

50th anniversary of
the Communist International

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Outstanding event in the history of the communist movement

50th anniversary of the Communist International

BORIS PONOMARYOV

The 50th anniversary of the Comintern is an outstanding event in the history of the world revolutionary movement. During the quarter of a century for which it existed, the Comintern made an invaluable contribution to the growth of the movement, to the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas and to their materialization. It fulfilled the historical mission of fusing Leninism and the international working-class movement, writing a new chapter in the history of proletarian internationalism and forging fraternal bonds of solidarity and loyalty to their revolutionary duty between the Communist parties on all continents.

As the Marxist historian looks back on the Communist International he cannot but recall the point made by Lenin that the working class takes its history and the experience of the fraternal parties seriously, and glances back from time to time to check the perspective of the movement against past events.

This is necessitated by the global scale of the movement, its greater role in world affairs and the increased responsibility of the parties for the present and future of the world. Studying the history of the

Communist International we trace the sources of our present strength, pinpoint the laws regulating the growth of our movement and the various aspects of its experience, its positive and negative sides, making use of all the valid elements in our present fight against imperialism, for the workers' cause, for socialism and peace.

The first generation of Leninists, who built their parties at the time and with the help of the Comintern, performed a truly heroic feat. The Comintern imparted to them a Marxist-Leninist ideological firmness, assuring success in their arduous mission. And the desire to comprehend and make the most of this experience is another reason for the interest in the Comintern displayed by Communists today.

This interest is traceable also to the demands of the current ideological struggle against anti-Communism and its falsification of the history of our movement, especially that of the Comintern, in the guise of "psychological warfare."

Assessing the significance of the Communist International, of its work, we would be wrong to view it merely from the stand-

point of an observer as though it existed by itself and the various national Communist Parties each by itself too. The parties participated in Comintern work, framed and adopted all decisions jointly. They bore responsibility for the work of the Comintern, just as the latter bore responsibility for the work of the parties.

Marxist-Leninists value highly the political and ideological legacy of the Communist International, and their interest in it is marked by genuine Communist partisanship. They never forget that it was the foundation-stone laid by Lenin for the modern Communist movement, for the forces that led the masses to historic victories and imposing achievements of revolutionary reconstruction.

The Comintern was historically the successor of the First International founded by Marx and Engels, and heir, too, to the best Marxist traditions of the Second International. Lenin, founder and leader of the Comintern, carried on Marx's cause, defending the Marxist teaching and elaborating on it.

I.

Since the days of Marx and Engels the foremost fighters derived strength from their effective methods of rallying the masses at any given time, from finding the relevant political forms for their movement. The Comintern was an example of how Communists jointly determined suitable forms of activity for the international workers' vanguard in keeping with the contemporary situation.

The Third, Communist International was established on March 4, 1919, at an international congress in Moscow.

Unprecedented events were unfolding in the world at the time, highlighted by the radical turn from capitalism to socialism. The Great October Socialist Revolution had initiated the disintegration of the old world of exploitation. It was a turbulent time in which man embarked on the new, revolutionary epoch. And the Communist International, in the vortex of world events for more than two decades, was the response of Marxist revolutionaries to the needs of the time.

The character and main features of the International, an essentially new proletarian organization, evolved against the background of an extremely tense international and national class struggle. The revolutionary surge that began in 1917

made a shambles of the idea of the stability of the capitalist system, until then seemingly deep-rooted on our planet with its worldwide system of colonial exploitation. The tens of millions called to arms by the belligerent powers in the 1914-18 war suffered the appalling consequences of imperialist rule. Erupting spontaneously, discontent was rife on both sides of the lines. Workers, peasants and soldiers pondered the causes of the senseless slaughter, and looked for a way out of the impasse. Then, the revolution broke out in Russia.

October awakened the faith of the peoples, showing that they, too, could end the war. What is more, it showed that the system responsible for the crimes against humanity was anything but eternal and could be swept away. That was one of the reasons behind the powerful upsurge of the mass movement. The centuries-old order maintained by capitalist and landowner governments, based on the "great continental empires" (Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany and Ottoman) crumbled. Soon, as Engels had foreseen, royal sceptres were consigned to the dust by the dozen.

The basis for Lenin's plan for a new Communist International did not materialize until after the October Revolution and the emergence on the world scene of a state of proletarian dictatorship. That was the decisive new factor for success in the fight of the international working-class movement against war and imperialism, for the workers' aims.

Communist parties appeared in many countries and the desire for a joint international Communist organization grew.

The Comintern unfurled the banner of Marxism-Leninism, carrying Lenin's ideas to the masses and devising the ways and means of abolishing capitalist exploitation and oppression on a world scale.

The Comintern also resolved another historically important problem. As envisaged by Lenin and leaders of fraternal parties, it restored the international character of the working-class movement, salvaging its revolutionary content. The old Second International, stricken by opportunism, had collapsed; its leaders had betrayed the workers by urging them in 1914 to exterminate each other. The fact that nationalism and opportunism had prevailed against internationalism and revolutionism in the Second International helped the capitalists to embroil the workers of different coun-

tries in the fratricidal slaughter, followed by a shameful war against the newly-created Soviet state. The Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders joined the imperialist concert, pouring invective on the Soviet Republic and trying to isolate it from the labor movement in the capitalist countries and block the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism. The Comintern delivered a crushing blow to that policy, disastrous for the international working-class movement.

Unfurling the banner of internationalism, it showed the movement the way out of the impasse of nationalism and opportunism. Genuine Marxists worked hard in extremely difficult conditions to revive the proletarian ideological principles and the class nature of the workers' movement. The state agencies of the ruling class harassed them on all sides, and the Right Social-Democrats, too, banded together against them. Still small and not yet tempered, the Communist parties would not have survived the onslaught without the Comintern. It helped them unfold a revolutionary perspective for the working class of the capitalist countries.

The Russian revolution and the victories and defeats in the class battles of 1917-1923 in other countries, brought out the magnitude of the role of the *working-class party*. The credit for the democratic aspirations of the peoples of Russia growing into a victorious socialist revolution belongs entirely to the party of the new type. Lenin intended the Communist International to extend ideological, political and organizational aid to revolutionary parties, equipping the working-class movement with a tested and effective weapon against imperialism. The Comintern fulfilled this task, imparting to all parties Lenin's ideas on the party as the highest form of the workers' class organization, on the relationship between the party, the working class and the masses generally, and the content and form of internationalism in the new environment.

Adoption by the Comintern's Second Congress of the 21 Conditions for admission helped in shaping the parties of the new type. Among these conditions were: recognition of proletarian dictatorship as the main principle of revolutionary struggle and Marxist theory; consistent ideological and organizational separation from reformists and centrists; combination of legal and illegal methods of struggle; systematic work in the countryside, in the

trade unions and in parliament, and democratic centralism as the basic organizational principle. The 21 Conditions were based on Lenin's teaching about the party of the new type and played a big part in steeling Leninist cadres and in combating opportunism and ultra-Leftism. Among the most important conditions was loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The Conditions were a shield for the ideological and political identity of the burgeoning Communist movement, consolidating it on a truly revolutionary basis.

Party questions were always a matter of prime concern for the Comintern. Lenin, too, attached cardinal importance to them. All Comintern congresses and Executive Committee or Presidium meetings discussed them in one connection or another, either to correct or concretize the general line in party building, or help the leadership of a party unravel the inner-party or tactical problems and find the best solution collectively, with an eye on the experience of other parties.

The theses of the 5th Congress (1924) indicated that building genuinely Leninist parties was *the central task of the Communist International*. Taking the 21 Conditions a step further, the theses tabulated trends which the sections of the Comintern should follow in developing into well-tempered parties of the new type: readiness at all times to work among the masses no matter what the obstacles; ability to maneuver, ruling out stereotype in methods and means of struggle; loyalty to revolutionary Marxism and the ability to defend it; consistent observance of democratic centralism; systematic, persevering, long-term work in the trade unions, increasing their potential in the fight for the workers' daily needs and winning them for the revolution; revolutionary work among the peasants, alliance with whom is essential before the question of winning power can be seriously considered; a correct Leninist approach to the question of nationalities as one of the most important conditions for preparing a victorious revolution.

Somewhat later, in 1925, the 5th extended meeting of the Executive Committee described "skill in applying the general principles of Leninism to a *specific situation* in this or that country" as one of the essential conditions for the growth of the parties. The main "link" in the chain, its decision said, cannot be the same from country to country in view of the variety

of socio-political situations in the world. The Comintern, as we see, did not orient its member-parties on mechanically copying the Bolshevik experience. Laying the fundamental principles for the work of Communist parties as internationalist organizations, it was dedicated to helping each to become through its practical activity and by its own experience a *national political* force capable of independent action in the concrete conditions of the particular country, making it an effective vanguard of the working-class movement.

That revolutionary proletarian parties were formed in most countries is a credit to the Comintern, which accomplished this jointly with the foremost leaders of the national contingents of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Comintern could well be described as a projection of Lenin's genius. It was his idea to establish it as a counterweight to the Second International, "vanquished by opportunism." And he put in truly titanic work methodically to prepare the nucleus of internationalists, who then laid the foundations of the Communist International. Lenin summed up Russia and international revolutionary experience, framed the ideological and theoretical platform, formulated the basic principles of strategy and tactics for the world Communist movement and elaborated its organizational principles. He worked hand in hand with the top leaders of the fraternal parties.

He was the universally recognized leader of the Communist International. He delivered reports and spoke at all the four Comintern congresses that took place in his lifetime, and sat on many of the commissions drafting important resolutions, worked out jointly by representatives of fraternal parties. They are a repository of time-tested Marxist-Leninist ideas, valid to this day.

He followed closely developments in the fraternal parties and responded to their problems, helping them work out their programmatic and tactical principles. His advice contributed greatly to the politico-ideological growth of many parties, epitomizing the depth of Lenin's strategic thinking and his flair for elucidating the complexities and peculiarities of the national and international situation.

At the time the parties were in the formative stage. Many of their functionaries had not yet fully cast off the ties with the Social-Democratic movement. It was a

time, too, when the crisis of capitalism was extremely acute. And the great proletarian strategist elucidated the basic principles of socialist revolution to the various Communist vanguards with admirable patience.

Lenin insisted on Communists preparing themselves ideologically and organizationally for the coming revolutionary battles. He enjoined them to be flexible in the daily class struggle and to prime the workers' vanguard for the decisive fight against imperialism. With the masses, at the head of the masses—that was the leitmotif of everything he said concerning the tasks of the Communist vanguards.

When the Bologna congress of the Italian Socialist Party applied for admission to the Communist International, Lenin warned in a special message against possible provocations by the Entente powers and the Italian bourgeoisie. He laid emphasis on thoroughness in preparing the revolution. "Be just as successful in winning the entire industrial and the entire rural proletariat plus the small peasants," he wrote, "and then, if the proper moment is chosen internationally, victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat in Italy will be enduring" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 91-92). During a revolutionary crisis in Italy, Palmiro Togliatti recalls, Lenin pinpointed the strategic and tactical approach "best fitted to the situation in our country" unerringly and in few words (Togliatti, *Selected Articles and Speeches*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1965, p. 374, in Russian).

Writing to Sylvia Pankhurst, an early British Communist, in August 1919, Lenin pointed to the fundamental aspects of party building in the specific conditions of Britain. He drew attention to the dangers of self-isolation and sectarianism, stressing that "unbreakable ties with the mass of the workers, the ability to agitate unceasingly among them, to participate in every strike, to respond to every demand of the masses—this is the chief thing for a Communist Party" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 563). At the same time, Lenin wrote, only a consistently revolutionary and openly Marxist program could, and would, bring all the best worker revolutionaries into the Communist Party.

It was from this angle, in the context of winning the masses, that Lenin approached the then vital issue of whether or not Communists should stand for election to bourgeois parliaments, whether or not they should work in the trade unions. Some were opposed to this either due to

political inexperience or sectarian aberrations, and Lenin patiently explained the error and harmfulness of their attitude.

In an article, "To Italian, French and German Communists," published in October 1919, he described as entirely wrong the objections of some German Communists to participating in bourgeois parliaments and working in trade unions, describing their error as growing pains. "These obvious mistakes," he stressed, "must be combated openly; the differences must not be exaggerated" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 57). So long as the common lasting revolutionary basis endures, he said, these differences are not dangerous. Bolshevism, too, he added, had experienced differences of this kind time and again, but in the hour of decision "it drew to itself all that was best in the trends of socialist thought akin to it and rallied round itself the *entire vanguard* of the proletariat and the *overwhelming majority* of the working people" (*Collected Works*, vol. 30, pp. 55-56).

Lenin went out of his way to help the fraternal parties master different forms of work with the masses, and welcomed the "Open Letter" of the United Communist Party of Germany (January 1921), describing it as a timely move to establish a united workers' front, "a model political step," "a model because it is the first act of a practical method of winning over the majority of the working class" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 470), while taking issue with the "Leftist" elements in the German Party and some of the Comintern leaders (Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek) for accusing the writers of the "Open Letter" of reformism. But he also severely rebuked one of the writers, Paul Levi, whose expulsion from the Party for refusing to participate in an armed action of the German workers, however much provoked and unprepared, he wholly approved. Such an attitude, he said, was incompatible with the calling of a Communist.

At a session of the Comintern's Executive Committee on June 17, 1921, Lenin reproved Leftists who had berated *L'Humanite* for urging "calm and discipline" in leading the masses against capitalism. Criticism of any party, Lenin explained, should concern only incorrect, opportunist actions. No attacks should ever be mounted indiscriminately, thereby causing a split and no alternative "Leftist" nonsense should be suggested as a counterweight to opportunism. "Marxism," Lenin said,

"boils down to determining what policy should be conducted in this or that situation" (*Central Party Archive*, Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow, fund 2, list 1, file 19320).

Yet Lenin was irreconcilable in his criticism of those who rejected revolution on the pretext that the conditions which made the October Revolution possible had been specific. J. Franek, who met Lenin as a member of a delegation of Czechoslovak trade unionists (1922), recalled: "I spoke about the ideas spread among the workers by the reformist Social-Democrat leaders and indignantly qualified as 'extravagant political ultra-consciousness' their contention that the October Revolution was conceivable only in 'benighted Russia' whereas in our country, 'in the cultured West,' revolution would be a 'useless experiment.' But Lenin took me to task. Is it not our duty, he asked, to cultivate the consciousness of the workers, to show them concrete examples of where their leaders betrayed them, to explain to them that they cannot depend on such leaders in changing the social system?" (*Velika cesta*, Praha, 1960, s. 32).

Lenin helped the parties to apply united front tactics and find the best solutions in complicated issues. On January 12, 1922, he advised the Executive Committee to adopt "a thoroughly motivated resolution demanding from the Communist Party of Britain that all Communists should agitate and vote in elections for Labor candidates, excluding those extremely few cases where it is certain that voting for a Communist will not help the capitalist candidate win" (*Central Party Archive*, Institute of Marxism-Leninism, fund 2, list 1, file 22623).

Those are but a few examples of Lenin's multiform help in building parties of the new type.

Lenin's prestige as leader of the Communist International rested on the identity of his words and deeds. In the eyes of Communists, of all revolutionaries, of millions the world over, Lenin and the October Revolution, and the Soviet worker-peasant republic, were one.

II.

The new epoch brought new problems, and the right solutions had to come from the advanced class, from the international working-class movement. And the Communist International, which stored up the

best experience of that movement, its thinking and its creative energy, fulfilled its task well. Now, looking back over the past five decades, there is good reason to say that the Comintern provided the right answers to all the fundamental problems that confronted the world between the two world wars. This is true with regard to the fight for socialism and national liberation, and the fight against fascism and imperialist war. The answers provided by the Comintern to these problems furthered social progress, a cardinal shift favoring the anti-imperialist forces, the new society, socialism, a new kind of relationship between the peoples.

The fundamental problem of the 20th century is that of the *transition of society to socialism*. The post-October era is one of social revolutions, bringing deliverance from all forms of exploitation and oppression. And the Comintern rendered the movement an invaluable service by providing a profound analysis of the historical significance of the October Revolution, of the socialism that came into being in Russia and paved the way to socialism in the rest of the world.

The Communist International generalized the experience of the first dictatorship of the proletariat and its guiding force, the Leninist party. The Soviet state changed the content of contemporary history. Since its appearance, the theses of the 6th Comintern Congress stressed, "the main contradiction dividing the world into two camps has been growing, with the capitalist world, on the one hand, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with which are grouped the international proletariat and the oppressed colonial peoples, on the other" (*Comintern in Documents*, pp. 793-794, in Russian).

The Comintern saw the Soviet Union as the center of the world revolutionary movement, its main base; it defined as its own principal international task to safeguard the first workers' state. When the imperialist powers organized provocations against the Soviet Republic, the Comintern countered by rallying the workers and the people in the capitalist countries in support of the USSR. This inhibited the aggressive sallies of the imperialists. For this reason, Soviet Communists will always cherish the international solidarity of the Comintern and all its sections in the common cause of defending the first socialist state.

The Communist International held that

building socialism in the USSR was not merely the general task of the Soviet people, but a decisive factor in the common worldwide revolutionary struggle. That is why it supported the Soviet Communist Party in combating Trotskyism, which tried to belittle the international revolutionary impact of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union and even denied the possibility of socialism winning in that country. The Seventh extended meeting of the Comintern's Executive Committee (1926) denounced the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc, rejected the charges of "national exclusiveness" which the Trotskyites had levelled against Lenin's party, and declared that the latter had "in all its past and present work proved by deed as well as word that it is an internationalist party, offering splendid examples of internationalism." The Executive Committee noted that the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) is conducting the policy of building socialism quite correctly, being convinced that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has in the country 'everything necessary in sufficient quantity' for building a fully socialist society" (*Comintern in Documents*, p. 680, in Russian).

Refuting the anti-Leninist Trotskyite views was vital to strengthening the fraternal parties and for a correct revolutionary line in the world Communist movement. The young Communist parties could hardly have coped with the danger of Trotskyism without the Communist International.

In the fight against the Right deviation and the attendant trend towards capitalist restoration, the Comintern likewise ranged itself alongside the Soviet Communist Party. Every departure from the working-class line in matters of government and every reconciliation with ideologically alien views constituted a grave danger to socialism in the Soviet Union and to the gains of Soviet power: the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party could have lost the leading position, and the tempo needed at the time for the Soviet Union to fulfil its international revolutionary mission could have slackened. And the Communist International, through joint effort, eliminated the dangerous deviation from the Leninist course in the world Communist movement.

The victory of socialism in the USSR was a powerful factor which stimulated the process of proletarian revolution in the rest of the world. A new world balance

of class forces set in, apropos of which the Seventh Congress of the Comintern said in a resolution:

"The victory of socialism, which has turned the USSR into a force bringing into motion large sections of people, classes, nations and states, has produced a new significant change in the world balance of class forces in favor of socialism, against capitalism; this is the beginning of a new phase in the growth of the proletarian world revolution." That prediction materialized after the war when the balance of forces changed conclusively, stimulating the growth of the world revolutionary movement.

The Comintern linked the experience of the first victorious dictatorship of the proletariat with the world revolutionary movement. That redounds to its credit. For it showed that the solidarity of the first proletarian dictatorship, the revolutionary workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement constituted a force capable of breaking and vanquishing the system of imperialist domination.

As early as 1915 Lenin had expressed the view that "the revolution may and probably will consist of many years of fighting, of several periods of onslaught with intervals of counter-revolutionary convulsions of the bourgeois system" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 399). The Comintern translated this idea into the practical language of party strategy and tactics in the post-October conditions.

When the revolutionary wave of 1917-1923 subsided, the young Communist movement, equipped with Leninism, did not fall prey to despair. The Comintern enabled it to retain its sense of perspective, showing it the essence and methods of preparing for a resumption of class battles.

The theses of the 14th Soviet Communist Party Conference on issues that arose in connection with the work of the fifth extended meeting of the Comintern's Executive Committee pointed out that although the course of the world revolution was much slower than earlier expected, the victory of socialism in the USSR was an established fact and the possibilities of the movement in other countries were quite realistic.

In the early years of the Comintern Lenin had advanced the idea that in the West the revolution would be more difficult to begin than it had been in Russia, but that there it would be easier to carry

forward. This idea lent impetus to conclusions concerning the transition to socialism in the developed capitalist countries which the Comintern helped disseminate in the labor movement of Europe and North America. Nor did it simply pass on "prescriptions" for preparing the revolution based on the Russian experience; it elucidated the essential features of Leninism precisely as a generalization of the experience of the international working-class movement and showed how to use this experience in the developed capitalist countries where conditions were entirely unlike Russia's.

The discussion that raged in the twenties over what was a "revolutionary situation" concerned a matter that transcended pure theory. It had a bearing on political practice. The working-class movement had learned from experience that material preconditions were not enough, that the determination, courage and will of the vanguard were not enough, to carry out a social revolution. Essential subjective and objective factors were needed, creating a situation of national crisis. The Comintern warned the parties against waiting passively for the revolution to break out, on the one hand, and against "pushing" it artificially, on the other. It impressed on the parties the science and art of defeating the class enemy.

From the Comintern the Communists learned the importance of long-term, painstaking work, rallying the forces for the political army of the socialist revolution at a time when no revolutionary situation existed, and the importance of an offensive and at once of varied action when the revolutionary situation appeared. By its persevering activity, the Comintern helped weed out the doctrinaire approach and showed how theory should be translated into practice, verifying it and correcting it in the heat of the class struggle. It showed, too, that current economic and political tasks should be linked directly with the ultimate socialist aims of the working class.

The Communist movement and the International provided a correct solution for the urgent problems of the *colonial peoples* that faced the world in the new epoch. Awakened by the October Revolution, the peoples in the colonial countries went into action on an unprecedented scale. It was, therefore, essential to *chart the way this national-liberation struggle should follow*

and to define its place in the world revolutionary process.

The opportunist leaders of the Second International depreciated the significance of the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries. Kautsky arrogantly remarked that it had nothing in common with the socialist struggles of the workers.

Lenin exposed the class roots of this attitude, showing that the contempt in which the reformists held the national liberation movement, that important factor of the revolution, was a concomitant of their retreat to bourgeois positions. That was why, Lenin stressed, Social Democratic leaders "overlooked" the basically novel role of that movement in the new epoch. "In the impending decisive battles in the world revolution," he predicted, "the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482).

Acting on Lenin's idea, the Communist International kept the national liberation movement within its vision at all times. Its problems were invariably discussed at Comintern congresses, and were often posed at meetings of the Executive Committee. The resolution of the Fifth Comintern Congress pointed out that the national liberation movement was "one of the principal components of the great liberation movement that can alone accomplish the revolution on a world scale, as well as in Europe" (*Comintern in Documents*, p. 411, in Russian).

The Comintern dealt with the national-colonial problem in the context of the worker-peasant alliance on an international scale. And it did everything to channel into a single anti-imperialist stream the revolutionary workers' struggle in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples.

The weakness of the national liberation revolution, the Comintern noted, lay in the "inconsistency between the objective revolutionary situation and the weakness of the subjective factor," that is, the absence of Communist parties in that part of the world (*Comintern in Documents*, p. 856, in Russian). The International did its utmost, therefore, to help organize a Com-

munist movement in the colonial and dependent countries.

For example, the Comintern staunchly supported the revolutionary movement in China. Its representatives, who came to Shanghai in 1920, were instrumental in establishing the first Communist circles and then in compounding the separate groups into a political party. With their help the *Hsinchingnien*, a democratic revolutionary journal, appearing since 1915, became a Communist publication in 1920. The Comintern helped train revolutionary cadres for the Chinese Communist Party. The works of Marx and Lenin were first published in Chinese with Comintern aid, facilitating the spread of Marxism-Leninism in China. That the Marxist-Leninist teaching fused with the revolutionary movement of the Chinese workers at that time is due in no small measure to these efforts.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern and its commissions studied the situation in China methodically, probing all the twists and turns of the Chinese revolution and rendering it every possible aid. It was with direct Comintern help and that of its various sections that a mass movement was initiated in 1925, particularly in the USSR, France, Germany, the United States, Britain, Austria, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Korea, Italy, Egypt and Turkey, under the slogan "Hands Off China!" No international political force, apart from the Communist International, extended any support to the Chinese revolution.

India is another example of how the Comintern helped the Communist movement in the Eastern countries. It was with Comintern aid that Indian Marxists charted the course of the national liberation and worker-peasant movement. The Comintern assisted in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas in India. Lenin and the Comintern oriented the Indian Communists on cooperating with the national revolutionary forces, on promoting a united anti-imperialist front.

Marxist-Leninist parties appeared at the time in many other Asian and African countries, later playing a prominent part in the national liberation revolution and in liberating their countries from the colonial yoke.

The Communist International declared war on colonialism. Throughout its history it consistently defended the rights of the colonial peoples, exposing the colonialists, helping those who had risen against colonial oppression. Speaking at the Second

Congress of Communist Organizations of the East in 1919, Lenin said: "The civil war of the working people against the imperialists and exploiters in all the advanced countries is beginning to be combined with national wars against international imperialism. That is confirmed by the course of the revolution, and will be more and more confirmed as time goes on. It will be the same in the East." Then, addressing the masses in the colonial and dependent countries, he added: "In the revolutionary struggle, in the revolutionary movement you will be called upon to play a big part and to merge with our struggle against international imperialism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 159 and 160). The 'twenties' and 'thirties' were highlighted by the liberation struggle of the oppressed colonial and dependent peoples. The Comintern gave every possible aid to the people of Morocco in 1923-26, to the militant actions of Syrian patriots in 1925-27, to the revolutionary movements in the Latin American countries, and to the risings in the provinces of India and Burma. In November 1926, when a rising erupted against the Dutch colonialists in Indonesia, the Comintern organized a solidarity movement and denounced the butchers of the Indonesian people. In 1927-35 the Comintern supported and helped the Anti-Imperialist League, a united front organization of various anti-imperialist forces.

Acting on Lenin's counsel, the International assessed the prospects of the national liberation movement in the context of its alliance with the socialist state and the world proletariat. In the new era a realistic possibility of a con-capitalist way appeared for the oppressed countries. "With the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries," Lenin told the Second Congress of the Comintern, "backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244). Acting on this idea, the Communist parties laid the foundation for the alliance of the national liberation movement with victorious socialism and the workers of the world which, after the Second World War, brought an end to the colonial system, paving the way to the solution of one of the main problems of our time: the national and social emancipation of imperialist-dominated peoples.

The Comintern devoted itself to advancing the movement in the Latin American

countries, centering its efforts on the ideological education of Party cadres. And it was under the auspices of the Comintern that the Communist parties of Latin America gathered for their first regional conference.

The problem of war and peace has persisted throughout the 20th century.

The scale and the appalling consequences of the first imperialist world war showed that anti-war action was an essential factor of social progress, of developing the revolutionary movement. And from the very beginning the Communist International showed a keen awareness of this problem.

It is to the credit of the Communist movement, of the International, that it associated the conditions and the possibilities of combating the danger of imperialist war in the new era with the existence of the Soviet Union as a decisive factor for peace.

Hence the Communist parties firmly opposed fatalistic views on the matter of war and peace. The decisions of the Sixth Congress noted that the "opportunities for combating war had increased," that they were now "much more favorable than in 1914" (*Comintern in Documents*, p. 809). And the documents of the Seventh Congress contained the judgment that in the new situation, given certain conditions, war could be not only delayed but entirely averted.

The Comintern conducted worldwide propaganda and extensive political work, organizing the masses for the fight against a new imperialist world war and inferred, rightly, that the successful building of socialism in the Soviet Union had a decisive bearing on strengthening that chief base of the policy of peace. "The only country wholly and consistently pursuing a policy of peace is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," the decisions of the Fifth Congress said.

The Comintern worked for the broadest possible front of the democratic anti-war forces that championed peace. As early as 1922, its Fourth Congress called on all Social Democrats, on the trade unions of all countries, to act in concert against capitalism's offensive and the danger of another war.

At the same time, the Comintern stressed that the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet state was closely linked with its revolutionary role in international affairs. When the Trotskyites tried to malign the peace policy of the USSR, which they

slandrously described as a departure from the tasks of the world revolution, the Comintern rejected their specious charge and demonstrated the revolutionary importance of Soviet foreign policy. "The peace policy of the workers' state," the decisions of the Sixth Congress noted, "yields no evidence whatsoever that Soviet power has become reconciled to capitalism . . . What the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has consistently pursued since the October Revolution is a different—and, moreover, in the present circumstances a more favorable—form of struggle against capitalism."

In the 'thirties', at a highly responsible time in history when the immediate danger of a second world war appeared due to the rise of fascism in Germany, the Comintern advocated an effective program for eliminating the war danger. The world Communist movement alone was able to grasp the magnitude of the danger, unerringly to pinpoint its source and suggest a concrete plan of action based on the idea of a common anti-war front.

The Comintern sounded the alarm; it called on the working people everywhere to act in unison against the threat of war implicit in German fascism. What is more, it worked out a comprehensive program of anti-war activity. The leading bodies and the sections of the Comintern and all Communists spared no effort in rallying the masses against the warmakers—the German and Italian fascists, and the Japanese militarists; they spared no effort in denouncing the criminal Munich policy, and they campaigned for joint anti-war action by organizations and trends of different political shades.

The Communist movement and the International did everything in their power to avert a second world war. They thereby demonstrated their clear understanding of the world situation and their readiness faithfully and vigorously to uphold the peoples' interests. And when war eventually broke out, the Communist parties made the biggest and the decisive contribution to the defeat of those who had unleashed it. The brunt of the burden in this costliest of all wars fell to the Soviet people, to the land of the October Revolution—3,500,000 Soviet Communists gave their lives on the battlefronts. In Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, China, Korea and other countries Communists were the motive force of the Resistance; they acted

as organizers of the guerrilla movements. The Communist parties, acting as the national vanguard, set an example of blending the fight for the workers' socialist interests with the national interests of their countries. In the conditions of World War II they set an example of internationalism in action. Their prestige and their membership grew immensely during these trying years, a sure indication of their dedication and of their activity. Some of the parties increased their ranks many times over in the brief span of two or three years to reach total memberships of between 100,000 and more than 500,000. Some of the parties were able to lead the working class and people on to the pathway of socialist reconstruction.

Now in a state of general crisis, capitalism confronted mankind with the prospect of losing its earlier humanistic and democratic gains. And the deeper the crisis became, the more clearly were the peoples faced with the menace of fascism. The Comintern was the first to draw attention to this, the first to disclose the substance of fascism and propose practical methods of combating it. The great service it rendered in the mortal battle against nazism and fascism is firmly engraved in the peoples' memory.

In 1922, when Mussolini came to power in Italy, the question of combating fascism was on the agenda of the Fourth Comintern Congress. In his report to that Congress, Lenin urged the Communists to draw the necessary lessons from the Italian events, emphasizing that anti-fascist struggle was now coming to the fore. And from the very outset, the Comintern linked that struggle with the important part democratic freedoms played in the development of the revolutionary workers' movement, and with the need to strengthen, on this basis, mass class alliances.

The Fourth Congress declared that the fight against fascism was not only a national task of the Italian workers. In a call addressed to them in January 1923, its Executive Committee declared: "In resisting Italian fascism, you are fighting for your freedom . . ." and at the same time you are fighting to prevent the "reign of terror and murder in Italy from spreading to other countries." In August 1923, in a letter addressed to the Socialist International and to the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the Comintern and the Red International of Labor Unions clearly warned of the fascist danger in Germany.

Analyzing the processes at work in the world and generalizing the experience gained in the fight against the increasingly active fascist forces, the Comintern formulated — taking due account of the new developments — a scientifically grounded definition of fascist rule as the naked terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinist and imperialist elements of finance capital. The advent to power of fascism was not merely the substitution of one bourgeois government by another, but the substitution of bourgeois democracy by an open terrorist dictatorship. This revealed all the underlying contradictions between fascism and bourgeois democracy and indicated the objective basis for a broad inter-class anti-fascist front.

Neither the petty-bourgeois democratic parties, nor the Socialist International theorists, nor the Right-wing Social Democrat leaders could give a correct appraisal of the substance of fascism and failed, utterly, to appreciate the danger it contained for the working people. They were so blinded by opportunism, anti-Sovietism and hatred of communism that they rejected out of hand every Comintern approach — and there were many—for joint action against fascism.

But the Communist International worked perseveringly and persistently for a broad democratic alliance with which to counter fascism. In March 1933 in a call to the workers of all countries, it outlined a program of joint anti-fascist struggle with the Social Democrats, a program of united action. The Communists initiated the European Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress, held in Paris in 1933 at which some three million European workers were represented.

The Seventh Comintern Congress, which was to become a landmark in the history of the world Communist movement, ushered in a new stage in the fight against fascism. It elaborated a comprehensive program, based on a united workers' and popular front, bringing together all the democratic forces. "The grave menace of fascism," it declared, "makes a *united fighting front of the working class the main and immediate aim of the international workers movement at the present stage.*" It can confidently be said that had this program been accepted and consistently implemented by all to whom it was addressed, fascism could have been crushed long before it plunged mankind into the Second World War.

The Communist International and its national affiliates were the first to take up the fight against fascism. Everywhere Communists were in the van in repelling fascist attacks—sparing neither effort nor life, they fought fascism in the streets, in the factories and in parliament. And one of the Comintern's finest representatives, Georgi Dimitrov, delivered a telling blow to fascism at the Leipzig trial. When the first big battle against fascism flared up in Spain, the Comintern headed an unparalleled international action, the International Brigades movement of volunteers who fought shoulder to shoulder with the Spanish Republicans. The Comintern was directly in charge of forming and equipping the Brigades and appointed its best forces to give them political and military leadership. Some 35,000 volunteers from 54 countries fought in Spain.

By the outbreak of World War II, the staunch Marxist-Leninist internationalists trained by the Comintern were active in dozens of Communist parties united in fraternal friendship. They were courageous patriots, valiant fighters against fascism, for the freedom and future of their nations. Communist wartime policy and activity were crucial factors in the defeat of the fascist forces, achieved primarily thanks to the war effort of the socialist Soviet Union. A new chapter was opened in world history, a chapter of sweeping revolutionary change, prepared in no small measure by the Communist International.

III.

The Comintern was able to provide answers to the new problems posed by world development because it was itself an international organization of a new type. Its very inception was, in a way, the answer to an imperative need of the international revolutionary movement, the leading force of our age.

The Comintern was a genuine center of collective Marxist-Leninist thought in which there was constantly generalized the common experience of the international working class and, on the basis of scientific analysis, political conclusions were drawn and immediately taken up by the proletarian vanguard for application in its day-to-day class struggle.

The revolutionary work of the fraternal parties, their creative approach to the theory and practice of the class struggle, formed the very foundation of Comintern

activity. New forms of struggle, new slogans, new tactical ideas, came to the fore. Faithful to the Leninist tradition, the Comintern carefully studied and supported the fraternal parties in their constructive approach to the problems of the day, generalized the achievements of each party and made them the property of all. Thus, reflected in the historic decisions of the Seventh Congress is the experience of the French Party, one of the first to elaborate and realize the popular front tactic, the Spanish Communists' initiative in building a political coalition of all anti-fascist forces, the Italian Party's policy of united action with the Socialists, the persistent efforts of the German Communists for a united anti-fascist front with the Social Democrats, and the Polish Communist Party's experience in rallying all anti-fascist forces.

The Comintern cultivated in the parties the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, itself setting an example of its practical application. Its Congresses, plenums and numerous commissions met in an atmosphere of broad and free discussion, in which everyone could uphold his views, his own understanding of the issues involved. Each party had the right and the opportunity to share in framing Comintern policy, and in defining its organizational principles. The documents show that the fraternal parties availed themselves of this. The devotion and self sacrifice displayed by the Communists in carrying out collectively-adopted decisions are widely known and appreciated. There was not a trace of the blind fanaticism which our enemies delight in ascribing to us. There was, in every sense of the word, discipline based on consciously realized necessity, on full understanding of agreed decisions and of commitments to fraternal parties.

In the twenty-five years of its existence, the Comintern trained a whole generation of internationalist-minded Party leaders, a generation steeled in the struggle for the purity and creative development of Marxism-Leninism. Its leading bodies, genuinely internationalist in their composition, were representative of the best in the Communist movement of the time. The Comintern developed a galaxy of such sterling leaders as Georgi Dimitrov, Klement Gottwald, Ajoy Ghosh, Jose Diaz, Dolores Ibarruri, Marcel Cachin, Victorio Codovilla, Vasil Kolarov, Johann Kopenig, Bela Kun, Otto Kuusinen, Julian Lenski, Wilhelm Pieck, Harry Pollitt, Luis Carlos Prestes, Sen

Katayama, Ernst Thaelmann, Maurice Thorez, Palmiro Togliatti, Tim Buck, Walter Ulbricht, William Z. Foster, Ho Chi Minh, Clara Zetkin and others.

Large numbers of Communists from the fraternal parties studied Marxism-Leninism in Comintern schools—the International Lenin School, the Communist University of the Toilers of the East, the Sun Yat sen University. These schools provided a sound ideological, theoretical and political training and were centers for the exchange of revolutionary experience.

The CPSU Comintern delegation—Stalin, Zhdanov, Manuilsky, Knorin, Piatnitsky, Gusev and others—played a big part in the fight against the Trotskyites and Right opportunists, for a correct Comintern policy.

The Communist International rendered an immense service by preventing vulgarization and distortion of Marxism by opportunists of the Right and the "Left."

The history of the Comintern and its Marxist-Leninist parties is the history of irreconcilable struggle against opportunism. "A necessary condition for preparing the proletariat for its victory," Lenin wrote, "is long, persistent and relentless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism and similar bourgeois influences and trends, which are inevitable, since the proletariat operates in a capitalist environment" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 275). Without ideological and political victory over reformism and opportunism, Lenin taught, we shall never solve the primary historic task confronting the young Communist parties, the task of bringing the working-class vanguard to revolutionary positions. But to achieve victory the vanguard must have the support of the masses. Hence, Lenin's irreconcilable rejection of sectarianism. Without overcoming sectarianism and Leftism, Lenin pointed out, we cannot solve our second historic task, leading the masses to new positions from which to launch the fight for the victory of the revolution.

The Comintern waged a resolute fight against Trotskyism and contributed to its ideological defeat. Trotskyism injected into the Communist movement features totally alien to it—negation of Party discipline, "freedom of factions," refusal to reckon with majority opinion, "revolutionary" adventurism, with its preaching of export of revolution, and imposition of standard tactics regardless of concrete conditions. Trotskyism used revolutionary phraseology

to conceal its true nature, i.e., capitulation in face of the difficulties encountered in building socialism in the USSR and in the class struggle in capitalist countries.

True to Lenin's behests, the Comintern predicated all its work on the undertaking that the advance of the revolution required a bold approach to the new problems, ability to foresee the outcome of its actions and to correct errors in good time. It developed Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics in line with the changing situation.

For the young Communist parties the Comintern was a practical school of Leninism and political leadership of the masses. It taught them how to combine fidelity to principle with flexibility, thus helping the independent development of most parties in subsequent years.

Communists, Lenin constantly emphasized, must soberly, fully and objectively weigh all the facts pertaining to the world economy and world politics and the class forces operating on the national and international scene. He warned, in the most categorical manner, against subjectivism and voluntarism.

And he fought with equal vigor every manifestation of passivity, insisting that Communist policy be based on a combination of "complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most emphatic recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius, and revolutionary initiative of the masses . . ." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 36).

The Comintern gave the parties practical help in mastering all forms of struggle, legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. It taught them always to be prepared for abrupt change from one form to another, carefully considering opportunities for taking the offensive, but also the need for retreat. Comintern tactics were invariably based on unbreakable contact with the workers, on work among the masses. And the parties learned to master the art of leading the masses to revolutionary positions on the basis of their own experience.

The Communist International consistently upheld the economic and social interests of the working class and the working people generally and supported all actions to that end by the fraternal parties. During the 1929-33 world economic crisis, which had such a crushing impact on the masses in the capitalist countries, the Communists

initiated and organized mass strike movements and other actions in defense of the people's vital rights. In 1929-32, there were about 19,000 strikes involving 8,500,000 workers in 15 leading capitalist countries, and in all these the Communists were in the van of the struggle.

The Comintern followed the rule laid down by Lenin never to eschew compromises dictated by a definite conjuncture of circumstances, but, despite compromise, to pursue and develop its revolutionary policy. Lenin taught us that a more powerful enemy could be defeated only by supreme exertion and by careful, cautious and skillful utilization of contradictions within the enemy camp and of every, even the slightest, opportunity of winning over allies among the masses.

The Comintern set the movement an unfading example of loyalty to proletarian internationalism and of ability to apply it in concrete circumstances. In framing its decisions, it was guided by Lenin's rule that the fundamental Marxist principles should be applied in a way "that will correctly modify these principles in certain particulars, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92). The Comintern was intolerant of all manifestations of national egoism and resolutely combated attempts to counterpose national revolutionary tasks to the international cause of the revolutionary movement.

Understandably, there were errors in Comintern activity. Thus experience was to show that its "social-fascism" slogan, i.e., that Social-Democracy presented the greatest danger and for this reason was singled out as the principal target—was wrong and, in effect, amounted to a theoretical justification of sectarianism. The call for a united front only from "below" likewise proved unjustified. There were cases, too, of the Comintern leadership incorrectly appraising the situation in one or another country or party and making wrong recommendations. In some instances its formulations on the colonial question were unclear or erroneous, notably on the attitude towards the national bourgeoisie in colonial and dependent countries. The Sixth Congress theses declared that "the national bourgeoisie plays no significant part as a force ranged against imperialism," and suggested that "Communist Parties reject any bloc with the national-reformist opposition." (*Sixth CI Congress Report*. Part 6, pp. 141-142).

Unfortunately, the adverse consequences of the Stalin personality cult, accompanied as it was by a departure from Leninist norms, had their effect also on the Comintern, chiefly with regard to its cadres. It will be recalled that the CPSU resolutely condemned all manifestations of the personality cult at its 20th and subsequent congresses, and took measures to eliminate its consequences.

In speaking of the Comintern's errors and miscalculations we should bear in mind—not in order to “justify” them, which is not necessary, but in the interest of objectivity—the concrete conditions in which it had to operate, the complexity and vicissitudes of the political struggle. For instance, in reference to the formulation concerning the Social-Democrats, the fact should not be overlooked that most of the Social-Democrat and Socialist International leaders were avowedly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. From the very outset they waged a frenzied campaign against the Communist movement and against the Soviet Union. They gave every support to Mensheviks and the so-called Socialist-Revolutionaries who, having degenerated into tools of imperialism, resorted to the most unscrupulous methods in their fight against the Soviet Union.

In power, the Social-Democrats were often no less zealous than bourgeois governments in persecuting Communists.

The Comintern oriented the Parties on a critical attitude towards their work and itself set a model of self-criticism, showing how to rectify shortcomings and errors. A striking example of this was the Seventh Congress. It displayed a creative approach to Marxism-Leninism, boldly discarded obsolete slogans and methods, and condemned sectarianism in policy and tactics.

During the years of the Comintern, the international Communist movement traveled a long and glorious path to become a potent world force.

The Comintern played an effective role as a definite historically determined form of organizational relations between the parties. But with the quantitative and qualitative growth of the movement, and with the increasing complexity of the situation in the various countries and internationally, the need for an international directing center had outlived itself. The Seventh Congress instructed the Executive Committee to “base its work on the concrete conditions and features of each country and, as a rule, avoid direct interference in

the parties' internal organizational affairs.” The objective conditions of World War II necessitated still wider independence for the parties. Taking all this into consideration, in the spring of 1943 representatives of the parties agreed to dissolve the Communist International.

In its last resolution, the E.C. Presidium paid tribute to the Comintern's historic contribution to the world revolutionary movement and substantiated the decision to dissolve it in these words: “The wide difference in the development paths of individual countries, the differing, even contradictory, character of their social formations, differences in level and tempo of social and political development and, lastly, differing degrees of class consciousness and organization of the workers determine the diversity of tasks confronting the working class.”

The decision to dissolve the International was an act of political courage and foresight on the part of the Communist parties. It testified to their clear understanding of the new developments, their devotion to the supreme interests of the international working-class movement, and their ability to adapt concrete forms and methods to these interests.

Now, half a century after the founding of the Communist International and a quarter of a century after its dissolution, in the light of the new events in history, we can see more vividly the magnitude of its contribution to the political history of our times. Summing up its positive results, we can say the following:

1. The Comintern advanced a political program for the revolutionary refashioning of the world on the principles of socialism and communism. The first to analyze the general crisis of capitalism, it clearly formulated the fundamental tasks of the world working-class and Communist movement after the October Revolution.

2. The Comintern helped forge the weapon needed to implement this program—the revolutionary parties of a new type, parties of revolutionary thought and action capable of leading masses to victory over capitalism. It developed outstanding leaders, organizers and theorists, many of whom were to become national figures and statesmen in the socialist countries.

3. The Comintern delivered a powerful blow to the ideology and policy of social-reformism. It indicated the way to liberate the working class from opportunist influence and made a significant contribution

towards that end. It resurrected, consolidated and carried forward the movement's internationalist and revolutionary traditions.

4. The Comintern helped make Leninism the patrimony of the international labor movement. By analyzing and summarizing new experience, it creatively developed Marxism-Leninism, upholding its principles against Right and "Left" revisionism. It did much to popularize Marxist-Leninist ideas in all parts of the world.

5. The Comintern defined the general line of the Communist movement in a crucial period of world history. It elaborated the movement's strategy and tactics, closely related the fight for the workers' ultimate aims to their immediate interests, thereby furthering Lenin's idea of leading the masses towards revolutionary struggle.

6. The Comintern posed, in all their magnitude, the problems of the national liberation movement, initiated the struggle against colonialism, theoretically substantiated the inevitability of the disintegration of the colonial system, and rendered inestimable help in founding Marxist-Leninist parties in colonial and dependent countries and helped train their cadres.

7. The Comintern expressed the fundamental interests of the masses and defended them with Leninist consistency and determination. It was concerned with the problems of the worker in the capitalist factory, the worries of the peasant, and of the men and women in colonial bondage. Unsurpassed in its understanding of the problems agitating the peoples and upon the solution of which their future depended, it helped them find the correct orientation and weapons in the struggle for their vital interests.

8. The Comintern mustered the international forces in defense of the workers' revolutionary gains. The solidarity movements it inspired and organized—with the Soviet Union, the Chinese revolution, Republican Spain, the national liberation struggle—highlighted the immense significance of proletarian internationalism.

9. The Comintern was the first to raise the banner of anti-fascism, and by organizing the International Brigades in Spain gave practical support to the early battles against fascism. It laid the moral and political foundations for the broad Resistance movement in World War II.

10. The Comintern initiated the united anti-war front. It urged the working class,

all working people and democrats, to bar the way to war and did everything in its power to prevent its outbreak. And when the imperialists unleashed the Second World War, the Communists proved to be the real patriots: the bourgeoisie had its Laval's and Quisling's, the Communists marshalled thousands and tens of thousands of fighters for national freedom, against Hitler tyranny. The Communist parties linked their fate to that of their peoples and led them in the fight to throw off fascist oppression.

The Comintern laid the basis for the uninterrupted growth of the Communist movement, to become the most influential political force of our age.

Relying on the support of the world's first socialist state and on the profound internationalism of the Soviet people, ingrained by Lenin's party, the Communist International rendered immense and valuable help to many fraternal parties. The life and freedom of hundreds of Communist activists and leading officials, and of thousands of rank-and-file party members were saved thanks to the efforts of the Communist International. After the defeat of revolutionary actions, when front-rank fighters and leaders faced imprisonment or even death, help came immediately from the International Labor Defense and other solidarity organizations and, when necessary they found refuge in the USSR. That was the case after the fall of the Hungarian Soviet government in 1919, during the fascist terror in Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, Yugoslavia, Germany and other countries, after the defeat of the Austrian proletariat in February 1934, of the Spanish Republic in 1939 and, lastly, in World War II, when leaders of fraternal parties, rescued through the instrumentality of the Communist International, became organizers of the Resistance in their respective countries.

No wonder world reaction had such a rabid hatred for the Communist International, Moscow, the Soviet Union. It is not accidental that the fascist plans of aggrandizement were clothed in "anti-Comintern pacts" and agreements for joint action against Communism. But the Communist International, drawing on the dedicated internationalism of the CPSU and the Soviet people, who were always prepared to come to the aid of working-class fighters and support their friends in every part of the world, acted as an inspiring and consolidating force.

IV.

The conditions of revolutionary struggle have changed materially in the quarter-century since the dissolution of the Comintern.

The trend, the rate and the scale of the deep-going changes during this period are largely due to the ever increasing role of the international Communist movement, its growing influence on world development and its successes in the fight for socialism, national independence and security. And the movement itself, having undergone substantial change, has reached a higher level.

The imperialist propaganda figment that Moscow determines the policy of the Communist parties, which, therefore, do not express the interests of their peoples, has been fully exposed in these past years. From the earliest days of the Comintern anti-Communist propagandists have alleged that the Communist parties, because they subscribe to proletarian internationalism, have no national roots, cannot champion the national interests and, consequently, will never win over the masses. But now, for a quarter of a century with no Comintern, the Communist movement has continued to march from success to success. The Communist parties, by ably combining defense of their working class with defense of the common interests of the international workers' and liberation movement, are gaining more and more influence.

From the 61 parties at the time the Comintern was dissolved, the number has grown to 88. And membership has increased considerably: to 40 million and more—13 times more than in 1939—in the socialist countries; from 500,000 to 2,500,000—a fivefold increase—in capitalist Europe; from 20,000 to 650,000—a more than 32-fold gain—in non-socialist continental Asia and Japan; from 180,000 to 343,000, or nearly double, in the Americas, and from 5,000 to 60,000, or 12 times more, in Africa.

Nor is it only a matter of numbers. Communist influence, Lenin pointed out, is much greater than membership. It is determined by the fact that the Communists are fighters for revolutionary change—that is why their ideas are gaining acceptance throughout the world.

Membership growth should be seen in the context of the far-reaching changes in the composition of the movement. In the Comintern days, only one party, the CPSU, was a ruling party and Communist influ-

ence was confined mostly to Europe. Today the Communists are in power in countries accounting for a third of the world's population. Communist parties are active not only in the highly developed capitalist countries, but also in the areas of the national liberation movement. The movement's international contacts and experience are far more extensive than those of any other political trend. This enables it to pose and to solve the problem of merging into a single stream all anti-imperialist forces and revolutionary trends.

The rapid growth of the movement has greatly extended the range of problems facing the parties: from perfecting the socialist system and passing over to communism to the struggle against the survivals of feudalism, the mainstay of neo-colonialism; from utilization of parliament and other bourgeois-democratic institutions in the fight against state-monopoly capitalism to elaborating the methods of armed struggle, one form of which in some countries is guerrilla warfare.

Naturally, this diversity of conditions and tasks calls for diversity of tactics. And this, too, is a criterion of the movement's strength and flexibility, of its ability to solve the new problems arising out of social development and the old problems of the class struggle in the new conditions.

The grave responsibility for the destiny of socialism, peace and humanity devolving on the Communist movement impels it to concentrate more on the common international tasks—avert world war, repel imperialism and its aggressive policy, assure international peace and security. And this necessitates coordinated action by the parties, their close unity in face of the common foe.

Since the parties operate under different conditions, different approaches and differing viewpoints on particular issues are understandable. Some of the differences are transient, others are more persistent. But that should not impede joint struggle against the common enemy, for the common aims of the movement.

Comrade Brezhnev, addressing the recent congress of the Polish United Workers' Party said: "The main thing is that the Communist and Workers' Parties, notwithstanding differences on some issues, are searching for ways and means of extending international contacts and strengthening their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. For our part, we have always found a comradely exchange of views to be

useful, and we are always ready frankly to discuss issues with the fraternal parties. We are confident that closer contact and cooperation can resolve problems in a way that will promote international Communist unity. And this is only natural, for we share a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, we have a common enemy, imperialism, and we are working towards a common goal, the triumph of communism."

Proletarian internationalism is the prime determining factor of our movement's strength and the supreme expression of the political consciousness of the working class. The latter cannot perform its historic mission of abolishing, on a world scale, the last system of exploitation and of building the new socialist society without progressively implementing all the requirements of proletarian internationalism, in which are blended the noble aim of the labor movement and the means of attaining it.

That is why in their strategy and tactics the imperialists attach so much importance to undermining proletarian internationalism and replacing it by diverse forms of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism. The experience of recent decades has borne this out with the utmost clarity. In relation to the socialist community, the working class and its Communist vanguard in the citadels of imperialism, or the national liberation revolution—everywhere imperialism relies chiefly on disunity, on inflaming nationalist passions, on counterposing one nation and country to another, especially to the Soviet Union. These designs must be countered by joint action, and not only by the socialist countries, but by all the contingents of the world labor movement and above all by the Marxist-Leninist parties.

In the present world situation, consolidating and extending proletarian internationalism is a key condition of social progress and unity of all the revolutionary forces for a continued offensive against imperialism.

The specific content of proletarian internationalism, in particular the forms of international contacts between the parties, change from one stage of history to another. At present when there cannot be an organizational and directing center for the entire world movement, it is most important to safeguard and strengthen proletarian internationalism in order to avoid serious injury to the movement and the cause of the socialist revolution. Closer proletarian internationalism is the most reliable guarantee against fragmentation of

the movement into mutually-opposed national entities. This could have grievous consequences, particularly for the Communist parties in power.

Internationalism implies joint action by the parties to further working class interests, oppose imperialism and its aggressive policies, and advance the cause of peace, security and socialism.

Internationalism implies unity of the socialist community, with each socialist country discharging its internationalist duty to the full by promoting the construction of socialism and communism and pursuing a home and international policy that strengthens the socialist world system, the over-riding factor of the modern revolutionary movement.

Success on every front of the revolutionary and liberation struggle depends to a large extent on the cohesion of the socialist community, its ability jointly to protect the socialist gains and present a united front to world imperialism. It will be recalled that this principle of joint responsibility for the destiny of socialism and preparedness jointly to defend its gains, was proclaimed by the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist community also in their Bratislava Statement.

The international contribution of individual detachments of the revolutionary movement and the degree of their international responsibility are determined by the concrete conditions of the worldwide class struggle. True to the principles of fraternal solidarity, the CPSU has throughout its history supported and assisted all Communists and anti-imperialists in their fight for social and national emancipation. And the CPSU is fully aware that each success of a fraternal party in the battle against our common foe, imperialism, brings that much nearer the triumph of socialist ideas throughout the world. Accordingly, guided by the decisions of its 20th and subsequent congresses, the Party Program and the documents of the 1957 and 1960 International Conferences, the CPSU has exerted every ounce of energy in the fight against imperialism in unity with all the Marxist-Leninist parties.

True to the Leninist principles of internationalism, the Soviet Union is giving all-round support to the revolutionary movement in every part of the world.

Aid to heroic Vietnam, revolutionary Cuba, the United Arab Republic, Syria and other countries ranged against imperialism, to guerrillas fighting against the Portu-

guesse colonialists, and to many other revolutionary forces, is a striking example of fraternal support.

It can be taken as a law of history that the stronger the Land of Soviets becomes, the greater is the measure of its support and aid to the various detachments of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement.

Internationalism signifies support of the national liberation movement and assistance to the newly-independent countries in consolidating their economic and political independence. It signifies solidarity and mutual support by the socialist community, the international proletariat and the national liberation movement. Internationalism signifies recognition of the worldwide relevance of Marxism-Leninism.

Internationalism means defending and consolidating world Communist unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, resolute struggle against revisionism and sectarianism and all manner of other Right and "Left" factionalists and splitters, against nationalism and its infiltration of the Communist and workers' movement.

Internationalism presupposes an active and joint struggle by the Communists to prevent another world war, eliminate the imperialist war danger, relax world tensions, assure peace and security and peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

Internationalism is a potent weapon against all manifestations of racial and nationalist prejudices. By raising the level of class consciousness of the workers and of all the oppressed, internationalism frees them from imperialist-inculcated illusions about "unity" of interests of bourgeoisie and proletariat, oppressors and oppressed, "class peace," etc. Whereas proletarian internationalism cultivates mutual respect, friendship and mutual aid, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism fosters national egoism, a scornful and disparaging attitude to other nations and peoples, thereby fomenting national enmity. Imperialist ideology aims at division, enmity and disorganization; internationalism aims at strengthening the bonds of unity, friendship and cooperation. In their theory and practice the Communist parties combine defense of the genuine national interests of their people (which has nothing in common with the jingoism of the ruling classes) with proletarian internationalism.

The sound internationalist policy of the Communist parties, above all those in power, is of immense importance for the

Communist and workers' movement, indeed, for the future of mankind. This follows from the experience of the CPSU and of the socialist world community. Relations between capitalist states—and this follows from the very nature of capitalism—are based on rivalry, interest conflicts, imperialist expansion and domination of the stronger powers. In contrast, socialism requires, and creates the conditions for, relations of a new type based on full equality, fraternal cooperation, mutual assistance and respect for sovereignty. A correct internationalist policy by the Communist parties of the socialist countries is a cardinal and reliable means of developing these socialist international relations which, by their very essence, rule out interest conflicts. Any departure from internationalism endangers socialist unity, militates against education of the masses, leaves the field open to nationalist sentiments and trends. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism is the earnest that socialist ideas will triumph, and socialist relations will be strengthened.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the future of human society depends largely on the internationalist understanding and outlook of the masses.

All this testifies to the immense importance of uniting the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and devising the best forms of united action by the Communist parties.

Today, 25 years after dissolution of the Comintern, the Communist movement is confronted with problems whose nature and scale call for a new approach, for new forms and methods of coordinating the fight against the class enemy.

Joint international effort over the past 10-15 years for collective solution of outstanding problems has enabled the parties to elaborate practical methods of coordinating their fight for social and national emancipation, the interests of the working people, peace and socialism—meetings of Party representatives and international conferences.

International conferences of equal and independent parties are a natural form of working out agreed positions on pressing issues. Obviously the object of each such conference should accord with the specific tasks of the moment, the urgent requirements of the struggle and the interests of the entire movement.

The 1957 and 1960 Moscow Conferences

of the Communist and Workers' parties played an important part in formulating common policy and elaborating new forms of international contacts, and demonstrated a high degree of unity in resolving the fundamental problems of our time. The basic ideas set out in the Conference documents have stood the test of time and of revolutionary practice. And guided by these ideas, the Communists have made significant progress towards their goal of peace, national liberation and socialism.

The value of such international meetings is fully evident today, when preparations for a new international conference are nearing completion. The forthcoming meeting will examine the most essential problem of all, the fight against imperialism, the part the Communists should play, and how to secure united action by the parties and all the anti-imperialist forces. The present complex and dangerous world situation impels the Communists to close their ranks, heighten their vigilance, rally the working class and working people gen-

erally in a broad front to foil imperialism's aggressive designs.

The CPSU regards the preparation for and the holding of the conference as the focal point of all our efforts to unite the world Communist movement. In common with other fraternal parties, we are convinced that the conference will furnish ample opportunities to draw up a program of united action and will go a long way towards realization of the vast potentialities for an offensive against imperialism and reaction.

* * *

In the 50 years since the Communist International was founded the world Communist movement has accumulated a wealth of experience. The lesson to be drawn from it is that the Communists have always and everywhere been victorious only when they acted in concert, only when they worked for the closest unity of their ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The Polish United Workers' Party and world problems

STEFAN OLSZOWSKI

The Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party (November 11-16, 1968) summed up the country's achievements over the past four years and charted its further course under the leadership of the Party. It assessed, too, the international situation and decided on guidelines for the future.

The Congress was attended by representatives from 39 fraternal parties and received messages of greetings from many more. The international working-class movement featured prominently in its deliberations. Our Party's attitude to unity of the movement and the cohesion of the socialist commonwealth, and the viewpoints expressed by fraternal delegates at the Congress are highly important for the unity of the worldwide front against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

Our Party with its two million members is the motive force of the profound changes that have taken place in Poland over the past twenty-four years. Its ideology, its program and its work express the vital national and social interests of the people and the unity of these interests. The community of patriotic and socialist aspirations that link Party and people is the earnest of further socialist progress.

The Congress, a milestone in our revolutionary movement, met at a time when the country was celebrating fifty years of independent statehood and twenty years of a united working class.

Our Party is carrying on the great movement initiated in the 1880's first by the Great Proletariat (Poland's first socialist

workers' party), then Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, the Left Socialist Party, Communist Party and, lastly, the Workers' Party.

The restoration of Polish independence fifty years ago was an event of immense importance even though state power was in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Independence and the reunification of Polish territories made it possible to found the Communist Party. Banned and operating underground, the Party nevertheless played an exceedingly important part in paving the way for future victory.

In 1948 the Workers' Party and the Socialist Party merged into a single Marxist-Leninist party. The merger, which ended the spirit that had persisted almost from the very beginning, attested to the maturity of a working class that had now come to power.

All that our people have achieved during the past quarter of a century—their new social system, new and inviolable frontiers, progress in economy and culture, alliance with the fraternal socialist countries—all are closely interwoven with the leading role of our Party in the life of the people, in building socialism.

In 1968 national income was four times that of 1938, gross industrial production (excluding handicrafts) showed a 13-fold increase and agriculture a 60 per cent rise in output. These achievements, among the greatest in post-war Europe, bespeak the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

This progress has enabled our people to lift their country out of the old-time pov-

erty and backwardness. The social consciousness of the people is changing deeply with the building of the Socialist society.

The nationwide pre-Congress discussion—it lasted several months—of the documents submitted by the Central Committee, the conclusions drawn from the discussion and the contributions made by the delegates' speeches at the Congress and its unanimous decisions add up to an invaluable guide to continued socialist progress.

INTERNATIONAL TASKS OF THE PARTY

The Congress resolution notes that in recent years the world situation has taken shape under the impact of the growing struggle between the forces of socialism, progress and peace and the forces of imperialism, reaction and war.

The balance of world forces has changed with imperialism irretrievably losing the power to shape the fortunes of the world. Peace in Europe and the world has been preserved due mainly to the growing economic and defense potential of the community of socialist countries and to their consistent peace policy. Notwithstanding the difficulties and obstacles encountered by socialism, it has shown very clearly that it enables the productive forces to grow at a rate unattainable under capitalism and, what is more important, ensures a rising standard of living and social and cultural progress.

The socialist community, resisting imperialist aggression in various parts of the world, helps the peoples who are fighting for freedom, independence and social progress. The policy of peace and countering imperialist aggression, prompted by the very nature of socialism, adds to the influence exerted by the socialist countries on historical development. The resolution of the Fifth Party Congress speaks of the strategy of imperialism as follows:

"Imperialism counters socialism with a global strategy which tries—by peaceful and non-peaceful means, through political pressure and ideological subversion, through economic and military intimidation—to turn back the wheels of history and divert the peoples from the way to social progress. The aggressiveness of imperialism in relation to the socialist world system, to the progressive and national liberation movements brings tension and a

general deterioration of the international situation.

"This policy is expressive of the class interests of monopoly capital, whose reactionary dictatorship aggravates internal social conflicts and the class struggle in the capitalist world. The rising tide of social upheaval deepens the crisis of traditional bourgeois parliamentary democracy. Arbitrary rule and resort to force together with political and racial discrimination are gaining ground in the so-called free world.

"As internal conflicts in the imperialist countries become more acute the contradictions and imbalances between highly industrialized countries, which have enriched themselves through colonial exploitation, and the underdeveloped countries are growing. More and more frequently, neo-colonialist exploitation of the underdeveloped countries goes hand in hand with political interference in their internal affairs and, in many instances, is accompanied by direct military pressure, by rebellions and coups, and by subversion aimed at causing internal division and sowing discord between many newly-free countries."

The wolfish nature of imperialism is strikingly manifested in the brutal, undisguised aggression in Vietnam and the Middle East.

The Vietnam war, provoked by U.S. aggression, became a battle between socialism and imperialism, between the world forces of freedom, progress and peace and the forces of colonialism, reaction and war. Despite five years of ruthless war Washington had to agree to an unconditional end to the bombing of North Vietnam, to agree to talks with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. This gain of the people of Vietnam and of the international forces of socialism and progress shows that nowadays even the mightiest imperialist power cannot defeat a people fighting for freedom when it enjoys the solidarity of the socialist countries and receives adequate material support from them.

In the Middle East the imperialists were unable, despite military success, to bring about the downfall of progressive Arab governments.

"Poland condemns the Israeli aggressors and their imperialist inspirers," says the Congress resolution. "It supports the just struggle of the Arab peoples and insists on

eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression, first of all, withdrawal from the occupied areas."

In Europe, the battlefield of more than one war provoked by imperialism, we must never forget that there still exists an active hotbed of conflict. The Congress resolution describes the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany as a factor in growing international tension, for each successive government in West Germany tries, despite talk about peace, to undo the results of World War II and restore a militarist "Great" Germany. The tactical maneuver launched by Bonn behind the smokescreen of the "new Eastern policy" serves the same purpose. Its object is to divide the socialist countries, isolate the German Democratic Republic—the first peace-loving German state of workers and peasants—and clear the ground for annexing this socialist state under the guise of unifying Germany.

The main foreign policy task of Poland is to resist the threat to the socialist countries and peace in Europe emanating from the West German revanchists and militarists. People's Poland and its socialist allies will persevere in their policy of exposing and isolating the aggressive forces in West Germany and of maintaining world peace and security. We insist that the Federal Republic recognize the existing frontiers, including the Oder-Neisse frontier and the frontier between the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, that it recognize the existence of two German states, renounce its great-power claim to spokesmanship for all Germans, admit that the Munich Treaty was invalid from the very beginning, relinquish its indefensible claims to West Berlin, and stop trying to gain access to nuclear weapons or to obtain them in any form.

We are resolved, the Congress resolution says, to thwart every attempt by Bonn to change the status quo in Europe.

"Our people know the price of freedom," said Comrade Gomulka in his closing speech at the Congress. "Poland has paid for it more dearly than any other country. During World War II we lost 220 out of every 1,000 inhabitants; the corresponding loss for France was 15 for Britain 8 and for the United States 1 out of every thousand. Warsaw alone lost twice as many lives as those lost by the United States throughout the war. Let no one in the world be surprised, therefore, that we give such emphatic and resolute warning

of the danger of West German revanchism and militarism and take an uncompromising stand against every attempt to weaken the unity of the socialist countries."

Speakers at the Congress and the documents approved by it reaffirmed the Party's loyalty to the Leninist principles of the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems. On the other hand, they stressed the need to resist all imperialist attempts to undermine the unity of the socialist countries and the need to combat revisionism, which rushes to the aid of imperialism.

"The idea of peaceful coexistence," we read in the Congress resolution, "is a political concept aimed at lessening international tension, establishing a system of collective security and averting war and thermonuclear catastrophe. It does not alter the nature of socialism or capitalism. The two systems can cooperate, especially in the economic and scientific fields, but they can never penetrate or grow into each other.

"Not even the complete abolition of the material and economic basis of capitalism ends the class struggle in individual socialist countries, any more than it ends the influence of bourgeois ideology on the social consciousness.

"To weaken and divide the socialist countries, imperialism resorts to ideological subversion, foments and fans nationalism and hits primarily at the Marxist-Leninist parties. Revisionism has become the first ally of imperialism and reaction in implementing this strategy."

The Congress fully approved the steps taken, in view of developments in Czechoslovakia, by our Party and government jointly with the parties and governments of the four other socialist countries.

The Congress urged closer unity of the socialist countries, describing this unity as the basis of our national security. Poland is willing to take part in any constructive measures to safeguard collective security and peace. The policy of our Party in this respect is clear: the paramount task of Polish foreign policy, determined by the Party, is to promote the security of the country and its socialist development. Together with the other socialist countries we are for real progress in international relations based on peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

This is why we call for specific steps to strengthen European security. These steps

could be discussed by a conference of European countries including the two Germanys. Poland, striving for a system of European security, supports the proposal that all European countries, including the two German states, sign a treaty renouncing the use of force and interference in the affairs of other countries. We are for adherence to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty by the greatest possible number of countries and for further steps towards general and complete disarmament, which is the most effective way to stop the arms race.

"Of decisive importance for our security, the inviolability of our frontiers and the peaceful progress of our country," says the resolution, "is the close alliance and all-round cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, above all with the Soviet Union. To foster Polish-Soviet friendship based on the community of the vital interests of the two countries and on cooperation between our parties, which take a common stand on all important issues, is a fundamental principle of the policy of our Party and the government of People's Poland."

Poland will continue to further the unity and cooperation of all the brother parties and socialist countries and to strengthen the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organization.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION STRENGTHEN POLITICAL UNITY

The economic integration of the socialist countries, begun twenty years ago with the establishment of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, was widely examined during the pre-Congress discussion and at the Congress. The present period demands that the socialist countries move to a new phase in economic cooperation and to a more active role of CMEA. Their political unity can rest only on an international socialist division of labor based on equality and mutual respect. We think the initiative and achievements of our Party in this sphere should be carried forward. The international socialist division of labor received much attention in Comrade Gomulka's closing speech. He stressed that the solution of the problems involved depended not only on our Party and Government, but on all the CMEA countries.

"I believe," Gomulka went on, "and a number of circumstances confirm it, that in the next few years all the CMEA countries will have to effect a radical change

in economic cooperation and in the processes of economic integration. Our Party attaches great economic and political importance to this.

"In the era of the scientific and technological revolution, the economic integration of the socialist countries becomes practically the foremost task in building socialism. In the next few years the dynamics and scale of development of our country will largely depend on how this pivotal task is accomplished.

"Economic integration in the broad sense of the term calls for closer multilateral economic relations between the CMEA countries, particularly as regards meeting their raw material requirements and developing various industries and research with optimum results.

"Elaboration by the socialist countries concerned of a common program defining the general objectives and methods of this work and determining its various stages on the basis of commodity-money relations will provide us with new and vast opportunities for rapid economic growth.

"The economic integration of the socialist countries is something more than an economic necessity. At this stage of the competition between the two systems, it is of the utmost political importance. The economic integration of the capitalist countries in Western Europe, that is, that part of the capitalist world on which we directly border, is making rapid progress notwithstanding contradictions and difficulties and despite the grim competition between the monopoly groups integrated with the state machinery. More than half a century ago, Lenin wrote that 'the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break-down of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc.,' constitute a historical trend in capitalism.

"In the final analysis this worldwide historical trend will become, as Lenin predicted, one of the strongest motive forces transforming capitalism into socialism, even though it still gives capitalism strength in its contest with socialism."

Through the deepening process of economic integration within the framework of the European Economic Community, Comrade Gomulka said, the process of political integration is likewise making headway, even if not without zigzags. U.S. capital stimulates this process not only because it is intensively penetrating into key

branches of the West European economy, but also because it is seeking to knock together a broad anti-Communist front and to provide an economic basis for the aggressive Atlantic pact. Similar aims are pursued by the efforts of the imperialist strategists, especially those of Washington and Bonn, to sow discord among the socialist countries.

However, socialism furnishes incomparably greater possibilities for integration than capitalism—integration highly beneficial to each socialist country and to the entire community, to its dynamic growth, to the reinforcing of its defense potential and the unity of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Economic integration would bring with it a powerfully accelerated development in Poland and all the fraternal countries. Pooling of efforts in science and technology would also hasten the growth and modernization of the national economies.

"Science," Gomulka said, "is becoming a direct productive force. Without constantly expanding research, without close links between science and practice solution of the problems of building socialism is unthinkable. The very nature of socialism is such as to provide highly favorable conditions for rapid scientific and technological progress, which, in turn, is indispensable for socialism.

"The interweaving of the socialist revolution and the scientific and technological revolution will make socialism invincible. That is the essence of the linkage of socialism and science, of the community of interests of the working class and the intelligentsia in the effort to build a new and better world in which the achievements of human genius will never be turned against man but will become powerful boosters of progress and prosperity for all."

THE PARTY AND THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

All the work of our Party is bound up with the struggle of the Communist and Workers' parties in all countries. It is understandable, therefore, that the congress was permeated with the spirit of internationalism, with the awareness that it is the supreme task of each party to participate in the struggle of all revolutionary forces of our time against imperialism, for

peace, progress and socialism. The Congress resolution points out that the disagreements that existed before the 4th Congress of our Party, the result of the policy of the Communist Party of China, have in the recent years developed into an open split.

The Polish United Workers' Party is consistently combating nationalism, which undermines the unity of our movement and leads to the self-isolation of certain parties within the narrow bounds of their particular interests.

We consider that harmonizing the national interests of every socialist country with the interests of the entire socialist community is decisive for the unity of the Communist movement. Each Communist Party is accountable to the working class of its country, to its people, it voices their interests and aspirations; it shapes its policy independently. But these interests and aspirations cannot be interpreted parochially, they cannot be separated from, let alone counterposed to, the interests, aspirations and aims of international socialism.

"The tasks of every party," the resolution of the Congress says, "are determined not only by internal socio-political forces, but also by the international balance of strength, the global confrontation between socialism and capitalism. Therefore the fight against nationalism, which is incompatible with Marxist-Leninist ideology, is indispensable to the unity of the world Communist movement, of the international forces of socialism."

Divisive nationalist, revisionist and Leftist trends in the world Communist and working-class movement are seized upon by imperialism and its agents. The purpose of activizing opportunism, whether of the Right or "Left" variety, is to exert pressure on the Communist and working-class movement. Revisionism, the resolution stated, like any other type of opportunism, is the result of a retreat before obstacles and difficulties, of loss of revolutionary perspective and of belief in the ultimate victory of socialism over capitalism.

Summing up what had been said on this question during the discussion, Gomulka pointed to the social sources of revisionism and stressed the tremendous importance of creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice for success in the fight against revisionist views.

"Ideological struggle against revisionism," he said, "is a top priority, requiring painstaking work which needs more than a single campaign or mere fulmination against revisionists."

"Revisionism sprouts in the labor movement not only because some leaders commit mistakes, go astray, lose courage or even desert to the enemy. It germinates on the soil of definite social conditions characterized by the tremendous pressure of the bourgeoisie on the political thinking of the proletariat. It is a by-product of the struggle and of the competition between the two systems—socialism and capitalism. It feeds on survivals of the old social consciousness, the old way of thinking, from which it draws its political virulence."

"Correctly understood, struggle against revisionism is ideological struggle along a broad front in which all components of the party take part."

"In order to be effective, productive of lasting results and useful as a tempering of the Party cadres and of various social strata against revisionist views, this struggle should be accompanied by the advancement of positive, constructive solutions to the problems posed by life, by the building of socialism. Revisionism cannot be combated successfully without the creative development of Marxism."

The Party reaffirmed in its resolution that roads to socialism not only can, but should be different. But there is only one socialism. Its essence is the power of the working people, with the working class as the leading force, in a planned economy with socialization of the means of production. The roads mapped by one party or peculiar to any of the countries building socialism cannot be imposed on other parties and countries. But they can and must become a source of experience for each party fighting for power or building the new system.

The international position of the socialist camp has a direct bearing on the strength and influence of each party. To leave this out of account and attack the socialist states would be tantamount to weakening one's own party and the entire Communist movement. The attitude of each Communist and Workers' party to the Soviet Union and to the other socialist states is influenced by the struggle between the two systems and expresses an internationalist understanding of the demands of this struggle.

"Working in different parts of the world," the resolution goes on, "growing out of the social relationships and political life of their peoples, the Communist and Workers' parties carry out their tasks and outline the aims of their struggle proceeding from the objective conditions of their countries. Disagreements on tactics and on ways of building socialism, stemming from different conditions and experience, do not in themselves constitute a violation of the principles of internationalism and should by no means be allowed to weaken unity in the field of international policy, the common struggle against the common enemy—world imperialism with its aggressive, warlike policy. What unites the parties is incomparably more important for working out a common strategy and practical forms of anti-imperialist struggle than that which disunites them at present."

The Congress declared for convening an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties to strengthen the unity of our movement in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, progress, freedom and socialism. A few days after the Congress the preparatory committee of the international conference assembled in Budapest. There can be no doubt that we contributed to the success of the Budapest meeting by our Congress, which reaffirmed the generally known position of our Party, its constructive efforts to consolidate world Communist unity.

FRATERNAL PARTIES AT THE CONGRESS

Congress was attended by representatives from 39 fraternal parties: Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Bulgarian Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Korean Party of Labor, Rumanian Communist Party, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Working People's Party of Vietnam, Communist Party of the USA, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Denmark, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of India, Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Israel, Jordanian Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party

of Luxembourg, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), British Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany—West Berlin, Communist Party of Germany, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of El Salvador, Communist Party of Spain, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Sudan, Communist Party of Uruguay, Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity.

Also present were representatives from the NLF of South Vietnam and the Arab Socialist Union, the latter as an observer.

Messages of greetings came from the fraternal parties of Australia, Bolivia, Ceylon, Cyprus, Ecuador, Guatemala, Iran, Northern Ireland, Japan, Canada, Cuba, Laos, Lesotho, Martinique, Mexico, Norway, New Zealand, Peru, Portugal, Puerto Rico, San Marino, Switzerland, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey and Venezuela.

It was with a feeling of pride and of a well-discharged internationalist duty that the envoys of the two million Polish Communists heard fraternal expressions of appreciation and solidarity.

The importance of exchanges of views, cooperation and mutual support was noted by Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU:

"The experience of the Polish United Workers' Party, its work at home and in the international arena substantially contribute to the international experience of the movement. That is why the political report and the entire work of the Congress are of great interest to all of us.

"Many socialist countries are now solving similar problems of their development. Creative application of each other's experience, cooperation, mutual support, pooling of efforts on the decisive sectors help the fraternal parties and countries to accelerate their advance to our great goal."

Comrade Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, who also addressed the Congress, said:

". . . The German Democratic Republic is daily confronted with imperialism along the West European borderline of the socialist countries, and it gives us great joy to feel confident that behind us stands not only our common great friend, the mighty Soviet Union, but also our immediate neighbor and friend, the prospering and strong Poland, which is successfully building socialism and which we have always known as a sound, dependable ally in repelling any imperialist attacks on the GDR.

"We highly value our unbreakable alliance in the struggle against the aggressive policy of West German imperialism, whose revanchist aspirations are growing."

The role of the Polish Party in promoting cooperation between the socialist countries was stressed by Comrade Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

"We greatly appreciate the Polish Communists' loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and their unbending internationalism. We highly respect the clear-cut and consistent attitude of your Party and your Republic on the matter of promoting the cooperation of the CMEA countries and consolidating the Warsaw Treaty and fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and on the struggle for the unity of the international Communist movement."

Comrade Billoux, French Communist Party, said:

"The Polish United Workers' Party, continuing the work of the Communist Party of Poland, eliminated the split in the Polish labor movement. For twenty years now it has been exerting tremendous efforts to ensure steady improvement in the life of your people in conditions of socialism. It has fought vigorously for the preservation and safeguarding of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

"Under the leadership of your Party socialism has become for Poland a synonym for independence, security and progress."

Gratitude for the support and assistance rendered to Vietnam by the socialist countries, Poland among them, was expressed by Dang Quang Minh, representative of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and Comrade Bhuen Van Tran, Secretary of the CC of the Party of Working People of Vietnam. The latter said:

"We are gratified to note that friendship and cooperation between our parties and between the people of Vietnam and Poland have grown stronger.

"The Party, government and people of fraternal Poland are rendering our people sincere support and important aid in building socialism and in the fight against the U.S. aggressors, for the salvation of their country. The Polish representatives in the International Commission have been doing their utmost to ensure implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam."

Poland's principled stand with respect to the imperialist aggression in the Middle East is highly appreciated by the Arab

peoples. That was stressed by Comrade Ibrahim Bakri of the Syrian Communist Party. He said:

"The internationalist stand taken by your Party and government under the leadership of Wladyslaw Gomulka in support of the national liberation struggle and the movement for social progress in the Arab countries, and specifically Poland's stand on the Israeli aggression of June 5, 1967, have strengthened the bonds of Arab-Polish friendship and opened up good prospects for the future."

The inestimable value of the experience of the Polish revolutionary movement was stressed by Comrade Neves, of the Brazilian Communist Party:

"Your valiant struggle, your selfless labor in building a socialist society, your participation in upholding socialism and Communist unity are to us in Brazil an inspiration and an example in the fight for the victory of the national and democratic revolution . . .

"The efforts to build socialism in Poland are the proof that history knows no easy roads. At the same time, your experience shows that social progress is as inevitable as the march of time."

The idea of inter-party, international solidarity was the keynote of the greetings brought by all foreign guests, whether they expressed a viewpoint identical to ours or differed with us in appraising some problems of our movement. The Congress has demonstrated anew the Communists' firm belief that disagreements resulting from differences in the stages of development of the movement and from the national conditions of the struggle of parties cannot serve as a justification for violating the fundamental principle of international solidarity, for weakening the united front of anti-imperialist struggle.

* * *

The Polish people realize that their well-being and security are unthinkable without socialism, that the interests of Poland are indissolubly linked with the interests of socialism and progress throughout the world.

Hence our unshakable loyalty to our alliance with the Soviet Union, which guarantees our security, the integrity of our borders, and victory in our joint struggle for a new world.

Hence our firm opposition to all attempts to impair the unity of the socialist states. We realize that the parties of the socialist countries are performing a special mission and shoulder a special responsibility in the working-class movement, in the fight against imperialism.

Closing the Congress, Comrade Gomulka again stressed the role which the parties of the socialist countries, our Party included, are playing in the fight for socialism and peace.

"A special role and a special responsibility devolve on the parties of the socialist countries in the world Communist movement," he said. "They are the main force of socialism and peace, the mainstay of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the national liberation struggle, and the anti-imperialist movement. By strengthening each of our countries and the entire socialist community we are fulfilling not only our national but also our internationalist duty, creating favorable conditions for the struggle of our comrades in the countries still dominated by capital.

"Unity and international solidarity have always been, and are all the more today, in times of intensified struggle between the two systems, the main weapon of the Communist and working-class movement, a source of strength and a condition of success in the fight for our common cause."

Science serves the people

We are witnessing a precipitous scientific and technological revolution. Science has become the main source of this speeding up of economic progress. More, it is becoming an immediate productive force. We see revolution after revolution in the various areas of material production. Our knowledge of nature and society expands and deepens.

Yet the current growth of science is complex and contradictory. It unfolds in a divided world at a time of acute class struggles and contradictions between the moribund capitalist system and the new socialist world. The changes in men's ways of life, the problems arising under pressure of the technological revolution, are different in the capitalist and socialist worlds.

For people in the capitalist world the development of science and technology carries with it a sense of insecurity. The abyss between an illusory well-being and the moral values deepens. Man is increasingly conscious of his aloneness in the complicated, hostile modern social environment. The contradiction between progress in science and technology and the backwardness of the social institutions is becoming more glaring.

Socialism alone can resolve that contradiction. In the socialist environment the scientific-technological revolution does not alienate and divide people. The collective is a social category. Scientific and technological progress helps consolidate this collective in socialist society, to lighten the condition of the working man, to provide scope for the harmonious development of the personality. In the socialist countries people are sure of their future. They know that the more rapidly and effectively the scientific-technological revolution runs its course, the better, the fuller and the happier their lives will be.

The sphere of science and technology is today one of the principal and determinative fields in the contest between the two opposed social systems. It is natural, therefore, that the Communist and Workers' parties concern themselves more and more with scientific progress. Socialism offers the greatest scope for scientific growth not only in national terms, but for the entire socialist community of nations. That is the area, therefore, in which the principle of socialist internationalism, the principle of the selfless and effective cooperation by scientists of the fraternal countries in the name of the common aim, asserts itself most forcefully.

What are the scientific achievements with which scientists in the socialist countries are ushering in the new year?

What does the growth of science into an immediate productive force connote and what are its specific features under socialism?

How are international relationships between scientists of the fraternal countries strengthened and what role do they perform in scientific growth?

These three questions our Editors addressed to the Presidents of the Academies of Science of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and Mongolia.

Here are their replies.

ANGEL BALEVSKY, President of the Bulgarian Academy of Science

1. For us 1969 is a year of jubilees. We shall celebrate the 25th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the centenary of our Academy.

Last year the various institutes of the Academy made important progress in con-

nection with theory and practice. Let me mention a few of the more considerable advances.

Our physicists and chemists have completed interesting research concerning semi-conductors and nuclear physics. The

Institute of Physics developed a method of getting neon and helium gas from the air. A study of the interaction of hydrocarbons and their catalysts will help improve the production pattern in the chemical and petro-chemical industries. We have also developed new methods of detecting selenium and tellurium.

Our geologists have just completed a comprehensive study of large deposits of copper ore. Besides, they have made a survey of the Eastern Rhodope upland as an aid to ore prospectors.

Medical researchers obtained important answers to questions relating to cancerogenesis.

Fruitful results were also obtained in the social sciences. We have just completed a joint Bulgarian-Soviet project, "Theory of Reflection and Modern Science," and a joint work, "The History of Bulgarian Philosophy" (Vol. 1), dealing with the inception and growth of philosophy and sociology in Bulgaria from the ninth century to the country's liberation from Turkish rule. The joint work, "Object, Method and Structure of Historical Materialism," tackles for the first time certain aspects of modern cognition methods as applied in social fields. "Leninism and Modern Philosophical Revisionism," a monograph, elucidates the main trends of Right and "Left" revisionism in philosophy between 1960 and 1968, underscoring the importance of Leninism as the Marxist philosophy of the 20th century.

Economic research is centered chiefly on how to raise the rate of economic growth, accelerate the introduction of scientific and technical innovations in production, and add to the effectiveness of the economy. We have completed investigations designed to improve economic management and research, and have looked into the problem of economic cybernetics, particularly in relation to the development of macrosystem models, the use of inter-branch balances and optimum geographical structures of production.

Our sociological research program in town and countryside covering the main areas of public life and enabling us to probe the over-all sociological structure is of special interest because its results will enable us to forecast some basic lines of social development.

Our historians are compiling a 10-volume "Scientific History of Bulgaria." Papers on the 11-centuries-old history of Bulgarian literature, its associations with Russian

and Soviet literature and with the literature of the neighboring Balkan countries, have been published recently. We have published an "Encyclopaedia of Bulgarian Musical Culture," the first of its kind, and have completed work on the first volume of "The History of Bulgarian Fine Arts," which is also the first book of its kind in our country.

Naturally, in a brief interview it is impossible to list all the research completed last year. But the above tabulation, though far from complete, shows that 1968 was a year of intensive research.

2. It is now generally recognized that the growth of science into a direct productive force is one of the features of the current scientific and technological revolution. Discovery of new sources of power, development of synthetic materials, cybernetics and automation, etc., prompted a radical restructuring of the productive forces. In recent years science has made remarkable progress, equipping industry with powerful technology. A new era is opening in the technical field. Science is merging so completely with production, its influence on production is so great, that there is every reason to describe it as an energizer of social progress.

Its bearing on technology and production is increasingly obvious; so is its influence on instruments and objects of labor, the sources of power and, last but not least, on man the producer. Science necessitates far-reaching changes in the organization of production and management. The influence of science is the decisive factor of efficiency. The process of production is now much more dependent on scientific progress.

The role and importance of science as the vehicle of social and technological progress depends on the appropriate socio-economic conditions. In the capitalist countries, too, the scientific and technological revolution is under way. However, socialism alone is vitally interested in a rapid growth of the productive forces, in the all-round development of the working man. Only under socialism and communism are the essential conditions available for turning science completely into a direct productive force. Under socialism, as Lenin predicted, science is indeed the lifeblood of society. Far from opposing society as a hostile force it acts as a powerful factor in extending man's control over nature and in mastering the laws of social development for the good of society. In our coun-

tries science as a productive force serves man: it lightens his work, enhances his proficiency professionally and culturally, helps overcome the essential distinctions between mental and manual labor, increases the wealth of society and promotes the all-round harmonious development of the individual. That is one of its most, or perhaps the most, characteristic feature in the socialist countries.

The advantage science has under socialism is that its progress, its conversion into a productive force, follow a plan and are a scientifically guided process consistent with the needs of society. Those are the lines along which our Academy of Sciences, too, works to the best of its resources.

We are providing the most favorable conditions for speedier scientific development. The number of science centers, of which there were 120 in 1960, rose to 330 in 1967, and funds invested in science amounted to nearly 1.5 per cent of the national income.

In July 1968 the Central Committee of the Communist Party discussed ways for improving the system of government. It underscored the importance of further intensive scientific growth and of a scientifically grounded strategy and tactics for the country's science policy. Its decisions on this score are now being put into effect.

3. The technological revolution, in which science is dominant, is highlighted by the concentration of research in large science collectives with excellent equipment. In most cases, however, the resources of one collective, no matter how large, are insufficient to resolve the bigger problems. Some of the particularly important problems are therefore tackled internationally.

The socialist system offers the best possible opportunities for joint international research. Multilateral cooperation by the Academies of Science of the socialist countries began in 1962, its purpose being to

focus research on selected problems of the natural and social sciences through coordination and the international division of labor. A standing commission for coordinating scientific and technical research was formed somewhat later under the auspices of the Council For Mutual Economic Aid. The commission drew up a summary plan and organized a system of research institutions, each of which has been assigned its special part in the selected projects.

The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is happy to take part in this multilateral effort and in the work of the CMEA Commission for Coordinating Research.

Our Academy maintains close contacts with the Academies of the fraternal countries and has concluded bilateral cooperation agreements with them. Joint research on selected problems (their number exceeds 100) tends to elevate scientific standards, the effectiveness of our efforts and the training of researchers. Our cooperation with the Soviet Academy of Sciences has helped hundreds of our researchers to develop into full-fledged scientists. Many physicists received their training at the Joint Nuclear Research Institute in Dubna, with some recording important theoretical and experimental achievements. With Soviet aid we have installed and started the first Bulgarian nuclear pile, and the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences has helped us considerably in expanding chemical research and in training chemists. Cooperation with the fraternal Academies has enabled us to advance in social science, particularly historiography, and to publish a number of valuable works. Our archaeologists can be proud of their collaboration with German and Polish colleagues in excavating Roman sites and ancient Slav settlements.

In the spirit of fraternal solidarity, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is helping the Academies in Cuba and Mongolia to the full extent of its resources.

ISTVAN RUSZNYAK, President of the Hungarian Academy of Science

1. There are times when social growth is speedier and when months, years or decades can match centuries. For our people this has been the case since 1945, when the country embarked on socialist reconstruction. Young men and women from working-class families or of peasant stock received access not only to secondary and

higher, but also to systematic scientific education. New vistas opened up for Hungarian science. The complex of research centers grew spectacularly and, as I see it, our scientists and young researchers have made the most of the new opportunities of the past 20 years.

At present, our country with a popula-

tion of 10 million has 947 research centers, of which 130 are institutes engaged in independent projects. Their personnel, permanent and temporary, totals 43,300. In 1967 expenditure on research amounted to 2.23 per cent of the national income, with 26 per cent of the completed research suitable for practical use. The number of books published offers good evidence of the effectiveness of our research: In Hungarian over 700 books, 8,382 articles in specialized journals and 3,783 investigations, and in foreign languages 148 books, 4,397 articles and 1,155 investigations. Research institutes and their associates applied for 1,909 patents.

We want to use the advantages deriving from the economic reform with due consideration for the specifics of our work. Scientists and researchers consider it an honor that the Central Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party intends to examine the scientific scene and prospective tasks. Some of us are taking part in analyzing the state of affairs and tabulating suggestions. What the Central Committee intends is to outline the organizational forms of research suitable to current growth and future tasks. A new long-term research program and a more modern system of guidance are to be worked out.

We are watchful to eliminate anything acting as a brake on science, for, failing this, the best of intentions, good will, talent and expenditure will get us nowhere, because science, too, is a field where content and form must harmonize.

2. In our time, science is, increasingly, a part of the basis and superstructure of society. This conclusion, drawn from experience, determines the place and character of science in the second half of our century throughout the world, and especially in the socialist countries, where socialism is being built on a scientific basis.

Our world is becoming so complex that it is almost impossible to find one's bearings in it, to make nature serve our needs, by purely empirical means, without analysis and hypothesis. Whatever problem arises, be it political, economic or ideological, it needs a scientific solution.

Nowadays, the area where science is applicable has widened; it extends from the kitchen to government conference halls. The scientist's labor is visible everywhere, in the rapid growth of the means of production, the appearance of new branches of industry, the drop in child mortality and the increasing human life-span. The spiritu-

al and material scope of research has expanded tremendously; it is now a "branch of production" in the fullest sense. Only some 50,000 people in all countries were engaged in research before the First World War, whereas now, as Leonid Brezhnev noted at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, more than 660,000 researchers, that is a quarter of the total for the world, are employed in the Soviet Union alone. By virtue of their numbers, but chiefly because of their fruitful work, scientists now play a prominent role in society.

Science is gaining a deeper knowledge of the world and discovering new objective laws. The educational level of the people and the standard of their general culture, which also covers scientific knowledge, have risen. Not only intellectuals but far wider strata of people are now absorbing knowledge and its practical results. Scientific thinking has spread, broadening the basis for scientific advance. In a thousand different ways science is becoming a material force serving thought and creativity.

3. For science international cooperation is essential. It is part and parcel of creative work, and doubly so for a small country like Hungary, for which intensive research in all spheres of science is prohibitive. Integration is the hallmark of the present stage of social development; this holds true also for scientific research. For small countries autarchy in science is absolutely impermissible, which prompts the Hungarian Academy of Science and Hungary's other science centers to seek broader international cooperation.

The common purpose of our cooperation with the socialist countries is to pool achievements, multiplying the science potential and accelerating the economic growth of the socialist world. Our relations are regulated partly by direct agreements between the respective Academies, partly by the CMEA Commission for the Coordination of Scientific Research and partly by inter-governmental technico-scientific programs. As time goes by, the various forms of cooperation are less cluttered with elements of formalism, giving way to more effective cooperation and joint research.

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which has bilateral and multilateral agreements with the other socialist countries, has collaborated bilaterally with the respective Academies for over ten years. Science missions abroad and contacts between institutes have grown considerably in number. Seventy per cent of the people sent

abroad on scientific assignments go to the socialist countries. Some of our research institutes have direct contacts with their foreign counterparts, conduct joint research, divide up assignments, use equipment jointly and publish joint material.

Multilateral cooperation by Academies has continued with marked success for a number of years. Our agreements concern joint research, fundamental issues of cooperation, and organizational problems. At present we are conducting nine highly important joint research projects.

Long-term visits abroad for training have been extremely helpful. Scientific exchanges are yielding good results, enabling us to send young people for specialization and post-graduate study to socialist countries where specific fields of science are more advanced than in Hungary.

The programs of the CMEA commissions envisage joint work on many fundamental and applied topics, exchanges of information and joint research. Inter-governmental cooperation concerns exchange visits by specialists, exchange of technical documents, collaboration by research and planning institutions, and conferences and congresses. The State Committee for Technical Development, too, has concluded direct agreements for scientific and technical cooperation.

Institutions cooperating scientifically and technically with other socialist countries have registered valuable gains. Given a sensible approach, such cooperation can have a highly positive influence on research in the countries concerned and on their economic and ideological development.

HERMANN KLARE, President of the German Academy of Science in Berlin

Before replying I would like to make a few general remarks. For the German Academy of Sciences 1968 was a year of reform. Its tasks, functions and structure were redefined to concentrate the country's research potential in a single body. Our Academy of Sciences, therefore, is becoming the GDR's key center of fundamental research and applied research in selected areas of the natural and social sciences. The Academy is using its research potential to produce a long-term scientific basis for the development of our social system, notably its economic structure. But there are research facilities also in industry, the universities and in other academies.

Now let me answer the questions.

1. Any more or less full account of the GDR's scientific achievements would require much more space than permitted by this interview. I shall therefore describe only some of the results closely related to the republic's new technological and economic requirements.

For instance, we have devised new lubricants for high-temperature steel and steel-alloy casting, far superior to all existing lubricants used for this purpose. What is more, we can now dispense with subsequent acid treatment. In fact, we can now produce new types of high-temperature alloys. The new method will mean a tremendous saving for the economy—in one plant alone it already amounts to millions of marks.

Another Academy institute, working in cooperation with two industrial enterprises, has elaborated a new method of extracting paraffin, the base material for detergents and a long list of other products. The resulting economy is estimated at between 30 and 40 million marks.

Radioactive isotopes are becoming an increasingly important factor in industry and medicine. This was emphasized a while ago when one of our institutes discovered a new method of cancer diagnosis.

In the realm of physics, I might mention research in crystallography and magnetic fields. Investigations by one of our institutes have significantly enlarged our knowledge of stellar and planetary magnetic fields, notably of the Earth and the Sun.

In medicine and biology we have discovered four new types of cancer virus which might open up new lines in cancer virology.

Our work in the social sciences, on new and old projects, indicates that we can look forward to good results. By way of example, I might mention a collective study, "Marxism in the Last Third of the Nineteenth Century," a theoretical analysis of the concept and role of the Marxist party and Marxist ideology.

This terse enumeration of research results shows that our Academy is actuated solely by a desire to make a maximum contribution to the peaceful construction of socialism in the German Democratic Republic

and to the all-round strengthening of the socialist system. A West German scientist who has come to us in the GDR, Dr. Petras, has said that in West Germany much research is devoted to purposes of bacteriological and chemical warfare. In the GDR the use of science against peace, understanding among the nations and against human life and dignity, is prohibited by law.

2. In his *Critique of Political Economy*, Marx foresaw and described the present relation between science and production. I refer to the steady conversion of science into a direct productive force. What Marx had in mind was that, with the development of large-scale industry, the creation of social wealth would be progressively less dependent on the amount of labor and labor-time, and more dependent on intensive employment of machines, the effectiveness of which would, in turn, depend on the level of science and its technological application. Thus, on the one hand, science leads to a veritable revolution in technological methods and, on the other, its effectiveness is determined by the degree to which the producer accepts, assimilates and acts in accordance with the findings of science. This changes man's place in the production process. As Marx pointed out, man now tends the production process instead of being its prime motive force.

Research, of course, develops under capitalism, too, but its latent powers are fully disclosed only under socialism. Capitalist production relations, in particular capitalist ownership of the means of production, tend to limit the effectiveness of science as a productive force. I often recall the apt remark of Prof. Bernal, the British scientist, that in his country and the USA about two-thirds of all research results are never published, but kept in the secret files of private companies, away from the inquisitive eyes of competitors who, incidentally, make similar discoveries and file them away in their own archives. Only socialism can bring out to the full the productive potential of science. Article 17 of the GDR Constitution says that science, research and its results are an important factor of the socialist system and enjoy every support of the state.

The chief criterion of scientific development under socialism, in my opinion, is its effectiveness as a direct productive force regulated according to plan, and not developing spontaneously and anarchistically as is the case under capitalism. In the GDR

science has an active share in social prognostication and in long-range and current planning, so that research and technological advance are concentrated on priority tasks. We are now perfecting our system of planned research.

In conformity with a decision of the Seventh Socialist Unity Party Congress, research is being put on a contractual basis with new financial arrangements. This brings it closer to the requirements of society and makes for fuller use of its economic and social results. From this follows that the influence exerted by science as a direct productive force does not contradict, but rather accords with, man's vital interests. In the GDR there is no such thing as technological unemployment, now a common malaise of the capitalist countries. In this, I think, we have one of the more salient manifestations of the social aspects of science becoming a direct productive force.

3. Just as every working-class party in the socialist countries plays a guiding role in social development and stimulates scientific progress, so relations between fraternal parties greatly stimulate international scientific cooperation. They provide a favorable basis for establishing and extending scientific cooperation in diverse forms: agreements between the socialist Academies, defining the principles of such cooperation and subject to periodical concretization, and other forms of multilateral and bilateral cooperation on specific research projects. Naturally, our cooperation with the Soviet Union, the paramount force in scientific progress, is of very great importance in this context. Addressing the Ninth Central Committee Plenum of the Socialist Unity Party, Comrade Walter Ulbricht said that the chief task was to advance scientific cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries to a new qualitative level.

The establishment in Wroclaw, Poland, of an international laboratory to study high magnetic fields and low temperatures, sponsored by the Bulgarian, German, Polish and USSR Academies of Science is, I think, a promising initiative.

This year we shall be celebrating the bicentenary of Alexander von Humboldt. In this context I would like to mention the fruitful cooperation between our Academy and that of the Republic of Cuba. Last year we carried out one of the most ambitious projects undertaken by the two Academies, the Humboldt Expedition which will pro-

duce a comprehensive study of Cuba's fauna and flora.

Our Academy devotes special attention to cooperation with scientists in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which we continue to supply with research equipment and materials.

Of course, I can speak only about some

aspects of the international cooperation now being developed by the German Academy of Sciences, but I trust that even this brief account will show the inseparable link between science and politics, as formulated in one of the questions. Science must be political if it wants to prevent being exploited by imperialism.

BAZARYN SHIRENDYB, President of the Mongolian Academy of Science

1. Our Academy has institutes of biology, physics and mathematics, chemistry, geology, geography, economics, history, philology, an astronomical observatory, specialized laboratories and other research facilities. Research centers are also run by the ministries of agriculture, public health, education, the meteorological service and higher educational institutions.

In 1968 we completed a number of research projects, and the results of many are already being applied in the economy.

The list of completed projects includes a collective study, "Physical Geography of the Mongolian People's Republic," summarizing accumulated data and new findings, and "Chemical Composition of Mongolian Lakes." A new compound has been developed for the treatment of heart diseases and hypertension.

Another Academy study, "Mongolia's Pastures," contains practical recommendations for improving and making fuller use of pastureland. Work is nearing completion on a study dealing with the problems of agricultural specialization and regionalization. We have drawn up a seismological map of Ulan-Bator, the republic's capital, and its environs. Another study, "The Biology of Weed Plants," gives a detailed analysis of 200 species of weeds in the Orkhon and Selenga river areas.

These and other studies are of much practical value in making fuller use of fodder and other natural resources.

The Institute of Physics and Mathematics has designed machines and mechanisms for the food industry and the production of fodder concentrates. Significant progress is also reported by our institutes of geology and biology.

The Institute of History has completed work on the second and third volumes of a comprehensive history of the Mongolian People's Republic, a history of the 1921 revolution and volume 2 of "Remi-

niscences of Participants in the 1921 People's Revolution."

The Institute of Philology has published three studies of the grammar structure of the Mongolian language and has compiled a linguistic and ethnographic map of the republic. All our Academy institutes have fulfilled their 1968 research programs.

2. The conversion of science into a direct productive force is a feature of scientific and technological progress of our times. Science and industry now exert a reciprocal influence on each other and the gap between research and its application in industry is being narrowed. Social structure doubtlessly lays a definite imprint on the scientific policy of every country. In a socialist country, the chief propellant of scientific progress is the steadily rising requirements of social production and of the socialist society itself. The new social conditions, the new social orientation of science, allow the researcher incomparably wider opportunities for his work and ensure that it will serve the people and the victory of socialism and communism.

Science, like every other complex social phenomena, is subject to specific laws of development. An understanding of these laws is essential to the proper organization, planning and supervision of research, and is a guarantee against subjectivist appraisals of science's role in social life.

3. The socialist countries share a common system and ideology, which makes for closer cooperation in research and technology. Ours is not only an age of the revolutionary socialist renewal of human society, but also the age of nuclear energy and space exploration. Economic uses of nuclear physics and space science are the dominant trend in scientific progress. Of course, this is manifested differently in different countries, depending on their financial, technical and trained-personnel re-

sources. Nonetheless, I think that the training of such personnel and the gradual introduction of new scientific achievements are problems that should be tackled now by all socialist countries. All of them are committed to a policy of using achievements in this field exclusively for peaceful purposes. Scientific cooperation between Mongolia, the USSR and other member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid is of various forms. Steady expansion of international contacts will enable our peoples to exchange discoveries

in all spheres of science and technology and thereby help to even out and heighten economic levels.

Cooperation between our scientific institutions and scientists and their opposite numbers in the Soviet Union, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and other countries will help to assimilate the rich and multiform experience accumulated in all fields of scientific endeavor, will facilitate the growth of scientific cadres and, consequently, the achievement of still more impressive results.

WMR

communications and comment

The new scene in the United States and the tasks of progressives

BETTY GANNETT

The outcome of the Presidential elections of November 5, 1968 in the United States—in this the citadel of world imperialism—is being debated pro and con in political circles in all countries of the world.

In the absence of a viable political party based on the working class, the people of the United States were offered a choice between the standard bearers of the two major parties of monopoly capitalism: the Republican Richard M. Nixon and the Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey, and the candidacy of George C. Wallace of the American Independent Party, the neo-fascist, racist, third-party formation that appeared on the scene in 1968.

There was no choice here for the majority of the American people. Once again the people were handed “politics-as-usual” candidates, hand-picked by the political machines, all generally at one on the key issues which agitated the people—peace, poverty and racism.

The sharply divided vote for the Presidential candidates reflected the deep frustration and concern among the voters. It was a clear indication that none of the candidates had generated any real enthusiasm and that no political party had received popular support. Nixon squeaked through by a narrow margin.

The smaller turnout of voters than had

been anticipated was not due to any apathy among the people. Rather it pointed to the depth of the dissatisfaction with all Presidential candidates at a time when the people in their millions were seeking a change. The polls showed that a majority of the voters would have preferred someone other than Nixon, Humphrey or Wallace.

Nixon, as one analyst noted, emerged as the President of the white, Protestant, middle-class voter. The very poor, the Negroes almost to a man, the vast numbers of organized workers and the young intellectuals did not vote for Nixon. The Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and Jewish voters went heavily Democratic. While Nixon carried the small towns, rural and suburban communities, he failed to carry a single major city in the country. The cities went for Humphrey. The opposition to Nixon expressed the fear that he would sharply cut the already inadequate federal funds for the cities and wipe out the limited anti-poverty program.

The Wallace strategy was geared to win the white supremacist strongholds in the South and to extend his base in all states by assiduously exploiting the racist prejudices in white communities and demagogically playing upon the real discontent and anxieties among the people. While the predicted massive swing toward Wallace never materialized, he did carry the Deep South—the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana and Arkansas—and received half of his total vote in the eleven states of the Old Confederacy (the states which fought to maintain chattel slavery in the Civil War). In the other states, his vote varied from a low of one per cent in Hawaii and Pennsylvania, to some 15 per cent in Indiana and Ohio.

A number of bourgeois analysts, by combining the votes of Nixon and Wallace, concluded that the majority of the electorate expressed preference for conservatism and had moved substantially to the Right. But this conclusion is in complete contradiction to the present temper of the American people displayed in the undeniable democratic upsurge and turbulent battles that have characterized the American scene: the rising wave of strike struggles, the ferment on the campuses, the rebelliousness of the ghettos, the Poor People's March on Washington, the sit-ins of welfare mothers and, above all, the constantly expanding opposition to the genocidal war in Vietnam.

This explains why every Presidential candidate pledged to bring the Vietnam war to an end. Nixon, who had on more than one occasion criticized the Johnson Administration for its failure to utilize the full military powers of the country to achieve victory, had at the same time to placate the peace aspirations of the people by supporting the Paris peace talks. George Wallace also promised peace in Vietnam, adding that should negotiations fall through he would turn the war over to the generals to get it over with quickly.

The fact that the issue of peace so strongly influenced the character of the election campaign is itself sufficient proof that the people did not move to the Right. If anything, Nixon was the beneficiary of the growing opposition to Johnson's aggressive policy and by no means the preferred choice of the people.

But the fact that the victory for Nixon did not carry over into the vote for Congressmen and Senators, most clearly negates the contention that the election results signify a shift to the Right. Nixon will be the first President in well over a century to enter the White House with both Houses of Congress controlled by the opposition party.

Perhaps in no previous election have American citizens split their vote on such a broad scale as in the present one. In 19 of the 34 Senatorial races, the winning candidates came from a different party than that of the winning Presidential candidate in that state. Thus, for example, the state of Arkansas went to George Wallace and sent the Democrat J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, an outstanding opponent of the war in Vietnam, to another term in the Senate.

However, despite the fact that the Republicans gained five seats in the Senate, the general complexion of the Senate remains pretty much as it was before. Several of the new Republican Senators will be more responsive to the pressures of the people than those they replaced. And, as matters stand now, the liberal bloc in the Senate remains intact.

The Republican Party scored a net gain of four seats in the House of Representatives, far less than had been expected. But it is important to note that nearly every one of the peace Congressmen was re-elected; that several new Congressmen who had actively campaigned either for McCarthy or Kennedy won, and that three

new Negro representatives were elected, including Mrs. Shirley Chisholm, who becomes the first Negro woman to sit in the highest legislative body of the United States.

Yet it must be remembered that the Republicans in 1966 scored a net gain of 47 seats in the House of Representatives and that these together with the Dixiecrats of the South were able to stymie important social legislation in the 90th Congress. The coalition of reaction Republicans and the Southern Dixiecrats can become a formidable obstacle further restricting the enactment of vitally needed legislation in the coming session of the new Congress.

There can be little satisfaction with the fact that Wallace did not secure the large vote originally anticipated and that his support in the ranks of the workers was sharply reduced by the incisive campaign of the organized labor movement. That Wallace secured close to ten million votes offers no ground for complacency.

The Wallace campaign was an out-and-out racist campaign. His incessant hammering on "law and order" as the number one domestic issue was consciously directed to inflame racist prejudices and to identify the struggle for Negro equality with crime and violence in the streets. The same Wallace who saw nothing immoral in the murder of civil rights workers, the bombing of Negro homes and churches, the unbridled violence of the whole racist way of life in the South, devoted the weight of his campaign to place the onus for the breakdown of "law and order" on the "violence and criminal acts of the Negro."

It became crystal clear that in the name of "law and order" he sought to reverse all civil rights legislation won at such a high price in the past few years. He was out to re-establish in law the "right" to discriminate against the Negro people; to restore school segregation; to re-enact all discriminatory bars to restaurants, recreation centers, motels, waiting rooms and transportation; to wipe out even the insignificant progress toward permitting the Negro to live where he chooses.

For Mr. Wallace the criminals are the peace demonstrators, the black militants, the campus rebels and the striking workers. The major criminal, of course, is the Negro.

There have been explosions in the Negro ghettos. A burning rage smoulders in the black ghettos against a society which continues to turn a deaf ear to the cries of

anguish that something be done to alleviate the desperate poverty, to eliminate the rat-infested slums, to provide an adequate education for the young, jobs for the unemployed and assure them, once and for all, a life of dignity and decency.

While insisting that his main backing came from the "little man," Wallace depended in the main upon the activity of members of the White Citizens' Councils, the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the vigilante Minute Men and scores of other ultra-Right groupings that have flourished in the country. These organizations have gotten a new lease on life with the Wallace campaign and they are determined to keep his American Independent Party alive. Already in a number of states they have gathered to outline their activity for future elections. It has been announced that the American Independent Party plans to hold a national convention in Tulsa, Oklahoma, early in February 1969, to outline its strategy. This party remains a serious threat to all democratic forces in the country and must be exposed for what it is—a neo-fascist formation that will be ready at hand for the takeover when the ruling class will find it necessary and feasible.

Clearly, the main lesson that can be drawn from the results of the Presidential elections is that increasing numbers sought an alternative to the candidates and programs of the major parties. Thwarted by the ruling elite at the National Democratic Convention, the progressive forces inside and outside of the Democratic Party were by then too disunited to come forward with a coalition ticket and a positive platform.

When the New Politics Convention was held in September 1967, it was generally expected that it would be the initial phase of a broad movement to put forward an independent presidential ticket that would attract those that had become increasingly disaffected with the Johnson Administration. But this convention failed to come forward with such a proposal. The several thousand delegates in attendance came in the main as individuals with little or no mass support behind them. There was only limited representation from the trade unions and black participation came primarily from the most militant sectors of the freedom movement. Unable to resolve the internal differences on the path to be pursued in 1968, this convention failed to emerge even with a narrowly conceived national ticket

that would unite the more radicalized sectors of the people's forces.

In the absence of a national thrust for an independent Presidential ticket, Peace and Freedom or Freedom and Peace Parties were established in quite a number of states, including New York and California, which put forward a Presidential ticket in their respective states—in some instances headed by the black militant Eldridge Cleaver and in others by the well known comedian and committed freedom fighter Dick Gregory. The fact that these parties put forward Negro candidates to head their tickets helped to dramatize the great urgency for the maximum unity of black and white if any significant progress was to be made in meeting the grave problems within the country.

However, these parties never spread into all of the 50 states of the country and at best appealed to a narrower and more militant audience. Their base of operation was proscribed by the radical nature of the programs advanced, by their almost negative attitude to collaboration with progressive forces that had not yet broken with the Democratic Party, and by their limited ties with labor. While in some states these parties had very close working relations with such militant groupings in the Negro communities as the Black Panther Party, there was only limited activity among the general mass of the black people.

The Communist Party, for the first time in many years, put forward its own Presidential ticket, naming the spirited Communist Negro woman leader, Charlene Mitchell as its nominee for President, and its National Youth Director Michael Zagarell as its Vice-President. The onerous requirements to place a minority party on the ballot in most of the fifty states made it a foregone conclusion that, except in isolated instances, these candidates would call for a write-in vote, necessarily limiting the expressions of support.

However, the warm response the Communist candidates received at the various mass gatherings, campus meetings, in appearances on TV and radio throughout the country, shows the increased interest that now exists in what Communists have to say. The extensive distribution of the Communist election platform and leaflets on different issues, helped to inject a voice of clarity and direction in many places where confusion and frustration reigned.

Most of all, the running of Communist

candidates was an important step forward in the fight for the Party's legality, helping to re-establish the principle that the Communist Party is a legitimate working class organization and that all possible must be done to remove anti-Communist laws and provisions from the statute books of the states and nation. As a result of this activity, new opportunities have opened up for the rebuilding of the Party in cities where it has not existed for some time and to strengthen it considerably where it now functions.

While increasing the efforts to run Communist candidates in all national and city elections, Communists must devote much energy to help coalesce the various independent political action groups that exist in all parts of the country with the objective of creating the necessary base for the emergence of a truly mass, independent political party that represents the broad, democratic interests of the people.

Many of the McCarthy and Kennedy protagonists are not idle. Significant democratic coalitions are arising in many states with the objective of grooming candidates for future elections, organizing actions around key issues and combating the machine-control of the Democratic Party. The formation of the New Democratic Coalition as a national insurgent body, headed by Paul Schrade, West Coast leader of the United Auto Workers, and Donald Peterson, a prominent leader of the McCarthy movement in Wisconsin, can play a much-needed role in uniting similar groupings in the states. At the recent meeting of its National Steering Committee, it decided to concentrate on issues, to work for the democratization of the Democratic Party, to set up state bodies where they do not exist, to establish relations with independent groups outside the Democratic Party.

While many in this movement still have illusions that they can transform the Democratic Party, rid it of the domination of the political bosses and make it responsive to the influences of the people, life will convince them of the need to break with this party and to join with others to form a viable people's party, that will fight the monopolies and their sycophants.

Needless to say, no independent political party can have viability unless it is based upon the working class. At the present time, such political action bodies of the AFL-CIO as the Committee of Political Education (COPE) do little else than

attempt to get out the labor vote behind the candidates endorsed by the leadership and educational activity on legislation. It is essential that new independent forms of trade-union political action be developed that would help to break the reliance of labor on the Democratic Party, that would advance its own program of demands and put forward labor candidates.

It is to be hoped that the negative experience of this election struggle will convince the Alliance for Labor Action—the association between the United Automobile Workers and the Teamsters to revitalize the labor movement—to embark on the path of independent political action as well, with the aim of establishing new political formations of the workers that can collaborate with other groupings around a common program and support true people's representatives.

Of equal importance is the need to expand existing independent political groups within the Negro communities such as the National Committee of Inquiry under the leadership of Congressman John Conyers of Michigan, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the formation around Julian Bond, the Black Panther Party and numerous others. The fight for expanding Negro representation on all levels of government can help to further the fight for equality and the demands of immediate concern to the black people. In this respect, it is also vital to help strengthen existing independent coalitions among the Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans and establish additional ones where none exist.

The most effective way of laying the groundwork for a new people's party, and to convince broader strata of the working people that such a party is urgently necessary, is the active engagement of all independent political formations in the day-to-day struggle for needed social legislation and to defeat every reactionary effort to restrict the passage of such legislation.

While the new President-elect spoke in generalities and with extreme vagueness on the issues to which he will give priority, there is sufficient evidence that he will not place at the top of his list those problems that have given rise to the turbulence and widespread discontent in the country. It is necessary to initiate at once actions on many levels around a specific program of demands to pressure Congress to pass this vitally needed social legislation.

Nixon has made it known that he is opposed to any "massive transfusion" of federal funds into the nation's cities or for aid to the poor, thereby endangering even the present far from adequate anti-poverty, job-training and slum clearance programs. He has proposed instead to provide tax incentives to private enterprise to locate in the ghettos, to undertake job-training and housing construction. As an advocate of what he calls "black capitalism" he has agreed to provide assistance to Negroes to participate as owners and managers in the "free enterprise system." This can only mean a callous disregard of the worsening conditions of the people in the ghettos. The fight, therefore, must be one not only to maintain existing programs but to expand them, with federal responsibility. Not funds for the corporations but funds to meet the people's needs. There is no other way of halting the deteriorating conditions of the cities and the desperate plight of the poor in the urban and rural ghettos.

The National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce and some of the biggest corporations in the country, with huge funds at their disposal, are geared to open an all-out offensive against the labor movement by pressing for a whole gamut of anti-labor legislation to restrict the right to organize, to ban industry-wide and multi-union collective bargaining, to abolish the National Labor Relations Board and institute firmer Government control over the trade unions. With a Nixon in the White House, the man who co-fathered the infamous Mundt-Nixon bill that led to the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, the organized labor movement faces a critical situation. To defeat this new offensive, labor will not only have to muster its full strength, but to enlist the active support of the broad democratic movement to mount a counter-offensive against this new anti-labor drive.

Official statistics have shown that it is the families with the lowest incomes that bear the heaviest tax burden. A revision of the tax structure in the nation, as well as in each state and city, with the aim of lifting this burden has become an indispensable must. In this connection, the fight to eliminate the numerous tax loopholes, which now enable men of great wealth and the corporations to evade paying their full share of taxes, would more

than compensate for easing the weight of present taxation on the working people.

Of equal importance is the need to curb the skyrocketing prices which have sharply reduced the buying power of the dollar. In some of his speeches Nixon has recommended curtailing federal expenditures for social needs together with a controlled increase in unemployment as the way to combat inflation. Once again the corporations which have increased prices to further boost their already fabulous profits are to get off without any penalties, while the burden is to be placed on the shoulders of the working people.

While in his nomination acceptance speech Nixon spoke of the end of the "era of confrontation" and the beginning of an "era of negotiations" with the Soviet Union, he has on other occasions reverted to much of the cold-war rhetoric. He has warned the country of a dangerous "security gap" requiring expenditures of new billions to construct more nuclear missiles and an anti-missile system as well as to build a nuclear-powered Navy "second to none." Only in this way—from a position of strength—can negotiations be conducted, he believes. In keeping with this projection the Pentagon has already presented military spending proposals that are \$20-30 billion higher than the present yearly defense budget. A massive movement to defeat this proposed acceleration of nuclear stock-piling and the revival of the demands for disarmament are of decisive moment.

The focal point of all activities in the months ahead must be, of course, the unremitting struggle to bring the war in Vietnam to an end. If Nixon was compelled to pledge peace in Vietnam, this does not mean that it will come without the vigilant struggle of the broad peace forces within the country. An "honorable peace" for Mr. Nixon means to safeguard the position of the reprehensible Saigon puppet regime. He has made clear that he will not impose a coalition government on Saigon for that is only a "thinly-disguised surrender," because "for the Communists" this is "a sanctuary for subversion." Familiar words, indeed! Therefore, the continued pressure for meaningful negotiations, for the immediate withdrawal of American troops, and for the right of the Vietnamese to determine their own future must be given top priority at this moment.

These are only a few of the many battlefronts that lie ahead. The ruling class will do everything in its power to repress these movements. Thus the outlook is for a further sharpening of all class and democratic conflicts. But this is the only path that can force peace in Vietnam and the enactment of the necessary internal reforms. This is the path, too, through which a new level of unity in struggle will arise, that will speed up the realization that a true people's political instrument is required—a broad anti-monopoly people's party to further the struggle for peace, economic security and social progress.

Instructive results

JEAN KILL

On December 15, 1968 Luxembourg's electorate went to the polls. Although parliamentary elections were due only in June 1969, the date had been advanced owing to the resignation of the government in October and the subsequent dissolution of parliament. The General Election ended in a telling defeat for the coalition of the

Social-Christian and Socialist Workers' parties that had been in office since 1964, and a marked advance for the Democrat-Communist opposition.

In the December election the Party not only maintained its positions in the urban and rural areas, in itself an achievement in the present conditions (of which we shall

speak later), but also greatly strengthened its positions. The Communists received more votes in each of the 600 towns and cantons in the four electoral districts than in the 1964 election — 402,610 compared with 330,909. All five of the Party's deputies were re-elected: D. Urbany, Chairman of the Communist Party — in the capital, A. Useldinger, J. Grandgenet, D. Meis and J. Hoffmann—in the industrial area. This constituency for the first time elected a worker employed in the Hadir Differdange metal plant, Marcel Flammang, thus giving the Party six deputies. In the capital we were short by a few hundred votes of winning a second seat. Although we did not succeed in gaining a strong footing in the two rural constituencies, we almost doubled our vote there.

In the industrial South (its five big steel plants produce nearly five million tons of steel annually), the Communist vote increased by 26 per cent, that is, from 241,293 votes in 1964 to 304,487. In 1964 we polled 17 per cent of the vote, this time — 22 per cent. The percentage is still higher in the principal industrial centers. Thus in Esch-sur-Alzette (steel center with a population of 30,000) 27 per cent of the electorate voted Communist. In Differdange, the second biggest industrial town with a population of 18,000, the percentage was 28, and in Sanem (9,000 inhabitants), 32. As a result, the Communists became the strongest single party in the town. In Esch-sur-Alzette we defeated the Social-Christian Party and followed close on the heels of the Socialist Workers' Party.

As the figures show this increase in the Communist vote was largely at the expense of the Socialists who lost heavily in all four electoral districts, their vote dropping from one million to 837,000, that is, by 16 per cent. This cost them three seats. The Social-Christian Party made a better showing, losing only one seat. The Socialist Party suffered its biggest reverses in the capital, which, unfortunately, benefited the Democratic Party (former Liberal Party).

The new Chamber of Deputies now has 21 members of the Social-Christian Party, 18 Socialists, 11 Democrats and 6 Communists. The Social-Christian Party is thus again the leading party in the country, a position it lost to the Socialists in 1964. It can now choose between the Socialists or the Democrats as partners in the government. While the three parties, taking into account the interests of their electors, differ in attitudes to particular questions, they are at one on fundamentals, particularly in

their acceptance of foreign monopoly capital which dominates the country, of NATO, and the so-called European institutions and particularly the United States and their West German neighbor. They are also at one in their hatred for the Communist Party.

The success of our Party is all the more significant since it was won in a particularly difficult situation, in an atmosphere of anti-Communist hysteria. The pretext for this were the Czechoslovak events when the Communists were attacked for supporting the action of the five Warsaw Treaty member countries.

All the forces of reaction—from the supporters of NATO, the Vietnam war and the fascist regime in Greece, the leaders of the Social-Christian Party, and of the Democrats to the Right Socialists—launched a coordinated campaign against our Party. The mass media were mobilized for the purpose, as well as government and communal officials, not to mention the numerous groups of the Right and orthodox "Left." "Protest actions" were held outside town halls, "silence marches" were organized to national monuments, with church bells ringing and factory whistles blowing. The purpose of the anti-Communist masquerade—and this was openly admitted—was to "exclude the Communists from national society." This coalition of enemies of socialism and democracy reckoned that the long awaited day had come, the day to intimidate the Communist Party, sow confusion in its ranks, isolate it and then ban it. Such was the design.

The Right Socialist leaders excelled themselves in this anti-Communist campaign, hoping to benefit most from it. Back in 1935 they had shamelessly appropriated the mandate of our first and only deputy at the time, Zenon Bernard, who was expelled from parliament by the reactionary majority in the Chamber on the pretext of "anti-constitutional activity." Confident of victory this time, they launched a new campaign. Referring to the Party's statement of August 21, concerning the entry of troops into Czechoslovakia, they refused to cooperate with Communists in the municipal councils in Differdange and Sanem, thus provoking new elections which they envisaged as "test" elections.

However, not for the first time, this anti-Communist hysteria was roundly rebuffed by the working class. To the utter surprise and chagrin of the antis, the Communists, as the *Luxemburger Wort*, a leading Catholic paper, put it, were "the only party to

win a resounding victory." While the Government parties lost votes and seats in the October 20 municipal elections in Sanem, the Communists gained 60 per cent more votes than in 1963, winning one seat from the Social-Christians. In Differdange the Communist vote increased by 40 per cent, the Social-Christian Party and the Socialist Workers' Party losing one seat each to the C.P. The Socialist Workers' Party suffered the heaviest losses, although it had hoped the elections would give it an absolute majority. The proportion of votes cast for the Communist Party in Sanem rose from 19 to 27 per cent, in Differdange, from 17 to 24 per cent.

The results were a heavy blow to the anti-Communists. The Socialist and Social-Christian leaders felt that they had compromised themselves in the eyes of the nation and had been disavowed by it. For several days there were sharp exchanges in the coalition government, ending with the resignation of the Cabinet in October, followed by the dissolution of Parliament and the decision to hold new elections on December 15. The "test" elections in Sanem were enough to convince the parties which had met with defeat of the real mood of the working class—that it would not tolerate anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaigns, that the workers expected the government to honor its promises made four years ago and meet their just demands to raise the minimum wage as envisaged by law, increase pensions commensurate with the 1965 wage level, reduce taxes, guarantee against redundancy and ensure participation in factory management.

The local elections in Sanem and Differdange thus became essentially political elections. The coalition government had no intention of carrying out its program. On the contrary, in mid-1968 it decided to pursue a program of "restraint," to resort to the stratagem of declaring itself insolvent, evade responsibility and hold elections ahead of schedule so as to secure powers to tide it over the next five years. The coalition hoped that the Sanem and Differdange elections would be of purely local significance. It stepped up its election campaign and directed its fire against the Communist Party.

Like the municipal election, the December General Election showed that the Party's policy was supported not only by the membership and its many sympathizers, but also by thousands of new voters from among the working class.

The Party was able to combat the anti-

Communist campaign not only because of its persistent and systematic explanatory work, but even more so because of the unity and cohesion of its ranks. The leadership's statement in connection with August 21 was unanimously endorsed by the Central Committee, none of the members left the Party, the circulation of its press did not decline. Our representatives in Differdange and Sanem and the local activists staunchly upheld the Party's position. It was the same in the factories. The Party's firm stand in the teeth of enemy opposition won the respect of the workers. This enhanced its prestige.

The Communist Party of Luxembourg is not a big party. It has its strong and weak points. Its election success will not turn its head. But it is clear that the working-class composition of its membership and leadership has been an important factor in its advance. It has prevented alien class elements and petty-bourgeois ideology from seeping into its ranks. Our Party has its Marxist-Leninist program of social and national liberation, showing the way to socialism.

In its daily work the Party relies on the working class, and in the first place on the workers in the big steel mills. Many of these have become an important support of the Party and some even its stronghold. Most of our candidates belong to trade unions and their boards, are members of production councils and in some cases chairmen or secretaries of these councils, members of the Workers' Chamber and of various other committees. Three of our six deputies are workers at the bench. The Luxembourg Communists have the highest regard for the country's intelligentsia, and they fully appreciate the aspirations of the student youth. At the same time the Party has been able to restrain the actions of anarchistic individuals and revisionists both from the "Left" and from the Right. The various anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist theories and trends—be it the theory of convergence, the new Left, Maoism or Trotskyism—have their followers, of course, and all of them, needless to say, have the backing of the Socialist Workers' Party. We have been able, however, thanks to the Party's working-class orientation, the leadership's consistent activity over the past 40 years, to preserve and strengthen the unity of our ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, of inviolable friendship with the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. And we hope this will be the case in fu-

ture, for herein is the earnest of our success.

The period ahead will not be an easy one for the Luxembourg Communists. Most of the workers still follow the Socialist and bourgeois parties. In its resolution on the election results, the Party puts the emphasis on unity of action of all workers, irrespective of party affiliation or religious belief. A big step towards this unity was the unification in 1965 of the trade unions led by Socialists and Communists. The Right Socialists, instigated by members of the Social-Christian Party, will in all likelihood try to nullify this gain of the working class in order to again turn the unions into a political instrument of their party and to engineer another split. Cooperation between Socialist and Communist workers in the trade unions during the election campaign played a positive role helping to contain and neutralize the anti-Communist campaign.

It is hardly likely that the Right Socialists will draw the necessary lessons from the election results, even though many of their leaders—and particularly so the prime instigator of the violent August campaign, R. Krieps, who formerly headed the Socialist faction—have been disavowed by their own Socialist electorate and have not been returned to parliament. These leaders have settled for the benefits accruing from participation in the coalition government.

The Communist Party's election success will undoubtedly make for a differentiation in the camp of the Socialists, will encourage the working-class section of their supporters to cooperate with the Communists on many questions and to fight together with them. The Communists and Socialists have the support of the greater part of the Luxembourg working class. And they will be able to change the country's present policy only by acting together.

Modern capitalism, the technological revolution and the working class*

III. THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The economic and social processes underway in the world of state monopoly capitalism are laying their imprint on the class struggle. In recent years this struggle has been punctuated by sharp social conflicts especially between capitalists and workers. The peasant masses, too, are now on the move in many countries. Strikes by white collar workers, engineers and technicians, are growing, and the student movement is becoming more widespread.

NEW FORCES JOIN THE STRUGGLE

The number of strikers in the capitalist world, said M. Daramvanchig (Mongolian People's Republic) rose from 37 million in 1965 to 45 million in 1966. In the United States there were 4,500 strikes in 1967, involving 2,900,000 people. In Great Britain, the figure was 1,500 strikes. In Japan close to eight million trade unionists participated in the 1968 spring offensive.

C. Petre (Rumania), noted that general strikes are becoming more widespread in the capitalist countries.

The number of strikes in recent years has been at a high level, reported H. Putz (USA). In April 1968 more work-days were lost through strikes than at any time since the beginning of the 1960's. There have been more rejections by rank-and-file trade unionists of contracts negotiated by union leaders. The recent strike movement in the U.S. has involved increasingly large numbers of lower-paid workers, including Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers. Also involved have

been large numbers of government workers, including school-teachers. In these struggles the highest paid workers have made the most substantial gains, the lower paid have made the least gains. Gains have been made by both, but there has been a widening of the gap between the more highly paid and the lower paid.

The struggle between labor and capital, said A. Silva (Brazil), is—barring certain specific national differences—the same in character in all capitalist countries, irrespective of levels of development.

Italy is presently the scene of big labor battles, A. Minucci (Italy) told his audience. This is particularly the case in the "industrial triangle" of Northern Italy which has the biggest concentration of workers. Another noteworthy fact is the uninterrupted character of the working-class struggle in our country. The economic and political struggle has been on the upgrade ever since 1960, both in times of low and high business activity.

The figures for the past four years (beginning with 1965), and especially for the three years 1965-67, show that there were more strikes in Italy than in any other capitalist country. Thus, in the said three-year period eight out of every 10 strikers in the capitalist world were Italians.

Confusion and dismay prevail among the ideologues of "neo-capitalism." They claimed that modern capitalism had found a universal remedy for solving its economic and social problems. Their social models depicted a harmonious society where "classes diffuse" automatically as the economy develops and social conflicts abate. But in the light of recent events, said A.

*Conclusion. See WMR, No. 1, 1969.

Galkin (USSR), all their models present a sorry spectacle, to put it mildly.

The big strike movements in France, Italy and other capitalist countries prove the emptiness of the bourgeois and Social Democratic views. Take France, for example said *G. Szanto* (Hungary). The strike movement of last May-June in which nine million participated, proved that much could be achieved even in the conditions of one-man rule.

The events in France, evoked numerous comments and evaluations. The job of the Communist movement, said *W. Wesolowski* (Poland), is properly to assess these facts. The discontent of the working class and the students that erupted in France is indicative of their mounting political activity. The reasons are twofold: unjust distribution of the national income and refusal to meet the political demands of the masses.

Z. Chrupek (Poland) also spoke of the French events and their significance. The extremely sharp and long strike struggle of the French working class showed that the present policy of buttressing the positions of big capital could not but affect the positions of the working people. The economic and social gains of the working class were imperilled. The past two years showed that prices had risen much more quickly than envisaged in the Fifth Economic and Social Development Plan, approved by Parliament in 1965. At the same time, the policy of restraints on personal incomes was assiduously implemented.

During the May-June battles against the Gaullist government, said *J. Fabre* (France), the working people fought for their basic demands. They were actively supported by the Communist Party which at the same time concerned itself with creating conditions for continuing the struggle and, on the basis of a common program, for forming an alliance of all forces participating in the struggle, which would, within the framework of republican legality, subsequently replace the Gaullist regime with a truly democratic system, with a government of democratic union. It was essential not to fall into the net spread by the Gaullists: not to attempt a trial of strength in the shape of an armed struggle, which the Gaullists wanted, and which could only end in failure. The people were hostile to anything of this kind, and the democratic forces did not as yet have a common program that would unite them.

The police and the armed forces, on the other hand, were ready for battle.

It is noteworthy, continued *J. Fabre*, that the working people compelled the government and the monopolies to enter into negotiations, something they had refused to do for twenty years. It is also noteworthy that while the government decided to act against the mass movement the employers hid behind its back. This illustrates the character of state-monopoly capitalism and confirms our analysis of the role of the state. The working class proved that basic demands can be won and this is the first step in putting their program into effect. Finally, such a broad movement objectively calls in question the policy and the system pursuing this policy.

Workers, students, employees, Civil Servants, managerial personnel—in a word, up to nine million working people participated in the movement, in which the working class quite clearly played the leading role. By its struggle it demonstrated its solidarity with other sections of the population, as during the powerful demonstration on May 13 in which a million working people participated.

A feature of the class conflict in *C. Petre's* opinion is the steadily expanding front of social forces which are opposing capital, the fact that the struggle is being joined by social categories formerly considered conformist and apolitical, specifically the intelligentsia and the students. They are participating more and more actively in joint struggle with workers and other sections of the working people. The protest of the intelligentsia and the youth against the capitalist system, the bourgeois way of life, against war and racism, against injustice, and against the stagnation in the economy, social life, and education, is an expression of the growing revolt against the system as such.

A. Galkin (USSR), expressed the view that vast masses of youth have acted as a sort of catalyst. This is particularly evident in the countries of Western Europe. It is in these countries that the effects of the so-called population explosion of the first post-war decade began to make themselves felt in the mid-60s. More young people than ever poured into factories, offices and universities. The age structure of the gainfully employed population began to change in favor of younger ages. In Italy, for example, persons under 30 accounted for about 32 per cent of the gainfully employed population in 1965, and for approximately 50 per cent of the country's industrial

workers in 1966. In the FRG this age group constituted 32 per cent of the gainfully employed population. In France the number of active persons between 15-24 was about 20 per cent in 1965. There was also a sharp increase in the student body.

Unlike the older generation, the youth do not compare the present standard of living with the lower standards that existed in many countries in the prewar years. They consider the level of consumption they encounter as a bare minimum and are affected by any inroads on this minimum more painfully than the older generation. The youth, by and large, feel more keenly than their elders the need to grant the demands of the working people. They are particularly concerned about the problem of equal opportunities in education. And on this issue young workers easily find a common language with the students.

The vigor, energy and impatience characteristic of the youth, A. Galkin concludes, are adding to the social tensions in capitalist society.

F. Anton (Spain), spoke of the role played by the youth in the mass actions in a number of countries. This is not something new or unusual, he said. The youth have always and everywhere been in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle. What is new is that this participation has acquired a universal character, is directed against monopoly capitalism and imperialism, and is influenced, more and more, by Marxism and socialist ideas.

And although workers' children still constitute a very small percentage of the student body, particularly so in our country, the vast majority of those preparing to become tomorrow's scientists and technicians come from the small and middle bourgeoisie. Like industrial workers, graduates have to sell their knowledge to the capitalists. Like the worker, they have to submit to the laws of the labor-power market; they, too, are threatened by the spectre of being squeezed out of production and joining the army of unemployed.

A. Minucci noted that the struggle is being joined more and more by social forces who formerly had little in common with the working class but who are now seeking contacts, an alliance with them. He was referring, he said, to the technological intelligentsia in industry, and also to those engaged in the social sphere — doctors, teachers — who could likewise be called the "technological intelligentsia," not to speak of the students who are waging big

battles in Italy, as in many other capitalist countries of Europe.

Speaking of the situation in Federal Germany, F. Rische said: Today it is no longer unusual to find clerical and research workers, or even Civil Servants, resorting to the labor movement's traditional means of struggle to defend their social and political interests: demonstrations, strikes and "go-slow." Actions in solidarity with the workers' demands for wage increases and the right to participate in management are now the usual thing.

By and large in the capitalist countries the population, which by the very logic of social development is daily and hourly opposing the system of exploitation, has grown substantially. In other words, said A. Galkin, the technological revolution has accelerated the expansion and reproduction of forces which in the final analysis, become irreconcilable antagonists of the system that engendered them.

THE DEMANDS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, POLICY OF THE MONOPOLIES AND THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS

Up to now wage demands have been central in the militant actions of the working class. However, new requirements are beginning to influence the content of the economic struggle. G. Dilighensky examined this in his contribution.

The elementary and seemingly very "traditional" demand for wage increases often reflects an entirely different range of aspirations and social concepts than was the case 50 or even 30 years ago. In those days the workers' struggle was for the most part stimulated by elementary requirements; it was a struggle against poverty. Today this struggle is actively joined by workers who are not directly threatened by a semi-starvation existence and destitution. Today the workers are fighting not only for satisfaction of their growing needs, but for a better position in society and production.

That is the meaning of the demands to reduce the working week without reducing wages ("more hours for education and culture") to guarantee achieved living standards (to increase the nominal wage commensurate with the rising cost of living, a higher fixed minimum wage), wage increases in accordance with growth of labor productivity and profits. Physical standards are ceasing to be the sole and principal factor determining the scale and tensivity of the economic struggle. An increasingly bigger role in this struggle is being played

by the determination of the working people to use the fruits of the technological revolution in their own interests. The protest against insecurity is thus growing into a protest against social inequality, becoming a struggle for broader rights and recognition of the social dignity of the working class.

Among the demands made by the French workers, *J. Fabre* mentioned the following: wage increases, a sliding scale, a shorter working day without reducing wages, guaranteed full employment and defense of trade union rights as the overall guarantee of these demands being met. These demands hit at the very mechanics of exploitation, and this should be underscored.

A. Silva spoke about the experience of the South American working class. For instance, factory workers and office employees in Brazil, he said, won payment of an extra 13th (Christmas) wage and compensation for their three to four weeks strikes. The problems facing our working class, he continued, are much the same as those of the workers in the developed capitalist countries of Europe—wages, social security and housing.

Recent years have witnessed a clear and conscious trend for an insistent presentation of demands pertaining not only to the material aspects of the workers' condition but to their rights in the enterprises. This trend is indicative of a striving to win from below, through direct worker participation in managing shops and plants, the rudiments of a new democracy. This new phenomenon was stressed, *A. Minucci* said, by Comrade Longo in a recent analysis of the current struggles in Italy.

About four million Italian workers were involved in strikes during the first months of 1968.

Higher wages topped the list of demands. Despite rapid development in recent years, the wage level in Italy is still lower than in the other Common Market countries. But greater emphasis is laid on broader trade union rights in the factories, or the establishment of workers' assemblies which would decide all matters relating to labor and control all aspects of the labor process, such as the speed of the conveyor belt, the numbers manning the conveyor-belt and so on. Valuable experience has been accumulated in the course of this fight for a new type of industrial democracy. The recent powerful strikes (such as the months long strike of Fiat workers) advanced to the foreground this demand for workers' assemblies, for extending the control func-

tions of the factory commissions and the workers' organizations.

Speakers also dwelt on the subject of "participation" a concept advanced by the employers in some capitalist countries as a counterweight to the workers' demand for an effective share of management. For instance, just before the elections in France *de Gaulle* declared: "There is a third way, the way of participation, which signifies a changed status for man in modern civilization." *De Gaulle's* "third way," said *L. Georgiev* (Bulgaria), with its pretence of virtually reforming the economic relations in the country, is extolled by some of its admirers as a "synthesis of capitalism and socialism," as conciliation between "man and the industrial society," between "freedom and compulsion in the industrial civilization." Most commentators, however, including Left-wing Gaullists, were quick to note that "participation" does not affect the foundations of capitalism. The apologists say that the worker is entitled to "participate" in the capital and in the profit. But the number of shares held by workers is infinitesimal. The dividend paid on these shares can be turned into capital only when it, and not wages, begins to determine earnings. But that is beyond the reach of the working class.

By means of "participation," *Georgiev* said, capitalist ideologists and politicians aim at integrating the working class in the mechanism of state-monopoly capitalism.

But the fact that the capitalists find it necessary to advance "participation" indicates a concession to socialist ideology, declared *W. Wesolowski* who pointed to the role of the trade unions in the fight for a say on all major economic and social problems. An insistent demand is voiced by the unions to be informed about the financial status of the enterprise in order to know how profits are growing and to modify wage claims accordingly. Pressure is developing for national planning and Government control of the monopolies.

The capitalists, understandably, are resolutely opposed to the Communist parties posing the question of worker management of public ownership of the means of production. Therefore, said *L. Mayer* (GDR), when the West German trade unions issued their draft agreement which would give them the right to influence investment planning, capitalist spokesmen declared there could be no question of the unions influencing management of enterprises or of the economy as a whole.

The West German unions retreated and

accepted a compromise offered by the employers' associations. When the capitalists reproached the unions saying that they were out for power, the latter said: "No, we are not out for power. What we want is, by exercising the right to co-management, to establish more equitable relations in the enterprises." I have in mind, Mayer continued, the official policy of the Federation of German Trade Unions.

These points were developed by *F. Rische*. It must be made absolutely clear, he said, that the right to participate should be treated as part of the struggle for power, and not as a means of fettering the workers to the concerns and to the mechanism of state-monopoly interference and planning. The labor movement cannot restrict itself to denouncing the class nature of state programming in all spheres. It should advance its own program of struggle for real democratic reform, and do so in a way that this struggle should be waged for positions of power.

The opposition of capitalist spokesmen, typical of the present period, to the existence and independence of class trade unions was mentioned by *M. Anders* (GDR). We hear talk, he said, about the disappearance of class antagonisms between labor and capital, talk about growth of incomes of factory and office workers, about the rising percentage of office employees among the working class, and, about the diminishing role of the unions as the militant organizations of the working class.

The monopoly capitalists naturally want to preserve and stabilize their over-ripe system, and in this they hope for aid from reorganized trade unions. The so-called coordinated action of Schiller, the Social-Democratic Economics Minister, pursues precisely this aim of turning the unions into transmission belts of the state-monopoly system which could help the capitalist state in carrying out long-term actions with regard to the working class.

It has been pointed out in Marxist literature that in their traditional fight for higher wages the trade unions in the developed capitalist countries come up against the combined might of the monopolies and the Government. Therefore, unless they challenge the system as a whole, the unions will succeed neither in their policy on wages, in their demand for a better system of education, nor in their fight against the prospect of an emergency dictatorship. So that the dilemma facing the unions is this: either the genuine right of the working

class to participate in decision-making, or incorporation into the state-monopoly system.

The trade unions' prerogative of fixing wage rates, which is the subject of so much talk, is equivalent to their independence. And this independence must be preserved and extended to the entire economic sphere said *M. Anders*. This means the right of the trade unions, guaranteed on the scale of the national economy, to participate in decision-making and to consolidate the results in agreements. Once the state assumes the function of employer on the scale of the entire economy, the unions should become the spokesmen for the entire working class and be able to conclude agreements with the state.

Aspects of the struggle of the working class in the United States and the role of the trade unions in that country were discussed by *H. Putz*. The American unions, he said, are confronted with the consolidated power of the capitalists whenever new contracts are negotiated. Early in 1968 the Pennsylvania Railroad and the New York Central Railroad merged into what is today the biggest rail amalgamation in the United States. The unions which in the past confronted these two rail firms separately now face them as a combined unit.

The merger development in the United States has spurred a movement towards greater cooperation among the trade unions. In transport, for example, some 60 unions have formed a somewhat loose kind of conference organization to meet the challenge from the big monopolies along the entire front of transport, whether rail, road, or air. The 60 unions resolved, true in a rather hesitating way, that it was necessary to coordinate efforts to meet the new threat resulting from the consolidation of the various transport companies.

The rise of the so-called conglomerates — large associations often set up on a purely speculative rather than an efficiency basis — confronts the unions with new problems. A few months ago the American Tobacco Company, one of the largest in the industry, merged with one of the biggest clothing companies.

Or take the recent merger of one of the ten leading steel companies with the wide-ranging conglomerate involved in production for the space program, chemicals, sports goods, and so on. The United Steel Workers of America, in which are organized all the steel workers in the United

States, traditionally negotiates contracts with the major steel companies. Now, however, with this conglomerate type of merger, the merged steel company will no longer make the ultimate decision on the matter. Decisions will be made at higher levels, by the conglomerate of which the Steel Company is now a part. The steel union therefore, will have to deal not only with the particular steel company but also with the conglomerate.

The strike movement in the United States and the complex problems posed by life, H. Putz continued, testify to the feebleness of the attempts by so-called radicals to deny the leading role of the working class in society. A number of very important problems remain, however. Despite the effectiveness of the strike struggles, the trade union movement generally in the United States, under the leadership of George Meany and the AFL-CIO hierarchy, has done little to unionize the unorganized workers, especially in the South, and has made but feeble efforts and only under severe pressure to combat racism in the trade union movement or in employment. Last spring the United Auto Workers' Union and the Teamsters' Union, two of the largest unions in the country, formed the Alliance for Labor Action; both are outside the AFL-CIO now. The purpose of the movement is, they say, to inspire, to stimulate the trade union movement, to take up the serious problems facing the working class.

The trade union problem is assuming unprecedented significance in the capitalist countries, declared A. Minucci. The presence of the trade union in the enterprise, the sphere of its rights, its right to a say in the production process are the theme

of much discussion in Italy. The connection between the fight against exploitation, for improving working conditions for a new course generally becomes increasingly evident. We, for instance, are getting ready for a veritable union battle against Fiat for changes in the organization of labor, for the right of union participation in organizing the complex of labor processes. In keeping with this demand, we have posed the question of Fiat's capital investments. Right now (October 1968—Ed.) we are waging a political campaign in Turin in connection with Fiat's projected acquisition of a controlling interest in Citroën, —a development which would make Fiat the world's third-biggest automobile manufacturer. Our aim is political action by the workers to demand state action to prevent a deal of this kind, involving an enormous amount of money, being decided by the Fiat family of private owners, by the monopoly alone. We are organizing demonstrations to press this demand. We want a measure of public control over investments.

The more actively the working-class movement advances positive programs transcending the bounds of purely economic demands, and the larger the scale of the struggles organized by it for these programs, the more intensive will be the process of revolutionary education of the masses. Action for such "particular" demands, G. Dilighensky said, as the right of the workers' organizations to have a say in planning and in running the enterprises, democratic systems of education, opportunities for improving skills and for the right to jobs according to qualification—such action brings the masses to an understanding of the necessity, and the possibility, of eliminating the power of the monopolies.

IV. HOW TO COMBAT CAPITALISM

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND REVOLUTIONISM

Much of the discussion centered on the problem of working-class social and political awareness, on factors that enhance militancy, the impact of the economic, political and social changes now taking place on the workers' thinking.

G. Dilighensky remarked that objective social contradictions become a motive force of the class struggle when they begin to influence the thinking of the workers. For years, the capitalists have been condition-

ing the workers ideologically and psychologically. There is a definite attempt to exploit the growth of working-class consumption, the result of hard-fought struggle: the mass media and advertising techniques are used to foster what might be called a "consumption cult." The underlying idea is that access to the "good things of life," or the striving to acquire them, will reconcile the bulk of the working class to capitalist society and dampen its interest in social and political problems.

To prove that the working class has shed its revolutionism, reference is made to the workers' living standard and way of life.

The claim is made that the worker who now has a good house or flat, a car, television, paid holidays, no longer comes within the category of those "who have nothing to lose but their chains" and has lost all interest in abolishing capitalism. Yet the experience of the labor movement, past and present, effectively refutes this primitive notion of an inflexible link between the workers' material conditions and their militancy.

Obviously, identical changes in living standards and habits can have a widely different impact on the workers' outlook. This is largely explained by the fact that the influence of such changes is not isolated, but is closely related to a number of other factors. Among these are the pace at which the changes take place, the degree to which the worker appreciates his new requirements, his psychological adaptation to the changed conditions, his experience, intellectual level and, lastly, his understanding of the underlying causes of this evolution in living standards. The worker who only a few years ago lived in a slum and had to go to work in a crowded bus, and now has a modern flat and a car, understands his new conditions differently from the man who has come to take all these things for granted. There is an even deeper psychological gap between workers who associate their higher living standard with the "prosperity" of their employer and those who see it as a result of class struggle.

In other words, the psychological consequences of changed living standards are in all cases the result of an ideological struggle determined by the activity of the organized socio-political forces, and by the acquired concepts, traditions and ingrained notions of various groups of the working class. Capitalist ideology has found a trump in this struggle—the bait of "new things," the status symbol of "good living," assiduously popularized through advertising and what has become known as the "mass culture." In point of fact, the real danger to proletarian class consciousness stems not from better living standards as such, but from this implantation of the "consumer" outlook, which tends to restrict the worker's vision to the narrow framework of his material and recreational requirements and deflect his attention from the vital problems of his class and of his position in the socio-political system.

M. Daramvanchig agreed that the capitalists were inculcating a "consumer" out-

look. The huge profits accruing from technological progress have enabled them to create the material basis and ideological climate needed to keep some sections of the workers captives of the capitalist way of life. In 1918 Lenin remarked that "the working class is in a state of cultural slavery." That thought has greater significance in our day because the spiritual enthrallment of man through the "power of things" has become much more varied and effective. Besides, the vast concentration of the means of economic, cultural and ideological influence has produced a situation in which life in modern capitalist society is to a much greater degree than ever before determined by the policy of the ruling class and its apparatus.

But it should be emphasized, G. Dilighensky remarked, that the present evolution of the workers' conditions has its own intrinsic dialectic. It would be wrong to believe that its only result is to stimulate a "consumer" psychology. It creates the prerequisites for raising class consciousness to a higher plane. A feature of this evolution is the deepening contradiction of the social position of the working class. What we have, on the one hand, is a weakening of the manual worker's traditional social and cultural isolation and of his degrading position as a result of labor's gains and of the technological revolution. This can be seen in the new forms of consumption and recreation, better educational standards and closer contact with other social groups.

On the other hand, neither this emergence from socio-cultural isolation, nor freedom from want have basically changed the workers' social position. They remain the exploited class. The present way of life and cultural level of many workers create a semblance of improvement, but they stand out in sharp contrast to the workers' position in industry and society. Liberation from the more onerous forms of want, rising educational and cultural standards, give the worker a closer understanding of the coercive and dependent nature of his work, his alienation from the aims of production, his humiliating place in the capitalist scheme of things.

His sentiments and requirements have a common social and psychological base: the desire to give life a richer content, acquire greater freedom and independence, growing intolerance of the present system of social inequality. But these strivings are differently expressed, depending on the worker's ideological and intellectual deve-

lopment and on the ideology of the mass labor movement.

P. Auersperg, (Czechoslovakia) said that the worker's improved material position has not, on the whole, altered his psychology or dulled his class consciousness. The workers' struggle continues, powered by the new requirements and demands following from the technological revolution and state-monopoly capitalism. The nature of working-class demands is proof that its struggle is biting into the very foundations of capitalist society and that satisfaction of many of these demands would restrict the very right of private property.

M. Hirsl (Czechoslovakia) discussed the dialectics of the present evolution of working-class conditions, concentrating mainly on its economic aspects. If the labor movement, he said, can appreciate the new situation and advance new demands that accord with the aspirations of most workers, then the growth of consumption (while the workers' share in the national income remains unchanged) can make class contradictions even sharper than they were when a sizable part of the working class lived in poverty.

W. Wesolowski discussed a process which, he said, could be described as the continuous broadening of working-class interests. This applies to an increasing number of workers who on all issues have their own views, based on rational thinking. This, the speaker suggested, could be attributed to two chief causes: better educational facilities and the influence of the organized labor movement. A wider range of interests leads to deeper understanding of labor's demands.

From this Wesolowski drew the conclusion: heightened interest by the ordinary worker in social, economic and political issues, his wider knowledge and higher level of thinking, produce a situation in which the purely economic trade unionism and political class consciousness are separated by a number of intermediate stages leading either to full class consciousness or back to trade unionism. Accordingly, on concrete issues workers can be classed at one or another of these stages.

F. Rische discussed the formation of class consciousness in the process of production. The technological revolution, he said, has radically changed what is usually referred to as the production climate. Greater demands are made on the worker's skill, he is haunted by fear of the future,

fear of losing his job, is subjected to nerve-racking speed-up, etc.

This, naturally, breeds resentment among all sections of the workers and increases their abhorrence of the "technological world" into which they have been plunged, heightens their urge for human relationships and more democracy in their work-world. Management seeks to counter this by falling back on old traditions, fostering the illusion that the worker "belongs." This is facilitated by technical progress (the machine replacing man, the white-collar worker replacing the manual worker, etc.). Then there is the subtle technique of manipulating public opinion and various methods of maintaining discipline.

Other speakers discussed the influence of modern conditions on the general level of class consciousness. On this subject, it was pointed out, views differ. Some maintain that genuine proletarian class consciousness is accessible only to the traditional type of worker. Others argue that "modern" class consciousness is being acquired by the "new" working class, composed of engineers, technicians, highly-skilled blue-collar and white-collar workers. Both views, it was pointed out, are predicated on an absolute juxtaposition of "old" and "new" sections of the working class. In reality, however, each makes its own specific contribution to class consciousness. *F. Rische* noted definite changes in the thinking of white-collar workers in West Germany. They are more amenable, he said, to the ideas of the class struggle and are coming to appreciate the need for joint action with their blue-collar brothers for political and social demands, greater democracy, even for a new social order. *G. Asplund*, citing the experience of Finland, stated there was a noticeable shift to the Left in the thinking of the so-called new part of the working class, that is, the rapidly increasing group of office workers, civil servants and technicians (to the extent that these categories can be considered part of the working class). This is reflected, on the one hand, in militant action by the "new" working class and, on the other, in leftward trends within the Social-Democratic Party, which draws much of its support from these sections.

Similar trends were noted by other speakers. *A. Galkin*, drew attention to the fact that conformism is much less current among intellectuals, especially in the arts and sciences, than among the urban lower

middle class (with which these intellectuals are sometimes identified), and their ties with capitalist society are weaker. This is due to the specific character of their work. It brings them into conflict with various forms of private and state monopoly, which fetters their work.

P. Auersperg remarked that the trend towards merging manual and mental labor will create a new type of producer of material values in whom there will be combined the qualities of the worker, engineer and scientist. And this new type of worker will not only make a much more significant contribution to production, but will be much better equipped to understand and accept socialist and revolutionary ideas and actively share in the fight for progress.

Ib Norlund (Denmark) put this question: What are the motives behind the rise of revolutionary sentiment in the working class, how and why do these motives change?

Communists, he said, have long ago rejected the idea that the only and decisive motive of revolutionism is impoverishment of the masses. This, of course, can play a definite part, but it would be more correct to say that revolutionism is determined by the sharpening contradiction between the potentialities for satisfying the workers' broader requirements and their non-satisfaction.

Marx emphasized that the cost of labor power should be seen also as an historical category. That is especially important in our age of technological revolution which so plainly shows the worker that the opportunities exist for satisfying requirements unknown in the past. The contradiction between these opportunities and their realization can become increasingly acute even if many new goods and services are brought within the reach of the masses. In other words, deterioration of the workers' conditions assumes new forms. We can say that impoverishment of the masses consists, in effect, in the sharpening of this contradiction between requirements and their satisfaction. However, this can lead to much confusion and makes correct orientation more difficult.

The new forms of mass consumption might instil in the worker a feeling of gratitude to the social system or the ruling class, and this, in turn, could lead to a reformist acceptance of the existing social structure.

On the other hand, these new opportunities can prove a nutritive medium for

wholly unreal conceptions, with resultant ultra-revolutionary excesses. And no one should be surprised that this has a strong effect on the young generation. Its demands are determined by the present state of affairs, for it has little personal experience of even the relatively recent past.

Recent events, notably in 1968, indicate that the revolutionary potential in developed capitalist countries is greater than many of us supposed. On the other hand, there is the danger that subjective revolutionary trends will follow a wrong, futile and harmful course.

All this calls for more organizational work by the working class and the Communist parties.

SOME QUESTIONS OF STRATEGY

Several speakers stressed that the struggle against modern capitalism, though it follows from, and is directly connected with, current class battles, has wider implications and calls for a carefully thought-out and substantiated strategy.

W. Wesolowski examined some of the laws governing the class struggle. General democratic and socialist aims are integrated in the new programs and strategic goals now being elaborated by the Communist parties. This is fully in line with Lenin's classical proposition on the dual aim the proletariat has to attain in the transition from democratic to socialist revolution. The general democratic, that is, as yet non-socialist, aims, include restricting monopoly exploitation and monopoly influence on the (capitalist) state, extension of worker participation in the administration of public affairs (at factory and regional levels, for instance). These are democratic aims since they do not envisage socialization of the means of production and elimination of the exploiter class. The same applies to the movement against war and exploitation of ex-colonial countries.

The fight for democratic demands prepares the conditions for and can develop into the fight for socialism. Consistent effort can restrict the influence of the monopolies and eventually lead to their nationalization. The ways of attaining this may differ, but success will always depend on the activity of the masses and on the initiative and vigorous action of working class parties and organizations.

However, this intertwining of democratic and socialist aims (with the former prevailing) offers not only definite opportu-

ities, but contains certain dangers: the movement might lose sight of its ultimate goal of reconstructing society along socialist lines and slide into reformist positions.

Changes that have taken place in the relationship between the immediate and ultimate aims of the working class were mentioned by G. Dilighensky. In the past, he said, when the revolutionary ideals of the masses were still unclear and abstract, when the masses were impelled to revolt by their overpowering hatred of the system alone, the concrete and positive revolutionary changes naturally set in after, not during, the revolutionary upheaval. That is not the case now.

That the masses perceive their requirements and the possibilities of satisfying them through radical social change is now an essential element of their revolutionary consciousness. Yet this perception is attainable only in the daily fight. And the grip of revolutionary ideology on the mass consciousness is the firmer the clearer the masses perceive the tangible features of the future society in the present struggles and gains of the working-class movement. The more actively, therefore, the labor movement formulates concrete and positive programs transcending the purely economic demands, and the more sweeping the mass efforts to put these programs into effect, the more intensive is the process of revolutionary education.

J. Fabre spoke of the French Communist Party's fight for genuine democracy; the Party program, he said, could win the support of the majority of the nation, offering the prospect of renovation. The program of political, economic and social democracy, he pointed out, is basically anti-monopoly and assures social and economic progress, making the satisfaction of the people's demands a driving force for economic advance, securing thereby also social progress. It envisages far-reaching structural reforms centered on the nationalization of the key branches of the economy.

At present, Fabre pointed out, the main aims are to replace Gaullist rule, the role of the monopolies, with a regime of genuine democracy, that is, advanced political and economic democracy paving the way to socialism.

M. Daramvanchig spoke about the strategy of the offensive against capital. In our time, he said, the problem of winning power no longer amounts merely to eliminating the tip of the superstructure. The

modern state, he said, is a complex, highly ramified mechanism. To gain power in a country, it is not enough to eliminate the apex of monopoly and suppress the enforcement agencies. The new power must at once gain a firm grip on all the transmission lines ensuring the functioning of the complex social organism. And that, he averred, depends largely on how effectively the mass of the people in the economic and administrative fields is won over to the workers' cause.

We should stress the importance of the fact, the speaker went on, that a fairly large section of the working class, including part of the technicians and engineers, white-collar workers and people employed in the services are associated with the advanced areas of the capitalist economy and, partly, at the managerial and administrative end. For this reason, the present-day working class represents the society of the future not just in the general historical context, but—and this to an even greater extent—in the concrete, physical context. The working class is already an existing and competent master of the future society's productive forces.

V. Kulish (USSR), who examined the international background, said a new factor had come to the fore, namely, the influence of the military implications of the technological revolution or the so-called techno-military revolution. He tabulated some of the fundamentally new factors injected by it into international relations and the class struggle. Among other things, he listed the various trends in the policy of the imperialist governments predicated by the techno-military revolution and the war-industrial complex (in the new, modern sense).

Aggressive policy is based on this complex, which exerts an immense influence in political and economic affairs. In the United States, for example, the economy of over 5,000 communities depends in one way or another on Defense Department programs. In some of the states the percentage of the gainfully employed working on war orders is very high—as much as 55 per cent in California and 42 per cent in the State of Washington. Practically every tenth American gets his paycheck directly or indirectly from the Defense Department. The vast economic strength of the Pentagon has given it great inner-political power. The Defense Department can make or break entire communities and areas. Naturally, this affects the state of mind of the people

and the attitude of Congressmen who, though often opposing armament programs, can go so far and no farther, for any hint of reducing war production in their constituencies compels them to withdraw their objections. Aggressive foreign policy therefore evokes a certain response among the middle strata, the petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and even, regrettably, a section of the working class, who all enjoy the economic benefits deriving from war production.

However, moderate tendencies are gaining ground, prompted by the desire of some sections of capitalist society to avert the dangers implicit in a thermonuclear war, to establish some form of peaceful coexistence and develop economic and cultural ties with the socialist countries, and this, among other things, in the hope of gradually softening up their social system. The social base of this moderate trend is motley, varied and conflicting, embracing a section of the nation and a large contingent of the small, middle and even monopoly bourgeoisie in the United States, Western Europe, Japan and Canada. This is in the interests chiefly of those industries whose marketing depends on the purchasing capacity of the people and which, therefore, oppose the higher taxation imposed by the arms race. Politically and ideologically, the moderate trend is backed by capitalist groups fearing not only a military disaster but also its domestic implications.

Then there is the liberal-democratic trend, which has no independent significance. Socially, this trend has its roots in the reformists in the working class and the pacifist section of the petty-bourgeoisie and, chiefly, the intelligentsia. The liberal-democratic platform is, on the one hand, deeply and sincerely devoted to the ideals of peace and, on the other, incapable of formulating effective slogans and methods of struggle against the war threat to win the allegiance and support of the majority.

The various influences exerted by the techno-military revolution and the growth of modern militarism, V. Kul'sh concluded, must be taken into account in framing the tactics and strategy of the international revolutionary movement.

As regards the strategy of the working class, a strategy that should by nature be offensive and revolutionary, F. Anton said in his intervention, we should ask ourselves what forces we can depend on, what forces should mount the attack and carry it forward to final victory; in other words, what

are the driving forces of the revolution? Some new conditions and new elements have come to the fore in this respect, he said, requiring thought and a closer examination. For one thing, the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and the rapid progress of the technological revolution are continuously modifying the social structures and the status of the different strata.

Lenin's concept of the worker-peasant alliance is still valid, the speaker said, and all victorious revolutionary movements have been based on it. However, as we see it, the changes in the social alignments, especially in the more developed countries, tend to broaden the concept of the worker-peasant alliance, covering the intelligentsia and students. In our time the intelligentsia and the students have by virtue of the structural changes in modern society objectively become one of the driving forces of revolution.

Hence the inference that in our time the revolution requires the alliance of labor and culture. For us this concept accords today with the Leninist spirit. Need we say that the dominant part in it belongs to the working class. In Spain, the guiding role of the working class is now acknowledged increasingly by the other forces working jointly with the workers against the Franco dictatorship.

P. Auersperg also spoke about the role of the intelligentsia. Though the middle strata have grown numerically, he said, this does not make them the decisive force in capitalist society, as some capitalist and reformist theorists would have us believe. The white-collar workers, technicians and other sections of the intelligentsia cannot play an independent, let alone guiding, role in social growth. What Lenin said to that effect is still valid, namely, that the intelligentsia occupy "a special position among the other classes, attaching themselves partly to the bourgeoisie by their connections, their outlook, etc., and partly to the wage-workers as capitalism increasingly deprives the intellectual of his independent position, converts him into a hired worker and threatens to lower his living standard" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 202).

The intelligentsia can play an active role in the struggle between the main classes of capitalist society, contributing analytical initiative, acting as the allies and helpers of the various classes for which they perform important ideological, organizational and managerial functions. But in the final

count the groundwork for their role is laid by the struggle of the main class forces without which the existing basis could not be altered to secure true and consistent emancipation.

The recent mass movements in Western Europe have borne out, the speaker said, that the intelligentsia is searching for closer bonds with the workers, bonds with the workers' political movement, so that the question of mutual understanding is now one of the utmost urgency. We have seen, too, that the gravitation of part of the middle strata towards cooperation with the working class has proved stronger than capitalist efforts to counterpose them to one another.

World events show, F. Anton said, that in many countries the youth movements are a most significant development. Youth participation has increased, has become practically universal.

The youth is militant, but has to some degree fallen prey to ultra-Left trends; shady elements are trying to take advantage of it. In the circumstances, the working class party must prove its capacity for leadership by distinguishing between well-intentioned extremists and the provocateurs, because the common struggle can undoubtedly benefit greatly from the positive features and the militancy of the youth. The speaker quoted from Santiago Carrillo's *The Fight for Socialism Today*: "In any case, Communists must never forget that the real enemy is to the right of them."

Recent Spanish experience indicates that patient and methodical effort and discussion with people far out on the Left can win them for democracy and some of them, the most advanced, for the fight for socialism. This is borne out, among other things, by the student movement, whose fight against the dictatorship and for socialism, carried on under the determinative influence of the Spanish Communist Party, is deserving of the deepest admiration.

Most young people strive objectively to become articulate revolutionaries, the speaker said, and if we fail to win them and lead them into action, our difficulties will only increase. The consolidation and strengthening of the mass movement, and consequently of the Party, depends largely on our skill in winning the young people to our side.

J. Fabre devoted himself to exposing the extreme Left in France and the role it played in the May 1968 events, their

slogans and methods. The surge of activity by ultra-Leftists in the developed capitalist countries, he said, is a reflection of the fact that the monopoly bourgeoisie, whose possibilities of maneuver are shrinking fast, is compelled to devise new, more sweeping forms of anti-communism alongside the old, seeking to outflank from the left its sole irreconcilable adversary, the working class and its party. Thereby it is trying to isolate the workers from the rest of the nation and embroil them in a sanguinary adventure. The magnitude of the service rendered to the government by the ultra-Left is so great that it dispels any doubts as to the government's connection with it.

New student and youth movements have appeared in the capitalist countries in recent years, said A. Avanesyan (Iran). Some of them go to the length of barricade fighting. By and large, they are directed against capitalism, and against war. They proclaim themselves Lefts, though they are largely heterogeneous, espousing a variety of ideas and theories, some progressive and some adventurist. It seems to me, therefore, Avanesyan said, that we should approach the movement with open eyes and complete understanding. One thing is clear: we must not reject these student and youth groups out of hand. Many are revolutionary and progressive, and could be willing allies in the fight against the monopolies and imperialism. Young people are temperamental and eager to be active in public life. "We are mature enough," they say, "to have an opinion on all matters." We Communists must reckon with them. Possibly, we are sometimes off the mark in gauging their needs and aspirations; our approach to them may be dogmatic at times; all we seem to want is for the young people to fall in line and obey us. This is a mistake, a harmful mistake. We would obtain far better results if we took their needs and aspirations to heart, conducted a dialogue with them, respected them and treated them as partners. That would foster mutual understanding.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

Speakers stressed that the guiding function of the working class in the fight for progress and socialism depended largely on the activity of the respective Communist parties in both the theoretico-ideological and politico-practical spheres.

W. Wesolowski said that anti-Communist centers spread stereotyped ideas, averring that the Communist movement is merely a critical, destructive force, incapable of playing a positive role as an organizing force. That is a Rightist charge, which we must combat. Ultra-Lefts, too, level charges. They accuse Communists of betraying the socialist revolution and socialism generally. We can expose their utopian and adventurist ideas by presenting a concrete picture of socialist society with due reference to the positive experience of the socialist countries.

I. Norlund focussed attention on the need for good organization of the mass movement. The working class movement, he said, is the decisive factor and could therefore help arrest the current trend towards anarchy and diffusion of the Left. The workers' life tends to bring home the importance and necessity of good organization. That held true for the factories of the old-time capitalism and is just as valid for the modern plants. The daily experience at factory level shows the role of organization. There comes a time after the so-called vanguard actions when their lack of results breeds a sense of futility and fatigue; it is clearer then that activity must be organized activity. This enhances the role of the Communist Parties, because, among other things, they impart organization to the mass movement.

The new times are making new demands. When framing our policy, we should bear in mind that the bigger possibilities of today are accompanied by bigger dangers. Those two aspects are something we should not forget. To end the diffusion of the Left forces, we must demonstrate more clearly and convincingly the revolutionary dynamism of our entire political conception.

It stands to reason that this is the job of the individual Communist Parties. But it concerns us all. Essentially, the matter is related to the role of the world Communist movement, Marxist-Leninist ideas, Communist policy. That is why unity of the Communist movement is decisive. Joint action by the Parties in combating imperialism is essential if we want to make the most of the opportunities in the struggle against the growing aggressiveness of the imperialists.

But unity of action while essential, is not enough. As before, we must work for greater ideological unity.

With economic contradictions growing

deeper and the social battles becoming more political in complexion, F. Rische said, politicalization of the workers' thinking holds priority among the various tasks of the working-class parties. P. Auersperg agreed, stressing that the objectively increasing sharpness of the class struggle in the developed capitalist countries has in no way reduced the role of the subjective factor. The Marxist precept that the working-class movement tends to be confined to trade union action and thinking and that it is up to the Communists to impart socialist thinking, is as valid as ever.

E. Zucker-Schilling (Austria) stressed the importance of the ideological struggle waged by the Communist Parties, of ideological discussion based on Marxism-Leninism and its living growth, of vigorous discussion and vigorous struggle against alien ideology. This is doubly important, he said, because the undivided monopoly capital control over the mass media in the midst of the technological revolution acts as a brake on class consciousness, for through these media the capitalists continue to inject anti-socialist ideas among the workers and the people generally. Still valid is the thesis that the Communist Party cannot attain its aims and play the guiding role unless it works in alliance with other social and political forces with common economic, political and national interests. However, class judgments on the basic questions of social growth must in no case take a back seat. They must be brought home to the people over and over again, especially to those who have declared allegiance to the Communist Party, and to those who show their sympathy. The more firmly the class ideology is rooted in the working class and, above all, in its Party, and the more skillfully it employs this ideology in the struggle, the less support the class enemy will find.

G. Szanto urged the need for a Marxist analysis of the world influence of state-monopoly capitalism, the technological revolution, the structural changes and the attendant consequences. By the side of the masses, supported by both their conscious and spontaneous actions, Communists are best equipped to chart the way through the maze of modern capitalist conditions. The Marxist-Leninist view of the vanguard role of the working class and the Communist Parties in the revolutionary struggle, is as valid as ever, despite the far-reaching structural changes in the society of today. That is sure to lead the new

working class, the peasants and other strata to final victory over the monopoly system, to the victory of socialist revolution.

Our discussion has been interesting and useful, said K. Zarodov, Chief Editor of the journal, in concluding the forum. The thirty contributions from twenty Communist and Workers' parties dealt with theoretical and practical problems ranging from the structure of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries to the specific forms and methods of the class struggle under state-monopoly capitalism in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution.

To be sure, we differ on some issues, but we are agreed on the main issue. We realize that as the scientific and technological revolution goes on the working class, far from leaving the social scene, is growing in numbers and importance as an active socio-political force striving to win power and transform capitalism into a socialist society.

Every discussion helps us Marxist-Leninists, men of action, to clarify the pressing problems and focus attention on what has to be done today or tomorrow, in the coming weeks, months or years. Many urgent problems were listed here. I would like to comment on some of them.

In my view those comrades who say that the opportunities for revolutionary socialist action in the capitalist countries are very great today are right.

As we know the rise of imperialism initiated a period of revolutionary events culminating in the October Revolution, the revolutionary crisis of 1917 to 1923, the upsurge in the democratic movement in the mid-thirties, and the socialist revolutions in the postwar decade.

The scientific and technological revolution and the maturing of a comprehensive system of state-monopoly capitalism pose, more imperatively, the problem of reconstructing society along socialist lines. As a result, the revolutionary movement is on the rise again. In many cases, the indefensibility of the various theories about a stable capitalism is only too evident.

The scale of the recent social battles in France, the biggest in many years, the marked exacerbation of contradictions in the United States, the move of the left in Italy and other countries, and the growing student and youth movement fully entitle us to speak of a new aggravation of the socio-political crisis of capitalism.

This impels us to carry forward the elaboration of the strategy and tactics of the socialist revolution according to the actual conditions in each particular country and in the world as a whole. The diversity of the conditions in which the Communist parties operate, distinctions in the approach to practical matters, and even differences over this or that issue should not block concerted international action on the decisive problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. This offers Marxist scholars and our journal unlimited scope for work.

Speakers here made a detailed analysis of the new phenomena confronting the Communist parties in the capitalist countries.

There is the fact that the social consciousness of the masses lags behind the objective requirements of development and that the mature objective conditions are not matched by equally mature subjective conditions.

There is the more complex structure and composition of the working class, and the temporary increase in the influence of other social strata swelling the ranks of the proletariat.

There is the emergence of so important and, let us add, so difficult an ally as the students and intellectuals, which necessitates particularly careful and patient work.

There is the exceedingly well organized ideological conditioning of the masses, for which imperialism, and the imperialist state, use all modern information media.

This enumeration could probably be continued. But what I have already listed is enough to show the need for a high degree of organization, political flexibility, well-planned theoretical work, and an active struggle against both revisionism and dogmatism.

Zarodov also spoke about some aspects of the socialist world's impact on the progress of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries.

The competition between the two systems aggravates the social problems of capitalist society. Under capitalism many of these problems, engendered by progress in science and technology, are solved most painfully. The socialist countries' example of solving similar problems affords a perspective to the working class and other democratic forces of capitalist society and compels the ruling classes to maneuver. This is true, for example, of working conditions, the public services, equal opportu-

ities for education and social security, and so on.

Furthermore, the existence of the socialist system restricts capitalist society's opportunities of solving its internal problems by exploiting other peoples. During the scientific and technological revolution, the narrowing of this outlet for capitalism aggravates its contradictions.

At the same time the effort of the socialist world system to avert a world war and safeguard peace enables the working class and all democratic forces in capitalist society to take more effective action.

I wanted, Zarodov continued, to illustrate once again the idea reflected in our common documents that the socialist world system plays the main part in the fight against imperialism, that the further con-

solidation and development of socialism are an essential factor for the success of this fight, and that the results which the working class of the capitalist countries have achieved and will achieve in the future depend in decisive measure on the strength of the socialist system.

* * *

The Berlin forum on problems of the structure of the working class, the workers' conditions, the lessons of the class struggles in the capitalist countries, and the strategic problems of the offensive against capitalism confirmed the widespread interest in these problems. The Editorial Board proposes to return to them at further international forums and in relevant articles.

Workers' commissions in Spain

VICTOR SUAREZ

The result of tense struggle, the workers' commissions in Spain have become the most powerful opposition to the Franco dictatorship. They exist in practically every part of the country and in most industries. Their influence, prestige and organizational strength have made them a key factor in Spanish life and it is safe to predict that they will exert a powerful influence on the country's future.

BACKGROUND

After the Civil War, all workers were automatically enrolled in the fascist unions founded by Franco; dues were deducted from wages.

From the very outset the workers protested against this set-up. Attempts were made to revive the old class unions, but most of the newly-formed illegal organizations were smashed by the police. In 1948, the Communist Party, drawing on earlier labor-movement experience, urged the workers to join the falangist unions and make maximum use of whatever legal opportunities they offered. This, however, did not meet with an immediate response, because of the widespread hatred for the fascist unions which the workers saw as pliant tools of the capitalists. But in the 1957 trade union elections, revolutionary workers made impressive gains in factories in Madrid, Barcelona, Asturia and elsewhere despite falangist threats and ballot rigging. The newly-elected delegates found that they could still take up the workers' demands and make good use of the positions they had won.

The movement spread. Veteran revolutionaries who had gone through the Civil War and the Franco terror were joined by

younger men who had grown up during the fascist years. The Communist Party called on all workers, young and old, to build up a trade union opposition both inside and outside the fascist unions, to combine illegal and legal activities and try to bring into the movement union leaders prepared to stand up for the workers. The opposition played a big role in stimulating the workers' struggle throughout Spain.

Moreover, it found a suitable organizational form, the *workers' commissions*, organized outside the fascist unions and made up of democratically elected militants, irrespective of political affiliation or views. The commissions represented the workers in negotiations with management. As a rule, they were dissolved after the negotiations, but were revived the moment a new conflict matured. The Communist Party suggested that they be made permanent bodies.

They played an outstanding part, especially in Asturia, during the big strikes in the spring of 1962. The workers thus had some one to speak for them outside the falangist union structure. The commissions became the accepted strike committees and even falangist Minister Solis, the boss of Franco's bogus unions, had to negotiate with them. The Communist Party was quick to popularize this new form of struggle, emphasizing the need to extend and strengthen the commissions and make them permanent bodies.

The foundation was thus laid for the development of a powerful movement outside the falangist trade unions but, at the same time, with strong positions in them. The movement was largely responsible for the mounting opposition to the regime and its steady disintegration; more and more

groups of intellectuals, businessmen and others began to part company with it. The regime was forced to make concessions, and this in turn acted as a stimulus for the movement. It was against this background that the workers' commissions came into being.

They first appeared in Madrid. A commission for the engineering industry was set up by delegates from leading enterprises to plan action for a 20 per cent wage increase. This was soon followed by a similar commission for the paper and printing industry. Then hundreds of workers met almost daily to define the character and aims of the workers' commissions. The procedure was fully democratic — there was no hard and fast agenda, delegates took turns in presiding over the meetings, and each was free to state his views.

The result of these discussions was the publication, early in 1966, of a policy statement which read in part: "After four months of fraternal and frank discussion by labor leaders, we have drawn up a platform which, we believe, can serve as the basis for united struggle. We do not pursue any exclusive or group interests, nor do we wish to impose any of the trends now current in the labor movement. Though we recognize the existence of differing views, our sole purpose is to further the workers' movement; that is our one and only aim."

The communique of the first national coordinating conference, held in 1967, contains this passage: "The workers' commissions are *not organizations* but rather *coordinating centers, an open movement* aimed at *uniting* all workers who do not accept the existing trade union organizations and are prepared to fight for the workers' rights and class demands, specifically, at this juncture, for trade union freedom."

In the 1966 union elections the falangist leaders decided on a demagogic campaign, emphasizing union "democracy" and the opportunity offered the workers to elect the "best" men, irrespective of social status, etc. The demagoguery did not pay off. The workers' commissions put up their own candidates nominated in most of the big factories. And to support these candidates the commissions launched a vigorous campaign around the general demands of the working class and the concrete demands in each factory. Practically all the commission candidates were elected with impressive majorities.

It should be said, however, that the old union organizations, or rather their Socialist and Anarchist leaders-in-exile, tried to dissuade the workers from voting for commission candidates, who were accused of "collaborating" with Franco and his sham unions. Some anarchist leaders, men with hardly any influence, joined the fascist unions with which they had concluded a secret agreement. When this became known it set off a wave of indignation, and the renegades were bitterly denounced by their own organizations.

The election campaign helped to organize more commissions, to enhance their influence and intensify their activities. So much so, that in January 1967 they could call on the workers in Madrid to take strike action, hold demonstrations and boycott public transport. Hundreds of thousands responded in the capital, and there were similar actions throughout the country. The most outstanding took place on October 27, 1967 and April 30 and May 1, 1968. They had been carefully prepared at meetings in factories and churches, at open-air rallies and in talks with peasants.

These actions involved hundreds of thousands in practically all industrial areas of the country. They testified to the growing militancy of the workers, and especially the younger generation. Another feature was the mass participation of women. In some places, Tarrassa in Barcelona province, for instance, there were clashes with the police. And also this indication of the commissions' influence: nationwide demonstrations were held despite the fact that a few days before October 27, the Madrid police had arrested nearly one thousand commission activists, in many cases the entire leadership, but a reserve cadre immediately took over.

The commissions, however, do not confine themselves to national campaigns. Much of their effort goes into painstaking day-to-day work in the factories, particularly in organizing and leading strikes. Sometimes strikes flare up simultaneously in a number of plants; some are lightning stoppages for a few hours, others run for months—the famous Bilbao steel strike, for instance. Other forms are the go-slow, demonstrations, marches to the offices of government unions, petitions, etc.

The commissions are branching out and we now have industrywide, local, provincial and regional commissions and a national coordinating center. All these bodies

rely entirely on the support of the factory commissions, which enjoy full autonomy, and on the autonomous commissions in Catalonia, the Basque country and in Galicia.

There are also hundreds of youth commissions working under the guidance of the respective factory or area commission and enjoying complete autonomy in matters pertaining to the youth.

The present organizational structure creates certain difficulties. One is the contradiction between the open character of the commissions as a form of direct democracy, and the need for a unified movement and coordinated leadership. There is also the danger of bureaucracy, of what might be described as a bureaucratic sclerosis that could deprive the movement of its vitality. Efforts are being made to eliminate this and to retain the profoundly democratic character of the commissions, with their opportunities for full and free discussion.

The movement has produced hundreds of new leaders, mostly young men. I would mention Camacho, Ariza, Saborido, Morin, Otones and Rozas, who enjoy the respect and support of their fellow-workers and in time will doubtlessly become national leaders. The leadership problem is important, for the 30 years of the Franco regime of terror destroyed most of the old cadres. If the commissions are to function properly they must have permanent and authoritative leaders. In some cases excessive democracy (there are no permanent directing bodies, no permanent officials, everyone presides in turn) hampers effective operation and the formation of a cadre of experienced leaders. But the problem is being solved by encouraging the election of directing bodies and permanent officials without in any way impairing democratic procedures.

But we have to contend with another danger—a tendency to go back to illegality. The commissions, as I have said, began as open groups. But they have been subjected to judicial persecution, and the government has directed the Supreme Tribunal to ban them. The police have seized on this to arrest and jail activists, the idea being to drive the commissions underground. The workers, of course, realize that this would kill the movement and they are campaigning against persecution, though this, too, involves a definite risk for every participant.

UNITARIAN CHARACTER

A feature of the commissions, one that is more pronounced, is their unitarian character, a character that will be retained even after the overthrow of the dictatorship when legal unions will become possible. The Madrid policy statement mentioned above contains this passage:

"Conscious of the need for unity and independence of the labor movement, we believe that there should be a united trade union center whose organizational principles would be drawn up freely and democratically at workers' meetings. . . ." The statement also emphasizes: "We want legal guarantees that every worker will be able freely and voluntarily to join the united trade union center."

Another document declares: "While abiding by the democratic principle that the Spanish workers will themselves define the form of their future trade unions, the workers' commissions urge unity based on freedom, democracy and respect for all ideological trends represented in the commissions."

The basic features of the future trade union organization are spelled out in a draft adopted by the commissions: "No worker should shun his duty to his class and its emancipation. . . . Trade union activity serves the interests of all workers. Union membership — whether or not it should be compulsory — and the scale of union dues, will be determined at workers' conferences."

The unitarian character of the commissions follows from the very nature of the movement, the experience of the Spanish working class, and is expressive of its overwhelming desire for unity and accords with the specific conditions of present-day Spain.

The Spanish workers can look back on more than a century of struggle and big class battles. But the split in the movement has always been a formidable obstacle. Besides, there is the terrible experience of the Civil War and the savage repressions that followed it, plus 30 years of fascist rule. The workers fully appreciate that — apart from international factors—their defeat was due mainly to the lack of unity.

Lastly—and this is of crucial importance — large numbers of workers were too young to have gone through the Civil War, had no experience of the prewar struggles and, consequently no experience of the split in the trade unions. On the contrary, there

is a tradition, an ingrained sense of unity. True, all workers belong to the falangist unions, which they hate and detest. But the realities of life have taught them that their problems are common to the working class as a whole, and that they must work for common solutions. The reality also teaches them that differences in political and religious views are not obstacles to mutual understanding.

To understand the prospects of the Spanish labor movement, we must be fully aware of the present reality.

Unity is not merely a wish, nor the result of long and costly experience. It is a *reality*, even, I would say, an ingrained habit. It is in this context that we should see the rise of the workers' commissions. They are not the product of a compromise reached in abstract political or philosophical discussions; they are a vehicle enabling the workers to unite for their demands. By their very *nature*, therefore, the commissions could not be anything but a united movement.

The pattern envisaged for the future united trade union organization may appear unorthodox, even heretical. For the workers' commissions envisage automatic membership the moment the worker enters the factory, or his "guaranteed right and freedom to join the united trade union center."

But we should bear in mind, first, that the commissions leave decision of this question to the workers: the structure and rules of the future unions will be decided freely and democratically at a national congress of factory delegates. In no circumstances do the commissions see unity as something imposed from above.

Second, unity must go hand in hand with full freedom and democracy within the unions, and this implies respect for the views and rights of the minority. Unity can only be the result of "a genuine synthesis, that will produce a unitarian trade union movement based on freedom and democracy." And a prior condition is union independence from political parties, though this should not be interpreted as signifying indifference to the big political issues.

Lastly, this "unorthodox" approach is dictated by Spanish reality. In the past 30 years the fascist unions have developed a network of union halls, holiday homes, union schools, print works, and so on. These are controlled by the union bureaucracy, but they were built by workers' money and therefore belong to the work-

ers. The commissions insist that they be transferred to the workers, but it would be folly to try to divide them among the various unions. "We must see to it," a commission statement says, "that freedom is not used as a pretext to squander this trade union property built up by union dues and donations." And here we have still another objective factor for unity.

However, it would be wrong to think that the fight for unity will be an easy one. For powerful forces have a vital stake in maintaining the split as the best way to weaken the labor movement. And these forces are the most ardent supporters of "trade union freedom" which they equate with pluralism, that is, the existence of a multitude of weak union organizations. The underlining idea, needless to say, is to prevent a strong united movement.

This attitude is shared by the old Socialist and Anarchist trade union leaders living in exile. Unable to grasp the implications of the new developments in Spain they are impatiently waiting for Franco to go and for freedom to return.

The only place where they have any influence is among the older workers, men in their late fifties with nostalgic memories of the pre-Franco union movement.

Then there are the Catholic groups which, while participating in the workers' commissions, are more or less committed to the organization of their own unions. True, this outlook, mainly confined to the leaders, is not shared by the rank and file. Everything will depend on the strength of the commissions and on the unity trends in the labor movement. But we should not underrate this factor:

In view of the vital importance of trade union unity for the future of Spain and her advance to socialism, and taking into account the resistance to unity and other related factors, we can conclude that the attitude of the workers' commissions to trade union unity, far from being "unorthodox," is a genuinely revolutionary attitude. At any rate, unity is being forged today and its opponents will find it very hard indeed to turn the clock back.

THE WORKERS' COMMISSIONS AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS

From their very inception, the commissions have made democratic rights one of their principal aims, nor could it be otherwise in a country ruled by a fascist dictatorship. The demand for political freedom

imparts a revolutionary coloring to labor's economic battles. Spain's advance to socialism will inevitably be preceded by the winning of democratic freedoms, which in fact are essential to the satisfaction of labor's economic demands.

To understand Spain's political problems and the prospects for the immediate future, we should bear in mind that the present process of change is not prodded or directed from above by farseeing "European-minded" capitalists. It is a grass-roots process, the result of popular struggle facilitated by broad middle-class forces, and even by representatives of the big bourgeoisie, the so-called "evolutionists" who are abandoning the hard core of the regime—the falangist ultras and falangist officialdom. And this hard core, while dwindling, still controls the administration and the police and is offering desperate resistance to change, however frail and hesitant. *The working class, the decisive force in this struggle, is steadily consolidating its leading role; the very dialectic of the struggle impels it to set more far-reaching goals.*

The fight for democratic rights, which figured in the workers' commissions very first statement, is now being extended to include more long-range aims: "agrarian reform that will transfer all the land to those who till it . . . democratic reform of the financial system, including nationalization of the State Bank . . . reform of the tax system . . ." etc. (January 1968 Statement of the Madrid workers' commissions). On the eve of the mass demonstrations of April 30 and May 1, 1968 the commissions drew up and circulated throughout the country a program for a democratic alternative to the present regime, capsuled into these four points: restoration of all democratic rights; amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles; national freedom for Catalonia, the Basque country and Galicia; free elections to a constituent assembly that will work out a system of government consonant with the interests of all the people.

This firm tone, characteristic of recent commission documents and of the nationwide campaign on political issues, is not an expression of extremist subjectivism that might isolate the commissions from the masses. The very opposite is true: their influence and organizational strength are extending to all parts of the country and to all sections of the working class, including those who only recently looked

askance at the commissions. This new emphasis on political issues is, as I have mentioned above, part of the very dialectics of the struggle. But it should also be seen in a more general context: the present stage of the crisis of capitalism, the decline of the "consumer society," the rise of new revolutionary forces among former supporters of the bourgeoisie, the growing influence of the socialist world system and of socialist ideas, all require a trade union movement that will not shy away from the basic political issues, nor confine itself to defending labor's economic interests (their importance should not, of course, be underestimated). Needed now is a trade union movement capable of taking revolutionary political decisions that meet the requirements of the situation.

I need hardly say that I am not suggesting that the trade unions should be turned into a syndicalist party, nor am I advocating a syndicalist social structure or anything smacking of a utopia. And I need hardly add that if we are to be guided by Marxism-Leninism we cannot conceive of the trade unions replacing the revolutionary party of the working class, the Communist Party. But I agree with Santiago Carrillo, who in an article headed "The Fight for Socialism Today" wrote: "It is now more necessary than ever that the mass organizations should not be mere transmission belts—they should play an active part in directing the revolutionary process. Instead of being mere vehicles through which the Communists mobilize and lead the masses, they should offer a platform on which representatives of the masses directly cooperate with the Communists in guiding and directing the revolutionary process."

This means that the Communist Party must respect the independence of the workers' commissions and of the future trade unions. In fact, that has been the policy all along—the commissions direct their own activities and would never accept outside leadership. But this should not be taken to mean that the Communist Party is aloof from the commissions. To quote Santiago Carrillo again, "(the Party) exercises its leading role not by constantly asserting its superiority or by arrogating to itself the exclusive right to formulate and impose decisions, but by its ability to coordinate the actions of the various revolutionary forces, help strengthen them . . . and convince them—by its own actions—of the need for revolutionary decisions."

THE WORKERS' COMMISSIONS AND THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION

The most important political problem facing Spain today is how to bring together in a united front all the revolutionary, democratic, anti-Franco and conservative forces which, in varying degree, are opposed to the regime. The problem has two aspects. The first, and more immediate one, is agreement among all these forces on a specific platform offering a political alternative to the dictatorship and providing for coordinated action for its early and, if possible, smooth, overthrow. Such an agreement could be based on the four-point program mentioned above. The other, more important aspect, is unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces to extend democracy and establish socialism. This can be achieved through the "alliance of labor and culture" proposed by the Communist Party.

It will be very hard indeed to bring about unity of all the anti-Franco forces. True, their interests coincide—they all want to see an end to the dictatorship, but there are grave class contradictions to be considered. And it will not be easy to reach understanding with sections of the bourgeoisie even on the partial issues in which they have a vital stake. For besides political differences there is the fact that the working class is fighting the bourgeoisie for its demands. Of course, unity could be easily achieved if the revolutionary forces were to support the evolutionists, agree to restoration of the monarchy and undertake not to complicate the transitional phase by, say, strike struggles. But that would be sheer betrayal of the workers and of democracy. That is why the revolutionary forces believe that it is both possible and advisable to work for an agreement which would give the people the final say and allow full freedom to fight for the specific demands of the workers, peasants, students, etc.

This poses a question that is crucial to Spain's fight for democracy and socialism: the financial oligarchy and the revolutionary forces are competing for an alliance with the democratically-minded middle class and intellectuals. The revolutionary forces stand a much better chance in this contest. There is no unity within the financial oligarchy—one group merely wants to "liberalize" the regime in order to neutralize sections of the working class and win over the middle class; another group con-

tinues to cooperate with Franco, with his civil-war generals and the falangist bureaucracy, in short, with forces that are dead set against any change. They reject the liberals' proposals to give the present system a new look. Nor have the liberals the influence (30 years of collaboration with Franco have led the people to identify them with the regime), the men, or the organization with which to generate a mass movement for their aims. In addition—and this is vital—their political initiative is paralyzed by fear of the working class.

The working class and the other revolutionary forces are in a much better position. Now as ever, they are the focal point of the opposition to the regime. This, plus their vigorous upholding of the people's demands—and not only those of the workers—and of democracy, which the revolutionary forces are gradually putting into practice, have won them political influence throughout the country. The only way to strengthen the revolutionary forces is to continue an independent and democratic policy, free of extremes that might lead to the very opposite results, and with no concessions to the Rights.

Though it is extremely difficult to work out an overall political agreement with all the opposition forces, there is a wide margin of agreement on many practical issues.

The commissions are supported by progressive churchmen, even by influential conservative elements. Obviously, much of this assistance is motivated by a desire to influence the commissions, induce them to alter their policy and become ordinary reformist trade unions. But there is another purpose, too, to isolate the Communist Party, the vanguard of the democratic and revolutionary movement. The commissions have countered that by a unanimous decision not to attend meetings, to refuse to negotiate or enter into agreements with political groups in which the Communists and other workers' parties are not represented. The four-point document is ample proof of this.

The commissions are actively forging unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces. They have been instrumental in bringing about unity with the students, whose valiant struggle is a weighty factor in the popular movement against the regime. Some extremist groups in the student movement have adopted absurd policies and have even attacked the commis-

sions, accusing them of reformism and counter-revolution. The commissions have not paid back in kind, for they appreciate the revolutionary vigor latent in the student movement and the revolutionary sincerity of most members of the extremist groups. More, the commissions have tried to understand the reasons for this extremism and help its adherents take a more realistic attitude on political issues. For this purpose, and also with a view to coordinating their activities with the student movement, they have established contact with student groups and are helping them in many ways.

Another important aspect of unity is the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry. Without going into this in detail, I shall confine myself to emphasizing the overriding importance of participation by farm laborers and peasants in the current struggles and in the more general fight for socialism. For understandable reasons it is much more difficult to organize peasants than industrial workers. The commissions have not only given their unqualified support to the peasants' economic demands, notably agrarian reform, but have made a special effort to organize the peasants. Recent national conferences of the commissions were attended by representatives of peasant commissions from several agricultural areas. It may well prove possible in the near future to build an independent movement of peasant commissions covering the entire country.

Much the same applies to relations with other sections of the population—intellectuals, technicians, artists and writers. Contacts are either bilateral or through the civil commissions on which these groups are represented. In both cases the aim is to bring these people into closer association with the labor movement. It can safely be said that the foundations are being laid for the alliance of men of labor and culture, which will probably become the political instrument for establishing socialism in the future people's Spain.

BIG BATTLES AHEAD

"More inflexible policies by the Franco dictatorship" and more repression is how the Communist Party Central Committee described the political position in Spain at the close of 1968. Commission leaders are the chief target; those who have been sentenced, but allowed to remain free are now

being jailed. The military tribunals are at work again, handing down vindictive sentences for participation in demonstrations and strikes. A definite attempt is being made to strangle the labor movement, intimidate its militants, force them into illegality and put a stop to all militant action.

The conditions of the workers give cause for concern. In November 1967, following Britain's lead, the government devalued the peseta and imposed a stabilization plan providing for a wage freeze up to the end of 1968. But prices continued to rise, and in August strong worker pressure compelled the government to unfreeze wages with the proviso, however, that wage increases should not exceed 5.9 per cent. This ceiling was unanimously rejected by the workers—even some of the falangist union bosses had to admit that the figure was much too low.

Now the government wants to push through parliament a new trade union law drawn up by the falangist union leaders. The purpose, obviously, is to give the present trade union structure a more "democratic" appearance in the hope that this will remove some of the resentment.

There is also growing dissension in the regime itself and among its supporters. The Communist Party Central Committee resolution says the dictatorship "has reached the point where any concession to the popular desire for freedom could tip the scales in favor of the anti-Franco, democratic and revolutionary forces, which would be the beginning of the end of the dictatorial regime."

How have the commissions reacted to these and other developments? Their response has been to step up opposition to the government and the fight for the workers' demands.

Their immediate aims are set out in the communique of their third conference (July 1968) and in subsequent documents:

Categorical rejection of the wage ceiling, the minimum wage to be raised from the present 102 pesetas to 300, with a cost of living escalator clause. Complete rejection of the trade union law. A congress of workers' delegates democratically elected in all parts of the country to work out the fundamentals of a united and democratic trade union organization completely independent of the government and the employers. Vigorous action against repressive

measures,* for free and unhampered activity of the commissions, refusal to be driven into illegality. These are the slogans for a projected national campaign which could develop into a general political strike. In fact the latter might, as was the case in France, flare up spontaneously by a merger of the individual actions.

Judging by all the signs, we are on the threshold of major working class battles which, parallel with the movement of the students and other sections of the population, could have a powerful impact on the continued anti-Franco struggle for democratic rights.

* * *

I have tried to give an objective picture of the content, character, role and perspectives of the workers' commission move-

*Special mention should be made, in this connection, of a recent call by the Madrid commissions addressed to the "land, naval and air forces." It explains what the commissions are and what they are fighting for. It exposes the aims of the Franco government, which has again instructed the military tribunals to prosecute workers demanding higher wages or protesting against U.S. military bases in Spain. The appeal says: "In this difficult and yet hopeful hour for our country, when obsolete institutions are being demolished, and new forces are working to promote mutual understanding between Spaniards, there must be negotiation between servicemen and the men and women in the factory, the fields and university."

ment. It would be absurd to maintain that its future is already assured, that the commissions will not meet with serious obstacles. Even now the government is using repressive measures to break up their unity as a prelude to their complete destruction. There are dangers also within the movement itself, for it covers a broad spectrum of ideological trends. We can only understand the magnitude of the problem if we bear in mind that we are dealing with a great battle in which successes will alternate with reverses, and the final outcome cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty.

For all that, there are grounds for optimism. First, there is the militant and revolutionary character of the Spanish working class, its rich experience, the enthusiasm of its new leaders, most of them young men steeled in the harsh realities of the fascist dictatorship. Second, there is a clear understanding of its aims and the ways and means of attaining them. Third, there is the fact that the workers' commissions have given voice to the strivings and aspirations of the workers and the people generally. All this gives hope that, by overcoming the obstacles and the dangers, the workers' commissions will achieve their basic aims.

Finland: towards trade union unity

ARVO HAUTALA

Finland's population of 4,700,000 lives and works in conditions of capitalism. In 1960, 32 per cent of the gainfully employed population were engaged in agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing, 31 per cent in manufacturing industry and 37 per cent in the services. Of the 200 seats in parliament, the Social-Democratic and Communist parties, and the Social-Democratic Union together hold 103 seats, including 41 by the Communists and the People's Democrats. (Ever since the formation of the

People's Democratic Union in 1945, the Communists and People's Democrats have contested all elections on a common platform.) The five bourgeois parties are represented by 97 deputies. The three aforementioned parties are also in the majority in the government.

Lack of trade union unity has always been a feature of Finland. Civil Servants and office workers employed in the private sector have their own organizations: the Central Union of Civil Servants, the

Central Union of Technical Personnel and the Union of Civil Servants with Higher Education. The combined membership of the three federations is over 200,000. Differences exist between them on organizational matters. The character of the Civil Servants' unions is changing. From consultative bodies they are gradually becoming organizations controlling labor conditions and salaries, as provided for in the respective collective agreements. With the changes in the industrial structure and in other sectors of the economy, technical personnel, too, are beginning to play a more prominent role in trade union life.

Most of the Finnish unions cater to blue-collar workers. There are 60 such unions, which is indicative of the cleavage in the trade union front. These unions are affiliated to two federations: the Central Alliance of Trade Unions, including 24 unions with a total membership of 290,000, and the Trade Union Federation with 16 affiliates and a membership of 65,000. The other 20 unions, independent, have approximately 120,000 members.

Politically, 52 per cent of the membership of the 60 unions support the Social-Democrats, 44 per cent the Communists and People's Democrats, and about 4 per cent the Social-Democratic Union of Workers and Small Farmers. Social-Democrats hold most of the leading positions in 42 of the unions, Communists in 10 of them, and representatives of the Social-Democratic Union in 8. The latter, formed of the Social-Democratic opposition at the end of the fifties, is gradually losing political influence owing to its members joining the Social-Democratic Party.

BACKGROUND TO THE SPLIT IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Finnish trade union movement arose on the basis of the political movement of the working class. The Social-Democratic Party, which represented the entire political movement in the country at the turn of the century, helped organize Finland's first Trade Union Federation in 1907. In 1918, as a result of the Civil War the party split. That same year, leading Social-Democrats, compelled to flee the country because of the white terror, founded the Communist Party of Finland in Moscow. Although the Trade Union Federation, in whose activity Communists and Left Socialists began to take an active part, played a big role in the twenties counter-

ing the white terror unleashed after the Civil War, the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party, which had by then repaired its positions, supported the bourgeoisie in their demand that the Federation be dissolved.

When in the beginning of the thirties the Federation was finally forced out of existence, the Social-Democrats, with the approval of the bourgeoisie, formed the Central Alliance of Trade Unions. Their purpose was to keep the Communists out of the unions. What with the Communist Party being outlawed at the time, the Central Alliance played a very passive role up to 1935 when the Party decided that its members should join the unions affiliated to the Central Alliance and work in them.

After the war, when fascism was defeated and all fascist activity was banned in the country, the Communist Party achieved legal status in 1945 under the terms of the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty. That same year the Communist and the Social-Democratic parties officially agreed on Communist participation in the leadership of the trade union movement. From then onwards the Central Alliance became an important factor in the economic life of the country, making its influence felt on all wage and social security issues. During this period of joint actions the working-class movement won some big successes.

This phase came to an end in 1948 when the cold war reached Finland and the Social-Democrats, violating their agreement with the Communist Party, openly began to collaborate with the bourgeoisie. Several of the unions headed by Communists were temporarily expelled from the Central Alliance on the pretext that they had not abided by the capitalist *diktat* in the sphere of wages and on other issues, and had begun strike action.

The differences and even the split in the unions were aggravated at the time by the attitude of the Communists who regarded Social-Democrats as class traitors. The Social-Democrats for their part were of the opinion that the Communists should be suppressed. While there was every reason to be critical of the Social-Democrats' stand which, in effect, led to a compact with the capitalists, the Communists were no less at fault. The differences between the two trends became strident, and this naturally affected the trade union movement.

After analyzing these differences, the

Communist Party concluded that if the class struggle was to be successful it was essential to restore cooperation with the Social-Democrats. With this end in view, the Party in 1954 addressed a document, "For United Action by the Working People," to the Social-Democrats, which was also designed to serve as a guide to action for Communists. A big step towards improving relations between the two parties, this document recommended to all Party members "to meet the Social-Democrats half way," explained comprehensively why united action was essential if the interests of the working class were to be safeguarded. Promoting united action became one of the principal tasks of the Communists along with working for peace and friendship.

Although the split in the trade unions was due, to some extent, to the relations between the Communists and the Social-Democrats, the main reason was the Social-Democratic Party's policy which caused a cleavage also in its own ranks. The 1956 general strike, called on the initiative of the Central Alliance of Trade Unions, brought things to a head. After the strike, which ended in victory for the workers, the Social-Democrats began to disrupt the Central Alliance. Part of the S.D.-dominated unions withdrew from the Central Alliance and in 1960 formed the second Trade Union Federation which from the very outset proclaimed its anti-Communist position, rejecting cooperation with the Soviet trade unions and with the unions in other socialist countries. There are weighty reasons for believing that the new Federation received substantial financial aid from the United States, that is, from the CIA. Other factors responsible for the split were the anti-communism of most of the unions in the West and the undemocratic methods of the so-called Left Social-Democrats who were in disagreement with their party and who had controlled the Central Alliance of Trade Unions for a long time.

NEW PERIOD OF COOPERATION

Most of the Social-Democratic trade unionists refused to join the new Federation, despite the fact that the Social-Democratic Party openly supported it. It was clear to the workers that the unions and the labor movement generally would not be able to defend their class interests and oppose the capitalists and their policy if they acted separately. The more far-

sighted of the Social-Democrat leaders for their part realized that one could hardly trust the policy of men who declare themselves friends when it is a question of promoting good-neighbor relations with the Communists of the Soviet Union, but who at the same time refuse to cooperate with the Communists in their own country.

That the Social-Democratic Party has revised its attitude towards cooperation may be gathered from the many meetings in recent years between the parties. In mid-1965 a consultative committee was set up under the chairmanship of a nominally non-party figure, to consider the question of trade union unity. However, only Social-Democrats were included in the Committee in the beginning, whereupon the Party stated that unity would hardly be achieved in this way. Subsequently, in response to numerous demands, Communists were included, making the committee of 21 representative of the country's different working-class parties and unions.

The Committee completed its preliminary work in March 1966 and issued a call to the unions to form a single center. Agreement was reached on the lines of cooperation; it was also affirmed that the trade union center, as an organization uniting different trends in the labor movement, should function on a democratic basis. The Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party met to discuss the program of the Ninth Congress of the Central Trade Union Alliance (1966). It was agreed to reorganize the Alliance's leadership, allowing for the respective political groups to be represented in it in proportion to the support they enjoyed in the affiliated unions. The Alliance's program and rules were accordingly amended at the congress and the necessary changes introduced in the leading bodies. The congress also went on record to promote trade union unity in every way.

The question of united working-class action was also widely discussed by the Communist Party at its Fourteenth Congress held at the beginning of 1966. In pursuance of decisions taken to this end, decisions based on a fundamentally new evaluation, and also on the initiative of the renewed Party leadership, talks were begun with the Social Democrats. As a result, the following joint document, signed by the chairmen and secretaries of the two parties, was issued in October 1967:

"Having discussed the question of trade union unity, the representatives of the

Social-Democratic Party and of the Communist Party decided to make the following recommendations to the members of their respective organizations:

"In the course of the talks it was stated that the split in the trade union movement can only hurt working-class interests and the common aspirations voiced by the working class in our society.

"Proceeding from this, the two parties agreed that the strong desire for unity evident for some time now among trade union members is a positive development which should be supported in every way.

"The two parties are of the opinion that the trade unions should not be party-controlled and should not interfere in party politics. They could on this basis already now unite their disparate organizations for joint action to raise real incomes and improve the social conditions of workers, of all poorly provided for working people, and to secure economic democracy and full employment. In this respect the two parties are prepared to spare no effort to help eliminate the split, promote cooperation and achieve unity.

"The two parties are therefore agreed that:

"—unification of the trade union movement should be effected on the basis of a single trade union center in the form of a new federation;

"—all trade unions should have the right to affiliate to the new center, during the establishment and functioning of which democratic methods should be employed;

"—the different trends should be taken into account and the principle of equality observed when electing the leading bodies of central and other trade union organizations;

"—without impinging on the independence of the present parallel unions and their local organizations, to urge them to begin talks on trade union unity with the object of creating the strong organizations desired by the membership;

"—the trade union center should steadfastly and actively help to develop cooperation with the trade unions of other countries, and particularly with those of the Nordic countries and the Soviet Union."

Besides these recommendations a protocol was approved defining the structure of the united center's leadership and the relations between the different groups. The protocol recommends uniting the parallel unions in the given industries, in other words, that the smaller unions should

merge with the numerically biggest one in the said industry. It was also agreed that union rules would be revised and that according to the new rules delegates to trade union congresses would be elected on the basis of proportional representation, i.e., in the same way as parliamentary deputies.

Three of the country's biggest unions—the building workers, metal workers and woodworkers—have already revised their rules and introduced the proportional system. Also the relations between the various groups have been regulated in such a way that responsibility is shared according to the support each group enjoys among the membership.

PROSPECTS FOR TRADE UNION UNITY AND JOINT ACTION

The demand for trade union unity is being voiced more and more insistently by the working class. These demands are prompted by the difficulties in the economy, the spread of unemployment, rising prices, rents and taxes, and the imperative need for joint action and organization, if the working people are to win their demands for social security and broader democratic rights. Although the Communist Party, Social-Democratic Party and Social-Democratic Union are represented in the government and hence are responsible for the country's development, it is essential that the government's positive efforts should have the backing of a united trade union movement.

At present a consultative committee representative of the different unions is looking into the problem of trade union unity. It has to date approved the proposal that the new T.U. center should be formed in the first half of 1969, and has, for its part, drafted proposals concerning the rules for the new Trade Union center, and a plan for uniting unions in the same industry. The draft suggests decreasing the number from 60 to 20, in other words, creating stronger and more effective unions. It was established in the course of discussion that no insuperable obstacles exist between the unions and trends regarding the program and tasks for the immediate future. Besides, it is considered axiomatic that the Finnish trade union movement should maintain good relations with the trade unions of the Soviet Union of other countries. The general opinion is that the Trade Union center should function as an organization free of party control, promoting

cooperation between the different contingents of the labor movement, that it should have one and the same attitude to all the trends in the trade union movement and should base its decisions on democratic principles.

The closing months of 1968 and the first months of 1969 is the time when the workers, union members, spell out their attitude to the issues besetting the trade union movement. The decision to set up a new central organization embracing the entire country, to strengthen the unions and unite the parallel organizations, is of great importance for the working-class movement.

Anti-communism in the trade unions has been on the wane in recent years. Certain forces in the Trade Union Federation leadership and some of the affiliated unions, it is true, are still trying to prevent the split being healed. But they are outnumbered by the 90 per cent-odd organized workers who fully support the idea of union unity.

The most important thing from the viewpoint of the working class is that the past and current discussion in its ranks has shown that it cannot hope to gain any significant successes in its battle with big capital unless the unions realize the need for joint action and unity. A particularly encouraging feature of this discussion is that the idea of united action is supported by young workers whose influence is steadily growing. They are less fettered by prejudices and might prove to be that additional force needed to achieve the goals of the working-class movement. It is evident, that as the idea of united action gains ground, so too do socialist views among the Social-Democratic youth.

The trade union movement in Finland is still split, and the struggle in it continues. However, there is every reason to believe that the movement is advancing towards unity. In our time, to achieve unity where division exists requires much experience and skill, especially on the part of the Communists.

Economic integration of Latin America and the position of the working class

JOSE CADEMARTORI

CRISIS OF FOREIGN TRADE AND THE TREND TO INTEGRATION

In the sixties the reasons compelling the ruling circles of the Latin American countries to look for a way out in economic integration have become even more compelling. In 1964 export prices were 3.4 per cent lower than in 1950, while import prices had risen by 18.6 per cent. Volume of export, with few exceptions, remained unchanged or had slightly decreased. The share of the Latin American countries in world export dropped from 8.6 per cent in 1955 to 6.1 per cent in 1964, accentuating the critical foreign-trade trend in the region.

The hopes which the pro-Washington men reposed in the Alliance for Progress were shattered. Actual disbursements under this program proved scant compared to the promised \$2,000 million annually. Losses caused by the unequal exchange were far in excess of the "aid" received. New loans added to the debt, and interest and principal payments aggravated the chronic deficit in the currency balance.

Hopes of negotiating a way out dimmed after two international conferences on the economic problems facing the underdeveloped countries, forcing the Latin American governments to impose further restrictions. Between 1955 and 1964 Latin American exports to Western Europe and the United States fell from 37 to 24 per cent. The U.S. Congress is considering still

higher duties on Latin American goods, the idea being to save the dollar by sharply cutting imports.

The national markets are stagnating and the rate of industrialization is slowing down. Because of the impoverishment and the restrictions dictated by the International Monetary Fund, demand is falling off, and many enterprises are operating below capacity.

Against this grim background the trend towards economic integration becomes understandable. The bourgeoisie in many Latin American countries sees economic integration as the only outlet from the difficulties caused by the impact of external and internal forces.

Membership of the Latin American Free Trade Association, founded in Montevideo in 1960, has grown from seven to 11. The Association includes all the South American countries (with the exception of Guyana) and Mexico. Five of the six Central American countries, excluding Panama, have formed a Central American Common Market. The two organizations embrace 90 per cent of the population and 97 per cent of the territory of Latin America.

From the founding of the LAFTA up to 1966 trade between its members grew from \$700 million in 1960 to \$1,500 million in 1966—facilitated among other things by a general reduction in tariffs. Trade in the CACM system rose from \$37 million in 1960 to \$176 million in 1967, although the deficit in trade with third countries also

grew. Mention should also be made of the extension of motorways and the increased consumption of electric power.

The achievements of the LAFTA include the establishment of a clearing system which reduces the amount of cash transactions. Last year 18 agreements were in operation ensuring mutual credits totalling \$50 million.

The shipping agreement signed by nine countries provides for cargo quotas for the ships of LAFTA countries.

The integration trend has prompted co-operation between state-owned enterprises, as in the case of petroleum, airlines and railway companies.

Integration has been accelerated also at inter-governmental levels. In April 1967 at the Punta del Este meeting of the presidents of the Latin American countries it was announced that a common market would be set up between 1970 and 1985. The LAFTA foreign ministers' conference held in July of the same year legalized the sub-regional markets, signed a protocol enabling the citizens of these countries to cross frontiers with only identity cards, and reached agreement on the order of settling conflicts.

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT AND ITS CONTRADICTIONS

Contrary to the promises of its authors, the Montevideo Treaty, far from promoting the unity of the Latin American countries has, in effect, created a new arena of competition for markets between the national bourgeoisie and the imperialist concerns. Growth of trade has been extremely uneven. Between 1961 and 1966 Mexico increased its trade with LAFTA countries by 752 per cent, Colombia by 530 per cent and Argentina by 280 per cent. But for Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile the growth figures were a mere 80 per cent, 76 per cent and 31 per cent, respectively.

At recent talks the greatest number of mutual concessions was achieved between Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. This means that the more developed countries of the region are creating better conditions for trade in goods which they can sell to each other while keeping out the other members of the Association.

Development in the CACM countries is also uneven. For instance, whereas the capitalists and landowners in Honduras are

complaining about a paucity of profits, their colleagues in Salvador have become the chief exporters on the markets of three of their four partners, accounting for 27 per cent of the entire export of the CACM countries.

The contradictions between the bourgeoisie of these countries came to the fore during the talks on tariffs. Of the tariffs reduced before December 31, 1966, 81 per cent were agreed upon in 1961 and 1962, and only 19 per cent in the next four years.

Nor are things going smoothly with implementing the agreements. While recognizing certain tariff cuts, the governments concerned annul them by measures taken at national levels. For instance, the Chilean government has complained to the government of Argentina that by reducing import tariffs with respect to third countries it had violated the agreement on the sale of electronic valves.

Interzonal trade has slowed down: the 30 per cent increase in 1964 slumped to a mere 10.2 per cent in 1966, and there was no pick up in 1967.

The LAFTA foreign ministers conference, held in Asuncion in July 1967 for the purpose of ensuring implementation of the Punta del Este accords, was characterized by the magazine *Vision* as a "defeat." Six conferences were held to draw up a common list of goods. The seventh, convened in December 1967, lasted a month and ended in a stalemate, contrary to the provisions of the Montevideo Treaty which set time limits for compiling the list.

SUBREGIONAL BLOCS AND GROUPS

The Central American Common Market unites five countries: Costa Rica, Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. The five have an overall population of 11 million and embrace a territory of 441,000 square kilometres. They have practically eliminated customs barriers, established uniform tariffs with respect to their countries, adopted a single monetary unit for settling accounts, and set up regional organs for technical cooperation and credit transactions, as well as joint enterprises for the utilization of the common market. These enterprises, in which U.S. capital predominates, enjoy advantages assured them by their monopoly position on the market. In addition, they are protected by tariffs against outside competition and enjoy tax exemptions.

Washington, supported by the local pro-imperialists, has been most insistent in urging the Central American countries to integrate their economies. The Communist Party of Salvador commented that "this movement in its present form, aimed at creating a market of eleven million consumers, is highly profitable above all for the foreign monopolies. Acting under the 'common market' signboard, the monopolies which supply Central America with manufactured goods are (independently or jointly with local capitalists) building enterprises to package, assemble or finish items previously imported from the United States, Western Europe or Japan. Thanks to this expenditure on labor, tax payments and transport have been cut considerably and profits have gone up. A feature of this process, and also an indication of the greed of foreign capital, is that prices charged for these goods have not fallen, and in some instances have gone up compared to the time when the goods were imported.

Not satisfied with the profits extracted with the help of the common market mechanism, the U.S. monopolies, acting through their governmental and international organizations, force the Central American governments to suffer in silence the damage caused by this process to the economy of their countries. For instance, the International Monetary Fund and the Agency for International Development forced the Costa Rica government to refrain from taking protectionist measures.

The U.S. imperialists see the CACM as a springboard for the realization of far-reaching designs. First, they want to consolidate their domination in a strategic region where the influence of socialist Cuba is felt. Second, the CACM is seen as an experiment in integration methods. The preliminary results influenced Johnson's attitude at Punta del Este where he advocated integration and urged the Common Market's merger with the Free Trade Association: the strong U.S. position in the Common Market would give it more influence in the LAFTA countries.

Also urging the Common Market as a base, Washington is working to coordinate action by the armed forces and the police of the Isthmus countries. A Central American general staff has been established and the interior ministers meet regularly to coordinate action against the democratic and anti-imperialist forces. In January last year the Central American Defense Council decided to set up a combined armed force

to crush the guerrilla movement in Guatemala.

But these aspirations encounter a degree of resistance. The Costa Rica delegation to the second Central American inter-parliamentary conference resolutely opposed any attempt at political integration, while the Salvador Army refused to subordinate itself wholly to the Central American general staff.

Felipe Herrera, President of the Inter-American Development Bank, referred to the struggle taking place in the CACM: "In the resolutions between these countries there are suspicion and distrust, political antagonism and even discontent in some of the countries because the profits yielded by the Common Market are not distributed fairly, with some partners getting more than others."

The *Andes group* emerged as a result of the dissatisfaction of Colombia, Chile and some other countries with the LAFTA structure which gives an advantage to their stronger competitors. Besides, these countries feel that unless the markets are pooled it will be difficult to change the direction of U.S. investments, now channeled mostly to the more extensive regions of Brazil, Mexico and Argentina. The contemplated sub-regional market embraces 57 million people, and the gross national product of the countries concerned totals 18,000 million dollars.

The decision to establish an Andes Corporation, ratified by two of its members, is the most concrete agreement reached in the two years that have passed since the Andes group took shape. The governments concerned have drafted their design for a common market and have an agreement for delivery of equipment for the petrochemical industry. But opposition to the Andes group soon made itself felt among capitalists in these countries. The Venezuelan Employers Association criticized their government for having joined the group. Spokesmen for Peruvian industrialists declared that "in Peru conditions are still lacking for economic integration with the Latin American countries." Washington, too, chimed in, claiming that Bogota and Santiago, with their cheap labor, would be in a more advantageous position than Caracas. Buenos Aires, looking askance at the agreement, is putting pressure on Lima and La Paz to withdraw from it.

As distinct from the Andes bloc, the *La Plata group* does not envisage a common market. This group is merely a response

to the formation of the Andes bloc, and its purpose is different. The governments of Argentina and Brazil are competing for the potential resources and markets of their neighbors: Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia. The region is rich in oil and iron ore, its plains are vast and fertile, and its electric power potential is very great. The hydro-technical schemes in Acaray, Sete Quedaz and Salto Grande attract the attention of the Brazilian and Argentinian military commands. It has been estimated that these installations will double the output of electric power in Paraguay, greatly increase the power supply to Uruguayan agriculture and ensure electricity to southern Brazil and the Buenos Aires industrial area.

But most Argentinian capitalists are opposed to the Latin American common market. Both the Alsogaray and Frigerio groups have rejected all the proposals aimed at establishing supra-national organs. Instead of Latin American integration, they advocate "national integration."

THE PROSPECTS FOR INTEGRATION

Businessmen in practically all Latin American countries apparently consider that sooner or later further steps will be made towards integration. Hence their pressure for government measures to strengthen their positions in the competition which is bound to gain in intensity with the opening of the borders. Rules governing the sale of goods to other countries are coming into force. To stimulate export, tax exemption, subsidies and other measures are introduced to attract capital to export-oriented branches.

Latin American capitalists, anxious to expand their enterprises with a view to reducing costs are insisting that their governments encourage mergers. The *Santiago Mercurio*, organ of the pro-American big bourgeoisie in Chile, urges the "establishment of big enterprises capable of attracting capital, reducing costs, etc." President Frei has commented favorably upon mergers in the fishing industry, where 25 enterprises have already combined into six.

The architects of integration admit that the common market will involve "certain sacrifices, losses and disappointments," but then Washington has promised funds to compensate for the inevitable closure of enterprises.

It is believed that the products of most of the 400,000 "industrial enterprises" in Latin America cannot compete on external

markets. And although many of the 400,000 are simply small workshops, almost half of the gainfully employed urban population were working in them as recently as 1960. Employees of the small and medium-sized enterprises still constitute a considerable part of the total—40 per cent in Brazil, 42 in Chile, 46 in Colombia and 63 in Venezuela and Central America. The prospects for these workers, and for small manufacturers and artisans, are bleak. With their low productivity, high production costs and scant capital, the small enterprises are doomed. Few can survive the pressure of their bigger competitors. Intensified concentration of production and capital attendant upon integration spells ruin for the numerous artisans and workers in the smaller enterprises.

The employers utilize the integration in their struggle against the trade unions, and justify their drive against wages and social gains by the need for economy. Even in the more efficient branches of Latin American industry wages are lower than in the same branches in the developed countries. Besides, there is a steady decline in real wages resulting from the rising cost of living.

Local capitalists producing for export are uniting with the imperialists in the drive to devalue the national currencies. The imperialists and their local partners are demanding a re-distribution of taxes to make the working people bear the brunt of them. Granting concessions to big industrialists is accompanied by heavier taxes on small and medium-sized enterprises, on wages and on consumer goods.

WHO BENEFITS FROM INTEGRATION?

Imperialist concerns are the biggest beneficiaries of integration. U.S. companies operating in the rapidly developing branches are openly, or in the guise of mixed enterprises, monopolizing the national markets and dictating their policies in LAFTA and in CACM. The electronics industry is controlled by General Electric, IBM, RCA Victor, Phillips; the automobile industry by General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. General Electric, IBM and others had a hand in the first inter-branch agreements on abolishing customs duties. The same was the case with agreements for office machines, electronic equipment, and so on.

The dynamics of foreign investments in the Central American countries can be seen from the following figures: \$15 mil-

lion in 1960, \$51 million in 1962 and \$82 million in 1964. According to CEPAL (Economic Commission for Latin America), in 1967 foreign investments in Latin American industry increased primarily in the branches designed to cater to the future common market. In the years 1955-63 foreign participation in Latin America's industrial production doubled.

International concerns are active buying, absorbing or merging with Latin American enterprises. Ford has taken over one of the biggest factories in Brazil, and is building a large assembly plant in Chile. Chrysler is making Simca cars in Brazil. Renault has established control over Kayser of Argentina and signed a profitable contract with the biggest automobile plant in Mexico. Dow Chemicals, aided by local governments, is seizing dominant positions in the petro-chemical industries in Chile and Colombia. First National Chase Manhattan and Bank of America are also stepping up operations south of the Rio Grande. ADELA, an international financial concern set up by Swedish monopolies, is building chemical plants in Central America and other Latin American countries.

Latin American capitalists are relying on their own financial resources in order to break out of Wall Street control. But some argue that the Inter-American Development Bank is an independent force protecting Latin American interests. In reality, however, it is subordinated to Washington and merely assists the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in marketing U.S. goods and plant in Latin America and facilitating penetration by U.S. concerns.

Spokesmen of the Latin American bourgeoisie are aware of the pressing danger that the integration will but serve the interests of U.S. Big Business. Expressing this view, R. Prebisch and other Latin American economists declared: "We share the opinion, widespread in Latin America, that in the common market—in the main branches of the common market industry in need of capital investments—the technical and financial superiority of the *private enterprises of big industrial groups* can lead to their ascendancy to the detriment of Latin American entrepreneurs..."

There is also the belief that the mixed enterprises are the way to economic independence. But that is an illusion. On the one hand, mixed enterprises are not Wall Street's ultimate goal, for it prefers to establish its branches where the political

climate is favorable. Wall Street never leaps before it looks; it wants State Department and CIA protection of its investments. On the other hand, U.S. capital prevails over national capital in most of the mixed enterprises. It owns half or more of the shares in 82 per cent of mixed industrial enterprises, and in 97 per cent of mixed enterprises in other branches of the Latin American economy. Even where it does not hold the controlling interest it influences vital decisions through contracts concerning administrative and technical aid, loan agreements, material deliveries, etc. There is no doubt that as the integration gains momentum U.S. corporations will strive to oust or subordinate independent capital. In the European Common Market, U.S. capital is gaining ever stronger positions, and, certainly, its opportunities in Latin America are much greater, since its competitors there are much weaker.

Economic expansion in Latin America, facilitated by the integration, enables U.S. capitalists to ship out ever increasing amounts in the shape of profits, interest and payments for administrative services and technical aid. These remittances grew from an annual 1,300 million dollars in 1960-62 to something like 2,000 million in 1965-67, swallowing 15 per cent of export receipts in 1960, and 20 per cent in 1967. CEPAL points out in its survey that the tension in relations between Latin American countries increases in step with the growth of foreign debt, expressed in interest, profits and other payments on foreign capital in balance-of-payments operations.

In the process of the integration the foreign companies will extend their branches and thus boost their profits, which will adversely affect the currency balance and aggravate the general economic crisis in the region.

INTEGRATION, THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEOPLE

There is no task more urgent for the working class and the peoples of Latin America than to gain economic independence and full national sovereignty. The fight against U.S. imperialism, the chief exploiter of our countries, calls for joint action by all the peoples of the continent.

Unity of action by the anti-imperialist forces in Latin America will, eventually, necessitate cooperation at inter-governmental levels, not excluding economic in-

tegration. The experience of the European socialist countries in the CMEA shows the advantages of economic cooperation under socialism.

The fact that economic integration in Latin America takes place in conditions of imperialist domination determines its content and results. The working class must combat imperialism in this sphere too, must combat its consequences and work to isolate imperialism and restrict its sphere of exploitation.

One of the common problems facing our peoples is to overcome the chronic deterioration in foreign trade. Some success has been attained in coordinating efforts to protect the interests of raw-material exporters. The so-called Group of 77 has been joined, along with Asian and African countries, also by Latin American countries.

But the fight for trade on equal terms must be waged not only in the sphere of raw materials. Equal trade presupposes also acceptable conditions for export of finished products and adequate terms for import of necessary commodities.

As we know, the socialist world is an important center of support for the demands of the developing countries. More Latin American countries, despite pressure by the State Department, are establishing trade relations with the socialist countries. These relations can facilitate deliverance from the stranglehold on the Latin American economy.

Experience shows that establishment of a state sector in the economy of any country can be objectively of an anti-imperialist character, and that is why the foreign monopolies often organize campaigns for denationalization or liquidation of the state-owned enterprises. The oil industry is a case in point. Such enterprises as Petroleos Majicanos, Petrobras in Brazil, Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales de Argentina, ENAP in Chile, Ecopetrol in Colombia, ANACAP in Uruguay, YPF in Bolivia and others, despite the restrictions imposed by the pro-imperialist governments, are contributing to the independent industrial development of their countries. A positive role in the development of the state-owned oil industry in Latin America can be played by ARPEL, the mutual-aid organization of these enterprises, and by measures to further production cooperation and coordination of economic policy in each of these enterprises to accentuate their state and national character.

Transport is another branch where re-

gional cooperation is urgently needed. State-owned shipping makes up 60 per cent of the maritime tonnage in Latin America. The problem confronting Latin American shipping companies is the monopoly position of imperialist concerns who account for 84 per cent of Latin America's foreign trade freightage and 32 per cent of the intra-zonal transport. Of late the Grace Line, the leading U.S. company, has been extending its operations with the purpose of monopolizing the industry. This has led to a controversy between the Latin American shipowners, including the state-owned companies affiliated to the Latin American Shipowners Association, and their North American competitors.

Rail transport, too, furnish a considerable basis for cooperation between state-owned enterprises. The establishment of the Latin American Railway Association is bound to lead to a conflict with the imperialist concerns which are mounting an extensive campaign against state railway lines.

The same applies to air transport. The difficulties in the way of the state-owned air lines because of the competition of imperialist companies will be aggravated with the introduction of the costly supersonic airliners. And solution of the technical and financial problems likely to emerge will also necessitate cooperation between the state-owned companies.

The fight for fair trade, for greater trade with the socialist countries and in defense of the state-owned enterprises will contribute to the common struggle against imperialism.

Establishment of supra-national organs entrusted to a certain degree with the sovereign rights of the participating countries is one of the forms of economic integration. In the present political conditions in Latin America these would be power organs of the bourgeoisie and others like them. The working class cannot favor such institutions, but wherever they exist it should try to influence their activity.

The working class should insist on its right to a say in each of the existing and future institutions of integration. This involves overcoming the resistance of the governments presently seeking to man the international establishments with representatives of organizations obedient to them or to the employers.

A Latin American parliament is mentioned as one of the organs of the future integration. The political conditions in

most Latin American countries leave no doubt as to the likely role of this parliament, which is emerging on the basis of the anti-democratic traditions of bourgeois parliamentarism and the no less traditional abolition of institutions of "representative democracy" by the reactionaries. But even in these unfavorable conditions the working class cannot renounce representation in this Latin American parliament, for it can be used as a platform for defense of its interests in the fight against imperialism.

For the Latin American proletariat, integration is a developing phenomenon which poses new problems and bears upon its vital class interests.

The agreements on liberalizing the market are likely to lead to production crises and closure of enterprises, as was the case with the European Common Market. The workers, more so than any other class, are interested in avoiding these consequences for they affect their jobs, wages and conditions.

The workers' fight against factory closures is also part of the fight against the so-called "technological" unemployment caused by mechanization and automation, for new sources of employment, for retraining and against the intensification of labor, i.e., against the consequences of the

actions of imperialism and the monopolies.

It should also be borne in mind that the increased movement of manpower in the countries concerned will pose acute problems connected with the socio-economic and legal conditions of immigrant workers, and create the possibility of conflicts between workers of different nationality.

Just as the capitalists in different countries are strengthening their contacts, so contacts should be developed on a greater scale between the national trade union organizations.

The Latin American Communist parties, as parties of the working class, are concerned about the processes accompanying the economic integration. Some of the parties have already declared their attitude to the problems involved, and their views on the pro-imperialist nature of the integration and on the need to combat it coincide.

As this process develops the Communist parties realize the need to strengthen their contacts and coordinate their actions in defense of the interests of the working people. The fight against imperialism is spreading to new areas, which might well prove even more favorable for the emancipation of our peoples.

For a militant and mass Communist Party in Lebanon

Six months have passed since the Communist Party of Lebanon held its Second Congress. The significance of this Congress was that it reestablished inner-Party democracy, adopted a Program and Rules and created conditions for a Communist Party of the Lenin type. The implications of the Congress, however, went farther, for it took place in the tense political climate that pervaded the Arab world after the Israeli aggression of June 5, 1967, which sowed confusion among some of the progressive parties and blurred the short-term perspective of the Arab liberation movement. In some Lebanon parties matters went as far as a split, with many of the groups publicly declaring their allegiance to Marxism-Leninism, though, admittedly, some of their interpretations of it were distorted.

The conclusion, therefore, is clear: the masses and progressive middle class people are becoming aware that the social and political prospects of the liberation movement as expounded in the programs of petty-bourgeois organizations are insufficient in the post-aggression period. The present situation is highlighted by a spontaneous upswing of anti-American sentiment, a desire for economic and social change and for a bettering of relations with the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. The people realize that complete political liberation and social progress depend chiefly on closer contacts with the socialist camp. And that some petty-bourgeois nationalist parties are reckoning with the revolutionary sentiment of the people, that they officially espouse Marxist-Leninist ideas, offers splendid opportunities for reinforcing our alliance with the middle sections and for taking joint action.

However, there is another aspect to the

matter. The role and responsibility of the working class in the Arab national liberation and social movement is rising steadily and, hence, too, that of the Arab Communist parties. We hold, therefore, that our main task now is to produce the right subjective conditions for this process. The Second Party Congress, which oriented all Communists on the drive for a mass party, has gone a long way in preparing us for our task. That, indeed, is its main achievement.

* * *

The Central Committee's report noted that the long interval between the first and second congresses (1944 and 1968) is evidence enough that Party activity fell far short of elementary democratic stands. Whenever convocation of a congress appeared necessary, some of us at once made up "reasons" or, more precisely, pretexts to evade one. The contempt in which the Leninist organizational principles were held, was all too obvious. The normal course of Party life and democracy were violated on the excuse of political difficulties. Nor can some of the good political results achieved between the two congresses justify this state of affairs.

If violations of inner-Party democracy had been avoided and the Party had lived a normal life, we could have been spared many mistakes and many shortcomings, particularly in Party education and organizational work. Our political results, on the other hand, would have been far better and our bonds with the people and our influence among them would have been greater. The success of the Second Congress proves that the difficulty of underground work does not rule out consistent adherence to the Leninist principles of Party life. On the contrary. Difficulties re-

quire a redoubled observance of these principles, for organizational unity, conscious discipline, and mutual understanding between the rank and file and the leadership are then more essential than ever. We also needed a congress to work out our tactics, to determine the immediate perspectives of our country's growth and its relationship with the rest of the Arab world.

Our first attempt to change our policy on the basis of a study of the economic, social and political conditions in Lebanon and a more objective assessment of the Arab national liberation movement, dates back to 1964-1965. But little or nothing was done to carry our analysis forward and pursue a general line consistent with the objective developments. Yet the Party established and consolidated contacts with the progressive forces in Lebanon and other Arab countries, resulting finally in the establishment of a Front of patriotic and progressive parties, organizations and leaders. Also, we succeeded in defeating a faction of petty-bourgeois elements and reactionary intellectuals in our own ranks, who opposed the new line and strove to pull the Party back to its one-time isolationism. The faction's activity was dual: in matters of internal policy its stance was opportunist and, in effect, tended to strengthen the Right extremists, while on the all-Arab scene it endeavored to pit the Party against the national forces fighting imperialism and specifically against the anti-imperialist struggle of the United Arab Republic.

However, despite a few positive results of the new line, we were still vague about the situation in Lebanon and the rest of the Arab world because our analysis was neither sufficiently scientific nor exhaustive, and not adequate enough for defining our general line. The deficiencies became all the more glaring as the Party's participation in the general political struggle increased, the situation grew more complicated and more problems required a clear answer.

It was vitally necessary to remove these deficiencies and work out a scientific Marxist-Leninist party program based on an all-embracing study of Lebanon's economic, social and political situation and the new developments in the Arab national liberation movement. What we needed was a program stating our position lucidly and unequivocally. This was urgently essential, because numerous Left organiza-

tions of the petty bourgeoisie and revolutionary intelligentsia had appeared on the scene, who faced up to the political and social problems, though their offered solutions, professedly "socialist," were either adventurist or chauvinist, or both.

At this point the Party ran into bitter resistance on the part of the Kraytem-Sawaya anti-Party group, which opposed the idea of a Party program and even, for a while, imposed on us a Rightist "wait-and-see" line. Its opportunism was due to its overestimating the role and possibilities of the national bourgeoisie, advocating alliance with it on terms incompatible with Marxism-Leninism. It scorned the class basis of such an alliance and the independence and guiding role of the revolutionary party, suggesting that to avoid "alienating" the bourgeoisie the Party should, in effect, trail behind it. In accordance with their opportunist policy, Kraytem and Sawaya issued directives to frustrate strikes, including the power workers' strike at the end of 1966 and the beginning of 1967, impairing the political struggle.

The Kraytem-Sawaya policy was adventurous and superficial. For one thing, they adopted a strange attitude to the progressive coup d'état in Syria in February 1966, imposing their ideas on the Party over the heads of the Political Bureau and Central Committee. Despite explanations offered by the fraternal Communist Party of Syria, our Party press was instructed to describe the new administration as a "blood-stained fascist regime." This perfidious policy imperilled our influence among workers, the people in general, and the entire national liberation movement. We had no choice, therefore, but to come to grips with the anti-Party group.

Moreover, the change in our 1964-1965 political line was not attended by any practical organizational measures, with the result that old forms and methods inconsistent with Leninist principles, began to act as a brake. This contradiction grew more acute when the situation required a new, more thorough modification of the political course. And matters came to a head when Kraytem and Sawaya took advantage of their positions of command to try and frustrate the drive for a political and organizational renovation of the Party. They did not hesitate to employ repressive measures against Party cadres, including some top leaders, thus precipitating a bitter clash, this time on an organizational plane.

The crisis in the Party erupted in the summer of 1967. Luckily, the firmness of the various Party branches saved the day; they reasserted their allegiance to Marxism-Leninism in both the political and organizational contexts, preventing the group from seizing control and imposing their opportunist line. In September 1967 the Central Committee ousted Kraytem and Sawaya from the leadership, ending their anti-Party activity. At the same meeting, the Central Committee set the date for a congress, forming two commissions—one to draw up the Party program and the other to draft the rules.

* * *

Our study of economic and social conditions revealed that Western neo-colonialism was strongly entrenched in Lebanese capitalism. Although pre-capitalist forms—some semi-feudal estates and artisan production—existed, capitalism predominated. However, although capitalist relations have spread to most economic branches, they were anything but highly developed. The economic one-sidedness typical of all the colonial and dependent countries has a peculiar form in Lebanon: inflation of the non-productive sector, its predominance in the economy and, moreover, its special role in determining the growth of all other branches. This is borne out by the fact that the non-productive sector accounts for as much as 68 per cent of the national income, whereas industry accounts for no more than 11 and agriculture for 17 per cent. This is due to historical factors, the peculiar inception of capitalism in Lebanon, and the way of economic and political development in the other Arab countries.

Penetration into Lebanon of foreign, chiefly French, monopolies, dates back to 1860. Foreign companies entrusted their interests to local merchants, principally in Beirut, and to a few of the big landowners and, as they expanded, the number of their agents increased gaining influence in economic and political affairs. Gradually, in fact, the compradores became the decisive force behind the country's capitalist growth.

This is not to say that capitalism did not exist in Lebanon before 1860. Textile workshops, foundries, potteries, and the like, were numerous. Yet these sprouts of capitalism appeared when European capitalism was already mature and ready for the economic and political redivision of the

world. The incipient Lebanese national capitalism wilted under pressure of the compradore capitalism linked with the European monopolies, which grew stronger under the French mandate imposed on Lebanon after the First World War. Opportunities for local industrial capitalism were restricted, save during a few short periods, particularly the Second World War, when communications with the rest of the world were impaired and industry thrived in meeting the local demand, that of a few other Arab countries, and in supplying the British and French troops stationed in the Lebanon.

Postwar, particularly due to the penetration of U.S. capital, the compradore bourgeoisie began to grow again, its expansion also spurred by the fact that until 1950, when the Customs Union fell apart, it supplied the needs not only of the local market but also those of neighboring Syria. The compradore wing quickly gained the upper hand, while the industrial bourgeoisie, which had fewer opportunities, grew weaker. Furthermore, the dominance of the compradore bourgeoisie and the non-productive sector increased considerably due to the rapid influx of capital from the sheiks of Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf area after large oil deposits were discovered in their possessions. Besides, capital flowed in from other Arab countries (particularly Syria and the UAR), to escape the progressive economic and social measures taken by their governments.

This shows that thanks to their predominance in the economy and banking the compradores held a considerable advantage over the national bourgeoisie. We must note the contradictions between these two groups and take advantage of them, though the national wing of the bourgeoisie is disinclined, due to its weakness and close bonds with the compradores, to effect a total break with the latter. Hence, there is absolutely no justification for overestimating the role of this bourgeoisie, associated with local production, as this was done by the Kraytem-Sawaya group. The Second Congress stressed that our main efforts should be concentrated on organizing the people around the Party and providing leadership in the fight for immediate demands, for social progress, democracy and socialism.

Our working class is growing. Factory workers now total more than 65,000, the number of workers in the non-productive sector exceeds 85,000 and agricultural laborers approach the 100,000 mark. A coun-

try of barely 2,500,000 population already has something like a quarter of a million workers, plus several tens of thousands of office employees, civil servants and low-paid laborers in town and countryside .

* * *

Criticizing our past policy on the key issues concerning the Arab world, the Central Committee report indicated that we had been negligent in our approach to national matters, failing to assess and appreciate the revolutionary nature of the nationalist movement. We had a distorted idea of nationalism, because we saw it "from outside," thinking that none but the bourgeoisie was nationalist-minded, while national sentiment and problems of a national character were of no concern to workers, peasants and the bulk of the people. We adhered to ossified formulas and our superficial ideas about "Arab nationalism" were distinctly dogmatic. Mistakenly, we identified the inception and growth of nationalism in Europe with that of Arab nationalism where even an elementary analysis would have revealed the essential differences.

European nationalism was expressive of the aspirations of a burgeoning bourgeoisie, which made it progressive. However, when capitalism passed from free competition to monopoly imperialism, its progressive aspect gradually turned into its opposite and nationalism became the ideological instrument for oppressing and exploiting other peoples.

In the Arab world, on the other hand, nationalism burgeoned under foreign domination and was, therefore, distinctly progressive, stimulating the Arab fight for freedom and independence. We should not, of course, overlook or deny the negative aspects of the early Arab nationalist concept at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, bred by the dominance of feudal, semi-feudal and bourgeois elements in the nationalist and ideological movement and their exposure to the influences of European bourgeois nationalism, then already reactionary.

As the nationalist movement in the Arab countries grew, reactionaries and Rightists were gradually ejected from the leadership. That was one of the factors which we, regrettably, neglected. We treated most of the important problems of a nationalist complexion (e.g., the Palestine issue) merely as an expression of the interests of Nuri

as-Said, King Abdullah, Farouk and others, and overlooked the surge of popular national feeling that ultimately swept these imperialist agents off the scene.

The Party was not sufficiently aware of the fact that in the transition from capitalism to socialism and the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle, i.e., in the epoch of the disintegration of imperialism, the national liberation movement undergoes tangible qualitative changes, producing a situation in which, as Lenin pointed out, the socialist revolution is not merely a revolutionary workers' assault against the bourgeoisie of their own country, but at once an assault against world imperialism by all the dependent countries oppressed by imperialists.

Our subjectivist dogmatic stand in national matters prevented us from understanding the new developments in the Arab liberation movement. Among other things, it caused us to adopt a wrong policy with regard to the union of Egypt and Syria in 1958, though we did well to remember at the same time the chauvinist aspects in the ideas and concepts of some nationalist organizations and their anti-Communist orientation, which complicated our position.

* * *

The Congress was an important event in our Party's history, for it demonstrated our ideological and political unity, our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, to the general line and unity of the world Communist movement.

The greetings received from the fraternal parties, especially the message from the CPSU, evoked enthusiasm among our delegates. This confirmed the view of all Lebanon Communists that we comprise an inseparable part of the worldwide army of Communists whose inspiring mission it is to deliver all men from national and social oppression. The Congress expressed its deep appreciation of the proletarian solidarity of the fraternal parties with the Arab struggle against imperialism and the Israeli aggression, for national liberation, social progress and socialism. We are conscious of the importance of Soviet political and material aid and the support of the other socialist countries and fraternal Communist parties in the fight to consolidate the progressive Arab regimes and build up our national economies.

Acting on the principles of proletarian internationalism and on the community of

interests of all peoples fighting against imperialism, the Congress in a special message expressed its unqualified solidarity with the fight of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggression.

A special document was drawn up concerning the situation in the world Communist movement, reiterating the attitude of our Party with regard to the unity of the movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The document stressed that the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties will be an important positive step in the effort to strengthen unity.

The preparations for our Congress, like the Congress itself, mobilized the energies of all our members. The Party took a bigger part in the fight of the workers and peasants, providing better leadership. Demonstrations and mass meetings were organized under our auspices in all parts of the country to press home the people's demands. Communists took a prominent part, too, in organizing the big strike involving more than 70,000 workers on August 26 last year. Furthermore, the Party stepped up resistance to the reactionary conspiracy against democracy aimed at consolidating the country's political and economic dependence on U.S. imperialism and isolating Lebanon from the Arab national

liberation movement by "internationalizing and neutralizing."

The fight waged by the Party in conjunction with all patriotic and progressive forces has yielded positive results. Although the reactionaries won the parliamentary election last spring through falsification, corruption and religious strife, they have failed to carry forward all the items of their policy. We trust that the Congress decisions will stimulate the struggle against imperialist and reactionary maneuvers. In that struggle, the Communists will strive to increase the Party membership, to add to its influence, so as to promote the slogan of our Second Congress: "For a militant and mass Communist Party in Lebanon."

The six months since the Congress have shown that our analysis and decisions were right. Our membership is growing, the Party's influence and political impact have increased and contacts with the progressive forces are expanding. This is borne out by the demonstrations, strikes and other mass actions held under the guidance of the Party and with its active involvement in recent months. The people are aware more than ever before that the Communist Party is the only force that can lead the country to the right solution of its many problems.

G. BATAL

Relevance of Marxism for India today

There is a growing interest in Marxism-Leninism among wide sections of the Indian public. This was seen in the activities in connection with the celebrations in September 1967 to mark the centenary of the publication of the first volume of *Capital*, the Golden Jubilee of the Great October Socialist Revolution in November 1967 and the 150th birth anniversary of Karl Marx on May 5, 1968.

This is understandable. For India is passing through an acute economic and political crisis—a crisis which is the direct result of the capitalist way of development

pursued by the ruling National Congress Party during the past two decades of Independence. The ruinous and all-pervasive consequences of this crisis have engulfed the whole country. And naturally, more and more people, seeking a way out of this crisis, searching for a genuine path of progress and prosperity for the country, are turning to Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, there are theorists who try to refute Marxism and who polemicize against it. Theorists of the Right-wing Swatantra Party and the Hindu chauvinistic Jana Sangh argue that Marxism is alien

to Indian history and to India's traditions. They counterpose the materialism of Marxism to the spiritual heritage of India. They ask: how can the traditional "non-violence" of the Indian people be reconciled with the theory of class struggle? For them only private ownership of the means of production can be the basis of Indian society.

None of these arguments and refutations have any originality. The opponents of Marxism in India are wielding a very old and blunted weapon. We recall how similar arguments were used by the Narodniks in Russia to oppose Marxism, and how brilliantly Lenin answered them.

According to the great epic of India, private property is the source of all evil—so who can say that Marxism, which denies private property, is out of tune with the Indian heritage.

Let us take recent times—the last hundred years. Many progressive leaders of the Indian renaissance and of the fight for national liberation, though they were not Marxists, had advocated ideas akin to those of Marxism. The Hindu revivalist and patriot, Swami Vivekananda, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, proclaimed that "the future of our Motherland belongs to the Sudras (the working people)." Balgangadhar Tilak, the great radical leader of the Indian Independence movement, said that "self-rule can be won only by the revolutionary struggle of the masses." One of the earliest revolutionary democrats of Kerala, Ramakrishna Pillai, declared six decades ago that "the next step in the advancement of human society is democracy based on socialism." And it was Jawaharlal Nehru who, in the thirties, popularized ideas of socialism on a national scale.

Hence the philosophical and cultural heritage of India is not the same as that which the reactionaries, in their opposition to Marxism, propagate among the people. The tradition they glorify is a black tradition of obscurantism, of casteism and regionalism, of exploitation and oppression. But there is another heritage, the real tradition of the people, which is embodied in the humanist benediction of the ancient sages of India, namely "Let there be happiness for all the world." This is the heritage which Communists and other progressives uphold and popularize.

All anti-Marxist and non-Marxist solutions for the multifarious problems of India's development, whether it be the "mixed economy" or the "market econo-

my" or the "socialistic pattern of society" or "Sarvodaya," have been tried and found wanting. Under twenty years of the rule of the National Congress, all of them ultimately turned out to be pathways of capitalist development, resulting in the growth of monopolies, widening the gap between the rich and poor, rising unemployment and depressing the living standards of the people and, of course, generating the crisis inherent in it.

Hence the growing interest in Marxism. At a largely-attended seminar in Delhi, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, a former Chief Justice of India, Gajendragadkar, said in his inaugural address that Marxism should not be regarded as some kind of dogma. Basically, he said, it is "the philosophy of a rational and scientific approach"; its ultimate aim is "the eradication of poverty and the establishment of an egalitarian society where classes sharply divided by wealth and considerations based on birth will disappear and every citizen will be entitled and able to enjoy life, liberty and happiness alike."

Hence, he went on, its relevance to India could hardly be exaggerated: "Indian citizens, dedicated to the cause of the establishment of an egalitarian society by the democratic process feel somewhat frightened by the turn of events which public life has taken in recent days, and so it seems to me that the main philosophy of Marx, which is based on the adoption of a rational and scientific approach dedicated to the establishment of an egalitarian society, has very great relevance in India today."

And he continued: "Marx's criticism against traditional religion, as preached by the priestly class and as practised by the ignorant community has, in my opinion, great and, if I may say so, grave relevance to India today. Ever since the Constitution was passed, India has been committed to create a new social order by democratic means with the help of the rule of law—a new social order, based on political, social and economic justice." After pointing out that scriptures, religious texts and traditional and superstitious beliefs and customs still have great influence among the people, he continued: "Even after twenty years of Independence, secularism does not appear to have taken a firm root. In fact, recent events show that it is exposed to grave danger . . . In order that the common citizens of India

should understand the full significance of the doctrine of secularism and make it a part of their faith, belief and actual life, it is essential that the true scope of religion and the limitations of the field within which religion must function, have to be explained to the public at large. It is in that context that the criticism made by Marx of religion has considerable relevance to the situation in India today."

A very interesting paper was read at this seminar by Boudhayan Chatterjee, reader in economics at the University of Burdwan. It examined economic aspects of Marxism and their relevance to the present situation in India. In his opinion, Volume III of *Capital* has direct relevance to transitional economies like that of India, "wherein several contending modes of exploitation generate a whole set of anachronisms and paradoxes throughout the economy and polity."

There were several contending modes of exploitation in India today, he said: 1) the pre-capitalist mode of exploitation represented by the extraction of rent-surplus from primary producers through various forms of tenancy and compulsory forms of employment of labor power in the agrarian sector; 2) the pre-capitalist mode of exploitation represented by extraction of profit-on-alienation based upon the domination of money capital over the base of petty production; and 3) pure capitalist mode of profit-on-production of surplus value through the exploitation of free wage-labor.

Superimposed on these basic modes is the exploitation carried on by foreign imperialist capital which is essentially a combination of the second and third modes, based upon unequal terms of exchange. Imperialist foreign capital succeeds in foisting such terms on India because of the prevalence of the first two modes which act as built-in depressors for the economy as a whole.

According to Boudhayan Chatterjee, "the total crisis that has overtaken our economy and polity has been caused directly by the inherent contradictions between the first two and the third modes, on the one hand, and the incompatibility of the three modes taken together visa-vis

the requirements of the capital formation of the Indian economy, on the other." He further pointed out that it was in such a situation that "inflation becomes co-extensive with recession, the price structure goes wild, defection and toppling become the *modus operandi* of politics and you have the imminent menace of a Right authoritarian restoration staring you in the face."

Such seminars and celebration meetings were held in other parts of India—Trivandrum, Hyderabad, Calcutta, Jullunder and Patna—in which Communists as well as non-Communist scholars and political leaders participated.

The growing interest in Marxism is seen in the enthusiastic support that the publication of the three volumes of *Capital* in Malayalam (Kerala) received from the public. This is the first time that the three volumes of *Capital* in full have been published in any Indian language. And the whole work was completed within an incredibly short period of six months. This became possible because nearly three dozen writers, journalists, intellectuals and political leaders belonging to the Communist and other parties cooperated with a leading publishing house in Kerala in the work of translating and editing this monumental classic of scientific communism. The three volumes in Malayalam were released to the public at Delhi and Ernakulam (in Kerala) on May 5, 1968.

More than two thousand copies of these three volumes of *Capital* were ordered prior to publication. And another thousand copies were sold within two months of publication. It is also worth mentioning that nearly ten thousand copies of the *Communist Manifesto* in Malayalam have been sold in Kerala during the past year.

The Communist Party of India, in addition to popularizing the ideas of scientific socialism through pamphlets, the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin translated into different Indian languages and through seminars and meetings, is also making efforts to establish permanent institutions to promote the study of Marxism-Leninism and its application to Indian problems.

C. Unni RAJA

Communist activities in the central area in Honduras

Because of the hounding of Communists and the democratic movement generally by the U.S.-backed regime of Osvaldo Lopez Arellano, the Communist Party of Honduras carries on its revolutionary work in conditions of complete illegality. However, notwithstanding the intolerable conditions, the Communists are making headway in their efforts to strengthen the Party, further the democratic movement and rally the masses in the fight against the reactionary government.

One matter engaging the attention of the Party is that of improving its work through systematic planning and in this way precluding the possibility of spontaneity. What is being done in this direction may be gathered from the activity of the Municipal Committee in the Central Area and, specifically, of the local branches.

This was the subject of discussion at a recent conference of branch secretaries which also reviewed the enrollment of new members.

Branch secretaries reported that 70 per cent of the branches in the area meet once a week to discuss various aspects of local work and Party study. For a variety of reasons the remaining 30 per cent meet less frequently. The Municipal Committee has discussed with the functionaries concerned what needs to be done to remedy the situation.

Changes have taken place in the class composition of the Area organization in recent times due mainly to the results achieved in enrolling new members. The class composition of the Area organization is as follows: Party functionaries—14 per cent, factory workers—24 per cent, handicraftsmen—8 per cent, intellectuals and white-collar workers—20 per cent, small shopkeepers—10 per cent, students—16 per cent, housewives—8 per cent.

The Municipal Committee, however, does not consider this very satisfactory,

seeing that the middle-class members are more numerous than industrial workers. Hence the emphasis on increasing the worker ratio at least up to 40-50 per cent. It might be noted that this ratio has been achieved among Party sympathizers. Seventy per cent of the branches have at least one group each of Party sympathizers, 20 per cent of the branches have two groups each, while 10 per cent have no such groups. Of the total number of sympathizers in these groups, 84 per cent are industrial workers, 12 per cent intellectuals and 4 per cent white-collar workers. Needless to say, when they join the Party its class composition will change accordingly.

The tasks connected with the political education of Communists were being carried out satisfactorily. Ninety per cent of the branches had studied the various materials put out by the Central Committee; 70 per cent reported that discussion of the Central Committee materials revealed the need for a more profound analysis of some of the issues, such as the war in Vietnam, the situation in the Middle East, and the Alliance for Progress. The Municipal Committee underlines this fact as indicating that "study in the branches is no longer just a repetition of the texts, and is instead becoming more and more a process of real political training."

"With the object of rapidly raising the ideological level of branch leaders," stated a report of the Municipal Committee, "the Committee has prepared a special study course. Classes will begin shortly in three branches and, eventually, we hope, throughout the Municipal organization. The subject matter of the course is designed to develop the members' organizational and educational ability."

The initial enrollment results are satisfactory, states another document of the Municipal Committee, noting that what-

ever difficulties have cropped up in this connection have been tackled jointly by the branches and the Municipal Committee. The branches are now working independently. One of the weaknesses of our

branches in the past was an absence of initiative. This is no longer the case. Our branches are beginning to stand on their own feet. And this is a big step forward.

E. ESCALANTE

In brief

IRAN

The People's Party (Tudeh) is preparing to mark the centenary of Vladimir Lenin's birth, despite the terror in the country.

Its radio station "Peike Iran" has already started a series of broadcasts about the life and work of Lenin. A new edition of the 4-volume *Selected Works* of Lenin in the Persian language, published over the past ten years, is being prepared, also a biography and a pamphlet *Lenin and Iran* will appear on the anniversary date. The Party's papers *Mardome*, organ of the Central Committee, *Azerbaijan*, organ of the Tudeh's regional committee, and *Donia*, theoretical journal of the Central Committee, will likewise carry materials about Lenin, and put out special Lenin anniversary issues.

Lenin holds a special place in the hearts of Iran's working people. Still way back in the 19th century thousands of Iranians, driven by social oppression and hunger, left the country and went to Russia in quest of work. Lenin's party did much to raise the class consciousness of the Iranian workers who lived and worked side by side with the Russian proletariat, participated in the struggle against tsarism and the exploiter classes.

The close friendship of the Iranian revolutionaries and the Russian Bolsheviks dates back many years. In 1903 the Iranian workers, under the leadership of Alyosha Djaparidze (later one of the 26 Baku commissars) established the Social-Democratic organization "Hemate," which laid the foundation of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Iran.

Sergo Orjonikidze, one of Lenin's close associates, took a very active part in the first Iranian revolution of 1905-1911. Lenin closely followed the course of revolutionary events, corresponded with Orjonikidze and other comrades participating in the struggle of the Iranian people, and helped them with his advice.

In 1912 the Sixth (Prague) Conference

of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party adopted a special resolution, moved by Lenin, in defense of the Iranian revolution.

After the triumph of the October Revolution, the Soviet government, headed by Lenin, established diplomatic relations with the government of Iran. Soviet Russia was the first country to conclude an equitable treaty with our country, recognizing Iran as a sovereign and independent state. It renounced all tsarist government property on Iranian territory, turning it over as a gift to the people, annulled all tsarist Russia's onerous treaties with our country, including the capitulations, thereby opening the way to the independent development of the Iranian state.

In connection with the Lenin centenary the People's Party is still more actively propagandizing the ideas of the great leader of the working people of the world. This jubilee will be a landmark in the development of the world Communist movement, in rallying the masses to continue the fight against world imperialism, colonialism and the war danger.

A. FARHADYAN

COLOMBIA

April 22, 1970 will mark the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, theoretician and leader of the working class, continuer of Marx's work, and founder of the world's first socialist state—the Soviet Union. In connection with this event it will be fitting widely to propagate Leninism as a militant ideology, to make a more profound study of Marxism-Leninism.

At a meeting held in September 1968 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia called on all Party members to observe the Lenin anniversary, stressing the significance of "Leninism as the Marxism of the new epoch . . . the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism."

In 1870, the year Lenin was born in

tsarist Russia, Latin America was beginning its long struggle against U.S. imperialism. When Lenin was investigating the nature of monopoly capitalism, our peoples were engaged in battle, looking for ways of throwing off the yoke of oppression. That is why they hailed the 1917 October Revolution. They saw how from the flames of the 1914-18 war, from the ruins of that global conflict, there arose and took shape the world's first republic of working people, heralding the dawn of a new era.

The Communist Party of Colombia was founded in 1930 and began to apply Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of its country. From its very inception it has combated the adversaries of Leninism, reactionary ideology in its various manifestations and whatever deviations have surfaced in its ranks. It has affirmed over the years that the only way out for the country, presently engulfed in a structural crisis, is an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, the prelude to a socialist revolution. It is demonstrating the vanguard role of the working class in polemics with those who have announced the demise of the Colombian proletariat while canonizing the petty bourgeoisie. It is upholding the Leninist thesis of combining all forms of struggle, contrary to those trends which reject armed struggle. The Party is firmly opposing the two traditional bourgeois parties which monopolize the country's public life. And as it charts its course, with due consideration to national features, the Party will prove, more and more, the validity of Leninism in our time.

It is clearer than ever now, one hundred years after the birth of Lenin, that his teaching is scientifically grounded. Experience has corroborated that imperialism is the highest, and moribund, stage of capitalism, the stage preceding socialism; that owing to the operation of the law of uneven capitalist development, weak links appear in the capitalist chain making possible a breakthrough in that system; that the instrument of revolution must be a party of a new type, based on democratic centralism, that with the triumph of the revolution a people's state and the dictatorship of the proletariat must be established; that the slogan of proletarian internationalism is the slogan of universal struggle, uniting the revolutionary contingents of the world.

Time has confirmed the truth of these and other Leninist conclusions which

acquire still deeper meaning in our time when the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism has become a central issue.

The Central Committee's resolution on the Lenin centenary also notes that "the best way to commemorate this notable date is to measure up to our political and organizational tasks, to reinforce our ranks and turn our organization into a mass Communist party. Jaime GONZALEZ

RUMANIA

In accordance with a decision of the October 1968 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, a Front of Socialist Unity has been formed in the country. A political organization, the Front includes the Communist Party, the principal public, cooperative, cultural and other organizations, as well as the councils of the nationalities residing in Rumania. An Executive Bureau of the National Council has been elected to guide the Front's work. N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council of the Rumanian Socialist Republic, has been elected Chairman of the Bureau.

Addressing the constituent meeting of the Front's National Council, N. Ceausescu noted that its establishment is a signal event in the political and social life of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, marks a new stage in strengthening the moral-political unity of the people, in advancing socialist democracy in Rumania. The Front is an expression of the nation's determination to complete the building of socialism. It rests on the strength of the working class whose leading role in society has been reinforced in the years of socialist construction. The Front will still further consolidate the close cooperation and alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals, will help to draw the masses into discussing the country's political, economic and cultural questions, to rally them to put the Party's policy into effect. Its establishment reflects the growing role of public organizations in the social life of the country.

Ceausescu noted that within this framework guidance of all political activity devolves on the Rumanian Communist Party—the leading force of society. The Front's policy will be based on the program adopted by the Ninth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party.

"Vietnam-1969"

"Vietnam-1969" was the slogan of the Consultative Conference of the world's peace forces held in Stockholm on December 13-15. Attended by delegates from nearly 50 countries and 19 international organizations, it voiced the people's determination to step up the fight against the American aggression in Indochina and intensify support for the Vietnamese in their battle for freedom and independence. The Conference adopted an Appeal, a Declaration, a Message to the Vietnamese people and American peace organizations, and a number of recommendations.

The Appeal calls upon everyone who wants to see Vietnam at peace to unite for maximum pressure on the United States government to assure the success of the quadripartite Paris negotiations in conformity with the principles of the Geneva agreements, put an end to all violations of, and encroachments on, the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, withdraw all U.S. and U.S. satellite forces from South Vietnam and dismantle all U.S. military bases in the area, so that the South Vietnamese may shape their destiny without foreign interference.

This call for stronger solidarity with embattled Vietnam and concerted opposition to imperialist aggression is especially timely. Speakers at the Conference emphasized that the courageous Vietnamese and the world movement in their support scored a major victory last year: the United States government was compelled unconditionally to stop the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and consent to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the National Liberation Front, which speaks for the overwhelming majority of the South

Vietnam population. But war, with all its destruction of life and material values, is still raging in Vietnam. The U.S. militarists, supported by America's ultras, are escalating operations in South Vietnam, notably the savage air attacks on towns and villages. Their policy is little short of total terror and genocide. Provocations against the Democratic Republic continue, including American reconnaissance flights over its territory. At the same time, Washington, with the help of its puppet regime in Saigon, obstructed early opening of the agreed quadripartite negotiations in Paris. Its conduct has aroused widespread concern, for every one is aware that continuation of America's dirty war in Vietnam is a clear menace to universal peace.

What has to be done to rescue mankind from this menace, establish enduring peace in Vietnam and enable its people independently to solve their problems? That question was central to the discussions at the Stockholm Consultative Conference.

It drew up a concrete program envisaging more active effort against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and unity and coordination of all the peace forces prepared to stand by the Vietnamese patriots.

The Conference states in its Declaration that 1969 must become a year of international mobilization to end the Vietnam war, assure the Vietnamese people independence and peace, which is of vital importance for the safeguarding of world peace.

The Stockholm meeting is, beyond all doubt, an important landmark in the development of the democratic movement to curb the aggressive imperialist forces and win peace and progress.

A.B.

1969: seventh world trade union congress

The international working class has always regarded the World Federation of Trade Unions as a staunch champion of its interests, as one of the great gains of the army of labor. The Federation unites the unions in socialist, capitalist and developing countries with a membership close on 140 million. The Federation's work is followed with interest by the international working-class movement and also by progressive public opinion. This was reaffirmed by the 18th Session of the General Council which met in Berlin over December 16-19, 1968.

The General Council discussed the following items: 1) the WFTU's work in the present situation to develop international trade union unity for the socio-economic demands of the working class, for peace, national independence and an end to U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam; 2) the WFTU's work in training union functionaries; 3) preparations for the Seventh World Trade Union Congress.

Pierre Gensous, assistant general secretary of the WFTU, reported on the first item, giving a comprehensive analysis of the current situation in the international trade union movement.

The WFTU, the speaker noted, continues, as before, to be the trusty weapon of the working people in their class and anti-monopoly struggle, of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their fight to end colonialism, the policy of economic enslavement and neo-colonialism.

Pierre Gensous pointed out that the trade unions in the socialist countries were playing a bigger role in building socialism and communism.

In preparation for the Seventh Congress the WFTU has again called on all TU federations to reach unity in the common struggle against imperialism and the monopolies and for cooperation between all trade unions, for a dialogue on controversial issues.

Unity, unitarian trade union action as one of the principal tasks preceding the Seventh Congress was the keynote of the report on congress preparations made by Ibrahim Zakaria, WFTU Secretary. It was decided to hold a wide discussion before the congress—scheduled to be held in Budapest over October 17-31, 1969—on the main aspects of the Federation's activity, and its orientation.

The report by Edwin Chleboun, WFTU Secretary, on the training of union functionaries was followed with interest.

The three reports were followed by lively discussion in which some 50 functionaries participated. (The General Council session was attended by representatives of 47 national centers from 43 countries, and of all 11 international federations).

The general resolution adopted outlines the WFTU's position on major world events and the new upswing of the class struggle in the capitalist and developing countries. The General Council also approved the congress preparatory plan drawn up by the Secretariat.

The General Council's resolution accentuates the trade union aspects of the WFTU's work. "The very nature of the WFTU," it notes, "leads it to center attention on the socio-economic demands of the workers, which are the special problems of the trade union movement, and concern wages, employment, working hours and trade union rights."

But this does not mean that the WFTU is not interested in world events. "As a democratic, mass and class trade union organization," the general resolution stresses, "the WFTU keeps abreast of all international events. It examines and judges facts from class positions."

The resolution condemned the Israeli aggression in the Middle East, the intrigues of the West German militarists and the neo-Nazis, the interference of the U.S. imperialists in the affairs of the Latin American

countries and their provocations against Cuba and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the reactionary coups in Africa, the terror in Indonesia, and especially the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The General Council held a special meeting devoted to Vietnam, which was addressed by representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The meeting passed a special resolution greeting the signal victory of the Vietnamese people who had forced the U.S. government to cease its bombing of the Democratic Republic and to start talks in Paris. "This victory," the resolution noted, "was achieved as a result of the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people, the con-

siderable and multilateral aid from the socialist countries and the powerful solidarity movement of the workers and peoples of the world. It is important encouragement for all peoples fighting imperialism and oppression, and for national independence."

Despite gloomy forecasts in the capitalist press about a "split" in the WFTU, the General Council met in a spirit of unity and fraternity.

There is every reason to hope that the scheduled World Trade Union Congress will usher in a new stage in the WFTU's activity, will enrich it with new ideas, and bring it the added support of the working people of the world.

V.M.

Meeting in Vienna

Prominent citizens of 19 European countries and representatives of international organizations—the World Federation of U.N. Associations, the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, the World Peace Council and women's, youth and other organizations—gathered in Vienna in December to discuss the prospects of an All-European conference for security and cooperation in Europe. The meeting was attended by public figures from Austria, Britain, Belgium, Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Holland, Greece, Spain, Italy, Norway, Poland, Rumania, USSR, France, FRG, Finland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. More than sixty people of different political, social and religious views, Communists, Social-Democrats, Catholics, Protestants, trade unionists and businessmen, gathered in the conference hall of the Chamber of Labor of Lower Austria, among them Raymond Guyot, Member of the Political Bureau, French Communist Party, ex-Minister and prominent leader of the Socialist Party Jules Moch, Mr. Mendelson, Labor MP, Britain, Senator Terfve of Belgium, prominent leaders of Finnish and other North European bourgeois parties and a delegation of peace champions from the Soviet Union headed by N. Polyakov, political observer of *Izvestia*. This far from

complete list shows that the meeting was highly representative.

The meeting, chaired by Maurice Lambilliotte, a prominent Belgian figure, was convened on the initiative of a number of European politicians who met in Brussels last May to exchange views on problems of peace and European security.

The representative nature of the meeting was naturally reflected in the lively and at times even sharp discussion. However, the spirit of cooperation and the common wish to come to terms despite the political differences, triumphed.

Agreement was reached on convening an All-European Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe at the end of October 1969 in Vienna. Its agenda is to respond to the more vital European problems of our time. The communique issued by the meeting says that "the peaceful future of Europe is based on the universal principles of independence, sovereignty and peaceful cooperation by all states. It is in this spirit that we submit to the Conference for discussion the following two issues:

"1. To establish within the existing European territorial framework a stable system of collective security that would make the existence of the two military blocs irrelevant;

"2. To find means for the closest cooperation in all fields between the European states in order to promote peace and disarmament."

The next preparatory meeting is scheduled in March 1969.

The Vienna Meeting called on all peace champions and all national and international organizations working for peace and security to facilitate the convocation and promote the success of the All-European Conference. N.P.

BOOKS AND JOURNALS

Patriotism and internationalism

A chronicle of the nearly twelve years since the defeat of the Hungarian counter-revolution in the autumn of 1956 unfolds in the four volumes containing articles and speeches by Janos Kadar over the years 1962-68. Volume 4*, which covers the years 1964-68 merits special attention.

These have been years of a growing awareness of the theoretical and political importance of the controversial problem of interpreting the concepts of internationalism and patriotism and applying them in practice. Bourgeois ideologists "exploit nationalism and chauvinism to sow strife between the socialist countries and undermine the international revolutionary movement." To this end they do not scruple at the means, resorting to everything, from downright provocation to camouflaged propaganda—and not entirely without success. Therefore it is important that in the present complex conditions the Communist parties correctly understand and apply the Marxist-Leninist teaching on patriotism and proletarian internationalism and combat reactionary views and trends, safeguarding their unity and upholding proletarian internationalism, which is a sacred principle of the Communist movement (p. 73).

This idea runs through the 41 documents contained in the volume. In these the

author analyzes, along with the vital tasks of our socialist construction, the issues of patriotism and internationalism, substantiates the need for unity of the socialist countries and of the world Communist movement, and criticizes the non-Marxist contraposition of independence and sovereignty to the internationalist duty of the Communist parties.

As Kadar sees it, harmonizing national interests and internationalist duties in the present-day world calls for the utmost circumspection, constant study of the new experience and overcoming the inevitable contradictions. Furthermore, "experience teaches, and the situation obliges us to bear in mind, that in judging anyone's attitude to a matter of importance to us—for instance, the internationalism of a particular party—one should consider not only what the Party says, but also what it does" (p. 476).

The feature of our times is the emergence of socialism beyond the confines of a single country and its development into a world system. This is decisive in elaborating the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement, and the vast majority of the Communist parties take cognizance of it in shaping their policies. Cooperation by the socialist countries in all areas of social life, their efforts to remove impediments to world progress and to repel the incessant attacks of aggressive forces threatening universal peace,

Janos Kadar. *Hazafisag es internacionalizmus* (Patriotism and Internationalism). Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1968. 530 pp.

their close economic contacts, are an objective necessity which, however, is not realized automatically but demands conscious effort by all the socialist countries and Communist parties.

Hence the need for each party to study the experience of the other parties and utilize it in shaping and implementing its policy. Not only should cooperation and internationalism be proclaimed, they should be translated into reality, for "the need for unity of the world Communist movement and of the socialist countries in joint action against imperialism is such a force in the world, and its impact on the masses is so great, that few people who claim to be Communists and progressives would oppose it openly. Hence every one is — in words — an internationalist and a revolutionist today . . ." (p. 476).

Kadar points to incompatibility with consistent internationalism of over-emphasis on national tasks, of setting sovereignty at cross purposes with the demands of proletarian solidarity. The Hungarian Party shapes its policy independently but always taking into account its internationalist duties. As we see it, *internationalism, far from precluding, directly demands realization by each nation of its concrete national tasks and their fulfilment in the interest of both national and international progress.* The Communist movement has always been international, and its strength has always depended on fidelity to internationalism. "Nor can one regard as internationalist the stand of a party which — even with the best of intentions — declares its particular appraisal of the international situation and the tactics arising therefrom to be the only revolutionary one, ignores the views of other fraternal parties and insists on acceptance of its viewpoint by the entire world movement" (p. 477). Hence, we cannot regard as internationalist general statements on the importance of internationalism and unity which are not followed up by joint action on the issues of the day, issues of concern to the world movement, to the socialist countries, and to the peoples fighting for liberation.

In this volume one frequently encounters the view that "ours is an internationalist party, a component and militant contingent of the world movement. Its policy serves the interests of our working class and our people, our national goals, and at the same time it is internationalist. *We are convinced that if our policy did not benefit our national interests it would not*

benefit the interests of the international working class, and that if it were not internationalist, it would jeopardize the interests of our country. Our internationalist duty and at the same time our national interests call for the building of a comprehensive socialist system in our country, consolidating the socialist world system and extending support to the peoples fighting for their freedom, all this contributing to the success of the effort to avert a new world war" (p. 480, italics added.—H.V.).

These are statements of principle. Our Party holds that a revolutionary party is responsible not only to its own working class and people, but also to the international working class and to mankind. The building of socialism in each country takes place in a national framework, and "it is natural for its successes to strengthen a nation's legitimate feeling of self-respect and patriotic pride. . . . It happens too that reactionary, chauvinistic elements—and these can be found also in the socialist countries—distort the feeling of national pride, turning it into nationalism.

Thus, to take cognizance of the international situation and to uphold the national interests is the duty of every Communist party, but the interpretation of this duty should not conflict with a correct appraisal of the achievements of the socialist countries. A sound and consistently internationalist policy rules out any one-sided approach to the national interests and enriches the concept of patriotism, thereby contributing effectively to the development of the socialist nation.

Each party works out its policy independently, taking into account the historical, social and economic conditions of its country. In so doing it is conscious of the variations in economic levels from which the socialist countries began to build the new life, and also in their historical heritage. Kadar shows that the Hungarian Party is against disregarding dissimilarity of tasks stemming from differences in economic development, and against their misinterpretation, against any undue accelerating of socialist building (as was the case in Hungary up to 1956). At the same time it is against the "relying on one's own forces" theory, the striving towards autarchy, denial or anti-historical simplification of the process of integrating the socialist countries, for this, too, lends itself to an enlivening of nationalist trends.

We realize that despite community of fundamental interests, differences inherited

from capitalism can lead to contradictory interests between some of the countries.

Consequently, integration of the socialist countries can be the result only of slow and gradual development. At the same time, "not a single socialist country can shut itself up in its own shell. . . . To recommend to any socialist country the road of national aloofness by way of 'relying on one's own forces' would be a crime against the people of that country, against the unity and common cause of the socialist countries."

The economic competition with capitalism, furthering economic progress in keeping with the modern requirements, curbing the aggressive forces of imperialism, resistance to their attacks, defense of national independence—all necessitate the close cooperation of the socialist countries. For this reason our Party and government are all for the international socialist division of labor, whether realized through the Council for Mutual Economic Aid or by way of bilateral or multilateral cooperation. The division benefits all our countries, facilitates our creative endeavors, adds to the strength of the socialist world system, and brings nearer its victory in peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

Hence the attention paid in many of the articles and speeches to the importance of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty. Given the present level of development of industry and the need for investments, none of the socialist countries could single-handedly develop its economy on a progressive basis. Consequently, Hungary's active participation in the CMEA is one of the basic factors for developing its national economy and for consolidating the socialist community. In this context too, national features are examined in line with, and not as a counterweight to, the general laws governing the building of socialism. ". . . For this reason Hungary is constantly strengthening, on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements, its unity and cooperation with the other socialist countries, in the first place with the Soviet Union. Proceeding from these interests of socialism and peace, we stand for greater effectiveness of such highly important international organizations as the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. . ." (p. 168).

Differences in historical conditions and in levels of economic development, which are of an objective nature, cannot generate conflicts, provided they are not compound-

ed by subjective mistakes and designs. From these differences a consistently Marxist policy can draw the conclusion that what is needed here is a better organized cooperation, a conscious effort to eliminate the objective obstacles and their consequences. In other words, the given contradictions, while they should be appraised from an historical viewpoint, Kadar points out, should not be allowed to become the starting point for an ideological platform calling for revision of the concepts of sovereignty and national independence in a bourgeois spirit and counterposing to each other the different contingents of the Communist movement. Neither a socialist country taken singly nor the socialist world as a whole would benefit from such an attitude.

Much space is devoted to the principles underlying the international activity of the Hungarian Party. In keeping with these principles, the Hungarian Party supports any initiative, any bilateral or multilateral conference facilitating an exchange of views, bringing to light divergencies and resolving contradictions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Stressed repeatedly is the idea that the discussion of any issue in dispute should be subordinated to the interests of unity of action against imperialism, against the class enemy. That is a demand of internationalism. Exacerbation of divergencies and contradictions misdirects the energy of the socialist countries, diverts too much attention to clearing up mutual relations, gives scope to survivals of nationalist ideology and separatist trends and, ultimately, could seriously impair consolidating a socialist national unity in one's own country. Therefore, Kadar says, "those who today are working to break up unity make life easier for the imperialists" (p. 30), enabling them, directly or indirectly, to pursue their policy of weakening the socialist countries in order to undermine or at least hamper their cooperation.

Discussing the international role of the Soviet Union and its relations with Hungary, Kadar stresses that the international standpoint of a Communist Party is determined in decisive measure by its attitude to the Soviet Union, for the latter is not only the first socialist country but also politically, economically and militarily the strongest partner in the socialist system, the mainstay, as hitherto, of the world revolutionary movement.

Hungarian-Soviet friendship has deep

roots. It stems, Kadar writes, from rich historical traditions, harmonizes with the vital national interests of our people, and serves as the most reliable basis of our progress, national development and independence. During the October Revolution and civil war in Russia about 100,000 Hungarians fought in the ranks of the Red Army, in defense of the young Soviet power. In 1945 the Soviet Army, at the cost of enormous sacrifice, liberated our country from Hitler fascism, and in 1956 helped our people to repel the external and internal enemies. These facts, and the all-round aid rendered to our people add up to a splendid manifestation of proletarian internationalism, the powerful source of our friendship and solidarity.

The existence of the Soviet Union, its economic, political and military potential, are vastly important not only for our people, but for progressive people everywhere. Hence the emphasis in the book on the idea that those who would try to isolate or estrange their country and people from the Soviet Union, and uphold anti-Soviet views, would be doing grave injury to the international working-class movement, to the cause of peace and to the interests of their nation. And yet, Kadar writes, there are those who "style themselves Communists but are hostile towards the Soviet Union. So far as we are concerned we do not recognize anti-Soviet Marxism-Leninism, anti-Soviet internationalism or anti-Soviet communism. We know that such things cannot be. . ." (p. 479). He who propagates anti-Sovietism, Kadar continues, is no Communist, no internationalist, or even a progressive. Any weakening of the Soviet Union (no matter by what means) would inevitably prejudice world progress and, consequently, the genuine national interests of other countries.

The Hungarian Party's policy on this matter is clear, for any ambiguity, any discrepancy between words and deeds weakens the socialist countries and gives comfort to our enemies. Hence, Kadar stresses, our Party and people are loyal friends of all fighters for world progress. That is why our Party, proceeding from its analysis of international and national interests, is constantly strengthening its relations and friendship with the Soviet Union. "Serious people do not change friends. And this applies in even greater measure to nations and countries. We want our people and our country to be taken seriously in the world. And for this reason our foreign policy course remains unchanged. And when we say to anyone that we are loyal friends and allies, we intend to remain such. Our people want a secure and peaceful future. They have set out along the socialist road; therefore the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are their natural allies. Our unity with them enables us to pursue a foreign policy which effectively safeguards the interests of our people and of our nation. Our country has reached its present international stature by virtue of its achievements, of its being a socialist country, but above all because *its foreign policy is consistent and closely coordinated with the policy of the great family of socialist nations*" (p. 362, italics added.—H.V.).

* * *

Lack of space prevents us from touching on many of the other ideas discussed in "Patriotism and Internationalism," a book which stimulates thought and which will be useful to all who wish to serve the present and future of socialism, the cause of world progress.

Henrik VASS

Marxism — fusion of science and revolutionism

In his recent book*, Maurice Cornforth has produced a comprehensive and well argued critical analysis of the work of Karl Popper, the neo-positivist philosopher and critic of Marxism.

Cornforth justly regards Popper as a subtle and shrewd opponent of Marxism. His attacks on dialectics and scientific socialism are levelled from positions of combating "metaphysics," "unscientific theories" and "dogmatism."

One of the reasons for Dr. Popper's eminence as a critic of Marxism is the outwardly academic objectivity of his polemics, his claim to uphold "genuine" science against pseudo-scientific theories, and his use of scientific logic and methodology to substantiate his contentions. His seeming objectivity is calculated to impress the reader not conversant with Marxism or who has but second-hand knowledge of it.

Needless to say, the anti-Communists have been quick to seize on Popper's writings to which they have imparted their own political coloring.

Critical examination of Dr. Popper's anti-Marxist writings is therefore all the more important, and to this Maurice Cornforth has made a valuable contribution.

His book is by way of response to the critique of Marxism contained in three of Dr. Popper's studies: "The Open Society and Its Enemies," "The Poverty of Historicism" and "Conjectures and Refutations." Popper's attacks on Marxism, as Cornforth shows, follow four main lines.

First, Marxism is unscientific, merely "reinforced dogmatism."

Second, refutation of Marxism's so-called "historicism," and historicism, according to Dr. Popper, leads to belief in a pre-ordained course of events.

Third, Dr. Popper advances his own theory, "social engineering," as an alternative to a revolutionary reconstruction of

society. As interpreted by Popper, social engineering signifies the planning and construction of institutions to control the social processes.

Fourth, Dr. Popper unfolds a comprehensive philosophy of capitalist society centered on the idea of an "open society."

These four basic lines are examined in the book.

In part one, "Towards An Open Philosophy," Cornforth shows up Popper's efforts to prove, by attacking materialist dialectics, that Marxism is unscientific. Here is Popper: "Thanks to dialectics . . . Marxism has established itself as a dogmatism which is elastic enough, by using its dialectic method, to evade any further attack. It has thus become what I have called a reinforced dogmatism."

Consistently, step by step, Cornforth demolishes this contention. Marxism, he demonstrates, is by its very nature alien to preconceived schemes and concepts. Materialist dialectics, the philosophical basis of Marxism, does not use cognitive methods that differ in principle from those employed in the concrete sciences. The truths established by Marxism are the result of a complex process of cognition that includes investigation of facts and practical testing of hypotheses. Indeed, materialist practice is the only valid criterion of all knowledge.

Marxism abhors an uncritical approach to reality and futile abstraction, and makes no attempt to fit facts into preconceived patterns. Like any other scientific theory, Cornforth emphasizes, Marxism elaborates and tests its ideas in conformity with the requirements of rational scientific cognition. "Only the application and continued application of scientific method could produce that kind of practical understanding and purpose of which Marx and Marxists consider the working-class movement to stand in need" (pp. 17-18).

Marxism is predicated on the oneness of

*The Open Philosophy and the Open Society. Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1968, 396 pp.

theory and practice and rejects the notion that the essence of things can be established once and for all, so that our further knowledge is based entirely on conceptual development in pure thought. Accordingly, Marxism does not recognize the claim of any theory or idea to absolute universal truth—to do so would convert knowledge into a dogma. In the Marxist view, knowledge represents the dialectical unity of elements of absolute and relative truth. Ideas fully confirmed by practice form Marxism's core of absolute truth, and Marxism is enriched and developed in close association with practice.

Cornforth's book is not confined to an explanation of the fundamentals of Marxism. The author examines Popper's elaborate case against the dialectical method. True, none of Popper's arguments can lay claim to originality. For instance, the charge that Marx and Engels substituted the celebrated Hegelian triad for concrete analysis of reality (an argument advanced years ago by Mikhailovsky and effectively refuted at the time by Lenin); the contention that dialectics allow for thought contrary to the logical law of contradictions; the charge that progress in the method of logical analysis is ignored.

Cornforth explains the dialectical nature of human knowledge, the role of dialectics in constructing scientific theories, the importance of the basic dialectical laws. He demonstrates, also, the fallacy of Popper's arguments that dialectics are absurd because they contradict logic—actually, they contradict metaphysics, not logic. The laws of formal logic are correct and necessary, but they are not adequate; concrete analysis of concrete conditions calls for a dialectical approach.

Summing up the first part of this book, Cornforth writes: "The value of philosophy is not that it tells us all about the 'nature of reality' and sums it all up in a few formulas, but that it embodies a continued scientific activity of working out principles of how to think so as to inform ourselves and, informing ourselves, arrive at rational judgments about our human ends and the means to attain them. It does that, and in doing so arms us against idealist illusion and metaphysical abstraction. Such, at all events, is the value of dialectical materialist philosophy" (pp. 121-122).

In the second part of his book, "Premises for Politics," Cornforth deals with Popper's allegation that "historicism" is an essential element of Marxism.

Dialectical materialism, Popper affirms,

replaces social investigation by the dogma that society must necessarily pass through a preordained dialectical progress from primitive communism through class society to the final communist society. And from this the conclusion is drawn that the historicists, above all Marx himself, see the purpose of the social sciences in providing long-range historical prophecies.

Again, consistently and convincingly, Cornforth demolishes Popper's case. Men make their own history, but in objective circumstances that are independent either of their will or their wish. Their aims and ideals are defined by objective conditions in which the productive forces and the relationship between people in the process of production play a decisive role. The value of the Marxist materialist conception of history is that, "in the first place, it assists us in making an accurate assessment of just what our circumstances are, and dispelling illusions about them. In the second place, by the historical study of how social circumstances are brought about we can reach conclusions as to what sort of things can and cannot be done to cope with them" (p. 137).

Cornforth emphasizes that the Marxist conception of history should not be interpreted as the automatic consequence of the operation of inexorable laws. "It is often said that, for the materialist conception of history, everything happens 'according to laws'. If that means that the materialist conception of history formulates explanatory generalizations about how human society always develops, well and good; that is just what the materialist conception of history does do. But to suggest that there are 'laws' governing human actions such that, given certain circumstances, all the ensuing events are uniquely determined by those laws, is obviously mere empty talk" (p. 137).

Marx showed how people resolve the problems and contradictions that arise in the process of production and make predictions based on knowledge of the objective laws of social development. But these predictions are not speculative—in their predictions Marxists proceed from a concrete analysis of the concrete conditions.

Scientific socialism is not an utopia, for it formulates the aims of the working class movement and the only organization capable of bringing science into the movement is a political party. This party provides political leadership for the mass movement to win power and build socialism.

Dr. Popper maintains that the practical class policies of Marxism are utopian, for they set out to demolish "unrestrained capitalism," which no longer exists, for capitalism, we are told, has undergone fundamental change.

As proof, Dr. Popper adduces his "social engineering" theory which he defines in these terms: "Work for the elimination of concrete evils rather than for the realization of abstract goods. Do not aim at establishing happiness by political means. Rather aim at the elimination of concrete miseries. . . . But do all this by direct means." And Popper holds up this policy of "practical reforms" as a realistic alternative to the socialist revolution.

To this Cornforth replies: "We do not oppose capitalism in order to realize 'abstract goods', but in order to 'fight for the elimination of poverty by direct means'. That which Dr. Popper misnames 'social engineering', on the other hand, will allow 'concrete miseries' to be eliminated only insofar as their elimination is compatible with maintaining capitalist exploitation," (p. 225).

In his polemics with Popper on this subject, Cornforth upholds the Marxist understanding of the state and other social institutions and examines the fundamental problems of the fight for democracy and socialism.

The third part of the book, "Towards an Open Society," is substantially devoted to Dr. Popper's views on the Marxist understanding of equality and freedom, and his theory of "open" and "closed" societies. It also examines some of the issues involved in the transition to communism.

On the matter of freedom, Cornforth writes: "What finally decides the limits of freedom is the institutions of property. . . . And the decision inevitably involves a struggle of classes for control of the state, and to preserve or change state institutions" (p. 301). Socialism is a realistic starting point for a free society.

Much of Cornforth's criticism is directed at the "open" and "closed" society theory which is central to Dr. Popper's elaborate criticism of Marxism. In point of fact it is designed as a counterweight to the Marxist theory of social development.

A "closed" society, according to Popper, is a society in which the state regulates, in greater or lesser degree, the life of its citizens, with the result that personal responsibility gives way to the totalitarian irresponsibility of individuals.

In contrast, Dr. Popper's "open" society is free of all impediments to the full flowering of the individual's personality and ability. Its social institutions can be modified at the will of the majority and their object is to provide the fullest possible freedom. The guiding principle of this society is personal responsibility and personal decision. The West has come nearest of all to that ideal. Indeed, for Popper, the author says, "the open society is only another name for capitalism" (p. 332).

The most vulnerable element in this concept, Cornforth says, is complete disregard of the class struggle, which is the key to an understanding of the nature and direction of the development of political and other social institutions. Capitalist society, Cornforth emphasizes, is open (if the term is at all applicable) where the people can organize to change their social institutions in a way consciously decided to suit their interests. The issue, therefore, posed by the 'open society', as it actually exists at the present day, is that of "going forward to socialism and communism" (p. 335).

Lastly, Cornforth offers this balance-sheet estimation of Dr. Popper's attack on Marxism: "What he has done is to propagate systematically and in detail the arguments of anti-communism." (p. 375).

Maurice Cornforth's book is not only an answer to one of the latest attacks on Marxism. Its value lies also in its discussion of vital problems of Marxist-Leninist theory.

J. SOLNE

In memoriam—Johann Koplenig

Johann Koplenig, honorary chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, died on December 13, 1968, in Vienna after a long illness.

Johann Koplenig was born on May 15, 1891. He joined the Austrian working-class movement when still a young man, was an active participant in the Great October Revolution. Upon his return to Austria in 1920 Koplenig became a member of the Communist Party of Austria. Highly appreciating his dedication to the working-class movement, his principled stand, and his organizing talents, the Party elected him in 1924 General Secretary of its Central Committee, which he headed for more than 40 years.

Koplenig also played an active part in the international Communist movement. He was a delegate to the Sixth (1928) and Seventh (1935) congresses of the Communist International. In 1928 he was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and in 1935 a member of the Presidium of the ECCI.

Under the leadership of Koplenig, the Communist Party of Austria sounded the alarm against fascism which had raised its head. Between 1934-1938 the Party became the leading force in the fight for democracy and the independence of Austria. The words expressed by him at that crucial period in the life of his country that "The purpose of our life is to liberate Austria, to fight for the happiness and dignity, for the freedom and peaceful life of our people," remained the dominating motive of his ideas and subsequent activity.

As a fighter for the interests of the proletariat, Koplenig became a national figure. He was among the signatories of the document on the restoration of the Austrian Republic, was Vice-Chancellor of the Provisional Government and a deputy to the National Council from 1945 to 1959.

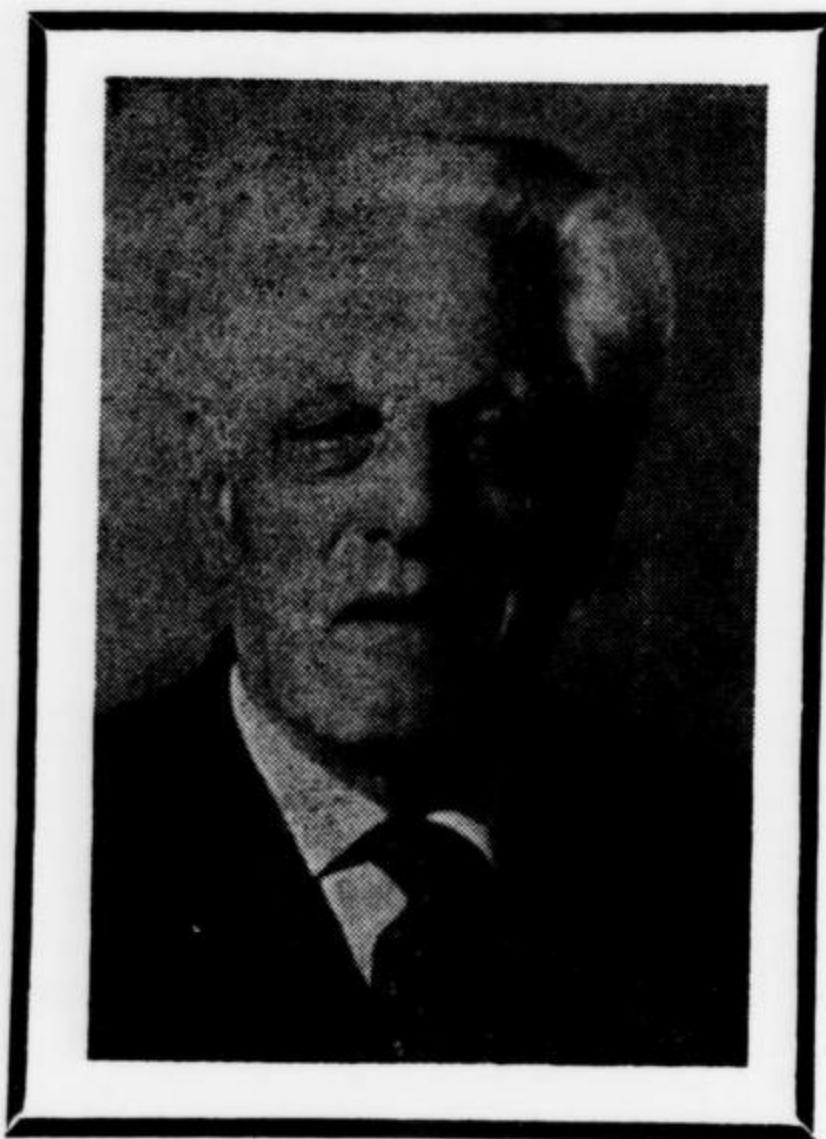
Koplenig always stressed that the "struggle of the working class and the Communists was an international struggle," that "this internationalism is not inconsistent

with the struggle for the national interests of the country, with allegiance to one's people, to the nation." The fusion of patriotism and internationalism was basic to Koplenig's political activity, to his deep friendship for the Soviet Union. Even when bedridden he took part in the pre-congress discussion, calling upon Party members to be consistent internationalists. In an article published shortly before the Party's Twentieth Congress he wrote: "Even with due account of the specifics of our struggle and our

road, only inviolable unity and solidarity with the Soviet Union make our struggle for the socialist future of our country realistic."

A fervent champion of proletarian internationalism, Koplenig worked tirelessly for unity of the world Communist movement, clearly demonstrating this at the historical 1957 and 1960 international Meetings of the fraternal parties in Moscow. Up to the last days of his life he considered observance of these decisions to be the duty of every Communist.

Koplenig dedicated all his energy to the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist teaching



and its application in the conditions of Austria. He stressed that "the Party needs the weapon of Marxism-Leninism if the working class is to realize its historical mission and be given the possibility, at the head of the working people, to smash the old world of capitalist slavery and build the new world of socialism and socialist freedom." Koplenig upheld this principle

unswervingly.

The death of Johann Koplenig is a heavy loss for the working class and Communist Party of Austria and for the world Communist movement. His name will for ever rank with the names of the outstanding fighters of the Austrian and international working-class movement.

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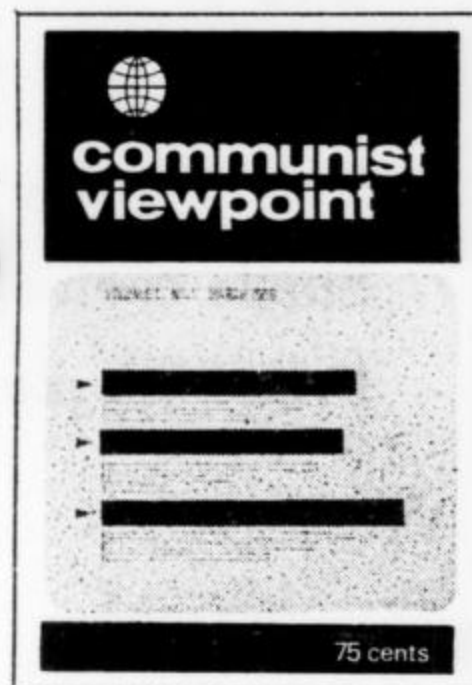
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