is to combine class, group and personal interests in common socialist interests. This will en-

able the Party to perform its mission of influencing social development, which, now that we have overcome the antagonism of classes hostile to socialism, should result in a steady and purposeful elimination of essential class and group differences.

Expropriation of the means of production is the foundation for real equality, for it offers equal opportunities to all and this becomes the basis for a new relationship pattern. But this will become a firmly established reality only when the people have a direct share in managing the expropriated means of production, when they are able directly to manage and expand them. This means that the new society must give its social wealth, social production and social science a new, socialist master. And needed for this is painstaking and consistent effort to overcome the individual's in-built attitude to state or public property and enterprise.

The victory of the working class resulted in the dictatorship of the proletariat, which in Czechoslovakia took the form of a people's democracy up to 1960, when we adopted our socialist constitution.

Socialist growth requires that the existing classes—the workers, the peasants in the cooperatives and the socialist intelligentsia—should join hands. This is necessitated by the new social problems, the growth of production, the inclusion of science and technology in the economic and social process, the need for more effective and rational use of time, labor, raw materials, skills, initiative and the political participation of the people. The existing classes must act in concert, so that their joint effort would overcome the class narrowness resulting from the division of labor and the breach between manual and mental labor and between town and country. Czechoslovakia has the potential to translate these theoretical concepts into living reality. We must create the widest possible opportunities to disclose and harmonize the interests of the diverse social groups.

Our primary political task, then, the task that was central to the discussions at recent Central Committee meetings, is to evolve a pattern of relations that will allow and encourage effective popular participation in social and political life, the dynamic political growth of the working class and provide the appropriate forms for its direct participation in industrial democracy.

As I have indicated, Communist Party policy must be active and oriented on unity. Our first step, therefore, was to

draft the Action Program. Its purpose, on the one hand, is to stimulate unity in a way that will assure the continuity of socialism in its developed phase, and, on the other, serve as a political platform, a practical political guide for all Party members and all citizens of the Republic. It is not, therefore, merely a declaration setting out the tenets of our policy. Its most important feature is its new approach to the solution of the highly complex political problems, that have now come to the force. And these include Czech-Slovak state and legal relationships commensurate with the new situation and Czechoslovakia's continued socialist progress. The Action Program calls for a federation, the supreme expression of democracy, indeed, the cornerstone of the strength and durability of our socialist republic. In this context, it might be added that federation implies not only fully guaranteed national rights for the Slovaks and the effective functioning of all the Slovak national bodies—which is usually the view taken abroad—but also similar rights for the Czechs, who during the May 1945 revolution had their own supreme organ of state, the Czech National Council.

The renewal and reorganization of the political system and the establishment of equality between Czechs and Slovaks should be seen as the basis of a comprehensive process of democratization of Czechoslovak society. And the process will be directed first and foremost at proclaiming, implementing and developing in full measure all human rights so that the superiority of socialism over bourgeois democracy is fully realized. Consistent observance of all civil rights in our socialist society is an inexhaustible source of popular activity, and this fully corresponds to the aims of our society. What we have in mind is activity that is socialist in content, but with due account taken of the interests of diverse groups. All the speculation about democracy and socialism requiring some kind of opposition party is doomed to failure, for in our conditions it would, in effect, become a destructive force. Any attempt in this direction will meet with resolute resistance from Communists and all the progressive forces of the country.

Our political system rests on the National Front, the united political platform of our political parties and public organizations, with which the socialist functioning of all our mass information media is closely related. This system offers ample opportunities for political dynamism, and

these are multiplied by the use of science as the basis and controlling instrument of policy. Besides the Communists, the National Front includes other political parties that subscribe to the ideas and aims of socialism. Political life has shed its ossified formalities and has become dynamic, exacting, interesting and useful to our people.

The National Front is not isolated in our present political system. So long as the interests of the different social groups are effectively reflected in the National Assembly, policy will spring from the immediate activity of the Deputies as direct representatives of people at their place of work or residence. This will produce a broad basis for active, democratic, unmediated and informal political life. We are still at the very source of these changes, changes that it is the Party's task to bring to full completion. Presumably, greater or lesser modifications will still be introduced in the process of change, making more precise the new policy concept of determining, studying and realizing the different interests of socialist society.

Working-class rule will gradually change into the rule of all the people. This applies to the present stage of social growth, the result and perspective of the preceding socialist reconstruction of society. Which does not mean that this is already fully effective in all our affairs and in the institutional structure of our society. True, hundreds of thousands of representatives of the working class, members of peasant co-operatives, of the intelligentsia, men and women, participate in public life through the National Committees at all levels and through the various voluntary sub-committees. On the other hand, we should bear in mind the way in which this participation of thousands of voluntary political and social workers was depreciated and weakened by the excessively centralized political control and how rigidly restricted was their multiform and all-round activity and initiative. Much of the consciously and voluntarily expended energy went by the board, an impost paid to the inadequate standard of social administration.

That was why the Communist Party's decision to change the way of running the economy and eliminate the style that prevailed until now in the relationships between the people and the various institutions, placing the latter under the directly elected bodies, evoked such keen interest among the public. We hope to mould new forms of people's government and self-

government, to secure the actual participation of our citizens in running public affairs.

(Q) What is being done in Czechoslovakia to lift up the economy in line with the reform?

(A) What we have inherited from the past is an insufficiently flexible and, considering Czechoslovakia's potential, ineffective economy. Although industry was greatly expanded, losses of all kinds were quite considerable. Some branches, and chiefly the infrastructure, were neglected and now lack the capacity quickly to meet the crucial requirements. This criticism, which we make quite openly, refers to previous economic organization and policy. We are confident, however, that we have the wherewithal radically to improve the economic situation. To begin with, we have the material and human resources developed in the years of the socialist upbuilding, and we have the enthusiasm of the people generated by the revitalization of socialism in our country. The economic reform now under way, the purpose of which is to round out the socialist market economy, will, we believe, enable us to rally all the really constructive forces of our society to secure sound economic growth.

These forces are contained in the basis of the economy and in the skill of our people, enabling us to achieve economic balance, secure effective growth and overcome the inflationary trend. Coupled with the morale, this adds to our resolve to consolidate the results already obtained and to develop the entire economy still more actively.

One of the more important aims of the economic reform is to produce an optimum relationship between planned growth and economically autonomous, democratically-run enterprises operating independently in the market.

We still consider that growing economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries is vital to our economy. On these grounds we support all the proposals designed to make the Council for Mutual Economic Aid more effective. In doing so, however, our economy will not reject economic cooperation with other countries, notably those of Europe.

The insistent need to rationalize our economy and modify it structurally creates some human and social problems, which we shall solve in the spirit of socialist humanism. However, we cannot afford to be diverted from the principle of the maximum

economic effectiveness. Failing this, we would give people temporary benefits and advantages (for example, by not closing down inefficient plants) and deprive them in the long run of the far greater advantages implicit in rational economic growth.

(Q) In the light of the current social processes, what are the main trends in the international activity of the Czechoslovak Communist Party?

To begin with, I should like to recall the standpoint set out in the Action Program: "The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will operate more actively in the sphere of the world Communist and working-class movement. We shall devote special attention to friendly contacts, mutual consultations and exchange of views with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist community, and with all other fraternal Communist parties."

By emphasizing that our approach to the international problems of the Communist and working-class movement will be more active, we are taking a stand for the movement's more effective, imaginative consolidation and our Party's responsible participation in resolving problems on the basis of our new internal political dynamism.

At the same time, the problems of worldwide Communist unity, their character, complexity and inter-relatedness also affect our internal political planning and practice. We hold that every Party should help to the best of its ability to resolve the common problems with due respect for the work of other parties and for the principle of equality, non-interference and international solidarity. The Communists of Czechoslovakia are searching for a suitable policy and for methods of regulating the new relationships in socialist society and are trying creatively to approach the questions of socialist democracy as the higher form of democracy practicable to its full extent only in an exploitation-free society on its way to becoming classless. This is a positive fact, animating the interest of the democratic and socialist world and evoking a response among other Communist parties, which is for us at once a support and an obligation. I think all this quite natural and see it as an expression of international Communist solidarity. We are not imposing our method on anyone as a model, for we consider it our internal affair. Our purpose is to make the most of our internal specific possibilities. At the same time, we do not overlook all the new elements appear-

ing in the social relations in other socialist countries, the experience of the fraternal parties, and consider our lively and genuine interest a part of our internationalist duty.

We adhere unreservedly to the ideas and aims of the world Communist movement and stand for joint action against the aggressive policy of world imperialism, for the victory of democracy and socialism on a world scale. However, every Communist Party, ours included, can participate in this not only by showing sympathy and organizing solidarity campaigns, but also by studying the new developments in its own country. Adherence to the common laws presupposes a creative approach to one's own political problems, because in that area, too, the common and the specific are dialectically inter-related.

The Communists of Czechoslovakia welcome the decision to hold a world conference of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow at the end of the year to discuss jointly the democratic, social and revolutionary processes of our time. The world Communist movement is the greatest social movement of all time. Not only does it represent the social aspirations of the exploited masses; it is also the political guarantor of determined efforts to eliminate the danger of another world war and is an active factor in the mass striving for freedom, independence and democracy.

That is the spirit in which the Czechoslovak Communists approach the current international political issues. They support the people of Vietnam in their fight for freedom, side with the U.S. Negroes fighting for emancipation, and back the progressive and socialist forces of the German nation, the German Democratic Republic, in combating the peril of West German revanchism and militarism. We are aware that the existing state of affairs necessitates uncompromising struggle against the Right extremist forces of U.S. imperialism, the main bearer of anti-socialist and anti-democratic tendencies in international relations.

The confrontation of the two political systems—socialism, on the one hand, and capitalism with its extremist imperialist vanguard, on the other—is not over. Proof of this is the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. An ideological struggle is under way, ruling out any class conciliation in the fight between the two opposed ideologies.

It is against this setting that we should see Czechoslovakia's further growth and socialist development. We are aware of the opponents of the socialist reconstruction in our country, and, chiefly, on an international scale. We are aware that they have not stopped trying to use the internal problems and difficulties, and the rectification of mistakes and shortcomings in the work of our Party and in Czechoslovakia generally, for their anti-socialist ends.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is the westernmost country of the socialist camp. Its location in the center of Europe enabled our country to participate in promoting European society in the past. Modern Czechoslovakia is not a bridge between East and West; it is a part of the socialist world. Its sovereignty and its bonds with the socialist world logically and objectively require that Czechoslovakia should exert its initiative and influence on European policy, above all in ensuring European collective security. The question of collective security concerns big and small countries alike. In this sense, Europe could as a continent overcome mistrust, with the democratic forces achieving unity gradually, with due patience. This is doubly necessary, because neo-fascist forces are raising their heads and concentrating in West Germany with the support of reactionaries comparable to that extended to the Nazis in the early thirties. Collective security enabling all to avert conflicts and safeguarding the European countries against a sudden attack by any other country, could help create a climate of mutual confidence in Europe and guarantee against the bellicose nationalism of certain aggressive West German groups.

For us, citizens of socialist Czechoslovakia, the matter of security is vitally important, because throughout our history we have had many bitter experiences with the aggressiveness of our German neighbor, particularly in recent history that of fascist Germany. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is determined to participate actively in moulding the unity of the Communist Parties, because that is the cornerstone of further peaceful growth, a condition essential for a favorable climate of peaceful European cooperation and collective security, for consolidating peace, democracy, the national-liberation movement and worldwide social progress.

Trade union problems in Hungary

SANDOR GASPAR

I.

The origins of the Hungarian trade union movement date back more than a century. And one of the dominant features of its long history is that, with very few exceptions, the unions have combined economic struggle with political activity. That is true today, too: the unions are striving to make full use of all the opportunities offered by socialism.

The various organizations that make up our socio-political system have their definite functions and tasks. Of course, all of them strive to strengthen working-class rule, but their functions and activities change with the times. Today, in the full-scale building of socialism, they have different tasks and problems than in the earlier period, when the working class had to win and consolidate its power. This necessitated a close analysis of relations between Party, trade union and government bodies in order more clearly to delineate the functions of each.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party — the working-class vanguard equipped with a scientific world outlook—determines the goals of our socialist revolution and of socialist construction and gives leadership to the country's public life. It does not share its role of political leader with other parties. Under Party leadership, all elements of our socio-political system, including the trade unions, work in concert to satisfy the requirements of society, but each body has its own distinctive functions. In a country like ours, with the working class in power, trade union functions have important political aspects.

The unions share in formulating national aims and use their organizational strength (a membership of three million, about a third of the total population) and political influence to rally the masses for the

achievement of these aims. In this they strive for maximum harmony of national, group and personal interests.

In a socialist society the trade unions cater to a wide range of social needs, and in this respect they are an irreplaceable assistant of the Party.

Historical development in Hungary has resulted in dictatorship of the proletariat being exercised through a one-party system. The mass organizations—the Fatherland People's Front, the trade unions, agricultural cooperative councils, etc.—all play a big role. The trade unions, which act as the connecting link between the Party and the masses, help to mobilize and unite the masses for the accomplishment of national tasks. Their multiform and close contacts with the masses keep the unions in constant touch with the aspirations, interests and opinions of the various professional and other groups of the working population. They are thus in a position to keep all organizations concerned informed of worker sentiments and views. Moreover, with full knowledge of the country's material potential, they can see to it that the workers' requirements and proposals are properly acted upon.

Day-to-day economic control by hundreds of thousands of union functionaries and activists has made it possible not only to enhance the activity of the people and accelerate economic progress, but also to encourage effective constructive criticism at various levels, rectify errors and give the workers a direct say in defining the aims, scale and orientation of economic development. The Party systematically consults the unions in order to take timely account of working class experience and eliminate possible distortions in the conduct of national policy. The Party also consults the unions in drafting Central Committee and Congress resolutions. For

instance, in preparation for its Ninth Congress, the Party sent the draft resolutions to the Central Trade Union Council for its opinion. An announcement to that effect was published in the press. The same procedure is followed before any major decision is taken. This helps to formulate decisions with which the trade unions agree and which they consider it their duty to assist in carrying out. This lays a new and heavy responsibility on the unions. And so, the trade unions participate in defining the overall aims of the working class and the economic policy needed to achieve them. They set out their views also on all related matters and see to it that national interests are harmonized with the personal interests of the worker.

Party decisions are binding on Communists working in the unions, but not on the unions as such. It is the duty of Communists to convince their non-Party colleagues of the soundness of Party policy and decisions. The Party expects the unions to act independently in implementing jointly formulated decisions.

The leading role of the Party does not in any way infringe on the basic principle that the trade unions are self-acting organizations with their own constitutions and an elected leadership to supervise their day-to-day activities.

The unions consider it their honorable duty to help the Communist Party. We frankly speak of our association with the Party as the only politically sound solution.

II.

The Party's leading role is manifested also in the activities of the state of proletarian dictatorship. The socialist state is the embodiment of the leading role of the working class and the vehicle of its historic mission. The economy operates to a socialist plan. The means of production are public property, the overwhelming part belonging to the state. The latter thus becomes the socialist employer. The results of production are used in the interests of the whole of society, for socialist progress. Guided by socialist aims, the state directs public life, education, the arts and culture generally. The trade unions, in the main, serve the same purposes as the socialist state. Up until recently, however, there was a good deal of overlapping and this caused a certain amount of misunderstanding, for at times it was hard to distinguish the views of the trade unions from those of the

various ministries—in fact, we were often duplicating each other. But things have changed: while we serve the common cause, we do so in our own particular way, in accordance with the aims and functions of the trade union movement.

There is, however, regular cooperation between the unions and government agencies, which fully respect trade union independence and do not interfere in union affairs—drafting their constitutions, their system of elections, or current work. The socialist state cannot control leading union bodies or demand an account from them. It regards the unions as independent organs, with all the rights following therefrom, and provides them with every facility to exercise these rights. At the same time, however, the unions, through their representatives, have a share in shaping government policy and in the work of government bodies.

With the establishment of working class rule, the trade unions have assumed more important tasks, some of which were formerly assigned to the administrative authority. For example, the unions are in charge of the social insurance scheme, which extends to practically the entire population, issue reduced-price tickets to rest homes and sanatoria and have important inspection duties in industrial safety arrangements. These are all matters in which the unions have acquired rich experience. They also have a mass basis to fall back on in this work—thousands of voluntary part-time functionaries, which means that, besides reducing administrative costs, we can serve a much larger part of the membership and, in general, raise union activity to a higher level. Our experience has shown that this type of union activity does not weaken, but actually strengthens the socialist state. Much of our work is concentrated on the shop floor, which means that all the workers are involved. This has the added advantage of encouraging workers to share in industry; in fact, we are building up a veritable school of worker-management.

Social insurance and provision of recreation and rest facilities is an integral part of trade union work. This is a field which, by its very nature, differs from political work, and poses a number of specific problems which we are steadily working to resolve.

Past practice was for the unions to be represented on government bodies. In future, the unions will, as a rule, be repre-

sented only in the State Assembly, the Presidium of the Republic and similar bodies, and will no longer be represented in the ministries, nor will ministers sit on trade union executives. However, under existing legislation, ministers are obliged to consult the unions on all matters concerning the workers.

Trade union representatives are in constant contact with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and his deputies on economic, political and other questions involving the interests of the workers. If necessary, we can submit differences between state and trade union bodies to the judgment of the public.

This year the jurisdiction of our state and economic agencies has been extended. That also applies to the jurisdiction of the trade unions, which now play a much bigger role in national affairs. They can veto decisions of economic managers and call for the removal of incompetent managers. This gives the unions more rights, but also more responsibility. The problems this poses are not easy ones, and we have not accumulated sufficient experience for their effective solution.

Correct division of functions and broader jurisdiction are helping our unions do a better job. Broader jurisdiction for the unions means further development of socialist democracy, more rights for the workers, enabling them more effectively to participate in fashioning public life and, consequently, their own future.

Many things have been said about the trade union movement in Hungary and in the other socialist countries. There have been some constructive statements, but also much ill-intentioned criticism. Some even question the genuine character of our movement. That is nothing new. We respect all the traditions of the unions in capitalist countries and we appreciate their efforts in behalf of the working class, but no one, I feel, will take offense if I say that in no capitalist country does the trade union movement enjoy such opportunities as in the socialist countries, notably, Hungary. The source of all these opportunities is working-class power.

In the socialist countries trade union effort on behalf of the workers is concentrated on consolidating working-class power. This implies also looking after the interests of different social and professional groups, and of the individual worker.

In our society, personal and public interests in the main coincide, for the well-being

of each citizen depends on development of the national economy. But there can be a certain divergence of interests, certain contradictions which the unions make it their job to disclose and resolve. This stimulates more effort by every worker for attainment of the goals set by society. Trade union defense of the various interests of the workers is also a weighty factor in promoting more constructive activity by the masses, and this, too, helps towards the attainment of our common goals. Last but not least, a correct understanding of the workers' interests helps to strengthen working-class power.

Improvement in the allocation and payment of labor, expansion of the social maintenance and other services, more effective application of the principle of remuneration according to work done, and more incentives—all tend to strengthen our socialist system, politically as well as economically.

On a national scale, the unions can discuss and coordinate their initiatives with the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee and similar top government bodies in order to harmonize the public interest with that of the factory collectives and their members.

The second coordinating level is between union executives and the economic ministries on all matters pertaining to wages and general conditions.

The next, third level, on which interests are harmonized is between territorial union committees and the respective administrative bodies. For instance, regional administrative bodies coordinate with the respective trade union committee development plans, employment, municipal, social and cultural services, supply of consumer goods, and all other matters that have a bearing on the general conditions of the worker.

The agreements achieved at these three levels are carried out directly in the factory, where the terms are concretized by management and the union committee and a collective agreement for the given enterprise is drawn up. In short, in harmonizing diverse interests in a socialist society, the trade unions are assured representation at every level.

III.

In the new situation it became necessary to raise the efficiency of trade union work, in the economic and education fields and in defending the various interests of the workers. For one thing, central union bodies

had to be allowed more independence. This is not only in keeping with our traditions, but also in keeping with the new system of management, which allows for a much wider margin of initiative in harmonizing the interests of the given industry with the professional, material and cultural requirements of its workers.

The unions have a much bigger role now. They are now expected to analyze such problems as wage and income differentials, bonuses, employment, health arrangements, safety techniques, cultural amenities, housing, price changes, etc., and formulate proposals and recommendations, initiate new measures, and, if necessary, insist that the appropriate ministry act on these. This is a difficult task and there is still not enough evidence to judge how we are coping with it, for we are only just entering this field.

Our regional union committees should be seen as working partners of the administrative authority, the Regional Councils. Their job is to analyze and formulate proposals on living standards, employment levels, health and municipal services, supply of consumer goods, etc. They also share in drafting development plans and exercise control over their fulfilment. Another important function is coordinating the work of the various trade unions and administrative bodies. This makes for smooth operation of all union work in the given region.

All trade union bodies have ample opportunity for independent action and decision-making. Our organizational structure, fully confirmed by experience, provides that binding directives can be issued only by higher elected bodies to lower elected bodies.

For many years there was a controversy on whether or not there should be workers' councils in the factories operating parallel with the factory committees. Experience has resolved the controversy: in Hungarian conditions there is no need for such parallel organizations. However, there is a need for factory trade union councils as a means of promoting wider democracy. This council, made up of delegates from each shop and department, is the supreme trade union body between elections. This makes for a more democratic leadership pattern, inasmuch as the union committee is accountable to the council, which handles major problems, such as the collective agreement, work arrangements, safety techniques, allocation of bonuses, etc.

More independence for the local union

bodies is paralleled by a stronger central leadership. We have introduced a number of measures to make union work more efficient. For instance, we have encouraged more theoretical study, closer attention to selecting and training personnel, and more thorough-going analyses of such problems as incentives.

IV.

Wider jurisdiction and a wider field of activity are key elements in improving union work. The new management system allows factories much greater independence—they can draw up their own plans, taking due account of local potential and resources, and determine the funds necessary to implement the plans. This means that basic union organizations must enjoy wider jurisdiction, which, moreover, has to be precisely defined to avoid overlapping. We have had to assist the basic union organizations to make the changeover to the new system. The results are encouraging—factory union officials, now that they have more initiative and responsibility, are in a better position to rally the workers in the effort to increase the country's political and economic might, notably by extending the socialist emulation movement for higher efficiency and quality standards. But there is another aspect—the unions are able more vigorously and effectively to safeguard the legitimate rights of the worker, combat bureaucracy and management decisions that contradict general policy. In short, they are now expected to do a much better job on behalf of their members.

The new system also offers a much wider area for democracy directly in the enterprise. We can now say that the workers are taking a bigger part in running their factory and in public control of management, in solving production problems as well as material, social and cultural questions concerning the working people.

Factory democracy follows a long-standing tradition and is implemented chiefly through the trade unions. For in our conditions the unions provide many different forms for organized working-class participation in economic affairs, particularly in matters pertaining to production and distribution. This is an essential feature of working-class power and socialist democracy. But it also means that, with factory union organizations playing a bigger role and carrying more weight, they are increasingly becoming a school of manage-

ment, a school, moreover, functioning directly in the factory.

The increased role and rights of the workers in running the factory and in determining working conditions is one more form—a very tangible one—in which the leading role of the working class finds expression.

There is a vast difference between the system under which every factory was run from the center and the present system, under which the factory fixes its own targets, draws up its own plans and makes use of local potentialities in carrying them out. This places greater responsibility both on management and the collective. But it also means that the workers must have a closer knowledge of how the factory operates, and a say in management through the system of factory democracy. We want every worker to feel that he is personally responsible, that upon him depends fulfillment of our national plans, that he can influence the present and future of his factory and, through his union, share in its management. This understanding by the worker, and the realization that his personal interests are linked with the factory, stimulates more active and purposeful effort.

Wider worker participation in management necessitated expansion of trade union rights and duties. The Labor Code enacted by the State Assembly last year envisages broad and concrete rights for the working people and their unions. This is the basis on which collective agreements are drawn up, listing the rights and obligations of worker, management and union.

In accordance with the Labor Code and the collective agreement, the unions are entitled to pass judgment, make decisions, exercise control, and have the right of veto on all matters pertaining to working conditions. All such questions are discussed and settled by the union branch and the factory management in keeping with the collective agreement. But the union can also pass judgment and take the initiative on matters pertaining to the operation of the plant. The management is required to give a substantiated reply to all union questions and proposals. Naturally, this in no way restricts the jurisdiction of the manager, but if there are differences he must bear full responsibility for any decision he takes.

Another right now extended to the unions is consultation on the appointment and dismissal of economic executives. Any

appraisal of their work must be cleared with the respective union organization. Its judgment is based on the opinion and attitude of the workers, with due account to the interests of the factory and the economy as a whole.

Our aim is to encourage union branches boldly to criticize managers who violate the basic interests of the economy or of the worker. On the other hand, the unions stand up for managers who introduce correct measures, display initiative and respect the workers' rights.

Factory union branches independently decide on allocations of social, cultural and sports expenditure out of the factory's profit fund. The usual procedure is to consult management, but the latter's opinion is not binding. Union branches enjoy similar rights on a number of other matters.

For instance, they have the right of veto in cases where management takes unwarranted action against individual workers, groups or collectives, or infringes the collective agreement, operative legislation or socialist norms in dealing with people. Any management decision to which the union protests does not become operative until the differences are resolved by higher bodies. The union branch's veto power applies only to issues concerning the given enterprise.

The modern factory is so big that these democratic measures can be directly applied only in the lower units (shops, departments, etc.) where all questions relating to administration, labor conditions, material incentives and so forth, can be discussed with the workers and solutions found.

Factory union committees help organize and conduct production conferences, workers' meetings, meetings of socialist work teams, etc. These are some of the forms that enable the worker to make direct use of the opportunities offered by democracy at factory level.

Such direct discussion is impractical in the larger production units. But here, too, worker participation in management is democratic, through the trade union council in the factory.

In all their work the factory union branches take account of rank-and-file proposals and views. They make a point of assuring that plans are properly tied in with the interests of the economy as a whole and of the given collective.

The socialist emulation movement continues to be an important factor also under

the new management system. In fact, more independence to factories and closer worker participation in their management create favorable conditions for emulation, giving it clearer aims and orientation. The very fact that the workers are encouraged to participate in fixing the production targets makes for higher activity. Another factor operating towards the same end is incentives, both for the collective and for the individual worker. In this way, moral and material stimulators are combined, with the result that the workers display more initiative, work with greater enthusiasm to boost output and achieve better quality with minimum expenditure of materials. Emulation, it will thus be seen, directly contributes to successful operation of the plant.

In cooperation with management, factory trade union branches support the socialist work teams and socialist work collectives and do everything to encourage innovation. This does not detract from their other spheres of activity — working conditions, working hours, incomes, medical, social, cultural and other amenities.

Educational work at factory level is still

another important and difficult aspect of union activity. The union must bring home to the worker not only the factory's production targets and how they are being filled, but also what he stands to gain in terms of incentives. Educational work is needed to prevent personal or group interests from prevailing over the interests of the community, and also to combat views and attitudes alien to socialism, and propagate socialist ideology and morality.

The manifold activities of the trade unions benefit our entire people and each individual. Union work helps to strengthen socialism, the system for which our fellow workers in all parts of the world continue to fight with such self-sacrificing devotion. By strengthening working-class rule in Hungary we are enhancing the attraction of the socialist ideas and strengthening the socialist world system.

Hungary's trade unionists are true to the spirit of proletarian internationalism and support the aims of the class struggle waged by the World Federation of Trade Unions. Shoulder to shoulder with the workers in each country, they are fighting for progress, peace, and against imperialism.

Vanguard role of Communists in building socialism

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party attaches great importance to enhancing the vanguard role of Communists, for their activity in production and in social life is an important lever in advancing the economy, establishing new social relations and promoting culture and the socialist way of life. Moreover, through this activity the Communist develops as a political fighter of the Party, as a conscious builder of the new society.

In Mongolia the growth of the Party is closely connected with the profound socio-economic reconstruction effected since the establishment of people's power. The class structure in Mongolia has completely changed. It consists today of two friendly classes—the working class and the class of

cooperative cattle-breeders known as arats. The intelligentsia, born of the working people, faithfully serve the interests of our socialist society. One of the features of the Republic's development has been the emergence of a working class. In 1966 factory and office workers accounted for 48.7 per cent of the population, members of agricultural associations for 51.3 per cent.

Apropos the vanguard role of the Communists I should like to say a few words about the membership of the Party, its social composition and distribution according to spheres of socio-political activity, for this has a direct bearing on the influence exerted by the Communists on the respective spheres of the economy or sections of the population.

Party membership is now in excess of 50,000. In 1967 its social composition was as follows: workers—29 per cent (in 1961 the percentage was 26.2), arat cooperators—21.6 per cent, office employees—49.4 per cent. Over half the membership is engaged in production, and the number is steadily increasing. By regulating the growth of membership the Party enhances its influence on the political and economic life of the country.

For the building of socialist society in Mongolia it is most important to increase the vanguard role of the Party members, their influence on the non-Party public. The Fifteenth Congress of the Party (1966) stated in this connection: "To make the leading and guiding role of the Party still more effective, we must raise the efficiency of all Party organizations, ensure the vanguard role of all members in public life, in economic and cultural development."

One of the demands made of every Communist is that he should set a personal example by his work. This demand, common to all the socialist countries, is realized according to their specific conditions. It should be borne in mind that prior to the people's revolution in Mongolia and for a long time after it nearly half the male population were monastery-dwelling lamas who did not engage in socially useful work. Considerable organizing, political and ideological effort was required before many people came to accept the new attitude to labor, and much of the credit for this goes to the members of the Party who showed the way. Our society has made great progress in the years since, and a new generation has grown up educated in the spirit of a socialist attitude to labor.

Our economy is forging ahead and new industries are appearing. Moving in the forefront of the builders of the socialist society, of its material and technological base, are the working class and the members of the cooperatives with the Communists leading the way in all branches of the economy.

Take, for example, the Party committee of the Ulan Bator Railway which has been honored with the title of Socialist Labor Enterprise. (Here it is pertinent to note that railway transport boasts one of the best organized contingents of the working class, credit for which again goes to the respective Party organizations.) This committee is doing much to enhance the vanguard role of the Communists employed on the line. The Party organizations concerned

actively discuss the monthly and long-range work programs, make concrete suggestions how to improve the effectiveness of transport, their members undertaking annual and monthly obligations to this end and regularly checking on their fulfilment.

At first sight all this might seem a rather rigid and one-sided approach. But the Party organizations rightly consider that a very important indicator of the Communist's vanguard role is his work performance. Considerable importance is likewise attached to the example Party members set in social relations, in observing the norms and principles of Communist ethics.

Here again the Communists of the Ulan Bator Railway are by their example helping to raise the effectiveness of the entire transport system, to improve labor discipline and to imbue a keener sense of responsibility for the job.

The rural Party organizations too have accumulated considerable experience in promoting the activity of Communists. Of course, here too, the first demand is that every member or probationer set a personal example and thus help strengthen the state and cooperative sector. Here it will be in place to note that since 1961 all Communist herdsmen have been members of the agricultural associations.

As part of its activity the Party Committee of the Eastern Aimak (region) made a study of the composition and distribution of Party members according to industry and on this basis drew up a special report which was discussed in all branch organizations.

The respective branches work in close contact with their members, guide them in their Party activities and studies and take a personal interest in their work. This approach has made for a keener sense of responsibility for the job. More than 55 per cent of all members and probationers in the Eastern Aimak are engaged in production. Nearly all are overfulfilling their production plans. The same holds true of the Party members engaged in stock raising.

Speaking of the work of the branch organizations mention should be made of the Tsagan Obo Somon (district) committee. In regular touch with its members, this committee gives them assignments according to their individual abilities, discusses individually and at meetings how best to enhance their vanguard role; 71 per cent of the district's members are engaged in production, including more than 50 per cent in stock raising.

Mongolia has carried out a cultural revolution in the true sense of the word. But much has still to be done. And again it is the Communists who, by their selfless and dedicated efforts, are showing the way. Their vanguard role in the cultural advance is seen in the fact that 20 per cent of the Party membership work in the cultural field, that they account for 25 per cent of the staff of the Ministry of Culture. Another illustration is that nearly all holders of the Artist of Merit award, most of the State Prize laureates and all the holders of the Teacher of Merit title belong to the Party.

The vanguard role played by Communists is also evident in their response to the call of the Party and Government to apply their energies in those sectors where things happen to be particularly difficult. Thus, in 1962-63 more than 150 Communists with extensive experience in Party, government and administrative work volunteered as secretaries of Party organizations and chairmen of agricultural associations. During the third five-year plan period thousands of members went to work in building organizations when it was particularly necessary to expand the country's material and technological base.

Knowledge of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism is essential if the members are to enhance their vanguard role. Party studies include seminars for members in agriculture, and special quarterly three-day study courses for herdsmen. Currently some 33,000 members are studying in various courses.

Taking into account the specific conditions of the bulk of the population (the great distances, stock-raising as the main

occupation), the territorial Party organizations organize schools at the herdsmen encampments. The curriculum provides for the rudiments of a general education and also includes the ABC of veterinary zoology and hygiene.

In their cultural and educational work among the herdsmen in the Arkhangai, Gobi-Altai, Hubsugul and Uburkhangai aimaks the Party organizations make use of such forms as production and cultural rallies at which the results of socialist emulation and fulfilment of production plans are summed up, the next tasks discussed and films showings, amateur art concerts and talks on political events arranged.

While the central and territorial organizations are carrying out extensive organizational and practical work to enhance the vanguard role of Communists, it is the branches that can most effectively promote the activity of their members. Hence special attention is devoted to organization and ideological work in the basic production unit—the factory shop, farm, herdsmen encampment. A decision of the Central Committee stresses that the Party branch and Party group must conduct systematic political and organizing work among the arat cooperators, spell out to them the decisions and policy of the Party.

The need constantly to enhance the vanguard role of the Party member is dictated by the very evolution of the Party, by the need to strengthen its influence in all spheres of social life. Hence the emphasis on efficiency, on the creative spirit in Party life on doing away with formalism and replacing it with flexible, constructive methods.

Tsogtyn NAMSARAI

Reform: emulation or competition?

ALEXANDER BIRMAN

1. A NEW APPROACH

The economic reform in the Soviet Union is attracting widespread attention. People want to know the substance of the measures involved, the reasons for them, their social consequences, and whether or not the reform is a departure from centralized planning, from socialist emulation by enterprises and individuals, and a return to out-and-out competition. Generally speaking, there are some grounds for all these questions. The economic reform, as we know, extends commodity-money relations, accentuating them to a much greater degree than was the case before, and not only between enterprises, but within them. We know, for one thing, that for centuries commodity-money relations were put into effect through exchanges in which suppliers and purchasers competed in pursuit of the greatest possible profit.

The idea that competition can prevail in a socialist environment could also have been impelled by the current substitution of economic for the former administrative methods of management. In the past, enterprises were mostly mere executors of production targets. Initiative at factory level was for the most part oriented on one thing only: fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan. However, unforeseen circumstances came to light quite frequently, offering possibilities far better than those at hand when the plan was drawn up. These went begging, for factories often had to wait until the next plan period, the following year, before they could obtain the go-ahead, work their promising measure into the plan and receive the allocations and resources to carry it through. This delayed innovations, inventions and discoveries, acting as a brake on technical progress and structural improvements of social production.

Planning, as we know, proceeded from

"levels achieved"; targets of the previous year were starting points for the following year's plan with the addition of a reasonable percentage of growth, giving a distinct advantage to enterprises working below capacity. They fulfilled and overfulfilled the plan with less strain, getting larger bonuses than those factories whose plan was based on their top showing of the previous year, which discouraged the best use of available potential, tending to depress rates of extended reproduction. Moreover, the prices of some means of production were arbitrary, with enterprises and even entire industries (e.g., coal-mining) working at a loss despite fulfilling or overfulfilling the plan.

The economic reform puts an end to these incongruities. Sound prices, rates and specifications have replaced the old, putting all enterprises on an equal economic footing, their performance being measured mainly by their organization and the quality of their work. Disparities are bound to appear in wage levels, bonuses and growth rates. Enterprises are afforded better opportunities and stimuli for initiative, which, it appears, could also give rise to the question of whether or not the Soviet Union is reactivating the mechanics of competition.

To answer that question, we should glance at the substance of the Soviet economic reform.

Has anything changed in the *basic* economic principles of the Soviet economy?

Certainly not. As before, the means of production are publicly owned, economic growth is based on the centralized state plan, the monopoly on foreign trade is intact, and the state retains control over prices, wages, finance and credit.

But what has changed? Why do we speak of reform rather than particular measures?

Because the approach to management,

planning and incentives is a new one. Administrative methods are taking a back seat, while economic management and planning, and proper stimulation, are given full scope.

What does this amount to in practical terms? Some say that the departure from administrative methods is curtailing the economic role of the socialist state, that it is hemming in the administrative function of government. That is untrue. The state's administrative function is to ensure the organizational and legal framework for the normal and fruitful activity of every citizen, every enterprise and economic organization. Its function is to enforce socialist legality, secure its explicit observance and ensure the country's defenses. And far from declining, all these functions are gaining in width as the country's productive forces expand and socialist relations of production attain a higher level.

Administrative methods of economic management have nothing in common with the administrative functions of the state. Such methods connote petty tutelage and pedantic regimentation of all details and particulars in the work of each of the country's hundreds of thousands of enterprises. Specialists estimate that more than 330,000 economic directives and specifications were in force before the reform. Some 50-60 indices, each strictly obligatory, were handed down by the center to each industrial enterprise. To start making a new product or to modify the production flow, a factory had to have the permission of the senior agency, entailing acts of coordination and agreement at a dozen different levels. Several thousand government decisions were issued every year in addition to several thousand scores of orders and instructions, plus the orders and instructions issued by planning and finance agencies, banks, ministries and administrations.

Rejection of the administrative methods actually amounts to a rejection of at least nine-tenths of all this paper work and retention of three to five of the basic targets, affording enterprises the opportunity of direct contacts with consumers, transport agencies, building contractors and suppliers. From now on, the indices and directives handed down by the center refer only to the assortment of the key products, aggregate profit, profitability, the relationship with the budget and the volume of centralized investments. The wage fund, too, is still centralized, but is to be brought down to factory level in due course.

The reform has modified the concept of

economic accountability, an objective system of running the economy with socialized means of production in the framework of commodity-money relations. Now we have *complete* economic accountability, signifying that the financial self-sufficiency of the enterprises has become much broader, with each enterprise meeting all direct production costs (raw materials, fuel, electric power, wages, depreciation, etc.) and also paying the state for the use of natural resources, land, timber, water, etc. What is more, many economists think that the enterprises should also reimburse the state for personnel training, land amelioration, prospecting, geological works, and the like. Some maintain, too, that the concept of complete economic accountability should cover *self-financing* by enterprises of extended reproduction, i.e., modernization and new building. Whenever it is beyond the means of an enterprise to make the necessary outlays from its profit, it may apply to the bank for long-term credits payable with interest out of profits accruing from reconstruction or expansion.

We are also thinking of stimulating the interest of enterprises in the work of their customers. This applies primarily to designing and building contractors, who should have a stake in better, up-to-date, high-quality building with an eye to earliest possible completion. The supplier should have a stake in the customer's making better use of materials, in greater dependability, endurance and other quality criteria for materials, instruments, devices and other equipment. It appears likely that a stake in common profits for all parties concerned will enable us to integrate the interests of supplier and customer — the designers, builders and operators of the projected enterprise.

If a part of the profit derived by designing institutes, building contractors, transport agencies and suppliers from their share in their customer's activity is set aside for bonuses, this should in the long run improve efficiency so considerably as to yield the economy a substantial marginal revenue.

However, before introducing these relationships we have to improve our system of fixing prices. Unquestionably, the basic state price policy must be retained. But just as unquestionably, the parties concerned need a bigger say in fixing prices for specific commodities, products, jobs and services, which would encourage quicker fulfilment of orders and special terms for manufacture, delivery, and the like. The

principles and terms of credit—the object, size of loan, dates and deadlines, interest rates, etc.—would become more varied. These and many of the processes already introduced will give broader play to sound initiative, speeding technical progress, stimulating growth and improving the relations of production.

But are they not a rejection, at least to some extent, of centralized state planning, and will they not revive competition among Soviet enterprises?

2. PLAN OR MARKET?

The contention that broader rights, greater initiative and direct ties between enterprises will reduce the role of centralized planning stems from planning practices of the past decades, when administrative methods predominated.

That was not how Lenin understood the essence of planning, which he defined as the conscious maintenance of proportions. In contrast to capitalist society, where the necessary proportions take shape spontaneously, causing an immense waste of productive forces, socialism can maintain proportions consciously by reason of the public ownership of the means of production and the non-existence of exploiting classes. This is done by planning: drawing up and fulfilling economic plans. GOELRO, the first comprehensive Soviet plan drawn up on Lenin's initiative, contained no detailed directives, no targets for any specified enterprises or branches of production. It was not until later, when economic relationships grew more complicated and the planning principle became more detailed and specific, that the above-mentioned regimentation came into being. It is not the purpose of this article, however, either to pinpoint the objective, necessary and useful in the past practices, or to point out the incidental and needless. The fact remains that, given the present scale of Soviet economy, it is physically impossible to control the work of every enterprise with dozens of detailed centrally endorsed targets without impairing economic growth.

Post-reform planning is just as central, though the specific ways and means of planning have changed.

The state no longer lays down a plan in every detail for each enterprise stipulating the assortment of products, the structure of expenditure and stocks, the targets for production cost and labor productivity, distribution of products in kind, etc., because the job is physically impossible and inept.

Instead, it concentrates on planning those economic preconditions and levers which should as such—automatically if you like—prompt enterprises to produce what society needs on the most attractive terms, of the highest possible quality and at the lowest possible cost.

Specifically, this connotes that instead of laying down the particulars, the state will plan *prices*, whereby it will ensure equivalent exchange between branches; *profit*, whereby it will stimulate the maximum efficiency; *credit*, whereby it will promote effective use of fixed and circulating assets; and *bonuses*, whereby it will accentuate every wage-earner's material stake in, and personal responsibility for, the continuous expansion of economic activity, higher productivity of labor and thrift.

One must have a hidebound, dogmatic view of planning to conceive it purely as an obligatory set of indices, forms and tables, to deny centralized planning through planned prices, profits, finances, credit, bonuses, etc. Wholesale transactions in means of production introduced by the reform, every enterprise obtaining what it needs in materials and tools by merely phoning for them, obviously represents a far higher standard of centralized planning than the system of centralized allocations, with the consumer ordering what he needs, down to the minutest detail, half a year before the next plan period, often before he knows what his production program will be, with the result that some of the items in the allocations later become redundant while those he later needs were not ordered. Just as free trade in the consumer field represents an advance over rationing, so broad initiative at enterprise level in fulfilling the state plan represents an advance over regimentation and stands in the present phase for effective centralized planning.

Furthermore, the key trends in our economic policy are still the objects of direct central planning, including the main trend governing growth, the geographic distribution of new branches of production and new enterprises, the rate of growth in various branches, the main building projects, allocation of the national income for consumption and accumulation, etc.

No valid reason exists, therefore, for the question we posed in our sub-title. The problem raised by the economic reform is not plan *or* market; it is plan *and* market. The socialist market is an effective mechanism verifying the plan, enabling us without delay to correct and gear particular

targets to the needs of the economy, to rectify disproportions and thereby secure that combination of centralism and democracy, which Lenin considered vitally important for the socialist mode of production.

The significance of the new methods of planning extends beyond the economic field. They provide a material basis for far-reaching improvements in the relations of production, with the accent on self-administration at factory level and on the participation of all workers in running economic affairs.

Lenin said the transition from socialism to communism will not begin until every worker is drawn into the business of controlling production. When administrative measures predominated, this opportunity, as we pointed out, was reduced merely to fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan. True, initiative was important then also. Building socialism in the USSR was highlighted by feats that in a short time transformed our formerly backward country despite the capitalist economic blockade into an advanced industrial power with a war potential that crushed fascism, which had pressed into its service the economic resources of nearly all the European capitalist countries. It would be historically wrong, therefore, to belittle the emulation movement and initiative of the pre-war five-year-plan times. Yet at present, with the far superior educational and professional level of the people, administrative methods act as a restraint on the creative participation in economic management of the workers.

That, too, is an area in which the economic reform is tending to remove the obstacles. Now, the enterprise is itself responsible for the organizational and technical measures to improve technology and production techniques; it controls the funds earmarked for development out of its own resources; and it determines the terms and size of the material rewards and penalties, the relationship between its various divisions, the structure of expenditures incurred in production, the size and content of supplies and stocks, and the organization of management. Nothing is to impede the enterprise in selecting and hiring personnel, including the top officials, and settling on its own other vitally important matters.

Before the reform, socialist emulation concerned chiefly quantity indices and deadlines, whereas now, quite legitimately, it extends also to the range of products, assortment, quality, prices and deadlines.

Why should the emulation efforts of two enterprises to overfulfil the plan be legitimate, while those who produce at lower cost

or of better quality are not? Why should the efforts of two designing institutes to draft projects of higher quality in less time, at lower cost, etc., not come under the head of emulation? There is nothing in the Marxist-Leninist classics, in the decisions of the Communist Party or in the 50 years' experience of building socialism that restricts socialist emulation to a few objects fixed some years ago. On the contrary, it is much more natural for every stage of our socialist emulation movement to yield its own forms and methods, its own indices, and its own incentives. In the near future, orders to design or build projects will probably be awarded to the bidder offering the more attractive terms. Similarly, unwanted products will probably line the shelves, while consumers will prefer to pay somewhat more for better, more attractive products.

Shall we close factories that work poorly? The debate that erupted over this issue at the beginning of last year was thought by many to be heretical. They painted lurid pictures of property being auctioned, workers thrown out of their jobs and deprived of a livelihood.

That is a misrepresentation. It is quite reasonable to expect that for some objective reasons a factory cannot produce goods of the required high quality or at a low enough cost. Surely it would be the height of folly to keep this factory going and to incur losses just because it exists. The planned socialist economy could re-orient it on producing other things, or even shut it down and provide jobs for its personnel at other enterprises.

The very idea of shutting down enterprises that work badly sounded like sacrilege to many of our economists. But it is winning support. As we see it, a self-sustaining enterprise should turn down orders if they are prejudicial to its material interests, even though they may have been previously specified. The idea that all bodies causing damage to an enterprise, whether planning or financing, banks or other state organs, should compensate the losses in full is being widely accepted, because, failing this, commodity-money relations would not yield the maximum effect at the minimum production cost, as the Party Program requires.

We hold that, far from impairing centralized guidance, the economic reform has invigorated it, while extending the independence of enterprises and enabling them to vie with other enterprises in fulfilling the

plan, not short of socially ineffective enterprises being closed down.

3. DOES THAT IMPLY COMPETITION?

On no account does this connote competition between socialist enterprises. What is the fundamental difference between emulation and competition?

Competition, as we know, is a struggle between antagonistic individual capitals or monopolies. Its economic basis is private ownership of the means of production, and its mechanism, which predicates its existence, is the absence of plan, spontaneity of economic growth. With every producer (monopoly) operating on his own, motivated solely by the desire for the maximum profit, with the over-all needs of the economy unknown (for they cannot be anticipated), competition is the only possible economic mechanism to promote growth of the productive forces and, therefore, maintain up to a point the socio-economic formation. Competition prompts the producer to press down the cost of production, to improve quality, make the product dependable and attractive, reduce its price and inform the consumer of this. Consequently, competition is, in a way, a good thing. That is self-evident, for it would not have survived as an instrument of economic growth for so many hundreds of years if it were entirely negative.

However, the losses incurred from competition are immeasurably greater than its advantages. The ultimate aim of competition is to ruin one's competitor. Nothing is too low to achieve this aim; the far from complete list includes dumping, hypertrophied and often misleading advertising, falsification of quality, economizing on labor conditions and safety, sweatshop rates, buying up and shelving patents, deliberately restraining technical progress and interdicting the growth of competing branches.

In our time, when the big monopolies have pressed into their direct service the machinery of the capitalist state, the effects of competition are still more pernicious. The tale is amply told by the tragic fate of the Congo and other African countries, the series of armed coups in South and Central America, etc.

The difference between capitalist competition and socialist emulation is as great as the difference between an uncontrolled flood and a well-planned irrigation scheme. Competition lies at the root of all commercial and technical secrets and causes an

immense waste of the productive forces, as well as excessive spending on sales promotion. Socialist emulation, on the other hand, is a comradely socialist relationship between working collectives based on the public ownership of the means of production and on planned economic growth.

The economic reform in the Soviet Union has shown that the greater independence of enterprises does not impair contacts between them, encourage technical or commercial secrets or prompt the wish to "do away" with a "rival" enterprise. On the contrary, it promotes exchanges of experience and helps the fumbler to pull up his socks. Never has socialist emulation worked as effectively as in the recent years since Soviet industry began converting to the new methods of planning, stimulation and management.

4. THE NEW IN EMULATION

The call made at the March and September (1965) Central Committee meetings, the 23rd Party Congress and the Party theses on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution to eliminate subjectivism in planning, is clear proof that the reform does not produce preconditions for competition. The reform envisages a system of profoundly scientific planning. Now, the plan is based increasingly on the truly objective potential of the enterprise. Which is not to say that the norms are the same for all factories. Just as weightlifters are classified by their body weight, so are enterprises classified according to their technical capacity and size. What makes them equal is that their targets are objective in all cases. In other words, the state, which does the planning on behalf of society, puts all enterprises on an equal footing at the starting line. The rest depends on their personnel, their organization, initiative and drive. Obviously, this has nothing in common with competition, where the more powerful monopoly goes out of its way to deprive its competitors of credits and other opportunities to take the lead, and would never think of extending a helping hand to a lagging enterprise.

The reform goes much farther than merely accentuating emulation and affording it greater possibilities. It also introduces certain fundamentally new features.

Before the reform, the emulation movement was centered on fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan. In the circumstances, an enterprise would now and then, deliberately or not, conceal some of its potentialities.

Everybody knew that it was good to

fulfil the plan, and better still to overfulfil it, and everybody knew that additional pledges over and above plan would be taken in the course of the year, which it was also good to fulfil and overfulfil. In the overwhelming majority of cases, it is true, fulfilment and over-fulfilment were secured through potentialities not available at the time of framing the plan: technical innovations and inventions which, naturally, cannot be fitted into plan periods and come to hand continuously.

All the same, this created the temptation to conceal certain potentialities when drawing up the plan. The system of incentives, too, encouraged these practices, for bonuses from profit in excess of plan were much greater than those for the same profit according to plan. Suppose an engineering plant registered a year's profit of 100,000 rubles, as envisaged in the plan, approximately 4,000 rubles out of this sum were allotted for bonuses. If, on the other hand, the plan envisaged 80,000 rubles profit, the other 20,000 being in excess of plan, the bonus allocation would amount to 12,000 rubles.

According to the new terms, enterprises receive a bigger bonus allocation from planned profit than from profit in excess of the plan. Furthermore, the allocation is increased if the plan for the following year envisages a higher rate of growth than, say, in the preceding year.

These and other measures are shifting the center of gravity in the emulation movement from efforts to *overfulfil the plan to taking all potentialities into account in the plan*. This involves a deep-going psychological reorientation of the millions of workers and the many thousands of Party and trade union activists. "Surely we must overfulfil the plan" they say. The answer is: "Put all your potentialities into the plan."

True, inculcating this new trend in the socialist emulation will not be an easy matter. It will take time to root out the habits cultivated in the nearly 40 years of the emulation movement.

* * *

The initial results of the economic reform show that the greater activity of the people, the greater initiative and possibilities of the enterprises, the direct contacts and the accent on technical progress are giving rise to many interesting technical, economic, social and political innovations. The system of intramural economic accountability in the factories is being refashioned;

the relationship between enterprises and ministries, financial and planning agencies and banks is changing slowly but surely; socialist emulation is acquiring new, interesting features; self-administration at factory level is expanding and becoming more effective, and many new elements have also appeared in the work of the local Soviets and in the Party and trade union branches. Yet in all this there is not the slightest hint of anything that could come under the head of competition.

Quite obviously, no grounds can exist for fratricidal competition in a socialist country, where society has no stake in seeing enterprises based on publicly-owned means of production ruined and destroyed. True, the ceaseless technical progress is changing the correlation between various products and industries. But that is another story. Natural materials are gradually being pushed out by artificial, metals by chemical products, mechanical processing by welding and stamping, etc. Automation is coming into its own, with the worker relinquishing all heavy, exhausting, uninteresting and monotonous labor to the machine. In brief, man's mastery over the resources of Nature is growing more complete. Man is freeing himself from the influence of Nature and moving from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom visualized in reference to communist society by Marx and Engels. As this process advances, mastering Nature and improving the relations of production, people will pursue emulation more extensively, progressively turning work into a contest of talents, abilities and skills. And as time goes on, this contest will increasingly be a source of greater productivity, of more material blessings.

When in the grim year of 1919 in hunger-stricken Moscow the railwaymen held their first *subbotnik*, they planted the seeds of communist work. Growing continuously, socialist emulation in the Soviet Union has produced forms more versatile than those initial *subbotniks*, keeping abreast of the rapidly expanding productive forces. But the political and social essence of emulation has not changed. Nor will it ever change. As before, socialist emulation is a school of communism, a school of the communist attitude to work, a school rallying millions of people—workers, peasants and intellectuals—to build communism. For the people it is a form of doing one's bit in a society where the means of production are owned in common by all. And as such it will prevail forever.

Political line and tactics of Brazilian Communists in the new conditions

LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

Last December the Communist Party of Brazil held its Sixth Congress which rounded off the discussion that had been followed with keen attention not only by Party members and sympathizers, but also by other of the country's revolutionary circles and political forces. The Congress discussed the current situation in Brazil, the work of the Party and its Central Committee, analyzed the causes that had made possible the military coup of 1964, and approved a political line corresponding to the new situation.

The Congress was a big success for the Party, a fact acknowledged even by the capitalist press which had predicted failure and a split in the Party. The Congress rejected anti-Marxist concepts concerning the character of the Brazilian revolution, condemned the splitters and upheld the Leninist organizational principles. It demonstrated proletarian internationalism, the spirit of unity and Marxism-Leninism that inspires the Brazilian Communists.

The Congress was also a striking manifestation of the inner-Party democracy in our ranks and of the Party's viability which has not been undermined by the blows of reaction, by the differences in the international Communist movement. The Congress was preceded by long discussion in the course of which our members freely expressed critical views about the Central Committee's "Theses" and its work as the Party's leading body. The Central Committee put out 17 issues of *Tribuna de Debates* a fortnightly supplement to its central paper, on whose pages over a hundred comrades expressed their views. Hundreds of branch meetings were held; these were

followed by district, municipal and state-level conferences.

This free discussion, lasting eight months, proceeded in complex conditions, conditions when the Party and its unity were imperilled from without and in its own ranks. No other political organization in Brazil could have ventured at the present time to hold such a free and widespread critical debate as our Party did, and hope to emerge from it firm and united.

In this article we shall examine the main points discussed at the Congress and the basic aspects of the political line approved by it.

I.

The discussion before the Congress evolved in the final analysis as a struggle between two opposite concepts of revolution: the Marxist-Leninist concept which regards revolution as part of the mass movement that arises whenever the necessary objective and subjective conditions are created, even though these are shaped by the character of the historical period and place, and the non-Marxist, petty-bourgeois concept of the "guerrilla center," which regards revolution as an impulsive act by a courageous minority, able by the example of its armed actions to enlist the masses in revolutionary struggle, irrespective of the concrete situation. It was these two concepts that touched off the debate especially on issues that particularly interested the rank and file, namely, the causes for the defeat in April 1964 and the political and tactical line in the new situation.

The Congress held that the April defeat

was due primarily to the change in the political attitude of the national bourgeoisie and urban petty bourgeoisie, particularly beginning with the second half of 1963. As a result, by March 1964 the political climate in the country was the very reverse of what it had been at the beginning of 1963.

To understand the change that took place in the political attitude of the national bourgeoisie and urban petty bourgeoisie we shall review the economic, social and political processes in the three years preceding the military coup.

The year 1961 was one of big gains for the nationalist movement which had been on the upswing since November 1955 when War Minister, General Teixeira Lott, headed the actions of the democratic forces who ousted the president and, later, the acting president when they refused to hand over the administration to Juscelino Kubitschek, the newly-elected president. The objective antecedents of these gains lay in the economic and political process in the country and in its impact on the socio-political thinking of big sections of the people. These gains reflected, in the final analysis, the clash between Brazil's developing productive forces on the one hand, and U.S. imperialism and the reactionary classes on which it relies to exploit Brazil and preserve its domination over it, on the other.

That same year a new type of people's movement emerged and began to play a leading role in political life. It was the fruit of an alliance of the working class—in the shape of its trade unions—and some sections and groups of the urban petty bourgeoisie, primarily students and civil servants. This movement, which made its first contact with the nascent union movement in the countryside, began to exert influence in the army, airforce and navy who were already fighting, within the framework of their corporate organizations, for their demands.

Despite the fact that the Party was outlawed, Communists openly engaged in political activity, strengthened their contact with various mass movements, reinforced their underground organization with thousands of new members. The Party became an influential political force among the other organizations and trends in the democratic and anti-imperialist movement.

Progressive, anti-imperialist trends appeared in all the bourgeois political parties, forming a nationalist group of 100 deputies and senators in parliament.

These different mass movements and political trends began to establish contact with each other and to take a common stand on important issues. In some cases they created definite organizational forms of unity, taking joint actions of a democratic and anti-imperialist character. Never before in the history of our country had the theses of the Brazilian revolution gained such wide currency.

The upsurge of the working-class, nationalist and peasant movements represented—despite their weakness—a potential threat to imperialism, the reactionary bourgeoisie and latifundists. The reactionaries did everything to halt and reverse this process. The democratic movement was able to gain ground mainly because of the relative political freedom in the country. The reactionaries sought above all to destroy this freedom.

In 1962-63 U.S. imperialism and its local allies set up in Brazil a ramified apparatus of propaganda, corruption and political pressure; they launched a broad anti-Communist, anti-labor and anti-Goulart campaign aimed at intimidating the national bourgeoisie and urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie with the bogey of a communist revolution and a so-called syndicalist republic, and at winning these sections over to their side.

As long as the economy was on the upgrade, the national bourgeoisie was not afraid of the immediate effects of the labor and mass movements and resisted the reactionaries. The bourgeoisie needed popular support to resist the pressure of the imperialists and the latifundists who wanted to halt the process of industrialization or, at any rate, to subordinate it to the interests of U.S. imperialism and its local agents. The national bourgeoisie therefore advocated democratic liberties and supported the Goulart government whose policy furthered its interests.

The petty bourgeoisie, too—as long as the economic situation favored it, and its economic and social positions remained stable—advocated observance of constitutional rights and supported Goulart.

The results of the plebiscite in January 1963 when, despite an intensive propaganda campaign, four-fifths of the electorate favored a return to the presidential form of government as against the parliamentary government which reduced the powers of President Goulart, showed that right up till then the correlation of forces was clearly in favor of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp. The vote for a return to presi-

dential government was an unequivocal vote of confidence in Goulart or, at any rate, a clear expression of agreement with his policy. The national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie likewise voted for the most part for a return to presidential government.

However, starting with 1962 the economic situation began to deteriorate. Growth of industrial production declined, inflation spiralled intensifying the action of factors which led to a further decapitalization of the bourgeoisie and to a sharp drop in the standard of living of the urban middle sections who, unlike the working class, did not have unions to fight against the worsening of their conditions. Industrial growth which was 7.7 per cent in 1961, dropped in the next two years, first to 5.2 per cent, and then to 2.2 per cent. Thus, by 1963 per capita growth in industry had ceased, since annual growth of population averaged 3.2 per cent. Simultaneously the cost of living, already up by 24 per cent, rose to 70 per cent in 1963, and showed every tendency of doubling in the following year.

Stagnation and the danger of a further decline in production, accompanied by galloping inflation, not only aggravated the institutional crisis that had gripped the country since 1961, but inevitably brought nearer the eruption of a social crisis the consequence of which would have been impossible to determine. The working class and the peasantry could take advantage of the existing democratic liberties to defend their living standards and to find a way out of the crisis that would really meet their class interests.

As the years of the chronic industrial depression under the dictatorship subsequently showed, Brazil was rapidly approaching a situation where her problems could be solved effectively only through profound, radical reforms, that is, through revolutionary transformations which would eradicate the causes of the structural crisis and, in the first place, the exploitation of the national economy by the U.S. monopolies and the latifundia system of land ownership. The Communist Party had long since made this proposal, and the labor, nationalist, and peasant movements began to advance this demand as their banner of struggle. The need for a revolutionary solution took deeper root in the minds of the people.

In these circumstances the exploiters needed a "strong" government that would pursue a policy of repressions against the

people and their leaders. During 1963 imperialism and its allies made several attempts to reach a compromise with Goulart with a view to getting the government to reverse its policy and begin the persecution of the democratic and patriotic movements and organizations, and particularly of the Communist Party and the trade unions. These attempts continued up to October-November 1963 when Goulart, realizing that if he complied he would become a mere puppet in the hands of the imperialists and the putschist generals, and anxious to ensure his political future, turned to the masses and proposed an alliance to counter the reactionary conspiracy. He consequently advocated radical reforms, addressed messages to the National Congress proposing the adoption of the necessary legislation, and introduced some administrative measures along these lines.

Thus, the national bourgeoisie was faced with the dilemma: either to take the path of radical solution of the country's problems, which might become a revolutionary path, or capitulate to imperialism and its local allies. Alarmed at the upsurge of the mass movement and the increasing impact of the ideas of socialism, especially on the working class, and losing faith in the Goulart government's ability to control the situation and retain class power in a revolutionary situation, the national bourgeoisie preferred the second way and went over, for the most part, to the putschists, carrying with them the urban petty bourgeoisie who likewise feared the immediate danger of a Communist or "syndicalist" revolution, so luridly described by imperialist propaganda.

Critically examining the objective economic, social and political processes in Brazilian society up to the time of the 1964 military coup, the Sixth Congress made a Marxist analysis of the basic reasons for the defeat of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces. It rejected the thesis of those who, adhering to the petty-bourgeois concept of revolution, denied the existence of objective circumstances for the victory of the reactionaries and gave as the reason the Party's unpreparedness for armed struggle which, they maintained, was the consequence of a rightist political line, of class illusions in relation to the bourgeoisie.

Along with economic, social and political processes which, in the opinion of the Congress, were the objective reasons for the shift in the correlation of forces, it also pointed to the subjective factors which smoothed the way for the reactionaries

and deepened the isolation of the proletariat and the Goulart government, thereby accelerating the victory of the reactionaries. These factors included the political mistakes made since 1961 by the Party, as well as by other patriotic and democratic forces.

Incorrectly assessing the reasons for the victory of the movement in defense of legality in August-September 1961 when the attempt of the then war minister to stage a coup was frustrated, and ascribing this victory exclusively to the strength of the nationalist and democratic movement among the masses and armed forces, the revolutionary circles among the petty bourgeoisie began to adopt a political attitude that did not correspond to the actual strength of this movement and to the level of political consciousness of the masses. They advanced slogans like "an agrarian reform by law or by force" and promised an armed uprising in the very near future. Building their political plans on the influence they thought they enjoyed in the army, and disregarding the trend of sociopolitical development since 1963, these petty-bourgeois revolutionary circles ultimately involved in hasty insurgent actions groups of soldiers and sailors who had put forward justified demands. This made it all the easier for the putschists to win over big sections of the national bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and officers.

At the end of 1963 and beginning of 1964 President Goulart acted from correct, patriotic positions. However, this positive activity was baulked by concepts and aims that were contrary to those of the forces whose support the government tried to win. The attempts by government circles to retain power and the putschist tendencies of those whose interests were impinged upon by the electoral process and, added to this, measures which went beyond the aims of the nationalist and democratic front, created a feeling of dissatisfaction and distrust among the ruling circles and petty bourgeoisie supporting the government, and also among sections of the army which were ready to back the government provided it acted within the framework of constitutional legality.

The Sixth Congress noted that illusions were current in the Party regarding the bourgeoisie and Goulart's military apparatus. We did not take into account that this apparatus was designed to defend existing constitutional legality and it began to fall apart as the political process became more radical and legality became

the object of attack by the government itself. The Congress likewise noted that we ourselves had not been prepared politically and ideologically and had not prepared the masses to repulse the violence of reaction. As a result of a not altogether correct formulation of the Fifth Congress which took as its guidelines the theses of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, we inaccurately assessed the possibilities of the "peaceful path," seeing revolution as an idyllic process, free of clashes and conflicts.

The Sixth Congress, however, arrived at the conclusion that the mistakes made were due largely to a subjectivist interpretation of Brazilian reality, the petty-bourgeoisie's impatience and the putschist trends which still strongly influenced the thinking of our leadership. This led us to count on a rapid and easy victory; it accelerated the course of developments at a time when the conditions did not yet allow for a victory of the working class, of the nationalist and democratic forces.

The profound subjectivism current in the leadership was strongly reflected in the theses for the Sixth Congress, approved by the Central Committee in February 1964. (The Congress did not take place at the time because of the military coup on April 1.) The theses exaggerated the strength of the mass movement, its militancy and organization, the strength of the working-class movement and its influence on the nationalist and democratic front. At the very time when many of the urban middle class were going over to the side of the reaction we were claiming that they were joining the anti-imperialist struggle. We also exaggerated the influence of the anti-imperialist movement in the armed forces.

Due to this incorrect assessment the leadership failed to see the danger signals. Instead of calling on the masses to fight the danger of a rightist coup, it continued to demand the holding of a plebiscite by the "National Congress or—should it procrastinate or refuse to do so—by the executive power." The Executive Commission of the Central Committee said as much in its statement of March 27, 1964, that is, just four days before the coup. The reactionaries were thus given the chance to use the slogan of defense of constitutional legality to mislead sections of the population and involve them in the reactionary coup.

As numerous documents show, starting with the events of August 1961 the Party leadership began to vacillate, to depart from the political line of the Fifth Congress

aimed at mustering strength, and to rush events, demanding that the forces allied with us embark on actions which did not correspond to the correlation of forces at the time.

The Sixth Congress rejected the view that the main mistakes made by the Party were the consequence of a Right deviation and noted that they were, on the contrary, mistakes of a Leftist, putschist and petty-bourgeois character.

II.

The Sixth Congress analyzed the situation under the new political regime and arrived at the conclusion that the dictatorship has not, and cannot, resolve any of the economic, social or political problems that had precipitated the military coup. On the contrary, things have become worse.

To compensate for the shrinking home market, afflicted by the economic and financial *diktat* of the International Monetary Fund, the U.S. imperialists promised new trade outlets through a Latin American common market. But the hopes pinned on this by the national bourgeoisie to expand industrial production have gone up in smoke. Gone, too, are the hopes of channeling previously exported raw materials into local industries with an eye on selling manufactured goods at competitive prices in imperialist markets.

In industry production is stagnant, and declining in some cases. With the population increasing by approximately 12 per cent in the past four years, per capita output has, in effect, gone down by about the same figure. This decline at a time when production in the developed countries was still going up, saw the average annual per capita output, one-tenth that of the United States in 1960, drop to something like one-twentieth in 1967, widening the gap between Brazil and the developed states.

Employment in industry, trade and the services is about the same or somewhat less. Yet annually about 800,000 young people in the cities and some 700,000 in the villages reach employment age, with the result that the number of fully or partly unemployed has increased in many towns, chiefly in the northeast. Inflation is still pressing down the standard of living, adding to the economic and social instability.

In the four years of the regime the wage policy has depressed the real incomes of workers and civil servants, and also those of the military, by nearly 40 per cent, re-

ducing the purchasing power of some 4,000,000 urban families. The insignificant home market has shrunk still more, inhibiting economic development, with widespread political discontent tending to grow into social discontent and a crisis.

The dictatorship, which repealed the 1946 Constitution and legalized the semi-fascist military camarilla, has disappointed the petty bourgeoisie who sided with the putschists in the belief that it was defending the constitutional order. Seeing that the regime has yielded nothing but economic, political and social instability, people who originally welcomed the coup are gripped by fear and insecurity.

The dictatorship has lost most of its followers. Its sole political supporters are the reactionary bourgeoisie and the big landowners, while the armed forces are its sole material support. Discontent is rife even among the bourgeoisie and the landholders. The regime owes its ability to survive solely to the fact that on coming to power it promptly dismantled the working class, student, peasant, patriotic, intellectual and other democratic organizations, and also to its repressive system and judiciary, which make it extremely difficult for the masses to rally.

Congress proceeded from these conclusions in working out its tactics:

a) the dictatorship is impairing the interests of the nation and is an insult to the people's civic dignity. Also, it is damaging the interests of a large section of the national bourgeoisie, and even those of the big landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie. This means that broad social forces have a stake in fighting the dictatorship.

Consequently, the most important political task is to build a front of political and mass action embracing all these forces and depriving the dictatorship of mass support, thus facilitating and expediting its overthrow. All trends and groups, all political and public leaders willing to fight against the dictatorship should be enlisted, regardless of their having collaborated with or supported the regime in the past. How consistent their opposition to the regime may be at present is also irrelevant. The main thing is to enlist all who are prepared to do something, no matter how little, against the dictatorship.

b) The anti-dictator front is an alliance of heterogeneous socio-political forces. Therefore, its member groups cannot have the same ultimate aim or tendency. The only forces interested in totally uprooting the dictatorship and restoring democracy

are the working class, the small urban bourgeoisie and the peasants. Hence, it is up to the Communists to weld into the anti-dictator movement the political trends representing these classes and groups, notably the various trends of the Left movement, the political, public and religious groups and leaders championing peasant interests, those of the small urban bourgeoisie and all people of labor. This integration of the Left may produce a center that will unite all the anti-dictator forces.

c) The people's struggle and the efforts of the united democratic and patriotic forces will ultimately destroy the dictatorship. Active opposition and vigorous mass actions will reduce the regime's socio-political basis and could lead to its defeat by non-violent means. Democratic action can compel the reactionary and defeatist minority to retreat and restore democratic rights. But events may turn out differently: the dictatorship may resort to force, precipitating an armed rising or civil war. It is therefore essential for the Communists to prepare the Party and the masses for this contingency and to secure mutual understanding among the various groups in the anti-dictator front.

It may turn out, too, that the Party and the people will be compelled to resort to other, more elementary and particular forms of armed struggle, or to self-defense. In that case, non-violent legal or underground forms of struggle should supplement armed struggles for limited aims. Therefore, the Party must also be prepared for this eventuality.

d) In the present stage, the Communist Party is working for a revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist government that would break the way for socialism. The overthrow of the present semi-fascist political regime may be followed by a further advance: abolition of the regime of capitalists and landowners subservient to the imperialists.

That is no abstract hypothesis. The objective preconditions are at hand. The crisis cannot be overcome unless the structures in Brazil are substantially altered. In other words, the only way to overcome the crisis is by revolution. The fight against the dictatorship may lead to the disintegration of the social system. For this to happen, the classes with a stake in a revolutionary solution—the workers, the small urban bourgeoisie and the peasants—must constitute a big enough force and play a big enough role in the fight against the dictatorship to continue and deepen the pro-

cess after the regime is overthrown, imparting to it a revolutionary complexion. That is exactly what the Party is working for.

However, the dictatorship can be crushed even if the revolutionary forces lack the strength to deepen the process and replace the regime by a revolutionary government. In that case, a more or less democratic and more or less progressive government may come to power, its specific character depending on the relation of forces. Whether or not Communists will participate in, or support such a government will depend on its nature. But no matter what happens, the Party will fight on for its revolutionary aims.

III.

After the reactionary coup and the political defeat of the patriotic and democratic movement, a "left" opposition appeared in our ranks, consisting of the ideologically weakest Central Committee members gripped by despair, who losing perspective could not see that the defeat was temporary.

The ideological fight against them was long and difficult due to the conditions in which we work—the brutal persecutions, the rising international tension and, especially, the differences in the world Communist movement. When the clash of ideas developed into public rejection of Party standards and disruptive factional activity, our unity was in jeopardy.

The free discussion before the Sixth Congress enabled the Party to understand the errors of the opposition, safeguard its unity and, ultimately, to defeat the opposition. The Central Committee report called on Congress to take a stand against the main opposition theses, pointing out that they were incorrect and urging Congress to condemn them as harming the Party, the working class and the Brazilian revolution. Here are some of the opposition theses.

On the correlation of world forces the opposition holds views diametrically opposite to the conclusions drawn by the world Communist movement at its 1957 and 1960 meetings in Moscow. It approaches international problems from a purely military angle, overlooking the fact that the conflict between imperialism and its allies, on the one hand, and the socialist countries, the international working-class movement and the democratic and liberation movements, on the other, is essentially political. It disregards the nature of the forces from which these two camps draw their support

and does not see therefore that the fight between them hinges on political as well as on military factors. As a result, it advocates armed action, placing the brunt of the struggle against the aggressive U.S. interventionist policy on the Soviet Union. It scorns the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, and stoops to rank anti-Sovietism.

Awed by the U.S. aggressiveness, the opposition is oblivious that our epoch is one of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, a time when the socialist system is asserting itself as the decisive factor in social growth. They are blind to the fact that the balance of world forces is tilting in favor of socialism and doubt that war can be prevented. Yet the peoples are now strong enough for their joint action to prevent a new world war. The opposition fails to see, too, that in essence the very aggressiveness of the U.S. imperialists is—despite temporary successes here and there—a counter-offensive imposed by the general deterioration of their position and the growing difficulties in the imperialist camp.

Another opposition thesis, also rejected by Congress, concerns the present phase of the Brazil revolution. The opposition contends that even at present our revolution is a socialist revolution. This error stems from a failure to analyze the situation. Congress rejected this thesis and pointed out that the present stage of the Brazil revolution is national-democratic. If the Party were to issue the call for an immediate struggle for socialism, it would go against the objective process and isolate itself from the patriotic and democratic movement, the specific form of combating defeatism and fighting for social progress.

The Central Committee stressed that by working for a national-democratic revolution we are working not for capitalist, but for independent democratic economic growth leading to socialism. The fact that in our time any anti-imperialist revolution is part of the socialist world revolution does not make the revolution in Brazil socialist, for the present contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production are insufficiently sharp for us to proclaim the aim of socializing the means of production. That is premature and would repel a large part of the people who would gladly participate in the fight against the two main obstacles to progress—imperialist domination and the agrarian structure based on monopoly landownership.

Congress rejected the contention that a

national bourgeoisie does not exist in Brazil, and hence no grounds to speak of its role in the revolution. To substantiate their contention, the opposition argued that, for the most part, the bourgeoisie which could come under the head of national, participated in the military coup of 1964. Yet the latter fact only reflects the vacillation and duality of the national bourgeoisie. For the workers to participate consciously in the fight against imperialism with all the forces objectively interested in national emancipation, Congress pointed out, they must appreciate this fact, rather than deny the existence of a national bourgeoisie.

The opposition maintains, among other things, that armed struggle is the sole and exclusive form of combating the dictatorship, the only way to win the revolution. This is obviously incorrect. The Congress recalled Lenin's postulate that the proletariat should be conversant with all forms of struggle. He showed that it is even more difficult in politics than in war to anticipate what methods of struggle can be, and should be, used in the varying circumstances. What path the revolution takes, the Congress declared, depends on what course the democratic and revolutionary movement follows in the highly specific conditions of our country. One thing is certain: it will not be a simple copy of the revolutions in Russia, China or Cuba, but a specific Brazilian revolution.

As the vanguard the Marxist-Leninist Party must in every case indicate what form of struggle conforms best with the consciousness, organization and militancy of the masses. These subjective factors are of the utmost importance in rallying the people. However, the vanguard does not invent forms of struggle, much less decree them. The forms depend on the historical conditions. With the mass movement still smarting from the reactionary assault it would be foolhardy to lay down the law as to the forms of the fight against the reactionary regime. For the Communist Party the important thing is to extend its contact with the people in town and country and rally them for joint action against the dictatorship. In any case, it is obvious that in the present situation a call to arms would not endear us with the masses.

Congress took issue with those in Brazil who reduce the work of revolution to forming "guerrilla centers," laying more stress on topography than on studying the correlation of socio-political forces (which, incidentally, is a far more difficult thing).

They think the dedication and courage of handfuls of armed men can secure victory notwithstanding their lack of contact with the masses.

Congress was unanimous in opposing this non-Marxist conception, recalling Lenin's words that a revolution cannot win until it becomes the cause of the millions. Neither can a revolution win in the absence of a revolutionary situation, which is necessarily preceded by a period in which the revolutionary forces muster their strength. That is not "time-serving" or "conservatism," as the opposition contends, but a vigorous, persevering and earnest effort to win the masses for the revolution.

* * *

Congress stressed in its decisions the need for Party unity, for correct guidelines, for increasing the Party's influence among the workers and raising the political and ideological level of its cadres and members. It underscored that it is a Party of the working class, instilling among its members the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Furthermore, Congress took a firm stand against the idea widespread in Latin America denying the Communist Party's leading role in the revolutionary struggle and even that of the working class. It demonstrated the fallacy of the so-called theories that the peasants, the petty urban bourgeoisie and bands of dedicated armed men, rather than the working class, are the vanguard of the revolution and that the Party guiding the revolution should grow out of guerrilla units described as its "embryo."

In opposing these views, Congress upheld Lenin's description of the Party as the general staff of the proletariat. The Party, it pointed out, is not an organization for itself; it lives by, studies and follows the problems of the working class, and takes them to its heart. By delivering itself from

capitalist exploitation, the working class also delivers all the other exploited and oppressed. And in fulfilling its role of the vanguard, the Party shows the proletariat the most suitable ways of waging the difficult fight for emancipation.

"The historic task facing the Communists of Brazil," says the political resolution of our Congress, "is to build a strong and numerous working-class Party. The Party is a political organization and has championed the basic interests of the people throughout its history. It has the most experienced and militant working-class cadres. Many working class gains were won directly or indirectly in struggles fought by the people under the leadership of our Party. That is why we are persecuted and slandered. But we possess the confidence and support of broad sections of the proletariat."

Lastly, Congress reaffirmed the national character of our Party, which has its origins in the historical growth of our society. However, acknowledging the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia, that greatest of all man's gains, our Congress struck a crushing blow at nationalism and raised high the banner of proletarian internationalism. It pointed out that our Party is part of the world Communist and working-class movement, to which it is attached by numerous fraternal bonds.

That is the reason why the Brazil Communists fight for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement and, as noted at the Consultative Meeting in Budapest, will contribute to the fullest extent to the success of the world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow at the end of this year, which they consider a decisive step towards the greater cohesion and unity of all the anti-imperialist forces and yet another victory for socialism and the unconquerable teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Problems of the national-liberation movement in Syria

HALED BAGDASH

The most significant development of our time is the new social content that has been imparted to the national-liberation movement under the influence of Marxism, of the October Revolution and the achievements in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries. This is a reflection of objective reality, that is, of the fact that in the epoch of imperialism, and particularly of the transition from capitalism to socialism, which began with the October Revolution, complete national liberation can come only with social emancipation.

The merging of the national-liberation movement with that for social emancipation, which process we are today witnessing in Syria and in many other countries that have recently freed themselves from colonialism, confirms the Leninist thesis that national liberation is one of the stages on the way to social emancipation. But the new in this process is that the transition from national to social emancipation began before leadership of the movement passed into the hands of the working class. In fact it is still led by non-proletarian elements. Herein lies one of the cardinal features of our time. In other words, life is making it clear to the non-proletarian elements that the way to political independence lies through social emancipation. However, more than recognition and support of this idea are needed if the problem of the transition of the national-liberation movement to the movement for social emancipation is to be solved. And the task of Communists, in our view, is to do more than just support, encourage and applaud this idea. We must try to see the perspective of this process, and the ways of its development,

which can be done only given a class approach to the question.

Addressing the Second Congress of the Comintern in July 1920, Lenin said that "in the present world situation following the imperialist war, reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world. The Communist parties, in civilized and backward countries alike, can pose and solve political problems correctly only if they make this postulate their starting point." (*Coll. Works*, Vol 31, p. 241.)

We, fighters of the national liberation movement—irrespective of our ideologies, whether we are Communists or progressive nationalists — must grasp the fact that the basic contradiction in the world today is the contradiction between the two opposing world systems—the capitalist system, headed by U.S. imperialism, and the socialist system and its principal force, the Soviet Union.

This definition by no means negates the role played by the other countries battling against imperialism; it qualifies that the world revolutionary process consists of three forces: the socialist camp, the world revolutionary movement of the working class, and the national-liberation movement, and that the socialist system is the main force of the world revolutionary process.

In other words, since the basic contradiction in the world is the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, the interests of the national liberation movement require that this contradiction be resolved at all stages of development in favor of socialism. Unless we fully grasp this and apply it at all stages of development of the national-liberation movement, we shall not be able to elaborate a sound, long-term political line.

A comparison of the achievements of the national liberation movement with those of the proletarian revolution confirms the conclusion that the main contradiction of our time is the contradiction between imperialism and the socialist world system, for whereas the proletarian socialist revolution destroys imperialism, extirpates it, the national-liberation movement cannot do this as long as it is confined to the bounds of national liberation.

The national-liberation movement smashed the colonial system of imperialism and brought independence to dozens of countries. This is a big victory, because it put an end to the direct political domination of imperialism in its former colonies, to foreign occupation, and the presence of foreign forces which had dictated their will. However, as the experience of Syria and other countries has shown, political independence alone is not enough to extirpate imperialist influence and imperialist rule, where such independence has been won.

The next stage in the development of these countries is to destroy imperialism's economic positions. This can be done partly even with the national big bourgeoisie in power—as we see in Syria. However, it should be noted that while the latter are in power survivals of feudalism—the main support of imperialism—are not, as a rule, abolished. Even more. There is every likelihood of capitalist monopolies appearing on the scene, eager to merge with the international monopolies; apart from imperilling the independence of the national states, this is fraught also with the danger of imperialist rule being restored in other forms.

To forestall this it is necessary, we think, to uproot the survivals of feudalism, to weaken the positions of the big bourgeoisie which is precisely what is being done in Syria and in other of the independent countries. In other words, the national-liberation movement in our country is entering the stage of social emancipation even while power is in the hands of the revolutionary

non-proletarian elements: officers, intellectuals and other middle-class sections.

Thus we see that the development of the struggle against imperialism inevitably leads to social progress, to profound socio-economic changes designed to weaken the position of those social forces which, because of their class affiliation, tend to compromise and collaborate with imperialism.

These progressive transformations, given other necessary socio-economic and political conditions, could lead to socialism and completely bar the road to the restoration of imperialist rule.

If the progressive national course followed by our country and others is to take root, that is, if the road is to be barred to imperialism once and for all and complete national liberation achieved, a series of fundamental measures will have to be carried out; it will be necessary to:

- expand and consolidate the state sector of the national economy, mainly through industrial development projects which can be realized only with the help of the socialist countries;

- expand trade with the socialist countries and thus ensure economic independence against the anarchy of the capitalist world market where the imperialist monopolies hold sway;

- abolish the survivals of feudalism in the countryside, carry out an agrarian reform and draw the peasants on an ever wider scale into the cooperative movement;

- implement a firm and flexible policy aimed at preventing the emergence of a new big bourgeoisie and gradually restricting the private capitalist sector which still occupies a sizeable place in industry and in trade.

This can be accomplished only through comprehensive, scientifically-based planning.

As regards the political aspect of the question, along with applying restrictive measures against active reactionaries who come mainly from the big landowners and capitalists, the broadest freedoms should be accorded the working class (particularly in the trade unions), the peasant masses, the revolutionary intelligentsia and all progressive parties, groups and movements which believe in socialism, and particularly the Communist parties in the countries where they exist. Also mass organizations should be created on genuinely democratic principles and the machinery of state purged of elements opposed to social progress.

Implementation of these economic and political measures will spell the end of imperialist domination, seal the door against its return and, at the same time, facilitate the advance towards socialism. In other words, if we are to free ourselves completely from imperialism we must take the socialist road.

In the domain of foreign policy this means working for a united front with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

As regards the internal situation we firmly believe, proceeding from Marxism-Leninism, that the advance towards socialism depends on the development of the political situation as a whole, and notably on such an evolution of government as will allow the working class, in alliance with the peasant masses, to play an increasingly bigger role in the life of the country and in shaping its policy.

It is true, of course, that not all the conditions needed to advance along the socialist path and which would bar the road to imperialism, have been secured in Syria and other progressive Arab countries. But it is equally true that the possibilities for this exist, and it is this that the imperialists fear. Hence the Israeli aggression against Syria and other Arab countries. Numerous factors were responsible for this aggression, all motivated by a common aim. The reactionary expansionist tendencies of the Israeli rulers joined with the interests of the oil monopolies which were afraid that they would lose their positions, with the interests of imperialism in general, and U.S. imperialism in particular, which viewed development in Syria, the UAR and in other Arab countries with alarm.

The objective of the Israeli aggression, engineered by U.S. imperialism and supported by Britain and the FRG, was to overthrow the progressive regimes in Cairo and Damascus, strike a blow at Soviet-Arab friendship, destroy the Arab national-liberation movement and restore imperialism's foothold in this area.

However, the aggression did not achieve its main objectives, thanks primarily to the determined stand taken by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Israel was compelled to halt its aggression and was thus prevented from extending its seizure of Arab lands. Today the struggle to end Israel's aggression is combined with the struggle to preserve and consolidate the progressive regimes in Damascus and Cairo. If the Arab revolutionary forces are

to be successful they must draw the necessary lessons from the Middle East events. Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, rightly spoke of this. In the opinion of the Syrian Communist Party, the most important of these lessons are:

first, that it is essential that the progressive forces unite in Syria, in every Arab country and on an all-Arab scale;

second, that it is essential to achieve militant anti-imperialist unity between the progressive Arab countries, to coordinate their efforts on all military and political issues and enlist the other Arab countries in the struggle against imperialism in one or another form, irrespective of the different regimes;

third, that it is essential to promote a united front between the progressive Arab countries and the Arab national-liberation movements on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on the other. Irrespective of what course developments take, it is necessary, in our view, to enhance defensive capacity and fighting efficiency in general, and in the progressive Arab countries in particular. And this is possible, provided there is close cooperation with the Soviet Union; that the worker and peasant masses and other patriots are rallied to the defense of their country; that the efficiency of the army is enhanced and that close ties are established between army and people.

Such are the most important lessons to be drawn from the battle that brought reverses to the Arab national-liberation movement. However, there are other lessons following from the Middle East events, which it is our duty to take into account. As we now see, it would be incorrect to single out only the positive aspects in the development of the countries advancing along the road of social progress. On the one hand, this creates illusions among world public opinion which crumble and lead to disappointment when these countries fail to cope with unexpected difficulties; on the other, it creates a kind of self-delusion in the leading circles of the progressive countries. This is fraught with the danger of isolation from the masses which would make it very difficult to remedy major political shortcomings and combat manifestations of corruption and bureaucracy.

Reluctance to touch on sensitive issues should not be allowed to obscure important political issues which Marxism-Leninism

and the principles of October consider decisive in social development.

From the very outset, that is from the time when the Syrian Communist Party entered into cooperation with the Baath Party at the beginning of 1966, it considered that this limited cooperation in and outside the government should not prevent the Communists from acting as an independent revolutionary force that constructively criticizes the mistakes and shortcomings in the country and advances its proposals for overcoming these.

The present regime in Syria is, undoubtedly, a national and progressive one. That is why we support it. However, this does not mean that the present situation on the whole—both in relation to the people and to the political set-up in general—fully meets the requirements of the objective course of development, the basic economic, social and political tasks facing the country.

The proposals of our Party are just a sincere attempt to remedy this, to create a situation where there will be no crying contradiction between the superstructure and the base at the present stage of Syria's social development. With things being what they are, the Syrian Communists do not consider themselves automatically committed to all the government's measures, even though the Cabinet includes a Communist minister. The leadership of our Party has frankly informed the leadership of the ruling Baath party that "our Party will fully support any measures on which it has been consulted and with which it agrees, and will consequently hold itself responsible to the people for this measure. As regards measures on which it has not been consulted, the Party will support them if they further the country's progressive development; but it will criticize or oppose measures it considers inadequate or inappropriate."

The Central Committee has, accordingly, elaborated the Party's general line, based on the following three points: 1. Continuation of cooperation with the Left Baathists and other progressives in and outside the government. 2. Bold and unreserved defense of the interests of the workers and peasants, and of the masses generally. 3. Vigorous defense of the Party's independent position, of its patriotism and internationalism, particularly in important political matters and fundamental problems. The Party adheres to these three points in all spheres of its activity.

If we are to draw the necessary lessons from the reverses suffered in the Israeli imperialist aggression we should honestly admit that we underestimated the enemy. The illusion regarding U.S. imperialism's attitude to Israel's aggression persisted in certain progressive Arab circles which failed to see the difference between the conditions in which the tripple aggression of 1956 was carried out and the conditions in 1967. I think we should frankly admit that not all the possibilities the Arab peoples possessed in the political, economic and military spheres were fully tapped, that not everything was done to rally the people, to coordinate the actions between the progressive Arab countries, to use the good offices of the friendly socialist countries to help us in all spheres; that these mistakes stem from certain views regarding the different class forces in the country and the attitude towards them.

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The events in the Middle East sparked a profound revolutionary trend among the Arab peoples. They began to ask themselves the question what was the best way to build a durable Arab society, capable of beating back imperialist aggression and of foiling imperialist machinations, of preserving the national and progressive gains of the people.

Progressive circles in Syria and the masses generally, are showing an increasing interest in scientific socialism, for Marxism-Leninism has proved, both in theory and in practice—as the experience of October and the other socialist countries has shown—that it is able to answer this question, to provide the right solution.

Scientific socialism considers it illogical that a political party, or a government should declare that it is for socialism and accompany this with excessive caution towards the working class, the most revolutionary social class which stands four square for socialism.

The working class of Syria is becoming a weighty force; it is growing numerically, politically and ideologically.

To date, however, there is still no inclination to give it wider scope for its tremendous energy in behalf of progressive economic and social transformations. To date, the working class and its vanguard role is still the subject of debate between us, Marxist-Leninists, and progressive nationalists.

Some progressive nationalists maintain

that the vanguard role in the revolution belongs to the peasantry not only at the stage of the struggle for political liberation from imperialism, but also at the stage of the struggle for socialism. Indisputably the peasant masses in Syria, and for that matter in most Arab countries, constitute a tremendous anti-imperialist, anti-feudal force. However, while recognizing this, we should differentiate between the peasantry, for example, between the agricultural laborers and the landless peasants whom Lenin called "semi-proletarians," and the middle peasants and the kulaks. Some of the progressive nationalists, however, often make no such distinction.

It is clear that in conditions of the deepening revolutionary process to speak of the peasantry as a class representing one homogeneous mass is to risk seizure of the leadership of this mass by the kulaks. Possessing the necessary material resources, experience, farm machinery, etc., they are in a position to impose their leadership on the peasant movement, all the more so since the poor peasants, deprived of land, not being in alliance with the working class and consequently left without its leadership, find themselves powerless in the face of the well-to-do, rich sections of the peasantry, which more distinctly than others represent "bourgeois and capitalist relations," as Lenin noted at the Second Congress of the Comintern.

All the talk about the leading and vanguard role of the peasantry in the socialist revolution, in the fight for socialism is not only wrong; it reflects a class attitude which officially declares for socialism but in practice strives towards something that is not socialism. We see this in the way the agrarian reform is being carried out in the Syrian countryside. Because of the absence of working-class leadership in putting through economic and social reforms, because of the absence of practical cooperation between the urban workers and the poor and landless peasants who remain alone, face to face with the kulak and the well-to-do peasant, with the bureaucratic machinery of state—because of all this the main mass of the peasants, that is, the poor and landless peasants, benefit little from the agrarian reform. Not so the kulaks and the well-to-do peasants who, thanks to their experience, and their collusion with officials, and through bribery and other means have been able to exploit the agrarian reform in their interests.

Here it should be noted that the theories

about the "world village" encircling the "world town," and the attempts made through the propaganda media to underplay the role of the working class, even more, to set the peasantry against the urban workers, were instrumental in spreading views of this kind, views which can only lead to a split between the workers and peasants, to distortion of the true way to socialism and, ultimately, to a compromise with reaction, with imperialism. The Marxist-Leninist thesis about the alliance of the working class with the peasant masses and the rest of the working people under the leadership of the working class has not lost its validity, and experience is infusing it with new vigor.

As a result of the events in the Middle East, these Leninist tenets have met with a broad response among the people of Syria and also, we are sure, among the people of a number of other countries. The desire to create a broad progressive patriotic front uniting all progressive forces, and first of all the Communist Party, is gaining ground in many countries.

We are deeply convinced that the realization of progressive socio-economic changes by the non-proletarian sections of society—no matter how profound these changes may be—far from negating the role of the working class underscores the importance of this role, as we see is the case today in Syria. Yet we are equally convinced that with the deepening of the revolution it is absolutely essential to strengthen the communist Party, the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class. And the national battles against imperialism, the progressive measures directed against feudalism and capitalism are reinforcing the conviction of every Communist in Syria that the Party is coming to play an increasingly more important role. In this respect we are guided by what Lenin said in 1920: "The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in the colonies and backward countries, but should not merge with it and should under all circumstances uphold the independence of the proletarian movement, even if it is in its most embryonic form." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 150) What is the situation today when the Communist parties are no longer in embryo and have become a weighty force in many of the countries that have achieved freedom?

The problems of the next stage of the struggle against imperialism are many and complex. But Marxism-Leninism gives us

the key to solving them. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that two basic conditions are essential if imperialism is to be destroyed: the first is reliance on the masses, with the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, playing the vanguard role; the second is a united front with the socialist countries, and particularly with the Soviet Union.

Some progressive nationalists reproach us Syrian Communists for championing friendship with the Soviet Union, the land of the October revolution. Yes, we are doing this and not only because we are internationalists, but also because we are patriots. He who does not love his native land cannot be a Communist. The supreme expression of patriotism is to fight for the complete liberation of one's country from imperialism and for a socialist society. But this cannot be done without a united front with the world's biggest socialist power—the Soviet Union. After the October revolution triumphed Lenin said: "... one cannot at present confine oneself to a bare recognition or proclamation of the need for closer union between the working people of the various nations; a policy must be pursued that will achieve the closest alliance, with Soviet Russia, of all the national and colonial liberation movements. The

form of this alliance should be determined by the degree of development of the Communist movement in the proletariat of each country, or of the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement of the workers and peasants in backward countries or among backward nationalities." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 146.)

This was the basic factor in the international situation after October 1917. Any attempt on the part of Communists, or revolutionaries in general, to regard independence in carrying out their political line as signifying the negation of this principle, would be more than an expression of national chauvinism; it would be a grave error, a political attitude lacking any future.

Life compels the peoples to pass through the schooling of proletarian internationalism. In our time true internationalism means support for the people of Vietnam, solidarity with their valiant and just struggle against the U.S. aggressors. The complex problems of the revolutionary struggle are so closely intertwined today that no crucial issues can any longer be settled on a narrow national basis. They can be resolved only on a worldwide international basis.

Problems of scientific and technical revolution and the working class

JOHN BOYD

Many books and articles are being written these days on all the wonders the scientific and technological revolution can or will bring. But what the average worker wants to know is: what will it mean for him and his family—today, tomorrow? What will it mean for his sons and daughters when they finish school 5, 10 or 15 years from now?

While the effects of the scientific and technological revolution are worldwide, it will be the purpose of this article to examine some of the problems, arising from and relating to that revolution in the capitalist world, largely in the United States and Canada, namely: what effect is the scientific and technological revolution likely to have on the working class and how can the

working class, in turn, use the scientific and technological revolution to advance its struggle for emancipation?

SOME FIRST EFFECTS OF AUTOMATION

It should be noted that automation in production is, in a sense, only in its infancy. There are as yet relatively few fully automated plants or enterprises. But there has been a fairly extensive introduction of automation for varied work processes and the use of computers at different levels in the administrative and control departments of industries, in communication, transportation, planning, etc. Indeed, computers are being introduced for these purposes and for managing, controlling and planning production as rapidly as they can be built. There is hardly a major corporation in the United States and Canada today that is not making use of one or more computers. Five years ago there were less than 10,000 computers in use in the United States; today there are more than 35,000. In Canada at the end of 1965 there were some 900 computers in use; by 1970 it is estimated there will be over 3,000.

All this has been going on simultaneously with a steady increase in mechanization generally. In fact, the growth in labor productivity recorded in a number of capitalist countries is only partly due to automation and the use of computers; most of it is the result of increased mechanization and rationalization, including ordinary speed-up.

What have been the effects of this increased mechanization and the beginnings of automation on the workers? First, there has already been a noticeable change in the composition of the working class, mainly an increase in the number of skilled workers as compared to non-skilled and an increase in the number of so-called white-collar workers as compared with blue-collar workers. Second, there has been a considerable displacement of workers, and substantial numbers have lost their jobs. In some cases the displaced workers have been reallocated to other jobs within the same firm, in others they have been able to find jobs in the same industry or in the same trade. But in most cases it has meant finding an entirely different kind of job in an entirely new trade, or ending up without work. Some of the displaced workers have found employment in the expanded clerical and service trades, but these have not been enough to absorb all the dis-

placed. Besides, the clerical and service trades are themselves being rapidly automated (banks, laundries, etc.).

Scientists and economists are divided in their views on the future effect of automation on employment. At this moment, however, the immediate result in all the capitalist countries is to throw large numbers of workers out of jobs, especially those in the older age groups.

Automation will have a particularly profound effect on the young people. Unemployment among young people in recent years has been bad enough; automation is aggravating it even more. One reason is that in most cases (at least in the basic, organized industries) it is the workers with some seniority who are reallocated or retrained. Another is the attitude to education in the capitalist countries, as a result of which far too few youths and girls are getting the kind of education needed for the age of automation.

One view of the prospects that await the youth of tomorrow is given by a Canadian economist, Dr. Stuart Jamieson: "At the present and anticipated rate of technological change and displacement, young workers now entering the labor market for the first time will, on the average, have to change their occupations—not just their jobs, but occupations, that require a more or less lengthy period of training—three times in the course of their working lifetime."

Still another consequence of the partial introduction of automation has been the change in the status of the so-called white-collar worker. There is taking place a kind of levelling off between engineers, technicians, professionals and office workers on the one hand and industrial workers on the other. The very growth in their numbers is changing their relationship to the employers. For example, the relationship of one or two engineers in one firm to their employer is quite different from that of 200 or 300 engineers working for one firm. More and more of them consider themselves the object of exploitation by the big monopolies. More and more of them are finding their salaries inadequate to meet the steadily rising cost of living. There is developing among them a greater class-consciousness, bringing with it more militancy, a greater readiness to organize and struggle. This explains in part at least the big increase in strikes in the United States and Canada by teachers, TV and radio artists, engineers and technicians, civil service workers, bank clerks, etc.

HOW LABOR IS FIGHTING BACK

The first shoots of the scientific and technological revolution and the associated problems are a challenge to the working class, and particularly to the trade unions, in the advanced capitalist countries: how to cope with these effects of automation and technological development?

The natural initial reaction of most trade unions has been to handle them in the traditional way: at the bargaining table between the union and the employers. But many of the new problems are such as have never before been put on the bargaining table: the right of the worker to his job, especially if he has already put in many years of service to the firm; the problem of retraining or re-educating the worker for a new job and who should pay for it; severance compensation where a worker loses his job and cannot be reallocated, as well as increased pressures for the old demand of a shorter work week without any reduction in the total weekly wage (all the more justified since the new technology means much more profits).

Employers have from the outset resisted, and are still resisting, having to deal with these problems. A favorite ruse is to fall back on so-called "management rights." By this is meant that management retains unlimited powers over its employees, except as specifically proscribed by any collective agreement with the union. Thus the employers claim that they alone have the say as to how they use the workers; they alone decide what new equipment shall be introduced and how it shall be used. The employers add that they can be responsible only for those workers they employ; what happens to those no longer needed by them is not their concern.

The labor movement has rightly challenged this view. An interesting development in this respect took place in Canada a few years ago which has had its repercussions to the present day. In the fall of 1964, the Canadian National Railways (a nationalized, government-operated firm) decided that as a result of new technological improvements its trains would stop at fewer division points for check-up, refueling, change of crews, etc. As a start, two railway towns were eliminated as stop-over points, which meant that many of the **workers in these railway towns** would lose their jobs and the hundreds of people in each of the two communities who depended on the railway industry would be doomed to lose everything and leave.

When the railway workers protested and threatened to strike the government appointed Mr. Justice Samuel Freedman as a one-man commission to investigate the problem. The judge's recommendations shook the "establishment." Mr. Justice Freedman did not go along with the view that "management rights" must be upheld regardless of the consequences. "The old concept of labor as a commodity," he said, "will not suffice; it is at once wrong and dangerous. Hence there is a responsibility upon the entrepreneur who introduces technological change to see that it is not effected at the expense of his working force. That is the human aspect of the technological change, and it must not be ignored." Justice Freedman's main recommendation was that before employers undertake to institute any changes in technology which have an adverse effect on workers they should first notify the workers and discuss the problem with them through their unions. Similarly, if these changes affect other people in a community they must first discuss them with the official representatives of that community.

This report was greeted with howls of protest and disagreement from the spokesmen of the big monopolies and from the big business press. Which explains, of course, why even at this late date the government has failed to even endorse the report, much less apply some of its recommendations. Yet precisely because of its far-sighted proposals it is a vital social document, one that can be of interest to labor not only in Canada but in any capitalist country.

The pretext of "management rights" has always been used by the capitalists to justify their exploitation of workers and their restriction of workers' rights. Now with the advent of automation the monopolies are trotting it out again, in an effort to deny workers any say in how automation shall be applied. But times have changed. The workers are stronger and wiser. They are demanding a voice in how automation shall be implemented and that the unlimited powers the monopolists now enjoy be curbed.

The issues over problems brought on by automation are invariably too complex and far-reaching in their effects for any one group of workers to decide.

Let us examine, for example, what has been happening in the steel industry in the United States. Until about a decade ago steel in the United States, like everywhere else, was smelted via the open hearth furn-

ace, a process which took 8-10 hours for a smelt of 200 tons. Then came the basic oxygen furnace, which can produce 300-400 tons of steel in less than one hour. Soon after, came the continuous steel casting process, which eliminated several processes in steel production. Now, to these relatively new processes the industry is beginning to add computers and automatic control, gradually setting the stage for eventually transforming all steel production into one continuous, automated process. What should the steel workers do about it? Here again the solution, like the problem itself, is a very broad and long-range one. For a start, Communists and other progressive forces in the steel union are suggesting that the industry go on a 30-hour week with no reduction in total pay. But this, too, is only a partial measure.

NEW ISSUES, NEW CONDITIONS OF STRUGGLE

Until now one of the biggest weaknesses in the workers struggle on this front has been the tendency of the trade unions to look on their task solely as that of protecting their members' jobs. This is primary, of course, but it can at best be only a defensive action that gets only at the immediate interests of the few workers in the enterprise involved. It does not get at the more basic questions: Who is to benefit from the introduction of automation in a certain plant or industry? What about its effects on the other sections of the community? More and more, the workers are finding out that the problems accompanying automation cannot be resolved on the basis of the one factory or even the one industry in which they work.

This has engendered a discussion among labor leaders and economists as to the likely effects of the scientific and technological revolution on the trade union movement—its structure, its methods of work. Some are even posing the question whether trade unions as such will not become obsolete. That the character and work of the trade unions will have to change is indisputable, but it would be sheer nonsense to think that the unions have no future. As long as men and women work for a living they will need unions to act and uphold their rights.

Some say that with the changes flowing from automation collective bargaining will become obsolete. This view, too, is open to challenge. As long as there are employers and workers there will always be the need

for a confrontation to work out some agreement as to wages and working conditions. The forms of bargaining and the issues negotiated will no doubt undergo changes—indeed they are already changing—but it will still be collective bargaining.

What are some of the new issues that are likely to be negotiated? (Some, in fact, are already being negotiated.) Perhaps the most important will be the right of the worker to a job. Another will be the right to bargain not only for the people in jobs but also for those made redundant by technological change. This includes the issue of retraining and re-education of workers, severance pay and compensation for loss of a job. In somewhat the same category and prompted by the same motives is the idea mooted in a number of American and Canadian unions of a "guaranteed annual wage." With the greater physical, mental and nervous strain imposed by the increased mechanization and automation there is also developing a demand not only for a shorter work week but for a shorter work year: more paid vacations and longer vacations. There will no doubt be demands for special leaves to study in order to improve the worker's educational standing and qualifications (as is done in the socialist countries). There will be a demand for greater health protection and more organized recreation and sports facilities at the employer's expense.

GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN LABOR DISPUTES

With the development of state-monopoly capitalism a new phenomenon has been the increasing role of governments in employer-worker relations. This role is likely to increase. As the monopolies introduce more automation they encounter problems that cannot be solved without the intervention of the governments, for example, the re-allocation and retraining of displaced workers. The more firmly the workers have stood up to the employers on these issues, the more the latter have called on the governments to intervene.

It is this increasing need for the governments to step in that has prompted some of the predictions that collective bargaining, and perhaps even the unions themselves, will eventually become obsolete, in the belief that henceforth the government will "solve" these problems. But this view overlooks the fact that the government is not a "neutral" body standing above the classes, a body the workers can depend on

to look after their interests. On all the crucial issues a capitalist government invariably sides with the employers. More and more legislation is being introduced restricting workers' rights or doing away with them altogether. Thus, rather than leave the problems brought on by automation for the government to resolve, the workers have to intensify their efforts to make certain that they have a say in their solution.

The workers will also have to take into account the likelihood that, in order to be able to move ahead more rapidly with automation, the capitalists and their governments may be quite prepared to make concessions—just as in the past they were compelled after many bitter struggles to agree to such measures as unemployment insurance, medical care and hospitalization schemes, pensions and various fringe benefits — with the hope of making these up through increased exploitation later. They may, for example, agree to some form of a "guaranteed annual wage" in some industries and seek to turn it to their advantage by tying down a relatively few workers in an automated plant to a long-term contract at a set annual wage (perhaps even considerably higher than what they had been getting) and then reap the benefits from the tremendously increased profits deriving from the automation. Confronted with such propositions the workers will have to take a long-range and overall view of their interests.

Some employers will, no doubt, resort to "gimmicks" to get around some of their difficulties. In Canada, for example, at the end of 1966, a large enterprise, the Dominion Tar and Chemical Corporation, signed an agreement with 22 trade unions, in which the latter gave the corporation a free hand to introduce any new technological process. In return the corporation set up a \$5 million automation insurance fund which will cover costs of retraining displaced workers and provide severance pay or early retirement pensions for workers losing their jobs. Here is a clear case of monopolies being willing to pay a certain lesser amount now rather than have to meet greater demands from the workers and pay much more later. Once again the workers are given a slice while the monopolies take the remainder of the loaf.

BROADER STRUGGLE REQUIRED

To prepare for the new, complex problems with which it will be confronted in

the age of the scientific and technological revolution, the trade union movement will have to consider a number of changes both in its structure and its methods of operation. Among these are:

(1) A more streamlined organization, eliminating most of the duplication and overlapping that exists today. If ever there was a need for "one industry, one union" that time will be in the months and years immediately ahead. Automation eliminates or drastically reduces many skills and crafts; this will make many of the present craft unions obsolete or ineffective.

(2) Bargaining on an industry-wide basis rather than with one plant or corporation. There has been a strong trend toward this in the more basic industries in the United States.

(3) An overall, community-wide approach to the problems created by automation. This means going beyond the interests of the members of one particular union.

The latter also implies the need for the working class to place greater emphasis on politics. With the increasing intervention of governments in industry the workers will be faced with the question: Whose interests will it protect? True, a capitalist government will always seek to act in the interests of the monopolies, but the battle to get it to act on behalf of the working people will be part of the battle for democracy and for social change.

The advance of the scientific and technological revolution will sharpen and deepen the class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries. The Communists in these countries were among the first to point out to the workers that the main obstacle in the efforts of scientists to make cybernetics and automation serve society is monopoly capital itself, and that therefore it is not automation that has to be curbed but the monopolies. The workers are beginning to see the truth of this, for the question, "Who benefits from automation?" leads at once to the question, "Who is to regulate and control the new automated economy?"

As the struggle develops more and more workers begin to realize that they will have to go beyond the trade unions and the collective bargaining level, that they will have to challenge the monopolies and their governments on the political level. And they are beginning to realize also that they cannot do the job alone; that it will have to be done together with other sections of the population. This is why today the Communists in the United States, Canada, Bri-

tain and a number of other advanced capitalist countries are stressing the need for unity of all Left forces as the prerequisite for this challenge.

Thus the struggle around the problems posed by the scientific and technological revolution is bound up with the fight for democratic control of the fruits of that revolution, for democratic planning on behalf of the people instead of the monopolies, for a democratic alternative to the rule of the present governments of monopoly capitalism. Such a challenge to monopoly and its economic and state power would open the way to the eventual defeat of the monopolies and their system and for the advance to socialism.

SOME OTHER DIFFICULTIES CAPITALISM FACES

The resistance of the working class to being made the victims instead of the beneficiaries of automation is not the only difficulty capitalism faces in seeking to make the scientific and technological revolution serve its aims. There are others. For example, there is the fact that the knowledge of and benefits from the processes of automation are difficult to confine to one firm or one monopoly group. Cybernetics and automation presuppose a considerable amount of basic research; time and money will be spent that do not always bring direct or immediate results in the form of profits, a certain amount of overlapping in discoveries and experience is inevitable.

It is not surprising, of course, that under state monopoly capitalism, the monopolies seek the aid of the state to overcome the difficulties. In the United States, for example, the government finances much of the research and operations of the big corporations working on space exploration and military science and techniques.

In both Canada and the United States, governments are trying to cope with such problems as the re-allocation of workers, re-training for other jobs, the education of special personnel for operating computers, the establishment of new service industries and trades to help absorb some of the displaced workers. All this, of course, is at the taxpayers' expense—which means largely at the expense of the working class. Even so, these efforts have not met with too much success. For one thing, the governments either do not have, or are not willing to allocate, the funds for these purposes. Nor is it always easy to coordinate government-run efforts and projects with

the plans and needs of private industry.

In the United States, the government spends enormous sums on scientific and technological research. But most of it is tied in with the operations of the big corporations working on space exploration and the development of military weapons and techniques. Even in Britain, half of the money spent on research and development goes for military purposes; and one-quarter of all Britain's scientists are engaged in military work.

Many of the problems facing capitalism in introducing automation, particularly in the United States, are hidden—and temporarily postponed—by the current war in Vietnam. A large number of computers and automated processes are, of course, being steadily applied in the development of space exploration and in military production. But plans for the automation of entire plants and industries are, with but a few exceptions, still largely on the drawing boards. Most of the corporations are busy amassing super-profits from the very profitable business, through government contracts, of feeding the immense U.S. war machine in Vietnam and elsewhere. At the same time most of them are also in a quandary as to how to overcome some of the serious problems of applying all their know-how to a peacetime economy. Indeed, so convenient (profit-wise) is the present set-up for the large group of monopolies that make up the huge space-military complex that together with the Pentagon they constitute the main influence for continuing and escalating the present war in Vietnam—even in the face of the universal condemnation of that war by most of mankind and the widespread opposition to it in the United States itself.

AGGRAVATING THE CRISIS OF THE SYSTEM ITSELF

Even more serious than the current problems arising for the monopolies in introducing automation is that the scientific and technological revolution is deepening the crisis of the capitalist system as such. For decades capitalism has been actually hampering or retarding the full development of the productive forces. Now the age of the scientific and technological revolution is aggravating this constrictive process. As is known, scientists in the capitalist world are in a position to move further and faster in applying their know-how to production and for the benefit of society. But they are prevented from doing so by the inability of

capitalism to cope with many of the social problems brought about by automation (of which the demands of the working class are perhaps the most important item).

Back in 1964 the authors of the memorandum titled, "The Triple Revolution," put forward a number of proposals which in their opinion would solve some of the problems of automation. In the letter they sent to U.S. President Johnson along with their memorandum at that time they warned: "If policies such as those suggested in the Triple Revolution are not adopted we believe that the nation will be thrown into unprecedented economic and social disorder." How right they were! Some harbingers of that disorder are already evident. There is no doubt we shall see many more signs of it in the period ahead.

A few years ago a top official of the Canadian division of the American-owned Chrysler-Dodge automobile corporation said that capitalist industry "must automate or die." To which an electrical manufacturer added: "if you don't automate, your competitor will." And that is capitalism's dilemma: it has to automate, yet the more it automates the more economic and social problems it creates.

Does this mean that the further advance of the scientific and technological revolution will of itself lead to changes in the capitalist system and thus bring the world to socialism? There are some who think it will. The authors of the above-mentioned Triple Revolution, for example, see cybernetics and automation providing the basis for a different, better society — simply through "planning by public bodies for the general welfare." But almost any worker would likely tell them: Yes, it's a "good thing" as worked out on paper—but what do you do when the monopolies refuse to do the "good thing"?

Automation and further technological advances can, without question, bring tremendous benefits to the people. But, as with everything else the people have gained under capitalism, these benefits will not be handed to them by the monopolists on a silver platter; they will have to be fought for. And in this struggle the role of the working class will be decisive.

The development of the scientific and technological revolution in the socialist world is likely to have an important bearing on this struggle. The socialist countries until now have had to build up their industries in difficult circumstances. In this process they have very ably demonstrated

the superiority of the socialist system. But it will now be in its ability to implement the scientific and technological revolution that socialism will truly be able to prove itself.

The socialist countries are now giving increasing attention to the development of science and technology and should before long catch up and then shoot far out ahead of the capitalist world. They should be able to do so because the socialist system does not have the built-in barriers to automated production that capitalism has.

Today the technology of production in the industrially more advanced countries is in the process of transition from extensive to intensive growth, or as the Czech philosopher Radovan Richta put it in an interesting article in the January 1967 issue of this magazine, "economic development now depends to a greater extent on the general state of science and technological progress, than on the growth in numbers of the machines and men directly engaged in production." To this one could add the view expressed by John Gollan, General Secretary of the British Communist Party, in his brochure "The Case for Socialism in the Sixties": "Automation in the interests of the people requires more than the education of experts. It requires an educated people." On all these counts the socialist countries are ahead of the capitalist world: the state of, and attitude to, science and technology; the production of experts (scientist-technicians and scientist-theoreticians); the education of the people as a whole.

As the socialist countries take full advantage of and give full and free rein to the development of automation, electronics, cybernetics, and the use of nuclear energy, they will have a tenfold greater impact on the thinking of the working class in the capitalist countries than they have had in the past few decades. The socialist world will prove in deeds the truth of Prof. J. D. Bernal's claim that "the scientific and computer age is necessarily a socialist one."

THE STRUGGLE FOR MONOPOLY IN AUTOMATION

Characteristically, instead of using the scientific and technological revolution to advance the progress of mankind, imperialism, and specifically U.S. imperialism, is seeking to make it a weapon in its efforts to dominate the world. In this it is using the fact that it is far ahead of all the other

capitalist countries in the development of cybernetics. It is estimated that there are today some 50,000 computers in the capitalist world; of these 35,000 are in the United States, 3,500 in Britain and the remainder is divided between Canada, continental Europe and Japan. Simultaneously, the United States has been using every possible means to attract scientists from all parts of the world to its schools, scientific institutions and research laboratories—the so-called “brain drain.”

This development has alarmed the monopolists of Europe, particularly of Britain, France and West Germany. By cornering the computer market as it has done, the United States has achieved a monopoly or near-monopoly in this field and thus is putting itself in a position where it can influence future economic and scientific developments to its advantage. It also gives its branch plants in Canada and European countries an advantage in competition with the monopolies of these countries. The British monopolies have begun to fight back. The country's three big computer-producing firms recently merged into one giant corporation with the hope of being able to compete more effectively and thus help to stem the United States takeover of the computer market in Europe. But the battle is likely to be a difficult one. The Americans are so far ahead in computer-production that it will take Herculean efforts, and perhaps special government

measures, to close the gap. Meanwhile the workers in these countries have an added task: to make certain that automation does not also become one of the means whereby U.S. imperialism undermines their national independence.

* * *

To sum up:

Whatever its other consequences may be, the scientific and technological revolution in the advanced capitalist countries will make its most immediate and most direct impact on the working class. How the working class reacts to this impact will, in turn, have a bearing on how that revolution develops. In this struggle the scientific and economic progress of the socialist world and the continuing battles of the peoples of the developing countries will also play an important part.

More than ever before, the battles around the issues brought forth by cybernetics and automation will lay bare before ever wider sections of workers the true nature and character of state monopoly capitalism: that it is unable to assure all the people security and a decent standard of living; that it has become the barrier to the use of science for the further progress of the whole of mankind. More and more these battles will become part of a broad people's resistance to the power of the monopolies and the eventual challenge to the system of capitalism itself.

U.S. aggression pilloried

Sentiment in support of Vietnam is sweeping the world. World opinion is outraged by the American war in Indochina. Opposition to it has become more massive, articulate and effective.

The revolutionary forces have ranged themselves squarely on the side of the people of Vietnam. At their recent Consultative Meeting in Budapest the Communist and Workers' parties stressed that all anti-imperialist forces should stand together and redouble the effort to defeat the U.S. aggression. Their message of solidarity, hailed by all peace-loving people, has

encouraged the Vietnamese in their just struggle.

True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the socialist countries are giving Vietnam material, political and moral support.

Commenting on this aid, *Nhan Dan*, organ of the Vietnam Party of Working People, wrote: “The international solidarity and aid of the Soviet Union have helped considerably to strengthen the defenses of the DRV and its capability to repel the armed provocations of the imperialists. The fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and the

other socialist countries adds to our faith in final victory."

The statement on the threat to peace from the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, issued by the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Treaty members at its recent meeting in Sofia, was a warning to the interventionists and an expression of international solidarity. It said:

"In view of the further escalation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the Warsaw Treaty countries emphasize the need for united action by the socialist countries and all progressive and peace-loving forces in support of the just struggle of the people of Vietnam.

"They reaffirm their determination to continue extending their support and all essential aid, including economic, arms and specialists, to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam . . . They will continue to extend this aid as long as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the people of Vietnam need it to repel the imperialist onslaught."

The international working class occupies a prominent place in the anti-imperialist front and in the fight against the U.S. aggression. The World Federation of Trade Unions declared in an appeal on behalf of 139 million workers that "the Vietnamese cause is our cause, the cause of all workers."

A recent session of the WFTU General Council discussed ways and means of stepping up the worldwide solidarity campaign. Responding to its appeal, May Day marches in all continents were impressive demonstrations of solidarity.

The World Peace Council, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Organization of Journalists, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and many other international bodies, are taking part in the campaign. The Executive of the Youth Federation adopted a program for world action to speed victory in Vietnam. A month of youth manifestations was held from March 24 to April 24, a Train for Vietnam campaign was launched, an international youth solidarity meeting was held in Paris, and preparations are under way for the 9th World Festival of Youth and Students, of which aid to Vietnam will be the watchword.

A world conference on Vietnam gathered in Stockholm. At the end of March the consultative meeting attended by international and national organizations working for an

end to the U.S. aggression issued a resolution calling for an unconditional stop to the U.S. bombing and other acts of war against the DRV, the withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam, and a solution based on the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indochina.

In West Berlin a solidarity conference of European, Latin American and U.S. student and youth organizations, held under the auspices of the Socialist Union of German Students, issued a call to obstruct shipment of war supplies to South Vietnam and conduct anti-war propaganda among U.S. servicemen. It called for the dissolution of the aggressive Nato bloc and condemned the FRG government for supporting the American war in Vietnam.

Bertrand Russell initiated the international war crimes tribunal to expose the crimes against humanity perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam.

The solidarity movement is gaining momentum in the capitalist countries, seeking to compel the governments to deny the U.S. aggression all support. Action committees have been set up throughout France on the initiative of the Communist Party. The Ship for Vietnam campaign, launched under the auspices of 23 organizations (including the Communist Party, United Socialist Party, General Confederation of Labor and Union of French Women) has collected five million francs in the first three months; supplies purchased with this money were shipped to Vietnam by a Soviet vessel in February. In a talk with a visiting French Communist Party delegation, Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, expressed his deep appreciation of this aid.

Italian workers are also most active against the U.S. aggression. In Britain, too, most youth and student organizations have come out against the dirty war.

Democratic organizations in Latin America are seeking to coordinate the solidarity actions of all who oppose imperialism and cherish freedom and peace. The Communist Party of Argentina has described the stand of the Vietnamese patriots as a people's war and a significant contribution to the worldwide struggle for peace, democracy and national independence. At the suggestion of a Communist Senator, the Senate in Chile sent telegrams to the U.S. President and U Thant, U.N. Secretary-General, demanding an immediate stop to the bombing of the DRV and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam. And Venezuela's Federation of Merchant

Seamen declared that it would prevent any ship flying the Venezuelan flag from carrying war supplies for the U.S. aggressor.

Democratic sentiment in Asia and Africa is also becoming more articulate. The anti-monopoly conference of oil-workers of the Mediterranean and Black Sea seaboard and the Middle East, convened in Algiers at the beginning of April, declared its support for Vietnam in a special message, and the Association of Arab Jurists urged Arab progressives to redouble their efforts in support of the Vietnamese.

The danger to peace created by the U.S. aggression is felt most acutely in countries near embattled Indochina. It was only natural, therefore, that the first of the documents adopted by the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of India was a message to the people of Vietnam.

"The people of India know," it says, "that the people of Vietnam are fighting our battle, safeguarding our freedom and sovereignty no less than their own. Congress solemnly declares that it will work with all Indians who cherish peace and national independence in promoting the movement of solidarity with the Vietnamese people."

A statement of the All-India Peace Council and the All-Indian Afro-Asian Association issued in January evinced a deep concern for peace. The two organizations demanded that the U.S. government cease forthwith the bombing of the DRV and end the war.

In Pakistan, a public meeting in Karachi, held under the auspices of the National People's Party and various student, trade-union and other organizations expressed unqualified support for the freedom fighters in Vietnam. Another meeting in Dacca denounced the injustice of the aggressive U.S. war.

Japanese progressives rank high on the list for their dedicated opposition to the American aggression. A call issued by the Japanese Communist Party in March declared that the U.S. imperialists are using

Japan as a base, and pointed out that all political and economic demands of the working class are therefore tied up with the fight against the U.S. aggression and the involvement of the Japanese monopolies in the war. The peace forces demand a stop to the manufacture and shipment of war supplies to Vietnam and call for a collection of funds for the Vietnam patriots.

In the United States, too, the protest movement is growing. Nothing in the twenty odd years since the Second World War has aroused Americans as strongly as their government's reckless military gamble in Southeast Asia. Though public opinion "experts" maintain that only a minority of the country favor ending the war and withdrawing U.S. troops from Vietnam, the massive protest manifestations speak to the contrary. Big anti-war demonstrations were held in San Francisco, San Diego, Atlanta, Baton Rouge and in New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota and Illinois, with some 100,000 turning out for the anti-war march in New York. The growing anti-war sentiment is highlighted by student and youth actions. A day-long nationwide student boycott of lectures in protest against the war was held at the end of April, with student representatives of the 49 states signing a demand to stop the unjust war.

American workers, too, have rejected the plea of the U.S. rulers to put off action in behalf of their various demands until the "victorious conclusion" of the war in Vietnam.

* * *

The worldwide protest movement against the Vietnam war is growing. All who cherish peace and world security have joined hands. The U.S. rulers, and the governments who support them, are flaunting world opinion, but encounter increasing political and moral isolation. "Hands off Vietnam!" is the watchword on all continents.

Jan PRAZSKY

Italians against the war in Vietnam

The National Liberation Front's bold New Year's offensive evoked deep admiration in Italy and powerfully stimulated support for the Vietnam people's just war against United States aggression.

Speaking on February 2, Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Communist Party, said:

"No efforts should be spared to compel the United States immediately to stop the bloodshed in Vietnam, halt the devastation and put an end to the war, with all the suicidal dangers it holds for mankind. No effort must be spared to stop the bombing and other acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the wanton extermination of the people of South Vietnam, so that peace talks could begin with participation of the National Liberation Front, which voices the will of the South Vietnamese to win through to freedom and independence.

"The deep admiration which the heroism and fortitude of the Liberation fighters inspire in every Communist, anti-fascist, democrat, in the youth—in every one who cherishes the cause of freedom and justice—must now be translated into more powerful and direct action by all the peace forces, secular and Catholic, to force the Italian government to make the sentiment of our people known to the United States government and bring more pressure to bear on it to end the aggression."

An appeal issued by the Italian National Committee for Peace and Freedom in Vietnam, which unites outstanding personalities in the political, trade union, cultural and scientific fields—from Communists to Catholics—has called on all political and democratic groups to "overcome indecision and reservations" and resolutely demand "an immediate unconditional cessation of the American bombings as a prerequisite for negotiations, in which the NLF shall have a full share." The appeal urges action to "force the Italian government openly to dissociate itself from the aggression."

The response to this and other appeals was a wave of solidarity demonstrations.

The first mass rally was held in Rome, whose people, it will be recalled, last December prevented President Johnson from landing in the capital—he had to make his Italian tour by helicopter.

Most of the audience were young people, and they enthusiastically applauded Luigi Longo, Tullio Vecchietti, Secretary of the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, and Senator Parri, a former Prime Minister and wartime Resistance leader. A resolution pledging full support for Vietnam was adopted.

Peace Marches, demonstrations and solidarity rallies were held in Modena, Novara, Trieste, Bologna, Forli, Cremona, Vicenza, Cagliari, Ferrara, Reggio-Emilia and other cities. In Florence, a mass meeting sponsored by the Vietnam Solidarity Committee was addressed by leaders of the Communist, Socialist Proletarian Unity and Christian-Democrat parties and by the Socialist chairman of the Solidarity Committee.

A Peace March in Milan was held on February 17, the marchers carrying flags of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the NLF. Next day, the Left parties mounted a big demonstration in Rome. Thousands marched through the main streets of the capital chanting "Freedom to Vietnam!", "Ho Chi-Minh!"

For several hours a vast crowd surrounded the U.S. Embassy. The demonstrators were attacked by the police and many arrests were made.

Demonstrations were held in Emilia, Veneto and Liguria. In Genoa, 10,000 marched to the U.S. Consulate to register their protest. Similar demonstrations and Peace Marches took place in Trieste, Spezia, Verona and in other towns. In Padua, Communists and Socialists organized a demonstration which was joined by members of the Left Catholic Alternative organization.

The meaning and message of the solidarity campaign were epitomized in the two Support Vietnam Days, March 23 and 24, organized by the Communist Youth Fed-

eration with the backing of the Communist Party. It declared in a statement issued on March 16: "The Italian people have clearly condemned the aggressor. Their solidarity with the Vietnamese is strong and becomes stronger every day. But more can be done. We can compel the government and the country's political forces to take a positive stand for peace."

The response among students and young workers was immediate and enthusiastic. There were massive demonstrations in most cities. In Turin, for example, some 15,000 workers—young and old—and students took part in a procession under the flag of the South-Vietnam National-Liberation Front culminating in an "Italian Workers for Vietnam!" rally attended by contingents from the Fiat and Olivetti plants, transport workers and Resistance fighters. Most of the participants were young people and the young generation was conspicuously represented also at the solidarity rally in Rome.

An impressive demonstration was held in Pordenone (Friuli-Venice-Giulia region). The demand here was for closure of the U.S. base at Aviano, a few kilometers from Pordenone, where U.S. planes used in Vietnam are repaired. The demonstrators demanded the dismantling of all Nato bases in the area so that it should no longer be a Nato operational center.

More than 16,000 Sicilians from all the nine provinces of the island gathered in Catania to voice their protest against the American aggression in Vietnam. Here, too, the demonstration was led by the youth and its sentiments were expressed in the slogans: "No to imperialism!," "Peace and freedom for Vietnam!," "Italy Must Withdraw from Nato!"

A few days after the Pordenone demonstration, thousands from the Romagna coastal area marched through Rimini against the stationing of Nato missiles in the Emilia-Romagna area and the war in Vietnam. The procession was led by the Mayors of several towns. One contingent of young democrats from Forli marched more than 50 kilometres to take part in this manifestation.

Solidarity actions take diverse forms: meetings and demonstrations, peace marches and peace vigils, showing of documentary films from Vietnam, teach-ins, photo exhibitions, discussion sessions with speakers from different parties taking part, petitions to parliament and the government.

The demonstrations are complemented

by day-to-day activities and initiatives which, though they do not make the headlines, are valuable contributions to the struggle and are an important factor in the success of national campaigns.

The demonstrations merged with the nationwide blood donor campaign inaugurated in December by the Vietnam Medical Relief Committee and the National Committee for Peace and Freedom in Vietnam in cooperation with the Italian Red Cross and National Donors Association. The appeal emphasized the intensified fighting in Vietnam and the toll of lives taken by the American bombing. The sponsors expressed their confidence that the feeling of human and civil solidarity would unite all Italians, regardless of political and ideological beliefs and affiliations.

The movement, which is much more than of symbolic significance, has proved of very practical assistance to the Vietnamese people. The local Medical Relief Committees include doctors, political leaders, cultural workers and trade union officials. In Palermo, for instance, during the massive "Palermo for Peace" demonstration more than 200 volunteered to donate blood. The example was set by factory workers. In Bologna, 40 girls employed in a local garment factory were the first to contribute to the Vietnam blood bank. Communists, Socialists and Catholic priests are often seen lining up at blood bank centers. By early February, 1,200 containers of blood had arrived in Rome; by mid-February, 5,500 had donated blood in Modena, and more than 50 litres were collected in Udina.

On March 26, the Medical Relief Committee announced that the first consignment of blood plasma had been sent to Vietnam by chartered plane, together with medicine and surgical instruments. Summing up the results of the campaign, the Medical Relief Committee and the Committee for Peace and Freedom in Vietnam announced that about 20,000 Italians from all parts of the country and from practically every walk of life and of widely differing political persuasions, had responded to the donor appeal. This was further proof of the strong and constantly widening movement of solidarity with the Vietnamese in their struggle for freedom.

An outstanding feature of the solidarity movement has been the mass participation of youth—further proof that Italian youth are far from being politically indifferent and inert. The very opposite is true: young workers and students have had an active share in all demonstrations organized by

other groups and very often initiate solidarity actions of their own. That was exemplified recently in Turin, Ravenna, Trieste, Padua and other cities.

Intellectuals have played a conspicuous part, too, notably in the blood donor campaign, including many scientists and university professors. Educationalists are active in the national and local solidarity committees and are frequent speakers at protest demonstrations. Up to February 20, some 725 scientists, university professors, instructors and school teachers responded to the World Federation of Scientists' appeal for funds to rebuild schools and other cultural institutions in Vietnam; a total of 3,600,000 lire were collected for this purpose.

The solidarity movement has won its first success: the Italian government no longer emphasizes "understanding" of U.S. policy towards Vietnam. It can no longer do so because that policy is in a state of deep crisis. However, the decisive factor was the unity and vigor of the movement against the American war. And the movement is growing, spreading to supporters of the government majority. Initiated by the Communists and other opposition forces, it has merged with actions by secu-

lar and Catholic organizations, including the Socialist Party, which is part of the government coalition.

With the war becoming harsher, the movement is spreading, determined to secure complete cessation of the bombing and peace negotiations. It wants to compel the government to go beyond abandoning its "understanding" posture and its hazy professions of peace and to work actively for peace.

Workers are making a big contribution to the solidarity movement. The General Confederation of Labor is sending a delegation to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Its nationwide Vietnam Relief Fund started late in April reached its high point during the May Day celebrations.

In connection with the DRV consent for negotiations with the U.S., Luigi Longo declared in a letter to Foreign Minister Fanfani published on April 18: "The Italian government should immediately and resolutely voice the indignation of Italian opinion at the continuing American bombing and other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and demand their immediate cessation."

Bruna ZACCHINI

The Soviet Komsomol: today and tomorrow

The youth have always been a prime concern of society, for apart from being society's most dynamic element, they are also its hope and future. Yet today more is said and written about young people and their problems than ever before.

Half of the world's population is under 30 years of age. But there is more to the matter than that. The developments of the past 50 years — the October Revolution, the rise of the world socialist camp, the break-up of colonialism and the growing influence of communist ideas—have awakened the youth to political activity and the revolutionary movement. Capitalist ideologists are working hard to win the youth to their way of life, because they know that in the years ahead those who are young today will be shaping the image of the world.

It is up to us, therefore, to demonstrate the advantages socialism offers the youth, to examine the processes under way among the young people and make the Youth Leagues work more effectively.

It stands to reason that the forms and methods of resolving the youth problems vary from country to country due to differences in the social system, in the general situation and in traditions. For Communists, however, there are many points of resemblance in the overall approach and methodology.

Lenin said that every new generation advances to socialism in its own way. What we need, therefore, is to study the specifics of our rising generation.

WHAT SOCIALISM HAS GIVEN THE YOUNG

In the years since the October Revolution our country has resolved the basic problems concerning the education and employment of young people, their living condi-

tions, leisure and participation in public life, something capitalism cannot find radical solutions for to this day.

Socialist society has afforded the youth extensive legislatively registered rights, backed up by juridical, political and organizational guarantees.

Soviet youth have the right to work, made secure among other things by free vocational and professional training. They have the right to education—from elementary school to university, free of charge, with students benefiting from government allowances.

Social privileges include paid leaves, free medical services, and the use of holiday homes, sanatoria, tourist bases, sports camps and cultural institutions. The state spends about 700 rubles per family a year out of what is known as the public consumption fund, of which a considerable portion is earmarked for the needs of young people. Last year more than 70 million people, the vast majority of them young, were getting an education, the cost of which was paid out of this fund. More than 8,500,000 children were accommodated in pre-school establishments; over 18 million spent vacations at holiday homes and summer camps. Sports have an active following of at least 40 million, and tourist bases and camps alone add up to over 5,000.

The Soviet youth, like their parents, enjoy extensive political rights. Young people of 18 and up may elect and be elected to representative bodies of government, with the result that about 500,000, or every fourth deputy to the Soviets at different levels, is thirty or under. In the Supreme Soviet, for example, deputies under 30 made up 7.7 per cent in 1958, and as much as 12 per cent in 1966.

What socialism has given the youth compares favorably not only with conditions in backward tsarist Russia, but with the

situation of the new generation in the advanced capitalist states. In the United States the President's State of the Union message in 1967 showed that 12 per cent of young Americans between the ages of 16 and 19 cannot find jobs. According to the International Labor Organization unemployment among the youth under 20 is twice the overall percentage, with the teenagers' work-day ranging up to 10 hours and with less than 10 per cent of the children of working-class and farmer families able to afford a higher education. In most U.S. colleges and universities, for example, tuition exceeds \$3,000 a year, amounting to what a skilled worker earns in four or five months.

No analysis of the advantages that socialist society affords the young would be

complete unless it looked into the vital question: to what extent does the youth reflect and embody the fundamental aims set by society?

Gradual elimination of distinctions between town and countryside, between mental and manual labor, and the moulding of the new man, we know, is the program of the Communists. The trend towards social homogeneity, coupled with the moulding of a harmoniously developed individual typical of socialist society, is especially evident among the youth.

Here are a few facts obtained in a sociological survey of 10,000 young people between 16 and 30 made in 1966 under the auspices of the Communist Youth League in 15 regions and Union republics.

	% studying to enhance qualifications	% of employed youth continuing education at evening, correspondence, general and technical schools, in universities and post-graduate courses	% of serious readers	% of newspaper and magazine subscribers	% of athletes and sportsmen	% owning a TV set	% owning a radio receiver	What they would do with more leisure			
								Devote more time to study	Do more reading	Spend more time visiting museums, exhibitions, etc.	Devote more time to sport
Workers	61	44	66	77	45	45	58	48	51	37	33
Collective farmers	55	24	66	81	42	27	47	42	44	19	24
Office and service employees	63	34	69	82	40	40	58	44	52	38	26
Engineers, technicians & researchers	70	32	68	85	45	44	62	29	61	56	37

The table shows that all groups have the same thirst for knowledge and for improving their skills. Books, newspapers, sports, the TV and radio, those essential attributes of modern culture, are now within reach of all categories.

Although jobs in the various social groups have their own specifics, the main values, conditions and opportunities, as well as the interests, are generally the same.

A closer look at the results of the survey will yield a fairly conclusive picture of the young Soviet citizens' spiritual make-up.

OUTLOOK, AIMS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

—92 per cent said that it depended on the individual whether he had more good than bad in life.

—94 per cent said that they were sure they could learn any trade they wished and then find a job in their chosen field.

—88 per cent said that they were confident their plans in life would materialize.

And here are the answers to the question "What is needed for happiness?"

—80.5 per cent: the opportunity to work

creatively for the good of the people and the country;

- 73 per cent: an interesting job;
- 55 per cent: a definite purpose in life;
- 54 per cent: to be useful to society;
- 60 per cent: work, which is a prime need in life.

The above reveals some of the distinctive traits of the rising generation. The qualities predominating in the young Soviet citizen are his attitude to work, his sense of collectivism, high political awareness and activity, the urge to improve himself, and his social optimism. There is no indication of any levelling of personalities; on the contrary, the figures speak of spiritual growth. What dominates the image of the present-day Soviet youth—and this is part of the socialist ideal—is not the conformism of spiritual paupers nor equality based on an over-all lower cultural standard, but a higher standard of culture for all through better opportunities for all, and, on this basis, a harmonious development of the individual. Incontestably, the tendency towards a more extensive growth, a greater worth and value of the individual, will become still more pronounced as our society advances.

A FEW METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

It may be useful here to draw attention to the methodology of studying the problems of the youth. Bourgeois propaganda assails the Marxist-Leninist method and endeavors to prove that in the world of today it is irrelevant and senseless to distinguish between bourgeois and working youth.

What bourgeois methodology accentuates is the age factor, the specific psychology and mental pattern of the youth, deftly sidestepping the question of class struggle, which it replaces with the notion of conflict between generations. The strictly scientific approach shows the fallacy of this method. Also, it helps determine the orientation for the practical activity of the Youth League.

The Soviet Youth League gears its tasks and its methods of work with the youth to the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the determining role of the prevailing social relations. The fundamental point is that the youth are, first and foremost, part of the socialist society, though with various specific and psychological features of their age.

Hence the basic conclusion that we

should concentrate chiefly on drawing young people into the mainstream of socialist building by means and methods, and in forms, which best correspond to their age specifics. On the other hand, we must not lose sight of the special interests, needs and demands of the youth.

Lenin held that the best way to rally and organize the youth to fight for the new system was to enlist young people in independent youth organizations Communist in aim and action, with a mass membership and self-sufficient in principle and method.

At all times, the Party considered the youth movement as an element of the workers' revolutionary reconstruction of society along socialist and communist lines. Lenin and the Party opposed all attempts at occupying young people with purely youth problems, pure culture-spreading and barren enlightenment. Yet they stressed at all times that the Youth League should treat the individual needs and interests of the young citizen with the utmost consideration. In Youth League work the struggle for the people's interests (which are also the vital interests of the youth) harmonizes with efforts to meet the specific requirements of young people, which is also in the interests of all of Soviet society. That this is so is borne out by the history of our Youth League.

At all stages in building socialism and communism, the Communist Party entrusted tasks of responsibility to the League, popularly known as the Komsomol—enlisting it in the socialist reconstruction of the country's economy, in reinforcing defense, combating illiteracy, developing new regions, helping build new industrial projects, etc. The Party's trust, expressed through concrete guidance, enhanced the enthusiasm and participation of the youth and, at the same time, the prestige of the Komsomol.

By taking an active part in work of nationwide importance, young people acquire diligence and a sense of civic duty, and develop into true masters of their country. We are aware, of course, that the Komsomol's influence on the young citizen, on his socio-political make-up, is directly proportionate to the role which the Youth organization plays in his life and to how well it succeeds in meeting his specific needs.

With the number of school-leavers rising steeply in recent years, the question of employment and vocational training became

quite acute. A number of important steps have been taken by the Party and the Government at the recommendation of the Komsomol concerning employment, education, living conditions and leisure, including employment of school-leavers, marginal benefits for working youth attending evening schools or studying by correspondence, cultural and sports facilities on building sites, etc.

Komsomol committees differentiate their approach to the various categories of the younger generation. The YCL Central Committee recently framed a set of measures designed, in particular, to improve work with teenagers, students and young scientists. But that is only one side of the matter. Concern for the young citizen should combine with higher demands on the Komsomol member. While helping satisfy the needs of the youth, we should help mould its interests. Concern for the daily needs should not eclipse public and political work. If this happened, the purpose of the Youth League may be misconstrued and its role reduced to a complex of circles catering to the varied interests of the membership. We want to avoid extremes—bare “indulgence in politics” that would ignore the interests of the youth, on the one hand, and bare “indulgence in culture,” overaccentuating the narrowly-conceived youth problems obscuring the big aims and perspectives, on the other.

That the youth participates in dealing with national problems and that, on the other hand, it has specific age-group features, leads us to two important and, we hold, practical conclusions:

Firstly, the Komsomol should on no account confine itself to sectarian “inner-Komsomol” activity and should in all things work with all the youth at all times, and, secondly, it should cooperate closely with all institutions and organizations that have dealings with teen-agers and all other young people.

Organizations, departments and ministries should give consideration to the specifics of the youth and differentiate their approach to young people.

Much has been done in recent years. The Youth League cooperates with ministries, committees and departments when assigning young people to building sites, organizing their work, life and leisure, and promoting rallies of young workers and farmers, technical exhibitions and various contests and shows.

Exhibitions, festivals, contests and semi-

nars are organized under the joint auspices of the Komsomol, the respective cultural institutions and the unions of writers, composers, artists, etc. Poets, writers, composers and performers are frequently invited to Komsomol reunions. Komsomol groups work with the trade unions in improving conditions for young people, promoting sports, amateur art, and work in summer camps; they collaborate with the educational bodies in securing the universal education of children and with people's control agencies in verifying observance of laws and Party and government decisions.

PRESENT TASKS

The formative period of the present Soviet youth is also a period of important developments at home and abroad. The 20th, 22nd and 23rd Party congresses, the October 1964 and subsequent CPSU Central Committee meetings and Party measures to further democratization, to interdict subjectivist trends and to eliminate the personality cult, have tended to cultivate among our youth a sense of civic duty and of personal responsibility for public affairs.

This has made the soil fertile for advancing Lenin's principle that every citizen participate in government. Our experience shows that to mould a citizen and fighter, he has to be shown public trust and drawn into public and political work. Failing this, he will be little more than an impassive executor and indifferent philistine.

That young people participate in sociopolitical work is also necessitated by the earlier physiological maturing of teen-agers observed nowadays in most countries. The spectacular growth of the mass media, coupled with the more extensive schooling, also accelerate intellectual growth. On the other hand, social maturity and entry into independent life usually come later than before, because of the considerable extension for most young people of the time of education and professional training. In the past, the average age of puberty was 14 or 15, the teenager starting on his first job at 15 or 16. Now, puberty comes at 12 or 13, while the first job comes at 17 or 18, frequently even later.

The fact that a period of several years separates these two important phases in the teenager's life gives rise to new problems. Some are inclined to think that this time gap explains juvenile delinquency. Though we fight shy of this extreme view,

it should not be totally written off. The energies of the young and their acute urge for self-assertion must indeed find an outlet, and the best outlet is his or her active participation in socially useful work.

Among the factors shaping the distinctive features of present-day young people is the growth of our society, the improvement of social relations, the current technological revolution, the rising standard of living and the considerable increase in the number of people doing mental work. All these are objective factors predicated steady intellectual growth, the higher educational standard and the flowering of the individual. However, for these objective factors to yield the best results, they should be complemented with hard work, especially by the Komsomol.

The distinctive features of our time, the tasks facing our society and the specifics of the rising generation require more concentration by us on:

- ideological work, class education and the young people's outlook;

- socio-political activity by the youth, enlisting it in managing affairs of state and society, and developing its independence;

- harmonious development of young people.

Political education, therefore, is highly important. The Komsomol's political education system, substantially modified of late, embraces almost all categories of the youth. We had five types of political circles three years ago, much alike in subject matter. Now, we recommend a much wider variety of circles, seminars and clubs for the different categories of the youth, depending on educational standard, age and occupation and range of interests.

The path for the reorganization of the Komsomol's political education scheme was paved by thorough research and sociological study. Some 200 researchers and a number of social science faculties of our colleges and universities helped draw up the curricula. Recommendations were also received from the Social Science Academy of the CC CPSU, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Philosophy Institute of the Academy of Sciences, and from many eminent scholars.

Acquainting young people with our revolutionary traditions is an important aspect of Komsomol work, moulding their world outlook and convictions.

The young will live up to our traditions if they are made conscious of the grandeur of our gains and appreciate the need to

fight for further consolidation.

In recent times, the Komsomol has found a new politically adequate form for cultivating the historical experience, revolutionary spirit and patriotism of our youth. Young people are encouraged to hold marches to places associated with the revolutionary, military and labor glory of the people, with millions of young people responding eagerly. More than 10 million took part in such marches during 1965-67, establishing small museums at the locations, erecting monuments, obelisks and memorial plaques.

Our purpose is to cultivate internationalism among our members. Our country's Leninist foreign policy is for us a model of dedication to proletarian internationalism. The Soviet youth react sensitively to international developments and show solidarity with the rising generation abroad. They participate in international and regional solidarity, peace and friendship functions (festivals, forums, congresses, seminars, and the like), extend moral and material support to the young freedom fighters in Vietnam, send young workers and specialists, equipment and material to aid Cuba and the developing African and Asian countries, and maintain close contacts with hundreds of youth and student organizations abroad.

The young citizen should know the ways in which society develops, the link between lofty ideas and the daily practical tasks, and the means of combating difficulties. He should know that socialist society is dynamic and that like every citizen he is expected to devote his energy, will and intelligence to building communism.

The idyllic notion of socialism being a society without snags and contradictions, is not merely incorrect; it tends to immobilize, to produce an infantile sense of dependence, turning young people into sceptics and grouches whenever they encounter facts contrary to preconceived notions. As they embark on life, young people should know clearly that they are expected to help further the reconstruction of society and that deficiencies should be combated in earnest; least of all should they think that all blessings will be brought to them on a silver platter.

As we see it, the widespread idea that education and upbringing should be centered on adaptation to existing conditions is one-sided. On attaining social maturity the young man should at least be prepared for the existing social relationships and

mode of life. Just as incontestably, he should be prepared for creative participation in further reconstruction. To us this is a matter of the utmost importance and merits close study.

We hold that to promote public activity among the youth, the role of the Komsomol in political, economic and cultural development should be further enhanced, and so should its influence on the life of every young citizen. This will be facilitated by recent Party decisions, assigning young members of the Party to work in the Komsomol, admitting young people under 23 to the Party only through the Komsomol and having the Komsomol represented in all institutions associated with the upbringing of the younger generation.

Many new forms of Komsomol activity have appeared of late, promoting the socio-political participation of the youth: Komsomol organizations take part in collective bargaining, in discussing production plans, in student self-government, etc. Millions of young people take part in the work of the Soviets, in trade union committees, people's control agencies and the various Komsomol commissions.

Despite our progress, we are well aware that not all young people have yet been drawn into socio-political activities. Many still lack the sense of being masters even in their own Komsomol branch. Much remains to be done to enlist every young man and woman in running the affairs of the state, society and his or her particular collective.

* * *

A lively interest in man, his inner world and behavior is typical of our times. We are becoming more aware of the fact that man is the most valuable asset in society and his growth the principal criterion of social progress. Bourgeois philosophers say that the materialist view of history and the determinist idea rule out individual freedom and humanism. We feel it appropriate, therefore, to deal with some of the aspects of the harmonious development of young people in our country, notably those who, as we see it, are typical of the present time.

The individual, everybody knows, is moulded by both objective and subjective conditions, by the environment and by purposeful education and self-education.

Our society affords equally broad and increasingly equal opportunities for the spiritual growth of all. The material welfare of the nation, more leisure, the net-

work of cultural institutions and radio and television are salient contributory factors. This process will continue, adding no doubt to the effect of the subjective factor in moulding the individual: the influence of the collective and self-education. And, obviously, self-education, self-control and the desire for self-expression will increase as the educational standards rise and the transition from socialism to communism makes further headway.

This is borne out, among other things, by our sociological studies. A considerable section of the youth, especially students and researchers, identify "my own reflections" as a prime factor governing their behavior.

At this time of rapid scientific and technological growth, the quantity of information in the world doubles every ten years. The growth of certain intellectual faculties, moulding but one side of the individual, is more rapid. Elements of what might be termed "technicism" and a barren "rationalism" have appeared among some of our youth, especially researchers, technicians and engineers. These attitudes must be countered, because our efforts to mould socially useful qualities will fall far short of the mark unless we proceed from the unity of two aspects: the intellectual and the emotional, reason and feeling. Should either of these over-balance, or be isolated from the other, the effect on education could not but be negative.

Communist education and good use of the methods of moulding the young individual, of securing his all-round, harmonious development, calls for a profound, scientifically grounded analysis.

The Komsomol is working jointly with a variety of specialists. Understandably so, because studies in sociology, social psychology, the psychology of the individual and pedagogics are now conducted on a large scale. A profusion of books, papers and articles has appeared on the moulding of the individual in the socialist environment. The plans, needs and ideals of our young contemporaries come in for thorough and detailed scrutiny.

The lively interest shown by scientists in youth problems was demonstrated at the theoretical conference, "Socialism and the Youth," held in Moscow last May under the auspices of the Komsomol, the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education and the Academy of Sciences. More than 600 scientists, researchers, instructors and Komsomol workers representing sci-

ence centers and Komsomol committees of all Union republics, took part. An international symposium of young scientists from socialist countries was held in Moscow last August, yielding a useful exchange of views on general and specific problems in its "Youth and Socialism" section.

Yet that is only a beginning. As we see

it, highly concentrated and concerted efforts are needed by scientists from various fields (philosophy, sociology, psychology, pedagogics, etc.) to study the problems of the all-round harmonious development of young people in socialist society.

Yuri TORSUYEV

The new generation: active builders of communism

The nature of a social system finds striking expression in the attitude of the ruling forces in society to the youth, to their spiritual and physical development. It will not be without interest therefore to survey the experience of our Party in this area.

Unlike the young people of 1945, who after the defeat of Hitler fascism had to learn anew, to tackle the new problems with the help of veteran anti-fascists, the young generation in the German Democratic Republic today has a clear socialist perspective which increasingly moulds its thinking and its activity. What this generation thinks and does is a reflection of the qualitative growth resulting from our Party's meaningful and consistent work among the young people.

Hitler's defeat was the starting point of our work among youth and in other social fields. From the outset, the Party helped young people to gain a deep insight into the new problems and tasks. It had, too, to combat the fascist ideology which had taken deep root in the minds of young men and women.

The experience gained by the German working-class movement, above all in the fight against fascism, showed that youth could become a force in the service of democracy and progress only if united for joint action. The complex political and ideological situation following the defeat of the Hitler dictatorship prevented the immediate formation of a youth organization. In mid-1945, on a proposal of the Communist Party approved by the Soviet military authorities, youth committees were set up

under the guidance of anti-fascists. They prompted the more progressive young people to take an active stand on democratic development and contributed to the political enlightenment of the young people.

The unification of youth was accelerated and their activity increased due to the effort for working-class unity, which in April 1946 culminated in the Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party merging to form the Socialist Unity Party.

As they wrestled with the tasks facing the youth committees, young Communists, Social Democrats and liberals, young men and women united for joint, specifically political, action. In March 1946 they founded the Free German Youth League, a united mass organization. Its political character was evident from its members' support of the idea of building a new Germany on anti-fascist democratic lines and from their readiness to help by joint effort to overcome the ravages of Nazi fascism.

The First Congress of the League proclaimed the fundamental rights of the young generation. The fundamental rights of the younger generation were listed as follows:

The right to take part in political life. This implied, first of all, active cooperation in the new democratic organizations, the right to vote at 18, and to be elected from the age of 21.

The right to work and leisure. This signified reduction of the working week to 42 hours for the 14-16 age group, and to 45 hours for those aged between 16 and 18, equal pay for equal work, legislation pro-

protecting youth, prohibition of child labor, prohibition of ill-treatment of apprentices, and legislation regulating holidays.

The right to education. Free education in secondary, specialized and higher schools; scholarships; worker-peasant schools preparing children of workers and peasants for the university or other institutions of higher learning; people's institutes and appropriate libraries.

Realizing these rights became a program of action for youth. In those years young men and women had, along with the older generation, to combat the reactionary forces resisting anti-fascist, democratic development and refusing to recognize the youth as a political force. The years 1946 and 1948 saw some success.

As the anti-fascist, democratic revolution went on the conservatives were isolated and forced out through joint action by the working class and the peasantry. Young people played a prominent part in this, with the result that *decisive conditions were created for them to exercise their fundamental rights fully.*

These rights were formalized in the Constitution which came into force with the establishment of the GDR in 1949, and in the law on the participation of youth in building the republic, on helping young people to acquire knowledge and learn trades, on promoting sports and organizing rest and leisure, proposed by the Party and enacted by the People's Chamber in 1950. By then an important stage in our youth policy had been closed. It served as the starting point for enlisting active participation by young people in solving the new social problems.

Big changes have taken place in the social status of the youth since 1945. The young people of those days have become men and women of 35 and 40 and many of them hold important positions in the Party, in government, the economy, science, education and defense. The young people of today are growing up in a socialist society which affords them every opportunity for unfettered development according to their ability. Their knowledge of life has not been conditioned by capitalist exploitation and imperialist rule.

Youth unity has proved solid and viable. Young men and women in every walk of life regard the League as their organization fully representing their interests. Today 1,400,000 young people between 14 and 26 years of age—out of a total of 2,600,000—are members of the League.

Under the impact of changes in our society the League has grown into an organization whose members advocate socialism and recognize the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party in building socialism. The Party Rules, which include a section dealing with the Party's attitude to the Youth League and with the latter's role and significance, say the following: "The Free German Youth League—a socialist youth organization of the German Democratic Republic—is an active assistant and reserve of the Party. It helps the Party to educate youth in the spirit of socialism for active participation in the full-scale building of socialism and for defending the socialist fatherland. It helps to educate a well-developed generation of young people working, studying and living in the socialist way."

The Youth League has shown itself to be an effective social force fostering the political, ideological, economic and cultural activity of young people. Its Eighth Congress, held in May 1967, registered impressive achievements, which a message of greetings from Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Party, stressed as follows: "The attitude of our Party to youth has always been determined by the unshakable Marxist-Leninist principle of fully trusting youth and assigning them high responsibilities."

"The younger generation has convincingly proved this principle correct by its remarkable performance in socialist construction."

An illustration of the political role of the League in our state and of young people's participation in the fulfilment of government tasks is the full exercise of the right to elect and be elected. The first Constitution of the GDR granted young people the right to take part in the elections to every popular elective body from the age of 18 and to be elected a deputy from the age of 21. The new socialist Constitution, approved by the overwhelming majority of citizens in the referendum of last April, extends, in particular, the political rights of youth. Article 22 of the Constitution reads: "2. Every citizen can be elected to the local popular elective body provided he has reached 18 years of age on election day. Every citizen can be elected to the People's Chamber provided he has reached 21 years of age on election day." Young people are systematically trained to perform their civic duties by the school and by the mass organizations, first of all

by the Youth League. It is natural, therefore, that youth fully exercise their suffrage in the elections to the people's assemblies. Besides, the Socialist Unity Party and the other parties and mass organizations represented in the assemblies consider it their duty to nominate young people for election.

In the present People's Chamber, elected in 1967, thirty-three of the 500 deputies are young people between 21 and 25 and thirty-five, between 26 and 30. The Youth League has its own parliamentary group of 40, including 17 young women.

There are also numerous young deputies in the local assemblies.

	Deputies under 30	Youth League deputies
Bezirkstage (regional assemblies)	646	252
Kreistage (rural district assemblies)	2,217	1,071
Town assemblies	560	284
Communes	28,428	12,164
Town district assemblies	464	247

The share of youth in government is not restricted to the right to elect or be elected. The following facts give an idea of the share of our youth in planning, labor and management.

Fully 15 per cent of the staffs of the ministries and state secretariats, roughly every fifth employee of the regional councils and every fourth employee of the district councils are young people under 26. Tens of thousands of young citizens are on the subcommittees of the people's assemblies or help them actively, on production committees in the enterprises and in other important public agencies. These figures speak of the prominent position of our youth in the socialist state and, furthermore, of the readiness of most of our young people to assume political responsibility.

An element of our socialist democracy is public discussion of parliamentary bills in which young people, needless to say, take part. On May 4, 1964, the People's Chamber passed a law on youth setting forth the new tasks of young citizens and the government agencies during the full-scale building of socialism. The bill was published and discussed at numerous youth meetings months ahead. The Council for Youth Affairs under the Council of Ministers received over 5,000 proposals from

collective bodies and individuals, and these proposals were taken into account in amending the bill.

The political activity of the majority of our youth and their readiness to devote all their energies to socialism and to exercise their rights judiciously are unmistakable indications of their socialist consciousness. Our sociologists have repeatedly demonstrated that in the main our youth really have this consciousness.

This essentially favorable situation is not a product of spontaneous development. It has been, and is, due to the fact that the interest which all the social forces objectively have in the healthy spiritual and physical development of our youth makes in practice for greater unity of action of these forces. The advantages of socialism cannot be used effectively unless the thinking and activity of the youth are influenced systematically and consistently, while combating all negative influences.

We do not close our eyes to the fact that a certain, if small, number of young people take an indifferent and superficial view of life and draw attention by their defiant, sometimes even lawless behavior. The rulers of West Germany, in carrying on their ideological subversion against the GDR, pin considerable hopes on such people. They gamble on the fact that our youth, who have never lived in a capitalist society and so have no experience of its realities, have a different idea of life and that it is therefore possible to sow contradictions in their thinking and their attitude to our socialist system.

The existence of these problems shows that the building of socialism and the formation of the new, socialist man is not all smooth sailing. But the decisive thing for socialist society is that it is not indifferent to these problems and that its social forces can, by joint effort, cope with them.

The class education of youth is of primary importance in our social conditions. The decisive factors for it are as follows:

1. Our republic is faced with the task of building a developed socialist system. The manner and speed of solving the political, economic and cultural problems involved will be determined in the long run by the active and creative effort of all our citizens. The Seventh Congress of the Party said: "The young generation will honorably acquit itself of these tasks and make a substantial contribution if it is equipped with the ideas of the invincible Marxist-Leninist world outlook, if it masters science, tech-

nology and culture, if it has deep confidence in the triumph of socialism—a confidence based on its knowledge, on its work and on its defense preparedness.”

2. The greater the number of people growing up in the new conditions and hence free from the trials to which man is exposed in capitalist society, the greater the role and importance of ideological work among youth. Educating young people in the revolutionary traditions of the German working class and acquainting them with the basic experience of this long struggle full of sacrifice are necessary if youth are to realize that the GDR has come into being as a logical result of this struggle. This education is needed for young people to have a better understanding of the present policy of the Party and to take the right approach to the new tasks. This is no easy matter for them, as Comrade Ulbricht pointed out in the State Council of the Republic. “They must master in a shorter time what it took us 60 years of struggle to learn. Teachers in our schools try to impart to young people much of what we know. The elders share their experience with the younger. We developed our class consciousness in grim battles against German imperialism. Young people are developing theirs today as they fight against West German imperialism and take part in socialist construction, achieving signal success in socialist emulation on a mass scale.”*

As before, it is necessary to give priority to the ideological and political education of youth as a pivotal task of the Party. Moulding a firm class outlook calls for meaningful and systematic work. This process should cover every aspect of the life of young people, including their life in family and school, problems of their occupational training, their work and recreation.

It is decisive, however, to ensure proper cooperation of the forces engaged in educating youth. This means, among other things, using the experience of the best workers in every field and the latest findings of educationalists, psychologists, sociologists and other scientists to carefully elaborate a system of class education of young people.**

The Party gives much attention to the Youth League in this field by encouraging

and supporting its varied activities. The League has introduced numerous interesting forms and methods of work that are worthy of special note because they happily combine rational knowledge with an emotional perception of life.

In the course of the movement initiated by the Youth League in honor of revolutionaries, some 14,000 branches of the League had been contending, by the time the Eighth Congress of the League convened, for the right to bear the name of a German revolutionary. League members study the life and work of revolutionaries, who are a model for youth, compile biographies and chronicles, fit out memorial rooms, visit museums and historical places associated with the working-class movement, meet veteran Communists. They also respond to the message of revolutionaries by striving for progress in work and study as a contribution to reinforcing the GDR.

A similar initiative was taken in the Thaelmann Young Pioneers Organization, the united children's organization of the republic. Under the slogan “follow the lead of Red October, strive for high achievement in the name of the GDR,” Young Pioneers study German-Soviet relations, the glorious path travelled by the Soviet Army culminating in victory over Hitler fascism, and the history of the German revolutionary working-class movement led by the Marxist-Leninist Party, up to the period of the full-scale building of socialism in the GDR. This organization, too, uses a vast variety of interesting forms and methods.

These measures, continued during the preparations for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, made a valuable contribution to the knowledge acquired in the “young Socialist groups.” In these groups, whose number at the end of 1966 was 17,518 and which comprised 312,069 people, members of the Youth League and other young people learn the fundamentals of political knowledge. They begin with the *Communist Manifesto*, go on to the history of the German working-class movement, particularly since 1945, and conclude with some fundamental Marxist-Leninist writings and the Party program. The Party helps by assigning its members to lead most of the groups. This assignment is all the more important because the group leaders influence the thinking, sentiment and activity of the group members.

Walter Ulbricht, estimating the work of the Youth League, wrote to the delegates

*On March 31, 1967, the State Council of the GDR discussed problems of the younger generation and after a long debate approved a document entitled “Youth and Socialism.” The session was attended by young people prominent in public affairs.

**The founding of the Central Research Institute for Youth Problems in 1966 was an important development in this respect.

to the Eighth Congress of the League that the measures taken by the League had helped many young people to improve their political knowledge, buttressed their confidence in the triumph of socialism and enhanced their friendship for the country of Great October. Youth had been spurred on to still greater achievements in work and study.

This idea bears on an important principle of the Party's youth policy. Political knowledge is not an end in itself. It is useful only when it connotes political loyalty and readiness for action. There is ample evidence that our young people, in commenting on the fundamental problems of our time, express love for and loyalty to the grand ideas of socialism and to their socialist country, the GDR.

Proletarian internationalism has struck deep roots in the minds of youth. It manifests itself in enthusiastic support for the just fight of the people of Vietnam against the criminal U.S. aggression. Thousands of solidarity meetings have been held and millions of signatures collected. In 1966 alone the youth of the GDR collected over 5,500,000 marks to support the liberation fight of the Vietnamese people. Fifty thousand young people have donated their blood. Solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, and support for their just struggle against imperialism and colonialism are inseparable from the desire to do everything to strengthen the socialist GDR. The country-wide discussion held before the Seventh Congress of the Party, with tens of thousands of young people stating their views at meetings, in the press, on radio and television, resolved itself into one opinion: "Everything links us with our socialist country, the GDR; nothing links us with the imperialist system in West Germany."

The bonds linking the socialist state with the working people constitute the solid basis of its strength and vitality. Relations between the state and the people are determined by the citizens' increasingly conscious and creative participation in the management of public affairs. The slogan "Join in labor, planning and management" the best expression of the demand that every citizen take part in building the socialist state.

The attitude of youth to their socialist state translates itself, first of all, into readiness through voluntary cooperation to contribute to scientific and technological progress and in this way to increase the na-

tional income both for their own good and that of society. Most important criteria for us in this respect are the growing movement of young innovators for greater efficiency in production, and socialist collective labor gaining steadily in importance. Young industrial workers—the core of the youth of our republic—play a decisive part in this.

"Exhibitions of future experts" have proved very valuable as an effective way of stimulating young people's conscious desire to master science and technology for the good of society.

They are held on the initiative of the Youth League once a year in collaboration with government agencies and public organizations. They range from local exhibitions and exhibitions at the factory level to central ones. In 1967, about 400,000 young men and women took part in 2,060 factory exhibitions, 329 exhibitions in agricultural cooperatives, 3,315 school exhibitions, 150 in institutes and technical schools and 234 in villages and small towns. The world-renowned Zeiss works in Jena drew 2,200 exhibitors out of its 3,700 young employees. The best work is displayed afterwards at regional and district exhibitions and outstanding work goes on a central exhibition.

At the first central exhibition (1958), displaying mostly articles made by amateurs, 413 young men and women had their achievements on show. The Tenth Exhibition, in 1967, drew 1,633 collective and 200 individual participants. The 1,833 exhibits highlighted achievements in scientific and technological know-how. They were the work of 13,928 young innovators, including many young women. The economic effect of their innovations amounted to 213 million marks, and 151 of them were issued patents.

The growing movement of young innovators and socialist collective labor are the inexhaustible source of the achievements displayed at the exhibitions of future experts. The following table shows how many young people made proposals for making more effective use of plant, introducing better processes, etc.

Year	Total number of innovators	Per cent of the total of employed youth
1961	60,435	7.6
1962	70,933	9.0
1963	78,654	10.3
1964	78,909	10.7
1965	85,491	11.4

However, the readiness of our youth to contribute to scientific and technological progress is not yet being used fully. The sociological survey *Youth and the Technological Revolution* reveals that among the young people employed by the Mineral Oils combine who were polled on their willingness to cooperate actively, an affirmative answer was given by 64 per cent in the production sections, 50 per cent on the shop floor and 40 per cent in the enterprises.*

Young people are becoming increasingly aware of the significance of socialist collective labor. This shows that the new relations between the individual and the community which are developing on the basis of socialist relations of production are extending to youth. In 1965 and 1966 the number of youth teams in industry grew from 8,142 (79,704 people) to 10,201 (109,049 people). In the same period, the number of production assignments and sections entrusted to young people increased from 5,349 to 6,513.

Due to the socialist reorganization of the countryside, collective labor now has a solid basis in the rural areas as well. In 1965 there were 1,512 agricultural youth teams numbering 10,849 members.

On this extensive basis, more and more young people are rising from the ranks to key posts in administration, the economy, science, technology, culture, defense. In industry, 8.7 per cent of the factory managers, 34.5 per cent of the technical managers, 25 per cent of the economic managers, 13.5 per cent of the accountants general and 12.5 per cent of the commercial managers are young people under 35 years of age. Many important enterprises entrust young managers and scientists with the scientific planning of targets for the coming decades and with providing conditions for the attainment of these targets.

Our youth are urged to strive for greater achievement in their own interest and in the interest of society, and their skill wins public recognition and is encouraged. This is in keeping with the natural qualities of young people, which under socialism can develop fully. On the other hand, the Party always stresses that building socialism in the GDR is the common concern of old and young alike. Youth will complete the build-

ing of socialism together with the older generation.

The Party will continue its policy towards youth on the following principles, which have proved their worth:

- the task of a Marxist-Leninist youth policy is to educate young people in the spirit of a firm class outlook in harmony with the position of the working class;

- youth should be fully trusted, and this trust should express itself in an exacting attitude to them in work, study and everyday life, and in entrusting them with appropriate responsibilities;

- a policy really helping young men and women to become socialist-minded can succeed only with the help of the Youth League.

We link these principles with our overall experience, which suggests that work among young people invariably poses new problems, primarily because the transition from childhood to youth and from youth to maturity is a dynamic process taking place in changing social conditions. Adults should transmit their experience, which they take for granted, to the rising generation with due regard to the latter's personal and social experience and to the tasks it has to carry out in building the socialist system in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution.

There is yet another factor. At no other stage in their lives do people have to take so many decisions in so short a time as when they are young. In the GDR, every young person has to decide whether he should go to school for 10 or 12 years, what trade or profession he should choose, whether he should begin his studies immediately or later on, whether or not he should join the Socialist Youth League and take part, besides, in the work of other mass organizations, how he should train for military service, what rights and duties his coming of age at 18 implies, whether he should join the party of the working class, how he should go about choosing a life companion and founding a family.

On all these questions, young people need tactful help from our socialist society if they are to answer them correctly in keeping with their own interests and with those of society.

Our effort to organize work among youth in this spirit has proved fruitful. This entitles us to say that youth in the GDR are growing up as politically trained, educated and hard-working people aware of their responsibility for the socialist present and

*The reason for the downward trend is that data on links in production decrease to the extent that the production sphere increases in volume and dimensions. This is why the Party expects economic executives to go out of their way to help young people familiarize themselves with the entire production process and the problems it engenders.

future of our republic. In other words, our younger generation is characterized, first and foremost, by the political position and activity of its overwhelming majority. The country-wide discussion preceding the Seventh Congress of the Party, the widespread approval of the congress decisions, and the results of the Eighth Congress of the Youth League are evidence of our

young people's loyalty and devotion to their socialist country, the German Democratic Republic—qualities which they show again and again by their noteworthy progress in study and work. Our Party is certain our youth will continue to be aware of their great responsibility.

Gerhard NAUMANN

Youth solidarity

This July, the capital of Bulgaria will play host to representatives of the young generation of every continent. They will come for the Ninth World Festival of Youth and Students.

These festivals—the first was held 20 years ago—have become traditional manifestations of democratic youth unity and cooperation and symbols of youth's contribution to the fight for peace, peaceful coexistence and social progress.

There is no underestimating the part they have played in breaking through the "iron curtain" with which imperialism sought to seal off the socialist countries. The ideas that are part of the most progressive and just society have an increasing appeal for the youth of every country, including the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. That explains the prestige and influence of the Young Communists, who are in the van of the world democratic youth movement.

The Sofia Festival will bring together the sons and daughters of those who went through the crucible of the World War and laid the foundations of today's powerful youth movement. Their presence in Sofia will be proof that the tradition is being passed from generation to generation, that the young men and women of the sixties are true to the slogans of solidarity, peace and friendship proclaimed by the youth of the forties.

While our achievements in forging and consolidating the worldwide anti-imperialist front led by the socialist countries are well known, we cannot afford to disregard the mounting menace of another world conflict, or the intensified aggressiveness of

imperialism. The U.S. aggression in Vietnam, intrigue in the Middle East, the terror of the "black colonels" in Greece, neo-fascist revanchism in West Germany, racialism in the United States and South Africa, repressive measures against the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies—all impose a great responsibility on the youth, and bring home the understanding that only united action by the peace-seeking and democratic forces can repel imperialism and spare mankind the horrors of thermonuclear war.

Success in working for peace, democracy and progress in any given country is determined not only by the results achieved in the particular country. The future of every young man and woman is inseparable from the effort to build socialism and communism in the socialist lands, from the fight against the monopolies in the capitalist countries and the movement for national liberation and independence in the colonial and dependent areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

That lends a new dimension to the unity of the international democratic youth movement and its interaction with all the other elements of the world anti-imperialist front.

That is why the Ninth World Festival will have as its slogan: "Solidarity, peace and friendship!"

The comprehensive program of the Festival provides for diverse expressions of solidarity with the embattled youth and people of Vietnam and with other peoples fighting for national independence and social progress. There will be demonstrations of solidarity with the people of the

Arab countries, Portuguese colonies, victims of racialism and racial discrimination, Cuba, Latin America, Greece, Spain and Portugal.

The program also envisages talks, seminars, conferences, etc., to enable the participants to exchange views on the current problems. One of the highlights will be the forum on "The Role of the Youth and Students in the Fight for Peace, Democracy, National Independence and Liberation."

There are plans for a Human Rights Day, Girls' Day, processions and rallies to mark the 23rd anniversary of the dropping of the A-Bomb on Hiroshima. There will be get-togethers by profession, visits to factories, institutes and cooperative farms, meetings with prominent personalities in the cultural and scientific fields. The sports and cultural programs will be dominated by the Festival's slogan.

Vietnam solidarity rallies, which will hold a special place, will be the pivotal point of the political program and will set the tone of the Festival. That is only natural, for embodied in the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and youth are the aspirations of people everywhere, their determination to win and safeguard freedom and independence and administer a rebuff to imperialist aggression in whatever form. For progressives everywhere, support for Vietnam is the touchstone of integrity and devotion to freedom.

Interest in the Festival is growing. The International Preparatory Committee, of

which the chairman is Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, has already done much to popularize the Festival.

More and more youth and student organizations are joining in the preparatory work, and more National Festival Committees are being set up.

A feature of the preparations is the interest they have evoked among youth organizations which in the past were either indifferent or openly hostile towards the World Youth Festivals.

The Bulgarian Communist Youth League has consistently worked for closer international youth unity. We want the Festival to be representative of all the young democratic and progressive forces. We want it to be a forum of broad discussion, of an exchange of views, a meeting place for contacts between youth and student organizations and movements.

The Youth League and all young Bulgarians are doing everything to make the Festival a success.

As we see it, the Festival will be a new and significant contribution towards unity of the democratic youth and students, a powerful demonstration of solidarity of the young generation in the fight for national liberation and independence, against neofascism and racialism, for social progress, peace and friendship.

Pyotr MLADENOV

France: student unrest develops into nationwide struggle

It is too early to pass final judgment on the movement in the French universities which began early in May and two weeks later merged with another, much broader and much more important social and political movement.

Nor should one judge the conflict between the students and the authorities by its individual manifestations, some of which had strong anarchistic overtones. For in-

stance, students raised the black and red flags over the Odeon Theatre, which they took over on the night of May 15. One of the students, speaking for the March 22 Movement, said they had "captured a bastion of bourgeois culture." The French radio described the incident as a "phase of the cultural revolution." Meanwhile, students continued to occupy most of the country's universities. In Nanterre, near Paris, they

proclaimed "a free and autonomous faculty." Everywhere, from Lille to Montpellier, "action committees" and "constituent assemblies" were being organized in preparation for the "States-general" of university students and teachers.

The Communist Party repeatedly warned against provocation, which would inevitably play into the hands of reaction and the government. And many students and university lecturers realized that the movement would be more likely to produce results if it shed its anarchistic and nihilist slogans. On May 16, a general meeting of students at Nanterre protested against the indefinite postponement of examinations. The 14,000 students, they said, would not submit to a decision imposed by a minority of 2,000; the examinations could be held without further delay, on conditions worked out without parity commissions of students and faculty members.

The diverse currents in the movement are often obscured by the exuberant, even fantastic, forms it assumes. Student confusion is being exploited by the hard-line Gaullists in an attempt to belittle the role of the working class.

"For a senile country like France, the student unrest is both a blessing and a hope!" That piece of demagoguery, in which the senile system is equated with the country, comes from a former Gaullist minister, Robert Buron. He is echoed by David Rousset, a Gaullist candidate in the last elections: "There is no misreading the fact that the student movement is a component of the popular support which for us is a sign of the times. For the students are in the van of the struggle for revolutionary reform and renewal."

There is not, in either of these statements, even a remote attempt to analyze the difficulties with which the students have to cope—the system of admission to the universities, the status of the student in the university and in society, the numerous job obstacles erected by the capitalist system. But it is these difficulties and the close association of student and working-class interests that explain why the workers, seeing this breakdown of law and order, the violence and chaos for which the government was responsible, displayed such a deep feeling of solidarity with the students and are now taking strike action. For example, on May 14 the workers of the Sud-Aviation plant at Nantes, occupied the plant in support of their demand for a 40-hour week without wage reduction. They

were the first, and their example was followed by the workers at the Renault plants in Flins, Rouen and later in Boulogne-Billancourt. On May 17, 60,000 workers downed tools in the country's biggest nationalized plant. The movement continued to spread. In Boulogne-Billancourt the strikers welcomed messages of sympathy delivered by a student delegation, but to prevent possible provocation did not allow the students to enter the plant.

At a discussion seminar on the student movement arranged by *l'Humanite* early in May, Roland Leroy, Communist Party Political Bureau member, said it was necessary "to differentiate between the activities of student groups and the movement as a whole. Its scope should be seen in context with its underlying causes, which are deep-rooted and affect everyone. For it should be perfectly clear that the issues concern not only the students but all working people".

On the day *l'Humanite* published Leroy's statement, ten million French workers were on strike and several hundred thousand were demonstrating in Paris under the slogan: "Solidarity of workers, teachers and students."

The strike was a turning point in the evolution of the movement. Before it, the student campaign was confined to a set of limited aims, but after May 12 the Communist Party and all the democratic forces could say that "working class and student unity is a challenge to the regime."

In the early months of the year, the demonstrations of philology students in Nanterre involved only a small minority. The fascist provocations and the police reprisals that followed transformed the situation. On Thursday, May 2, fascists from the "West" organization tried to set fire to the headquarters of the Sorbonne student research federation. A protest demonstration held in the university courtyard was dispersed by the police, in flagrant and unprecedented violation of university privileges. Police occupation of the Latin Quarter detonated a veritable explosion. On May 5, a few of the demonstrators were arrested and jailed. Next day, May 6, the students were joined by faculty members, and 422 were arrested. On May 7, the student organization called for an unlimited strike, demanding an end to the reprisals, withdrawal of the police from the Latin Quarter and reopening of the Paris and Nanterre universities. There were more demonstrations that day, and in the night

of May 10 there was the now famous "battle of the barricades" (about 60 had been erected), lasting three hours and resulting in 367 wounded and 460 arrested. Ambulances were still being sent to the Latin Quarter when the first rays of dawn were breaking through the clouds of tear gas.

Protest demonstrations began during the night, and at nine in the morning trade union leaders met at the Labor Exchange. There were representatives of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and the Democratic (Christian) Confederation (CFTD), the Federation of National Education, the National Union of University Teachers, and the National Union of Students.

At noon the CGT and CFTD issued a joint communique:

"In response to the government's challenge, the trade unions call for a general 24-hour strike on Monday, May 13, and for powerful demonstrations in which broad sections of the population will doubtlessly take part.

"Stop the repressions! Freedom! Democracy! Long live the alliance of the working people and students!"

At 11.30 a delegation of the Communist Party led by its General Secretary, Waldeck Rochet, met with a delegation of the Left Federation led by Guy Mollet. The Communists and Socialists expressed "their common resolve to urge all their members and organizations actively to support the trade union initiative."

At 2 p.m. the Communist Party issued a strike call in support of the following demands:

"Immediate and complete cessation of all repressive measures; release of those arrested, amnesty for the sentenced;

"Guaranteed trade union and political freedoms."

The statement concluded with an appeal for unity "of all the popular forces against the Gaullist regime."

By this time the government was no longer able to counter the protest movement by new acts of violence. The Prime Minister announced that, with the consent of the President of the Republic, the Sorbonne would be reopened and that "all requests to release arrested students would be examined by a Court of Appeal in conformity with the law."

The government was retreating, but the students were not satisfied. The press carried medical reports showing that many

students had been wounded and some made temporarily blind by tear gas. The students demanded the resignation of the Interior Minister and of the Rector of the Sorbonne for having called in the police. In the University itself, the students were discussing their problems, which now were in the focus of public attention and concern.

The Communist Party took advantage of these discussions to reiterate its stand on the crucial issues confronting the country's students. In September 1966, the Education Commission of the Party Central Committee held a conference attended by more than 200 university instructors, engineers, physicians, educationalists, students and workers, to draft a democratic educational reform.

The statement issued after the discussion said "inequality based on class status, and obsolescence are the two main features of the French educational system... Social inequality is especially widespread in higher education, and the social composition of the student body is the reverse of the social composition of the population."

A poll conducted by the National Demographic Research Institute showed that the percentage of students with working-class backgrounds is five times less than the percentage of workers in the population.

According to another inquiry, only six out of every 1,000 students are classed in the "agricultural wage-earners" group and 64 in the "industrial workers" group. In some faculties the percentage of the latter is even less—three per cent in the medical and 1.62 in the pharmacological. This is the result of the status-oriented policy of selection, or "sifting," at secondary school level. It was condemned, way back in 1946, by two of France's renowned scientists and pedagogues, the Communists Paul Langevin and Henri Wallon: "The bourgeoisie, which by right of inheritance holds the leading posts in the administration, can no longer cope with the problem. The requirements of the modern economy necessitate reconstruction of the educational system which, in its present form, no longer conforms with economic and social conditions."

The student is exposed to all the evil consequences of the contradictions that are part of capitalism. Three students out of four do not finish the full course, and most of the drop-outs come from low-income families. But even those who do manage to take their degree face an uncertain future. Before the present student

unrest, Minister of Education Peyrefitte announced a series of restrictive measures—one of them would make it impossible for 5,000 of the 7,000 first-year medical students in Paris to complete their studies.

Since scholarships are inadequate (and inadequately allocated), 40 per cent of the students have to combine study with jobs. And to this should be added the woeful inadequacy of class rooms, libraries and hostels. The student unrest came as a sudden flare-up, but the factors that led to it had been maturing for a long time.

A communique issued by the Communist Party Political Bureau on the eve of the May 13 strike said: "What do the students want? First of all, and most of all, not to be integrated in a system, the purposes and implications of which they are not allowed to discuss... Democratic reform of higher education should give the students a say in curricula orientation."

That, in fact, has dominated student discussions everywhere, and everywhere the demand is for representation on governing university bodies. Another much discussed question is how examinations should be conducted, and student protests forced the government to postpone the summer examinations. "Examinations are at the very heart of the contradictions of university life," is a point made at practically every rally. For the examinations are being carried out in a way that can cut short the student's career before it begins. *Le Monde* made the point not long ago that "young people entering the labor market with no training are doomed to unemployment," but, it added, "unemployment is the scourge also of young people with university degrees."

These are the things that are causing so much anxiety to French students. They cannot be resolved by repressive measures, the only reply of a condemned and doomed regime. The only solution is a democratic one, and one that would pave the way to socialism.

One of our comrades, Guy Besse, remarked that it is not the Communists who contend that "France has too many scient-

ists, too many teachers, engineers, students, musicians." And this in a country where "57 per cent of the population do not read even one book a year," where "two inhabitants out of three in the Paris area have never attended a concert."

Any genuine criticism of the university structure and of the educational system in general in a country ruled by a combination of personal and monopoly power, is bound to bring out issues on which workers and intellectuals can unite against a social system that denies them a meaningful part in directing the economy, shaping policy, or promoting national culture.

The May 13 strike and the subsequent joint actions of workers and students are an expression of this firm solidarity. And it is significant that the strike developed soon after Herbert Marcuse told a Marx Memorial Seminar at UNESCO that the working class was no longer capable of a revolutionary role; that role now belongs to the "outcast" or "second-rate" social groups—the colonial peoples, Negroes, or the youth, which has not yet been absorbed in the existing system. Replying to Marcuse, Roger Garaudy pointed to the close identity of student and worker demands: they refuse to live in a society of which profit is the only motive; they want an active share in formulating the objectives of the nation's economic, political and cultural endeavors.

The discontent of workers and students, all French democrats, can be reduced to a common denominator. Reconstruction of the present system of higher education is part of the much needed reconstruction of society. The students' fight became effective only when it naturally merged with the struggle of the working people, of every one devoted to the cause of freedom. And in this way the conditions are being created for an end to the personal power regime. The bold, persevering and imaginative united action which now dominates the French scene will bring nearer the day when our country will be living in a system of modern democracy.

Pierre HENTGES

Revolutionary ideas triumph

In Berlin, capital of the socialist state in Germany, the country of Karl Marx, representatives of 57 Communist, Socialist and National-Democratic parties gathered at the beginning of May at an international symposium to mark the 150th birthday of the founder of scientific communism, among them delegates from the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Vietnam, Korea, the United States, Japan, Italy, France, the Arab countries and countries of Latin America, the Left Socialist Party of Denmark, the Socialist People's Party of Norway, and a number of African national-democratic parties.

The main report, "Significance and Vitality of Karl Marx's Teaching in Our Time," was delivered by Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic.

Marx's distinction, Ulbricht said, was to link scientific socialism with the labor movement. None but the working class can apply revolutionary theory in practice. This was the idea that underlay the political activity of Marx, a brilliant scientist and dedicated revolutionary.

Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the Russian workers in alliance with the peasants used Marxism's critical and revolutionary force to demolish the old society half a century ago, then went on to apply Marx's teaching as the creative force in building the new society. The vitality of Marxism's demolitionary and creative aspects is fully substantiated by the existence of the socialist world system, the growth of the world Communist movement into the strongest political force of our time and the spread of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist movement, proving that "Marx's teaching is the most influential political and spiritual movement in the world today."

The speaker turned to Lenin's contribution to the victory of Marx's ideas, which

he deepened and applied, primarily his theory of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, which had a strong bearing on the October Revolution and the Soviet Union, whose political and social system became the model of exploitation-free socialist society.

Speaking of the mechanics of political and economic guidance, Ulbricht described socialist planned economy as the core of the socialist system, stressing the importance of centralized planning as the chief means of coordinating and managing the economy. As the socialist system advances, he pointed out, the central organs concentrate more on the main aspects of economic guidance, including economic and social prognostication, and give an increasingly greater degree of independence and responsibility to the units of production.

Another section of Ulbricht's report was devoted to the validity of Marx's theory with regard to the modern capitalist world, despite the modifications wrought in the capitalist system since the time Marx wrote his *Capital*. Rejecting the theory of the independent growth of productive forces, the speaker underscored the role played by production relations, which either limit or stimulate the economy, and showed that the contradictions of modern capitalism were rendered more acute by the technological revolution, such as the contradiction between the growing concentration of capital impelled by that revolution and the increasing socialization of labor, which is its necessary effect. A study of the current capitalist difficulties, Ulbricht said, shows that neither the profit-market mechanism nor state regulation can fulfil their function under state-monopoly capitalism and that "imperialism will soon have to contend with a vicious circle of contradictions such as it has never faced before."

The technological revolution, he added, shows more clearly than ever that socialism is on the order of the day throughout the world. Weighing the socialist world

system against the imperialist world, the speaker enumerated the advantages of socialism and the factors that enable developed socialist societies to go ahead with the technological revolution, augmenting the advantages over capitalism. He listed the following factors: the qualitatively higher degree of conscious and creative citizens' participation in political life and in guiding the economy and society; further advances in using the economic laws of socialism to attain higher economic efficiency; scientific guidance in all spheres of life, notably in industry, science and research; growth of international socialist cooperation and, last but not least, a vastly superior system of education.

The main conclusion drawn from the comparative study of the two systems was formulated by Ulbricht as follows: at hand are the preconditions for the balance of forces tilting much more rapidly in favor of socialism and the anti-imperialist forces; to make the most of these, the socialist and technological revolutions should merge into a single process.

Ulbricht dealt at length with the materialization of Marxism in Marx's homeland. Stressing the decisive impact of the Soviet Union's victory over German fascism and the importance of the all-round Soviet aid, he amplified on the specific problems solved before the German Democratic Republic could be made a highly developed industrial state and a country of intensive agriculture. Though benefiting from Soviet experience, he said, the GDR could not copy it mechanically. The 7th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party last year launched the building of a developed socialist social system in democratic Germany, the socio-political program of which is set out in the recently approved Constitution. Ulbricht stressed that "socialist democracy, and with it man's activity in society, have now gained fresh scope." This process, he added, was inconceivable without extending the guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist Party and the socialist state.

The speaker exposed imperialism's new tactics in the ideological struggle, pinpointing attempts at "subverting" socialism with various quasi-theories, such as that of the "convergence" of capitalism and socialism and the gradual emergence of a so-called integrated system claimed to be a synthesis of capitalism and socialism. Notions of this sort, he said, were seized upon by those "modern Marxists" who "deny the leading role of the working class and maintain that intellectuals 'standing above classes'

were alone capable of fructifying society's interests."

Its past attempts at weakening the socialist system having failed, imperialism was streamlining its political weaponry, with an important place assigned to West Germany's "new eastern policy" of penetrating the socialist countries. Ulbricht drew attention to the situation in West Germany, demonstrating how the projects peddled there were tied in with the militaristic, expansionist and fascist trends, accompanied by increasing economic pressure on the working classes. However, he noted, the resistance of the advanced sections of the people was now more vigorous, massive and cohesive, merging with the all-European movement against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the revival of nazism. In these circumstances, he pointed out, unity of the working class and all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the European countries was imperative. He took issue with the Social-Democratic parties, especially those in power, for going along with the dangerous imperialist policies, losing votes in many countries of late, which in some cases compelled them to withdraw from the government. On the other hand, parties that dissociated themselves from U.S. global strategy and acted in concert with the Communists and other democratic elements, such as those of France and Finland, made marked progress in elections.

Ulbricht emphasized the need to act on the decisions of the Karlovy Vary conference and initiate steps towards cooperation with the Social-Democratic parties, trade unions, and other mass organizations in safeguarding European peace and security. It was high time, he said, to begin a dialogue with the Social-Democratic parties over the struggle for peace, democracy and the security of Europe.

The speaker expressed confidence that the correct use of Marxism-Leninism in preparing and holding the world conference of Communist and Workers' parties would show the way to international working-class unity and fuse all democratic forces in a worldwide anti-imperialist movement.

The next speaker was Comrade A. Y. Peltshé, Member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, who delivered a report on "The Modern Epoch, the Epoch of the Triumph of Marxist-Leninist Ideas." Every day, he said, yielded fresh proof that life followed Marx, that Marx's ideas, his cause, were triumphant.

Marking the 150th birthday of Karl Marx, the speaker continued, we cannot help re-

ferring to Lenin, his faithful follower and the continuer of his immortal cause. Leninism is the higher phase of Marxism, the Marxism of our time. Like Marx, Lenin was a true internationalist, teaching Communists to combine the national interests of the working class with its internationalist duty and to gear the national tasks with the common interests of the international working-class movement.

Recapitulating the past and looking to the future, Peltshé said, the Soviet Communists and the Soviet people paid tribute to Marx, the creator of scientific communism, and, paying homage to his memory, pledged themselves to consummate their task of building a complete communist society.

Peltshé dwelled on some of the current international problems, noting the headway made by the people of the GDR under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party in building socialism, and pointed out that the militarism and revanchism in West Germany were a grave threat to European, above all German, peace and security.

Imperialism, with the United States as its leading force, Peltshé observed, was the chief enemy of peace, democracy, socialism and the freedom of the peoples. The criminal war in Vietnam, the fascist coup in Greece, the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries and the intrigues in Laos and Cambodia, he said, headed the far from complete list of crimes perpetrated against the peoples by the U.S. imperialists.

Owing to its very nature, Peltshé said, the fight against imperialism was international, and what a party contributed to the common effort of unifying the world Communist movement and to the fight against imperialism was the touchstone of its internationalism.

Peltshé stressed that the world conference of Communist and Workers' parties scheduled for November was necessary to firm up the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and the socialist countries, the cohesion of the Communist movement with all revolutionary forces fighting imperialism, to repulse the imperialist attack on fraternal socialist Vietnam and to restore peace in that long-suffering country.

Witold Jarosinski, Secretary of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party, pointed out that Marxist ideas were the most important weapon in the fight to deliver man from exploitation, acting as a powerful force of socialist growth.

Jarosinski put the emphasis on fighting

against war, for peace and unity, and stressed the vitality of the Marxist slogan, "Workers of the World, Unite!" He pointed out that nationalism was the main threat to the unity, capability and ideological strength of the Communist movement.

Jarosinski flayed the United States' role as imperialism's world policeman, called attention to the peril to the socialist countries and to general security of West German revanchism and neo-nazism. Bonn's policy, he said, was spearheaded against the German Democratic Republic, which the Bonn rulers want to isolate from its natural socialist allies with an eye to unifying Germany on imperialist principles. However, the speaker added, Bonn's reactionary policy is doomed to failure.

Comrade Josef Spacek, Member of the Presidium, Czechoslovak Communist Party, described the latest events in his country as a new socialist advance and as evidence of the growth of democratization in socialist society.

Marx, he said, associated the emancipation of the proletariat with the emancipation of all mankind. Marx and Lenin conceived the dictatorship of the proletariat as a historically transient weapon assuring the consolidation of socialism and elimination of the exploiting classes, paving the way thereby to the elimination of classes in general.

Speaking of current international matters, Spacek noted the dangerous upsurge of neo-nazism and revanchism in West Germany and made clear that friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries was the basic unalterable orientation of the foreign policy of his Party and the Czechoslovak state. The unity of the world Communist movement, he said, was predicated on unity of ideas and aims, and the common task of combating aggressive imperialist policy and fighting for democracy and socialism.

Jacques Duclos, Member of the Political Bureau, French Communist Party, examined the significance for our time of the thesis formulated by Marx and developed by Lenin that the working class is the decisive force of our revolutionary epoch.

Emilio Sereni of the Italian Communist Party spoke about the student movement, stressing that it should be tied in with the movement of the working class, which plays the decisive part in the fight for national independence, democracy, socialism and peace.

Anthony Krchmarek, Member of the National Committee, Communist Party USA,

described his country as the citadel of imperialism, looked into the contradictions of U.S. capitalism and denounced those who had guided the hand of the assassin of Martin Luther King.

Gerardo Unzueta, Member of the Presidium, Mexican Communist Party, spoke of the importance of Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" for the theory and practice of the class struggle in Mexico.

Hector Agosti, Member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina, stressed the vanguard role of the working class in the national-liberation movement, and the spokesman of the South African Communist Party examined problems of the fight against colonialism.

Ibrahim Saad Eddin, Member of the General Secretariat of the Arab Socialist Union, described Marx as history's greatest thinker. His intervention centered on the tasks of combating the U.S.-supported Israeli expansionists in the fight for national independence.

Hanne Reintoft, Member of the Presidium of the Left-Socialist Party of Denmark, called for the unity of the Left forces in the fight against monopoly capitalism for socialism, levelling strong criticism against the anti-people's policy of the Right socialist leaders.

Twenty-nine speakers took part in the discussion.

All reports and interventions were im-

bued with the spirit of internationalism, the desire to develop and apply creatively the Marxist-Leninist teaching, taking into account the national tasks of the respective parties and, at once, the common interests of the world working-class movement. The wide range of subjects dealt with at the symposium testified to the breadth of Marxist thought.

Nearly all speakers examined the international situation and the responsibility of each Party, revealing an identity of views in the search for joint solutions to expand and strengthen the militant unity of the Communists with the socialist, national-revolutionary and democratic movements of the world in the fight against imperialism. The wish to reinforce unity was evinced not only by Communists, but also by the representatives of socialist and national democratic parties.

The symposium showed the versatility of Marx and his legacy, reproducing the image of the revolutionary politician inspiring the more advanced section of humanity in the arduous struggle for transforming society and making our world a better place to live in.

The symposium contributed to the Marxist-Leninist understanding of our time, its laws and development and showed the ways to resolve the problems facing the world Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces.

J. KOWALCZYK, F. MIERES

The vitality of Marxism

The symposium on the 150 years since the birth of Karl Marx held in Moscow April 23-25, under the auspices of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the humanitarian institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Higher Party School and the Academy of Social Sciences, CC CPSU, was attended by delegates from Bulgaria, Hungary, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Austria, Algeria, India, Italy, Iraq, Canada, the Lebanon, Mali, Mexico, the United Arab Republic, Syria,

the United States, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Uruguay, Chile, Sweden, Ceylon and Japan.

Also present were four great-grandsons of Karl Marx: Frederick, Robert, Karl and Paul Longuet.

The proceedings were opened by Comrade P. N. Demichev, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU. No other man in history, Demichev said, has left such a creative legacy as Marx for the fight for men's emancipation, earning him the undying affection and gratitude of people in all countries.

Even the worst enemies of Marxism acknowledge Marx's immense influence on world history. Anti-Communists try to dismiss Marxism as past history. However, the facts disprove them. Marx is our contemporary. His thoughts and his work, Demichev stressed, are embodied in the achievements of the first socialist state, the growing power of the other socialist countries and in the success of the world Communist movement and national-liberation struggle.

Today, too, Marxism, further developed in the new historical era by Lenin and by the collective efforts of the Soviet and the other fraternal Communist parties, helps us understand social reality, teaching us to change it and to anticipate the trends, forms and motive forces of the change.

Marxism, Demichev pointed out, has won the minds of hundreds of millions, his ideas are spreading throughout the world, because nothing has a bigger power of attraction than the living truth.

Marx is alive today through his theory, the banner of the fighters for socialism and communism, which is the best monument to the thinker whose genius has illuminated the scene down the years.

Academician P. N. Fedoseyev spoke to a plenary session of the symposium on Marxism and the social problems of the twentieth century, and Academician A. M. Rumyantsev on Marx and the problems of building communist society.

More than 50 papers were read in the various committees.

Much of the discussion centered on the further growth of the socialist society.

Fraternal delegates discussed modern capitalism and the world revolutionary process, rejecting the contention that Marxism

is "obsolete" and "belongs in the 19th century," invoking many examples to show that the twentieth century is the age of Marxism-Leninism, a century of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Speakers discussed the growth of monopoly capitalism in France, Italy and West Germany and the political, financial and moral crisis afflicting U.S. imperialism.

A deep impression was created by the communication of Nguen Vinh, of Vietnam, who stressed that his country's victories were at once victories for the socialist camp and the revolutionary forces in the rest of the world, and that in fighting the U.S. aggressors people equipped with Marxist ideas and aims were the decisive force.

The role played by Marxists in the struggle for the national liberation of the developing countries was examined at length. Many papers noted the expansion and greater effectiveness of the world anti-imperialist forces, dwelling on the possibilities from country to country and the objective and subjective difficulties hindering their further growth and warning against the dangers of both "left" adventurers and right reformists, who are falsifying Marxism.

Some speakers called for more international conferences, promoting broader discussions and exchanges of opinion on the more complex theoretical and practical issues.

What highlighted practically all reports was the desire for greater unity. It was the overwhelming consensus that unity is the decisive condition for progress in the worldwide fight against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

B. NIVENS

The West German Social-Democrat Congress

The evolution of capitalist Europe's Social-Democratic parties differs in many important respects. In France and Finland, to cite two examples, the trend is toward cooperation with the Left, including the Communists, for the attainment of progressive goals.

Social-Democratic parties whose policies are more or less those closely identified with state-monopoly capitalism find themselves in a critical position and are rapidly losing credibility and support. That is true of Britain, Scandinavia and, in particular, the Federal Germany Republic. The Social-Democratic Party (SPD) has been losing votes in Landtag elections since the grand coalition was formed in December 1966, while the National-Democrats have been winning votes, and on an alarming scale.

The Social-Democratic party's resounding defeat in the Baden-Wurtemberg state elections aroused anxiety among its members and supporters, how widespread can be judged by the fact that the regional party conference disregarded pressure from the central leadership and decided not to continue the coalition with the Christian-Democrats in Baden-Wurtemberg. There is a mounting demand throughout the country for a Social-Democrat alternative to Bonn's reactionary policy. But despite the resentment and the protests of the trade unions, speaking for six and a half million organized workers, and other segments of the extra-parliamentary opposition, the SPD cooperated with the Christian-Democrats in railroading the emergency laws through the Bundestag. Not a single SPD deputy spoke against them.

These developments show that the Right-wing leaders are dead set on continuing their coalition with Kiesinger and Strauss. But they also show that the opposition forces within the party must become much

stronger and more united before they can force a reversal of that fatal course.

Small wonder, therefore, that the debate at the Party Congress in Nuremburg in March centered largely on the decision to join the Kiesinger government. In fact, even before the congress it was clear that the leaders would use every manipulatory technique to secure congress approval of that decision. And to do that the executive issued a policy statement, "Social-Democratic Perspectives for the 70's," as a counterblast to the numerous rank-and-file proposals, many of which urged an independent policy.

The "Perspectives" were approved, together with another document, "The Social-Democratic Contribution to Settlement of Pressing Issues of German Policy." It charts a program of action, but its centerpiece is unreserved approval of Social-Democratic participation in the present government. The Congress also decided to support the proposed emergency legislation. What, then, is the party's attitude to the Federal Republic and the labor movement?

The Party leaders—and Brandt made this perfectly clear at the congress—fully support the existing political structure.

The party's post-1945 history indicates that within its ranks are two mutually-opposed tendencies. The majority of SPD members and supporters regard the Party as a champion of labor's interests, as a force working for peace, democracy and social progress. And many among the rank and file, especially workers hard-hit by speedup and intensified exploitation, join with Communists and non-party people in the fight for higher wages. In the municipal councils, where the Social Democrats have worked to satisfy the social and cultural requirements of the working population, their activities are closely linked with the

working class, and this explains the growing opposition in the party and the demands for a new policy directed against the Christian-Democrats. The demand is voiced in trade union decisions and in statements by the extra-parliamentary opposition.

The party leaders are anxious to subdue these opposition forces, with the result that many Social-Democrats have joined the extra-parliamentary opposition. This brings them into the active struggles in the factories, demonstrations against the war in Vietnam and the movement against the emergency laws. All this has its impact on the party, whose leaders find themselves obliged to maneuver and change the tone of their pronouncements on controversial issues.

Another factor is the debate among young workers and intellectuals on the nature of the West German social system. These young people are less affected by anti-communism and, speaking from radical positions, question the validity of the dominant ideology and the expression it finds in the policy and actions of the government and the political parties, the Social-Democrats included.

However, it should be emphasized that neither in the early post-war years nor in more recent times have these opposition forces proved sufficiently strong to impose a new policy. Social-Democratic policy is still shaped by the party leaders who, in the words of the draft program of the Communist Party of Germany, "have elevated cooperation with big capital to the supreme principle of their policy." Indeed, these Right-wing leaders have become part of the state-monopoly system and are working to strengthen and develop the monopoly mechanism of government.

This offers a clear danger to peace and democracy and underscores the special responsibility of Social-Democrat functionaries and rank and file to prevent the course now pursued by big capital from leading the country back to fascism, or making Germany the starting point of another war.

In this situation, the Communist Party of Germany has emphasized the need for joint action by Communists and Social-Democrats as the key to strengthening the labor movement and ensuring the victory of the working class and other democratic forces.

These two basic tendencies were clearly manifested in Nuremberg. The "Perspectives" assess the present situation, outline "aspects of the future" and formulate

"Social-Democratic policy for the 70's" and discuss the present and future of the party.

The statement's analysis of the international situation runs counter to the facts. It maintains, for instance, that the "tempestuous growth of the population and advance in science," are major factors of world development. Another is "East-West relations," and still another the artificially-constructed "antagonism between North and South." This, we are told, is largely responsible for world tensions, and their elimination depends decisively on the state of "East-West relations." The idea, of course, is to conceal or obscure worldwide class antagonisms and sidetrack attention from the fact that the present world tensions are due to the aggressive policy and power lust of American and West German imperialism.

The war danger, a built-in feature of imperialism, is deliberately obscured and minimized. In fact, the whole issue of war and peace is presented in a way to suggest that the danger of war is a consequence of the development of science and military technology, of the fact that "many politicians still fail to realize that politics must be subordinated to the process of change."

In other words, the Social-Democratic leaders either gloss over or play down the fact that U.S. imperialism is waging a criminal war in Vietnam and that West German imperialism is giving it every support. Also deliberately overlooked is that the Bonn government, by its aggressive policy and arms drive, is creating new centers of war danger in Europe. The Social-Democratic leaders pretend not to notice that U.S. global strategy, of which Bonn is an integral and active element, is deliberately banking on war as a means of attaining aggressive goals.

That is plainly spelled out in the second policy statement, "The Social-Democratic Contribution to Settlement of Pressing Issues of German Policy." "The Atlantic alliance," it says, "is the foundation of our security," "no German government has the right to take measures" that would harden "the division of Germany internationally," and the Bonn government is "the sole legal government in Germany." This is a thinly veiled repetition of Bonn's claim to represent all Germany and thus leave the door open for military aggression against the German Democratic Republic. The statement further affirms that "West Berlin

comes within the economic, legal and financial system of the FRG."

The Social-Democrats are strong advocates of European capitalist integration. They want to extend the European Economic Community by "bringing in Great Britain, Ireland and the Scandinavian countries" and call for "long-range political strengthening of EEC." European capitalist countries, it is further stated, can "safeguard their interests in the world only by concerted effort."

It is against this background that we should regard the many congress pronouncements in defense of world peace, for a European adjustment, a new Eastern policy and a detente in relations with the GDR.

It would be sheer illusion to accept the Nuremburg resolutions on peace, detente and disarmament as a positive development. True, they contain certain concessions which the leadership had to make under rank-and-file pressure. For instance, only recently leading Social-Democrat spokesmen were voicing support for America's aggression in Vietnam. But the anti-war demonstrations in various parts of the country and in West Berlin impelled the Executive to state that cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam would open the road to peace negotiations. However, the Social-Democrat ministers have done absolutely nothing to force the government to cut off support for the corrupt Saigon regime and urge the U.S. to stop the bombing. The Executive's resolutions, therefore, can only be interpreted as misleading the party, its members and supporters. Even after the Nuremburg congress, the party's stand on this crucial issue is far more to the Right than that of many other European Social-Democrat parties.

The same applies to its position on social and political issues. What it has to say about the structure and future of West German society can be reduced to support of state-monopoly capitalism. Thus we find the "Perspectives" claiming that "the institutions of parliamentary democracy have never been so stable and viable." That is a sheer untruth, for all the facts point in the opposite direction: the monopolies hold undivided sway, neo-nazism is on the rise, the Social-Democrat leadership supports the emergency laws, the Communist Party, together with numerous other democratic organizations, is banned.

The statement rejects a class approach to the social structure. Instead, it describes

the Federal Republic as a "modern industrial society" based on the "principle of productivity" and the "dictates of solidarity." The threat in this "modern industrial society," we are told, comes only from "the domination of technology and technocrats over the individual"—and from the fact that "the state is all-powerful in relation to the individual."

And in keeping with these concepts, the party calls for "a constantly growing, modernized economy," inasmuch as "expansion of production in our highly industrialized society requires that the division of labor and the maneuverability of capital and manpower be paralleled by technical progress."

No wonder the "Perspectives" support concentration of capital: "The trend towards large industries and large industrial units is economically justified insofar as this is required by international technical progress and the resultant competition in world markets." The Social-Democratic Economics Minister, Schiller, wants an amalgamated German oil concern and supports the plan for a capitalist coal trust. There are many more facts illustrative of the leadership's rejection of a class appraisal of society and, needless to say, of socialist aims.

Of course, there is no dearth of fine words about "concern for the individual" and the need for reforms. But these reforms—promised but not carried out—will in no way alter either the social or the power structure. All the reform proposals, as outlined in the "Perspectives," aim at "preserving and strengthening our international competitive position." This neatly fits in with the requirements of state-monopoly capitalism. It can fully subscribe to the demand for intermediate financial planning, coordinated economic measures, annual economic reports, even the so-called plan for "overall economic supervision." "Reforms" in public education would further strengthen the state-monopoly system.

Structural changes, the Social-Democrats maintain, will not lead to unemployment, for the redundant workers would be re-employed. This, however, is accompanied by demands that "everyone should be notified in good time of what he will have to face." The idea, obviously, is to minimize the hardships which continuation of state-monopoly capitalism bodes for the working class.

The Social-Democrats, in fact, are chiefly concerned with protecting the state-mon-

opoly system in the hope that this will blunt, if not entirely resolve, some of the contradictions and prevent open conflict. The fact, however, is that it can but aggravate the social contradictions and antagonisms.

The resolution on "pressing issues" says the party's economic policy helped "overcome the crisis and spark a new economic upturn." That is wholly at odds with the facts. True, the cyclical crisis has passed rock bottom, but this was achieved entirely at the expense of the working class. The structural crisis is still there, with all its adverse consequences, and is bound to lead to a new assault on the standard of living.

The Social-Democrats have put out the sunshine story that the next decade will be one of social and political reform. If by this they mean real reform that would benefit the worker and not the monopolies, then they should first of all work for transformation of the social and political structure by transferring key industries to public ownership, giving the workers a share in management at every level, introducing democratic planning and, more important, giving the working class a decisive influence in parliament and in the government. There is no other way of cutting monopoly influence. However, there is no mention in any of the policy statements of the working class getting a bigger share of influence, or of contemplated changes in the power pattern.

What they have to say on the subject is limited to proposals on how to make the functioning of parliament, the government and administrative bodies more effective: "The state of a modern industrial society must be based on planning, coordination, development and guidance. The viability of the new society depends not only on the opportunities offered for the unfolding and competition of pluralistic forces; it depends to a much larger degree on the enterprise and initiative of individuals."

The "Perspectives" are revealingly frank in advocating the merger of the state and the monopolies. "Leadership, planning and consultation presuppose personal intercourse and interaction of the economy, science, the liberal professions and the public services." Decoded, this can only mean that the "reform" of the power structure is designed to perfect the state-monopoly apparatus. And one way of doing that is to curtail the federal structure and strengthen the reactionary central authority.

The debate at the congress, as mentioned above, was on Social-Democrat participation in the Kiesinger-Strauss government. And it fully brought out the critical position in which the party leaders find themselves. A group of delegates tabled a resolution disapproving of Social-Democrat participation in the grand coalition. It was defeated by a narrow margin, 147 votes to 143.

The Executive resolution approving membership of the coalition was carried by 173 votes to 129. The voting on both resolutions made it obvious that the party rank and file are opposed to the grand coalition. It can reasonably be said that on this crucial issue there is a realistic chance of defeating the Right-wing leaders and setting the party on a new course.

There is also this: the opposition forces maintained close contact before and during the congress, at which they presented persuasive arguments. The apathy of the early months of the year has been followed by a new spurt of activity, as evidenced by the 952 proposals submitted to the Congress. All of them, in varying degree, were expressive of the deep contradictions between the rank and file and local officials, on the one hand, and the party leaders, on the other. There is every justification to speak of two class policies within the Social-Democratic movement. There is evidence of a maturing crisis caused by participation in the Kiesinger-Strauss government. Most of the resolutions criticized varying aspects of party policy and some contained elements of an alternative to the alliance with monopoly capital and its main political spokesman, the Christian-Democratic Party.

The membership resolutions are indicative of the evolution through which the party is now passing, the strength of the opposition and the process of differentiation.

But they also show that the chief motivation in criticizing various aspects of SPD policy is concern for the party. There is certainly no desire to leave the party. What its members and supporters want is that it should speak and act for the working people. The inner-party opposition doubtlessly represents a positive development in the general process of rallying and organizing the progressive forces.

The Nuremberg congress showed that the Right wing can no longer act in total disregard of the opposition. In fact, the latter's pressure compelled it to make cer-

tain concessions. For example, the Executive had to withdraw its plan to amend the electoral system. One of the considerations was, of course, loss of support among wide sections of the working population.

Reinstatement of party officials expelled for participating in demonstrations against the U.S. war in Vietnam is still another sign of opposition strength.

The Social-Democrat ministers had promised Kiesinger and Strauss not to introduce a bill during the current session of parliament envisaging greater worker participation in economic management. But here, too, the leaders had to yield to pressure from the trade unions and the party membership and pledge, in a special congress resolution, to go ahead with the bill.

Some of the party leaders, Ehmke for one, demanded an end to the war in Vietnam and the withdrawal of all U.S. forces. This, too, is proof that the extra-parliamentary opposition is compelling the leadership to maneuver.

On balance, the Nuremberg congress was a somewhat contradictory affair. It brought to the surface the struggle in the party, but did not resolve any of the controversial issues. They remain and are bound to have their impact on the SPD's activities and development. In fact, the main conflict has been aggravated by the dexterously manipulated resolution approving both the grand coalition and the emergency laws. The Right-wing leaders re-elected at the Congress—Brandt, Wehner, Schmidt, Schiller—can be depended upon to block progressive policies, and with the Congress resolutions to back them, will follow the line in the grand coalition government.

Continued participation in that government, support of Nato, the claim to speak for all Germans, and approval of the emergency laws—these remain the basic tenets of the leadership's policy. In short, they are not prepared to abandon the aggressive imperialist aims of the West German ruling element. That is how things stand.

Within the party and especially among its rank and file there is a growing trend towards another policy, a leftward shift, which, however, does not yet signify a return to socialist ideals and aims, though it does signify support for progressive democratic policies based on peaceful coexistence.

The opposition is more conscious of its strength, more articulate. And it is import-

ant that our Social-Democrat comrades should continue to fight for a new policy, in line with their resolutions, which the congress rejected.

As for the so-called "crisis of the grand coalition government," Brandt, Wehner and Schmidt had no difficulty in rigging up an agreement, immediately after the congress, with Kiesinger and Co. The Nuremberg demand for wider worker participation in management is now regarded as a scrap of paper, and it will remain so unless pressure is brought to bear. Some trade union leaders want the Social-Democrats in the Bundestag to introduce an appropriate bill. We support that.

Brandt had much to say about the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. But what the Social-Democrat ministers should do is to launch an offensive against Strauss, the prime mover of nuclear weapons for the Bundeswehr and opposition to the non-proliferation treaty. The Social-Democrats should insist on the immediate removal of this ultra-reactionary spokesman of imperialism.

The SPD leaders are prepared to accept the Oder-Neisse boundary, but with the reservation "pending conclusion of a peace treaty." Discussions within the coalition revealed that Brandt and Kiesinger see eye to eye on the boundary issue. But Brandt should tell the people the truth: Hitler lost the area as a result of his criminal war, and the present frontier is final. Its genuine acceptance, that is, a firm assurance to respect it, is closely linked with renunciation of all claims to speak for the whole German Democratic Republic.

On Vietnam, the SPD, as one of the government parties and Brandt as Foreign Minister, bear full responsibility for the material and manpower aid to Saigon and for the financial assistance to Saigon and Washington. Many Social-Democrats insist that the SPD ministers force the government to stop the huge foreign exchange compensation payments to the United States, because, for all practical purposes, this is a loan to help the U.S. wage the war.

On electoral reform, it was decided in Nuremberg to review the issue at the next Party congress in 1970. Interior Minister Luecke resigned over this issue. Kiesinger argues that electoral reform should not be made "an issue on which the life of the coalition depends." Considering the present policy of the Social-Democratic leadership, the Christian Democrats can be fully assured of victory in the 1969 elections and,

consequently, continuation of their dominant role in the government.

All the SPD verbal dissociation from Christian-Democrat policy will remain a hollow phrase unless there is strong membership pressure on the leaders to reverse their policy. Of course, this implies a vigorous campaign against the Christian-Democrats' imperialist plans and designs, but that is the last thing the SPD leaders want.

There is a deep ferment in the party. Brandt described rank and file sentiment in these words. "Let's not fool ourselves; all the signs point to a crisis." There is, he said, "fear of the state we live in, fear of our society, fear of the politicians who decide our destinies."

This "creeping fear," according to Brandt, can be overcome by injecting moral factors into the life of the people. But the real reason for the rapidly growing distrust of the system should be sought in the system itself. The evils of capitalism, especially in its state-monopoly stage, breed fear of the morrow—factories are being closed down, workers laid off, wages depressed, and there is the ever-present and growing danger of war and more political oppression.

These are very real factors and they exert definite influence on the SPD, on hundreds of thousands of its members and on millions of its supporters. The leadership can do nothing to change that. It is therefore reasonable to predict that the conflict in the party will become sharper with intensification of the class struggle. Things are heading for a showdown. Rank-and-file Social-Democrats, functionaries and leaders are faced with the dilemma of continuing to work hand-in-glove with big capital and its Christian-Democrat Party, or of going back to class positions and working for social reform, which would win it mass support.

Continued cooperation with the Christian-Democrats will inevitably result in the SPD becoming a victim of its own policy of compromise and acquiescence. Its sole chance of success lies in a break with, and vigorous struggle against, the Christian-Democrats, the party of monopoly capital. We Communists are working on the premise that a clash between the Social-Democratic masses and the reactionary policy of the Christian-Democrats and SPD leaders is inevitable. Developments are bound to lead our Social-Democratic comrades to that conclusion too.

The SPD now stands at the extreme right

of the European Social-Democrat movement. Some Social-Democrat parties are beginning to have second thoughts about relations with the Communists. And that is becoming a crucially important question also for the SPD. In the event of its breaking with the Christian-Democrats it would have to rely more on the trade unions and on the working class generally, and this would generate a dialogue and contacts with the Communist Party.

The need for a strong Communist Party is becoming more and more apparent as class contradictions and class struggle become more acute. In its draft Program the Communist Party has an effective vehicle for a dialogue with Social-Democratic workers.

In talks with the Social-Democrats the Communists expose the Christian-Democrat policy of revenge and rearmament and the dangers implicit in the Social-Democrat leaders' coalition policy. We must bring home to the Social-Democrats the link between the struggle to make West Germany a peaceful, democratic and socially-progressive state, and solution of the national problem.

The partial demands raised by the rank and file and the discussions now taking place in the party on social and political issues provide opportunities for the Communist Party to popularize its proposals for changing the pattern of social relations and the alignment of class forces. It is along these lines that we should discuss with our Social-Democrat comrades the prospect of working-class struggle to eliminate state-monopoly domination and create the conditions that will open the way to socialism.

In its draft Program the Communist Party sets out the strategy and tactics needed to achieve this. It calls for cooperation with all socialists, democrats, even with non-socialists, in an effort to prevent the strengthening of monopoly and militarist power through the emergency laws and the rise of neo-nazism. The Communist Party advocates a broad front of all sections of the people for a democratic alternative to social and political reaction.

That alternative, spelled out in the Party's draft, adds up to a program of action for a brighter future for the Federal Republic. It envisages mutual understanding between Communists and Social-Democrats, trade unionists and intellectuals. It clearly and frankly tells the workers that

the democratic refashioning of the country can be achieved only through persevering political struggle, through the united effort of all the democratic forces to break the resistance of big capital and its reactionary state.

The draft assures our Social-Democrat comrades that we Communists are striving for cooperation with them in the fight for immediate reforms and for socialism in West Germany. We hold that ideological

differences should not be an obstacle to united action.

The Social-Democrat "Perspectives For the Seventies" is a program calculated to help state-monopoly capitalism fortify its dominant position. The Communist Party program, in contrast, shows the realistic and attainable perspectives of the struggle of the working class and all democratic forces for the democratic reconstruction of the Federal Republic. **J. LEDWOHN**

Colombia: Communist election tactics

The Communists fought the March parliamentary, provincial and municipal elections in alliance with the Popular Liberal Revolutionary Movement (PLRM), successor to the Liberal Revolutionary Movement (LRM), part of whose leaders defected to the reactionary camp. The decision to join forces with the PLRM was taken by the Party Central Committee at its plenary session in January. And in adopting that policy the Party was countering attempts by Big Business to liquidate the LRM as a political force, disperse the Left opposition and perpetuate its rule. But there is also this aspect—the CC decision is a continuation of the Party's policy of combining diverse forms of mass struggle. For we believed that, in the present situation, a boycott of the elections would not precipitate the collapse of the present regime, whereas the election campaign would enable us to activate the forces that can accelerate the crisis of the regime.

"SECRET WAR" CONTINUES

Ever since 1948 Colombia has been living in an atmosphere of terror, with occasional pauses followed by savage repressions thinly veiled by a semblance of "law and order." This is part of the "secret war" which the government censorship so zealously tries to keep out of the public eye. President Lleras Restrepo has succeeded, to some extent, in concealing his repressive

policies by a series of bogus reforms, and is determined to continue that tactic. His Big Business government is primarily concerned to isolate the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party. That was its purpose in seeking to destroy the LRM—suppress the forces advocating renewal and carry out a few paltry reforms in an attempt to breathe new life into what is essentially a sick organism.

The Communist Party is working towards a united front by strengthening contacts with old allies and winning new ones. In a situation when "legal" repression alternates with an outright war of annihilation, the Party must utilize every respite, every pause between two rounds of terror, to bring together all the progressive forces that can contribute to the struggle. And from this follows that we should not underestimate the opportunities for legal work, which can bring us thousands of new supporters.

ARMED STRUGGLE AND ELECTIONS

For a long time we have heard insistent voices urging the Party to abandon legal activity and concentrate on the armed struggle. But the people's war we are now waging is bound to be long and tortuous, nor should we underrate the strength of our adversary.

The Communist Party knows only too

well that the country's vital problems cannot be resolved through parliamentary activity, which, however, can be an auxiliary factor. The Central Committee said on this score: "The Tenth Party Congress established that the problems of the Colombian people cannot be solved by peaceful means. Consequently, we do not regard the elections, which are a peaceful form of mass struggle, as a means of attaining our revolutionary goals. They can only carry us one step forward . . . In pursuance of our policy of combining all forms of struggle, we must make use—despite all difficulties and restrictions that are part of the two-party system—of the election discussions to awaken to action the masses misled by the leaders of the so-called traditional parties, and also to impede the work of the machine of government."

In deciding to contest the elections, we were mindful of the probable course events would take, namely, aggravation of the crisis of the regime, and "siege" of the traditional system, for which the Party has been patiently and consistently preparing.

TEN YEARS AFTER THE PLEBISCITE

Carried out in 1958, the plebiscite gave the country the present two-party parity system, under which the government is monopolized by the Liberal and Conservative parties, which divide all the ministerial and other top government posts between them. At the time of the plebiscite, ten years ago, the Communist Party—which in its unrelenting fight against succeeding dictatorial regimes had won powerful influence among the peasants and organized their self-defense forces—warned that the new system would put the country in a political straitjacket. It has done just that, and the ruling oligarchy is now looking around for ways to extend the structural framework of the two-party system through constitutional reform. This is objective evidence of the tense situation and, also, confirmation of the Communist warning that the parity system would but aggravate the structural crisis.

1974: LIQUIDATION OF THE PARITY SYSTEM?

In 1970, Restrepo will be handing over the presidency to a Conservative. But by that time the Conservative Party will very likely be split into two factions. The elections promise to be tense and acrimonious,

and the social and political struggle will enter a crucial phase.

For under the Constitution the two-party system will no longer be operative by election time. Other forces, which up to now have been kept out of the political scene, will be able to fight for a share in government. Besides, the Conservatives are fighting a losing battle. Their presidential candidates are Ospina Perez, the former dictator responsible for the assassination of Gaitan and suppression of the April 1948 rising, and another former military dictator, Rojas Pinilla, deposed by the general strike of May 10, 1957. This can only mean that the course of Colombian policy is being deliberately plotted towards a minefield. On the other hand, it is evidence of the advanced state of decay of the regime, which continues to rely on men who have gone down in history as political bankrupts and perpetrators of crimes against the people. The Liberals, who suffered at the hands of these dictators, are faced with the dilemma: Perez or Pinilla.

Hence, the big bourgeoisie is probing for techniques that would enable it to dismantle the National Front and shift to a new form of government. In the 1970 elections the politicians and big financiers who make up the leading core of the National Front will probably support Perez or one of his trustees.

ATTRACTING POPULAR SUPPORT

That being the situation, the Communist Party is working jointly with the PLRM to provide a rallying center as the first step towards a broad Left-oriented front. The LRM voiced the sentiments and aspirations of the freedom-seeking and radical-minded masses. But its leaders, notably Lopez Michelsen, compacted with the liberal bourgeoisie to liquidate the movement in exchange for a share in the leadership of the ruling Liberal Party. This, the government believed, would help it isolate the Communists and destroy their influence. But the LRM rank and file, who sided with the Communists, were not prepared to accept that "solution" and, defying the corrupt leadership, organized a new movement, the PLRM. This was a very significant development, for it made it perfectly clear that the Colombia of 1968 is not the Colombia of 1948, when the bourgeoisie succeeded in splitting and decimating the Labor Confederation and other mass organizations. The rank and file of the party acted independently of the bourgeoisie, took up the

banner discarded by the bourgeois leaders and, together with the proletariat, showed that the people could be rallied around a center that would be the nucleus of a patriotic national-liberation front.

In assessing the situation, the Central Committee meeting noted in January that the "betrayal of the Lopez Michelsen group, its defection to the government Liberal Party, has created difficulties in the struggle for democracy. Part of the big and middle national bourgeoisie, and the intellectuals that speak for them, have revealed their inconsistency. Misled by illusions of social and economic progress, they have abandoned the popular positions to serve the big bourgeoisie, thereby providing added proof of their inability to direct the revolutionary process. This confirms the Communist contention that leadership of the revolution can come only from the working class acting in close alliance with the peasantry and the middle strata. For the Left to have a voice in public life, we Communists must openly participate, on a common platform, in electoral alliances with popular opposition groups, in particular with that part of the LRM which has denounced the traitors.

"Our object is the election of a group of parliamentary deputies, regional and municipal councillors prepared to facilitate achievement of democratic and revolutionary aims and to utilize the differences within the power structure in the interests of the people."

The Central Committee formulated these basic provisions of the electoral alliance:

"Elected candidates shall be committed to the following program:

"(1) Repeal of martial law and an end to all repressive measures in rural areas;

"(2) Abolition of the parity system; free nomination of candidates by all political parties and their share in branches of government;

"(3) Immediate release of trade union leaders and political detainees and termination of political trials; reinstitution of civil courts to try civilians;

"(4) Moratorium of the foreign debt and withdrawal from the International Monetary Fund;

"(5) Expulsion of the U.S. Military Mission;

"(6) Repeal of decree 939 of 1966, which bans strike action and imposes compulsory arbitration; withdrawal of the labor reform and development fund bills envisaging deduction from wages to finance social ser-

vices; a higher minimum wage;

"(7) Constitutional reform envisaging more effective civil rights guarantees, restoration of parliament's legislative initiative and establishment of control over the executive to prevent the imposition of martial law and guarantee trade unions and other mass organizations full and unhampered exercise of their rights, particularly the right to organize and strike;

"(8) Effective diplomatic, trade and cultural ties with the socialist countries."

In short, the Communist Party has countered the bourgeois alternative with a common-denominator election platform. In contrast to constitutional reform that would only harden the two-party system, in contrast to "solution" through a military coup, the Communist Party calls for democratic transformations as the prelude to fundamental change. And with the prospect of a Conservative government in office, the Communist-PLRM alliance can open the floodgates to the resentment and demands of the masses.

ELECTIONS BOYCOTTED

In the March elections, 70 per cent of the voters stayed away from the polls. This led to all manner of speculation. The "Lefts," guided as always by wishful thinking, contended that this was a sure indication of political maturity. The Communists regarded the boycott, rightly, as revulsion to the regime and, to an even greater degree, as an indication of political apathy and lack of organization.

The present regime will not bow out voluntarily. Nor is it enough to expose its misdeeds from the sidelines. We must become involved, part and parcel of the country's political life, in order to build up a force capable of demolishing the very foundations of the government machine. The Central Committee plenum declared: "Contrary to appeals from certain revolutionary groups, we believe that non-participation in the elections will not further the victory of the revolution . . . Of course, under certain conditions non-participation could be turned into a militant protest against the elections. But that is a much higher level of action for which most of our people are not yet prepared."

ARMED AND NON-ARMED STRUGGLE

Government demagoguery goes hand in hand with stepped up military action against the people. Violence is thus coupled with

sham reforms, but violence is a built-in feature of the regime. Early this year, when the government announced that it had "pacified" the country, the air force bombed the village of Guacamayas in the South. And the following is a typical example of how violence is combined with demagoguery. Late last year General Pinzon Caicedo issued this appeal: "The army commander calls on the public to live up to their civic duty and realize that the present war is not only against government authority, as some apathetic sections of the population are inclined to believe, but a war against Colombia, its traditions, its republican and democratic conscience, its western civilization (!), its ethical Christian values and its respect for the individual. Let it be said without ambiguities or McCarthyisms: we are caught in a great war between democracy and communism fought on the soil of Colombia."

That is the sum and substance of the ideology of the Colombian 'gorillas'. But besides "ideology" they have an immense military budget, amounting to more than 1,800 million pesos in the current year, or five million pesos a day. In fact, the military machine is the bulwark of the oligarchy and its National Front, which "has been converted into a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie."

The January CC meeting says in its resolution: "A policy of provocation and preventive war is being pursued against the peasantry in an attempt to destroy the guerrilla and self-defense movements. This would be the precondition for a wholesale onslaught on the independent agrarian movement. . . . The guerrilla movement is active and has successfully resisted all attempts to destroy it." Parallel with election and other mass activities, the guerrilla movement has extended its operations and is repelling attacks by the government forces, in conformity with the general plan of the Armed Forces of the Colombian Revolution.

In March *Resistencia*, the bulletin of the Armed Forces of the Colombian Revolution, published an account of guerrilla operations in Planadas (Tolima), Guacamayas (Cauqueta), Linea and Cordoba (Quindio) and Corinto (Cauca) for January, February and the opening days of March. The facts cited prove that there is no contradiction between armed and non-armed forms of struggle—they complement each other. By supporting and facilitating both, our Party has proved that armed

struggle is harmoniously blended with other forms of the people's struggle which, in combination, make up our strategy.

SIXTY THOUSAND VOTES FOR THE COMMUNISTS—PLRM BLOC

Surmounting the obstacles erected by the government and in an atmosphere of unmitigated terror, the Communist Party and Popular Liberal Revolutionary Movement obtained more than 60,000 votes, which gives them four seats in Parliament, several seats in the provincial legislatures, and much more sizeable representation in the municipal councils. Its supporters were not able to vote in many areas occupied by government troops.

The election results thwarted the plans of the bourgeoisie to destroy the PLRM which, in alliance with the Communists, presented a program of revolutionary demands. For the PLRM this was its baptism of fire, and it can safely be predicted that, in alliance with the Communists and other popular forces, it will become the conduit of popular opposition to the present system. The 60,000 votes are further proof that the policy of combining diverse forms of struggle is a correct one. We now have several members of parliament; the Rightist monopoly has been demolished. Besides, the elections are evidence of a qualitatively new element in public life: the two-party system left the people no choice—they had voted for the same men who for more 20 years have kept the country in a state of anguish.

CONTINENTAL AND INTERNATIONAL BACKGROUND

The Central Committee resolution is based on the premise that Colombia is in the pre-revolutionary stage and that the policy must be to accelerate the maturing of a revolutionary situation. This calls for mobilization of all the anti-regime forces.

This fully conforms with the facts of the international situation, which was closely analyzed by the Central Committee. Its resolution says: "There can be no uniform tactics based on the many problems common to all Latin American and many other countries fighting to break out of colonialism—hunger, poverty, illiteracy, etc. Each Latin American people must organize its own revolutionary force and by its struggle contribute to the liberation of other peoples. In the course of this process we might have

several revolutions taking place more or less simultaneously, and we Colombian revolutionaries must be prepared to make our contribution in such a situation. That is our appraisal of the present situation in Latin America. We do not believe that the conditions are ripe for a continental revolution. As for Colombia, we believe that only now are the conditions beginning to mature for transforming the crisis into a revolutionary situation."

In keeping with that analysis, the Communist Party pronounced in favor of an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties and for a conference of Latin American Communist parties to "explore paths to closer relations and ways

and means of resolving existing differences."

These facts suggest that we have made significant progress towards a united patriotic and revolutionary front in Colombia. In reference to the plans of the reactionary forces, the Central Committee noted that "the oligarchy continues to shape the country's future to suit its own plans and is seeking to retard the political process, in total disregard of the fact that its plans can be foiled by the laws of historical development and by revolutionary actions." The work of the Communist Party and PLRM during the March elections has demonstrated that the plans of reaction can indeed be foiled. *Jaime GONZALES*

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