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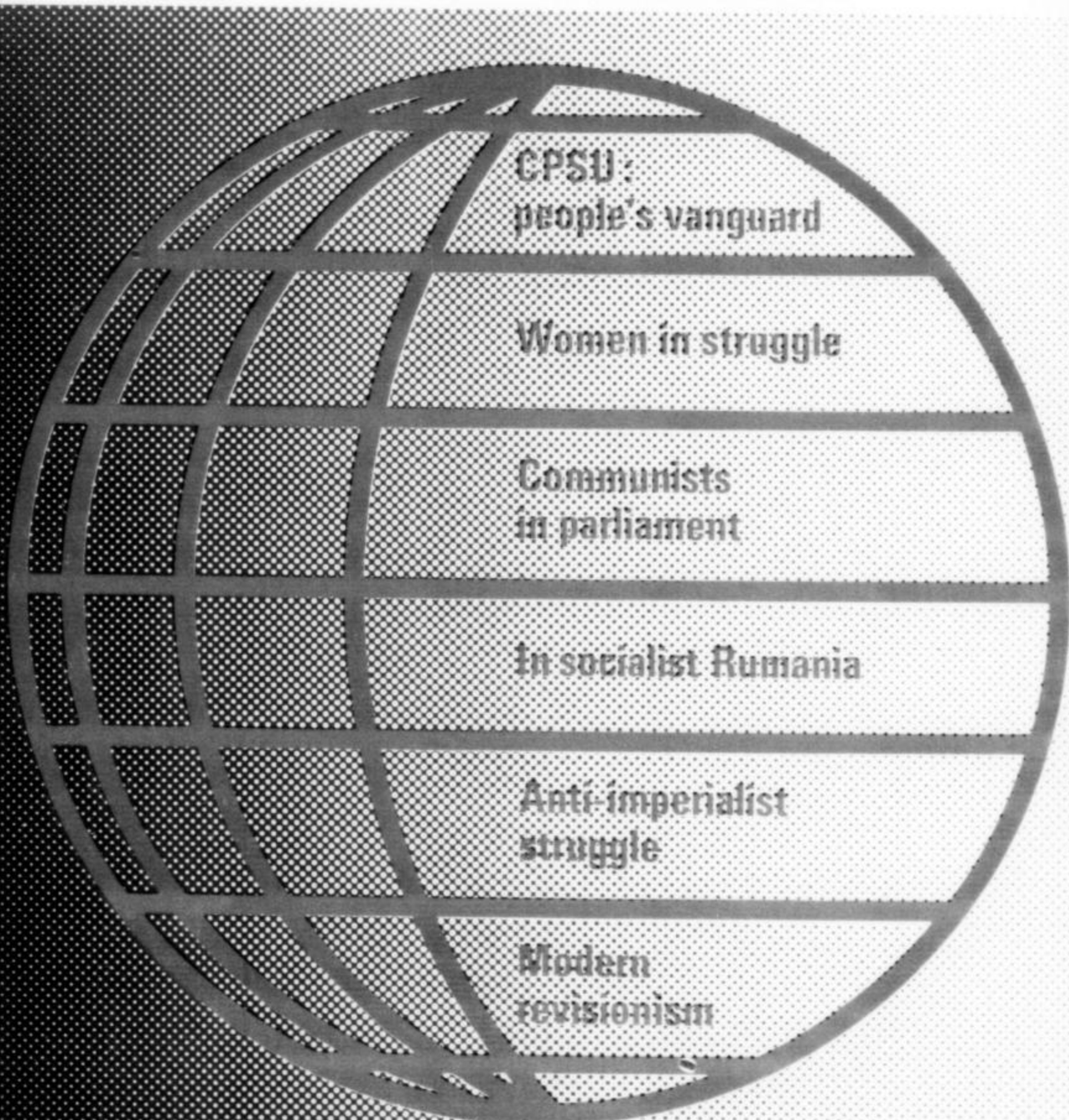
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

March 1971, Vol. 14, No. 3 50c



CPSU:
people's vanguard

Women in struggle

**Communists
in parliament**

In socialist Rumania

**Anti-imperialist
struggle**

**Modern
revisionism**

24TH CONGRESS OF CPSU OPENS MARCH 30



Moscow's Kremlin Palace of Congresses where delegates of the many millions of Soviet Communists will gather at the 24th Congress of the CPSU to review the past five years in the Party and country, and to set new targets on the road to communism. — **APN Photo.**





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Vanguard of the Soviet people

Pyotr Fedoseyev

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will soon be holding its 24th congress. Congresses are outstanding events in the development of every Marxist-Leninist party. 'The task of the moment and the task of the Party Congress, as we conceive it,' Lenin stressed, 'is to learn from practical experience . . . to combine all that is valuable, in order to determine precisely a number of immediate practical measures, and to carry out these measures at all costs' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 407).

In preparing for the Party Congress, which will sum up the progress made by the Party and the country over the past five years and decide on new objectives to be reached in advancing to communism, the Soviet people look back on the Party's heroic history the better to appreciate the transforming power of its leadership and activity.

The Bolshevik Party was founded by the great Lenin in a crucial period of the international working-class movement, when capitalism had entered its last, imperialist stage, and it has travelled a pioneer's long and arduous road. Anyone who stops to think of this road will readily see that it is marked throughout by the Party's revolutionary resolve and ability to unite and lead the masses in remaking society on socialist lines. This is the highest criterion of a revolutionary party's efficiency and devotion to the working-class cause, of its ability to fight for communist ideals.

Leading role of the Party

At the turn of the century the Bolshevik Party, unlike the reformists, came out as a party of the social revolution set on carrying this revolution through to the complete victory of communism. Any unbiased person who analyzes our country's progress will realize that the Bolsheviks' activity was a most important condition for the triumph of the October Revolution and for the headway made

in building the new society. Party leadership made it possible to maintain and consolidate the gains of the October Revolution, ensure the complete and final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and build up the productive forces and socialist social relations to a point where the Soviet people could begin building the higher phase of communism.

The Party's revolutionizing power must be great indeed, its policy based on scientific foundations and its links with the masses extensive, if in decades of revolution, world war, grim class battles and tremendous economic and cultural building, millions have, under the Party's leadership, and overcoming numerous obstacles, carried forward the work of revolutionary transformation.

This is particularly noteworthy because now that a sharp ideological contest is going on between socialism and imperialism, bourgeois 'experts' in CPSU history plus Right- and 'Left'-wing revisionists are busier than ever looking for 'miscalculations' and 'mistakes' on the part of the CPSU in an effort to nullify or at least reduce the appeal of its constructive revolutionary experience.

Among the contemporary critics of communism, who pose as impartial scholars or genuine revolutionaries, there are those who allege that the Party has exhausted its role in socialist society and that, hence, there is a need for some other organization which could give a new impetus to the progress of socialism. The bourgeois-class or renegade meaning of this argument is obvious. These would-be theoreticians, who are out to weaken, and eventually to abolish, the leading role of the Communist and Workers' parties, would like the socialist countries to 'shed' the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism and turn gradually off their chosen path through 'pragmatic evolution.'

To reduce or renounce the Party's leading role means undermining socialism. Past and present experience and the record of the CPSU indicate that only a Marxist-Leninist party can lead the working class and other working people to the victory of socialism and communism. Anyone who denies the necessity for the proletariat to have an independent party leading it and pursuing a class policy is placing himself, according to Engels, 'outside the proletarian movement and inside the camp of petty-bourgeois socialism' ('The Housing Question'). The actual role of the advocates of this kind of 'socialism' has been amply revealed by the experience of many countries. The Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, for example, talked much about socialism but when the opportunity presented itself of taking power and participating in the actual building of socialism, they capitulated by making common cause with the bourgeoisie against the party of Communists leading the socialist reorganization of society, and were rightly swept away by the masses.

In some countries, spokesmen of petty-bourgeois parties and reformists regarding themselves as genuine, democratic socialists have repeatedly been in power, as they are today, but as soon as they were faced with the need to effect radical socio-economic, socialist changes, they failed, as they fail now.

Thus history has not recorded a single instance of socialism being built and its victory ensured without the revolutionary party of the working class playing the leading role. On the other hand, the experience of the socialist countries shows that the Communist parties, firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism, are the political force which can lead the working class and other working people to socialist and communist changes.

In a number of socialist countries there are, alongside the working-class party, parties representing non-proletarian sections of the working people. They recognize the socialist road of development and cooperate with the Communists in the Popular Front. In this case democratic parties are allies of the Communist parties, not an opposition force. They recognize of their own free will the leading role of the Communist parties, which exercise it not by pressure or injunction, but by virtue of the moral and political prestige they enjoy among the masses. Relations between the parties in socialist society are based on regard for each other's interests and mutual confidence. Cooperation between the Communist party and democratic parties is the political expression of the alliance of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people who are together building socialist society under the leadership of the working class.

The Communist Party's leading role in socialist and communist building, under both a one-party system or a multi-party one, is a logical result of the fact that history itself makes the working class the vanguard of the revolution and the building of a new society, the spokesman of the fundamental interests of the working people and all progressive forces, the class that bears in its hands 'the regeneration of mankind,' to quote Marx (Fourth Annual Report of the First International's General Council).

The new society is built in every socialist country in forms conditioned by concrete historical conditions. However, this diversity of forms is governed by laws which are common to all countries and among which the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party ranks first. The reason for this is that the working class holds a leading position in the system of socialist production and social relations, and hence in political life. It is through its party that the working class exerts decisive influence on the rise and development of socialism and communism.

The forms in which the Party implements its leading role do not,

of course, remain unchanged but are steadily improved. Our experience tells us, however, that this improvement under developed socialism does not at all follow the lines suggested by the advocates of 'democratizing' socialism, who would like the Party's range of activity and influence to be restricted under the pretext of 'separating the Party from power' or of 'political pluralism' in the name of allegedly extra-class democracy. What happens in reality is that the Party's role is not diminishing, but increasing as the problems of reorganizing society gain in magnitude and complexity. In these circumstances, it is particularly important for Party organizations to innovate, to show a high degree of activity and organizing skill, to guide the working people in making better use of every potentiality of building communist society.

Historically and in the brief period since its 23rd Congress, the CPSU has fully and effectively shown itself to be the political leader, organizer, ideological educator and inspiring force of the Soviet people.

Political leader of the masses

The Party exercises its leading role primarily by evolving, on the strength of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practical experience of the masses, a scientifically sound policy meeting the requirements of social development, and by determining the totality and inter-connection of key economic, social, political, ideological and organizational tasks that must be accomplished to speed the development of various aspects of social life and society as a whole.

Framing scientifically-based policies is part and parcel of Party leadership. As far back as the early years of Soviet power, Lenin stressed the vast importance of the Party's policy in the system of new, proletarian leadership and education. 'Our entire experience,' he wrote, 'shows that this is a very serious matter, and we must therefore give prominence to Party primacy and never lose sight of it,' it being understood that 'the primacy of the Communist Party's policy must be frankly recognized' (Vol. 31, p. 367).

Our Party has always adhered to this advice of Lenin's. There is no need to say how far-sighted and scientifically sound the Party's policy of industrializing the country, collectivizing agriculture and effecting a cultural revolution has proved. It enabled our country to develop into an advanced industrial power, in a historically short time, leaving the most developed capitalist countries far behind socio-economically, politically and spiritually and in many fields of science and technology. We owe it to this policy that the Soviet Union defeated the fascist aggressors and holds its own against

world imperialism, which does not for one moment desist from its struggle against socialism.

The achievements of the CPSU are due in vast measure to the fact that it has been following a class policy and a consistent Marxist-Leninist line tested by years of struggle and success.

In accordance with the main stages of its development, the CPSU worked out three programs, each providing it with a scientifically based line with due regard to the given stage of the struggle of the working class and other working people for a new society. It had a program of struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and a program for building socialism, and is now carrying out a program of struggle for communism.

Party congresses and Central Committee meetings decide, in keeping with program principles, on the tasks of the Party and the people for each particular period of history. The main lines of building communism are set out in the Program of the CPSU approved by the 22nd Congress. They consist in building the material and technical base of communism, shaping communist social relations and educating the new man, and they were carried further and specified by the 23rd Party Congress and subsequent meetings of the CC CPSU. This guarantees, with due regard to the distinctive character of diverse stages and the difficulty of the problems that have to be solved, the consistency and continuity of the Party's Leninist general line.

In 1966-1970 the activity of the Party as the political leader of the people covered a very wide range. Considering that the main bridgehead of the struggle for the victory of communism is the material and technical basis of society, the Party made a special effort to implement the economic policy outlined by the 23rd Congress. The task was to ensure further industrial and agricultural progress at a high and stable rate by making the fullest use of scientific and technological achievements and the industrial development of social production, and by raising its efficiency and productivity, so as to considerably improve the standard of living.

Substantial headway was made in fulfilling these tasks. The 1966/70 Five-Year Plan called for a 47-50 per cent increase in industrial production and for a better inter-branch balance. We achieved that. Besides, the plan provided for the growth rate of consumer goods production to be brought closer to that of capital goods production. This task, too, was largely accomplished. An important result of the Party's policy was a higher growth rate of the national income. Whereas between 1961 and 1965 the national income showed a 37 per cent increase, it has gone up by an estimated 50 per cent during the last five years.

A big step forward was taken in agriculture. In 1970, the Lenin

Centenary Year, we harvested the biggest grain crop ever raised in our country. We realize, of course, that we still have many unsolved problems in this field. The Party boosts farm production by intensive methods, by building up the collective and state farms materially and technically and offering farmers greater material and moral incentives. The CC CPSU and other party bodies have never slackened their attention to these problems.

The growth of the productive forces made for strengthening and expanding the economic foundation of the Soviet Union, socialist property, that is, property of the whole people, the state property and collective farm, cooperative property.

In the past five years the Party has done much to implement the economic reform and to raise the effectiveness of social production through scientific and technological progress and intensification of every economic branch. The economic reform has helped us to improve centralized, planned economic management, the enterprises being allowed adequate scope for the solution of current production problems and for making fruitful use of commodity-money relations. Our Party's policy emphatically rejects the recommendations of the apologists of 'market socialism' who advocate spontaneous economic development.

By the end of its Eighth Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union had in the main completed the introduction of new conditions for planning and economic incentives in industrial enterprises. Many enterprises in the building industry, trade and other economic fields are operating on a new basis. The reform is a dynamic process. As it goes on we are searching for new solutions and testing economic methods at the level of enterprises, industries and the entire economy. We reject all that fails to pass the test and adopt whatever proves effective. In other words, we are steadily perfecting the main principles of the reform in keeping with the exigencies of the socialist system of management.

The CPSU sees its supreme duty in serving the people with the utmost devotion and strives to raise their material and cultural standards. This, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, pointed out, is the main purpose and the principal meaning of the Party's policy. The following facts are self-explanatory. The Five-Year Plan envisaged a 30 per cent increase in real incomes, but the actual growth was 33 per cent. We have provided over 500,000,000 square metres of housing and increased consumer goods production. Public education is steadily improving, with roughly one-third of the population studying in one form or another.

In the socio-political field, the Party's policy has been to perfect Soviet socialist democracy.

The promotion of socialist democracy is a big everyday effort in

many public spheres. The lines and methods of this work are determined by the people's interests and meet the fundamental requirements of socialism and the need to extend genuine people's rule.

The 23rd Party Congress stressed the necessity for increasing the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. It insisted that they should fully exercise their powers in carrying out their economic and cultural development tasks and in checking on performance, that they should show greater initiative in solving problems of planning, finance and the land, in running local-industry enterprises and providing social, cultural and other services for the population. The CC CPSU and local Party committees accordingly took a number of important steps to intensify the activity of local government bodies at all levels.

To begin with, the role of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its Standing Commissions has increased. The Supreme Soviet has concerned itself with big domestic and foreign policy problems. It has also been carrying on fruitful legislative activity. Characteristically, millions of citizens helped in preparing highly important laws by offering suggestions and criticisms in the course of public discussions of bills.

The CC CPSU decision to improve the work of rural and small-town Soviets of Working People's Deputies played a prominent part in intensifying the activity of local government bodies. They now make fuller use of their powers and exert greater influence on the economic activity of collective and state farms and local-industry enterprises, on trade and the service industry, public education and medical care.

The Soviets are both government bodies and non-governmental agencies in which millions of citizens learn to govern. Their base is the masses, and they concentrate the mighty energy of the masses, directing it towards the decisive spheres of communist building. This gives them a truly representative nature. There are over two million members of Soviets at all levels representing every group of working people. About 25 million people participate on a voluntary basis in the activities of Soviets.

The activity of the trade unions, Komsomol, cooperatives, mass organizations, unions of creative workers and working peoples' societies has become richer in content. These organizations are all components of the system of Soviet socialist democracy and take an active part in building communism. The ramified network of mass organizations is a most important factor in strengthening links between the Party and the people.

The Party's guiding influence over every activity in the Soviet state, the main instrument of building communism, and of all mass organizations has considerably increased in recent years. The Party

made a point of ensuring that its organizations operated, as required by the 23rd Congress, by the organizing and educational methods proper to them, without either substituting for government, economic and non-governmental agencies and institutions or exercising petty patronage over them.

The Party's leadership of the socialist democratic system has expressed itself in evolving a policy and guidelines that form the basis of the activity of government bodies and non-governmental institutions, secondly, in selecting and placing leading personnel, and thirdly, in checking on execution of decisions and exercising control over fulfilment of directives. The Party has gained much new experience in this field. However, there are a number of important problems that have to be solved if we are to perfect Soviet socialist democracy, tighten state discipline, make all functionaries more aware of their responsibilities, simplify the state and economic apparatus, cut its costs and put it on a scientific basis.

Ever since its 23rd Congress the Party has been working further to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, the political foundation of the Soviet system. Led by the Party, the working class and collective farm peasants play the decisive role in building the material and technical base of communism, consolidating the Soviet political system and strengthening its defenses.

The Soviet intelligentsia is active in communist building alongside the workers and collective farmers. It has risen from the people and loyally serves them under the Party's guiding influence. United by common fundamental interests and objectives and by common social, moral and political principles, the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals have during these years rallied more closely still around the Party.

The Party educates the people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, eliminating all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Its efforts make for closer friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union. Cooperation between the Union Republics in production and economy has intensified.

Due to the Party's manifold activities in line with the decisions of its 23rd Congress, the economic might of the country has grown, the standard of living has improved and the socio-political system of the Soviet Union has become stronger than ever. A most important result is the increased role of the CPSU as the people's political leader. It is due to the fact that the policies of the Party and the methods by which they are put into practice are understood by the people, who regard them as their own because they are in keeping with their experiences and their labor and revolutionary traditions. It is also due to the fact that the Party, in following its general line, took notice of urgent social development problems and found proper

solutions to them, and that it was quick to meet the new requirements of life and communist building.

Organizer and educator of the people

Communism is a result of the creative effort of millions. The more successfully socialist society is developing and the more difficult the tasks it sets itself, the larger are the sections of the masses brought into constructive society.

Framing policy is, of course, a matter of prime importance. But the very best policy, one reflecting the objective needs of social development, will not produce results unless backed up with everyday organizing and educational work among the masses. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU paid special attention to this.

The main area of the Party's organizing effort is the working people's collectives—in industrial enterprises, on building sites, collective and state farms, in government offices and educational institutions. It was above all there that branch organizations of the Party showed initiative and ability to inspire and lead people, to make the people's interests their own, to promptly detect and support whatever is new and progressive. During the years under survey Party committees did much to improve the functioning of branch organizations.

To strengthen the Party's links with the masses means carrying on numerous complex and varied activities. The emphasis is on drawing people into economic planning, into control, on close contacts with leaders and activists of mass organizations, on propaganda and agitation.

Socialist emulation was an important method of stimulating the energy of the masses as in the past. It involves the whole people, especially now, when preparations are under way for the 24th Party Congress. The foremost collectives of working people who initiated this movement set an example of promoting technological progress, raising the efficiency of socialist production and increasing productivity. Communists are in the lead of the movement as they have always been.

The Party insists that its organizations concern themselves continuously with the selection, placing and education of personnel according to Leninist traditions and principles. Party committees as bodies of political guidance continuously improve their work with people, promoting competent and energetic people to leading positions at every level of Party, government, economic and social activity.

The opponents of communism, trying to talk away the fundamental class distinction between the leading cadre in the socialist

countries and the ruling group in the capitalist countries, spread all sorts of theories maliciously alleging the rise of an 'elite' in the Soviet Union. These attacks of bourgeois ideologists and the revisionists echoing them are plainly intended to antagonize leaders and masses, to cause mutual estrangement among members of socialist society. The entire history of the CPSU and the Soviet state shows that in training personnel great importance is attached to promoting active members of the working class and collective farm peasantry who are gifted organizers to leading positions. By assigning workers and peasants to key posts, the Party helps them to master the art of leadership, improve their knowledge and extend their experience. From their midst come many distinguished captains of industry and Party and government leaders, closely linked with the people. A career ranging from the job of an ordinary worker to that of a high-ranking executive is typical of many Soviet men and women. Over 80 per cent of the secretaries of Regional and Territorial committees and the Central Committees of the Communist parties of the Union Republics, Chairmen of Councils of Ministers and regional Executive Committees are one-time workers or peasants. More than 70 per cent of the Ministers and Chairmen of State Committees of the USSR began their careers as workers or peasants. This is also true of the most of the heads of research and design institutions.

The period since the 23rd Congress has been one of intense ideological work by the Party, of efforts to build up the Party's ideological and political influence over the masses. Unlike bourgeois propaganda, whose object is to deceive the working people, the ideological education being carried on by the Communist Party is intended to increase the political consciousness of the people and to extend their scientific horizons. In this the CPSU takes guidance from Lenin, who said that 'as hitherto, the basis and chief content of our work is to develop the political understanding of the masses' (Vol. 11, p. 178). The Party has done much to enhance the socialist-mindedness developed by our people in decades of struggle and labor. Soviet people, who are the masters of their country and own the fruits of their labor, have the valuable qualities of revolutionaries and builders prepared for labor and battle. Comradeship, pride in their country, broad thinking and a deep understanding of the international significance of communist building in the Soviet Union are features of the Soviet people that are particularly important today. In these past years the Party has always seen to it that these features are encouraged, deepened and enriched. On the other hand, it is aware of shortcomings in ideological education and combats manifestations of a bureaucratic mentality, self-seeking and parasitism. It regards phenomena of this nature as anti-social and incompatible with the socialist system.

Youth, who will have to carry forward what was initiated by their grandfathers and fathers, have always been a special concern of the Party in its capacity of ideological leader and educator. Young people in our country have adequate opportunities for work, study and recreation enabling them to be strong and to contribute effectively to the growth of the productive forces and the economic and military power of the country, to progress in science, culture and the arts.

The Party is stepping up its theoretical effort as it mobilizes the masses for communist construction. In all the documents adopted by the CC CPSU in recent years, theory and practice are inseparable. On the basis of profound analysis and generalization of the experiences of the Soviet Union, the world socialist system as a whole, the international Communist and working-class movement and the national liberation struggle, the CPSU and other fraternal parties work out solutions to the fundamental problems posed by the revolutionary process and the fight for peace, democracy, national independence, socialism and communism. Work on problems relating to philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, the history of the CPSU, Party building and other social subjects has gained considerably in intensity. This is due to a large degree to the Central Committee decision on measures to carry forward the social sciences and to enhance their role in building communism.

Recent years have seen Party propaganda and agitation improve. The main object in this field is, now as in the past, to convey to the people the immense legacy of ideas left by Marx, Engels and Lenin and the theoretical principles collectively formulated by the Communist parties. The Party gained substantial experience in propaganda and agitation during the preparation and celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the 150th anniversary of Marx's birth, the Lenin Centenary and the 150th anniversary of the birth of Engels.

Our Party now has greater experience as regards a serious, business-like, considerate yet principled, approach to the difficult problems of the press, radio and television, to the acute and delicate problems of literature and the arts. An important achievement of the Party is that communist partisanship in these ideological spheres has become more pronounced.

Strengthening and developing the Party

The growth of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the course of building communism is an objective law. However, it is neither a spontaneous nor an automatic process but a result of conscious, vigorous and meaningful effort by all Communists. The

stronger and more harmoniously organized the Party is, the better can it accomplish its mission as the vanguard of the working class and the whole people. It is a living political organism developing in step with the building of the new society. It constantly reflects in itself the changes occurring in the socio-economic field, in the class structure and spiritual life of the Soviet people. The economic, class, ideological and political changes brought about by the country's socialist progress over 50-odd years have extended and consolidated the social base of the Party and assured its further growth.

The period since the 23rd Party Congress has revealed more clearly than ever that in the conditions of further consolidation of the social, political and ideological unity of developed socialist society, the Communist Party is the vanguard of the whole people. This is not to say that it has ceased to be the party of the working class. It is still the party of the working class as to goals, tasks, ideals and class nature. The point is simply that with the victory of socialism the Soviet people have assimilated the ideology and ultimate goals of the working class and have come to regard them as their own. And it would be wrong to ignore this in assessing the Party's role in the life of the people.

The CPSU can play an even bigger leading role. It represents a 14-million strong army of Communists and its membership comprises the foremost sections of the working class, collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia. The extended social base of the Party and, on the other hand, the steady growth of its prestige among the people, have prompted millions more of Soviet people to link their destinies with the Party. The Party does not expect its organizations to lay emphasis on quantitative growth, although numbers are not unimportant and are, indeed, an indication of the mass character of the Party and the deep roots it has among the people. The important thing for the CPSU has always been to improve the qualitative composition and to increase the vanguard role of its members, raise their ideological standards, enhance their loyalty to principle and their sense of responsibility for the work of their organizations and the Party as a whole.

The Leninist principle of democratic centralism today is, as it has always been, the guiding principle of Party organization and life. It is in accordance with this requirement that elections to Party committees from top to bottom are held at regular intervals and that accountability in its every form (both upwards and downwards) is improved.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU emphatically condemned the personality cult which resulted in abuses of power and in violations of socialist democracy and revolutionary legality. The Party also

rejected subjectivism, which ignores the laws of social development and the opinion of collective bodies and substitutes voluntarist decisions for leadership on scientific lines. The Party sees a guarantee of non-recurrence of these negative phenomena in strict adherence to the Leninist standards of Party and government activity, in the promotion of criticism and self-criticism, in consistent application of the principle of collective leadership, in closer links with the masses.

Problems of the functioning of the Party within the political system of Soviet society are always in the focus of our attention. Life never stands still. The passage of socialist into communist social relations makes it imperative continuously to perfect the political organization of society, primarily the forms and methods of Party leadership.

The Party has worked steadfastly to improve the functioning of its leading committees on the principle of collectivism. As a result, Party meetings and Party committee plenums at all levels, from branch organizations to the CC CPSU, have come to play a bigger role. Party committees have been improving their work according to the principles of collective leadership. More and more Party members are drawn into studying and discussing various problems and into carrying out decisions. The Party is seeing to it that Communists should be better informed of the work of their leading committees. Committee and bureau accounts of their activity in the intervals between elections are becoming a regular practice.

The Party, however, categorically rejects all attempts at creating an atmosphere of 'boundless collectivism' in which the personal responsibility of Party workers is in fact reduced on the plea of collectivism. The Party understands collectivism as Lenin did, and regards as imperative the personal responsibility of each Communist for the work entrusted to him; this responsibility is maintained by systematic and strict verification of fulfilment.

The CC CPSU steadfastly promotes earnest criticism and self-criticism as an instrument of inner-Party democracy and an important element of discussion, of exchanging opinions and experiences, as an important means of including Party cadres to heed rank and file criticism and suggestions.

Engaged in communist building, the CPSU never slackens its effort to safeguard socialism against imperialist intrigues and to strengthen the country's defenses, seeing this as both a national and a class, internationalist function of the socialist state. The Soviet Union champions peace and fights against the policy of aggression on the part of the imperialist powers, headed by U.S. imperialism. The Soviet people, like other peoples of the world, denounce the U.S. imperialists' dirty war in Vietnam and Israel's criminal aggression

against the Arab peoples. The Soviet Union assists the national liberation struggle of the peoples, not only by supporting it politically and morally, but by supplying material aid in various forms. The CPSU, which is aware of its internationalist duty, works for the unity and cooperation of the socialist countries, for world Communist unity. It regards itself as a contingent of the world army of Communists which has been entrusted by history with the honorable but difficult and responsible task of blazing the trail to communism. It is equipped with Marxism-Leninism and vast historical experience and enjoys the support and confidence of the Soviet people, and it is resolved to fulfil its historic mission. Inspired by this resolve, the Party is marching to its 24th Congress which will be a milestone on the road to communist society.

LENIN ON THE CPSU

The name of our Party indicates sufficiently clearly that we are advancing towards complete communism. *Vol. 27, p. 148*

We must firmly submit our slightest doubts for the class-conscious workers, for our Party, to judge. We trust our Party. We see in it the intelligence, honor and conscience of our times. We see the only guarantee of success for the emancipation movement of the working class in a world alliance of revolutionary internationalists. *Vol. 25, p. 260*

Russia achieved Marxism – the only correct revolutionary theory – through the agony she experienced in the course of half a century of unparalleled torment and sacrifice, of unparalleled revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, practical trial, disappointment, verification, and comparison with European experience. Thanks to the political emigration caused by tsarism, revolutionary Russia, in the second half of the nineteenth century, acquired a wealth of international links and excellent information on the forms and theories of the world revolutionary movement, such as no other country possessed.

On the other hand, Bolshevism, which had arisen on this granite foundation of theory, went through fifteen years of practical history (1903-17) unequalled anywhere in the world in its wealth of experience. During those fifteen years, no other country knew anything even approximating to that revolutionary experience, that rapid and varied succession of different forms of the movement – legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, underground and open,

local circles and mass movements, and parliamentary and terrorist forms. *Vol. 31, pp. 26-27*

It is our task to safeguard the firmness, consistency, and purity of our Party. We must strive to raise the calling and importance of a party member higher, higher and still higher. *Vol. 6, p. 504*

The Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party is organized on democratic lines. This means that all the affairs of the party are conducted, either directly, or through representatives, by all the members of the party, all of whom without exception have equal rights; moreover, all officials, all leading bodies, and all institutions of the party are subject to election, are responsible to their constituents, and are subject to recall. *Vol. II, p. 434*

Our victories were due to the direct appeal made by our Party and by the Soviet Government to the working masses, with every new difficulty and problem pointed out as it arose; to our ability to explain to the masses why it was necessary to devote all energies first to one, then to another aspect of Soviet work at a given moment; to our ability to arouse the energy, heroism and enthusiasm of the masses and to concentrate every ounce of revolutionary effort on the most important task of the hour. *Vol. 30, p. 139*

We have been fighting in the party for over twenty years, and we have given the workers visual proof that the party is a special kind of thing which needs forward-looking men prepared for sacrifice; that it does make mistakes, but corrects them; that it guides and selects men who know the way and the obstacles before us. It does not deceive the workers. It never makes promises than cannot be kept. *Vol. 32, p. 61*

We are the Party of the future, and the future belongs to the youth. We are a party of innovators, and it is always the youth that most eagerly follows the innovators. *Vol. II, p. 354*

To govern you need an army of steeled revolutionary Communists. We have it, and it is called the Party. *Vol. 32, p. 62*

We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy. The working people of all countries without exception and without exaggeration are looking to the Soviet Russian Republic . . . The struggle in this field has now become global. Once we solve this problem, we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale. *Vol. 32, p. 437*

CPSU: FACTS AND FIGURES

PARTY MEMBERSHIP (as of January 1)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total of full and candidate members</i>
1917 (October)	350,000
1929	1,535,362
1934	2,701,008
1941	3,872,465
1945	5,760,369
1956	7,173,521
1966	12,357,308
1970	14,011,784

LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP

As of January 1, 1969, Communists with 10 years membership made up 47.9 per cent, those between 11 and 30 years, 47.2 per cent and over 30 years, 4.9 per cent.

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS (numbers)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Branches</i>	<i>Sub-branches</i>	<i>Groups</i>
1941	184,238	23,842	27,433
1947	296,568	31,315	33,977
1956	351,249	76,058	122,243
1966	326,886	287,250	351,463
1969	359,942	329,986	411,714

Local organizations have become larger. In 1958 each local organization in industry had 44 members on the average. Today each has 85 members. The respective figures for building projects are 30 and 38, state farms 42 and 73, and collective farms 16 and 45.

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE MEMBERSHIP (as of January 1, per cent)

	1953	1956	1959	1961	1966	1969
Workers	32.1	32.0	32.6	33.9	37.8	39.3
Peasants (collective farmers)	17.8	17.1	17.4	17.6	16.2	15.6
Office employees and other categories	50.1	50.9	50.0	48.5	46.0	45.1

WOMEN MEMBERS (as of January 1)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Absolute figures</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
1920	45,297	7.5
1941	575,853	14.9
1946	1,033,115	18.7
1956	1,414,456	19.7
1966	2,548,901	20.6
1969	2,931,561	21.5

NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE MEMBERSHIP, JANUARY 1, 1969

Total of full and candidate members . . . 13,639,891 100%
including:

	<i>Absolute figures</i>	<i>Per cent</i>		<i>Absolute figures</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Russians	8,389,942	61.5	Lithuanians	80,708	0.6
Ukrainians	2,154,272	15.8	Letts	54,844	0.4
Belorussians	464,411	3.4	Moldavians	51,623	0.4
Uzbeks	245,374	1.8	Tajiks	51,226	0.4
Georgians	224,585	1.6	Kirghiz	41,634	0.2
Kazakhs	219,619	1.6	Estonians	41,232	0.3
Armenians	211,908	1.6	Turkmens	30,963	0.3
Azerbaijanians	181,152	1.3	Others	1,188,398	8.7

PROFESSIONAL COMPOSITION OF COMMUNIST OFFICE EMPLOYEES AND PROFESSIONAL WORKERS (as of January 1, per cent)

	1956	1961	1969
Total	100	100	100
Leading executives of organizations, institutions, enterprises, building projects, state farms and their sub-units	14.0	10.4	8.1
Engineers, technicians and farm experts	18.2	26.4	36.8
Scientific, educational, health, literary and art workers	18.9	21.3	23.5
Commercial, public catering and supply personnel	4.8	4.9	5.5

MEMBERS WITH HIGHER OR SECONDARY EDUCATION
(as of January 1, per cent)

	<i>Higher</i>	<i>Incomplete higher</i>	<i>Secondary</i>
1927	0.8	—	8.6
1941	6.2	1.9	15.1
1956	11.2	3.6	22.2
1969	18.0	2.5	32.8

EDUCATIONAL COMPOSITION OF BRANCH SECRETARIES
(as of January 1, per cent)

	1947	1957	1969
Education received:			
Higher	8.8	12.5	33.9
Incomplete higher	—	8.0	5.9
Secondary	26.2	31.0	44.6
Incomplete secondary	24.0	29.7	13.7
Elementary	41.0	18.8	1.9

ELECTION MEETINGS

The election meetings held in 365,000 branches prior to the 24th Congress were attended by 12.5 million members, or 91 per cent of the total. This was 5.5 per cent more than five years earlier, during preparations for the 23rd Congress. About three million members spoke in the debate. More workers and collective farmers were elected to local Party committees than two years ago.



Women in struggle for peace and social progress

Hertta Kuusinen

We are living in an era of rapid change; the old and out-dated is being demolished; the world is in process of radical renovation. A major feature of this process is the continuing emancipation of women, their increasing involvement in production and in the battle for peace and social progress. All this is directly associated with the present rapid development of science and technology, the growing momentum of the revolutionary processes, the expansion of class and national-liberation struggles and democratic and anti-war movements.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism repeatedly emphasized the deep socio-economic causes of the oppression of women. Engels wrote in a letter to Gertrude Guillaume-Schak: 'It is my conviction that the real equality of women and men can come true only when the exploitation of either by capital has been abolished and private housework has been transformed into a public industry.' Lenin (one of whose last speeches it was my good fortune to have heard) held the same view. He made a close study of the conditions of Russia's working and peasant women, particularly the exploitation of women and child labor. The leader of the world proletariat was always alive to the need to promote political understanding among working women and to bring them into the revolutionary movement. He regarded the women workers' movement as part of the general working-class struggle. Women would win *full emancipation only with the triumph of socialism*, he said. But that victory, in Russia as in other countries, would require women's active participation in the revolutionary fight to refashion society. 'The experience of all liberation movements,' Lenin wrote, 'has shown that the success of a revolution depends on how much the women take part in it' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28. p. 181).

In 1899, during his exile, Lenin worked on the draft of the Party Program. His wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya, recalls in her memoirs

that he was anxious to include a demand for full equality for women. It was included in the 1903 Program, but, of course, was brought to reality only after the October Revolution of 1917, in which women had an active part, and which overthrew the capitalist and landlord rule. The first Soviet Constitution, adopted in 1918 by the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, gave women full rights in every sphere. This made possible women's active participation in building up the world's first socialist state, administering its affairs and playing a prominent part in all other fields. This Lenin regarded as a paramount gain of the proletariat, one of the most outstanding results of the revolution. Writing on the revolution's fourth anniversary in 1921, he said: 'We in Russia no longer have the base, mean and infamous denial of rights to women or inequality of the sexes, that disgusting survival of feudalism and medievalism, which is being renovated by the avaricious bourgeoisie and the dull-witted and frightened petty bourgeoisie in every other country in the world without exception' (Vol. 33, p. 53).

Lenin emphasized that the important thing was not so much legal equality as real equality on the job and in the family, and only the socialist state, free of exploitation and oppression, can assure such real equality. The mighty impetus given to the women workers' movement, Lenin wrote, is associated with the establishment and consolidation of the world's first Soviet Republic.

This month progressive women throughout the world will be celebrating the 61st International Women's Day. The decision to designate March 8 as a day of struggle for women's rights was made at the Second International Women's Conference held in Copenhagen in 1910 on the initiative of Clara Zetkin, that sterling German revolutionary. The Copenhagen decision was warmly welcomed by Lenin, who had always attached great importance to educating women in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and had always urged closer links between women's organizations of different countries. Clara Zetkin recalls, in her book 'Lenin and the Working Woman,' a talk she had with Lenin in the autumn of 1920 in his Kremlin study. They discussed many problems of the women's movement and Lenin counselled organizing a strong international women's movement, saying that its development into a mass movement and its guidance should be an important element of Party work.

The mighty system of socialist states that emerged after World War II accounts for a third of the world's population. Lenin's prediction has come true: the triumphant march of socialism brings emancipation and equality for women in other countries, too. Today it would be difficult to find any area in the socialist

world where women do not occupy an important place in the life of their countries. Thousands have become industrial managers, scientists, government and public leaders. And it is highly significant that the first (and so far only) woman to venture out into cosmic space was a Soviet woman and Communist, Valentina Tereshkova.

That is one indicator of the new role of women. Another is spelled out in these figures: last year, 920,000 women were elected to the USSR and the Union and Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviets and local Soviets. They make up 45 per cent, and about one-third in the USSR Supreme Soviet. These figures are a true measure of socialist democracy, of the practical way full equality is assured and, also, the big part women play in socialism.

Their contribution to the fight against imperialism, for peace and social progress, is not limited to their share in the people's constructive effort. Trained by the Communist and Workers' parties in the Leninist spirit of internationalism and solidarity with all the laboring and oppressed, they are giving every support to peoples fighting imperialist aggression, neo-colonialism, fascism and racialism, and are working to bar the road to war.

Bourgeois propaganda – and some of it comes from reactionary women's organizations – has been at pains to popularize the supposed advantages of the 'free world's' so-called open society. The idea is to inculcate anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and instil a patently false picture of women's role, life and work in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. One of the propaganda figments is that women in capitalist countries enjoy more rights and privileges than in socialist. And to substantiate that, reference is made to legislation on equal rights and against discrimination. The facts, however, will show that these laws are often violated, seldom respected.

In practically every capitalist country more women are now being brought into the production and service industries, where they now make up between 30 and 40 per cent. But in capitalist conditions technological progress means more intensive exploitation. Marx wrote: 'Insofar as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing laborers of slight muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all the more supple. The labor of women and children was, therefore, the first thing sought for by capitalists who used machinery' (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I). Today, too, women's labor, paid at lower rates than those of men, helps to swell capitalist profit.

The growth of the labor movement and energetic trade union campaigning have somewhat lessened sex discrimination in capi-

talist countries. Women have won some rights, due in part to the efforts of the United Nations and International Labor Organization. In 1951 the latter adopted an equal-pay-for-equal-work convention, but so far it has been ratified only by some capitalist countries, and even in these is not always scrupulously observed.

Under capitalism women are the first to be fired. Loss of job is a hard blow indeed to married and middle-aged women, and their plight is compounded by the fact that in many cases they do not qualify for unemployment benefits. Women are discriminated against when they marry: not infrequently a woman has to choose between marriage and her job.

Occupational and professional training is still another problem. Surely, it is no accident that there are so few women engineers, lawyers, doctors, agronomists and scientists in capitalist countries. Much the same goes for high government officials and members of parliament. In the United States, according to its press, there are only 10 women among the 435 members of the House of Representatives and only two in the 100-member Senate. There is a very definite trend here: the more reactionary the regime, the more difficult is it for women to enter upon a career. In Spain, for instance, only a few women engineers were graduated in recent years. In capitalist countries, a woman who does manage to acquire professional training has to face hard male competition.

With the growth of the labor movement and with the active educational work of Communist parties, more women workers are joining in the fight against capitalist exploitation, reactionary oppression and militarism. We find more women taking part in strikes, political demonstrations and in clandestine movements against despotic regimes. In many capitalist countries women are well to the fore in the battle for civil and social rights, equality in the family and recognition of motherhood as a social function.

Reactionary and fascist governments have unleashed a wave of terror in an attempt to suppress the anti-imperialist struggle. Its victims include many women Communists and democrats, dedicated liberation fighters. Progressive mankind is incensed at the frame-up in the U.S. of Angela Davis, a young Communist and fighter for the rights of the American Negro population, the working class, against racialist oppression, police tyranny and militarism. There is worldwide admiration for the selfless courage with which she upholds her convictions and cause. Progressives the world over demand an end to the persecution of women democrats in Spain, Portugal, Greece and Brazil, whose reactionary regimes maintain themselves in power only with the support of the United States. To this day many Greek women active in the democratic movement are being kept in jail. The list includes Rula Kukululu, Avra

Partsalidi and Mina Yannua. Their lives are in danger. A more energetic campaign of solidarity with these prisoners of imperialism and of reactionary and fascist regimes could do much to save them.

The past decade has seen the steady growth of the anti-imperialist movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The women of these continents have an increasing share in the economic, political and public life of their countries and actively participate in carrying out socio-economic reforms, and eliminating the aftermath of colonial misrule. And they have achieved their greatest successes in countries set on the non-capitalist path.

Special mention has to be made of our heroic sisters on the frontline of the anti-imperialist struggle in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), and the women defending Arab soil against encroachment by the Israeli militarists. Last April, it was my good fortune to visit the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to form a closer acquaintance with the life, work and struggle of its women. Their fortitude, courage and deep faith in the justice of their cause left an indelible impression on me. Relying on the great assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and on the support of progressive forces throughout the world, the Vietnamese people are invincible. There can be no doubt that their sacred struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression will culminate in victory.

In the developing countries women still have to cope with the many problems of economic and cultural progress. One of the most important is how to wipe out illiteracy, a subject I would like to deal with in some detail.

There are several hundred million illiterates in the world, concentrated chiefly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. And the statistics show that the figure is increasing from year to year. Witness these UNESCO data, cited at the 1968 Human Rights Conference in Montreal: in 1950, there were 700 million illiterates in an adult population of 1,579 million; in 1966 the figures were 740 million and 1,881 million respectively; preliminary data for 1970 put the illiteracy figure at 810 million; 86 per cent of the world's illiterate population are women, and in the 15-45 age group illiteracy among women is twice as high as among men.

A woman who cannot read is beyond the benefits of the written word. This places her in a subordinate position, deprives her of opportunities to share in economic, political and public life, or to avail herself of her legislatively-guaranteed rights. It should not be difficult to see how this affects her role as mother, as the first teacher of her children, how it affects the family, indeed society as a whole. It should be perfectly clear that no country can afford

to exclude millions of women from economic, social and public affairs, without running the risk of lagging behind in all fields of progress.

The combined efforts of developing countries, the UN and specialized national and international agencies have produced some results, but we are still a very long way from anything like a satisfactory solution of the problem.

The Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) celebrated its 25th anniversary last year. It was founded at an international congress in Paris in December 1945. World War II had just drawn to an end, leaving millions of graves, widespread hardship and devastation. Women had learned much in the struggle against fascism, and now they were gathered in Paris to plan joint action against militarism, to start a movement aimed at preventing another war.

Among the delegates were veterans who had responded to Clara Zetkin's appeal and had an active part in the fight for women's rights, democracy and peace. In the early thirties, when imperialism and fascism were on the rampage, women progressives united in the International Women's Committee Against War and Fascism, and when the war broke out played a conspicuous role in the Resistance.

The 1948 International Women's Congress in Budapest clearly defined the tasks of the WIDF in the fight for peace and democracy and for political, economic and social rights for women workers, peasants and professionals. The WIDF 1953 Congress in Copenhagen was devoted chiefly to women's place in society. In its declaration it clearly set out woman's rights as mother, worker and citizen, demanding that they be legislatively consolidated and implemented in all countries. Its principles were incorporated in the recommendations for eliminating sex discrimination, adopted by the 1967 UN General Assembly. The 1963 world women's congress in Moscow approved the WIDF Program, which was reaffirmed at the Sixth Congress held in Finland in 1969.

The WIDF has sponsored many seminars and conferences to give women a better understanding of the force they represent. These forums provide excellent opportunities for an exchange of experience and for formulating national and regional action programs. A few examples: in 1954 we arranged a Latin American women's conference at which, for the first time, women's organizations were able to discuss and plan joint action. In 1966 there was an international seminar in Rome on women's part in public life.

The Federation has made a special effort to improve the position of woman in agricultural countries. The question was discussed at seminars in Latin America and by the WIDF Council in 1964.

Another important problem, training personnel for anti-illiteracy campaigns, was examined at a seminar in Khartoum in February 1970, attended by representatives of 21 women's organizations of Africa and the Middle East and experts from the Soviet Women's Committee and the Cuban Women's Federation, who made a significant contribution to the seminar.

From its very inception, the WIDF has consistently worked for effective application in all countries of the principles set out in the 1959 UN General Assembly Declaration of Children's Rights. Important decisions were adopted by the world conference on child welfare in Stockholm in 1966. Another problem of special concern is defense of the rights, and promotion of the welfare, of teenagers. And, incidentally, our Federation categorically rejects the bourgeois theory of a generation 'gap' or 'conflict.'

In the past 25 years the WIDF has unremittingly supported peoples fighting imperialist aggression, militarism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, reactionary terror and persecution of democrats, for this is part of the grand effort to promote peace and security, democracy and the basic human rights. It is directly relevant to woman's fight for the happiness of her children and for a brighter future for all.

The WIDF resolutely condemns U.S. imperialist aggression and firmly supports the Vietnamese patriots in their violent struggle not only for their own independence, but for the common cause of all peoples. The Federation's solidarity is expressed not only in protest campaigns, but also in material assistance to our proud and courageous sisters in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The WIDF has sponsored the collection of medicine, textiles, children's clothing, school supplies, surgical instruments and money for the mother-and-child care center it is organizing in Hanoi.

True to its program, the WIDF condemned the Israeli aggression. In October 1967 its Council decided to send a delegation to investigate the conditions of Arab women and children in the refugee camps, the victims of the Israeli leaders' expansionist policy. We demand an end to the aggression, withdrawal of all occupation forces from occupied Arab territory, and a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

Our Federation has always been concerned for durable world peace, general controlled disarmament and peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. In this context, it might be recalled that the WIDF was among the founders of the World Peace Movement, first established more than 20 years ago. In recent years the Warsaw Treaty nations have done much to break the deadlock on European collective security. Their proposal for a conference of all European states to discuss the matter has the

support of a very large segment of world opinion. Our Federation had an active share in the 1969 Vienna Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

In 1967, the WIDF regained its consultative status in the United Nations, of which it had been deprived for its trenchant condemnation of the U.S. aggression in Korea. The re-establishment of our consultative status is indicative of the UN's evolution resulting from the growing influence of the forces of peace and progress. We can state our views and uphold our principles in the UN and its agencies—UNESCO, ILO, FAO and specialized commissions (on the position of women, human rights, etc.).

In the quarter century of its manifold activities, the Federation has grown in strength and scope. It now has 100 affiliates in 93 countries. It enjoys wide popularity because it has reacted to every important development and its activity fully accords with the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of women and contributes to peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. The growth of this support, and of the Federation's membership, is largely due to the principled and vigorous struggle against all attempts to weaken or undermine the international democratic women's movement.

The Federation is conscious of the fact that the women's movement is by no means united. Besides the WIDF, there are other large international and national bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, feminist organizations. Many of them pursue specific aims: better conditions for women, equality, more liberal divorce laws, mother-and-child welfare, the rights of so-called illegitimate children, etc. Some of them are doing much in the social services and education fields, organizing creches, schools, children's libraries, medical centers and literacy schools for women in developing countries. There is also a definite trend towards more political activity, specifically the fight for democracy, and there is growing support among their members for the peace movement and peaceful coexistence, and mounting protest against America's dirty war in Vietnam and the terror instituted by fascist regimes and reactionary juntas. This creates objective conditions for contact and cooperation between women's organizations of differing political and ideological views. At the same time, however, we should be mindful of Lenin's proposition (expressed in his talk with Clara Zetkin) that we must always draw a clear line of distinction between the genuinely democratic women's movement and bourgeois feminism.

Our Federation is anxious to unite all progressive-minded women to fight for their rights as mothers, workers and citizens, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

There is the proof of reality that only socialism leads to woman's

complete liberation and offers the most favorable conditions for maximum use of her rights as mother, worker and citizen. It is therefore no more than natural that women in capitalist and developing countries should be playing a more active role in the struggle for the fundamental renewal of the world. And in the tense struggle they draw strength and inspiration from the momentous achievements of women in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Our contributors

<i>Kurt Bachman</i>	Chairman, German CP
<i>Hertta Kuusinen</i>	Chairman, Women's International Democratic Federation
<i>Pyotr Fedoseyev</i>	Member CC CPSU, Director CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Academician
<i>Vilem Novy</i>	Member CC, CP of Czechoslovakia
<i>Rene Urbany</i>	Member Executive Committee and Secretariat, CC, CP of Luxembourg
<i>Ernst Wimmer</i>	Member CC, CP of Austria
<i>Gastone Gencini</i>	Member Presidium of Central Control Commission and Head of Ideological Work Department, CC, Italian CP
<i>Niko Schvarz</i>	Deputy Editor-in-Chief of <i>Popular</i> , newspaper of CC, CP of Uruguay
<i>Alfred Kosing</i>	Corresponding Member German Academy of Sciences, Berlin
<i>Ernst Diehl,</i> <i>Annelies Laschitza,</i> <i>Gunter Radczun</i>	Historians, German Democratic Republic
<i>Margarita Maximova</i>	Soviet economist



Communists in parliament

Rene Urbany

Parliamentary activity, along with other activities, plays an important part in the Communists' struggle in the capitalist countries to win the people's pressing demands, promote social progress and pave the way for the transition to socialism. In celebrating the 50th anniversary of their Party, the Communists of Luxembourg also sum up what they have accomplished in the bourgeois parliament over the past 25 years.

The Communist Party of Luxembourg was founded on January 2, 1921 and its members may well take pride in the headway it has made since. The arduous class struggles waged by the Party and the numerous sacrifices it made in the battle against fascism were not in vain, for these trials steeled it. Our Party today is a notable factor in national life. One indication of this is the people's growing sympathy for it, which facilitates its parliamentary activity.

This activity has been an appreciable element of work among the masses. The strong positions won by the Party among them are largely due to the confidence gained by the Communists through their courageous and steadfast stand in the Chamber of Deputies. Whether Communist parties should use the bourgeois parliament to uphold the interests of the working class and acquaint public opinion with their program is a question which Luxembourg's Communists have long since regarded as settled. It is answered in the affirmative by the political gains our Party has to its credit due to a proper combination of parliamentary activity with other forms of struggle.

When, in 1934, the Party polled 7.3 per cent of the votes in the South, the first Communist was elected to parliament. It was not long, however, before the government, set on banning the Party, unlawfully had the Communist deputy's mandate cancelled on the pretext of 'the incompatibility of the Communist program with the Constitution.' Only after World War II, when the Party had become a mass organization, did reaction find itself powerless to bar the Communists from parliament.

In the 1945 general election the Communist Party won five seats in parliament out of a total of 51. The cold war affected the Party's standing somewhat and the 1954 and 1959 elections each brought it only three seats. In 1964 the Communists secured five seats out of 56, a success which they consolidated in later years. In 1968 the Party won another seat in spite of a violent anti-Communist campaign, and it now holds six seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Had it not been put at a disadvantage by the electoral law, it would have obtained eight seats in accordance with the proportion of votes (15 per cent) polled by it.

In evaluating Communist activity in the Chamber of Deputies, it must be remembered that Luxembourg has a long-standing parliamentary tradition. The Chamber was brought into existence by the revolutionary events of 1848. In the more than 120 years that have elapsed since, it has become a deep-rooted national tradition. Nor must it be ignored that the connection between parliamentary activity and the everyday struggles of the masses in Luxembourg is closer than in other capitalist countries. Ours is a small country and its parliament examines minor and even minute administrative matters. Most of the deputies are not what is known as professional politicians. Detailed reports on parliamentary debates are regularly mailed to all voters. This undoubtedly affords an opportunity to use the parliamentary rostrum for enlightening and rallying the masses and for maintaining the demands put forward by them outside parliament.

However, some parliamentary experiences of Luxembourg's Communists evidently have universal validity.

There are Maoist and Trotskyist-minded students, as well as muddleheaded intellectuals, in Luxembourg too, but they are a small handful hardly exerting any influence on the people. They call parliament a 'talking club' and slander the Communist Party by labelling it a reformist 'parliamentary party.' It is, of course, not accidental that they advance ultra-Left slogans. And these fit in with the demagogical anti-parliamentarian statements on the part of Right-wing bourgeois extremists, who describe the expenditures of the Chamber of Deputies as 'squandering funds' although these expenditures fall short of 0.25 per cent of the total of budget appropriations.

Slander against parliament suits bourgeois reaction well and has been encouraged by it, especially ever since the Communists strengthened their positions in parliament and have been effectively using its rostrum in the interests of the class struggle. It will be recalled that Lenin scathingly criticized ultra-Left anti-parliamentarism in '“Left-Wing” Communism – an Infantile Disorder.' His arguments against the German 'Leftists,' who considered parlia-

mentarism to have 'outlived itself' historically and politically, are still valid. Lenin's conclusion that 'participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle on the parliamentary rostrum is obligatory on the party of the revolutionary proletariat' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 59) is still relevant, contrary to the petty-bourgeois anti-parliamentary nonsense that crops up time and again.

The Communists of Luxembourg realize that the parliament is essentially a well-adjusted machine serving the bourgeoisie, especially under state-monopoly capitalism. This they have seen on many occasions. The Chamber of Deputies has long been dominated by reactionary bourgeois parties which manipulate public opinion through the mass media at their disposal. Parliament serves largely as camouflage for monopoly capitalist power. On many important issues, the government's dependence on parliament is fictitious.

All the more essential is it, therefore, for Communists to take part in elections, win seats in parliament and increase their leverage in it. They can use this public platform to counteract bourgeois and petty-bourgeois efforts to fool the masses.

The political spokesmen of monopoly capital are well aware of the significance of the Communists' parliamentary activity and its impact on the consciousness of the masses. This is seen in their continuous effort to curtail the jurisdiction of parliament. The legislative powers of the Chamber of Deputies, won by the masses in the revolutionary years 1848 and 1918-19, are markedly restricted. Contrary to parliamentary regulations and the 'democratic rules of the game,' the Communists have been barred from the Chamber Bureau and a number of parliamentary commissions, especially those concerned with the armed forces and foreign affairs.

One of the more widespread methods of curbing the powers of parliament is periodically to introduce bills empowering the executive to decree drastic economic measures without parliamentary approval. The Council of State appointed by the Grand Duke as the second chamber of parliament is in a position to knife any bill. It operates as a brake whenever it comes to implementing laws regarded by reaction as 'premature' because they seem to it too progressive. More and more legislative powers are transferred to the administrative bodies of the EEC, which prejudices national sovereignty and the powers of the Chamber of Deputies.

This commits the Communist Party to fight without let-up in defense and for the extension of the people's democratic rights under the Constitution, including the rights of their representatives in the Chamber of Deputies. The Party's guiding principle in this fight is Lenin's statement that 'we must not regard what is obsolete to us as something obsolete to a class, to the masses' (Vol. 31, p. 58).

Speeches by Communists in the Chamber of Deputies play a most

important part in keeping the masses informed. They reach large sections of the people and are in a way a complement to the Party press. But parliament in Luxembourg is also a political battlefield reflecting class conflicts outside it.

Our Party regards its parliamentary activity as an opportunity to exploit in the interest of the working class the contradictions among the ruling parties, which erupt inevitably in political conflicts and crises. The Party relies for support on mass actions by the people which often produce concrete results in parliament. It was popular pressure on parliament that enabled the Communist deputies to score a number of noteworthy gains.

Throughout the past 25 years Communist activity in the Chamber of Deputies has been specific, our deputies approaching every problem in militant fashion and from a class position. Communist deputies did not relax their efforts even in the cold war years, when they held fewer seats. At every meeting of parliament they courageously upheld their ideas in the face of difficulties and the intrigues of the Chamber Presidium. They exposed reaction's maneuvers against the people, fought for their amendments to government bills, forced the government and reaction to account for their stand on various issues and wrested many concessions from them in favor of the working people.

Luxembourg's Communists have always realized that parliamentary activity, like election campaigns, is fraught with the danger of slipping into the morass of parliamentary illusions and parliamentary narrow-mindedness. The illusion that the ballot paper and fine speeches in parliament can end the rule of monopoly capital and its Christian-Social Party brings grist to the mill of reaction, which uses parliament as an important part of the bourgeois state machinery. On the other hand, renunciation of the struggle outside parliament enables the bourgeoisie to curtail the constitutional and democratic rights enjoyed by the working class within the framework of parliament. Worthy of note are the bourgeoisie's continuous attempts, specifically in the parliamentary sphere, to undermine and weaken the Communist Party by 'loosening' it ideologically and by corrupting it. This makes it imperative for the Communists to be on the alert at all times.

Communist activity in the Chamber of Deputies has invariably followed the principle that satisfaction of the social and democratic demands of the working people by the bourgeois parliament depends on determined extra-parliamentary struggle by the working class, on the influence of the working class and the strength of its positions among the people.

Many members of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) tend to discard parliamentary illusions. This is due to their realization of the in-

ability of Social-Democratic governments in a number of capitalist countries, in particular Britain, Sweden and Austria, to bring about socialism. Another reason is that the SLP, which repeatedly formed a coalition government with the Christian Social Party, has sustained major election losses over the past two years.

A sober assessment of the situation tells more and more SLP members from the working people that it is only through unity of the Socialists, Communists and other progressive forces of the nation that an end can be put to the almost 50 years' control of public affairs by the reactionary Christian-Social Party. The slogan advocated by the Communists for many years – that it is necessary to oppose a strong bloc, a 'Left-wing front' of the working class, to the big bourgeoisie so as to expedite the adoption of a policy aspiring to socialism – is gaining ground among the working people.

Right Socialist leaders persist in their vicious anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign. They reject all cooperation between the Socialists and Communists. Among other things, they insist on dissolving the municipal alliance of the Communist and Socialists in Esch-sur-Alzette,* the country's second biggest city. On December 12, 1970, finding themselves in a minority at the extraordinary congress of their Party, they withdrew. The SLP split. The trend towards Left-wing unity became stronger.

Both in and outside parliament, Communists take account of the political situation in the country. They do not use the parliamentary rostrum for meaningless talk, but for effective advocacy of the urgent demands of the working people. Moreover, they link up the discussion of problems of the day with presentation of the great objectives of the working-class movement, realizing the importance of their mission as the vanguard of the working class. In the face of deep hatred on the part of the reactionary faction, and despite numerous difficulties, the Communists of our country have never abandoned their internationalist positions. They use every opportunity in parliament as well to reaffirm their loyalty to proletarian internationalism and the world Communist movement, to the bonds of brotherhood linking them with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Parliamentary activity sets high demands on the Communist deputies. Each of them must do his utmost – after all, the Party only holds six seats out of 56 – to uphold the Communist Party's standpoint on the many parliamentary issues and defend the working people's interests competently and effectively. They can only do this through indefatigable and selfless effort in and outside parliament. An important condition for success is close links with

*The Municipal Council of Esch-sur-Alzette, the mining and metallurgical industry centre, is composed of Communists and Socialists, with a Communist heading it.

the people. The Communist deputies have risen from the working people and realize their great responsibility as working-class delegates. Four of them are steel workers and two, cadre members of the Party. All six also take an active part in the trade union movement.

The Communists, who represent the people in parliament, are not taken in by the enemy's hypocritical praise and fearlessly stand their ground against persecution and what are often purely personal and crude attacks of reaction. They are inspired by a clear understanding of their tasks in the class struggle when, in speaking in parliament, they uphold both seemingly immaterial and vitally important demands of the working people, never losing sight of the main strategic working class objectives. Whereas the 'matadors' of the bourgeois parties generally speak French in parliamentary debates, the Communist deputies use the language of the Luxembourg people. They make no attempt to deliver great speeches, but see their task in maintaining the interests of the working class simply, comprehensibly and effectively, nor do they constitute an exclusive group. The working people appreciate all this.

The Communist group in parliament is a component of the Party's propaganda and organizational system.

As it looks back on 25 years of parliamentary activity, the Communist Party of Luxembourg may safely state that its members have never yielded to either 'Left'-wing adventurism or Right-wing opportunism in parliamentary battles, nor retreated before difficulties. Both in and outside parliament, they have been carrying on their fight on the unshakable foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory. This is why the Party has registered substantial electoral gains in recent years and won strong positions and confidence among the working people that enable it to press on with its struggle.



Czechoslovakia: victory of Communist Party and people

Vilem Novy

The consolidation in ideology, politics, economy and other spheres, and the further development of Czechoslovak society tends to strengthen socialism in the world, as well as in our country, helping to firm up the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement and the struggle for peace. It upsets the plans of the imperialists, who figured that Czechoslovakia, situated in the heart of Europe, could be the cockpit of subversive actions against other countries of the socialist community and all the other detachments of the world revolutionary movement.

The period after the April and May 1969 plenums of the Communist Party's Central Committee, which removed the Right opportunist leadership and charted a Marxist-Leninist way out of the crisis that erupted in the spring of 1968 and continued into the spring of 1969, showed that the measures and political line adopted by the two plenums were correct and their implementation was yielding positive results.

To begin with, the Communist Party reaffirmed itself as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class and other working people. Its sound revolutionary, internationalist nucleus, subjected to a terror campaign in the spring and summer of 1968 and robbed of the possibility of influencing Party policy and the course of events, became active again after August 1968 and brought the Party back to the Marxist-Leninist path and proletarian internationalism. Later, purged of revisionists, the Party rallied around this nucleus. In the battle to restore the Party's revolutionary character and primarily during the exchange of Party cards, the Right-opportunist forces in the Party were ideologically and politically exposed; the Party dissociated itself from them organizationally. The exchange of Party cards reduced the Party by 326,817 members, that is, by 21.7 per cent as against January 1, 1970. If the reduction of 1968-1969 is added, the total decrease is 478,731

or 28 per cent. At present, the CPC has about 1,200,000 members, meaning that it remains a mass Marxist-Leninist party.

The Party's guiding role in our socialist society has been restored. Its ties with the masses have been renewed and have grown stronger. Leaning principally on the working class, the Party worked for unity among the working people in line with the principles of scientific socialism. It has exposed the counter-revolutionaries and the proponents of a 'democratic socialism,' and has shown the broad masses and progressives in other countries that the internationalist aid of the Soviet and other allied troops in August 1938 had been necessary as the only possible means in the prevailing situation to save socialism in Czechoslovakia. Also, the CPC has won over to its side the most active part of the population, which now supports its policy. The energy of the people is centered on developing socialist society and its economy.

All this has helped to restore and strengthen our socialist political system. The Right opportunist and counter-revolutionary elements, professing to be fighters for a 'better' socialism, were exposed as a subversive, anti-popular and anti-socialist force, losing their positions not only in the Party, but also in the state machinery and the public organizations. Bourgeois propaganda tries to portray this as a 'campaign against the nation's elite.' The working people of Czechoslovakia, however, approve of the measures taken against those responsible for disintegrating society and precipitating a tragic crisis.

The activity of the socialist state and all its organs, the National Front and the public organizations in line with the principles of scientific socialism and internationalism, is back to normal. This has been achieved exclusively by ideological, political and organizational action, by persuasion, winning the working people to the side of the Communist Party, whereas our adversaries of 1968 and 1969 had grossly violated the Constitution and the laws of our socialist state.

The correct political line and the activity of the working people were fruitful, too, in consolidating our economy. Brandishing the slogan of 'a new model of socialism,' the revisionists had gradually eliminated the guiding and controlling function of the socialist plan, disrupting the economy and its main interconnections. The decisions of the April, May (1969) and subsequent plenums of the CC CPC halted the inflationary process, stabilized the situation in the home market and the monetary sphere, restored the dynamics of industrial growth and in building, apportioned the national income more correctly and removed the main disproportion between the growth of productivity and wages. This gradual economic consolidation, furthered among other things by good results in

agriculture, is an important success and a victory for the policy of the Party.

While resolving the internal problems and removing the consequences of the counter-revolution, impaired foreign relationships were also restored. Together with all the organizations of the National Front, the CPC succeeded in overcoming the influence of nationalism and in bringing back proletarian internationalism. Czechoslovakia is now again a dependable member of the socialist system, closely linked with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, cooperating with them in all areas, participating actively in jointly-framed political peace actions on the world scene and supporting the struggle of the peoples for independence and progressive development.

At present, three years after the spring of 1968, it is clear that one of the biggest battles of our time between socialism and capitalism, between progress and reaction, took place in Czechoslovakia, with imperialism putting to a practical test the new methods of its global strategy, and suffering defeat. In the spring of 1968, imperialist circles and home reaction connected with anti-Communist centers abroad tried to exploit for their own ends the problems and difficulties of our socialist society. Infiltrating the leadership of the Communist Party and the state, the Right opportunists misled a substantial section of working people by intensive ideological and political conditioning and employed political, moral and sometimes even physical terror to prepare the ground for a putsch. They intended to gradually eliminate socialism, driving a wedge into it and creating a new relation of strength in the main area of the struggle between socialism and imperialism in Europe. This could have had disastrous consequences for peace and for the world revolutionary process.

The relatively rapid and effective removal of the consequences of the 1968 counter-revolution and the all-sided consolidation of society have upset the combined plans of the imperialist groups and home reaction. Even after the attempt of a counter-revolutionary coup was frustrated by the internationalist aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the enemies of our country hoped it would take us many years to overcome the ideological, political, economic and moral dislocation.

The collapse of the imperialists' designs has added to their nervousness. It goads them into stepping up their propaganda and subversive activity against socialism. They harp on the 'Czechoslovak question' in the hope of misguiding at least a part of the progressive and revolutionary movement in Europe and elsewhere. Western bourgeois politicians and ideologists, the press, radio and television, are keeping up a continuous slander campaign against

our country, concealing the successes of the consolidation, predicting new crises and maligning the socialist system.

The main blow in the offensive is naturally directed against the Communist Party. The purpose is to subvert it, dispute and create strife among the Communists, tearing the Party away from the people. However, our Party has enduring bonds with the working class, the working masses. The ties with the people could be temporarily impaired, the Party itself could be shaken, but it could never be liquidated. The CPC emerged from the tempestuous 1968-1969 period more experienced and steeled than ever. After the recent experience, the chances that an attempt at a counter-revolutionary putsch could recur, are nil. The Party and all our society have learned that consolidation and development of the socialist system is the most dependable guarantee against critical developments.

The Party has charted the further development of socialist Czechoslovakia and elucidated the events of 1968-69 and the period subsequent to the April (1969) Plenum of its Central Committee. Despite the vast publicity of the Czechoslovak events throughout the world and despite the international significance of the lessons to be drawn from them, it is principally up to our Party to dig down to the roots, to conceptualize and explain the course of the recent crisis. None but the Czechoslovak Communists can conclusively analyze its causes, development and consequences. And that, as the CPC sees it, is our Party's duty to the world Communist movement.

The CC CPC Plenum of December 10 and 11, 1970 in Prague was highly important. It discussed the communication of the Presidium of the CC CPC on 'The Main Tasks of the Party After the Exchange of Party Cards,' presented by Comrade Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the Central Committee, and approved it as a directive. Also discussed were communications about the process and results of the exchange of Party cards, and the activity of the Presidium and Secretariat of the CC CPC since the June 1970 Plenum. The December Plenum endorsed the document, 'The Lessons of the Critical Developments in the Party and Society After the 13th Congress of the CPC' and adopted a resolution relating to Party unity. Approved, too, was the report of Comrade Lubomir Strougal, the Chairman of the government, on the main trends of the 1971 economic plan. A pertinent decision was issued and a few personnel matters discussed. Cumulatively, the adopted documents are an all-round evaluation of the recent past and set out the Party line for the immediate future.

Weighing the objective course of events, the CC CPC noted that the period since April 1969 can be regarded as an unquestionable

victory for the Marxist-Leninist forces over Right opportunism. The political course proved realistic and is being carried forward successfully. Although much has been accomplished, the Central Committee pointed out, however, that much is still to be done, because the process of consolidation is not fully completed. The results so far were those of its first phase, centered on safeguarding Marxist-Leninist principles. Now we must consolidate and proliferate the successes and assume the offensive along the entire front of socialist construction.

Unanimity in the discussion and in evaluating all the main issues, and unanimous approval of the documents, was a distinctive feature of the December Plenum. In the regional, district and primary Party branches, too, the results of the Plenum were discussed in a spirit of ideological and political unity. This alone was enough to dampen the spirit of our political opponents. Before the Plenum, the Western press, radio and television speculated about a lack of unity in our Party and its leadership, about arguments and differences, predicting a split. When the rumors proved groundless, they began to speculate as to who had taken the upper hand. A section of the bourgeois press said 'liberals' had won, while others awarded victory to 'ultra-radicals.' In fact, however, it was the Party that won. The December Plenum cemented the unity and raised the capability of the Party, contributing to its greater determinative influence among the masses.

The question of unity figured in the Plenum not because of any differences of principle, or of any groupings or a factional struggle in the CPC, as our enemies inferred, but because unity is, in effect, the essential condition of the Party's existence, its ability to act and, at present, also the main premise of effective leadership as the working class, the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia are working to overcome once and for all the consequences of the 1968-69 crisis and unfold socialist construction all down the line.

The unity of our Party is revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist and internationalist. 'In 1968-69,' the resolution of the Plenum stresses, 'the Marxist-Leninist forces came to grips with the offenders against Party unity and worked for fundamental Marxist-Leninist unity. In this struggle the Right forces suffered a political defeat. During the exchange of membership cards, the Party parted ways with them organizationally. In the clash with the Rightists, the views of the Communists became united and the Party grew organizationally stronger and improved its tactical actions.'

'While fully and consistently observing the Party Rules, the Party must deepen and develop the unity built up in arduous and difficult struggle, and must also cherish as the apple of its eye the cohesion of its ranks, preventing any weakening of its revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist internationalist character.'

The fundamental Party stand is: unity in the struggle against the Right, defense and development of socialism. Not split and dissent, as the imperialist circles and their subservient subversive centers would wish.

After eliminating the Right centers in the Party and society, the December Plenum (1970) set the sights on complete victory in the ideological area as the main task. 'The Right forces, who have not reconciled themselves to defeat, continue to be the chief political danger,' says the resolution on Party unity. 'Their aims have not changed. They serve the anti-Communist strategic designs of imperialism, aimed at disrupting the Party and socialism from within.' The Right revisionists and counter-revolutionary elements are not merely ideological enemies, but an active reactionary disruptive force and, in effect, agents of imperialism inside the Party and socialist society. Since, by virtue of the military power of socialism, the Soviet Union in the first place, the imperialists are reluctant to risk an armed conflict in Europe, these agents are trying to disrupt the socialist system from within and to create a balance of strength more favorable for imperialism. That is why the struggle against the Right forces in Czechoslovakia is part of the effort to safeguard peace in Europe and thereby in the rest of the world.

The Right forces, deprived of their positions in the Communist Party, the state apparatus and public organizations, and exposed before the people as counter-revolutionary and anti-people's elements, are trying to retain their influence at least over part of the nation with the help of anti-Communist centers abroad. But since this influence is steadily waning, they are changing their tactics. They refuse to accept the blame for the damaging consequences of the 1968 events, making the most of the fact that they still wield influence over a part of the working people. Exaggerating our difficulties, they are trying to create a public mood of general insecurity, fanning mistrust of the course set by the CPC, of our successes. Above all, they bank on possible international complications in order to renew the offensive.

That is why the Party is applying every effort to complete the defeat of the Rights in the ideological and political domains and why it attaches so much importance to active ideological work, which, coupled with improving the activity of the Party, the socialist state and the entire political system, and pushing up the economy, should advance the consolidation and development of socialism in our country.

Consequently, the unity of the Communist Party is of an active type. It is built up and cemented along two basic lines: by hammering out a common standpoint as concerns the recent past and by uniting the Communists for the further active and creative implementation of the Party line.

'The Lessons of the Critical Developments in the Party and Society After the 13th Congress of the CPC' makes a factual analysis of the sources of the difficulties in the development of socialism and sets out the immediate causes of the counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia, when the anti-socialist forces, who after January 1968 exploited our mistakes and shortcomings of the preceding period and leaned for support on the Right opportunists in the Party, principally in its leadership, mounted a deliberate and organized offensive against socialism. Their disruptive influence reached out to all the areas of public life. In 1968 the Communist Party gradually ceased to be the guiding force of the socialist social system, the state ceased performing its most important functions, the political system lost its class character, the masses were misguided by the assault of bourgeois nationalist ideology and pseudo-socialist slogans, and the country experienced economic dislocation. In the meantime, the relatively strong counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist forces became increasingly active, forming an anti-Communist coalition, with the emergence of a political structure that, in substance, corresponded to the structure prior to February 1948, that is, prior to the establishment of working-class power in Czechoslovakia. The main pillars of the social system were demolished. Socialism was in peril, because it was losing the ability to defend itself both at home and against outside forces.

That is why, conscious of their class, national and international responsibility for the future of socialism in Czechoslovakia, the Document stresses, a way out of the grave and critical situation was being sought by thousands of Communists, individual citizens and whole collectives of working people, men and women from all walks of life and from different organizations, including members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of Slovakia, members of the Czechoslovak government and deputies of the National Assembly and the Slovak National Council. With the Right segment of the Party leadership refusing to take measures that would frustrate a counter-revolutionary coup and prevent civil war, they turned to the leaderships of the fraternal parties and the governments of our allies, requesting internationalist aid to the Czechoslovak people in safeguarding socialism at that historically crucial time.

Our friends, our class brothers and allies, extended such aid to us in August 1968. It was an act of international solidarity in the interest of the Czechoslovak working people, the class interests of the international proletariat, the socialist community and the world Communist and revolutionary movement. It was an act, too, that accorded with the jointly accepted principles and the commitments of the existing treaties.

The Soviet troops and other allies that prevented a counter-revolutionary putsch by their timely arrival, did not and do not interfere in the internal affairs of the country. Their presence helped create the necessary conditions for rallying the strength and organizing a victorious struggle of Communists, workers and other working people against the Right forces. That, in brief, is the basic evaluation of 1968 and 1969 shared by the Czechoslovak Communists and broad sections of the working people.

The communication of the Presidium of the CC CPC, 'The Main Tasks of the Party After the Exchange of Party Cards,' defines the Party line for the present period. The aim is to make Party work more active, unite the Party solidly in the ideological, political and organizational areas, so that it can perform its role of the guiding force of all society more effectively. The precondition is that all active representatives of the Right and all people who have no place in the Party due to their ideological and political instability, have been removed from the CPC during the exchange of Party cards. As a mass Marxist-Leninist party, the CPC, taking guidance in the slogan repeatedly tested in its nearly 50-year history, 'Face the Masses!', addresses itself to the working people. The main force implementing the policy of the Communist Party is the working class, the leading force of society. That is why political work in the enterprises is now of decisive significance. Dependable Party ties with the working class, the cooperative farmers, and the progressive intelligentsia pave the way for an offensive all down the line in restoring the dynamic development of the socialist system, of its economy and its social relationships, for the flowering of ideology and culture.

The CPC exerts great efforts in strengthening and developing the functions of the socialist state. The Party has drawn the appropriate lesson from the events of the recent years and, while extensively developing socialist democracy, accentuates the class nature of the state, its role in consolidating our social system and in defending the country from home and foreign enemies.

The positive economic results achieved of late further the all-round consolidation of the economy and enable us to create meaningful premises for solving urgent problems and working out a long-term conception for further effective economic development. Now that the dynamics of industrial growth and building has been recovered—as a result, among other things, of rising labor productivity—we have been able to set difficult but realistic targets in the 1971 plan and in the five-year plan now being drawn up.

In view of the high degree of consolidation achieved in the Party and the country, the February 4 Plenum of the CC CPC resolved to convene the Fourteenth Party Congress on May 25, 1971. The Congress will yield an over-all evaluation of developments in the Party

and nation since the Thirteenth Congress and outline further socialist construction.

The experience of Czechoslovakia shows convincingly that there can be no foreign political orientation for our country other than lasting friendship, class fraternity, alliance and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. From this derives our political, social, economic and, we might say, vital confidence, and also the guarantee of our national and social development. Proletarian internationalism has been put to a severe test here in recent years, but it has emerged victorious and proved to be the only correct principle of relations among socialist states and in the world revolutionary movement.

That is why our Party is seeing to it that the Czechoslovak people should have still closer bonds of friendship and cooperation with the working people of other socialist countries, with the world Communist movement, and the peoples fighting for freedom, independence, peace and social progress.



Fighting for popular unity in Uruguay

Niko Schvarz

The Communist Party of Uruguay held its 20th Congress on December 11-15, 1970, the beginning of a period of closer popular unity and solidarity against imperialism, for an advanced democratic government. Such a government would be an alternative to the two-party system which guarantees the domination of the national oligarchy and U.S. imperialism.* 'The possibility of winning power,' Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, said in his Congress report, 'is becoming a real and potentially imminent prospect.'

New political situation

Political changes at home were the main theme of the Congress debate. The Congress received friendly messages from various national political organizations signifying their readiness to join in the nascent popular unity front.

'A higher stage is setting in,' Rodney Arismendi pointed out, 'one of long and persistent struggle by the working class and people against the landowner oligarchy, the big capitalists and U.S. imperialism, our country's main oppressor. It is becoming really possible to achieve decisive victories that may lead to a new political reality. The prerequisites for a democratic, advanced and patriotic regime are in the making. *Forming a government which could carry out a program of democratic change and restore national sovereignty and which would include spokesmen of the working class and the masses at large is becoming the main object of the period ahead.*'

The present situation did not take us by surprise. It is a result

*Two traditional bourgeois parties representing imperialist and oligarchic interests alternate at the helm in Uruguay. They are the Colorado, or Batllist, Party - so named after its one-time leader, Batlle y Ordóñez - and the Blanco, or National, Party. Ruling today is the Colorado Party.-Ed.

of the struggle which has gone on ever since the 16th Party Congress (1955) and which in recent years took the form of a head-on clash with the Pacheco Areco government. An eventful process of socio-political evolution has produced a change in the domestic situation. The working class and the popular movement are strong enough already to strive for an end to the two-party system and for a new national political pattern.

The tactics of our Party since its 16th Congress may be symbolized as three interlinked rings – the fight for unity of the working class and other working people and the middle strata, Left unity, and steady consolidation of the Party. These tactics have gone a long way towards uniting the proletariat in the ranks of the National Convention of Working People. Formerly the trade union movement comprised three groups: the unions identifying themselves with the working class, the autonomous unions, and the unions led by the ORIT (Inter-American Organization of Working People) bosses and the U.S. Embassy. We now have a virtually united trade union movement. The National Convention expresses the class interests of all working people and unites the overwhelming majority of the trade unions. It maintains strong fraternal relations in united action with all other trade union organizations still outside it. Its activity follows a democratic, radical program. Our Party and the Left as a whole play a decisive role in the National Convention and branch unions. We have also brought about a strong alliance between the student movement and the intellectuals, most of whom earlier adhered to a centrist position, on the one hand, and the working-class movement, on the other. The watchword of the alliance is, Workers and students, unite to advance!

Our tactics have helped to unify the Left-wing, anti-imperialist and progressive forces. Lastly, they have resulted in strengthening the Party by increasing its membership and its role in the country, and by extending its influence to encompass large sections of the population.

The actions against the governments in the 1968-1970 period would never have assumed so vast a scale, nor would we now be at the beginning of a new stage in the country's political development, had we not worked to unite the working class and build up forces. In other words, the unity, organization and consciousness of the workers and the people as a whole passed the test.

Countering Pacheco Areco's policies

The Pacheco Areco government, whose policies are firmly resisted by the working class and the mass of the people, is the living embodiment of the ruling oligarchy. Its more prominent spokesmen

are the bankers Charlone and Peirano Facio. The oligarchy's venal anti-democratic and anti-popular government has trampled the traditional image of Uruguay underfoot, betrayed the interests of the working people and middle strata and dispelled the long-standing illusions of the national bourgeoisie. It has stained the streets of Uruguayan towns with young people's blood. Liber Arce, Hugo de los Santos, Susana Pintos and Arturo Recalde, our unforgettable comrades, fell fighting for freedom. The government has repeatedly flouted the Constitution, ignored the powers of parliament and democratic laws, meddled with university affairs and closed secondary schools. It has filled barracks and prisons with thousands of people, put 70,000 civil servants and bank employees under arms, tortured and humiliated patriots, raided trade union premises and turned Isla de Flores into a concentration camp for political and trade-union activists. The notorious Emergency Security Measures, which virtually abolish civil rights and freedoms, have been in force ever since June 13, 1968.*

The government is carrying out a currency reform, a new version of the financial policy initiated in 1959 by the then National Party government. This policy consists in complying submissively with the recommendations of the International Monetary Fund. Among its results to date are the denationalization of state enterprises, the heavy burden of paying off the foreign debt, a declining standard of life, especially in the case of the proletariat, and lower purchasing power for a substantial part of the population. Imperialist control of the meat-packing industry and other important branches of the economy is tightening and the agricultural crisis is going from bad to worse. The government is trying to put the whole burden of the economic crisis on the masses in the interest of the banker and landowner oligarchy.

The government's economic 'stabilization' plans, used as a pretext for political repression, have failed completely. In this respect, too, the dilemma facing the people is perfectly clear. 'Unless the economic orientation,' Rodney Arismendi said in his report, 'changes radically and unless the oligarchy is stripped of power and progressive changes come about, Uruguay will find itself closer to the abyss of economic backwardness, subservience to the imperialist monopolies, poverty and uncontrollable political instability fraught with even more brutal tyranny, and hence with civil war.'

The people, and first of all the working class, the main force of resistance to the government's policies, fought the 'stabilization' plans with the utmost determination. The government could not achieve its main strategic objective, which was to break the backbone of the popular movement. Indeed, it found itself in a certain

*They were lifted only very briefly in the first half of 1969.—Ed.

isolation, for the struggle of the working class was backed by the middle strata, democratic political forces and students. The working people's reaction to the death of our comrade, Liber Arce, was a powerful general strike. His funeral became a popular demonstration involving about 300,000 people.

The class struggle varied greatly in form and method. The working class was the leading force of the strikes of 1968 and 1969 and the general strike on October 14, 1970, the peak of the strike movement. Class battles, as well as being extensive, varied and protracted, were waged according to a tactical plan combining particular with general actions, legal forms with illegal ones, and parliamentary methods of struggle with extra-parliamentary ones. The powerful general strike of 1970, in which practically all working people and large sections of the middle strata joined, revealed the correctness of Communist policy, the growing class consciousness and improving organization of the masses, their increased unity and the feasibility of uniting the people on the basis of a specific program.

The masses played the main role in those events and this was the main factor in uniting the social forces of the revolution. The pivot of our tactics was to mobilize the masses. Their class consciousness is growing and their links with their vanguard are becoming closer as the struggle goes on.

Popular unity

The political regime based on the two-party system was established in the thirties, under the Terra dictatorship, to prevent a popular front. This institutionalized system is now crumbling—a mark of the new political situation.

The Communist Party seeks the unity of all Left forces. This is a most important aspect of its policy. In 1956, as soon as the internal crisis had been overcome, our Party proposed a bloc for joint action to the Socialist Party. In 1960, its fortieth year, it made a similar appeal to all Left-wing, anti-imperialist and progressive forces. Due to this Communist initiative and the other political organizations' desire for unity, the Left Liberation Front (FIDEL) came into being in 1962. Its prestige and influence have grown over the past eight years. Today the task of building up unity is being set in broader terms.

The Christian-Democratic Party, for one, declared for a unity front without any discrimination ('Broad Front'). Moreover, groups refusing to back the oligarchic leadership of the traditional parties have formed in the ruling Colorado Party and the National Party now in opposition. It is beyond question that these parties cannot

be renovated from within. The rise of opposition groups in them is a sign of increasing division.

A committee of independent leaders was set up under General Balinas. It represents the groups around *Marcha*, the Left-wing weekly, and other groups working fruitfully all over the country for the people's political unity. A report published recently said that Liber Seregni, a prominent general, had declared for the popular unity front. The report evoked a broad response. Both wings of the Socialist Party are joining the front.

Our Party and FIDEL have resolved to enter the front. FIDEL considers that the front should work out a program ensuring unity of the goals of the people and the future government, as well as a political agreement guaranteeing collective responsibility and united action by all participants in the front and determining the standards of political activity of various groups. The front must always lean on the people.

The formation of the unity front is now nearing completion. We consider that it should be a progressive, democratic alignment, a political movement based on an alliance of the working class and other working people with the middle strata of town and countryside. It can also group all opponents of the oligarchy and imperialism.

The program of the front should be the result of discussion by all its composite forces. The fundamentals of such a program exist already. They came into being in recent years of struggle and may be described as follows: an independent foreign policy, ridding state enterprises of imperialist control, nationalizing banking, foreign trade and the meat-packing industry, deferring payment of foreign debts, effecting an agrarian reform, protecting the educational system and its autonomy, restoring and extending democratic and trade-union freedoms, and meeting the people's needs – solving the problems of employment, medical care and housing. Thus, it is not a question of a temporary pre-election coalition but of a genuinely popular movement. In the 1971 election the front should nominate its candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, as well as for posts in government departments.

The nascent popular unity still falls short of what our strategic plans call the Democratic Front of National Liberation. Nevertheless, there is no contradiction between them. We consider that the rise of the people's unity front will be an event of historic significance. That is why we support the idea of forming it, bearing in mind the specific tasks it sets itself. These tasks are in keeping with the present situation in the country. They do not run counter to either our program or our ultimate goals. There are no contradictions between the democratic gains we seek today and the revo-

lutionary perspective. Besides, the establishment of the unity front is introducing changes into the political situation and is making the conquest of power a realistic objective.

Uruguay is not an isolated case

We are witnessing a great turn in the historic battle of the peoples of our continent for liberation from U.S. imperialism and the reactionary, anti-national oligarchy. The Cuban revolution triumphed a little more than ten years ago. Today Peru, Chile and Bolivia are taking the road of liberation.

The substance of the changes being carried out in some of these countries may be defined with due regard to their class content and the character of prevailing relations of production. Generally speaking, these changes correspond to different stages of an advanced democratic, anti-imperialist revolution against monopoly and the oligarchy. This is why, at a definite stage of development of the revolutionary process, life itself is bound to pose the dilemma: capitalism or socialism? For all the distinctive features of the transitional period in this or that country, hardly anyone would think seriously of the possibility of establishing a system intermediate between capitalism and socialism. We Communists regard socialism as a higher form of social organization that can definitively solve the problem of national and social emancipation of the peoples. Evidence of this is the entire political development in our epoch. If the struggle of radical forces for political and economic independence is consistent, it is bound to lead to gradual socialist changes.

The victorious anti-imperialist, democratic struggle in each of the countries listed above historically merges – despite differences in forms and levels of development and distinctions in the class character of its motive forces – with the general stream of the Latin American revolution and stimulates it tremendously. The processes in these countries are an advance towards the strategic goal of the peoples of our continent – their second independence. We are in the presence of significant changes in the balance of forces between the Latin American peoples and U.S. imperialism, which plunders our national resources and engineers coups, interventions and crimes against the sovereignty and freedom of our countries.

The changes in Latin American reality are speeding the patriotic, democratic revolutionary liberation process in individual countries. Developments in these countries are stamped by the historical characteristics of each of them and by the alignment of social and political forces. This determines the ways and means of the peoples

drawing nearer to power, and accounts for the bitterness of class battles, the degree of radicalization of the revolutionary process and the distinctive character of the stages of the national liberation revolution and its development into a socialist revolution, as well as the possibility of intervention by imperialism or by the gorilla regimes of neighbor countries. Imperialism and Latin American reaction will evidently compel us to fight hard and will in many cases try to prevent by force the assumption of power by the people, predetermining thereby the armed path of the revolution.

In line with statements by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, we have repeatedly said that we prefer the least painful road to the national and social emancipation of the people. But we cannot and must not forget such political factors as the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and the possibility of its intervention with the complicity of the national oligarchy, any more than we can forget the existence of reactionary military regimes flouting the people's democratic freedoms and rights. It would be absurd and irresponsible, of course, to underestimate any real opportunity of the revolution taking a peaceful course and of winning power without civil war.

Current events show that previous congresses of our Party were correct in stressing the need to view changes in the political situation on the continent from two standpoints. Though outwardly opposed, they are, nevertheless, elements of a whole and reflect the dialectics of the revolutionary process. Thus, it is necessary, on the one hand, to search for realistic ways and means of achieving popular unity and promoting the liberation process according to conditions and the revolutionary situation in each particular country. No general principles, recipes or historical analogies can fully anticipate particular situations. This is an axiom of our theory and practice. On the other hand, however, it would be foolish to ignore the fact that even our Uruguayan reality, one of the most unique, is a component of Latin American reality, which is characterized by revolutionary upheavals, by sharpening economic, social, political and national problems and by the maturing of objective conditions for revolutionary change. All this makes liberation the order of the day. People's rule today is a concrete historic objective. This is why the problem of popular unity and subjective factors, in particular the issue of the Party, are becoming more and more important for the revolution.

Growing Party membership

One of the main activities of the Uruguayan Communists is the building up of a powerful party. The progress of the Uruguayan

revolution depends largely on fulfilment of this task. We have registered considerable gains. The 20th Congress examined the growth of our membership, with the Communist Party becoming a mass party, a *real political force*, which is what Lenin always called for.

In the four years since its 19th Congress (August 1966) the Communist Party was joined by 26,087 new members, the Montevideo Party organization, the mainstay of our Party, growing by 22,479 members. Since membership growth took place amid persecution by the Pacheco Areco regime and despite the 'emergency measures,' we assess this as proof that our policy and tactics are correct. Speaking of the entire 15-year period, membership increased 12.9 times over, the capital showing a 14.7-fold increase and the provinces an 8.1-fold increase.

The Communist Youth League has been growing in numbers and strength along with the Party. It now has 20,000 members and plays an important role in the students' and working-class movement. It has produced many fighters, including Liber Arce, Hugo de los Santos and Susana Pintos, who gave their lives for our common cause.

Analysis of membership growth reveals a number of special characteristics. This growth has been going on in an atmosphere of struggle in the country. Its rate has increased in spite of the very difficult conditions of the years 1968-70. Most of the new members are workers, who in the past four years have made up 68.1 per cent of the new members. Over the 15-year period, 72.6 per cent of the new members were industrial, transport and building workers and other categories of wage workers. The Party's age composition has changed too: 56.5 per cent of the new members are between 18 and 35 years of age and 77.6 per cent below 45. The proportion of women is relatively high – it exceeds 30 per cent. Represented in the Party's ranks are five or even six generations. This guarantees continuity between those who founded the Party and have half a century's experience of revolutionary struggle and young people who have come to us from working-class and other popular organizations. It is an indication of the political and ideological cohesion of the Party and evidence of inner-Party democracy, which were demonstrated at the latest congress.

The Party is not growing spontaneously. Its growth is systematic and planned and goes on in line with the program of Party building. We generally make an aggregate plan for one or two years comprising the totality of political, ideological, propaganda, financial and organizational tasks and mobilize the entire party to fulfil it. This practice has gone on ever since the late fifties. Experience has shown that in spite of some shortcomings in various fields of

Party work, planning is a dependable instrument in the hands of the Party leadership. It has helped us to increase both the general strength of the Party and the number of branch organizations. Their rapid growth, especially in the capital, was typical of the period before the 20th Congress. We now have 700 branch organizations in Montevideo.

We may now say that we have a strong Party. This is evidenced by its program, which provides solutions for problems of today and tomorrow, by its close links with the working class and its influence over the masses, which it owes to the fact that the Party is in the van of the struggle and is leading it, by its increased political leverage in the country's life, and lastly, by its devoted efforts to unite all progressive forces.

Stressing the national character of the Party does not run counter to the Party's profound internationalism, but is closely connected with it. This internationalism manifests itself primarily in the struggle for world communist unity, which found reflection in the 20th Congress decisions. We regard this struggle as the duty of every Communist party, irrespective of its strength or the country where it is operating. We think the situation is ripe for a new offensive against imperialism, and this calls for broad unity of action by all anti-imperialist forces. In this connection we take a favorable view of the initiative of convening a world anti-imperialist congress shortly.

Unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist and working-class movement is of decisive importance in the offensive against imperialism. Recent years have been characterized by a desire for cohesion along with a weakening of centrifugal forces. The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was of immense significance for unity. Our Party considers it imperative to go on working for communist unity on the basis of the tried and tested Marxist-Leninist ideology. Unity will undoubtedly determine the time when the great goals can be attained that the three mighty world forces – the peoples of the socialist countries, the national liberation movement and international working class – which are merging into one stream, are striving for. These goals are to avoid a thermonuclear cataclysm, foil imperialism's bellicose plans, specifically in Vietnam and the Middle East, carry forward the building of communism and socialism on a still greater scale, achieve victory for socialism in new countries and abolish colonialism for good.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Uruguay specified the Party's main tasks in every sphere, in particular as regards increasing its membership and preparing for the November 1971 general election. The Congress also devoted special attention to

the election of the new Party leadership. It elected 48 full and 27 alternate members of the cc. The Congress bore in mind the need to re-elect cc members who had successfully led the Party ever since its 16th Congress and to bring in new, mostly young, people. This was prompted by the growth of Party membership, the increased influence of the Party in large labor and popular organizations, the trade unions, among the younger generation, women, agricultural workers and intellectuals.

The Central Committee report to the 20th Congress said that the new Central Committee is faced with big tasks whose fulfillment will be accompanied by serious trials. Looming large before us is a historically concrete problem, the problem of power.



Organization, guidance of industry in socialist Rumania

In Bucharest recently representatives of this journal discussed the organization of industry and various aspects of management in the Socialist Republic of Rumania with high-ranking Party and government leaders: Mihail Florescu, Member of the Central Committee, Rumanian Communist Party, Minister of the Chemical Industry and Deputy Chairman of the Economic Council of the SRR, Dumitru Joita, Alternate Member of the CC RCP, Secretary of the Bucharest Municipal RCP Committee, Mircea Zara, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Committee, Mihai Martinescu, Deputy Minister of Engineering, Cornel Hidos, Deputy Minister of Labor, and Grigore Marin, General Director of the Electronics and Automation Industrial Amalgamation.

Representing the journal were J. Laborde (Communist Party of Argentina), A. Gedo (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party), T. Davagsuren (Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party), B. Zaharescu (Rumanian Communist Party), P. Hentgès (French Communist Party) and staff members I. Ilyinski and I. Sedivy.

The discussion was opened by B. Zaharescu, Member of the CC RCP and member of our Editorial Board. In an introductory address on behalf of the journal P. Hentgès pointed to the mounting world interest in the socialist way of life. The meeting, he said, was in line with the journal's traditional discussions of topical problems relating to the practical activity of Communist and Workers' parties.

The Rumanian comrades presented papers on the principles governing the organization and guidance of economy, planning, the role of industrial ministries, the work of an industrial amalgamation, improvement of personnel training and guidance of Bucharest's industries. Also, they elucidated points raised by representatives of our journal.

Below is a survey of the discussion.

Extensive development of the economy and other spheres, the Rumanian comrades noted, was achieved over the years of socialist construction. Socialist relations of production have taken root in all economic areas. From 1950 to 1969 industrial output went up 10-fold (average annual accretion 13 per cent), the national income 5.6-fold (average annual accretion 9 per cent) and foreign trade seven-fold. The standard of living and cultural level of the people rose steadily.

Industry, now accounting for some 60 per cent of the national income, is the leading sector of the economy. Its structure has changed, it is better equipped technically, paving the way for further general growth.

New problems, relating the forms and methods of economic guidance, are arising in the present stage. The ninth Congress of the RCP (1965) called for new quality in all economic activity. The National Conference of the RCP (1967) adopted important decisions improving planning and economic guidance. And the Party's 10th Congress (1969) reviewed the early results and outlined measures completing the reorganization of economic guidance by the end of 1970.

The improvements in economic guidance, the hosts pointed out, were impelled primarily by the quantitative and qualitative changes in the economy and the requirements of continued growth. The aim is to secure rapid expansion of the productive forces, fullest use of material and labor resources, improvement of economic activity and higher effectiveness in production.

Main principles of industrial management

The main features of Rumania's economy, M. Florescu pointed out, derive from socialist public ownership of the means of production and socialist production relations. The RCP proceeds from Marxist-Leninist principles, applying them creatively to the concrete conditions on the basis of its own experience of socialist construction and that of other socialist countries, which it follows with deep interest.

As we see it, he said, the forms of economic management cannot be immutable; they must correspond to the level of development and fit in with the foremost experience of applying the general principles of the socialist economy. The old principles of economic guidance are out of tune with our new economic level. A critical analysis of past activity prompted the RCP to frame measures removing flaws and assuring further improvement of economic guidance. The new system of planning and management encompasses many fundamentally new forms and methods.

The guiding role in economic development, just as in all other spheres, belongs to the Communist Party. Party congresses approve economic directives serving as guidelines for the five-year development plans. The Party's Central Committee regularly discusses the progress of the plans and rules on projected annual plans. Its Executive Committee examines the key economic problems and defines the principal measures working for economic growth and fulfilment of plans.

The Party also plays the guiding role in directing and controlling local economic life. This is done through district and city Party committees and the Party branches in the enterprises.

Recently, the speaker went on, we formed the Economic Council as an organ of the CC RCP and the State Council, with economic commissions, its local counterparts, functioning under the local Party committees. The Economic Council, a mixed Party-and-state body, is assigned by the CC RCP to supervise the work of the local economic commissions, while on behalf of the State Council it controls the activity of the state's economic administrations. The economic commissions of district, city and factory Party committees help the Party branches in shop-floor organizational work and control of local administrations.

Economic management is based on the principle of *planned development*. The plan is the basic instrument securing production growth. Steps have been taken, however, to eliminate excessive centralization in planning, voluntarism, and subjectivism, to extend the prerogatives of enterprises, and encourage initiative among workers and specialists. Planning procedures have been substantially altered. The plans are initially drafted at factory and shop floor level, then sent up for further elaboration to senior bodies.

Profitability and accountability is another important principle. Under socialism, economic activity must be effective not only as a whole, but also branch by branch, factory by factory. Reorganizing economic management, Florescu noted, we analyzed the activity of all enterprises and determined the profitability of every product.

The international socialist division of labor, he said, helps us build up economically effectual industries. We fill our need in products which it is unprofitable to manufacture at home by co-operating with the socialist states or by developing economic relations with other countries.

Industrial management is based on *democratic centralism*, which helps consolidate the economic role of the socialist state and, at the same time, enhances the economic independence of the units of production.

As before, the branches of industry are headed by ministries,

but the latter have been drastically reorganized. No longer do they exercise immediate guidance of enterprises and can concentrate on the key problems of development. Their production boards have been dissolved, with only the functional sub-divisions (for planning, financing, technico-scientific development, and the like), still in operation. As a result, staffs have been reduced 40 per cent and the released specialists are employed directly in production.

Industrial amalgamations have been set up to direct specific branches (more precisely, sub-branches), bringing economic and technical guidance closer to production and combining the territorial principle of administration with the industrial.

Collective management of enterprises, amalgamations and ministries, with broader participation of wage-earners in framing plans and running production, is a distinctive feature of our new system.

At enterprise level it is carried forward by the managing committee, headed by the director. Apart from the administrators, the committee includes elected representatives or blue- and white-collar workers. The amalgamations are run by administrative councils, headed by the general director, and the supreme body of the ministries is the collegium, headed by the minister.

Their function is essentially directive, for they work out the correct solutions through collective discussion.

The new forms of planning and management affect many other aspects of the economic mechanism. We have revised price-setting. While retaining central price controls, broader price-setting rights are afforded to the subordinate bodies. The new experimentally-introduced system of remuneration gives freer play to the principle of payment according to work done and provides for a fairer differentiation by industries, helping stimulate production, because apart from bonuses for the wage-earner's individual performance, he also receives an annual bonus for the year's result of the enterprise as a whole. We have also decentralized the system of supply and sales, enabling the economic units to deal directly with each other.

Important measures have been taken in foreign trade. Since January 1970, trading is being transacted directly by the ministries, amalgamations and larger enterprises. The Ministry of Foreign Trade is the coordinating and controlling body; it concludes international trade agreements on behalf of the government and supervises fulfilment.

The reorganization saw an expansion of research institutes and laboratories, boosting general and applied research. Research is conducted under contracts between the bodies concerned, with research institutes, academic establishments, factory designers and laboratories concentrating principally on problems relating to the development of material production.

Economic information is being improved. Computer centers are being set up by the Central Statistical Administration, the State Planning Committee, in the districts and in the various economic branches.

The results for 1966-1970 show that the new forms of planning and management are yielding fruit. Nearly all the five-year plan targets have been surpassed. The 1971-1975 plan draft envisages an equally high rate of production growth, with the annual industrial accretion set at 10-11 per cent against the 8.5-9.5 per cent stipulated in the 10th Party Congress directives.

Question: How are the high rates of growth secured?

Answer: As we see it, Florescu replied, the high rates are secured principally by the advantages of the socialist system and the Party's guiding role in economic development. Another important factor is the active participation of working people in planning and management, coupled with broad participation of specialists in discussing and resolving the key economic problems. Under the bourgeois-landlord system the country's natural wealth was barely tapped. Not until after the socialist revolution did effective development become possible.

Question: How does the productivity of labor go up?

Answer: In the past five years productivity of labor went up 7-9 per cent annually, due chiefly to the installation of new technology and improved organization of production and labor. Higher proficiency of workers, technicians and engineers, and the rising level of socialist consciousness among them are also helping push up productivity.

Question: What is the percentage of investment in Rumania's economic balance?

Answer: We have come to the conclusion, Florescu noted, that the accumulation fund, used principally for investments, should amount to approximately 30 per cent of our national income. This enables us to rise steadily to the level of the highly developed countries and at the same time continuously elevate the standard of living. In the past five years real wages went up 22-23 per cent, and in the coming five-year period are expected to rise another 18 per cent.

Question: Is the state's foreign trade monopoly unimpaired by the independent trading of enterprises?

Answer: State monopoly may be exercised in different forms, providing the enterprises adhere strictly to the general principles of foreign trade. Such adherence is assured by Foreign Trade Ministry controls on behalf of the state.

Planning problems

Economic planning, M. Zara said, is the practical instrument whereby the Party and state carry forward their economic and social policy. The plan covers various social aspects, as well as material production. In our planning we adhere to *democratic centralism*.

Centralization is applied in spheres decisive for our economic policy: the rates and proportions in production, the policy and program of investment, foreign trade, the standard of living, finance and prices, distribution of the productive forces, and manpower. In all these areas, the final decisions come from the top Party and government leadership, but, enterprises are afforded operational independence.

The present system accentuates the principle of collective framing of plans. To draft the 1971-1975 five-year plan, for example, we have set up special commissions in enterprises, districts and economic branches, and some commissions to deal expressly with specific problems. There is also a central Party and government commission. Under the guidance of Party committees, these commissions discuss the draft, pinpointing potentialities, and aligning development with the available resources. Tentative targets of annual and longer-term plans are thoroughly discussed at general meetings of workers and other employees, by the collective management bodies in enterprises, amalgamations and ministries, and the directive Party and government organs.

What we intend to concentrate on, the speaker added, is *alignment of current and long-term planning*. The five-year plan is still the main instrument, but for some branches and economic problems five years is not long enough. So the main development trends are usually projected over ten-year periods. Longer-term programs, too, are important for some branches of the economy, such as electronics, engineering, irrigation, animal husbandry, etc.

Special priority is given to *improving the content of the plan*. We want to improve our system of information; this is essential for determining growth trends in the economy as a whole and in its leading branches, with an eye on the international division of labor, economic cooperation with other socialist countries and trade relations with the rest of the world. Also, we intend to employ mathematical modelling of economic processes and use modern computer techniques more extensively. Work has begun on inter-industrial balances, classification of products and a standard production nomenclature. This will help modernize prognostication, improving tentative plan variants and producing more realistic estimates.

As for the system of *plan indexes*, Zara said, special emphasis is

laid on *quality* indicators. These should promote the profitability and effectiveness of production, on the one hand, and afford the directive organs effective control over the economic and social processes, on the other. More than before, the plan indexes are tied in with the system of economic and financial levers, viewed as an important vehicle of the economic policy of Party and state.

Question: What is the relation between the plan and the market?

Answer: The plan is the crucial factor of economic development. Naturally, it takes account of the requirements of the market, but it also determines the latter's framework. By and large, economic and social processes are governed by the plan, not the market.

Question: How are Rumania's economic plans coordinated with those of other socialist countries?

Answer: Matters of mutual interest are negotiated through CMEA or bilaterally, with the agreed programs then worked into the national plans of the countries concerned. Rumania is determined to extend cooperation with the other socialist countries and to improve forms and methods in line with the principles to which it has so far adhered. While forecasts may be worked out jointly and some areas of activity planned in common, Zara said, the economic development plan of each country, as we see it, is the attribute of its Party and government leadership.

Question: How do you conceive achieving the level of the economically-developed countries?

Answer: It is conceived as a general aim, not a concrete plan for a definite term. What it implies is a high rate of economic development, enabling us gradually to close the gap between Rumania's economy and that of the highly developed countries. We want to draw closer to the economically developed countries in manufacture and consumption of the key items. This does not mean, Zara added, that we wish to copy the economic structure of any other country.

Question: What would be the impact on economic development of measures relating to general disarmament?

Answer: It is obvious without special computing that disarmament measures would have a positive impact both on Rumania and other countries not only economically, but in many other respects.

The industrial ministries

The role and tasks of the industrial ministries under the new system of planning and management, said *M. Martinescu*, have changed substantially. No longer are the ministries badgered by countless minor problems and can concentrate on longer-term general technico-economic problems of development in their own field. This

does not mean that the ministry is no longer responsible for the work of enterprises in its system. It exercises guidance of the subordinate industrial amalgamations and in case of need may take operational measures to improve their work. But top priority goes to key issues that cannot be resolved at the level of enterprises or amalgamations.

The principal job of an industrial ministry is to draw up technico-economic development programs, long-term and annual plans, to introduce advanced technology, improve management and the organization of production, and to control fulfilment of economic assignments by enterprises and amalgamations.

The Ministry of Engineering, Martinescu amplified, controls some 85-90 per cent of the country's engineering enterprises. As many as 17 industrial amalgamations operate under its auspices, with but a few specialized enterprises run by other ministries (those of transport, chemicals and light industry).

The main guiding body of the Ministry is the collegium, comprising the minister and his deputies, other high-ranking officials, the general directors of the industrial amalgamations, the directors of research and designing institutes, representatives of the Academy of Sciences and of the trade union.

The collegium examines the general problems of development in engineering, studies and approves the draft of annual and longer-term plans, rules on the larger investments, drafts measures to speed up installation of new technology, and promotes growth of economic and technico-scientific cooperation with other countries.

Operational guidance between collegium sittings is exercised by the minister and his deputies.

The collegium of the Engineering Ministry has projected tentative targets for the 1971-1975 plan and programs for the main sub-branches: manufacture of metal-working tools, power equipment, electro-technical equipment, computer technology, etc. In the next five years engineering will develop at an accelerated rate. The output of enterprises subordinate to the Ministry will double. The existing plants are being expanded and new enterprises are going up. Especially high rates of growth have been set for power equipment, technological equipment for the oil and chemical industries, and shipbuilding. We plan to extend specialization and cooperation in engineering with other socialist countries and to promote the international division of labor.

Question: What is the relationship between the Ministry and the Party's Central Committee?

Answer: The Central Committee machinery has no industrial departments controlling the Ministry in the Party context. Party control is exercised through the Economic Council of the CC RCP

and State Council. Government control is also exercised through the Council of Ministers and the Grand National Assembly, which has a standing commission for industry.

Question: What does the Ministry do about personnel training? What is its relationship with the Ministry of Education?

Answer: Personnel training is definitely the concern of the Ministry. It runs its own vocational schools, subordinate to enterprises and in some cases to the industrial amalgamations. The Ministry also controls the work of specialized secondary schools training personnel for our industry. The higher educational establishments are under the Ministry of Education, but our Ministry helps draw up the curriculum for their engineering departments and takes part in determining student quotas for the respective specialties.

Question: What are the tasks of the Engineering Ministry in foreign trade with the socialist countries?

Answer: The transfer of export and import functions to industrial ministries, amalgamations and larger enterprises have brought foreign trade closer to production. The Ministry expands trade with the socialist countries and works for higher economic effectiveness in production through deeper specialization and cooperation on mutually advantageous terms. To be sure, Martinescu added, we also develop economic relations with other countries.

Industrial amalgamations

A noteworthy aspect of the reorganization of economic management in Rumania was the setting up of industrial amalgamations comprising groups of kindred enterprises of one industry or several industries cooperating to produce definite items. These amalgamations are not managing bodies mediating between ministries and enterprises but autonomous technological and economic agencies carrying on manifold activities on the principle of economic accountability and enjoying the rights of juridical persons. The Electronics and Automation Amalgamation of the Ministry of the Engineering Industry is one of them, G. Marin said. It was set up early in 1969 as one of the first of its kind.

Industrial amalgamations coordinate the activities of enterprises and are accountable for their operation but do not substitute for their managements. They enjoy considerable economic and financial autonomy and command substantial material supplies and funds. They may draw bank credits and use part of above-plan profits at discretion. While they have assumed some of the former functions of the chief departments of ministries, they are better equipped to draft and carry out current and long-range plans and to effect econ-

omic operations. In the interest of the enterprises they now perform, furthermore, such functions as material and technical supply, specialized designing and research, export and import operations.

The Electronics and Automation Amalgamation takes steps to foster scientific and technological progress in the industry and to concentrate and make effective use of production capacities. It determines the main lines of economic and technological development of the enterprises, specifies the range of the main products and distributes them by enterprises, organizing cooperation in production where facilities for the manufacture of particular items are lacking.

The Amalgamation has a Managing Council and Executive Bureau, both under the General Director. The Managing Council comprises, in addition to leading executives of the Amalgamation, the managers and heads of the enterprises and institutions subordinate to it, experts from other organizations, research workers and a trade union representative. The Council discusses draft economic plans and financial balances, problems of expanding production, scientific and technological advancement of the industry, personnel training, export and import operations, and so on. In charge in the intervals between Council meetings is the Executive Bureau, which carries out Council decisions and settles current problems.

The Electronics and Automation Amalgamation also has a Scientific and Technological Council which examines and approves technological documents and other records bearing on production expansion. The Executive Bureau and General Director may appoint experts' groups to analyze various development problems of the industry.

The establishment of amalgamations made it possible to bring management closer to enterprises and to assure better utilization of capacities and labor. The new forms of management and new economic incentives, G. Marin said, are expected to bring about a substantial increase in output, make production more comprehensive and raise its efficiency.

The 1971-75 plan for the electronics and automation industry envisages a 180 per cent increase in output. Existing enterprises will be extended and modernized and, besides, eleven new plants manufacturing microelectronic, computer, electric vacuum and other equipment are to go into operation. Eighty per cent of the output of the Amalgamation enterprises is to be updated by 1975.

The Amalgamation has made certain progress in a short time. On the other hand, G. Marin noted, there crop up difficulties and we have yet to deal with many problems, including that of personnel training.

Question: What is the scope of operation of the Electronics and Automation Amalgamation?

Answer: It now encompasses 15 industrial enterprises, one building and assembly enterprise, two research and design institutes, a design center and a supply and sales base. New enterprises are added every year. The share of the Amalgamation's output in the Ministry's total in 1970 was roughly 8.5 per cent and will rise to almost 15 per cent in 1975.

Question: What economic levers does the Amalgamation use to stimulate the work of enterprises?

Answer: The monthly, quarterly and annual economic plans of the enterprises contain quantitative and qualitative indices. One of the former is the amount of marketed output, including export items. Among the latter are expenditures for a definite amount of marketable output and the resultant profit. If the plan for all these indices is fulfilled, the allocated material incentive fund is used fully. If not, a fine is deducted from the funds of the enterprises and shops concerned. If plan assignments are topped a bonus is paid out of above-plan profits.

Question: How does the Amalgamation carry out its export and import operations?

Answer: It carries them out through Electronum, a specialized foreign trade enterprise. The new form of foreign trade activity is proving its worth in our conditions, G. Marin said, because it is more efficient and closer to production. The Amalgamation exports products to more than thirty countries. Roughly 70 per cent of them go to socialist countries and the rest is absorbed by capitalist countries. The Amalgamation has direct contacts with related enterprises in other socialist countries and coordinates specialization and cooperation measures with them.

Main nucleus of the economy

Under the new economic planning and management system, the enterprise is the main economic unit as in the past, but has more extensive powers and functions than before. Enterprises show greater initiative in organizing production and marketing output, and direct links between suppliers and consumers have grown in scope.

Speaking of the relationship between the plan targets and the initiative of enterprises, M. Zara stressed that in the new conditions, too, the enterprises operate according to the economic plan and within its framework. On the other hand, they now have greater powers and opportunities than before to specify plan guidelines and adjust their production programs to local conditions. While the plan is being drafted, they submit proposals to higher bodies. Not the whole range of products manufactured by an enterprise is

determined centrally. In a number of cases the central body only decides on overall output indices. The enterprises may manufacture some items of their own choice if only their sale is guaranteed and their manufacture promises favorable economic results and is not at variance with general plan objectives. Enterprises may make small investments on their own, using part of their profit and a bank loan. They also may use some of the profit for social purposes and as material incentives.

Increasing operational autonomy of the enterprises was accompanied by the establishment of managing committees and by greater participation of the employees in the discussion of production problems, *M. Florescu* pointed out. The director and other committee members from among key executives of the enterprise are appointed from above. Besides, the committee includes the chairman of the enterprise trade union organization and representatives of the employees who are elected at the general meeting for a term of two years. It is expected that subsequently the committee will include the secretary of the enterprise Party organization and the secretary of the YCL organization.

The managing committee meets to discuss draft production plans and the results of plan fulfilment, the enterprise balance, problems of improving production, new technical facilities, labor organization and remuneration, and so on.

The employees hold general meetings at least twice a year to hear the managing committee's report and to evaluate its work. The meeting discusses the economic activity of the enterprise and plan assignments for the next year or five years. Large enterprises hold general meetings of employees by shops first. These meetings discuss shop managers' reports on production and elect delegates to the enterprise meeting. Decisions adopted by the enterprise meeting are conveyed to all employees – by shops and sections.

Question: How are the workers informed about the state of economic activity?

Answer: In addition to the general meeting of the employees, trade union and Party meetings are held in the enterprises at which plant and shop managers report on the main results of economic activity. Information on economic progress is provided by the press, radio and television. Besides, there are annual summaries of economic plan fulfilment for the whole country.

Question: How do the workers take part in decision-making on improving production?

Answer: In a great variety of forms, *M. Florescu* said. Every worker has a right to submit rationalization proposals. The rationalization movement has already assumed a mass scale. The enterprises, amalgamations and ministries have scientific and technologi-

cal councils which deal with problems of improving operation and seek the advice of experts and efficient workers.

Question: What happens if the majority of managing committee members disagrees with the enterprise manager?

Answer: The very nature of the managing committee, which is a collective body, and the collective method of discussion create favorable conditions for arriving at a common position on the problems under consideration, in the interest of both society and the employees. Fundamental differences arise over serious shortcomings in work. If the director differs with the majority of committee members, the higher body settles the matter upon careful examination. But situations of this kind are few, as are cases of the general meeting disapproving of the managing committee's work. On the whole, the activity of managing committees and the practice of hearing their reports at meetings make it possible to combine collective leadership and control by the employees over the activity of economic executives.

Personnel training and retraining

At this stage of economic development, with the scientific and technological revolution in full progress, C. Hidos said, the personnel training problem acquires particular importance.

There are about five million persons engaged in the Rumanian economy. By far the majority of them were trained in the new Rumania. It was a question of having both more specialists and providing vocational instruction in step with the new technology. This confronted the Party and the state with difficult problems.

It must be borne in mind, B. Zaharescu added, that 25 years ago Rumania was a predominantly farming country with less than 200,000 industrial workers. Numerous executives were trained from among the working people in the years of socialist development.

Proficiency has risen noticeably in recent years, C. Hidos continued. For example, there were numerous unskilled workers in the building industry. However, as building and assembly were mechanized and new building technologies were introduced the share of unskilled labor diminished. Skills have also been going up in other industries.

Workers are trained in vocational schools or on the job. School training, as we see it, should be more general, with trainees primed for a particular trade directly on the shop-floor. The list of trades and the number of requisite personnel are determined by the Ministries of Labor and Education by agreement with the Ministries directly concerned. The Ministry of Labor sees to it that labor resources are used rationally.

The problem of extension courses is an acute one today. In some cases it means raising the qualifications of employees and in others, teaching them another trade, a related one – we call it the problem of 'multiple qualification.' There is also the problem of retraining part of the employees whose former trade can no longer be used to an adequate extent in new conditions. Special mention should be made of the problem of retraining executives.

Qualification is improved in republican centers, ministry study centers, industrial amalgamations and enterprises. We have a long-range plan for personnel training for the national economy and we amend it from time to time.

Ever since 1967 we have drawn up improvement and retraining programs for top engineers, technologists and other specialists. An important feature of these programs is close coordination of theoretical instruction and practical training. The diverse forms of training already involve a considerable proportion of leading executives and specialists. We expect that they will have completed their retraining before the end of 1973. Afterwards they will take refresher courses periodically.

Special attention has been given in recent years to teaching rational organization of production and labor. In 1968 we set up in districts, cities and large industrial centers so-called territorial study centers for production and labor organization. We now have 55 such centers providing instruction to more than 6,000 people from enterprises and institutions.

Question: What is the ratio between the training of workers in vocational schools and on the job?

Answer: Schools generally train workers in special skills. As regards training in simple trades, it is advisable to conduct it at the places of work – in apprenticeship groups or individually. This is advantageous to both the state and the student. We plan, C. Hidos added, to extend training in some trades through courses organized by enterprises.

Question: What is the situation with regard to general training and multiple-skill workers?

Answer: General training is provided by vocational schools in such trades as fitter, electrician, stonemason, and so on. This lays a sound foundation for subsequent narrow specialization on the job.

Now as regards multi-skill workers. As automation progresses people become less and less occupied at their places of work. To do a 'full-time' job, they must either operate more units of the same plant or assume the execution of continuous operations. Multiple proficiency is called for where the latter solution is preferable.

Question: What is the direct effect on production of retraining and refresher training of executives and specialists?

Answer: In the course of training, economic executives and specialists work out by agreement with the amalgamation or enterprise management a draft plan to improve technologies, labor organization or management. The management assesses the draft and decides whether or not it should be put into effect. In many cases this yields a saving several times greater than the cost of training an executive or specialist. The Ministry of Labor keeps account of plans of this nature and sees to their realization.

Experience of the Bucharest Party organization

The Party's economic policy is to carry forward socialist production, raise its efficiency and meet the people's material and cultural requirements more and more fully. The Party directs the efforts of its organizations towards the practical solution of these problems. *D. Joita* spoke about the experience of the Bucharest Party organization in industrial leadership.

Bucharest is the administrative and political, as well as the largest economic center of the country. Its 218 industrial enterprises account for 17 per cent of the gross output of Rumanian industry. The city may be said to have every industry with the exception of mining.

The industries of Bucharest have grown considerably in the years of socialist development. In 1970 output was 19 times that of 1938 and twice as great as the country's gross industrial output in that prewar year. The capital's industries have assumed a comprehensive character and we now have new industries that play a prominent part in the scientific and technological progress of the entire economy. Bucharest also has numerous building, transport, trading and other enterprises.

The Bucharest Party organization is the country's largest. It has about 200,000 members, roughly half of whom are workers. It is led by the Municipal (city) Committee of the RCP, which controls eight district committees operating in every district, and eight branch Party committees with the status of district committees and uniting Party organizations on the production principle. We have such Party committees in building, transport, trade and some other spheres.

The Municipal Committee focusses the attention of the city Party organization on the following tasks: fulfilling and exceeding economic plans, raising and solving key economic problems, supervising the execution of Party decisions on economic matters, and improving the working methods of Party bodies in the economic field. The Municipal Committee attaches special importance to improving Party work in the enterprises.

Working under municipal, district and factory committees of the Party are economic commissions. They keep track of economic plan fulfilment, analyze pressing problems of economic development, inform Party committees of the economic activities of enterprises and suggest improvements. These commissions are composed of experienced Party workers, economic executives, specialists and front-rank workers.

The Economic Commission of the Municipal Committee has 97 members, among whom are 40 of the 115 members of the Municipal Committee plenum and 57 other Party workers and specialists. The Commission has groups in charge of various economic fields. Its plenary meetings, which are called four times a year, examine problems of the capital's economic development and approve recommendations that are then sent to the secretariat, bureau or plenum of the Municipal Committee.

We attach great importance, D. Joita went on, to general meetings of enterprise employees or their representatives, which discuss draft economic plans. These meetings show a high degree of activity. In September 1970 they were attended by more than 150,000 workers and other employees of the capital. Ten thousand of them joined in the debate and 8,000 submitted proposals.

The Party's Municipal Committee takes steps to solve numerous economic problems. Thus, early in 1970 industrial enterprises of the capital studied and determined the possibilities of increasing the output of export items and of improving their quality. In the same period the Municipal Committee checked economic plan fulfilment in 33 enterprises. This verifying job involved 250 Party and research workers and specialists who together with the managements worked out measures that assured the fulfilment of plan assignments and the production of 100 million lei worth of goods above plan. In 14 enterprises of Bucharest the Municipal Committee investigated the utilization of labor resources. It carefully examined labor organization and discipline, refresher training, labor productivity and other problems, and discussed them subsequently at a plenary meeting. The decision adopted as a result helped to exceed the assignment for higher productivity. This accounted for 82 per cent of the accretion in output for 1970. In 1970 the Municipal Committee gave much of its time to the problems of improving the quality of industrial output, extending the mechanization of labor-intensive processes, improving the city's transport system and other problems.

Special attention is devoted to acquainting production collectives with the economic decisions of Party and government bodies and to rallying the working people to carry out these decisions. Secretaries and members of the Municipal Committee bureau and

plenum report on these matters to broad audiences from time to time.

We attach great significance to the economic education of Party and economic workers. We organize public appearances by leading members of central Party and government bodies on pressing problems of the economic policy of the Party and the state. Party committees conduct courses and seminars on economic management problems and the economy of industrial enterprises. Functioning under the leadership of the Municipal Committee is the city center for production and labor organization which organizes forums, symposiums, exhibitions and short-term courses.

We have gained considerable experience in economic guidance, D. Joita said, but, of course, there is room for improvement.

Question: To what extent do factory branches of the Party control the management?

Answer: Enterprise branches of the Party have the right to control the entire activity of the management—the director and other executives, as well as the managing committee. They assess the work of Party members who hold managerial posts and apply disciplinary or educational measures if necessary. They may also submit to higher bodies proposals for improving the work of the management.

Question: What is the functional relationship between the economic commissions and the Party committees?

Answer: The economic commissions are agencies of the Party committees, which they cannot substitute for and which they must help in guiding economic development. They analyze economic activity and the methods of the managements of enterprises and amalgamations and submit proposals to the Party committees concerned. They have no right to control the work of the enterprise management, for this right is exercised by the Party organization itself acting through them. Nor do the economic commissions deal with personnel problems, which are the responsibility of the Party committees. The commissions assist Party committees in defining and discussing problems of economic activity at committee meetings, but a Party committee may also discuss a matter that was not examined by its economic commission beforehand. However, D. Joita said, this does not detract from the role of the commissions, which enable Party committees to concern themselves more thoroughly with problems of economic leadership and to enlist more people in analyzing them.

At the invitation of the Rumanian comrades, the representatives of the journal visited in Bucharest the August 23 engineering plant, as well as the Brazi oil refinery and the oil equipment plant in the

Ploesti area. The managers told them about the use of new managing methods and economic incentives.

The representatives of the journal also visited Cepeca, the republican center for the refresher training of managerial personnel which offers instruction in modern methods of organizing management, production and labor and carries on relevant research and publishing.

In conclusion, the representatives of the journal had a meeting with *I. Radulescu*, member of the CC RCP, head of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department. On behalf of the Editorial Board of the journal, *Pierre Hentgès* thanked the CC RCP for its assistance in organizing the interviews. He said the Editorial Board planned more round-table meetings, helping brother parties to exchange information and compare notes.

CORRECTIONS IN FEBRUARY ISSUE

1. Last word on p. 89 and top lines on p. 90 of the C. Lightfoot article should read: These views were reinforced, through experiences with many corrupted labor leaders and also by erroneous ideas which were spread by many petty bourgeois sources, . . .

2. The footnote missed on p. 123 reads:

*Concentrated in the three northern provinces of Spain – Guipuzcoa, Alava and Vizcaya – the Basques have been campaigning for democracy and better conditions in close association with the movement for national rights, autonomy within the Spanish state. They have an ancient culture and traditions, and their own language, Euskara, which differs from Castilian Spanish. The 16 tried in Burgos were, the Spanish authorities say, members of the underground Euzkadi ta askatasuna (Basque Land and Freedom), a revolutionary organization with a marked anti-Franco orientation. – Ed.



To study the main trends, motive forces, tendencies and perspectives of the world revolutionary process and to analyze the objective economic and social conditions in which it develops, is a task to which Marxist-Leninists must continuously devote themselves. Underscoring the creative nature of Marxism as a genuinely scientific and continuously developing theory, V. I. Lenin wrote: 'It is essential to grasp the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognizance of real life, of the true facts of reality, and not cling to a theory of yesterday, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and the general, only comes near to embracing life in all its complexity' (Vol. 24, p. 45).

Genuine revolutionism, indeed, rests on exhaustive knowledge of the reality, on a deep-going appreciation of the multifarious, rapidly-changing processes of social development.

Lenin's postulate is doubly relevant for the present day, when social life has acquired colossal dynamism and the march of history is more rapid and complicated. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties called on our movement 'constantly to develop Marxist-Leninist theory and enrich it on the basis of present experience.' It emphasized that Communists must discuss and generalize the experience of the struggle, and work out scientific answers to the many questions arising before the working class. To obtain these answers we must analyze imperialism, its economy and policy. Deeper study is required of the centrifugal and centripetal tendencies of imperialism; the ways in which monopolies use the achievements of the technico-scientific revolution and government regulation to step up exploitation of working people in new, more refined forms; the strategy and methods used by the main imperialist countries against the revolutionary forces of our time; the struggle against the monopolies and the state of working people in the developed capitalist countries; the strategy

of the people's anti-imperialist struggle in the developing countries, etc.

We have dealt with these problems before. They were examined, among others, in recent articles by leaders of Communist parties, Comrades Tim Buck, Gus Hall, John Gollan and Ezekias Papaioannou. Special selections of articles have appeared on the United States and on the Federal Republic of Germany under the head, 'In the Citadels of Capitalism,' devoted to the problems of the struggle against imperialism.

The articles in this department, we hope, will also contribute to the further conceptualization of this highly topical issue. Similar selections will appear in coming issues.

Imperialist strategy and strategy of imperialist struggle

Kurt Bachmann

The decisive contradiction of our time is that between imperialism and socialism, and on a global scale in all spheres.

As a social system, imperialism is the main obstacle to man's progress to socialism, freedom, peace and democracy. 'On all sides, at every step,' Lenin wrote, 'one comes across problems which man is quite capable of solving immediately, but capitalism is in the way. It has amassed enormous wealth – and has made men the slaves of this wealth . . . Civilization, freedom and wealth under capitalism call to mind the rich glutton who is rotting alive but will not let what is young live on' (Coll. Works, Vol. 19, p. 389). Imperialism is thus the peoples' mortal enemy, the enemy of social progress.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties drew up a comprehensive program for combating imperialism. Since the Meeting, the forces of socialism, democracy and peace have made visible headway, striking at imperialism more and more effectively. One indication are the mass strikes sweeping the citadels of imperialism, including the Federal Republic of Germany, which had been a blank on the strike map for years. In 1970,

hundreds of thousands of West German workers downed tools. It is safe to say, therefore, that, by and large, the situation has become more favorable for resolving some of the most acute problems of modernity in favor of peace and social progress.

I

The fact that as a world system imperialism has suffered setbacks and its positions are shakier in many respects, should not, however, create the illusion that it is no longer dangerous. It has a vast military-economic potential and a highly developed and much ramified political mechanism, ministering to the aggressive policies of monopoly capital. Moreover, it is redoubling its efforts to carry forward a single world policy in the main areas of the class struggle and following a global strategy, embellished with novel tactics and new ideological arguments, against socialism and progress, and against democratic and popular revolutionary liberation movements. To oppose it with a clear-cut strategy of their own, the anti-imperialist forces must have a knowledge of what they are up against: the imperialists have adapted themselves to the essential shifts in the relation of world strength.

Some think that designing a single imperialist strategy is unrealistic, because the contradictions among the imperialist powers are growing, just as they are between different monopoly groups within countries and internationally. These economic and political contradictions, it is true, have grown more acute due to the uneven economic development of the imperialist countries, as borne out by the rapid economic growth of Japan, which has forged ahead of the FRG to become the second-ranking industrial power of the capitalist world. Uneven development, it may be added, jeopardizes U.S. imperialist hegemony in the capitalist world, and not only economically, but also in the political and military contexts, as evidenced by the state of NATO and SEATO, the two principal U.S.-sponsored military alignments. The economic interests of the major capitalist countries also collide in the Middle East and other parts of Asia. Nor are the clashes fortuitous. They betoken an objective tendency congenitally part of imperialism as a social system.

However, it interlaces with another, in a way opposite, tendency of the imperialist states to join forces against the rising strength of world socialism and the world revolutionary movement. And we cannot afford to overlook the fact that the latter preponderates.

This is chiefly due to the basic contradiction between imperialism and socialism becoming more acute in the deepening general crisis of capitalism, with the result that the contradictions in the imperialist camp have become secondary in comparison. 'Under con-

ditions where the struggle between the two world systems is becoming sharper,' says the Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 'the capitalist powers seek, despite the growing contradictions dividing them, to unite their efforts to uphold and strengthen the positions they have lost.'

Indisputably, each imperialist state pursues its own ends. But its policy cannot but reckon with the fact that it is a part of the world imperialist system, the existence of which is historically imperilled. It is fear for the future of the capitalist system that prompts the imperialists to join forces. To be sure, in so doing they retain their particular aims and interests, though these are increasingly pushed to the background.

The center of gravity in imperialism's world strategy is shifting. Its policy, strategy and tactics are shaped increasingly to suit the class aim of jointly combating socialism and the working-class and national-liberation movements. True, the class aim was essentially the same between the two world wars. Yet there had been no socialist world system, and the national-liberation movement, now also undermining the pillars of the imperialist system, had not yet attained its present scale. That was why the contradictions between the imperialist states became so acute that a world war broke out.

In the present stage, the imperialists are determined to avoid war among themselves, lest this should weaken their capability in fighting socialism. Besides, the unequal strength, the complete superiority of the U.S. war potential over that of the other imperialist powers, has substantially reduced the likelihood of a war among them. It was not surprising, therefore, that since the Second World War the imperialists fought all or nearly all their aggressive wars chiefly against the national liberation movement. Imperialism has no scruples about employing force against the progressive growth of former colonies and plotting against governments seeking independent development. Doubtless, too, it is eager to concert its armed forces or, at the very least, coordinate their operation. The U.S. imperialists have war bases in other countries, saddling the latter with various military treaties. Besides, they have erected a ramified system of military and politico-military blocs.

All that is the material evidence of a global imperialist strategy, to which the policy of the various imperialist states must in large measure adapt itself.

The weight of the different imperialist forces in this common strategy naturally varies. The main place is held by U.S. imperialism, an enemy of all liberation movements and the most cynical of exploiters, acting as the world gendarme.

The military-industrial complex is the determinative sector of the U.S. economy. The U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile is now esti-

mated to approach 25,000 megatons. U.S. nuclear-missile-carrying-planes are in the air round the clock, 'patrolling' four routes thousands of miles away from the American continent. Plans with the built-in danger of a nuclear disaster are part and parcel of U.S. imperialist policy.

World imperialism's general strategic line, as the Document of the International Communist Meeting points out, is directed principally against the socialist countries. Accordingly, the imperialists are reinforcing their military and politico-military blocs, expanding war bases that girdle the system of socialist states, and jacking up allocations for arms and maintenance of the troops of their aggressive blocs in nearly all latitudes. Almost half the U.S. servicemen, totalling more than 1,500,000 – or considerably more than during the Second World War – are outside U.S. territory, stationed in 64 overseas countries. Jointly with their allies, the U.S. imperialists have drawn up specific action plans against each socialist and each recently-independent country, and against progressive political parties in all countries. The core of this strategy is struggle against the Soviet Union, for it is common knowledge that it is the most powerful political and military bulwark of the world revolutionary movement and the main barrier to imperialism's aggressive designs of winning world supremacy.

To frame the general strategy of the struggle against socialism and the world revolutionary movement, the U.S. imperialists have a far-flung system of specialized ideological institutes and propaganda centers. Their job is to substantiate anti-communism, and to devise more refined and diverse forms of ideological subversion.

After the 'roll back' policy, the threat of an outright aggression against the socialist countries, collapsed, these centers cast about for new, more flexible, 'creeping' methods of subversion. Ideologues of the Brzezinski mould suggested that ideas of 'humanization,' 'liberalization,' 'bridge-building,' 'the convergence of the two systems' and 'ideological disarmament' could help smuggle bourgeois views into the socialist countries and subvert socialist society from within.

The policy of the United States and the other capitalist countries vis-à-vis the peoples and states of Asia, Africa and Latin America is also aligned with the general aim of combating the revolutionary forces. Imperialism wants to maintain its influence in those countries, integrating them in the capitalist system, and preventing, or at least hemming in, their advance to socialism along the progressive non-capitalist way. All kinds of methods are used for this end, from armed aggression, counter-revolutionary plots and fascist coups to thinly disguised 'liberal' or 'humane' ploys. All kinds of means are employed to spread nationalist ideas, fanning national-

ism and anti-communism in order to split the revolutionaries, to isolate them from the socialist states and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries.

Postwar history has shown that despite conflicting colonial interests in various parts of the Third World, the imperialists shy away from armed action against each other. It is farthest from their minds to resolve the contradictions by military means. The emphasis is rather on joint effort in assaulting the national liberation movement. The imperialist Vietnam aggression is a case in point. Yet this joining of forces is a token of a certain weakness, for no imperialist state so far has been able to overpower the national liberation movements in Asia and Africa single-handed.

Indicatively, in this area, too, U.S. imperialism is the main vehicle of armed, economic and political aggression, eager to line up the other imperialist states behind its policy of expansion.

The peril and aggressiveness of world imperialism must not be underestimated. The imperialists are using giant resources, wielding a huge military-economic potential and cooperating across the length and breadth of the globe with all reactionary forces, ready to go to any length in promoting their anti-labor, anti-democratic, aggressive, profoundly inhumane ends.

II

The growing national and international concentration and monopolization of capital adds to the objective impellants of the aggressive and anti-democratic tendencies of the imperialists. Yet these factors are encountering resistance. The socialist world system, the working-class and other democratic movements in the capitalist states and the national liberation movement are capable – more than at any previous time – to influence the operation of the objective laws of imperialism. The anti-imperialist forces are winning political positions that enable them to influence the march of history and to keep up a sustained offensive against imperialism and reaction.

Following twenty years of a policy aimed at revising the West German frontier with the German Democratic Republic and other socialist states, the treaty concluded between the FRG and the USSR last August recorded the undertaking to infallibly respect 'the territorial integrity of all states in Europe within their present frontiers. The treaty stipulates, too, that no territorial claims may be raised against anyone now and in the future.

Like the treaty recently concluded between the FRG and the Polish People's Republic, the Soviet-West German treaty may, once it is ratified, become a legal international barrier to any eventual

West-German imperialist demands relating to borders and territories and imperilling peace. Furthermore, it secures more favorable starting positions in the effort for the recognition of the GDR under international law and improves the preconditions for an early all-European security conference. Also, the treaty gives fresh impulse to the materialization in the FRG of the principles of the Potsdam Agreement, envisaging the extirpation for all time, with all its economic roots, of German imperialism, that is, the social force that suckled fascism and plunged Europe and the rest of the world into two world wars. The progressive forces in the FRG hold that the ratification and effectuation of the two treaties may serve as a point of departure for essential anti-imperialist changes in the social pattern of the FRG in favor of the working people and a democratic renovation of the state and society.

Yet the events since the signing of the treaty show that the positive factors will not be effective until the working class and all the forces of peace and democracy join in an active drive for its implementation.

Nothing of course, has changed either in the structure of power or in the aims of the West German imperialism since the signing of the Moscow Treaty. The bitter social conflicts that erupted after its conclusion showed that the concerns and banks are still calling the tune in economic and public affairs. The system of capitalist monopolies dominant in the FRG wants an imperialist policy abroad and imperialist anti-democratic methods of government at home. Even though the FRG government is headed by the Social-Democratic Party, it supports the U.S. war against the people of Vietnam, supplies arms to the fascist regimes in Greece and Spain and is restructuring the Bundeswehr to make it ready for atomic war. Candidly neo-Nazi and terrorist organizations like the NDP and the recently-formed 'Resistance Action' operate legally, while the ban on the CPG persists.

Despite big capital's still running the show in the FRG, the Soviet-West German treaty was made possible by the relation of world forces changing in favor of socialism and peace, the Soviet peace policy winning the backing of the people in all countries, the socialist community growing stronger, and the outcry for recognizing the existing situation, for a policy of mutual understanding, becoming more vigorous.

All that is very important. German imperialism has always been especially aggressive due to specific historical factors. And the military-industrial complex now gaining muscle in the FRG is again encouraging aggressiveness. Yet the obvious futility of the old, starkly aggressive 'eastern policy' and the pressures of external and domestic factors for a new type of policy, have affected the

ruling circles of the FRG. While a segment of the West German big bourgeoisie, principally associated with the arms-producing monopolies, dreads the growth of the internal social processes and views treaties with socialist countries as an impediment to their aggressive aims, another segment has found fit to take a more realistic view.

It is a mistake to assume, however, that the monopoly capitalist forces approving and supporting the Brandt-Scheel foreign policy are not following a class policy and have abandoned their imperialist aspirations. Reversal of the results of the Second World War and, first and foremost, annulment of the socialist achievements of the GDR, is still their ultimate goal. What they are banking on are the refined, principally U.S.-devised, tactical methods mentioned earlier in this article, which envisage, at least for a time, a shift from frontal attacks on socialism to imposing economic dependence and employing methods of ideological subversion. This policy, they hold, is better served by a Social-Democratic government. The Brandt-Scheel administration, for its part, is, in basic terms, compliant with the intentions of this section of the FRG ruling element. The SPD leadership still favors preserving the late-capitalist imperialist system. It is firmly set on defending capitalism in the competition of the two world systems, on trying to modernize it and make it more effective and stable. However, taking a sober view of the international situation and its own capabilities, the SPD-headed government is moving to acknowledge the existing political reality. This produces a new setting for redoubled efforts in behalf of a genuine relaxation of international tension and a more secure peace. The new opportunities will go by the board, however, unless the country's democratic forces act in concert. That is why the GCP is countering the designs of the extreme Rightist forces, which are working assiduously to split the democratic forces and sabotage the ratification of the Soviet-West German treaty, with appeals for unity and joint action, for a nationwide movement for the ratification and implementation of the treaty.

An early ratification based on the support of the majority would spark fresh activity by all forces working for peaceful coexistence and mutual understanding with the socialist countries and, consequently, help repel the assault from the Right. A popular movement of an anti-fascist nature is necessary, because the attacks of the extreme Right gain in ferocity as the SPD/FDP government yields ground and makes concessions. That, at least, is the only possible interpretation of the Social-Democratic Defense Minister Helmut Schmidt's behavior at the NATO Council session in Brussels last December. He harangued there for the continuity of NATO

policy and war preparations and called for a further strengthening of the aggressive military bloc. Schmidt is a member of NATO's Nuclear Defense Affairs Committee which endorsed the plan of a 'pre-emptive' nuclear strike against the socialist countries drawn up in Ottawa. Now, the plan is part of the NATO Council AD-70 directive. This militaristic policy is bound to encourage neo-Nazi and revanchist forces, though, unlike the latter, the majority of the people want peaceful relations with all other countries, including the socialist.

This shows that neither the ratification nor the implementation of the Soviet-West German treaty will come about of itself; it will require redoubled efforts by all who have a stake in peace and social progress and oppose the prevalence of imperialism in the FRG.

III

Relations between states, peoples and classes, and the alignment of different social forces, tend to change rapidly and conflictingly. Yet in all this multiplicity of political, military, economic and social entanglements we can – and must – distinguish two antipodal lines reflecting the clash of reaction and progress on the world scene – imperialism's line and the line of the anti-imperialist struggle by large social groups in all countries and all continents. The rockbottom contradictions between imperialism and the vast majority on earth are more distinguishable than ever. The social system that breeds oppression, poverty, exploitation and war, is historically doomed. But it will not disappear automatically. It is up to the peoples to execute the sentence of history. Although the times when imperialism ruled undivided are over for good and it is no longer able to keep the world under its control, it is still a dangerous illusion to think that now it can be overcome without the solidarity of the world-wide anti-imperialist movement.

The necessary prerequisites to repulse imperialism are available. Produced by the struggle of the peoples in recent decades, they include, first of all, the world socialist system, which has become a decisive force, and, secondly, the steadily improved organization and capability of the working class and working masses in the capitalist countries, where they comprise a majority. Thirdly, there are the anti-imperialist national liberation movements, which are expanding and drawing hundreds of millions on all continents into the struggle. Fourthly, the world Communist movement is increasingly becoming the most active force and the principal political factor of our time.

Cumulatively, this makes it possible to push back imperialism,

gain a decisive advantage over it, and frustrate its strategic plans.

The strategy of the anti-imperialist struggle is rooted in the community of aims and actions of all the forces championing peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. To end the imperialist crimes, the 1969 Document says, the working class, the democratic and revolutionary forces, and the peoples must unite and act in common. Divisive imperialist policy must be opposed by a policy of joint action. It may be useful to recall that it was joint action – the world movement of solidarity with fighting Vietnam and the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam – that thwarted the military plans of the United States, which has, in substance, been defeated. That is a fact of historical significance. The international solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces compels imperialism to retreat in other sectors as well, to make concessions, and to agree to peace negotiations. In the circumstances, it is important to exploit the contradictions arising between the imperialist states.

These days, international solidarity in opposing imperialism is absolutely imperative. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in their Communist Manifesto initiated the slogan: 'Workers of all countries, unite!' That was the first definition of international solidarity, the first call for joint action. In the imperialist epoch, when the colonial peoples rallied to the struggle against imperialism, Lenin amplified: 'Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!'. And at the 1969 Meeting, in the changed conditions, the Communists issued the following appeal: *'Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!'*

No matter how important programs and appeals may be, however, Communists back them up with practical actions that are gradually pushing back imperialism and frustrating its aggressive designs. The principal task is to organize the struggle, to mount joint actions against all acts of imperialist aggression, all forms of imperialist intervention in any region of the world, all imperialist attempts at suppressing the socialist and revolutionary forces. The prime task is to sustain the anti-imperialist offensive everywhere and all the time.

The imperialist threat of a nuclear war, of annihilating hundreds of millions of people, is the main danger facing mankind. Recent experience has shown that world war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the peoples. It shows that world imperialism can be bridled. However, the threat remains, and so does the aggressiveness of imperialism. That is why mass actions, organized struggle for peace, for the peaceful coexistence policy, is the crucial task.

Everywhere, we must expose and frustrate the bearers of war, the arms manufacturers and Right extremists.

Imperialism's colonial policy vis-à-vis the Asian, African and Latin American peoples must and certainly will be defeated. Through the common efforts of all who aspire to peace and social progress, all democrats and socialists, it is necessary and possible to destroy the remnants of colonialism and prevent its revival in new, camouflaged form.

The struggle against imperialism requires organized and systematic action by all progressive forces in defense of democratic freedoms, the freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly, and the establishment of public and political organizations. At present, the movement for the democratization of public life is an essential component of the struggle against imperialism and reaction, against the danger of a revival of fascism and neo-fascism, which is grave not only in the case of the FRG. This must be done on a still larger scale, both in each capitalist country, and in the world.

Untiring struggle against the monopolies, for the power of the working class in alliance with other segments of the working people, is the only way to block the policy of imperialist reaction, eliminate colonialism and neo-colonialism and totally demolish the roots of national and social oppression. This will open up the road to socialism, the truly free society.

The German Communist Party is determined to contribute to the common struggle of all the anti-imperialist forces.

Latin America: anti-imperialist fight and the armed forces

L. Padilla, J. Laborde, E. Sousa

The history of most of the Latin American countries abounds in cases of direct army interference in politics, as a result of which military or mixed military-civilian governments take over power.

The contemporary substantive changes in the socio-economic structures are affecting all the social and state institutions, includ-

ing the armed forces, with evidence of deep-going contradictions in army circles, reflecting the clash of varying tendencies that, quite often, trigger off unexpected developments.

Why is this? What is the substance of these tendencies? What are the lessons to be drawn from the changes in the armies?*

The state and the armed forces

Some bourgeois scholars conceive the army as a kind of autonomous organism above the classes, a 'defender of the homeland' or 'servant of the law,' as a homogeneous mass free of intrinsic contradictions. They therefore deprecate army interference in politics.

There are those, however, who think the army alone can resolve the problems of the Latin American countries in this period, described as a 'power vacuum.'

The abstract, one-sided and tendentious bourgeois approach to the army's function in society is really part of an impulse to cover up the substance of the social conflicts on our continent.

The Marxist classics have defined the place and nature of the armed forces in the divided class society. Engels, for example, examined the emergence of a *public power* which no longer directly coincided with the population as one of the features distinguishing the state from the *primaeval gentile constitution*. 'This public power,' Engels wrote, 'exists in every state; it consists not merely of armed people but also of material adjuncts, prisons and institutions of coercion of all kinds, of which gentile society knew nothing' (Engels, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*).

It follows that the armed forces have never been an independent institution, but a part of the state, an instrument of class supremacy. Consequently, their political role is shaped by their public function and interrelation with the antagonistic classes.

The present state of the armed forces in bourgeois countries is marked by numerical growth and increasing capability, on the one hand, and consolidation of relative independence, on the other. And bourgeois sociologists seize on this fact to substantiate their theory of the 'autonomous' and 'supra-class' nature of the armed forces 'of all times and all peoples.'

However, the history of the different socio-economic formations reveals that numerical growth and continuous improvement of equipment and methods of combat, of repressive techniques, organization, etc., are not spontaneous, or purely volitional, and depend on economic, social and political factors. Pinpointing these,

*It stands to reason that the concepts examined in this article are inapplicable to Socialist Cuba.

Engels concluded that public power usually grows stronger 'in proportion as class antagonisms within the state become more acute, and as adjacent states become larger and more populated. We have only to look at our present-day Europe, where class struggle and rivalry in conquest have screwed up the public power to such a pitch that it threatens to devour the whole of society and even the state' (Engels, *op. cit.*). Shortly before the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out that imperialism spurs 'an unprecedented growth in its bureaucratic and military apparatus in connection with the intensification of repressive measures against the proletariat both in the monarchical and in the freest, republican countries' (Vol. 25, p. 410).

The growth of the armed forces referred to by Engels and Lenin assumed still greater proportions after the Second World War, when the monopolies fused more closely with the state. The policy of the imperialist powers, the United States in the first place, is oriented on militarizing the economy and setting the stage for a new world war and for aggressions against peoples aspiring to national liberation, socio-economic progress and socialism. The interaction of these processes, especially in the USA, gave birth to the so-called military-industrial complex that more and more palpably determines the political course of the pertinent governments. As far back as 1961, General Eisenhower said that the all-embracing economic, political and even spiritual influence of the military-industrial complex is felt in each city, in each state, in each federal institution.

Hypertrophy of the military establishment is a fact in nearly all bourgeois states, including the least developed of the Latin American countries.

Yet in certain historical situations, particular cases of the 'social alienation' of the state apparatus and among other of its ramifications of the army, is not entirely inconceivable. Marx took note of it in his 'Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' and Engels amplified: 'By way of exception, however, periods occur in which the warring classes balance each other so nearly that the state power, as ostensible mediator, acquires, for the moment, a certain degree of independence of both' (*op. cit.*).

With respect to the armed forces this could mean that they 'rise' above the class struggle for the moment and are able to take over power and win political and economic privileges. At such times, they act as 'mediator' in social conflicts, striking up alliances with different intermediate strata or the politically less influential segment of the ruling class. In other words, the isolation of the armed forces is neither complete nor final, even in these periods of alienation. In a crisis, with 'social peace' in jeopardy, they tend to re-establish their class ties and, consequently, abandon political neutrality.

These universal tendencies, inherent in the relationship of the army and politics, also indubitably apply to the armed forces of Latin America.

The structure and dependent position of the armed forces

Certainly, the Latin American armies are not homogeneous in social composition. This, and the fact that the Latin American states did not assume prominence in imperialism's strategy until after the Second World War, prevented the evolution of 'caste armies,' though in some countries, especially Argentina and Brazil, the tendency towards exclusive military castes with broad economic and social privileges is already in evidence.

The social heterogeneity of the Latin American armies is traceable to the specifics of the processes in the social structure of the countries in this century and, to a lesser extent, to the system of conscription and the make-up of the military training centers. When the British imperialists were predominant, they could not have cared less about reorganizing Latin America's armies in line with the metropolitan standards. One of the reasons was that they had practically no difficulties in maintaining public order. In contrast, the North Americans were compelled to deal with the problem from the beginning of their expansion to back up the political moves of their local allies in challenging Britain and suppressing the rising struggle of the classes. Nearly all the 'national guards' in Central America and the Caribbean basin are progenies of the U.S. military establishment, with many conceived during periods of Yankee occupation. When the United States gained total pre-eminence on the continent by the mid-twentieth century, the Latin American armies, especially in the southern part of the continent, were small, poorly armed and fashioned along the European model. Traditions of a bourgeois-republican nature predominated. With the exception of the Brazilian army, officers were drawn mostly from landowner and merchant families, while professional instructors were recruited from the middle strata.

During the Second World War the Latin American countries were cut off from importing U.S. and West European manufactured goods. This spurred a fairly substantial growth of domestic industries, with the accompanying changes in the social structure reflected in the social composition of the armies: the influx into the officers' corps from the bourgeois milieu increased steeply, while workers and peasants poured into the ranks and the body of non-commissioned officers.

As a rule, the officers' pay ranges in size between the relatively large salaries of high government officials and the low wages of

the majority. In Chile, for example, discontent among the military over their financial situation culminated in a series of demands, presented to the Frei government. Almost unique in army circles, this was exploited by the reactionary army upper crust to justify a coup d'etat to prevent a popular victory in the presidential election of September 1970. Obviously, their meagre income places the officers outside the privileged social groups. Many of the military elite perform administrative functions in state and private enterprises, engage in private financial transactions in industry, commerce and agriculture, etc. The close link-up between the army upper crust and the extreme reactionary element of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie testifies to the fact that the material standing and status of some groups and segments in the Latin American armies depend not only on social origin or rank, but also on business prestige and connections in the financial and economic spheres.

With the repressive functions and the tendency to invade the political domain increasing under U.S. influence, the internal structure of the Latin American armies is visibly changing, being brought into line with Pentagon requirements due to the expanding economic and political U.S. penetration. As a result the armies are growing in size and diversifying their functions.

During the Second World War, the United States dispatched military missions to all the countries of the continent to 'assist' in reorganizing the national armies. Officers were trained in U.S. military schools and North American regulation arms replaced the European. The Rio de Janeiro Conference (1942) even went to the length of instituting an Inter-American Defense Council.

In the postwar, the Pentagon's military-strategic planning in Latin America centered on a further consolidation of the U.S. positions. To secure the political stability of the countries concerned, thus obtaining access, indefinitely, to their natural resources and control over strategic points and war bases, the Pentagon initiated a series of steps, the most important of which were:

a) The Chapultepec Agreement (1945), which recommended an inter-American military alignment to repulse aggression;

b) the Inter-American Mutual Assistance Treaty (1947), stipulating that an 'armed attack by any state against one of the American states will be regarded as an attack on all American states' even 'if that state is the object of an aggression other than an armed attack';

c) the establishment of the Organization of American States (1948) for continental 'defense' and 'solidarity';

d) the U.S. Mutual Security Act (1951), spelling out the terms on which military aid is extended to the countries of the continent.

Most Latin American countries have bilateral military accords

with the United States, committing them to participation in 'hemispheric defense' and provision of troops for any point in the 'geographic zone of continental security'; guaranteeing U.S. monopoly in importing goods classified as strategic; assuring diplomatic immunity to the U.S. military missions, assisting them and spending 80-90 per cent of received aid on buying arms from the United States. Military 'aid,' in fact, is the principal ingredient of U.S. imperialist policy. The Pentagon sees to it that the Latin American armies have standard arms and that they buy obsolete U.S. equipment at high prices; it has established stringent controls over the use of the delivered arms to a point where some types of weapons may not be employed without the express permission of the U.S. government. Out of Argentina's navy, Argentinian Admiral B. Varela points out ruefully, only three gunboats and two submarines, some 20 years old and the property of the U.S. government, are relatively serviceable, and were loaned under an agreement which the U.S. President may declare null and void if any of them interfere with even a single North American fishing vessel.

Following the Cuban revolution, the U.S. imperialists are pressing for crash measures on the 'home front,' that is, for suppression of revolutionary mass actions.

The annual conferences of the American armies look into the political situation in each country and issue recommendations against 'subversive communist activities.' The Eighth Conference, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1968, devised an 'inter-American military system,' which was one more step closer to the so-called inter-American peace force, for long a pet Pentagon project. Hailing the decisions of that conference, General Westmoreland said that no civilian institution in Latin America can successfully withstand subversive communist activity, and it is up to the armed forces to take charge of the situation.*

Latin American armies are forming 'anti-guerrilla' units along the lines of the Green Berets, equipped with the latest weapons and trained by U.S. military instructors for operations in difficult conditions. A crash program is under way, too, training specialists to fight 'subversion.' Some 46,000 Latin American officers are estimated to have been trained in the U.S.

Meanwhile, 'civil action' programs are being carried out in many countries under the provisions of U.S. foreign aid legislation, with soldiers building homes for peasants, laying roads in rural areas, and the like, the sponsors of which make no effort to conceal their demagogical motives. The U.S. Defense Department views 'civil action' as a preventive measure, a special tactic against the guer-

*Quoted from E. Labarca Goddard, 'Chile Invalido,' Ed. Austral, Santiago, p. 46.

rilla movement. Obliquely, it is expected to countervail revolutionary propaganda and 'subversive activity,' winning trust for the government and at once dampening guerrilla influence among the peasants.

Cumulatively, the process has affected the structure and political orientation of the armed forces, the class character of which is now more marked, with a large section of the top military redoubling their support of the ruling classes and their policy of suppressing the popular movement and tightening the alliance with imperialism.

For all this, other factors are active, tending to produce opposite tendencies in the armed forces that may spur the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Political tendencies in the armed forces

Quite obviously, the contradictions between the imperialist northern metropolitan country and the dependent and backward capitalist states on the continent are becoming more acute. The setting is such that a tense political struggle against imperialism and the ruling classes is steadily unfolding. Its most salient feature is that new social forces of the middle strata are making common cause with the workers, peasants and other working people, while large sections of the clergy and military, increasingly conscious that revolutionary change is inevitable, are moving away from conservative positions. Weighing the situation, the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out: 'Patriotic and democratic tendencies are developing in the armed forces of some countries.'

What are the objective and subjective causes behind these tendencies? Among the most assertive are:

- the almost total dependence on imperialism, which, objectively, hinders economic and social development;
- the growing social inequality and the deterioration of working conditions and the standard of life;
- the sharpening of the class struggle consequent on the growing scale of the strike movement and of actions for legitimate demands, with even government employees, formerly distant from trade-union and political activity, taking part;
- the involvement in the anti-imperialist movement of the middle strata, to which belong most of the junior and medium-ranking army officers;
- the growing public influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the interest in Marxist-Leninist literature and in studying the national reality by Marxist methods increasing among officers. Not surprisingly, Rockefeller's report referred with dismay to the

power of attraction exercised in the theoretical domain by Marxism among the military;

- the example of revolutionary Cuba, building socialism despite the obstacles erected by U.S. imperialists, evoking a lively response in the armies of other Latin American countries. The tenacity of the Cubans and their revolutionary armed forces in face of the powerful adversary cannot but arouse admiration among officers elsewhere in Latin America, though most of them do not espouse socialist ideals;

- the new relation of world forces, favorable for the struggle for democracy and socialism and helping to repel the aggressive U.S. imperialist policy in different regions of the world, especially heroic Vietnam;

- the sympathy evoked among the masses by the successes of the socialist world system;

- the urge of anti-U.S. feeling on the continent and growing Latin American solidarity with the progressive movements in the USA.

These factors influence the armed forces in varying degree, depending on the national and historical background of the country, spurring the appearance of anti-imperialist and progressive trends, which, as a rule, are nationalist in complexion.

The bearers of bourgeois nationalism want to replace the senile political parties of the bourgeoisie and oligarchy, set up 'strong' military governments and, acting on the theory of a 'technocratic society,' facilitate capitalist growth while submitting to imperialism. Rockefeller's report says, among other things, that the military are prepared to assume the traditional authoritarian responsibility for social and economic progress.

This democratic and anti-imperialist nationalism encounters many obstacles. Its exponents work for measures promoting national sovereignty and protecting national wealth, and seek independent economic development. Apprised of the national reality, some officers are joining the masses in battling backwardness and dependence; they seek admission to civic committees to defend state corporations, and form clandestine Masonic lodges with the avowed aim of seizing power. On accomplishing this aim, they put forward 'models of national revolutionary development,' amounting, in effect, to development of three sectors - the state sector in the key economic branches, the private in the consumer industries, and the cooperative in agriculture and the handicrafts.

In the political context, the emergence and growth of patriotic movements undermines the main bodies of coercion and in some cases may even invigorate the working-class and popular movement.

The cases of Peru and Bolivia show, for one, that upon seizing

control over the machinery of state nationalist officers with democratic and anti-imperialist ideals can hem in imperialist interference, accentuate the nation's sovereignty over its main economic resources, guarantee rights and freedoms, pursue independent economic development, and introduce some social changes. A section of Panama's National Guard command – and Panama is the most dependent country on the continent – is also showing symptoms of resistance to imperialist interference.

None of these military governments have yet set the objective of a socialist revolution. This is understandable, because the movement is led by the petty bourgeoisie, not the proletariat.

The process in Peru, at least so far, is visibly more dynamic and more definitely oriented than in Bolivia. The state has consolidated itself in mining and fishery; it controls the financial system and restricts the penetration of foreign capital; it seeks mass support and has made a start in reorganizing enterprises with the object of creating the so-called industrial community. This latter, the Peruvian Communist Party leadership holds, probably offers opportunities 'at first for extensive workers' participation in guiding and owning enterprises, and then for the development of co-operatives in the manufacturing industry.' It amplifies: 'If the far-reaching changes in the country's socio-economic structure brought about by the adoption of the industrial law do not transcend the capitalist framework, then, obviously, the struggle to destroy capitalist exploitation, the struggle for socialism, is not yet over.'*

To be sure, the military regimes are not stable. The overthrow of General Ovando's regime in Bolivia betrayed the lack of unity in the army. The leaders of the middle and petty bourgeoisie vacillate under popular pressure – the public naturally calling for radicalization – and appeal for national unity irrespective of class differences, meaning that they may bend and agree to concessions to the reactionary part of the bourgeoisie and to imperialism, as was indeed the case with the short-lived Ovando government.

The armed forces of Latin America are tied to the Pentagon's apron strings. They get Pentagon instructors, Pentagon financial aid, Pentagon training and Pentagon arms. We cannot write off the possibility, therefore, that objective and subjective factors may influence the army's political line if the working-class and popular movement misjudge the situation and fail to act vigorously, channeling the struggle in the desired direction.

The makers of the Pentagon and State Department continental strategy are doubtless aware of this. That is why Nixon referred

*Jose Martinez, *Report to the Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party*, Lima, 1970, pp. 38-39 (in Spanish).

to stepping up military aid as the main point in his Latin American policy. To shore up the prestige of the pro-imperialist reformist army groups, projects are being devised to modernize Latin American economies, with the armed forces cast in the leading role.

However, modernizing the economy, which means principally accelerated industrial growth, is inconceivable without a far-reaching agrarian reform, nationalization of the foreign-controlled means of production, building up a national heavy industry, and securing markets, that is, without measures consonant with the tasks of the socialist revolution. And, certainly, the apologists of capitalism cannot want this.

Closer scrutiny will show how futile it is to replace reformist-minded bourgeois political parties with armies preaching 'modernization,' because, firstly, the 'modernization' idea is based on the myth that accelerated development is impossible without U.S. 'aid,' leaving unsolved the main contradiction, that is, the contradiction between imperialism and the Latin American countries. Secondly, 'modernization' of the economy neither resolves the socio-economic problems nor corresponds to the popular aspirations for a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. Thirdly, by virtue of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois background of the officers' corps, the armed forces lose their relative institutional 'independence' under authoritarian government and begin serving the interests of a definite class, namely, the bourgeoisie.

The Argentine government, in power since 1966, is a glaring example of a 'modernized' administration with a made-in-USA tab. To 'modernize,' the military dictatorship depressed the already difficult socio-economic situation, giving U.S. imperialism a free hand; this soon earned it the name of a 'privileged satellite' of the inter-American military system. The workers and the entire nation reacted to its anti-patriotic and anti-people's policy with a surge of resistance, which the Levingston government, the successor to the Onganía regime, is unable to suppress. The ultra-reactionary military regime in Brazil, which sets top priority on a 'geopolitical' solution of the problem of developing Latin America, is of a similar nature.

Even in Peru, where the patriotic officers launched deep-going reconstruction—especially revolutionary in the agrarian domain—and are endeavoring to back up the mass demands, political power cannot remain the prerogative of the military indefinitely. Almost the same may be said of Bolivia, where the nationalistic section of the army has managed to retain power thanks to the support of the workers, peasants, students and other progressive sections of the nation.

The above facts are part of the current deep-going and compli-

cated political process. Among its distinctive features is the appearance (or tendency towards appearance) of ties between the working-class and the broad popular movement, on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist patriotically-minded officers, on the other. These may expand, depending on the specifics of the country concerned and on the degree of popular unity. Inasmuch as the urban and rural proletariat are the main motive force of the revolutionary process, their political role is indubitably of decisive significance. That is why the working-class and popular movement with a concrete program is in each country a necessary precondition for the growth of the revolutionary process and the involvement in it of other active political forces coming from the middle strata.

The victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile is highly instructive, revealing the immense vigor of the working-class and popular movement and bespeaking the correctness of the political course taken by the parties of the bloc. Also, it shows that political interference by reactionary army groups and the subversive machinery of the Rights, even though it has imperialist backing, may be neutralized if the movement of the workers and people sets clear aims and carries them into practice with enough determination. Last but not least, the victory in Chile showed that the patriotic section of the army not only welcomed the result of the election, but is also inclined to support the revolutionary process grinding into motion in that country.

To Communist parties, which set top priority on the interests of the working class and work for proletarian hegemony, are bent on reinforcing the anti-imperialist front and dispelling the reformist illusions about the 'benefits' of cooperating with imperialism. To be sure, this class and internationalist approach will not be effective unless the Communists participate actively in the class battles and spread their influence to the non-proletarian sections, including the armed forces. In so doing, they must never relinquish their ideological and political independence, lest they dissolve in broad movements of abstract national unity.

It has never been clearer that the future of the revolutionary process depends on the workers and the people. They should not bank excessively on the victory of nationalist trends in the army any more than they should underrate them, once a substantial segment of anti-imperialist patriotically-minded officers are won over to the national cause. The 1965 events in the Dominican Republic bore out the revolutionary potential of these officers.

The ideological and political firmness of Latin America's working class and Communist parties, their ability to act as the hegemon of revolution, are measured not only in the popular struggle, but also by their effort to win followers and allies in the armed forces.

The revolutionary process is influenced by new socio-political forces, adding to the likelihood of success in building up a united anti-imperialist popular front. In this the guiding role of the working class is accentuated by the support of the peasants, of manual and physical workers and the democratic officers. This coalition is tending to grow into a force that will defeat imperialism and carry forward the far-reaching economic, social and political reconstruction required by the peoples of the continent.

Mechanism of capitalist power in Austria

Ernst Wimmer

The formation of a purely Socialist government for the first time in Austrian history and the fact that the Austrian People's Party, used by big capital for over two decades to further its own interests, has become an opposition party, call for an analysis of the power mechanism of state-monopoly capitalism that has lately taken shape in our country. 'Under the present system, the transfer of the government leadership to the Socialist Party, linked by social partnership with big capital,' the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Austria noted, 'is no socio-political alternative.' What is the meaning of this government in terms of exercising political power in the interest of big capital? The following is an endeavor to show how new methods of guaranteeing big capital's economic and political rule are developing in accordance with the general laws of latter-day capitalism and the specific forms in which these laws operate in Austria.

It is typical of Austria that big capital is hard to personify except for the Schoeller and Mautner-Markhof families. When, after the war, Austrian capitalism had rehabilitated itself, the SPA leadership affirmed that we had no more capitalists. This allegation was prompted by another feature of the Austrian economy, namely, a more developed nationalized sector than in any other capitalist country. One-fifth of the country's industrial potential, almost the entire electric power industry and three major commercial banks, were nationalized in 1946 and 1947. However, the share of the nationalized sector has since decreased, which is quite significant

politically. The core of the nationalized industries today is made up of enterprises producing both capital goods, though the state sector also extends to consumer industries. The nationalized metallurgical and power plants, banks, etc., in 1969 had about 119,000 employees, or roughly 20 per cent of the country's employed labor.

The 1970 Federal financial law states the reasons for the nationalization as follows: 'The strained external and internal condition of the Austrian economy and the economic effects of the occupation of the country led to nationalization after the Second World War. . . .' In those years the bourgeoisie was convinced that the key enterprises ravaged by the war could not be rehabilitated if old property forms were preserved. The decisive thing for it was to retain through nationalization the major enterprises, such as those formerly owned by Germans, which might be included in reparations payments.

The working class took an entirely different view of the nationalization, seeing it as an essential step towards an 'anti-fascist democratic system'* - providing the prerequisites of advance to socialism. The Socialist Party's main slogan at the time was, 'Socialism is the goal and democracy, the way.' In reality, however, the SPA leadership was motivated by anti-communism and strove to undermine the anti-fascist democratic movement and bourgeois democracy and bolster capitalism.

In the years of economic rehabilitation the Austrian state was an 'ideal collective capitalist.' It saw to it that the surplus value produced in the nationalized enterprises was siphoned into the increasingly predominant private sector. In nationalized heavy industry, two prices were fixed for iron and steel; one, which was lower than on the world market, for exports and the other, lower still, for the nation's own requirements, meaning primarily the manufacturing industry that at the time was mainly in private hands, as it still is. Recently the head of Alpine, the metallurgical corporation owned by the state, estimated at 8,000 million schillings the loss incurred by the corporation through indirect aid to the private sector after nationalization. The state proceeded similarly in fixing electricity charges. Investments under the Marshall Plan (the largest in Europe per capita), for their part, promoted the private sector. In other words, when the government was led by the People's Party, loyal to 'private initiative' and 'free enterprise,' the state had already frankly committed itself to dirigism, that is, control of economic development.

For a time that policy was in perfect harmony with the objective

*This implied, first of all, renewing the state machinery, eliminating all fascist and racist elements from the administrative and educational system, extending the nationalized sector step by step, effecting a radical agrarian reform, abolishing all privileges in education, and closely cooperating with neighbor countries, primarily with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia.
-Ed.

of strengthening the foundations of capitalism. However, it soon came up against the fact that under latter-day capitalism the state is increasingly becoming the instrument of power, not of the bourgeoisie as a whole, but primarily of its monopolistic upper section. In the second stage of development of the state sector, big capital sought directly or indirectly to win key positions in the nationalized industries so as to use the surplus value produced in them chiefly for its own benefit and not on the watering-can principle, or the principle of equal distribution.

It was then that a distinctive contradiction developed. The monopoly bourgeoisie began to fear that if the nationalized enterprises performed such functions of private enterprises comparable in size and pattern as rationalization, mergers and takeovers and so on, the inevitable result would be an extension of the nationalized sector at the expense of the private sector, and concentration of research and designing in the former. Big capital wanted no such thing. On the other hand, it could not accept a weakening of the nationalized industries in view of growing international competition and rapid capital and production concentration.

Under those circumstances, big capital could no longer content itself with tying the nationalized industries to the private capital market, curbing the growth of some of them and modifying the functions of others according to its own needs. The People's Party largely divested parliament of control of the nationalized industries and put them under a state joint-stock company, which is now in a position to cooperate with national and foreign monopoly groups in a variety of forms, allowing them up to 50 per cent of the stock. The tendency now is to run the decisive industries in the nationalized sector in such a way as to ensure that they bring private monopoly capital the biggest profit with due regard to the market, progress in research and the pattern of private production. The battle is being fought, first of all, for such industries as metallurgy, the aluminum and electrotechnical industries, oil, gas and petrochemicals. Thus, there is a controversy going on between the state oil-industry department and the state nitrogen works, the country's largest chemical complex, over whether Austrian petrochemicals should develop in cooperation with BASF (Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik) or Hoechst. Both these groups of West German capital are successors of IG Farben.

A recent survey of Austrian industry revealed that between 1958 and 1968 the number of enterprises employing 1,000 or more workers increased from 110 to 115 while the proportion of enterprises with 100 to 999 employees grew from 2,100 to 2,500. The monopolies seek maximum profit from the medium and big capitalist enterprises through the nationalized sector.

In the middle of 1969 foreign-controlled industry had drawn level with the nationalized sector in employment and output. Foreign capital has been thrusting with particular force into the power industry, whose biggest nationalized enterprise finds itself under the control of Siemens, the West German corporation. Over 60 per cent of the employees of this industry hold jobs in enterprises where foreign capital predominates.

The above facts are worthy of note, for we know that in revolutionary conditions the existence of a large nationalized sector may greatly benefit the workers' struggle. It would be a mistake to fail to take advantage, in particular, of the present opportunities of fighting in this sector for jobs and a proper investment and production policy, against the domination of foreign capital, all the more since this struggle is assuming a political character in the state-owned enterprises. On the other hand, it is manifest that state-monopoly capitalism today uses the nationalized sector to regulate economic processes in the interest of big capital. This is the case in both the economic and the political sphere in which leading Socialists have become part of the state machinery.

Following the formation of the SPA government in spring 1970, *Wirtschaft*, the Union of Manufacturers periodical, expected it 'clearly to set the goals and provide the prerequisites of attaining the standard of Western industrial states.' Shortly afterwards *Zukunft*, the theoretical journal of the SPA, spelled out 'the electorate's wish of a far-reaching alternative to conservative government leadership' by posing the 'modernization concepts' against the 'dilatatory method and improvisation' of the government under the People's Party.

Federal Chancellor Kreisky described the Social-Democrats as a 'modern industrialization party' and declared emphatically for the 'equality of diverse property forms.' In their theoretical discourses, leading Socialists nowadays evade the class role of the state. Their entire activity, based on the allegation that the state guarantees planned and meaningful promotion of the 'public interest as a whole' and 'the entire economy,' is represented as an effort to achieve the impossible: the existence of a state above classes, to tone down irreconcilable class contradictions, and even to overcome them.

Why *Wirtschaft* pins such hopes on the SPA government becomes clear to anyone who looks into the distinctions in position between the leaderships of the People's Party and SPA, and into their functions under state-monopoly capitalism.

The People's Party, that traditional instrument of big capital's rule, comprises the Peasant League, League of Workers and Other Employees, and the Economic League. The latter is the smallest but

it virtually calls the tune in the party, being an organization of diverse capitalist groups. Using this organizational pattern the People's Party has been trying to please all groups of the bourgeoisie as far as possible, putting big capital first.

The intensified activity of big capital accounts for the struggle that has been going on in the People's Party in recent years. The policy of mediating between various groups of the bourgeoisie and of taking into account the interests of the groups carrying greater weight in the party than in their class, has not been helpful in meeting the requirements of big capital. Looking after the interests of houseowners, artisans and farmers does not quite suit the monopolies' far-reaching plans. A policy firmly ignoring the interests of small proprietors in favor of the interests of big capital is, needless to say, in greater accord with the ambitions of the Union of Manufacturers. The eventuality of cooperation between the SPA government and big capital bringing some benefits to the bulk of the population by helping to do away with outdated, small, low-profit production forms should, of course, not be ruled out. In terms of perspective, however, this kind of cooperation benefits primarily big capital by strengthening its positions in both competition between imperialist groups and the struggle against the working class.

Despite big capital's close association with the People's Party, it is these circumstances that today explain the attraction exercised by the SPA government, which promises to modernize and rationalize on an 'immense scale' and, unlike the government under the People's Party, is not committed to any particular section of the bourgeoisie. Its commitment is different – the party's upper section has associated itself with the state-monopoly bureaucracy, a development which sets its present character apart from that of the prewar Social Democrats, although these, too, were already led by opportunists.

Lenin analyzed the economic roots of opportunism in the working-class movement. He established that given a vast number of small producers, petty-bourgeois notions conflicting with the workers' real interests continuously penetrate the working-class movement. Lenin pointed to yet another source of opportunism, namely, the corruption of certain segments of the working class and the rise of a working-class aristocracy and working-class bureaucracy.

As state-monopoly capitalism devolved and, consequently, as new, subtler and more diversified forms of class rule were devised, the spread of opportunism, too, changed its forms. In Austria it showed a number of distinctive features. After the fall of the empire and the monarchical system in 1918 the old machinery of the state merged gradually with the new officialdom born of the 'nationalization' of such self-government bodies as the peasant chambers, eco-

conomic chambers and workers' chambers. The result was a jungle of elected bodies and non-elected ones with rather vague functions. 'What the class (Austro-Fascist.—E.W.) Constitution of 1934 sought but could not attain legislatively has materialized in the actual development over the past six years,' Adamovich, ex-President of the Constitutional Court Chamber, said in 1952.

That was an overstatement, of course, but it reflected the main point—these bodies today are components of the bureaucratic control machinery which under state-monopoly capitalism must guarantee as far as possible a smooth process of social reproduction.

A new form of rule is the Parity Commission for Wages and Prices. 'The Social Structure of Austria,' an ultra-conservative book published recently by the official Federal publishing house, describes it as follows: 'The Parity Commission for Wages and Prices was set up as a crisis management in 1957. Its antecedents were a quick succession of price and wage increases and numerous strike actions. Although the Commission was not set up by legislative act, but by a simple agreement reached in the Council of Ministers, the new agency was retained after the crisis had been overcome. . . . As a forum of the most prominent spokesmen of politics and economy, it is, on the other hand, almost the optimal concentration of power in Austria. . . . Its task is to prevent a cumulative effect of wage and price trends through a delaying tactic.'

To be sure, the Parity Commission, praised so often by the reactionary managers, sociologists and politicians of capitalist countries, is not the 'optimal concentration of power' since it has no legal basis. Nevertheless, it is unquestionably a convenient and advantageous form of exercising the power of big capital in definite political and economic conditions, and this with the consent of the leadership of the Trade Union Federation represented on the Commission. The 'delaying tactic,' designed to keep wage increases behind growing prices and labor productivity, is supplemented by the SPA leadership's tactic of dividing the unions. The Commission does not seek to settle wage disputes in terms of a whole union but through agreements within individual enterprises so as to prevent a broad front of struggle for higher wages, which might assume a political character. Thus the Commission performs the double function of maintaining the positions of big capital and 'social peace.'

It would be insufficient to examine the role of the Socialist leadership in terms of only the union bureaucracy. It is not immaterial, too, that a small group of top SPA functionaries is directly integrated into the state-monopoly ruling machinery. Indeed, this group may even clash with the union bosses over differences in interests, role and standing in society. Pressure from worker Communists and Socialists in the enterprises compels the union bosses to back the

workers' economic demands. Nevertheless, no serious conflicts have arisen between the government and the union bosses in Austria for almost two decades, unlike other capitalist countries. This is because 'mediating agencies' as control levers have been perfected and because opportunist mistakes were made in the past by individual cadre members of the Communist Party.

Here is an example showing the necessity for a differentiated approach to the numerically small but dominant and privileged section of the SPA, on the one hand, and the Socialist rank and file, on the other.

In 1921 the Arbeiterbank AG was founded to manage the funds of the Social-Democratic Party and organizations close to it. 'The idea which prompted the founding of the bank,' Karl Renner wrote at the time, 'was to carry proletarian class solidarity into practice. . . . The Arbeiterbank caters exclusively for workers' institutions. It does not force its way into the capitalist market.' We will not go into that bank's one-time functions. Let us see what it does now.

By now BAWAG (Bank fuer Arbeit und Wirtschaft) whose new name connotes social partnership, has become the country's third biggest bank although it operates primarily with Trade Union Federation funds. This transformation could not, of course, have taken place without regard to the capitalist market. 'BAWAG, the third biggest bank of Austria, is a "private" bank because it was founded only in 1947, when the other banks had been nationalized,' Klenner, the present General Manager of the bank, member of the Trade Union Federation's Executive, said recently. 'While the nationalized industries became clients of state banks, 90 per cent of BAWAG's clients are recruited from the private economy.' Speaking of the eventual nationalization of BAWAG, Klenner commented: 'If it is to be, then logic requires that all financial institutions be nationalized. But that would probably be an unreasonable demand today that no party aware of its responsibility would put forward.'

BAWAG has long since moved from union payment and deposit operations to active financing. 'Proletarian solidarity' now expresses itself in the bank making trade union funds—earmarked to an important extent for a struggle which the union leadership refuses to carry on—available to employers so that they may exploit trade unionists.

And now for another illustration of the top Social-Democrat leadership's integration into state-monopoly capitalism. Austria's second biggest bank now is the Zentral-Sparkasse which is most closely linked with the SPA-controlled Vienna commune and by no means confines itself to the functions of a savings bank. It is safe to say that commercial institutions and enterprises today finance all SPA activities. More important still, direct links are maintained

through them with finance capital, and two of the three major banks are motivated by interests which at best differ from those of capital only tactically and politically.

A natural outgrowth of the fact that the top group of union bosses are closely linked with the officialdom through numerous agencies and hundreds and thousands of high and low posts in the nationalized industries is the practice of undermining labor solidarity by occasionally granting workers small benefits instead of improving the living standard of large sections of the working class. The petty-bourgeois notions of those who get handouts are at variance with their long-range, fundamental interests. But the bourgeois notions of the fully integrated upper section of the SPA leadership are in keeping with its long-range interests and its links with capitalism.

The Communist Party's policy towards the SPA takes careful account of conditions in our country. The Party regards a correct appraisal of the SPA as the basis for a correct policy. The road to socialism cannot be opened without united action with the Socialist and Catholic masses. However, alliance with the SPA as the latter stands today might sidestep the fight for socialism. The SPA is not a single whole, nor can it be. The greatest mistake of the opportunists, whom the Communist Party recently had to fight in order to regain unity and militancy, was to concentrate on the fact that most Austrian workers follow the SPA. They completely disregarded another fact: integration of the top SPA leadership in state-monopoly capitalism. The class contradiction between this small group, with a definite function in big capital's ruling machinery, and the bulk of the working people — those who vote Socialist — manifests itself, in specific forms, both in the SPA and the People's Party. Efforts towards united action with these masses do not preclude, but actually imply open criticism of this 'integrated' top crust.

To achieve unity of action with the Socialist masses, it is important to realize that the role which the SPA leadership objectively plays today in the interest of big capital does not square with its promise to 'democratize every sphere of life' and impart greater 'transparency' to the social process. It is of importance to the SPA leadership that the rank and file should not see through its objective role. 'When the concentration of economic, political and opinion-moulding power is making very rapid headway as is the case in all industrial states,' Heinz Fischer, secretary of the parliamentary SPA, wrote at the time of the undivided rule of the People's Party, pointing out a typically capitalist trend, 'democracy is on the retreat, unless institutions are democratized and control over power centers extended to the same degree and at the same rate.

However, this is obviously not the case anywhere.' Chancellor Kreisky believes that under a Socialist government all that is needed is slightly to adjust the details, the finer points of the political structure. He wants to promote a process of capital concentration leaving ever more important decisions to a few people and running counter to the democratization process. Real democratization can only be won in struggle by the working class and the anti-monopoly forces allied with it. Considering a factor so important to Austria as the proximity of socialist states, this struggle could counteract the typically imperialist trend towards reaction all along the line.

Indicative of the new features of state-monopoly capitalism in Austria, of the tendency to nullify democratic liberties, is the fight now going on for control of broadcasting and certain so-called independent newspapers, first of all *Kronen-Zeitung*, whose circulation ranks third in capitalist Europe. Even the bourgeois press sees this fight as evidence of a 'considerable deterioration of the state of press freedom.'

Those who want to control the enormous concentration of capital and technical media of power must necessarily be interested in controlling the thinking of the masses. It has always been of vital importance to the bourgeoisie not only to have material, economic strength on which to lean for support, but to suggest and publicize the view that its rule has been willed by the majority, by public opinion. With the rise of socialist states, the exacerbation of the class struggle in the international arena, the growth of the main contradiction of capitalism – that between the productive forces and relations of production – the concentration of power in the hands of the monopolies and the growing demand for information as a result of the technological revolution, manipulating public opinion is more than ever a vital matter to big capital. Those who rob others of the product of their labor are out to rob them also of independent thinking as far as they can. Whereas the bourgeoisie once declared all citizens to be equal, its outgrowth, monopoly capitalism, is forced continuously to curtail the rights of the majority, for fear of being swept out of existence.

The SPA leadership now making deals through the government needs to control the mass media no less urgently than big capital does, so as to disguise and obscure the actual relations in society by manipulating public opinion. Under the state-monopoly system, the possibilities of manipulating social consciousness largely determine in the long run who, what group, can and must be in power.

The battle for *Kronen-Zeitung* is typical. This paper was founded – as an 'independent' one, of course – by Olah, ex-President of the Trade Union Federation and Socialist Minister of the Interior, with

the millions of schillings supplied by the Central Savings Bank. Olah denied for a long time that he owned the paper. After he had broken with the Socialist Party the latter guaranteed its influence over *Kronen-Zeitung* with the aid of a new loan, this time from BAWAG, the trade union bank. And then Olah unexpectedly revealed that he did own the paper and that its directors, Dichand and Falk, were merely acting on his behalf. Fearing that it might lose control of the newspaper at subsequent court hearings, the SPA sold *Express*, a newspaper held 'independent' although it is owned by an SPA group, to Dichand and Falk as a settlement. This deal, too, was financed by BAWAG.

Dichand and Falk now publish both newspapers. With loans from workers' funds they have achieved a concentration of the press extraordinary even in West European conditions. *Kronen-Zeitung* alone accounts for 24 out of every 100 Austrian readers. Its 'independence' is based on the fact that its readers do not really know who owns it, nor could this be ascertained in court.

There is a problem of still greater fundamental importance. *Kronen-Zeitung*, through which the SPA government expects to gain the influence it needs over the masses, is anything but progressive or even liberal. In fact, it has for years attacked political organizations and the Trade Union Federation from a 'non-political' position. The magazine *Profil* describes *Kronen-Zeitung* as a newspaper which members of the petty bourgeoisie higher up on the social ladder produce for the working people in an effort to imbue them with petty-bourgeois ideals and faith in personal success. This appraisal by a magazine which also owes its existence to loans from 'Left-wing bank funds' will only reach a few thousand readers. *Kronen-Zeitung* is intended for hundreds of thousands. It is still aided, as in the past, by the same 'Left-wing bankers.' Surely this is a striking instance of the 'pluralism' worshipped by the SPA leadership. This party supplies several thousand readers – through more or less select periodicals – with a flow of specious analyses of 'the industrial society, consumer society, educational society and free-time society' calculated to divert attention from the real motive forces of capitalist society. On the other hand, it seeks effectively to influence the masses through the more widely read *Kronen-Zeitung* and *Express*, popularly known as 'Sexpress.'

'The Social Structure of Austria' cites the fact that the Socialists, once a 'class party,' have since become a 'modern popular party' as an indication of the SPA leadership' bourgeois respectability. Of course, the result of this metamorphosis is not an end to class contradictions, but the rise of a class antagonism between the top SPA leadership and the Socialist rank and file. However, it has far-reaching implications, for the struggle between 'modern popular

parties' like the People's Party and the SPA is becoming less and less of a principled fight between world outlooks. It is being carried on to decide who is to rule within the framework of an unchanging society. Since fundamental differences are visibly wearing off, both parties resort more and more often, with a view to winning and indoctrinating voters, not to their own press or traditional publications, but to the so-called independent press, whose function is to make out that a class society is above classes. The concrete form of the dependence of this 'independent' press largely determines who is to wield power.

These papers no longer think of carrying serious information, for their primary concern is to make an impression. It is not accidental that Chancellor Kreisky no longer urges the 'independent' press to reveal to the electorate the party it prefers. Thus the evolution of state-monopoly capitalist rule and the succession of ruling parties loyal to the establishment make for the whittling down of bourgeois democratic liberties – 'freedom' of the press in this case, which the bourgeoisie and Socialists still show off.

We have attempted a brief survey of some levers of latter-day capitalist power in Austria, specifically under the present SPA government. The Communist Party favors an alliance in struggle with the Socialist rank and file. The decisions of its 21st Congress call for 'struggle to bring about unity of action and comradely links with the largest possible sections of Socialist working people while at the same time joining issue from the standpoint of principle with the SPA leadership's policy of social partnership.' The Party believes that socialism can be won in alliance with diverse parties. But this perspective implies a radical change in the nature of these parties as a result of mass struggle on a vast scale. Differentiated political analysis today cannot only be based on divergences between the leadership of the SPA and People's Party but must take into account – in anticipation of the prospect of a united front of the working people – the differences existing *within* either party.

The accent on such key areas as work in the enterprises and communes spelled out by the 21st Congress of the Communist Party during the battle against opportunist trends and as a result of defeating them, tends to bring out these differences in specific actions for immediate economic interests and democratic demands, against state-monopoly capitalism. This policy makes for the formation of united fronts, which are possible and necessary if the prevailing social system is to be overcome.

Integration processes in imperialist system

Margarita Maximova

One of the most characteristic features of world development is the spread of economic integration. To varying degrees, in different forms and with different consequences it embraces quite diverse groups of countries. There are three main types of integration: the socialist, the imperialist and the integration of developing countries.

In all cases, it is objectively necessitated by the growth of the productive forces. In the setting of the scientific and technological revolution, social reproduction in every country is increasingly dependent on the degree of that country's participation in the international division of labor, the nature and level of economic relations with other countries of the region, on the scale and structure of the regional economic relationships. In most cases 10 to 20 and even more per cent of the national product is marketed abroad.

Nor is it purely a question of quantity. Far-reaching quality changes are observed in the nature of international economic relations. These are increasingly universal, extending not only to marketing, but to investment, research and development, and production. Comparatively new forms of the international division of labor, such as the sale of patents and licenses, scientific exchanges, production cooperation and joint projects, are developing rapidly. Integration saliently affects national rates of economic growth, the economic structure and the industrial and economic balance.

Naturally, integrational links evolve differently in different social formations. Socialist integration is based on the advantages of public ownership and a planned economy working wholly in the interest of the peoples of the respective countries and the socialist community as a whole. Imperialist integration, on the other hand, is tied in with private ownership and the power of capital, and is subordinated to monopoly interests, the interests of preserving the capitalist system. And in the developing countries integration works in two opposite directions: a progressive anti-imperialist direction which accords with the national interests of the peoples and consolidates economic independence, and, on the other hand, an anti-democratic imperialist tendency designed to strengthen foreign capital in the integrated developing countries, subordinating them to the interests of foreign monopolies and the imperialist powers behind them.

This writer does not propose to examine integration as applied in the different socio-economic formations, but to explore some aspects of imperialist integration.

To begin with, world economic literature contains different interpretations of integration, as it developed, say, in Western Europe. Some Western economists (W. Roepke, M. Allais, B. Balassa and others) view integration mainly in the context of exchange and market links, i.e., superficially. The less discrimination there is in international exchange, they say, the greater the degree of integration. Thus, they emasculate the economic content of integration while reducing its political aspects to the mere removal of international trade barriers.

Others (J. Tinbergen, J. Weiller, P. Streeten and others) regard integration as a joint pursuit of economic policy. The economic structures of the integrated countries and the implicit bonds are seen as secondary and considered only from the standpoint of integration policy.

Common to all bourgeois views on integration is the tendency to ignore the role of production relations and the class struggle, the influence of the capitalist mode of production on international economic links. That is their essential difference from the Marxist view.

Marxist literature, too, presents different interpretations of integration in the imperialist system. One point of view is that integration is identical with its objective basis, a tendency towards economic internationalization, that it is a purely economic process of association that does not affect the policy of the countries concerned.

And what is the content of imperialist integration as we see it?

The tendency for national barriers to crumble, the internationalization of economic life, at the stage in the growth of the productive forces when the world capitalist market began to form, was pinpointed by V. I. Lenin. Initially, this tendency was observed in the domain of external trade relations and, later, in the migration of capital and manpower.

With capitalism reaching the monopoly stage, international links between concerns and trusts in different countries expanded on the basis of market apportionment, price and quota agreements, and joint stockholdings. The internationalization of capital increased.

The scientific and cultural revolution required new kinds of economic contact: scientific and technological exchanges, sale of services, international specialization and cooperation of production, exchanges of specialists, and the like. The increase in the optimum size of enterprises and the introduction of mass production strained the national economic barriers and consequently necessitated state

interference. International state-monopoly groupings appeared to supplement the unions of private monopolies. Integration is a qualitatively new step in internationalization, characterized by universal intergovernmental ties and coordination among states with similar socio-economic systems in regulating economic development. The logical conclusion is that integration is not only an economic, but also a political process.

How does modern imperialism adapt its production relations to the new requirements of capitalist reproduction against the background of the struggle and competition between the two opposite social systems? What are the main driving forces impelling imperialist integration and determining its development?

Firstly, there are the private capitalist monopolies, striving to adapt to the competition in the world capitalist market, and, secondly, the bourgeois state with its ever increasing influence on the national economy and its economic contacts abroad.

In the past 15 or 20 years the concentration of production and capital, of economic, scientific, technological and financial power in the hands of individual monopolies acquired such giant proportions that but a small number of outsized corporations dominates world capitalist production and marketing. Some 700 corporations, according to some estimates, control about one-half the production in the capitalist world, and in two or three decades their number may dwindle to 200-250.

Since the war, international concentration has seen not only mergers of monopolies of different countries, but also a growth of national monopolies, which expanded beyond national boundaries and emerged as transnational companies with extensive systems of affiliated enterprises and companies abroad. Characteristically, the annual product of the foreign subsidiaries of these monopolies (\$250,000 million in 1967) considerably exceeded the total commodity exports in the capitalist world (\$190,000 million). An important feature, as before, are the international cartel and other contracts and agreements.

This is indicative of the tremendous scale of private monopoly integration and the appreciably independent role of the monopolies as stimulants of integration in the imperialist system.

At the same time, the growing scale and complexity of foreign operations, coupled with the sharpening international competition, compels monopoly capital to resort much more extensively than before (directly, as well as indirectly) to state support. Some external economic problems proved to be beyond the powers of private monopoly capital and sheer necessity compelled the bourgeois state to become an increasingly active subject in international economic relations.

State-monopoly integration takes different forms. For a number

of economic and political reasons integration processes were most prominent in postwar Western Europe, as notably exemplified by the European Six and other economic groupings.

As the most all-embracing example of imperialist integration, the European Economic Community (EEC) is an illustration of the economic, political and ideological goals set by the exponents of the 'monolithic Europe' idea. These were defined in general terms by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: 'Under conditions where the struggle between the two world systems is becoming sharper, the capitalist powers seek, despite the growing contradictions dividing them, to unite their efforts to uphold and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression and regain the positions they have lost.' This is what prompts the bourgeoisie in the integrated countries to try and patch up the breaches in the economic system, achieve political consolidation and international class solidarity in fighting against the workers' movement. The ideological purpose of European integration is also apparent: to create among the working people and the majority of the population an illusion that capitalist, inter-imperialist contradictions can be overcome, that European capitalism can develop 'harmoniously,' without conflicts. Bourgeois ideologists exploit the international nature of integration as an argument in favor of the theory of 'convergence.'

An important factor at the time the EEC plans were being drawn up was the desire of the ruling circles and monopolies of Western Europe to pool efforts in combating their powerful trans-Atlantic competitor. Indeed, the economic position of the Six vis-à-vis the United States has become undeniably stronger in the twelve years of the Common Market. Although they are still considerably behind the United States in overall industrial output, the EEC countries today hold firmer positions in certain spheres of the capitalist economy.

SHARE OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES IN
INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD (1968)

	<i>per cent</i>
USA	43.4
EEC countries	19.8
FRG	9.4
France	4.6
Italy	3.6
Netherlands	1.2
Belgium	1.0

TOTAL EXPORT OF CAPITALIST WORLD (1969)

	<i>billion dollars</i>	<i>per cent</i>
All capitalist states	243.0	100.0
USA	38.0	15.6
EEC countries	78.8	31.2
FRG	29.1	12.0
France	15.0	6.2
Italy	11.7	4.8
Netherlands	10.0	4.1
Belgium-Luxembourg	10.0	4.1

GOLD AND CURRENCY RESERVES OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD (end of 1969, '000,000,000 dollars)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Gold</i>
All capitalist countries	76.9	39.2
USA	17.0	11.8
EEC countries	20.9	13.8
FRG	7.1	4.1
France	3.8	3.5
Italy	5.0	3.0
Netherlands	2.5	1.7
Belgium	2.4	1.5

For all the diversity of the forms and ways of imperialist integration, its processes are carried forward by definite economic and political machinery based on monopoly-state cooperation. In integration the fusion of the monopolies and the state overflows national boundaries, acquiring an inter-state complexion, a 'group' or regional form.

From the point of view of the more general class interests of the bourgeoisie, the two principal types of imperialist integration – private-monopoly and state-monopoly – are of equal importance. However, in reality it is often impossible to equate the specific tasks set by individual monopolies and the bourgeois state in the course of economic integration and the means they use to achieve them.

Concerns and trusts use international ties and agreements to reapportion markets and spheres of influence. This should be seen as a form of competition, in which the monopolies rely first and foremost on the support of national governments. Bourgeois governments are guided not only by the considerations of individual monopolies or monopoly groups, but also by the aim of consolidating the power of monopoly capital in the country as a whole. The facts show, however, that wherever foreign capital is active on a

considerable scale – and integration inevitably facilitates this – new difficulties arise for the national economy, events get out of control and disproportions increase in the economic situation, affecting stabilization in price policy and the inflation processes, in employment, economic structure, economic programming, etc. This is borne out by the situation in Western Europe, with the growing penetration of American capital into national economies and its attempts to use the integration processes for its own ends.*

This clash of opposite tendencies is a built-in feature of imperialist integration. State alignments, as illustrated by the Common Market, are really an attempt to wed opposite principles: freedom of competition and its restriction, liberalization of inter-state economic exchanges and their regulation. And insofar as competition does not tolerate restriction, which is contrary to the nature of the capitalist market and the private property principle, a source of conflict is ever-present in the machinery of state-monopoly integration.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted: 'Life demonstrates the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of struggle between the imperialist powers and between the capitalist monopolies. . . . Industrial and commercial competition is growing sharper, and the financial and currency war is spreading. Competition is growing in Western Europe, including within the Common Market.'

What new features, then, does imperialist integration introduce into the struggle of the working class, its allies, all democratic and anti-imperialist forces?

The development of the processes of imperialist integration complicates the class struggle. Big capital uses economic integration to consolidate its forces. The monopoly bourgeoisie gains added facilities for agreeing economic and social strategy and tactics in the framework of the various alignments, consolidating the organizational pillars of cooperation through the international alliances of industrialists and creating a political structure within the integration mechanism, which reduces greatly the influence of democratic forces on the work of these bodies. Integration policies are used by the monopolies, especially in critical situations, to set one national working class against another (especially by discriminating against foreign workers), and to attack the nationalized sector and the idea of nationalization.

All this is to be reckoned with, and the Communists and other progressive forces expose the essence of integration and its con-

*See also J. Prazsky's political commentary, '“Quiet Americans” in Western Europe,' in our February 1971 issue.

sequences for the people and the national interest of countries in the imperialist groupings or those planning to join them.

Marxist-Leninists, however, should go farther than merely recording these facts. They take into account that integration has not only made the struggle more difficult for the working class, but has also posed new demands and produced new opportunities through the growing internationalization of production, of the whole economic life of capitalist countries, reflecting the new setting in which the world revolutionary process develops.

The main social consequences of integration are not 'levelling incomes' or enhancement of 'social partnership,' not any tendency towards 'integrating' the working class into the system of capitalism, as many bourgeois politicians and ideologists had hoped, but a further aggravation of social inequality, deepening antagonism between the vital interests of the majority of the population and monopoly capital – both national and intertwined within the international frameworks.

Marxists always proceeded from the deep-going internal connection between the internationalization of the productive forces and the need for international proletarian solidarity. The democratic anti-monopoly struggle of the 1960s offers many examples of this solidarity.

As integration proceeds, more and more production facilities, enterprises and systems of enterprises belonging to the same company are established in different countries, linked by standardized production techniques and management systems. This makes for closer contacts and coordination between the respective trade union bodies. The growing migration of manpower brings more workers of different nationalities under the same roof. This is also facilitated by the proliferation of joint foreign companies. Among the factors facilitating joint action of the working class is the joint policy of the groupings with respect to various branches of the economy and, consequently, to large working-class groups in different countries.

In recent years the Communist and Workers' parties in the West European countries have been drawing up common platforms and have carried out concrete measures, opposing the common front of monopoly capital with a united front of working people. They are urging joint trade union efforts in the EEC countries to formulate policies providing for joint action vis-à-vis the Common Market's executive bodies in defense of the interests of the masses.

As integration processes gain momentum the democratic alternative will evidently become increasingly important. Along with concrete actions in the immediate future, it is necessary to prepare a long-term program of democratic changes in the EEC countries.

Among the principal problems facing the working people and all progressive forces in connection with imperialist integration are: defining the ways and means of mass action to influence regulation of economic life; establishing democratic control over the state's use of various economic levers; using the nationalized sector in the groupings as a counterbalance to private monopoly integration; achieving active participation of the working class, its parties and organizations in projecting and implementing far-reaching changes in the economy and long-term economic development programs in the interests of the working masses.

In the present stage of imperialist integration, with the international monopolies growing stronger, joint action by the proletariat and its allies is required more than ever.

An important aspect of the general democratic struggle is the external political consequences of integration, their effect on the centripetal and centrifugal tendencies in the imperialist camp. The economic interdependence and integration of the imperialist states is increasing, and facilitating their political association and the operation of military-political alliances and blocs hostile to the popular interest. On the other hand, by strengthening the position of certain groups of states, integration brings about changes in the correlation of forces, aggravating old inter-imperialist contradictions and breeding new ones within the imperialist groupings, between the groupings, and between the groupings and other capitalist states, notably the USA.

Integration has had a conflicting effect on the correlation of forces between the European communities and the United States. The Six have become a serious competitor of the U.S. monopolies in the world capitalist markets. But in the spheres of private investment, finance and science and technology, they and Western Europe as a whole have become more dependent on the United States. Behind the stronger general positions of the Six one should see the strengthening of American corporations and their subsidiaries in the EEC countries.

Integration processes in the imperialist system lead to a greater external economic expansion of monopoly capital, the creation of preferential zones and opposing economic blocs, and an accentuation of collective neo-colonialism. They create additional difficulties for the development of economic contacts between states belonging to different systems and are, in particular, an obstacle to all-European economic cooperation.

As opposed to the discrimination policies of the monopoly groups, the anti-imperialist forces are putting forward democratic principles for the division of labor among the imperialist countries:

genuinely equal cooperation, mutual advantage, no discrimination, respect for the sovereign rights of all states.

The current negotiations on the entry of Britain, Denmark, Norway and Ireland into the EEC have given rise to numerous questions about the ways and means of integration in the imperialist system in general and in its most salient materialization, the European Economic Community. Will the nature of integration change with the expansion of the EEC membership, with a trend towards 'general European concord' or will the communities still be racked by contradictions, often reducing to naught all the fruits of cooperation? Without going into differences between the present and potential members of the 'greater Europe' club, it may be safely said that all the old contradictions will remain within the integrated 'sixes,' 'eights' or 'tens,' with new ones appearing continuously.

While levelling national economies to some extent, imperialist integration retains the conditions making for the uneven development of different industries and areas, disproportions between 'new' and 'old' industries, and different levels of the 'rich' and 'poor' regions. The contradictions implicit in modern capitalism will always remain and the monopoly bourgeoisie will continue soliciting state support, while opposing the handing over to the state of new economic levers.

Is 'global' integration of capitalist states, the creation of a 'universal imperialist state' possible at all? V. I. Lenin conclusively refuted Kautsky's claim that 'capitalism will yet go through a new phase . . . the phase of ultra-imperialism, i.e., of a superimperialism, of a union of the imperialisms of the whole world . . .' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 271). Lenin noted that 'the trend of development is towards a single world trust absorbing all enterprises without exception and all states without exception. But this development proceeds in such circumstances, at such a pace, through such contradictions, conflicts and upheavals – not only economic but political, national, etc. – that inevitably imperialism will burst and capitalism will be transformed into its opposite *long before* one world trust materializes, before the "ultra-imperialist," worldwide amalgamation of national finance capital takes place' (Vol. 22, p. 107).

In assessing the long-term prospects of imperialist integration one is bound to observe its historical limitations. Undoubtedly, it reflects a new and higher stage in the development of the productive forces, a new stage in the socialization of capitalist production. But integration is inseparable from the production relations of capitalism with all their inherent contradictions. Capitalism's own historical limitations pre-determine the limitations of imperialist

integration: they embody the objective prerequisites for economic internationalization in forms that run counter to the national interest and the class interests of the working people. The future is not for imperialist, but for socialist integration, which, Lenin predicted, leads to the emergence of a unified world economy regulated according to a general plan by the proletariat of all nations.



Modern revisionism: philosophical and socio-political functions

Alfred Kosing

For a number of reasons, ideological clashes in the world confrontation of socialism and imperialism have latterly become increasingly sharp.

The world socialist system's successes – political, economic, scientific and technological – have markedly enhanced the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas. The sharpening of contradictions within the system of state-monopoly capitalism has been attended by the ideological radicalization of part of the working class, intelligentsia and students in capitalist countries and by a growing interest in Marxist theory. The anti-imperialist national-liberation movements have prepared receptive soil for Marxism-Leninism also in Third World countries. Imperialism has sought to counter this by its global strategy against socialism, which relies heavily on psychological warfare and ideological subversion. Both figure prominently in plans to corrode the Communist parties and socialist countries through ideological infiltration. This trend was noted (and numerous supporting facts were cited) by representatives of a number of fraternal parties at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. L. I. Brezhnev, for instance, pointed out that 'one of the most important aims of the class strategy of imperialism today is to erode the Communist and the whole revolutionary movement from within.'

It is therefore only natural that the imperialists should regard revisionism as an extremely valuable weapon against socialism and the revolutionary workers' movement. Nor is it accidental that West German publishing houses are flooding the market with books by 'old' and 'new' revisionists.

Theoretical polemics with latter-day Right revisionism, its consistent exposure, is, therefore, an intrinsic part of the Communist parties' struggle against imperialism, for the consolidation of socialism.

Some comrades ask whether we really have today anything like the spread of revisionism in the past, and whether it is not dangerous to transfer old concepts to an entirely new situation, thereby creating distrust and division within the Communist and workers' movement. These comrades hold that the diversity of objective conditions, the different stages in the development of the revolutionary movement and of socialist society make for a diversity of specific tasks facing the Parties and, hence, for differing views and assessments on a number of problems. Such concepts as 'revisionism' and 'opportunism,' they argue, should be avoided – they could be used as 'labels' to denounce as heresy any view at variance with one's own.

'Labeling' is, of course, contrary to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Views can vary on many questions. In fact, differences are inevitable at some stages of the revolutionary movement, especially in making a theoretical analysis of new experience. They can even help in working out a correct strategy and tactics, in creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory. New problems that arise in *Marxism-Leninism, within the framework of its principles* (and attempts to resolve them) naturally call for discussion. In an atmosphere of creative approach to theory such discussion is not only natural, but also helps to advance theory. Sooner or later, practice and deeper theoretical investigation are bound to prove the correctness of some premises and the need to rectify others.

However, in certain circumstances differences can become the starting point of revisionism, which, as a rule, is connected with real problems and is not a mere misunderstanding.

Consequently, when we speak of revisionism we have in mind not different views and opinions *within* the Marxist-Leninist outlook, but the *rejection of its basic, fundamental principles* and their replacement by concepts borrowed from the stock-in-trade of bourgeois ideology. This is true of both the 'old' Social-Democrat revisionism dating back to the turn of the century, and of the 'new' that has developed in the last few years in the Communist and workers' movement. Both are vehicles of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology in the workers' movement.

The most vociferous representatives of modern revisionism active in the theoretical field are H. Lefebvre, R. Garaudy, L. Kolakowski, E. Fischer, F. Marek, O. Sik, K. Kosik, J. Strinka, G. Petrovic, S. Stoyanovic, R. Havermann and others. All of them were expelled from the Communist Party, but the influence of their views has been far from overcome. There were certain differences at the beginning, but now their views are practically identical, and we can speak of a comparatively united platform of modern revisionism resting on two main premises. First, that Leninism is not

the further development of Marxism, but a specifically Russian phenomenon; hence, the need to return to the 'genuine Marx.' Second, that socialism in the Soviet Union and other socialist states is at variance with Marx's theory, representing a 'bureaucratic-etaist' distortion of socialism; hence, the need to devise a new 'model' combining socialism with democracy and freedom.

And since modern revisionism negates the universal validity of Leninism, of the October Revolution and the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and preaches sundry 'variants' of Marxism and 'models' of socialism, it is inevitable that it should display nationalistic leanings.

What are the causes underlying the appearance of new revisionist trends within the Communist movement, which developed in fierce struggle with the 'old' revisionism and gained strength in continuous conflict with opportunism? Modern revisionism thrives on a definite social soil. Its emergence can be traced to a number of objective and subjective factors that have grown out of the international class struggle and the development of socialist society and state-monopoly capitalism.

Of primary importance is the fact that the Communist movement has been developing in conditions fundamentally differing from those of past decades. It has become the major political movement of the masses and its influence is steadily growing. It is a movement charged with solving numerous complex problems, such as the building of socialism and communism, integration of the socialist states, determination of the socialist path of the scientific and technological revolution, elaboration of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism in both the developed capitalist states and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the promotion of world peace, etc. In spite of individual setbacks and difficulties, the world Communist movement is on the whole developing successfully. But the tasks facing it are difficult and complex and require much time. Every difficulty is exploited by revisionism, which prefers the 'easy' road of bourgeois theory and practice to the hard purposeful work of finding theoretical and practical solutions based on Marxism-Leninism.

The social origins of revisionist views are different in capitalist and socialist countries. Under state-monopoly capitalism the main social basis of the 'new' (as of the 'old') revisionism is the section of the working class 'integrated' into the capitalist system by numerous privileges and ideological brain-washing. The special 'intermediate' position of intellectuals in bourgeois society and ingrained tradition make them especially susceptible to 'third road' ideologies and pseudo-democratic illusions. The scientific and cultural revolution, the growing number of cultural establishments

and development of the mass media have increased the role of intellectuals in public life. They are more actively involved in political conflicts and exert more influence on public thinking. The political and ideological radicalization of intellectuals in capitalist countries has brought many of them into the Communist Party and made them dedicated fighters for socialism. But the process has also made for easier penetration of revisionist views.

And these views, experience has shown, can gain a foothold and acquire a degree of influence in socialist countries, too. The social base for this – the former petty-bourgeois strata – can persist for a relatively long time, since ideological traditions, mentality and norms of behavior formed over many decades die hard. Whether revisionist views penetrating socialist society through ideological infiltration make headway or not depends on two main factors: purposeful educational work by the Party, including a resolute struggle against revisionism, and the Party's ability in a timely way and constructively to solve the complex problems of socialist construction on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. If a Party fails in this, there may be attempts to find a solution by revising Marxism-Leninism and uncritically drawing on bourgeois theories and practices.

Capitulation in the face of new problems and difficulties, blindness to historical perspective, inability to make a Marxist analysis of the historical experience of socialism and draw correct conclusions – these are important factors in the emergence and spread of revisionism in some socialist countries.

The theoretical content, and ideological sources and manifestations of the 'new' revisionism differ substantially from the 'old' revisionism of Bernstein. It openly proclaimed its 'departure from Marx' and rejected socialism as the goal of the class struggle. Its slogan was 'the movement is everything, the ultimate goal nothing.' Modern revisionism's slogan is 'Back to Marx'; socialism, it alleges, has been 'distorted' and it wants to renew it by creating a 'better model.' Why this change of program? The prestige of Marxism-Leninism among progressives is so great that the slogan 'away from Marx' stands no chance whatever. Similarly, the ideas of socialism are now so firmly rooted in the consciousness of the peoples that anti-socialist trends (especially in the socialist countries) can operate only under the cover slogan of 'rectifying' or 'renovating' socialism. Lenin's words that 'the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to *disguise themselves as Marxists*' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 584) retain all their validity.

Modern revisionism claims it is the champion of authentic, creative Marxism, of genuine, 'human and democratic socialism.' This can appeal to politically and ideologically immature elements in

the revolutionary movement. In reality, all these slogans and catchy phrases are but a cover-up for *revision of the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy*.

When Bernstein launched out on his revision of Marxism in the late 19th century, his attack was directed against revolutionary-critical dialectics, which he denounced as a 'trap.' In philosophy, he said, Marxism must return to Kant. The attempt to replace our dialectical materialist philosophy by the neo-Kantian theory of knowledge and ethics is characteristic of the revisionism of that period. The basic materialist outlook of Marxism, inseparably linked with its proletarian class nature, was discarded, and socialism, the realistic goal of the proletarian struggle, was turned into a purely ethical ideal. For a long time neo-Kantianism and positivism (in the form of Machism) determined the theoretical content of philosophical revisionism. Echoes of this type of revisionism persisted into the 1940s in West Germany and Austria, though without anything like their former influence.

The 'new,' modern revisionism could not simply take over the philosophical ideas of the 'old' revisionism. For it is simply impossible to set up anti-historical neo-Kantianism or positivism (or neo-positivism) as a counterweight to Marxism in any theoretical analysis of the basic social, political and ideological problems of the age.

Consequently, modern revisionism draws on other bourgeois philosophical concepts, notably those, which, firstly, claim to an interpretative generalization of man's historical activity and, secondly, have been influenced to a greater or lesser degree by Marxism. This applies to the socio-critical theory of the 'Frankfurt school' (T. Adorno, M. Horkheimer, J. Habermas), the related views of Marcuse, the philosophical anthropology of Fromm, that eclectic amalgam of pickings from Marx and Freud, the existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre, the 'philosophy of hope' of E. Bloch, and several more. Christian personalism, revitalized by the Christian-Marxist dialogue, also enjoys a measure of influence.

Yugoslav philosophers gathered around the magazine *Praxis* have been especially active in the formation and consolidation of modern revisionism as an international trend. The group includes G. Petrovic, M. Kangrga, R. Supek, D. Grlic, P. Vranicki and others in Zagreb, and S. Stojanovic, M. Zuvotic, M. Markovic and others in Belgrade. Though there are certain differences, they all subscribe to the so-called 'practical philosophy.' The group has been instrumental in uniting all revisionist forces, with *Praxis* as their theoretical center. It has also set up an organization known as the 'Korcula Summer School.' The international editorial board of *Praxis* includes many well-known exponents of modern revision-

ism – Lefebvre, Kosik, Kolakowski, Strinka, Baumann, as well as Axelos, Bloch, Fromm, Habermas and Marcuse.

Highly characteristic of the group's stand is Petrovic's statement that the editorial board 'includes practically all leading Marxist philosophers of our time' and that the most important task of *Praxis* is 'to fight Stalinism and assert creative Marxism and humane socialism' (G. Petrovic. *Jugoslav Philosophy and the Journal Praxis*. In: 'Revolutionaere Praxis. Jugoslawischer Marxismus der Gegenwart. Hrsg. G. Petrovic. Freiburg, 1969, pp. 17, 16).

One need hardly go into what is meant here by 'Stalinism' and the function of this concept, for much has already been written and said on this score. Let us only cite Petrovic's own words that the 'practical philosophers' also reject 'the views of Engels and Lenin, which facilitated the emergence of Stalinism' (Ibid., p. 12), thus, in effect, rejecting dialectical and historical materialism. In 1968, in response to sharp criticism by Yugoslav Marxists, the *Praxis* editorial board formulated its credo as follows: 'There are two main opposing tendencies in the contemporary socialist movement (both internationally and at home): *bureaucratic étatism* and *democratic self-management*. Similarly, in the philosophical field the opposites are *Stalinist positivism* and *creative Marxism*' (Re Recent Criticism of *Praxis*, 1968. Op. cit.).

The *Praxis* group define dialectical materialism as 'positivist ontology,' that is, a passive philosophy that merely explains the world and disregards social practice and human knowledge. Dialectical materialism, they assert, is not the real philosophy of Marx, but rather its 'distortion' in the works of Engels and Lenin. Marx is thus counterposed to Engels and Lenin, which is tantamount to rejecting the inherent unity and continuity of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Ignoring the Leninist stage of Marxist philosophy and downgrading Leninism to the status of a 'Russian variant' of Marxism is meant to justify pluralism, the contention that there can be various national brands of Marxism; this leads to negation of Marxism's international character. Thus, P. Vranicki declares: 'It is time completely to reject the view that there is only one Marxist philosophy, or only one structure of that philosophy, and to recognize the need for different variants' (P. Vranicki. 'On the Need for Different Variants in the Philosophy of Marxism.' In: *Akten des XIV Internationalen Kongresses fuer Philosophie*. Wien, 1968. Bd. II, p. 140).

But perhaps there really are different viewpoints in contemporary Marxist-Leninist philosophy that could be described as its 'variants?'

If we accept that Marxism-Leninism is scientific in character

(and that it is goes without saying), then there can be only *one authentic Marxist philosophy* – a system of fundamental principles scientifically substantiated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, confirmed by historical practice and developed by the collective thought of Communist parties. Different points of view are possible within this philosophy, especially on problems that are being further studied and elaborated. They are the subject of scientific discussion, which facilitates the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. But this does not imply the existence of 'national variants' of Marxism. There is no such thing as Soviet, Polish, German, French or Yugoslav Marxism, though one can speak of the development of Marxist philosophy in the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR, France or Yugoslavia. But, by its very nature, Marxist-Leninist philosophy is profoundly *internationalist*.

'Pluralism' in Marxism means, in effect, revision of its basic principles and rejection of proletarian class positions, i.e., its subjection to bourgeois philosophy. Modern revisionism is itself ample proof of that.

What has it to offer as the 'genuine' philosophy of Marx as opposed to dialectical and historical materialism? An *abstract-humanistic philosophy of man*, centered on man's alienation and how to overcome it. This idealistic conception has been most clearly formulated by such representatives of 'practical philosophy' as Petrovic and Kangrga, as well as Fischer and Lefebvre. Using Marx's 'Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts, 1844,' some premises of which are absolutized and falsified in the spirit of idealist anthropology, the revisionists interpret Marxist philosophy as an 'utopia of the integral man' (Fischer), or a vision of 'what can become' (Kangrga), or as a theory of 'man as a free practical being' (Petrovic). All these interpretations *distort the very essence of Marxist philosophy*, and substitute for it a supra-class, abstract conception of humanism. This is an outright falsification of Marxism as a whole and of the principles Marx sets out in the 'Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts.'

Dialectical and historical materialism is the only philosophy that theoretically explains the materiality of the world and man's purposeful activity to transform it. And social practice, as the concrete material manifestation of human activity, and the philosophical category of practice are central to this philosophy. For it is a premise of Marxism that people make history in real-life circumstances, in a definite natural environment, in conditions of a definite socio-economic formation with its inherent productive forces and production relations, classes and class interests. Furthermore, human activity and its results are determined by objective laws. The 'practical philosophers,' however, ignore, or regard as purely rela-

tive, the materiality of being and activity. Man as a member of a concrete society is replaced by the idealistic abstraction of 'man in general.' The result is that the subject or subjectivity is factually excluded from the material process of social life and its objective laws. Instead, there is abstract absolutization of subjectivity, which always leads to idealism.

The *Praxis* group insist on the materialist character of their conception, claiming that they alone have a true concept of practice. In reality, however, revisionism deprives the concept of its historic content, and imparts to it an anthropological meaning. Thus, according to Petrovic's definition, 'Practice is primarily a definite mode of being characteristic of a definite existence that transcends all other modes of being, from which it differs radically. . . . For example, practice is free being, creative being, historical being, practice is being through the medium of the future' (Gajo Petrovic. 'Wider den autoritaeren Marxismus.' Frankfurt/M., 1969, p. 114). Thinking, and generally any creative activity, is also regarded as a form of human practice. This obliterates the distinction between material and spiritual or idealistic activity, and the concept of 'practice' uniting them is theoretically neutralized and can be used to obliterate the difference between materialism and idealism.

This type of speculative reasoning, which fills the pages of *Praxis* as proof of its 'creative approach,' owes very much to bourgeois philosophy. The historical experience of mankind, and of the working class in particular, and its theoretical generalization in Marxist-Leninist philosophy show that social practice is not an abstract 'mode of being,' but the sum-total of man's direct material activity. In the course of this activity man transforms nature and society and continuously changes himself in the process. Nor is practice 'free being'; it is conditioned by the development of the productive forces and relations of production of a given society and is subject to definite objective laws. In all class societies we deal with the practices of classes. The class struggle to change social relations is a crucial sphere of man's practical activity. In our time, this sphere is the struggle of the working class and all progressive forces against imperialism, the building of socialism and communism.

The problem of alienation plays a very special part in revisionist distortions of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. As Marx pointed out, 'the human essence is no abstraction inherent in a single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations' (Marx, Theses on Feuerbach). For genuine Marxists this should preclude disquisitions about 'man in general.' But the revisionists are at pains to devise a special Marxist anthropology, 'philosophy of man,' humanology, etc., as a substitute for dialectical and historical materialism. All such attempts are based on the abstract non-historical

'ideal image' of man, with alienation becoming his main attribute.

Marx considered alienation a concrete historical, social phenomenon, its cause rooted in private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of man by man. Accordingly, Marx saw it as a transient phenomenon. In 'Capital' and 'Economic Manuscripts of 1857-59' he proves that alienation disappears with the removal of its initial causes. The revisionists have persistently ignored this important conclusion. Contrary to Marx, though with unfounded references to him, they maintain that alienation is a general phenomenon and, consequently, an anthropological category and will vanish only in some vague future. They conclude that man remains as alienated and 'deformed' under socialism as under capitalism. More, in socialist society, they allege, alienation is more pronounced and more oppressive. Such views were put forward by Fischer, Goldstuecker, Garaudy and others at the 1963 'Kafka conference.' Subsequently they provided the theoretical basis for destructive criticism of socialist society. (See Ernst Fischer. *Kunst und Koexistenz. Beitrag zu einer modernen marxistischen Aethetik*. Hamburg. 1966, p. 103).

This anti-Marxist interpretation of man and alienation provides the theoretical groundwork for the abstract, utopian-idealist conception of humanism that are a feature of modern revisionism. Politically and ideologically these conceptions are aimed first and foremost against socialist society. Their authors seek to construct an 'ideal' man and an 'ideal' socialism and counterpose it to the real socialism in the Soviet Union, the GDR and other countries. Theirs, they argue, is not the true socialism of Marx, but its 'bureaucratic-etatist deformation.' More, Kosik declares that 'humane socialism is based on different principles than bureaucratic socialism . . . the two have different principles of history, man, truth, etc.' (Karel Kosik. In: *Gespraeche an der Moldau*. Hrag. von Antonin S. Liehm. Wien-Muenchen-Zuerich, 1968, p. 338).

To the real historical development of socialism, with all its difficulties and contradictions in conditions of fierce class struggle between the opposing social systems, revisionism metaphysically contrasts a nebulous 'ideal' devoid of concrete substance. And that ideal is squarely at odds with the views of Marx. For it not only ignores the specific historical conditions in which socialist society is formed; it negates the existence of common laws governing the struggle for proletarian revolution and the building of socialism. Recognition of these laws has nothing in common with mechanistic determinism or restriction of man's activity as the 'practical philosophers' would have us believe. On the contrary, it presumes active participation in consciously building the new society. In particular, recognition of the objective laws of social development will show

that the scientific and technological revolution and the effort for maximum economic effectiveness, far from signifying a retreat from the humanist objectives of socialism, are a means of achieving them.

The true humanistic objective of socialism is a society free of exploitation, oppression and alienation, a community whose members are fully prepared for rational supervision of its affairs. That is the goal of the struggle waged by the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party for the liquidation of capitalism and the creation of the new society. The revisionists, however, see this struggle as a 'distortion' of the socialist ideals. Their criticism is aimed at the socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. They want immediate abolition of the socialist state and the Party's conversion into a 'spiritual vanguard.' And this is complemented by illusions of a socialist society administered by a system of self-managed and completely autonomous production collectives. Of course, it is not merely a matter of the term 'self-management' but of the meaning imparted to it. Marx, Engels and Lenin repeatedly explained that under socialism the process of social development could be directed only by an 'association of producers,' i.e., the working class and its allies, through their democratic organizations and governing bodies. Successful socialist construction has proved that only democratic centralism with the ever broader involvement of working people in management and planning can ensure genuine socio-economic progress. Complete autonomy of production collectives makes for spontaneity in social development and, in the final analysis, in the development of the collectives themselves. It runs counter to the objective trends of technico-economic development and hampers progress of the productive forces and, hence, implementation of socialism's humanitarian ideals. The guiding role of the socialist state and leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party are *objective necessities* in building a socialist society.

Revisionist criticism of existing socialist society concludes with the demand for a 'democratic' model of socialism. And J. Strinka explains that this means 'changing the political system of socialism' (J. Strinka. *Reflections on Democratic Socialism*. In: *Praxis*, Heft 1/2, 1969, p. 261). Such 'change' implies, above all, renouncing the leading role of the Communist Party. At the 1969 International Meeting Comrade Husak said, in reference to Czechoslovakia: 'The content of socialism and its basic principles became an object of ideological and political speculation. Some associated the concept of socialism with pluralist bourgeois democracy and the reformist model of so-called democratic socialism from the programs of Right Social-Democratic parties. In the prevailing situation, the ideological ferment developed into an ideological struggle expressive of a

class conflict; socialist power based on the leading role of the Communist Party was gravely endangered.'

The revisionist model of 'democratic' or 'humane' socialism is, both in its theoretical and practical aspects, an attempt to 'Social-Democratize' socialism, for it is based on Social-Democratic notions of class peace and the illusion that socialism can be built by the means and methods of formal bourgeois democracy. The only result of the modern revisionists' abstract humanism has been nihilistic criticism of the existing socialism. Objectively, their emotional appeals for an 'integral man' and a 'humane world' serve the interests of the reactionary forces.

The socio-political functions of revisionism cannot be considered in isolation from the fierce class struggles between socialism and imperialism. Like the 'old' brand, the 'new' revisionism is a conduit of bourgeois influence in the workers' movement. To that must be added that modern revisionism is battling against the existing socialism, seeking to weaken and undermine the working class and its Party and corrode socialist consciousness.

Its destructive criticism of socialist society accords with imperialism's global strategy and prepares the ground for the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces. Modern revisionism, it will thus be seen, not only tries to impose bourgeois ideology on the working-class movement but, through theoretical, ideological and political subversion in the socialist states, it acts as *an ideological vehicle of counter-revolution*. Nor is that a hypothetical conclusion; it is a proven fact. The assistance modern revisionism gives imperialism sometimes surpasses the expectations of imperialist ideologues and strategists.

Very likely, individual representatives of revisionism are motivated by the best of intentions. But the objective result of their views and activity depends not on their personal desires, but on the content and circumstances of the class struggle between socialism and imperialism. As Lenin pointed out, 'It is not a matter of intentions, motives or words, but of the objective situation, independent of them, that determines the fate and significance of slogans, of tactics or, in general, of the trend of a given party or group' (Vol. 19, p. 262).

Following the 1969 International Meeting, the Communist Parties stepped up the fight against revisionism, attacking it in the political and other major sectors. But to carry the fight to the end, we must also fully expose the philosophical insolvency of revisionism. This can be successfully accomplished only through profound and comprehensive creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. We must use that scientific theory to rebuff all attempts to undermine the unity of the international Communist movement and the world socialist system.



IOJ Congress in Havana

The Seventh Congress of the International Organization of Journalists, Havana January 4-11, has the distinction of being one of the first events on the 1971 international calendar. Not only is it noteworthy *per se*, but because for many of its participants, including this writer, it afforded the first first-hand acquaintance with the first free territory in America, as the Cubans proudly describe their country.

To be sure, one can learn about a country without ever going to it, just as one can gain a good idea about an international organization from handbooks and documents without ever attending any of its conferences. But the emotional coloring of physical presence would then be lacking. Therefore, apart from the essential information, I shall try to share with my reader the impressions inspired by the atmosphere of the congress and the sojourn on the Island of Freedom – naturally, within the limits imposed by this brief commentary.

The home of revolution

Speaking on behalf of the hosts, Ernesto Vera, President of the Union of Cuban Journalists, said: 'As we begin our work this evening in the presence of progressive and anti-imperialist journalists of all continents, we want to convey to you the essence of our sentiment: for us it is a great honor to receive you here in our revolutionary house, and we wish that you should all feel at home.'

Revolutionary house – about Cuba he could hardly say it more aptly. On the short trip from the airport to the capital we encountered ample evidence of the vigorous activity transforming the country. Beside a cluster of hovels we saw new dwellings going up, where the people of the village will soon celebrate their housewarming. Our bus was overtaken by picturesquely adorned trucks

carrying sugar cane to the refineries; a new safra had begun, a new round in the fight for economic progress. We stopped at a crossing while a teacher led his group of schoolchildren across the street; the interpreter reminded us that Cuba is the first Latin American country where all children go to school. We drove past an industrial building site; it will be a reinforced concrete factory, and at some distance away passed an anti-aircraft battery; the revolution is compelled to build with one hand and defend itself with the other.

Then Havana – a magnificent white city of avenues lined with tropical trees, a seemingly endless promenade along the Gulf of Mexico, wide streets in the center and narrow winding lanes in the outskirts. Along the famous Fifth Avenue, where American, European and local plutocrats once resided in swanky villas, working people are now in charge. The skyscrapers that housed the offices of foreign firms have been turned over to government and public institutions. In evidence everywhere are slogans of the revolution and portraits of its teachers, leaders and heroes: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Jose Marti, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Camilo Cienfuegos.

Retaining their natural grace despite their uniforms, militia girls control the traffic imperiously. Our coaches rolled up to the Hotel Havana Libre, on the magnificent façade of which three giant brightly lit letters, IOJ (International Organization of Journalists), were prominently on display.

The IOJ story

It was born in Copenhagen, in the building of the Danish Parliament, where the representatives of 21 countries gathered in June 1946 to constitute the International Organization of Journalists and adopted its provisional statutes.

The time gap between its Seventh and the First Congress is a quarter of a century, highlighted by the acute confrontation of socialism and imperialism, progress and reaction, by pitched ideological battles and by radical changes on the political map of the world and in man's consciousness. Needless to say, the organization of people who by virtue of their profession are constantly in the epicentre of the ideological struggle has probably experienced the effects of the transpiring changes more than any other.

Like any other organization of weight, the IOJ has its chroniclers, recording its congresses and the sittings of its governing bodies; it has its archive, containing official documents and reports. Paging through the handbooks specially compiled for the Havana Congress, we were struck by the fact that the story of the International Organization of Journalists reflects the story of the times.

Constituted after the victory over fascism, as a powerful surge

of the progressive forces unfolded, the IOJ, like the other international democratic organizations, soon, however, felt the icy breath of the imperialist-inspired cold war. In 1948 its work was largely upset by journalists' unions controlled by the ruling elements of capitalist states. The following year the journalists' unions of the United States, Britain, Australia and a few other countries withdrew officially, while the union of Belgian journalists torpedoed the Third Congress, which was to have been held in Brussels. That, as the journalistic review issued by the IOJ Secretariat notes, was a critical time for the organization, when it had not yet lived up to expectations nor amassed any influence.

However, there were the essentials for ending the crisis in relatively rapid time, for the IOJ could lean on the powerful journalistic organizations of the Soviet Union and the other countries that had embarked on socialism; representatives of the Communist and the progressive press of the capitalist world stayed with it, and advanced journalists in the former colonial and dependent countries felt the need for its survival. It grew in volume steadily, extending the scope of its activity and gaining added prestige.

But let's look at the statistics of the Credentials Committee at the Seventh Congress. Sixty-eight countries were represented at the previous congress (Berlin 1966), whereas in Havana there were 82. In Berlin 18 delegates represented Africa, and in Havana 22, with 31 and 48 respectively from America and 18 and 37 respectively from Asia. All in all, more than 300 delegates represented all the continents this time, working for the common aim of peace and social progress.

Recognition

Growth in numbers is the most palpable indication of the state of an organization: if its ranks increase, it is needed and useful. Though the most palpable, however, it is not the only one and certainly not the most important. International recognition is another indication.

The IOJ has a permanent status in UNESCO and the UN Economic and Social Council.

Fourteen international organizations sent representatives to the Havana Congress. 'All of us know,' said Lazaro Pena on behalf of the World Federation of Trade Unions, 'that the workers of all continents look with hope to the capital of our esteemed socialist Cuba, the venue of the Congress, which is discussing, studying and examining solutions for the new tasks of the international organization of our brothers, the workers in the field of informa-

tion, the pen, cinema and printing press. The IOJ and WFTU have common aspirations, concerns, hopes and tasks.'

Dozens of messages and hundreds of telegrams were addressed to the Havana Congress. 'The Soviet people,' says the message signed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, 'hold in high esteem the work of the democratic journalists of the world, all those who cherish peace, the cause of national and social emancipation, democracy and socialism. We are sure that the ranks of the democratic journalists and their democratic organization will expand, consolidate, that their truthful voice will resound more strongly.' Messages and greetings from many other statesmen and public leaders arrived.

Last but not least, there is yet another indication showing that the IOJ is on the upgrade.

Glance into the hall, where one of the regular sittings is taking place. On the rostrum is the representative of a journalists' union applying for admission to the IOJ. He is allowed to amplify the application. Questions are asked: What is its membership? What publications do these people work for? A brief discussion ensues, followed by a vote. The same procedure recurs when 15 other applications of national journalists' unions come up for discussion. There could be no indication more convincing of the IOJ's growing prestige and of the *interest* in it.

Let's leave the hall and call on the Editing Committee, debating the wording of the resolutions. Despite the common approach there are shades of meaning, some quite trenchant. Compromise versions are put forward and sub-committees are formed to find acceptable solutions. That is the way a document is drawn up if *importance* is attached to it.

Now, let us go to the lobby. The atmosphere is the same as at all international conferences: some swap impressions, some argue. A big group of African delegates heatedly discuss the question of whom to nominate from their zone to the Vice-Presidency of the IOJ. That may be a mere detail, but it reveals the lively *interest* in the organization.

Responsibility

The main character of Figueiredo's drama 'Aesop' describes the value and purpose of the spoken word in these terms: it is a vehicle of truth, a bringer of the good, it can teach, encourage, heal the suffering, help the despairing. But it can also be a vehicle of lies and calumny, can be used to deceive, inspire fear, instigate crime and murder.

In Aesop's time the word was, so to say, a traveller, passing

from mouth to mouth. In our time it has acquired wings. The truth is multiplied millions of times when printed or broadcast. And the lie, disseminated through modern information media, becomes millions of lies. Hence, the responsibility of those who write or broadcast is likewise multiplied by the million.

This theme, the heightening responsibility of front-line ideological fighters, held an important place in the congress discussions. M. V. Zimyanin, Editor-in-Chief of *Pravda* and leader of the Soviet delegation, put it this way: 'In the world we live in, the powerful social and technological revolution makes for abrupt changes in all spheres of life. The role and functions of the mass media are constantly increasing, and never before has the word exerted such influence. This lays a very special responsibility on us journalists and determines the growing role of our international organization.'

This question of the role and mission of journalists in the world of today was discussed not in the abstract, not in terms of pious wishes (of which, incidentally, there is no dearth even in the most corrupt bourgeois press) but within the framework of a clearcut political orientation. For it is the duty of every honest journalist to dedicate all his ability, talent and fervor to the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and social progress, to the struggle against imperialism and its aggressive and reactionary policies. This was clearly and forcefully put in the message of Cuba's revolutionary government read by its Foreign Minister, Raul Roa: 'We are living at a time when the brave, pure and truthful word is one of the most effective weapons against those who for centuries have implanted their brutal rule and cultivated insatiable avarice, corruption and lies: those who have fattened on the labor of others. The imperialists and their mass-media servitors know only too well that ours is a gathering of journalists fighting, in different degrees and different forms, for the new society. And it is inexorably coming into being at the will of the oppressed, not at the wish of the press bureaucrats whose obsessional aim is to block progress or divert this inevitable process from its natural course.'

Delegates from many countries shared their thoughts, described their work and struggle, the contribution they and their colleagues were making to solving the problems agitating peoples' minds everywhere. Some of the speeches were colorful, all were professional, businesslike, and together they produced a picture of the world in all its contradictory multiformity: the creative effort in building the new life in the socialist lands, the labor-capital class struggle in the citadels of capitalism, the selfless effort of the peoples of developing countries to wipe out backwardness and consolidate independence, the fight against imperialist aggression in the 'hot spots' of our planet . . .

Many problems were raised in the debate, but central to all the speeches was the need to gather, unite and concentrate all forces against the common foe, imperialism, which is responsible for all the bloodshed, for the continuing hunger and misery, for social and national oppression, and is the main obstacle on the peoples' road to freedom, progress and enduring peace.

In a field near a small town 30 kilometers from Havana stands the monument to the revolution: the figures of two women symbolizing the revolution's two aspects—its fight to destroy the old and its work to build the new; its struggles and its labor effort. And late one evening, after congress had adjourned, we gathered here to voice our support for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their fight against U.S. imperialist aggression. Democratic journalists from all parts of the world were joined by thousands of Cubans in paying tribute to the envoys from Indochina and in expressing their admiration of and solidarity with the just cause of their peoples. And then, on an improvised platform lit by powerful spotlights, *safra* activists, the front-rankers who brought in the sugar harvest, were handed their modest prizes. And this ceremony was, organically, a continuation of the first, symbolizing unity of the two aspects of the revolution and its international character.

Journalism and politics

As befits a professional association, the International Organization of Journalists seeks to cater to the interests and requirements of its members. Its activities include exhibitions, seminars, symposiums to facilitate exchange of experience and creative discussion of various aspects of the journalist's work (professional training, cooperation between press agencies, radio, television and the documentary cinema, tourism as a means of gaining closer acquaintance of a people's history and culture). It runs clubs for journalists specializing on agrarian problems, radio and TV writers, Interpress Photo Club, Interpress Motor Club, etc. It has its own training centers, conducts special research on working conditions and, within its means, tries to provide health and recreation amenities. Incidentally, there are statistics to show that the average life span of a journalist is shorter than any other comparable profession: news reporting is a nervous, and often dangerous, job. And there is much public respect and gratitude for the hundreds and thousands of Soviet journalists and cameramen who left succeeding generations a vivid record of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people. Many of them fell in the line of duty. Progressive mankind is grateful also to the courageous news-

men, cameramen and commentators, men and women of different nationalities and political views, who bring the world the truth about the crimes of the U.S. aggressor in Vietnam, or the misdeeds of the Israeli invaders. They are a credit to the profession; many have been awarded the International Journalists' Prize.

The Organization's role as a professional association was closely examined at the Havana Congress. There were, of course, criticism and constructive proposals and they were taken into account in formulating decisions. But this does not obscure, does not relegate to the background, the political problems with which we have to cope. And these problems, particularly those involved in the fight against imperialism and in the defense of peace, predominated in the congress debate and resolutions.

That politics are closely relevant to an organization of gatherers and disseminators of information need hardly be proved. This was very succinctly stated in one of the reports: 'The work of the journalist is predominantly *political work*.' Today, not only political commentators, those journalist 'generals,' but rank-and-file reporters – the men and women who bring the news from a battlefront or factory, cover some sports event or court trial – all of them, to one or another degree, are participants in the ideological struggle, in politics, in the process of moulding public opinion.

As applied to journalists and their international organization, it is not a matter of politics in general, but of their concrete class substance.

Reflections on the character of the IOJ

Re-reading the Havana resolution, couched in clear and sharp anti-imperialist tones, I was somehow reminded of a talk I had with a liberal bourgeois journalist at an international conference several years ago.

He was, he told me, a sincere and keen supporter of international democratic organizations and was concerned for their future. They had been set up, he said, for the express purpose of promoting closer understanding between nations and bringing worker, youth, women's movements, writers, journalists and scientists into a powerful force in defense of peace and peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. Indeed, it was only on this basis that people of diverse social strata and political persuasions, different philosophies and views, could be brought together. But what, he asked, would happen if these general democratic aims were replaced by revolutionary aims; if the 'fight against war' slogan was replaced by 'fight against imperialism'? The international organizations would depart from their original goals and would lose support-

ers not prepared to subscribe to revolutionary demands. In short, they would become one-party, Communist organizations incapable of attaining their original aims.

The man was not an anti-Communist, but ingrained prejudice prevented him from seeing the direct link between the fight for peace and the fight against imperialism's reactionary and aggressive policies. He had his own logic; it led him and other pacifists to quit the mass democratic movement and become grumbling onlookers.

Now, however, a congress of one such international democratic organization adopted a resolution that was consistently anti-imperialist, and adopted it unanimously, though among the delegates from 82 countries were Communists, Socialists, radicals and liberals, Christians, Moslems, Buddhists and atheists. In short, this was anything but a one-party gathering.

Why is it that all the predictions about the decline of international democratic organizations have failed to materialize? The answer is clear enough: the successes of the revolutionary forces, the fresh upsurge of the liberation movement and (to a very large degree) the self-exposure of imperialism have significantly altered public consciousness. Today not only the Communists, revolutionary democrats and peace supporters, but also representatives of the ruling element in some capitalist countries demand an end to the U.S. aggression in Indochina, restoration of the rights of the Arab states and a European collective security system. Not only the Communists, but also a wide spectrum of political movements stand for social revolution.

Needless to say, with this triumphant march of revolutionary ideas there is bound to be a certain amount of delusion and hypocrisy. The very word socialism has acquired such a magnetic force that one would not be really surprised, after Kennedy and Johnson with their promises of a 'just' and 'great' society in the United States, to see Nixon or his successors promising a 'socialist' society.

But illusions are dispelled and deceit exposed. They do not detract from the fact that today the concepts of revolution and socialism have merged with the concepts of peace, progress and justice in the minds of a rapidly increasing number of people from diverse strata, and that imperialism has come to be identified with war, reaction and oppression.

That is why the anti-imperialist program drawn up at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties has won such wide acceptance, particularly in the international democratic organizations. They unite people of differing ideologies on a common anti-imperialist and democratic platform, and there need be no doubt that they will grow in strength and scope.

Socialist Cuba has many problems. It will take time to eliminate economic backwardness, train skilled personnel, make culture accessible to the masses. Optimal solutions are not always readily found in the complex process of restructuring the social system. But learning from experience, the Cuban Communists resolutely expose shortcomings, frankly tell the people of the difficulties and problems that have to be resolved.

But all this does not in any way blemish the remarkable achievements of the revolution and its equally remarkable prospects. Nor does it detract from the progress already made under Communist Party leadership and with the fraternal assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries. Perhaps this is best illustrated in the following episode with which I conclude this article.

We delegates were invited to the opening of a new boarding school complex in a picturesque part of Havana province. We were taken around the dormitories, classrooms, laboratories and sports grounds, surrounded by a crowd of lively youngsters, including the boys and girls who would be attending the new school. There was a meeting, at which the headmaster, a young man, explained how the studies would be organized.

He was followed by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Cuban Communist Party and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government. Castro was dressed in his usual khaki, his movements showed a restrained energy, and only his eyes betrayed that he was tired. He raised his hand for an end to the applause and his expressive voice rang out in the quiet.

Fidel recalled his own childhood, saying that before the revolution the young generation was reared to accept religious dogma and show tolerance for injustice and exploitation. Today we must train our youth in loyalty to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, to be strong physically and spiritually and prepared to cope with any difficulty. The best way to achieve that is through boarding schools where study can be combined with manual work. This inculcates a feeling of comradeship and fraternity.

There was loud laughter at Fidel's jokes. It was a very warm speech – everyone felt that he was sharing his thoughts with the audience, and this direct link with the audience gave the speech its inimitable charm.

Nearly 3.5 million of Cuba's 8.5 million inhabitants are under 17. All of them must be educated in a way to enable them to contribute the most to society. That is not easy, Castro said – Cuba would have to build 1,500 boarding schools. This will require more building workers and more teachers. At present, about 500,000 school-

children and college students are provided for, partly or in full, by the state.

Castro left the platform amidst loud applause to join the audience, where he was surrounded by journalists eager to ask questions or simply to shake hands with the leader of the Cuban revolution.

The truthful word is a powerful weapon in the battle for progress, but if it is to fulfil that function, people must be taught to read. The exploiters are to blame that nearly half of the world's population cannot read. The revolution, which dispels ignorance, and progressive journalism, which brings to the people the truth – are they not allies?

Havana-Prague

G. Skakhnazarov

People's will stronger than bombs

I had twice been to Laos, visiting Vientiane and the North. And when the reports came, early in February, of the country's invasion by several thousand Saigon and Thai troops supported by U.S. forces, my thoughts turned to that small Asian country, its sterling patriots – my friends and comrades – who are fighting back this new attack of the U.S. imperialists and their hirelings.

I recall the Laotian capital standing on the Mekong, the huge slow-flowing river that forms a natural boundary with Thailand. It is more like a huge chaotically built village, but it has all the contrasts of a big city: latest model cars speeding past two-wheel carts; modern buildings, their white facades gleaming in the sun, rub shoulders with primitive huts built on piles; luminescent lighting on the main streets and paraffin lamps on the outskirts. And much the same with fashions: women in long skirts, the hem colorfully embroidered, and girls in the most mini of mini skirts. Some of them, members of the world's oldest profession, entertain visiting Americans in the White Rose, El Morocco and other night spots.

And there are many of them, these visiting Americans. True, the U.S. Embassy is a rather modest affair, small compared to the bunker-like edifice of U.S. Ambassador Bunker in Saigon. But with its CIA controlled offshoots, the Embassy employs more than 2,000. To that should be added the 3,000 U.S. 'advisers' in the 'security

areas,' modeled on the South Vietnam 'strategic hamlets,' that euphemistic designation of concentration camps for peasants. Then there are some 2,000 U.S. air force experts and the same number of instructors training the so-called special forces, the local variety of the Green berets, to destroy and kill. The western press estimates that last year the Americans had 12,000 'advisers' in Laos.

North of the capital are the uplands controlled by the Patriotic Front. The guerrilla fighters there face incredible difficulties and constant danger. Knowing that, I did not feel comfortable in Vientiane, with its night clubs, luxury hotels and jewellery shops. All this American window-dressing was oppressive. For I knew that in the North the U.S. air force was systematically destroying one village after another.

But first a few words about Laos. Its population is estimated at three million — there has never been a proper census. And these three million are divided into more than a score of ethnic groups and tribes, each with its own language, customs and traditions. The biggest are Lao-Lum, Lao-Xung and Lao-Thenh. Lao-Lum is the most numerous, accounting for much of the urban population, but with sizeable communities also in the plains and coastal areas. Their main pursuit is agriculture and fishing. The Lao-Xung are concentrated in the rugged mountainous regions of north and south Laos, and they are mostly hunters, for the land here is not suitable for farming. The Lao-Xung are proud, independent, freedom-loving people whom the French authorities failed to bludgeon into subjection. Most of the Lao-Thenh live in the south and central uplands, and most of them are nomads, though some have turned to rice farming on burnt-out jungle. Like the Lao-Xung, they are also famed hunters. Some of the Lao-Thenh tribes, however, are still at a very primitive stage and live in appalling poverty.

And now, a brief look at history. After many years of preparation, the French invaded Laos at the close of last century on the pretext of helping its people break out of Siamese oppression. French troops occupied the main towns and French control was finalized in the early 1900s.

The Laotians fought back. There was a series of popular risings, one of the biggest in 1918. In December 1941 Laos and the rest of Indochina were occupied by the Japanese. This time there was more organized resistance and a much clearer aim, namely, the proclamation of an independent Laotian state. One of the outstanding resistance leaders was Prince Souphanouvong, the 20-year-old son of Prince Bounkong, the late ruler of the country. A man of outstanding ability, a civil engineer by training (he had graduated in Paris) Souphanouvong worked in Havre and Bordeaux, where he joined the revolutionary movement.

In the autumn of 1945, following Japan's surrender, a provisional Popular Resistance government was formed and proclaimed an independent republic. France retaliated by sending its troops. There began another colonial war, which ended only in 1954, after the Geneva conference of April-May of that year.

Supported by the U.S. imperialists and acting on their orders, the reactionary elements flagrantly violated the Geneva agreements and plunged the country into a new fratricidal war. It was all too clear that the United States was bent on replacing the French colonialists, and to do that it tried to stifle the democratic patriotic movement. It was against this background that the Patriotic Front, Neo Lao Haksat, was formed in January 1956 and for 15 years has faithfully led the Laotian people in their fight against imperialist aggression, for freedom and independence.

Following the Geneva conference on Laos, the three main political groupings – the Patriotic Front, the neutralists and the Right-wing faction – agreed on a cease fire and formed a coalition government. A declaration on Laos neutrality was proclaimed. But U.S. imperialism prevented operation of the agreement. Interference rapidly developed into outright aggression, sharply escalated this winter when systematic bombing was intensified and the U.S. imperialists launched open intervention.

My first visit to the liberated areas was in 1967. I was thrilled by the sight of the tropical jungle. But I was even more thrilled by the people, most of them living in caves, the best shelter against the wanton destruction perpetrated by the U.S. air force. The bombings are part of a desperate attempt to re-impose colonial rule. But the Laotian patriots are determined to fight through to freedom and independence.

In my travels through the liberated areas I saw the modern weapons (especially anti-aircraft artillery), and also the traps the guerrillas set on the jungle trails. Everywhere I was told of the barbarous bombing raids and everywhere I saw the evidence: forests, fields, rice paddies, peasant homes destroyed by napalm.

These air attacks are supplemented by ground operations supervised by U.S. 'advisers.' The principal target is Xieng-khouang province, the strategic gateway to Laos. Actually this is a plateau surrounded by mountains and a junction of the east-west and north-south highways. The roads lead through mountain passes, thick jungle and canyons, and whoever controls them controls important areas of Laos.

In August 1969 the U.S. command launched a new operation code-named Ku Kiet, which translates 'save our honor.' The idea was to use troops of the reactionary-controlled Laotian army to capture and hold the Plain of Jars. At first the plan seemed to work but

later the enemy found he could save neither his honor nor his face. On my second visit, the Plain of Jars was still the scene of heavy fighting, but the enemy was already retreating.

In the past three years the war has become more ferocious still and the lot of the people more difficult. Last year the Americans began using more destructive weapons. Everyone knows about the fragmentation bombs, the 'oranges' and 'pineapples,' as they are called here. Every explosion releases a shower of steel fragments, small balls and cubes, to sow death. These bombs are being perfected, becoming more deadly. I was able to compare some of the bombs used a few years ago with the latest 1970 model: the steel arrows, or 'winged nails' as the people here call them, are much longer, much more effective.

Another new weapon against the civilian population are the so-called 'leaf mines' (widely used also in Vietnam). A small land mine shaped like a big leaf and painted a dull green explodes at the slightest contact. For instance, if a child minding the water buffalo, or a woman cutting grass, happens to step on one of them death is instantaneous. The 'leaf mines' are dropped by tiny parachutes.

The war continues, with no end in sight, the rain of bombs becomes more dense, and in the liberated areas, press reports say, practically all the houses have been reduced to rubble. Last year the U.S. dropped a daily average of 3,000 tons of bombs. In fact more bombs have been dropped on Laos than on Germany in the whole of World War II. On some days the U.S. flies more than a thousand missions.

To this cannibalism the people of Laos oppose a stamina compounded by increasing fighting ability and the will to win through to victory. That will is stronger than bombs.

Even the U.S. press admits that the liberation forces now control two-thirds of the country. More than 1,500 U.S. planes have been downed in Laos since Washington began its 'special war.'

Travelling through the liberated areas of Laos, one hears but does not see the presence of people. You hear voices very near, or the drone of machinery, or music over the radio, but there is no one in sight. For in the midst of a devastating war, people live and work in mountain caves – for the Laotians they are both home and workshop.

And in these caves or in dexterously camouflaged makeshift huts, you find schools, hospitals, even small factories. In the five years of their 'special war' the Americans have destroyed 1,900 schools with a heavy toll of life among teachers and pupils. But incessant bombing has not held up the development of education. There is this very significant fact: under the French, there was one secondary and probably about 15 primary schools for the whole of Laos. Today, about 70,000 children attend school in the liberated areas, and the number is increasing from year to year.

I saw some of these children bent over textbooks printed in underground plants and over exercise books of their own making – rough sheets of paper sewn together. I attended a literacy class for adults, and, incidentally, the campaign against illiteracy is making excellent progress: last year the population of 650 village communities were taught to read and write. A fifth of the population of Sam-Neua province and a third in Xieng-Khouang are studying. Teachers' training schools, scattered over liberated Laos, have an enrollment of 4,000, compared with only 200 in 1966-67.

But let the reader not imagine that these schools – primary, secondary or occupational – are housed in sturdy buildings with all the necessary equipment and paraphernalia. The true picture is of schools in mountain caves or nearby, or in carefully camouflaged cabins. The same goes for the many courses for training medical personnel, agronomists, communications technicians and so on. And there is also this new feature: all classes and lectures are in the native tongue. To that might be added that many ethnic groups which did not have their own alphabet now have textbooks in their own language. And all this against the background of the indescribable hardships imposed by the war.

The health services are being steadily extended, which explains why there is no epidemic disease, which is not infrequent in areas controlled by Vientiane. And here again it should be remembered that in the colonial days doctors were very few and there was only one hospital bed for 10,000 of the population. The Patriotic Front has started four medical schools, and more doctors, medical assistants, pharmacists, and nurses are at work. Medical care is now available in most villages and there are several modern hospitals. Today there is one hospital bed for every 240 of the population.

I visited some of the hospitals and community medical centers, most of them, of course, housed in large caves. I was able to watch operations, and I was shown laboratories producing medicines, and stores of medical equipment donated by the socialist countries.

I was also taken to underground printing plants using machinery supplied by the socialist countries to put out newspapers and magazines, textbooks, pamphlets, posters. The liberated areas have broadcasting and film-making facilities and several theatrical groups.

I was very much impressed by the rudiments of industry – a smithy turned into a shop producing agricultural implements, and small textile mills. I had seen them in 1967, but this time I found them greatly expanded, with more new machinery and a larger output volume. And all this, I repeat, in conditions of continuous air attacks.

Agriculture, naturally, is of prime importance. A special effort is being made to grow two rice crops a year. Cultivating rice in the

uplands and cleared jungle is not easy. Another impediment is widespread superstition. The Laotians have been brought up to believe that you must not 'disturb the soil' twice a year, for this might call forth the wrath of the demons. Much is being done to dissuade the farmers. Most of the people here know how to grow rice, and by planting it twice a year they are dispelling age-old superstitions, proving that the 'demons' are powerless against the bold. The results of this two-harvest effort are now evident: last year the rice area was four times larger than in 1968. There has also been a sizeable increase in other food cereals, due in no small measure to the 600 small irrigation systems started in 1969-70.

The resistance movement is steadily gaining in strength. This is especially evident to anyone who has been here before. The Patriotic Front is being joined by young people trained in the socialist countries and in France. I spoke to doctors who had taken their degree in Moscow, Kharkov, Warsaw and Paris. And, of course, it is not easy to leave behind all the amenities of city life and face the dangers and hardships of the jungle caves. This requires courage and dedication. Young Laotians have both. They are prepared to devote all their energies to the sacred cause of liberating their country.

During my second visit to the liberated areas I was again able to interview Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Patriotic Front. He spoke of the stepped-up 'special war,' the intensified bombings, of the devastation perpetrated by the enemy, and asked:

'Do we want peace? Certainly. But it must be a just peace. We will never accept a peace on terms imposed by the aggressor. The position of the Patriotic Front is clearly set out in its political program. Our aim is a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos.'

The heroic struggle of our Laotian friends continues. And in this struggle they rely on the friendship and support of the socialist countries, on the solidarity of every one who cherishes peace and progress.

Monica Warnenska



Revolutionary leader of the proletariat

*(Centenary of birth
of Rosa Luxemburg)*

This year the world Communist movement, all people fighting for peace and democracy, for the victory of socialism, are marking the centenary of the birth of Rosa Luxemburg.

Born in March 1871 in Zamosc (Zamoste) in the then Russian part of Poland, Rosa Luxemburg joined the revolutionary Polish labor movement very early in her life and in 1893 became one of the founders of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. Persecuted by the authorities, she emigrated to Switzerland and in 1897 moved to Germany. Still closely linked with the Polish labor movement, she developed into a distinguished leader of the revolutionary German Marxist Left in the severe class battles against the aggressive German imperialism and the pre-World War I clashes with opportunism in the Social-Democratic movement.

In the beginning of the twentieth century Rosa Luxemburg was unfailingly a participant in international socialist congress-



es, and from 1903 a member of the Second International's International Socialist Bureau, on which she represented the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. Her stand against the imperialist policy of expansion and arming, and her tireless promotion of proletarian internationalism earned her considerable author-

ity among those in the world revolutionary labor movement who opposed opportunism.

While respect and affection for her increased among the champions of the working class and its liberation from exploitation, oppression and war, the reactionaries and their henchmen maligned and persecuted her continuously. Again and again – in 1901, 1904, 1906, 1907, 1914, 1915, and from 1916 to 1918 – the authorities in tsarist Poland, and especially in imperialist Kaiser Germany, dragged her into court or put her under arrest.

During the First World War Rosa Luxemburg was one of those, at first not many, who censured the betrayal by the Right Social-Democratic leaders, their shift to imperialist positions, and called for the unity of all the revolutionary forces in opposing the imperialist war. She was among the first in the world labor movement to see the epoch-making significance of the October Revolution, describing it in a letter from prison at the end of 1917 as 'a world-historic exploit, the impression of which will not fade in the centuries to come.'

The cause to which she dedicated her life was fittingly crowned by the November 1918 revolution in Germany, which experienced the influence of the October. Fighting German imperialism and militarism, breaching relations with all the varieties of opportunism, and marching hand in hand with Karl Liebknecht

and other militants, she became a co-founder of the Communist Party of Germany at the end of 1918. She helped lay the foundations for that militant Marxist-Leninist party of the German working class and at the same time, as Lenin, among others, noted, created important preconditions for a new, truly revolutionary Communist International (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 430).

Loyalty to the working-class cause and proletarian internationalism, a salient contribution to Marxist theory and its defense, and tireless efforts to unite the revolutionary forces – all those are hallmarks of Rosa Luxemburg's life story from the day she joined the labor movement to her assassination in January 1919 by mercenaries directed by German monopoly capital and militarism, and the Right Social-Democratic leaders. Her dedication has been an inspiration for the revolutionary labor movement in Germany and elsewhere. Marxist-Leninists cherish her memory and profit from the lessons of her life and struggle.

Rosa Luxemburg and the Marxist-Leninists

Rosa Luxemburg developed into an outstanding working-class leader at the dawn of the new epoch, that of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. In the changed situation new Marxist answers had to be found to the main issues of the proletarian

liberation struggle, over which minds clashed in the world labor movement. A sharp battle ensued against the opportunist forces, eager to adapt the labor movement to the capitalist system and prevail on it to desist from revolutionary action to achieve socialism.

Drawing on Marxism in his analysis of the latest practical experience, and pillorying opportunism, Lenin elucidated the situation and founded the first party of the new type. Leninism and the historical experience of the Bolshevik Party became the workers' most powerful weapon, the universal significance and invincibility of which for the international working-class movement has been borne out by the march of history.

Rosa Luxemburg devoted herself mainly to showing the workers the way to fulfil their historic mission: revolutionary seizure of power, establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, socialism. Never did she deviate from the class forces of which Lenin and the Bolsheviks were the core.

When controversy was rife over the experience of the first popular revolution of the imperialist epoch – the 1905-07 revolution in Russia – it was she who pointed to the historic and still relevant fact (which revisionists are still apt to refute) that Russia's working class had become the vanguard of the world proletariat. 'At the head of the army of the workers of all countries,'

she wrote, 'stands the *Russian proletariat*, the proletariat in the kingdom of revolution. Its revolutionary battles, its experience and its problems, are a historical school for our own impending battles.' She was one of those who absorbed the lessons of that school for the struggle in her own country.

Tackling the new problems, Rosa Luxemburg made a few theoretical mistakes, among them in relation to the role of the revolutionary proletarian party, the national question and that of allies of the working class. In many respects, she did not attain the ripeness and consistency in the theory and practice of revolution that distinguished Lenin as the great continuator of Marx and Engels. On occasion sharp disputes erupted between Lenin and Luxemburg over the ideological and organizational requisites of the working-class party in the new conditions. This, however, does not deny the main element in the revolutionary Marxist make-up of Rosa Luxemburg and her irreconcilable stand against all the forms of bourgeois ideology and opportunism.

Imperialist, Right Social-Democratic and revisionist ideologues still try to exploit her name against the world Communist movement and socialism in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. They oppose Marxism-Leninism with some of her statements and ideas, and princi-

pally with her mistaken notions. As they see it, she was a proponent of 'new models' of socialism.

Nothing could be more ridiculous than using her, an unbending fighter against imperialism and opportunism, against Marxism-Leninism in the attempt at 'social-democratizing' the Communist parties and socialist countries. And our enemies will fail. Designs of that kind have collapsed more than once. What our ideological opponents are trying to do is contrary to the general spirit of Rosa Luxemburg, her militant partisanship in the fight for the workers' cause; it is nothing but an out-and-out falsification of her life's work.

An abyss lies between Rosa Luxemburg and those who want to exploit her prestige in combating communism, concealing the substance of her ideas, principally the extremely important theoretical postulates still relevant for the fight against state-monopoly capitalism. Her profound commitment to socialism and the proletarian cause is the basic feature of her work in theory and practice. And that, we can safely say, by far transcends her errors.

Lenin regarded Luxemburg as a comrade-in-arms. 'In spite of her mistakes,' he said, 'she was – and remains for us – an eagle' (Vol. 33, p. 210). He was the first to weigh Rosa's legacy in a historico-critical context, describing her works as extremely useful for many generations of Communists, as part of the theo-

retical and political legacy of the world Communist movement. What she had accomplished helped pave the way for the historic turn, as a result of which socialism became a reality in one-third of the globe.

Her aspirations are materializing in the revolutionary movements of our time: the peoples are flinging off capitalist exploitation, the colonial and national chains, militarism, chauvinism, and imperialist barbarity in culture. None but Marxist-Leninists have the legitimate political, moral and historical right to use Rosa Luxemburg's ideas in the fight for the peaceful socialist future of man. Never shall we forget what her comrade, Karl Liebknecht, said: 'That woman, whose frail body sustains so flaming and vast a soul, so audacious and brilliant a mind . . . will be covered with glory in the history of human culture, while . . . the heroes of militarist barbarity are consigned to scorn and oblivion.'

Fighting against militarism and imperialist war

Rosa Luxemburg's anti-imperialist activity was tied in closely with the German revolutionary working-class movement, of which she was a member for nearly two decades. When she joined the German Social-Democrats in 1898, German capitalism, too, had entered its imperialist stage. From the beginning of the twentieth century

German imperialism aspired to a new redivision of the world by military means. In the country, militarization and chauvinism ruled supreme. All the levers of power – the police, judiciary and army – were turned against the working class, against its economic and political organizations, to suppress its aspirations. For the peoples German militarism became a terrible blight.

Rosa Luxemburg was one of the first (in 1899), who, drawing on the legacy of Marx and Engels, showed what militarism meant in the imperialist epoch. The ruling classes, she wrote, needed militarism for three reasons: 'First, as the means of struggle of rival "national" interests against other national groups; second, as the principal means of applying industrial, as well as financial capital, and, third, as an instrument of class domination against the working people at home.' At the turn of the century she saw that, with imperialist contradictions growing sharper, militarism influenced all home and foreign events and was an international factor. She warned that in the ruling classes this bred the desire to curtail, even repeal, democratic rights. 'The growth of the world economy and the sharpening and general nature of competition in the world market,' she wrote, 'have made militarism and marinism, which are tools of Weltpolitik, the main factors in the foreign, as well as home affairs of all the big states. If

Weltpolitik and militarism are on the *upgrade* at present, then bourgeois democracy is surely on the *downgrade*.'

This was Rosa Luxemburg's first and decisive step in apprehending the basic and objectively natural change in the political superstructure of the capitalist society of the new times: the negation of democracy implicit in the substance of the imperialist system.

She warned of the growing tendency towards reaction already in evidence in Germany, where an especially aggressive Junker - bourgeois imperialism had evolved. Those who, like the opportunists, orient the working class on the feasibility of 'public control' through trade unions and associations, she said, completely negate the class character of the state and the tasks of the unions as proletarian class organizations.

She drew the conclusion that fighting militarism for democracy and peace was a necessary part of the workers' political struggle for emancipation. 'The power and dominance of the capitalist state and the bourgeois class is crystallized in militarism,' she wrote, 'and since the Social-Democrats are the only party fighting against this on *principle*, then, conversely, a principled struggle against militarism is part of the *essence* of Social-Democracy. Relinquishing the struggle against the military system boils down in *practice* to negating the struggle against

the contemporary social system in general.'

It is no accident that nowadays bourgeois and Right Social-Democratic ideologues hush up her anti-militarist stand and, above all, its class substance. They are perfectly well aware of the highly topical, theoretical and practical worth of her activity for the present-day struggle against the state-monopoly system and militarism. Hence, extirpating one of the main chapters of the life and work of Rosa Luxemburg is a deliberate falsification.

It is to her credit that she quickly saw the extremely important link between the workers' struggle for peace and their end goal, socialism, in the new epoch. She was one of the moving spirits orientating the international working-class movement against militarism and imperialist war. Under her influence the Paris Congress of the Second International (1900) resolved to launch anti-militarist propaganda among the youth and to instruct socialist deputies in all parliaments to unconditionally reject all military allocations and to oppose the mounting burden of militarism, and, in the event of a threat of war, to organize protest movements in all countries.

At the Stuttgart Congress (1907) she joined Lenin in demanding that the tasks of the proletariat in combating war in the imperialist epoch, the eve of proletarian revolutions, should

be defined in concrete terms. The key paragraph in Bebel's resolution – following amendments by Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Martov – read: 'If an outbreak of war is imminent, the workers in the countries concerned and their representatives in parliament are obliged to do their utmost to prevent it, taking all the necessary measures which, naturally, change and become stronger as the class struggle and the general political situation become more acute. In case the war should still break out, it is their duty to work for its rapid termination and to use the economic and political crisis bred by the war in every possible way to arouse the political consciousness of the masses and speed the collapse of capitalist rule.'

Adopted unanimously, the resolution was programmatic in impact, because it opened up for the anti-imperialist struggle revolutionary perspectives conforming with the content of the new epoch.

All her life, Rosa Luxemburg was faithful to the undertaking spelled out in the Stuttgart resolution. When Europe was plunged into the terrible war, she exposed the man-hating nature of imperialism, pointing out that the war had laid bare the true image of capitalist society; she described it in incisive terms, borne out by the historical developments: 'Disgraced, stripped of its honor, bathed in blood and covered with dirt, bourgeois so-

ciety arises before us such as it really is. It is genuine not when it flirts with culture, philosophy and ethics, order, peace and rule of law, prinked up and respectable, but when it is a predatory beast, a witches' Sabbath of anarchy, the breath of the plague for culture and humanity.'

Continuously persecuted, threatened with imprisonment, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and their associates fought against the imperialist war by word and pen. Their Spartacus group headed the revolutionary anti-war movement in Germany. Hand in hand with the Bolsheviks and other revolutionary forces, they acted on the principle that peace and democracy were attainable only as the result of the workers' revolutionary struggle to end the war, imperialism and militarism. 'This world war,' Rosa Luxemburg wrote, 'is a return to barbarity. . . . Today, we stand before the choice: either imperialism triumphs and all culture goes down as it did in ancient Rome, the population is exterminated, there is devastation, degeneration and one vast cemetery, or socialism triumph, that is, militant conscious action by the international proletariat triumphs over imperialism and its method - war.'

*Fighter for democracy
and socialism*

Rosa Luxemburg's battle against
finance capital, militarism and

imperialist war fused with the sharp politico-ideological battles against revisionism and opportunism. She was one of those in the German and international working-class movement who quickly perceived the enormous danger of opportunism as a bourgeois trend in the working class. She saw clearly that it was oriented on stripping Social-Democracy of political independence as the class organization of the proletariat and on integrating the working class in the imperialist state through bourgeois parliamentarism. Fighting revisionism and opportunism, she defended Marxist theory and the revolutionary proletarian class policy, which she regarded as a dialectical unity.

The opportunists and reformists idealized bourgeois democracy. Rosa Luxemburg, on the other hand, took issue with all parliamentary illusions. She adhered firmly to the Marxist view that bourgeois democracy is a special form of capitalist power and could not remove class antagonisms and class collisions. Yet, she also saw that under bourgeois democracy the conditions were more favorable for unfolding the workers' struggle. Noting the built-in tendency of monopoly capital to emasculate and eliminate bourgeois-democratic rights, she developed the Marxist standpoint that under imperialism democracy depended more than ever on the actions of the working class. That was why in 1910 she formulated the

then revolutionary demand of fighting for a republic. 'In sum the slogan of a republic,' she emphasized, 'is today in Germany something endlessly greater than an expression of the beautiful dream about a democratic "popular state" or an expression of political doctrinairism building castles in the air; it is a practical call for struggle against militarism, marinism, colonial policy, Weltpolitik, Junker domination and the Prussification of Germany; it is but a striking generalization of the results of our daily struggle against all these composite phenomena of the reigning reaction.'

Also, she came to grips with all opportunist trends that treated the workers' struggle for democratic rights and other demands as a goal in itself and robbed it of the revolutionary perspective. Calling for a democratic republic, she stressed that the struggle for this immediate goal would not supersede the struggle for socialism or palpably change the situation of the working class, because bourgeois democracy and socialism are incompatible ideas. She did not believe that any extension of bourgeois democracy would enable the proletariat, through direct use of the ballot and parliamentary voting, to overcome that democracy and, as the reformists maintained, gradually convert it into a socialist democracy. She regarded this revisionist idea of the relation of democracy to socialism as a

falsification of Marxism and an attempt to mislead the working class, to shore up the capitalist system.

The main issue in the class struggle, she held, is the issue of power, with socialist reconstruction presupposing the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois and the establishment of proletarian power. That is why she welcomed the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia. However, detained in prison, with the limited information she obtained chiefly from the bourgeois press, her attempt, based on first impressions, to generalize the experience of the October Revolution, proved unsuccessful; she did not see the dialectical unity of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist democracy. Though she accepted the Marxist postulate of proletarian dictatorship, she assumed at first that it should be an 'unrestricted democracy'; she did not realize that to survive, the victorious working class is compelled to establish a state power to suppress the exploiters as a class, to secure the voluntary conversion of the peasants and other working groups to socialist principles, and to assure the participation of the masses in building the new society.

Those who falsify her ideas may not mention this, but thanks to the experience of the November revolution in Germany, Rosa Luxemburg quickly cast off her misconceptions and acquired views that came close to those

of Lenin. 'The choice today is not between democracy and dictatorship,' she wrote on December 20, 1918. 'The choice placed on the agenda by history is: bourgeois democracy or socialist democracy, because the dictatorship of the proletariat is democracy in the socialist sense. Dictatorship of the proletariat is not bombs and putsches, mutinies and "anarchy" (on which harp the agents of capitalist profit, deliberately distorting the truth), but the employment of all the means of political power to effectuate socialism, to expropriate the capitalist class as conceived by, and in accordance with, the will of the revolutionary majority of the proletariat, that is, in the spirit of socialist democracy.'

Socialist democracy and no other, Luxemburg held, is the genuine democracy of the masses. In the clash between revolution and counter-revolution at the end of 1918, she called on the German workers to defy the violence of the bourgeois counter-revolution 'with the revolutionary violence of the proletariat. 'Equipping the united working masses with full political power for the tasks of the revolution,' says the draft she wrote of the Spartacus League program, 'is dictatorship of the proletariat and, therefore, genuine democracy. It is not where the hired slave sits alongside the capitalist in fancied equality or the rural proletarian alongside the Junker to discuss his vital

problems in a parliamentary way, but where the millions-strong masses of the proletariat take all political power into their calloused hands in order to hurl it down . . . on the heads of the ruling classes - there only have you democracy that is not deceit of the people.'

Therefore, portraying Rosa Luxemburg as a champion of 'democratic socialism' and opposing her thereby to Marxism-Leninism and the October Revolution, the imperialist, Right-Social-Democratic and revisionist ideologues commit a base falsehood. For Rosa Luxemburg the task in all countries in this new historical epoch, was: 'dictatorship of the proletariat, effectuation of socialism.' That is why she came to grips with the German, as well as Russian opportunists, who made common cause with the imperialist bourgeoisie in trying to hold back the revolutionary movement in Russia, to go on further than a bourgeois revolution, the overthrow of tsarism and establishment of a bourgeois republic. That point of view Rosa Luxemburg regarded as reactionary.

'In that situation we should regard it as a credit for the Bolsheviks,' she wrote, 'that they proclaimed from the very beginning and carried forward with firm consistency the only tactics that could save democracy and advance the revolution. For the workers, the peasant masses and the Soviets to take all power into their own hands was,

indeed, the only way out of the difficulties bedevilling the revolution; that was the stroke of the sword which slashed the Gordian knot, led the revolution out of the impasse and opened a free way for its further unimpeded progress. Thus, Lenin's party was the only party in Russia which understood the real interests of the revolution in that initial period when it was the only element that advanced it, that is, in this sense the only party that carried forward a truly socialist policy.'

She clearly saw the role of the Bolshevik Party as the leading force of the revolutionary movement. 'All the revolutionary honor and capability that was lacking in the Social-Democrats of the West, was embodied in the Bolsheviks,' she wrote. 'Their October uprising was not only true salvation for the Russian revolution, but also salvation of the honor of international socialism.' For her 'Bolshevism' was the synonym of practical revolutionary socialism, real advancement towards the seizure of political power by the working class.

Not accidentally, therefore, drawing on this experience, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and their associates drew the most important conclusion during the November revolution in Germany that the German working class needs a militant revolutionary party to combat imperialism and all varieties of opportunism. On November 29, 1918, Rosa Luxemburg wrote in

Rote Fahne: 'It is essential that a socialist party equal to the task of this great instant should stand at the head of the German proletariat today. There is no place in the revolution for a half-hearted and uncertain party.'

The Communist Party of Germany (the Spartacus League) was formed as 1918 turned into 1919. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were placed at its head. The founding of the CPG was a turning point in the history of the German nation, the German working-class movement. The CPG was the only party in Germany whose program (drafted by Rosa Luxemburg) provided Marxist answers to all the main questions of the revolution and showed the people how to solve the vital issues.

The course of history bore out Lenin's prediction (when he accused the assassins of the great leaders of the Communist Party of Germany and their imperialist backers): 'The blood of the best representatives of the world proletarian International, of the unforgettable leaders of the world socialist revolution, will steel ever new masses of workers for the life-and-death struggle. And this struggle will lead to victory' (Vol. 28, p. 434).

For us in the socialist German Democratic Republic Rosa Luxemburg is at once history and modernity, the injunction and its materialization.

E. Diehl, A. Laschitzka,
G. Radczun

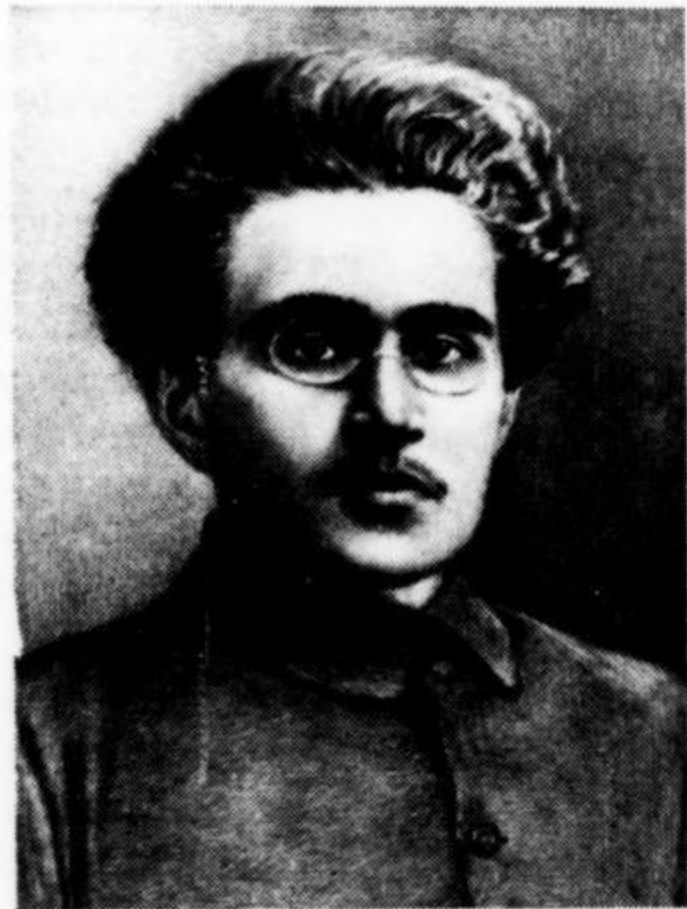
True son of the Italian working class

(Antonio Gramsci –
80th birth anniversary)

January 23 was the 80th anniversary of the birth of Antonio Gramsci – a red-letter day for the Italian people, the revolutionary movement and the Communist Party he founded and led.

Gramsci is much alive today, because the political and cultural groundwork he laid for the workers' struggle to 'build a state of their own' has retained its impact. This does not mean that it provides answers to all the problems of the present day. Neither does it contain prophecies as to future development. And it is wrong to expect this.

Gramsci's works are relevant because of their profound conceptualization of the *scientific nature of politics*. And this has been of utmost significance for the struggle of the working class and its growth into the hegemon of the revolutionary process. Gramsci began by analyzing the political works of Machiavelli, then examined the ideas of the founders of scientific socialism, the ideas and struggles of Lenin. Palmiro Togliatti wrote that Gramsci's 'conception of politics is far removed from instrumentalism,



abstract moralism and doctrinaire theorizing . . . No longer is it a product of emotion or adroitness. It is the result of a serious study of the conditions in which human societies, the groups comprising them, and individuals, move.' Gramsci maintained that politics becomes a science when based on a concrete analysis of the objective processes of social development, the ties and interactions of economic, political and ideological relations. That is the summit of Gramsci's work, his most significant contribution to Marxism.

Two basic points take priority in Gramsci's approach to the problems of politics as a science: the problem of working-class hegemony in a capitalist society and in the class struggle in Italy and the question of a working-class party. They are closely connected in his research, based on deep-rooted unity of thought and action, and are dialectically interrelated as elements of the single revolutionary process.

The so-called *southern problem*, Gramsci held, was the core of the contradictions in Italian society. The necessity to resolve it determined the specific nature of the revolutionary activity of the Italian working class. Not only was it a question of revealing the abyss between North and South and the latter's social impoverishment. (This was noted many times by bourgeois scholars and politicians of the South.) It was essential to assess the socio-political significance of the southern question, a cockpit of the fundamental contradictions of the Italian society evolving in the bourgeois democratic revolution.

These contradictions stemmed mainly from the fact that the bloc of the ruling classes, which was initially 'agrarian' and later 'industrial-agrarian,' monopolized the *Risorgimento*,* setting out to establish a united state,

**Risorgimento*—rebirth, the period during which the Italian people fought for national liberation and the country's unification; it culminated in the establishment of a united Italian state in 1870.—Ed.

but did not solve the peasant problem. The hardships in the South, especially among the peasants, caused risings and rebellions, brutally quashed by the authorities. Simultaneously, strong ideological pressure was exerted on the malcontents either by the 'cemented' bloc of the intelligentsia and big bourgeoisie or by the Catholic Church, either directly or through its affiliated organizations.

Analyzing these processes, Gramsci discovered new active forces of the revolution among the dissatisfied social strata, inferring that the bloc of the ruling classes could be split by creating a broad alliance between the working class, the peasant mass and the oppressed of the South.

The 'southern question', comprising the peasant and Vatican problems (due to the predominant influence of the Catholic Church among the masses, especially the peasants) thus expands into a national problem, the main problem of the struggle, on the solution of which depends the future of the revolution opening the way to socialism.

Thus, it is up to the working class to take the lead on a national scale. It must resolve problems unsolved by the bourgeois-democratic revolution, establish and develop alliances with classes that have a stake in revolution, and become the hegemon in the revolutionary struggle against capital.

Elaborating the problem of the working class as the hegemon, Gramsci referred constantly to Lenin's works, the October Revolution and the example of the Russian proletariat, which created a state of its own. Saying that the workers' state plays the decisive role in building a new economic and social system, and a new culture and morals, Gramsci had in mind proletarian dictatorship in Lenin's sense. It was in this context that he spoke of Lenin's conception of hegemony, underscoring its supreme significance. Creating a new type of state, the working class enriches the new revolutionary outlook with its experience of struggle.

Proceeding from Lenin's ideas Gramsci developed the concept of working-class hegemony and analyzed the concrete situation in West-European countries, which differed from the conditions of the Russian revolution. It will be recalled that in March 1918, speaking at the 7th Congress of the RCP(B), Lenin pointed out that revolution in the capitalist West may unfold at a different rate than in Russia. 'The revolution will not come as quickly as we expected,' he said. History has proved this, and we must be able to take this as a fact, to reckon with the fact that the world socialist revolution cannot begin so easily in the advanced countries as the revolution began in Russia—in the land of Nicholas and Rasputin, the land

in which an enormous part of the population was absolutely indifferent as to what peoples were living in the outlying regions, or what was happening there. In such a country it was quite easy to start a revolution, as easy as lifting a feather.

'But to start without preparation a revolution in the country in which capitalism is developed and has given democratic culture and organization to everybody, down to the last man—to do so would be wrong, absurd' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 98-99).

Doubtless, Gramsci had this in mind when writing his *Prison Notebooks*: 'It seems to me that Illych (Lenin) recognized the necessity of converting a war of maneuver, victoriously implemented in the East in 1917, into a positional war, the only possible kind of war in the West . . . where armies could rapidly concentrate unlimited ammunition and where the social cadres *per se* were still able to play the role of powerful fortifications.' And Gramsci amplified: 'In the West there was a proper relationship between the state and civil society and whenever the state began to totter, the enduring structure of civil society instantly showed itself. The state was but the forward trench, at back of which was a dependable chain of fortresses and casemates; of course, this applies in varying degree to the different states, and this particular aspect of the case re-

quired that a detailed analysis be made with respect to each nation.' Elsewhere, he writes that 'the state-political society + civil society, or in other words, the state, is a hegemony clad in the armor of coercion.' Thereby, he noted the existence of complex and ramified ties between the state and civil society, between hegemony and coercion, between leadership and domination. He knew this well, for he wrote his notes in a fascist prison in a country like Italy, where the coercive aspect of the state predominated. He emphasized that in all cases a bourgeois state is a class dictatorship, carried forward in different ways. And the workers should take this into account in their struggle.

On the basis of his scrutiny of the Western capitalist society, Gramsci concludes that the working class must change its strategy, convert from a 'war of maneuver to a positional war,' from a frontal attack, possible in Russia in 1917, to a long and persevering struggle, a 'long mutual siege.' The workers in the developed capitalist countries must wear down the system of bourgeois domination reigning in the state and in civil society. rallying to its side all the forces necessary for establishing a proletarian dictatorship. Speaking of transition from a war of maneuver to positional war, Gramsci described it as the essence of Lenin's united front formula. He stress-

ed that 'Ilyich simply did not have the time to deepen the formula; it should be noted, however, that he could deepen it in theory only, whereas the basic task was of a national character, i.e., it required reconnaissance of the terrain in order to find those elements of civil society that may be described as trenches and strongholds, etc.'

In this light, the concept of hegemony acquires a new meaning. For Gramsci hegemony is at once leadership and domination. The working class must exercise leadership before and after taking power. The highest form of hegemony is cultural hegemony, implying the ability of the working class to be the leader on the basis of the new world outlook and become the bearer of the intellectual and moral revolution. That is the ideological groundwork on which the workers build up the new historical bloc of social and political forces.

Two related problems arise: those of the intelligentsia and the party. Gramsci's view of the role of the intelligentsia is anything but narrowly utilitarian. His approach, based on the acceptance of ideology as an important component of social development, is a sweeping one. 'Gramsci's analysis,' Togliatti wrote, 'does not reduce the role of the intelligentsia to the functions of a mere weapon, or to the question of service. He examines it in the context of

the existing reality. He views the duties of the intelligentsia as a fact of history which human activity endeavors to transform. The area of culture, where intellectual groups are active, is a sphere of continuous struggle between the old and the new, between the conservative and the revolutionary. The intelligentsia is part of the historical bloc; it is a factor producing the unity of the basis and superstructure. Revolutionary crises smash this historical bloc. Therefore, culture, too, has its general crises, and the offensive of a new leading class on the basis of a new organic structure postulates a deep-going intellectual and moral reform. Of this reform, Marxist philosophy is a condition and prerequisite, infusing the intelligentsia with an appreciation of its role and making it a conscious factor of social evolution.'

That is the purport of the working-class struggle in the cultural domain, in which a new intelligentsia opposed to the bourgeoisie – Gramsci describes it as 'organic' – comes into being. Thus, it becomes possible to form the new historical bloc under the guidance of the working class.

What is the force capable of leading the working class in the struggle for such a bloc, creating its own state in the full and broad sense of Gramsci's concept? What is the main factor securing the workers' domination in economy, politics and

culture? It is the Party, the 'modern sovereign,' the 'collective intellectual.' On founding such a Party Antonio Gramsci concentrated his thoughts and activity from the outset until the Communist Party of Italy was constituted in January 1921, until the decisive turn in the spirit of Leninism at the Lyons Congress, and during his long years in a fascist prison.

For Gramsci the Party was not an abstract, artificially created model. It appears when the conditions arise for 'its triumph,' when it cannot be destroyed by the usual methods, when it becomes a fact of history, the result of the historical process. But decisive in its creation is the element of volition. The historical process is inevitable, but if political and theoretical activity and the will are lacking, the Party may not emerge. For Gramsci, as for Lenin, this activity is decisive in creating a party through which spontaneous movement becomes conscious. In history, Gramsci warns, there is no such thing as pure spontaneity; the people who direct Party activity are real people who developed in definite historical relationships, with definite sentiments, views, etc. Seen from this angle, a spontaneous movement, he adds, produces a party which follows a policy that does not confuse practical activity with theoretical discussion. The Party provides the working class, the masses, with the awareness that

they are the creators of historical values and the founders of the state. It is this unity of spontaneity and conscious leadership, i.e., discipline, that constitutes the practical political activity of the oppressed classes, the political struggle of the masses, and not merely a venture of groups professing to express the interests of the masses.

Therefore, a party that is expressive of the 'active consciousness' of a class is the instrument that brings that class to an understanding of its historical role and functions. But to accomplish this a Party should not confine itself to narrow 'economico-corporative' activity. Its approach to social problems must be broad and its policy acceptable to other classes.

Gramsci examines the Party problem in close association with that of the state and the role of the working class as creator of the state. This role is naturally international, but its fulfilment requires 'reconnaissance of national territory.' It is thus appropriate to recall Gramsci about Lenin and Trotsky. The latter with his permanent revolution theory could be taken for a 'Westerner,' but was really a 'cosmopolitan, i.e., superficially national and just as superficially westernist and Europeanist. Lenin, on the other hand, was deeply national and just as deeply Europeanist.' A party, therefore, must stand on

national soil if it wants to express adequately the unity of the national and international that manifests itself distinctively in each country and is not a mere variation of a universal model.

The Party is not immutable. It develops in the course of activity and struggle, establishing and improving its ties with the people, as well as the multiple ties between the leaders and those whom they lead, between centralism and democracy. The relation between centralism and democracy is historical; it cannot be established once and for all by rigid and unchanging rules. For Gramsci that is a very important point. For him the Party is not merely an instrument of struggle; it is also an educator, the source of consciousness, the maker of habits, of new human relations. It is in this sense that the party acts as a 'collective intellectual.' Such a party is equipped to cope with difficulties and problems arising in the constantly changing reality. It organizes the working class, and guides it and the masses in order to unite them at a higher level of political and intellectual consciousness. It forms a working-class intelligentsia, sets the latter new aims and educates it in the spirit of its ideas, thus moulding the leaders of the new system.

This gives us grounds to speak of the close connection between Gramsci and Lenin.

Gramsci's activity is relevant and significant, Togliatti wrote, because he created the prerequisites for our present strategy of revolutionary struggle in Italy and laid the foundations for the development of a party equal to the revolutionary tasks.

There is, of course, great disparity between the conditions in Gramsci's time and those of today. He could not concretely anticipate the image acquired by the Party over the years. Also significantly changed are the conditions of the revolutionary struggle, requiring further elaboration of the political and theoretical problems of revolution and the struggle for socialism. But Gramsci's main ideas are still relevant.

Take the southern problem of the present day. It is still unsolved. What is more, it is more complicated these days. The new processes and contradictions of the modern capitalist society, the immense pressure of the industrial and financial monopolies, of the entire system of state-monopoly capitalism, and the present integration of the Italian economy in the imperialist system, have sharpened the difficulties and contradictions relating to the southern question, which is still essentially a national problem. In the circumstances, the working class must work for broad social and poli-

tical alliances in order to organize all progressive and democratic forces for struggle against the monopolies.

The working class and the popular masses are nowadays opposed by the might of the capitalist monopolies, backed to the hilt by governments headed by the Christian-Democratic Party. Yet the working class and the masses have made visible advances; they were the nation's leading force in the anti-fascist struggle; they won an advanced constitution conforming with the balance of social forces resulting from the liberation struggle against fascism and nazism: and in the social and political areas they have given a start to the process of advance to socialism. By virtue of these results, the strong positions won by the workers and the people, and the new international situation, with far-reaching changes in favor of socialism, this process can develop in a peaceful and democratic setting.

Our successes have been attained in persevering struggle over scores of years, in fierce clashes and collisions during which we were inspired by Gramsci's ideas and deeds. His revolutionary ideas were carried farther in the new conditions by Palmiro Togliatti, who always regarded himself as Gramsci's disciple.

G. Gencini



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN LONDON

In January, our special correspondent attended an international conference in London on The Struggle of the Working Class of the Capitalist Countries in Europe in Face of the Development of International Firms. The conference brought together delegates from 15 West-European Communist and Workers' parties: Austria, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

It examined a wide range of concrete and analytical data relating to super-monopolies operating in Western Europe, their new super-exploitation techniques, and the threat they present to national sovereignty and democracy. It also examined private-capital and state-monopoly integration as an expression, on the one hand, of continued internationalization of capitalism's productive forces

and, on the other, the striving of imperialist powers to coordinate their efforts despite existing contradictions. The debate revealed the direct link between the integration drive of the monopolies and capitalist governments and militarism and aggressive-bloc building. Speakers also emphasized the neo-colonialist character of international monopoly activity and were at one in assessing the leading role of U.S. monopoly capital in forming international companies in Western Europe. Attention was also drawn to the mounting expansionist propensities of British, West German and other monopolies.

The conference noted the growth of popular resistance in Western Europe to expansion of the Common Market and called for a concerted effort by all democratic forces against the international monopolies. There was an exchange of views on concrete measures to promote militant cooperation of workers in different countries employed by international companies.

The London conference demonstrated the importance of exchanging information and experience to secure coordinated action of the Communist parties, and will doubtlessly help to energize the struggle of the progressive forces against imperialism at a time when the movement for European security is gaining momentum throughout Western Europe.

BOLIVIA

The Communist Party of Bolivia celebrated its 21st anniversary in January. From its very inception, it has resolutely fought for the interests of the working people and against the dominance of the imperialist monopolies and the Bolivian oligarchy.

Addressing a mass jubilee rally, the Party's First Secretary, Jorge Kolle, said the paramount task now was to unite the people to influence government policy and, in particular, to suppress Rightist resistance and attain their revolutionary goals. 'We are passing through a very difficult period,' Comrade Kolle said, 'but it has its positive aspects: the Party has fully re-established its strength and faith in its ability.'

It is now in the very thick of political development, always relying on the support of the working people. In recent months the working class has by its vigorous actions foiled two pro-fascist coups, and this was accomplished under Communist leadership.

The Party's Central Committee Plenum, held in November last year, called on Communists and all democrats to work for extending and consolidating the progressive measures introduced in October 1970 under public pressure. Bolivia's Communists are preparing for their third national congress, which will be an important landmark both for the Party and the country.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CONGO

The Program of the Congolese Party of Labor (CPL) adopted at a recent Central Committee plenum, describes the present stage as one of 'national, democratic and people's revolution.' The plenum expressed satisfaction at the Party's friendly relations with a number of Communist and Workers' parties.

There is closer cooperation between the CPL and the CPSU. A Party and government delegation of the People's Republic of Congo, led by CPL First Secretary Claude-Ernest Ndalla, visited the Soviet Union last June. A delegation from the CPSU, led by A. Y. Snehkus, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania and member of the CPSU Central Committee, recently visited the Congo at the invitation of the CPL. The delegation met with Marien Ngouabi, Chairman of the CPL Central Committee, and conveyed a friendly message from L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU.

The Soviet delegates toured the country and met with Congolese leaders, with whom they discussed the present state of relations between the two parties and worked out concrete proposals for closer cooperation in the ideological and economic fields and in exchange of Party experience.

SALVADOR

An analysis of the present situa-

tion in the light of recent developments, particularly the new laws and the increased national budget, has led the Communist Party leadership to conclude that capitalism was strengthening its positions in preparation for the March 1972 elections.

In a statement on these questions, the Party calls for intensified effort to raise the ideological, political and organizational level of the working class, win over the peasantry and achieve unity of the trade-union movement and of the democratic forces.

The Communist Party aims at a united front of democratic and popular forces around a program of structural change.

SOVIET UNION

The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Labor movement is this year beginning publication of a bimonthly journal, *The Working Class and the Modern World*. It will deal with theoretical problems of the world revolutionary process, the growing socio-political role of the working class and its organizations and also topical questions of the revolutionary proletarian movement.

FRANCE

The Administrative Council of the Maurice Thorez Institute has decided, beginning with this year, to award an annual prize of 2,000 francs for the best work by a young researcher on the

history of the workers' movement and social thought.

SWEDEN

The Left Party - Communists, which now has 17 seats in parliament, will for the first time be represented on 11 of its 16 committees. The Party's Chairman, Carl-Henrik Hermansson, will be the first Communist member of the Northern Council, the body that promotes Scandinavian cooperation.

SOUTH AFRICA

An extended plenum of the South-African Communist Party Central Committee was held at the close of last year. The last illegal national conference met in 1962 and since then there have been several Central Committee meetings. There is also a permanent Executive Committee to deal with current matters and generally activate Party work.

The extended plenum adopted a number of important decisions on Party policy and appointed a new Executive Committee. The Central Committee will concentrate on re-establishing the Party as an organization of professional revolutionaries closely linked with the working class and peasantry and capable of conducting propaganda and organizational work in conditions of police terror. The plenum resolution sets out in detail the main aims of the legal and illegal activities of the Party and of the revolutionary movement.

The strategy and prospects of armed struggle in present conditions were discussed in detail. The resolution on the subject emphasizes that an armed struggle should not be regarded merely as a military matter. All operations should be planned in a way that will involve and organize the masses. The theory that localized guerrilla operations automatically lead to a revolution was rejected, and so was another, namely, that organized armed actions were impossible in the absence of complete political mobilization and a nation-wide vanguard organization. The resolution examines the character of the fighting forces, defining them as political cadres acting out of conviction and sense of duty rather than traditional bourgeois army discipline. Political and military direction must be coordinated and subsequently integrated.

The Central Committee was instructed to initiate a discussion with a view to drafting a new document to complement the 1962 Party Program.

The Communist Party will be celebrating its 50th anniversary this July, and the Plenum decided on a number of jubilee measures.

JOINT DOCUMENTS

A joint statement by the Communist parties of Syria, Iraq, Jordan and the Lebanon sharply protests against the moves by the reactionary element in Jor-

dan to liquidate the Palestine liberation movement.

Jordanian reaction, the statement says, continues its criminal campaign to destroy the Palestine resistance movement. After the massacres it perpetrated in September, which evoked mass protests, it is again resorting to outright brutality in an attempt to crush the movement. It should be perfectly clear that the Jordanian authorities' pledge to abide by the Cairo and Amman agreements is only a dodge to mislead public opinion.

The attacks mounted by Jordanian reaction to suppress the Palestinian resistance, the statement emphasizes, are a continuation of the imperialist and Zionist aggression against all contingents of the Arab national liberation movement. The Jordanian reactionaries want to create a situation favoring the imposition of imperialist and Zionist terms on the Arab national liberation movement and thereby support Israel's aggressive expansionist policy and liquidate the achievements of progressive Arab regimes.

Suppression of the Palestine resistance cannot be separated from imperialist attempts to split the Arab progressive forces. The imperialists and Zionists are out to hamper the formation of an Eastern Front, weaken the United Arab Republic and prevent it from eliminating the consequences of the aggression.

The Communist parties of Syria, Iraq, Jordan and the Le-

banon believe that these crimes in Jordan concern the entire Arab national-liberation movement and are directed against all its contingents. The four parties are confident that the anti-imperialist forces, supported by the world forces of liberation and socialism, in the vanguard of which stands the Soviet Union, will, given coordination and joint action, stay the hand of the Jordanian reactionaries and thwart their plans.

The four Communist parties call on all resistance forces to resolve their differences, jointly repel the reactionary onslaught, strengthen fraternal unity of Palestinians and Jordanians and foil all imperialist designs.

The Central Command of the Al Ansar resistance group, set up a year ago by several Arab Communist parties, has submitted to the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization an action program for the

resistance movement. Among other things it proposes implementation of the Cairo and Amman agreements safeguarding the rights of the guerrillas, opposition to trends towards isolation and adventurism, formation of a united front with the Jordanian national forces, extension of the joint action program, closer cooperation with other detachments of the Arab liberation movement, particularly with the United Arab Republic and, internationally, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The program calls for democracy within the resistance movement and closer ties with the masses. It stresses the need for a single guerrilla command to assure united action. The main aim, the program says, should be constantly mounting resistance to the Israeli aggressors and more attention to patriotic education of the armed forces and the masses.

DIARY

During their stay in Prague, Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, and Erkki Kivimäki and Oiva Lehto, members of the Party's Political Bureau, visited the editorial offices of this journal. In his talk with the Editorial Council and staff, Comrade Saarinen described the work of the Communist Party of Finland, its struggle for the working peo-

ple's interests, Communist participation in the government and the problems this poses. He emphasized that the Party highly values *World Marxist Review*, which enjoys a growing interest in Finland, among intellectuals as well as workers.

A representative of our journal visited the editorial offices of *Granma*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba, and informed its editor, J. Mendoza

and other Cuban comrades of the work of the journal and its plans for 1971. In discussing the work of the journal, the Cuban comrades noted that its theoretical and information articles were being used in the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism. In summing up the discussion, Comrade Mendoza stressed that the Cuban journalists appreciate the role of the journal as the organ of the fraternal parties and were prepared to cooperate with it. (An article on *Granma* will appear in one of our coming issues.)

World Marxist Review is forming closer ties with Communist Party organizations in Czechoslovakia. In December, representatives of the journal met

with members of the Party branch, National Committee and Socialist Youth League branch in Pchery, a mining town.

In January, there was a similar conference of members of our Editorial Board and staff with the Party active of the North-Czech region in Usti-nad-Labem. Representatives of fraternal parties on the journal, Vilem Novy (CP Czechoslovakia), Piere Hent-gés (CP France), Philip Bart (CP USA), C. Unni Raja (CP India) and J. Laborde (CP Argentina) described our work and plans and replied to questions. Miloslav Flégl, head of the Regional Party Committee ideological department, emphasized that the journal helped the Party organization in its ideological work.



HE MUST BE FREED!

We have received the following letter from Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel:

It is over two years that Na'im El-Ashhab, leading personality of the Communist Party of Jordan, was arrested by the Israeli occupation authorities in East Jerusalem and detained administratively without indicting him of any crime or offence, without trial.

About a year ago, an attempt was made on the life of Comrade El-Ashhab in prison. Since then he has been jailed in the Shatta prison, near Beisan, in solitary confinement, on the pretext of 'safeguarding' him from attacks by hooligans and incited prisoners. Notwithstanding his deteriorating health and disregarding the public protests and repeated demands to release Na'im El-Ashhab, the Israeli authorities continue to hold him imprisoned in his separate cell, deprived of light and air.

Lately, Na'im El-Ashhab's health has further deteriorated,

particularly his sight, which is now in danger. The doctor who examined his eyes found that his eye-sight is being weakened and endangered by continued solitary imprisonment and deprivation of sunlight and fresh air.

The Communist Parliamentary faction in the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) submitted an urgent interpellation to Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, drawing his attention to the situation of Na'im El-Ashhab and demanding his immediate release.

There are thousands of victims of the Israeli occupation of Arab territories – imprisoned, tortured, exiled, oppressed in many other ways and deprived of elementary human rights. But the dangerously deteriorating health of Na'im El-Ashhab urges us to bring his case to the notice and knowledge of democratic organizations and to call for a joint demand that the Israeli Government and its representatives immediately release the Communist leader Na'im El-Ashhab.

REIGN OF VIOLENCE AND TERROR

The International Department of the Dominican Communist Party says in a letter to this journal:

We are sending you this letter to inform you that the General Secretary of our Party, Comrade Narciso Isa Conde, is in danger. Hired assassins of the La Mano and Incontrolables ter-

rorist gangs have been ordered to kill him.

U.S. imperialist armed intervention in April 1965 was meant to stifle the popular liberation movement. The country has been placed under a reign of violence and terror. The Balaguer government has no support among the people: in the last presidential elections, 40 per cent of the voters stayed away from the polls in protest against the tyrannical regime and imperialist tutelage. Balaguer is able to maintain himself in power only with the support of North American imperialism. The government is intensifying persecution of all opposition elements, including those in the army, and is trying to wipe out all political opponents. In 1969 and 1970, a patriotic opponent of the regime was killed or declared 'missing' every other day.

The prisons are filled with political detainees. Anyone who has the temerity to voice his dissatisfaction with the U.S.-installed dictatorship does so at the risk of life – he can be assassinated at any moment. The La Mano and Incontrolables gangs are guilty of a long list of heinous crimes. One of their latest victims is the engineer Amin Abel Hasbun, former secretary of the Dominican General Students' Federation. And now

we have learned that Comrade Narciso Isa Conde is on the murder list.

READER'S SUGGESTIONS

I highly appreciate your journal, with its valuable information and articles on the anti-imperialist struggle.

In your No. 10 issue (1970) you outline your plan for 1971. It is a good plan, but I think it could be improved by publishing more information on the activities of socialist and other proletarian youth organizations. Considering mounting youth activity throughout the world, the journal could make a useful contribution in this field.

I would also suggest concentrating each issue on some definite subject, print more items that keep the reader informed of imperialist crimes, devote more attention to imperialism and fascism, for there are fascist trends not only in Spain, Greece and Portugal. We are often given a bare description of fascism, whereas there should be more exposure of fascist theories, and in this respect we can be guided by the materials of the Seventh Communist International Congress.

Wolfgang Mueller
Offenbach, GDR.



LECTURES ON FASCISM

'Lectures on Fascism' is the first complete collection of lectures by Palmiro Togliatti in January-April 1935 to Italian Communists attending the International Lenin School in Moscow.* The lectures are distinguished by clarity of thought and exposition and contain a conclusive analysis of fascism, primarily of the Italian variety. The lectures of the eminent Italian Communist leader contributed to the new political orientation of the world Communist movement defined by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

The book examines the development, structure and organizational methods of Italian fascism. To understand the essence of fascism, Togliatti stressed, we must be guided by Lenin's theory of imperialism, showing that in the imperialist stage of capitalist society reaction tends to intensify all down the line. 'The tendency towards a reactionary transformation of all

bourgeois political institutions is most consistently represented by fascism,' says one of Togliatti's lectures. However, the course of history is not shaped solely by the subjective aspirations of the imperialists and their fascist agents; the historical process is the result of the balance of conflicting social and political forces.. In Togliatti's examination, the analysis of the factors leading to fascism's successes, its weaknesses and contradictions and the analysis of the anti-fascist fight of the working class are tied up with a self-critical analysis of the serious strategic and tactical errors made by the Communists, and with the search for new forms of struggle.

Togliatti probes the class essence of fascism in line with its definition by the 13th Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Comintern Executive Committee (November-December 1933), subsequently endorsed by the Seventh Congress. At the same time, he notes that a general definition is insufficient to understand fascism. We should also consider the concrete development of the country and the class struggle. Togliatti comes to grips with the Social - Democratic, opportunist and Trotskyite definitions of fascism as a variety of 'Bonapartism.'

Togliatti delves at length into the problems of the state, of political government under state-monopoly capitalism. Examples from Italian history bear out the

P. Togliatti, *Lezioni sul fascismo*. Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1970. 200 pp.

Marxist-Leninist postulate that when the working-class movement attains maturity, the question of power is bound to arise.

By demagogic, terrorist and anti-democratic methods fascism carries forward the objective of the extreme imperialist and reactionary finance capital. Fascism, Togliatti notes, can play its role only to the extent and as long as it can rally a certain amount of mass support for the dictatorship of this sector of the big bourgeoisie. He exposes the fascist attempts to portray the 'corporative structure' as differing from capitalism and socialism, and shows the role of fascism in safeguarding the interests of finance capital.

Togliatti's conclusions are based on Lenin's methodology. Examining class relations in Italy and scrutinizing the mass organizations of the fascist state, he reveals the built-in objective contradictions to be taken into account when determining the direction of conscious revolutionary activity.

The book levels sharp criticism at sectarianism and schematism in dealing with, and combating fascism. 'The fundamental contradiction between the class character of the fascist dictatorship and the masses which it strives to bring under its influence,' Togliatti says, 'will be more and more sharply defined. The entire political and organizational system of the dictatorship will be shaken by this. But none of these results can be attained, unless we do away with the opportunist wait-and-see, if we act as a sect separated from the masses and incapable of the wide political actions that help to firm up contacts with, and lead the people.'

As is known, Togliatti did not consider the text ready for publication in 1935. Later, he developed and finalized some theses. Nevertheless, 'Lectures on Fascism' is an important theoretical and political document of the anti-fascist struggle. A. Droban

A MARXIST STUDY OF THE ISRAELI ECONOMY

Economist Tamar Gozansky, secretary of the ideological education department of the CC, Communist Party of Israel, makes a searching analysis of Israel's economic development since its establishment in 1948 and up to 1967 in her book, 'Economic Independence - How?'

It is a valuable source for any serious study of Israel's economy.

The book is divided into two parts. The first examines the specific conditions in which Israel's economy has developed, its capitalist character, its structure and its relations with the world capitalist economy.

The author presents a vivid and accurate picture of the im-

port of capital in the two decades 1949-1967 – official sources show that Israel received \$7.7 billion! Taking into account Israel's population, this is probably a record.

Moreover, two-thirds was in grants (private capital, reparations from West Germany, gifts and technical help from imperialist governments, donations from the United Jewish Fund and other organizations), and this to a certain extent influences the Zionist and pro-imperialist policy of the Israeli ruling circles.

More than 50 per cent of capital imports came from U.S. sources and 25 per cent from the Federal Republic of Germany. The author shows how these injections of foreign capital have led to Israel's economic and political dependence on imperialist powers, mainly the U.S. In the long run, this deforms economic development.

The author cites ample evidence to show that the rulers of Israel have turned the country into a virtual paradise for foreign investments: in 1960, for example, average profit on foreign capital ran to as much as 20 per cent!

The second part of the book examines the specific nature of Israeli capitalism and its position in the framework of the world capitalist system.

The author points to the activities of Israeli firms and companies in foreign countries, notably Africa, and stresses the

coordination between Israeli, U.S. and West European capital in the neo-colonialist infiltration of developing countries.'

'American companies consider Israel a bridgehead to Africa; extension of their activities in Israel is directly linked with extension of Israel's relations with developing countries.'

A special chapter in this part of the book reviews the economic situation of the working class in Israel and how it has changed over the two decades.

And one change is the relative decline of the wage earners' share in the national income. This reflects the relative impoverishment of the working class and other wage-earners.

The economic discrimination against the Arab population is clearly shown in the chapter dealing with the economic situation of the Arab population.

The following facts are typical of this discrimination:

'The majority of Arab youth start work at the age of 14. Only 15 per cent of Arabs in the 14-17 age group receive secondary education, as against 60 per cent of Jewish youth of this group.'

The fact that the majority of Arab workers are employed in what is known as 'black labor' should leave no doubt that the Israeli rulers' boasts about equality and democracy are nothing but empty words.

All through the book the author closely analyzes the process of economic militarization, shows its adverse results and

examines military expenditure, which is among the highest in the world.

The huge military expenditure has produced the permanent budget deficits directly responsible for inflation. In the two years prior to the June war and during the year of aggression in 1967, the budget deficit reached the sum of I£ 2.5 billion.

The connection between militarization of the economy and the pro-imperialist aggressive policy of the Zionist ruling cir-

cles is clearly shown in the book.

Its concluding pages indicate the way to economic independence for Israel. And that way is to put an end to economic dependence on imperialism, to the extensive infiltration of foreign capital and militarization of the economy. But that can be done only by forcing a change from the pro-imperialist, aggressive and expansionist official policy of Israel to a policy of peace and independence. G. Toubi

EDITIONS SOCIALES

Founded by the French Communist Party in 1945 through the merger of two publishing houses, Bureau d'Edition and Editions Sociales Internationales, the Editions Sociales holds a conspicuous place in Marxist propaganda and education. Its popularity is measurable in the sales of its books, many of which have gone through several editions, and in the favorable reviews in the French and foreign press.

It concentrates on the Marxist-Leninist classics, history of the Communist and workers' movement, Marxist theory, and topical social and political issues.

Editions Sociales is largely responsible for making the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin accessible to the French reader, cooperating, in this field, with Marxist research centers in France, the Soviet Union, the



GDR and other countries. Last year, for instance, it put out new editions of the 'Communist Manifesto,' Lenin's '“Left-Wing” Communism – an Infantile Disorder' and other works as part of its Marxist Classics series. For the

Lenin centenary it completed publication, in cooperation with Progress Publishers in Moscow, of Lenin's complete works. Current plans include the complete Marx - Engels correspondence edited by Gilbert Badia and Jean Mortier.

Two other series, 'Memoirs' and 'Modern History,' have proved very valuable, especially for young readers, in appreciating and understanding the revolutionary traditions of the French people.

A number of books in this category were published for the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune. The list includes Jacques Duclos' 'Storming Heaven,' a study of the Commune by three authors, Jean Bruhat, Jean Dautry and Emile Tersen, and Maurice Choury's 'The Origins of the Commune.' While emphasizing the need to cherish and develop working-class revolutionary traditions, Marxist scholars wholly reject the claims of the Social-Democrats to be the heirs and successors of the glorious Communards.

Last year the French Communists celebrated the 50th anniversary of their Party. Significant landmarks on its revolutionary path, notably the Party's fight against fascism, are recalled in the series 'Fifty Years.' And here the list includes Jean Fréville's 'The Night Ends in Tours,' Florimond Bonte's 'The Road of Glory,' Andre Tollet's 'The Working Class in the Re-

sistance,' Roger Pestourie's 'This Was Part of the Resistance,' and the two collections, 'The French Communist Party in the Resistance' and 'Letters of Fallen Fighters.'

A study of the Party's rich experience and of its present-day struggle helps French Marxists define their strategic and tactical goals. A book that serves that purpose is Waldeck Rochet's 'The Future of the French Communist Party.' Its analysis of the May-June 1968 events provided the author with a starting point for consideration of the perspective for the French workers movement and its vanguard.

Editions Sociales draws on the experience of the Communist movement in books discussing the problems of Marxist theory. Indicative in this respect is Georges Cogniot's 'Lenin Is With Us,' which earned highly favorable reviews in the Party press.

Other theoretical studies published in 1969-70 deal with the fight against opportunism (Leo Figuères' 'Trotskyism - Foe of Leninism'), criticism of revisionist 'models' of socialism (Jacques Arnault's 'Swedish Socialism'), the philosophical aspects of humanism and the personality problem (Lucien Sève's 'Marxism and the Theory of the Personality'), the Church and religion (Antoine Casanova's 'The Second Vatican Council and the Revolution of the Church').

The Our Times series includes

books on the theoretical and practical problems of the class struggle in France, particularly the Party's efforts for Left unity and democratic renewal, its fight against the splitting activity of Leftist and anarchistic elements. Two books that deserve to be mentioned are Jacques Duclos' 'The Anarchists of Today and Yesterday' and Claude Prévost's 'The Students and Leftism.'

New additions to the Economics and Politics series include studies of state-monopoly capitalism, its contradictions and development trends. Three books that should be mentioned are 'The American Myth' by Eric Gaument, 'The Story of a Monopoly' by Henri Claude, and 'Monopolies' by Jean-Pierre Delilez. Other subjects dealt with in this and other series are militarism and disarmament, the imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the Middle East, and European security.

The Classics of the People series hold a special place in the work of Editions Sociales. The idea is to bring to the people some of the outstanding examples of France's democratic culture together with a Marxist appreciation. Recent publications include selected writings of Paul Lafargue with a commentary by Jacques Girault and selections from Romain Rolland with comments by Jean Albertini.

Editions Sociales' authors include Communist Party leaders, scholars and specialists in vari-

ous areas of Marxism. All the books are reviewed in the Party press. The director of Editions Sociales, Guy Besse, a member of the Party Political Bureau, described its work and mission in the following words: 'The books we publish cannot leave indifferent the reader who wants a better knowledge of the past, a deeper understanding of the present and a clearer vision of the future and the will to work for it.'

Two books put out by 'Editions Sociales' in 1970 are here briefly reviewed

'MAURICE THOREZ: MAN AND FIGHTER'

Such is the title of a book by Georges Cogniot and V. Joannès.* It is the story of the man who for 34 years stood at the head of the French Communist Party, the story of a life dedicated to bettering the lot of the French worker and advancing his vital interests. Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the Party says in the Preface: 'Everywhere, in every corner of the country, Thorez is known and respected by progressives, and everywhere his life stands out as a shining example of courage in the struggle against oppression and injustice, for the people's happiness, for peace, democracy and socialism.'

*G. Cogniot, V. Joannès, *Maurice Thorez, l'homme, le militant*. Paris, Editions Sociales, 1970. 188 pp.

Cogniot and Joannès were close associates of Maurice Thorez and they are able to show Thorez both as man and fighter. Thorez stands out from the pages of this book as a man of great charm, with an inexhaustible love of life and people, a man of seething energy. But he also stands out as leader of the French Communist Party, an outstanding Marxist who creatively applies Marxism-Leninism in concrete historical conditions, a splendid internationalist who set an example of combining the national interests of his people with the international tasks of the world workers' movement.

Thorez would have been 71 this April. He was one of those revolutionary Communists who will always be remembered as a symbol of courage, integrity and fidelity to the great cause of communism.

The book is addressed mainly to the youth, the new fighters for socialism anxious to find their place in the battle for a 'free, strong and happy' France, the goal to the attainment of which Maurice Thorez devoted his life.

Ives Drouard

'LE MONDE'S' OBJECTIVITY

The need to analyze the strategy and tactics of the capitalist press in the present complex ideological struggle needs hardly be emphasized. The authors of this book, 'Le Monde: Humanism, Objectivity and Poli-

tics', A. Guedj and J. Girault have set out to provide such a scientific Marxist analysis.

And to do that they first had to work out the methodological principles of their critical study. They selected a brief but historically and politically important period: the May-June 1968 crisis. The fundamental importance of these events, the sharp political conflicts, clearly brought out the class implications of the attitude of diverse parties, organizations and individuals.

The book exposes *Le Monde's* claim that it is but a vehicle of information, totally uninvolved in the game of politics. The authors cite concrete examples to show the true worth of bourgeois objectivity, which serves to gloss over the meaning of events, to substitute psychological conditioning for political appraisal, to get the reader to accept the facts in a 'positive light,' without digging down to their causes and implications. *Le Monde's* much vaunted objectivity vanishes the moment it takes up the cudgels against communism.

In the ideological sphere, *Le Monde* proclaims the struggle between capitalism and socialism obsolete, arguing that capitalism is being replaced by a technocratic system. Its concept of a 'new' society discards the very idea of class struggle, claiming that there is class harmony, though there is still a

*A. Guedj, J. Girault. *Le Monde . . . humanisme, objectivité et politique*, Paris, Editions Sociales, 1970, 256 pp.

conflict between developed and underdeveloped countries. *Le Monde* is all for the 'revolutionary' enthusiasm of the youth and 'Left' intellectuals, describing both as the 'motive forces of progress' and contrasting them to the working class which it accuses – of all things – of conservatism. It is therefore no accident that latterly *Le Monde* has been markedly sympathetic to Leftist and anarchist groups, exploiting their provocative actions in its own fight against the Communists.

The paper's credo, paradoxically, the authors remark, is: 'To the Left of the working class, to the Right of the government.' The authors examine in some detail *Le Monde's* tac-

tics aimed at undermining Left unity and isolating the Communist Party.

In foreign policy the paper often speaks in shrill anti-Soviet tones and juggles the facts to suit. Its anti-Sovietism plays into the hands of those who want to prevent the development of Soviet-French relations, that important factor of European peace.

In sum, the book gives the reader a very clear idea of *Le Monde's* 'objectivity,' showing that it is but a cover for attempts to find solutions which would make it possible to avoid a revolutionary upheaval without, however, infringing on the foundations of capitalism.

Leo Log

BOOKS IN BRIEF

W. WELCHELT, H. MELZER, H.-J. KARLICZEK, *Lenins Lehre von den Sowjets und die Volksvertretungen in der DDR* (Lenin's Teaching on Soviets and Peoples' Representative Bodies in the GDR). Berlin, Staatsverlag, 1970, 168 pp.

The book shows how Lenin's ideas concerning a state of the new type are being implemented in the German Democratic Republic. The authors use a great deal of factual material to demonstrate the development of representative bodies from anti-fascist democratic committees into Soviet-type or-

gans of socialist worker-peasant power. This conceptualization of popular representative bodies as the nucleus of the system of socialist democracy and their difference from the institutions of bourgeois representative democracy – parliaments and municipalities – is of unquestionable interest.

Acting on the general tasks of the socialist state, the representative bodies are expected to ensure the complex development of all facets of society within the limits of their competence. Embodying the unity of the people's political forces under the leadership of the working class, they are inseparably linked with other institutions of so-

cialist democracy providing for the wide-scale participation of the working people in government and public affairs.

Using the development of a new state system in the GDR as a model, the authors demonstrate the international significance of Lenin's ideas concerning Soviets, the Soviet experience in building a state system and the general principles of building working peoples' power in the USSR.

Politically incisive, the book underlines the significance of Lenin's uncompromising struggle against Kautsky's revisionism and exposes the present-day revisionist views on the state.

I. Warnawski

Ideologiya sovremennogo reformizma. Kritika kontseptsii prav-ykh sotsialistov (The Ideology of Modern Reformism. A Critique of Right Socialist Conceptions). Moscow, Nauka, 1970. 606 pp.

This collective work prepared by the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences is a detailed analysis of present-day reformism. The authors demonstrate that the philosophy of its theorists, preaching ideological neutrality, tolerance towards bourgeois and religious views, rejects the scientific basis of the working-class outlook and leads to idealism, anti-dialectics and an out-and-out defense of religion. The authors expose the myth that capitalist society is undergoing a 'transformation'

under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution, and supposedly losing the properties of an exploiting society.

The book examines such reformist concepts as 'mixed' economy, a 'supra-class' bourgeois state and labor-capital 'harmony', all of which serve state-monopoly capitalism.

Describing the reformist stand vis-à-vis socialism, the authors show its anti-communism and hostility to the existing socialist society. Reformist ideologists reject revolutionary methods of re-shaping society, yet propose no program of consistently democratic reforms that would weaken monopoly positions and pave the way to socialist transformations. The scientifically valid aim of the Communist movement is opposed by the so-called ethical 'basis' of socialism, suggesting moral re-education of all the sections of bourgeois society. The book also shows that modern 'ethical socialism' endeavors to use bourgeois axiology (philosophy of values) and theology for its own ends and that it falsifies the category of alienation.

Modern reformism leans heavily on the conception of 'democratic socialism,' denying the class nature of socialist democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This, however, the book does not discuss in detail. The authors examine the ideological ties between reformism and revisionism and trace certain trends in the debate be-

tween Communist parties and Right opportunism. E. Jorgen

M. LEBEDINSKY, *Argentina: bases economicas de la politica* (Economic Basis of Argentine Policy). Buenos Aires, Editorial Quipo, 1970. 174 pp.

The methodology of scientific research occupies a prominent place in the theoretical works of Argentine Communists. In his 'Economic Basis of Argentine Policy,' Mauricio Lebedinsky levels well-grounded criticism against the metaphysical approach to economic analysis and emphasizes the significance of Marxist-Leninist methodology. The author defends the partisanship of political economy which, he says, 'aims not at pure analysis, but at research from class positions.'

Lebedinsky demonstrates the weakness of structuralistic, technocratic, positivist and other vogue concepts, adding: 'The basic flaw of bourgeois economic science is its inability to comprehend the transient nature of

capitalist economy.' The book criticizes the reformist 'development' theories widespread in Argentina, forming the basis of the ECLA program (Economic Commission for Latin America), the Alliance for Progress, and exposes the ideology of the 'third way', etc. The main barrier to the country's progress, the writer shows, is U.S. imperialism, foreign monopolies and the land-owning oligarchy.

Speaking of the dialectical link between economics and politics, Lebedinsky points to the importance for correct policy-making of studying Argentina's economic situation. It is impossible to comprehend and foresee the dynamics of the socio-economic and political processes, unless we take due account of the basic contradiction of capitalist society glossed over by Argentine economists and sociologists. In Argentina, the author writes, the solution of this contradiction will 'begin with a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution oriented on socialism.' J. Pereira

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication.)

LENIN, V. I. *Obras completas* (Complete Works). Vols. 1-30. Buenos Aires, Editorial Cartago, 1969-70.

ACZEL, Gy. *Eszmenk erejevel*

(The Impact of Our Idea). Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1970. 273 pp.

BODNAR, A., DENISUCZUK, M. *Wymiana miedzynarodowa a rozwoj gospodarczy Polski* (International Exchange and the Development of the Polish Economy). Warsaw, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1970. 242 pp.

GULIAN, C. I. *Istoria, omul si cultura* (History, Man and Culture). Bucharest, Editura politica, 1970. 167 pp.

DI VITTORIO, G. *Antologia delle opere* (Selected Works). Rome, ESI, 1970. 454 pp.

IOVCHUK, M. T. *Leninizm, filozofskiye traditsii i sovremennost* (Leninism, Philosophical Traditions and Modernity). Moscow, Mysl, 1970. 334 pp.

IRIBADJAKOV, N. *Leninizm, filozofia, ideologicheska borba* (Leninism, Philosophy and Ideological Struggle). Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo, 1970. 426 pp.

KRONROD, Y. A. *Zakon stoisimosti i sotsialisticheskaya ekonomika* (The Law of Value and Socialist Economy), Moscow, Nauka, 1970. 159 pp.

MARCHAIS, G. *Qu'est-ce que le Parti Communiste Français?* (What Is the French Communist Party?). Paris, Editions Sociales, 1970. 45 pp.

Mezhdunarodnoye kommunisticheskoye dvizheniye (The International Communist Movement). A survey of strategy and tactics. Edited by V. V. Zagladin. Moscow, Politizdat, 1970. 415 pp.

MOULIS, M. *Neviditelna fronta* (The Invisible Front). Prague, Nase vojsko, 1970. 212 pp.

Osnovniye problemy rabochego dvizheniya v razvitykh kapitalisticheskikh stranakh (Main Problems of the Working-Class Movement in the Developed Ca-

pitalist Countries). Moscow, Mysl, 1970. 287 pp.

OSHAVKOV, J. *Istoricheskiyat materializym i sotsiologiyata* (Historical Materialism and Sociology). Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo, 1970. 378 pp.

SZANTO, Gy. *Imperialista es antiimperialista strategia* (Imperialist and Anti-Imperialist Strategy). Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1970. 152 pp.

TRUS, M. I. *Lenin ja ulkopolitika* (Lenin and Foreign Policy). Helsinki, Kansankulttuuri, 1970. 259 pp.

HAY, L. *A megvaltozott vilag-gazdasag* (The Changed World Economy). Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1970. 127 pp.

HOLLITSCHER, W. *Aggression im Menschenbild* (The Human Mind and Aggression). Wien, Globus Verlag, 1970. 170 pp.

SCHERINGER, R. SPRENGER, W. *Arbeiter und Bauern gegen Bosse und Banken* (The Workers and Farmers Against the Bosses and Banks). Frankfurt am Main, Verlag Marxistische Blaetter, GmbH., 1970. 178 pp.

STOECKER, H. *Walter Stoecker - Die Fruezeit eines deutschen Arbeiterfuehrers - 1891-1920* (Walter Stoecker - the Early Years of a Workers' Leader. 1891-1920). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1970. 236 pp.

ETNASI, F. *La Resistenza in Europa* (The Resistance in Europe). Rome, Orafica editoriale, 1970. 468 pp.

Supplement
to
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW
No. 3, 1971

MODERN IMPERIALISM

An economic and statistical survey

Compiled by staff researchers of the
USSR Academy of Sciences
Institute of World Economy and International Relations
and Institute of the International Workers' Movement

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-

The data contained in this survey are illustrative of the essence and development of capitalism and imperialism, disclosed by Marx, Engels and Lenin and in documents of the international Communist and workers' movement, particularly those of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which comprehensively analyzed world development and made a valuable contribution to the further elaboration of Lenin's theory of imperialism.

To understand the objective position, Lenin wrote in his 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,' 'one must not take examples or isolated data (in view of the extreme complexity of the phenomena of social life it is always possible to select any number of examples or separate data to prove any proposition), but **all** the data on the **basis** of economic life in . . . the **whole** world' (**Coll. Works**, Vol. 22, p. 190). The compilers of this survey were guided by that methodological principle.

Needless to say, it has not been their purpose to provide an exhaustive analysis of present-day capitalism in all its multiformity. Besides, not all new phenomena and processes can be expressed in statistics. The survey, therefore, deals only with some main laws of imperialist development. It is based on data issued by the UN and its specialized agencies and on official statistics of a number of capitalist countries.

I. CONCENTRATION OF PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL

'The enormous growth of industry and the remarkably rapid concentration of production in ever larger enterprises are one of the most characteristic features of capitalism.'

LENIN (Vol. 22, p. 196)

Post-war production and capital concentration and centralization were especially marked in the fifties and sixties. Higher monopoly profits, notably in boom periods, accelerated the process of mergers and takeovers. Production diversification facilitated concentration of capital in monopoly concerns and the emergence of conglomerates. Accelerated monopoly accumulation of capital and its centralization result in the lion's share of national wealth, national income and industrial output being concentrated in a small group of giant monopolies.

USA		FRG		FRANCE	
	No. of mergers		No. of mergers		No. of mergers
1950-1954	1,424	1958	15	1956	893
1955-1959	3,365	1963	29	1960	1,088
1960-1964	4,366	1965	50	1966	1,959
1965-1969	14,453	1969	168	1967	1,752

FRG figures refer to especially big mergers.

In **Japan** there were 11,846 mergers of private companies in 1951-69. In **Britain**, mergers averaged 292 a year in 1954-58, and 794 in 1960-69. In **Italy**, 176 major firms were merged in 1961-67. The biggest single merger was of the Italian Pirelli and the British Dunlop firms, which controlled, respectively, 12 and 18 per cent of the West European tire market. In annual sales (1,400 billion lira) the new giant is second only to the U.S. Goodyear (2,000 billion lira) and Firestone (1,450 billion lira) firms.

There have been takeovers in practically all branches of **Belgian** industry. In 1968, Union Minière moved to take over control of the country's non-ferrous metals industry by buying up Vielle Montagne, Asturienne des Mines and Overpelt-Lommel. In March 1969 the country's two major steel concerns, Cockerill-Ougrée-Providence and Esperance-Longdoz merged to form one of Western Europe's biggest steel combines, producing approximately six million tons a year and with an annual turnover of 30 billion Belgian francs.

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USA

Monopolization (1966)

Industry	Sales		Employment	
	\$ mln.	%	000's	%
Automobile – total	45,630	100.0	1,650	100.0
General Motors	20,209	44.3	745.4	44.2
Ford Motor	12,240	26.8	388.0	23.5
Chrysler	5,650	12.4	183.2	11.1
Total, 3 companies	38,099	83.5	1,316.6	79.8
Oil – total	45,501	100.0	464.0	100.0
Standard Oil (New Jersey)	12,191	26.8	149.0	32.1
Mobil Oil	5,254	11.5	80.9	17.4
Texaco	4,427	9.7	79.3	17.1
Total, 3 companies	21,872	48.0	309.2	66.6
Iron and Steel – total	21,193	100.0	1,350.7	100.0
United States Steel	4,355	20.5	205.5	15.2
Bethlehem Steel	2,669	12.6	133.3	9.8
Republic Steel	1,360	6.4	53.4	4.0
Total, 3 companies	8,384	39.5	391.9	29.0
Electronics – total	39,850	100.0	1,908.8	100.0
General Electric	7,177	18.0	350.0	18.3
International Business Machines	4,248	10.7	198.2	10.4
Western Electric	3,624	9.1	158.4	8.8
Total, 3 companies	15,049	37.8	716.6	37.5
Chemicals – total	38,636	100.0	961.4	100.0
Dupont de Nemours	3,185	8.2	115.2	12.0
Procter and Gamble	2,243	5.8	39.5	4.1
Union Carbide	2,224	5.8	65.4	6.8
Total, 3 companies	7,652	19.8	220.1	22.9
Aircraft and Missiles – total	21,179	100.0	750.5	100.0
Boeing	2,357	11.1	128.5	17.1
Lockheed Aircraft	2,085	9.9	98.4	12.1
North American Aviation*	2,024	9.6	92.2	12.3
Total, 3 companies	6,466	30.6	311.1	41.5

*Now North American Rockwell.

FRG

Monopoly in Ferrous Metals (1968)

Company or group	Steel output		Workers employed	
	mln. tons	% share	000's	% share
August Thyssen-Huette	11.5	27.9	76	23.6
Hoesch	6.9	16.8	52	16.1
Fried. Krupp	4.0	9.7	28	8.7
Ilse der Huette – Salzgitter	3.2	7.8	17	5.3
Kloekner	3.1	7.5	20	6.2
Mannesmann	3.0	7.3	15	4.7
Rheinstahl	1.2	2.9	27	8.4
Total	32.0	79.9	235	73.0
Industry total	41.2	100	322	100

FRG**Monopoly in Chemicals (1969)**

Company or group	Sales		Workers employed	
	mln. marks	% share	000's	% share
Farbwerke Hoechst	8,293	17.5	98	17.30
Badische Anilin- & Sodafabrik	8,261	17.4	95	16.75
Farbenfabriken Bayer	7,829	16.5	95	16.75
Total	24,383	51.4	288	50.80
Industry total	47,359	100	567	100

FRG**Monopoly in Automobile Industry (1969)**

Company or group	Total output	
	000's	% share
Volkswagenwerk	1,904	52.8
Adam Opel	801	22.2
Daimler-Benz	397	11.0
Ford-Werke	302	8.4
Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW)	140	3.9
Total	3,544	98.3
Industry total	3,605	100

BRITAIN**Monopolization of Production (1968)**

	No. of leading companies	Company	% share
Electricity	1	Electricity Council and Electricity Boards in England and Wales	abt. 90
Coal	1	National Coal Board ¹	100
Steel	1	British Steel ¹	91
Portland cement	1	Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers	60
Locomotives	1}		90
Turbogenerators	1		50
Military electronics	1}	General Electric and English Electric	50
Industrial electronics	1}		50
Control equipment	1	Plessey Numerical Controls	73 ²
Computers	1	International Computers and Tabulators	40
Domestic appliances	2	Hoover, British Domestic Appliances	66 ³
Machine tools	5	Alfred Herbert, Stavely Industries, Elliot, John Brown, George Cohen 600 Group	60 ³
Tractors	2	Massey-Ferguson, Ford	80 ⁴
Passenger cars	4	British Leyland, Ford, Vauxhall, Rootes	90 ²
Chemical fertilizers	3	Fisons, Imperial Chemical Industries, Shell Chemicals	75 ³
Synthetic rubber	1	International Synthetic Rubber	60
Chemical fibres	1	Courtaulds	75
Synthetic fibres	1	Imperial Chemical Industries	75

1. State-owned. 2. 1969. 3. 1967. 4. 1966.

FRANCE

Monopolization of Production (1968)

	No. of companies or groups	Company or group	% share
Oil products	4	Companie française des Petroles, Companie française de raffinage, Shell Française, Erap-Elf	abt. 80
Steel	2	Wendel-Sidelor (part Sollac), Usinor	70
Special steels	1	Ugine-Kuhlmann	75
Aluminum	1	Péchiney	80
Motor vehicles (all)	4	Renault-Saviem, Citroën, Peugeot, Simca	100
Tractors	1	Renault	26
Locomotives (electric and diesel)	1	Alsthom	53
Refrigerators	1	Thomson-Brandt-Claret	80
Washing machines	1	Thomson-Brandt-Claret	60
TV sets	2	Thomson-Brandt, Radiotechnique	50
Sulphuric acid	1	Ugine-Kuhlmann	28
Fertilizers	2	Péchiney – Saint-Gobain, Ugine-Kuhlmann	40
Glass	2	Saint-Gobain, Boussois-Souchon-Neuvesel	100
Cement	1	Lafarge	42
Synthetic fibres	1	Rhône-Poulenc	87

JAPAN

Monopolization of Production (1967)

	No. of companies					No. of companies			
	1	3	5	10		1	3	5	10
	Percentage share of output					Percentage share of output			
Pig iron	22.4	60.5	86.2	99.2	R.R. rolling stock	15.3	43.9	67.6	100.0
Steel	18.5	47.8	70.9	83.2	Vessels	21.5	53.1	73.0	90.6
Copper	25.4	63.4	89.7	97.6 ²	Computers	33.0	80.6	96.6	100.0 ¹
Aluminum (rolled)	23.1	48.8	70.0	84.8 ²	Electricity	29.4	64.1	82.4	100.0 ³
Motor vehicles	28.0	63.1	79.2	98.8	Cement	15.1	43.1	58.9	79.9
Small passenger cars	36.4	73.9	97.9	100.0 ¹	Oil products	17.7	43.5	60.1	89.1
Locomotives	30.7	63.6	83.9	99.8	Rocket fuel	35.5	53.1	68.1	88.5

1. 6 companies. 2. 7 companies. 3. 9 companies.

WORLD'S TOP MONOPOLIES, 1969

(the forty biggest corporations out of *Fortune's* list)

	Country	Industry	Total Assets (\$ mln)	Sales (\$mln)	Employees (000's)
1. Standard Oil (New Jersey)	USA	Oil	17,538.0	14,930.0	145.0
2. Royal Dutch Shell	Holland Britain	Oil products, gas, chemicals	15,409.4	9,738.4	173.0
3. General Motors	USA	Auto	14,820.1	24,295.1	793.9
4. Texaco	USA	Oil	9,281.6	5,867.9	72.6
5. Ford Motor	USA	Auto	9,199.3	14,755.6	436.4
6. Gulf Oil	USA	Oil	8,104.8	4,953.3	60.0
7. International Business Machines	USA	Computers	7,389.9	7,197.3	258.6
8. Mobil Oil	USA	Oil	7,163.0	6,621.4	76.0
9. General Telephone & Electronics	USA	Radiotechnical	6,909.8	3,262.0	170.0
10. U.S. Steel	USA	Steel	6,560.2	4,754.1	204.7
11. Standard Oil of California	USA	Oil	6,145.9	3,825.0	46.6
12. General Electric	USA	Electrical equipment, electronics	6,007.5	8,447.9	400.00
13. British Petroleum	Britain	Oil products, chemicals	5,875.0	3,424.1	68.0
14. International Telephone & Telegraph	USA	Communications	5,192.6	5,474.7	353.0
15. Standard Oil of Indiana	USA	Oil	5,150.7	3,469.1	48.2
16. Chrysler	USA	Auto	4,688.2	7,052.2	234.9
17. Imperial Chemical Industries	Britain	Chemicals	4,676.2	3,252.2	192.0
18. Montecatini Edison	Italy	Chemicals, textiles	4,592.0	2,483.2	145.0
19. Shell Oil	USA	Oil	4,356.2	3,573.1	39.0
20. ENI	Italy	Oil products, chemicals, textiles	4,330.1	1,616.8	62.7
21. Philips	Holland	Electronics, electrical equipment	4,211.6	3,597.6	339.0
22. Tenneco	USA	Chemicals	4,054.1	2,450.6	62.0
23. Unilever	Britain, Holland	Food, detergents	3,625.9	6,030.0	326.6
24. Dupont de Nemours	USA	Chemicals	3,452.8	3,655.3	118.1
25. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries	Japan	Machines, autos, aircraft	3,427.3	2,110.6	93.1
26. Hitachi	Japan	Electrical equipment, appliances, machinery	3,358.2	2,857.8	166.5

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	Country	Industry	Total Assets (\$ mln)	Sales (\$ mln)	Employees (000's)
27. Union Carbide	USA	Chemicals	3,355.9	2,933.0	104.4
28. British Steel	Britain	Steel, engineering	3,301.8	2,869.2	254.0
29. Bethlehem Steel	USA	Steel, engineering	3,224.2	2,927.6	130.0
30. Western Electric	USA	Electrical equipment	3,171.9	4,883.2	203.6
31. Philips Petroleum	USA	Oil products	3,102.3	2,202.0	326.6
32. Continental Oil	USA	Oil	2,896.6	2,395.6	35.7
33. Yawata	Japan	Iron and steel	2,743.0	1,993.2	61.1
34. Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik	FRG	Chemicals	2,732.2	2,256.9	94.7
35. Farbenfabriken Bayer	FRG	Chemicals	2,665.6	2,139.1	94.7
36. Tokyo Shibaura Electric	Japan	Electrical equipment	2,624.5	2,133.6	143.0
37. Farbwerke Hoechst	FRG	Chemicals, pharmaceuticals	2,620.2	2,266.0	98.1
38. Italsider	Italy	Steel	2,612.6	972.2	38.9
39. General Electric and English Electric	Britain	Electrical equipment	2,519.1	2,155.2	228.0
40. Nissan Motor	Japan	Auto	2,493.2	2,023.2	69.6

II. BANKING CAPITAL

'As banking develops and becomes concentrated in a small number of establishments, the banks grow from modest middlemen into powerful monopolies having at their command almost the whole of the money capital of all the capitalists and small businessmen and also the larger part of the means of production and sources of raw materials in any one country and in a number of countries.'

LENIN (Vol. 22, p. 210)

The above is fully borne out by the development of the modern banking system. Monopoly and finance-capital control is on an unprecedented scale: the overwhelming share of the capitalist countries' financial resources are concentrated in a few dozen banks.

Since the war, the banks have acquired new sources for centralizing and concentrating finance: the small depositor and institutional deposits, particularly pension funds made up of deductions from wages. This gives them wider scope for financing monopoly operations. Another aspect of this process is conversion into capital of workers' earnings. This form of financial exploitation of the army of hired labor has developed especially rapidly in the past few decades. Insurance companies, the number of which has increased substantially, have become an important means of accumulating small savings to provide an additional source of financing the economy.

Leading Capitalist World Banks (end of 1969)

	Country	Assets (\$ mln.)	Deposits (\$ mln.)
1. Bank of America	USA	25,573	22,171
2. First National City Bank	USA	23,092	19,142
3. Chase Manhattan Corp.	USA	22,168	18,999
4. Barclays Bank	Britain	14,017	12,508
5. Manufacturers Hanover Corp.	USA	11,965	10,434
6. J. P. Morgan	USA	11,448	8,986
7. National Westminster Bank	Britain	10,642	9,651
8. Western Bank Corp.	USA	10,617	8,704
9. Banca Nazionale del Lavoro	Italy	10,218	8,849
10. Banque Nationale de Paris	France	10,104	8,251
11. Chemical, New York	USA	9,739	7,883
12. Bankers Trust, New York	USA	9,696	8,201
13. Credit Lyonnais	France	9,514	7,422
14. Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale	FRG	9,366	8,806
15. Fuji Bank	Japan	9,281	7,033
16. Sumitomo Bank	Japan	9,146	7,123
17. Royal Bank of Canada	Canada	9,144	8,610
18. Mitsubishi Bank	Japan	8,737	6,783
19. Deutsche Bank	FRG	8,686	7,590
20. Sanwa Bank	Japan	8,531	6,577
21. Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce	Canada	8,296	7,768
22. Banca Commerciale Italiana	Italy	8,136	7,230
23. Midland Bank	Britain	7,796	7,137
24. Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust	USA	7,631	6,307
25. First Chicago Corp.	USA	7,135	5,632

USA

Concentration of Banking (end of 1968)

	Total assets	
	\$ bill.	%
All banks	500.7	100.0
With assets of over \$1 billion	209.4	41.8
With assets of \$1- 2 billion	40.8	8.1
With assets of \$2- 5 billion	38.2	7.6
With assets of \$5-10 billion	47.3	9.4
With assets over \$10 billion	83.1	16.7

JAPAN

Concentration of Banking (end of 1968)

	Assets		No. of branches
	Bill. yen	%	
All banks including	46,161	100.0	6,934
1. Fuji Bank	2,234.9	4.8	213
2. Mitsubishi Bank	2,154.9	4.7	183
3. Nippon Kogyo Bank	2,134.1	4.6	12
4. Sanwa Bank	2,116.0	4.6	207
5. Sumitomo Bank	2,109.6	4.6	192
6. Tokai Bank	1,614.9	3.5	201
7. Dai-ichi Bank	1,579.3	3.4	148
8. Mitsui Bank	1,534.9	3.3	148
9. Nippon Kangyo Bank	1,428.3	3.1	149
10. Daiwa Bank	971.8	2.1	135
Total, 10 banks	17,879	38.7	1,588

FRG

Concentration of Banking

	Assets (1956)		Assets (1969)	
	Bill. marks	%	Bill. marks	%
All credit banks	35.3	100.0	177.5	100.0
Deutsche Bank	7.6	21.6	31.8	17.9
Dresdner Bank	1.1	3.2	24.3	13.7
Commerzbank	4.4	12.4	19.0	10.7
Total, 3 banks	13.1	37.2	75.1	42.3

BRITAIN

Concentration of Banking (Jan. 1, 1970)

	Assets	
	£ billion	%
Total, 8 banks	10.4	100.0
Including the biggest		
Barclays Bank	3.0	28.9
National Westminster Bank	2.9	28.5
Lloyds Bank	1.9	18.9
Midland Bank	2.1	20.1

FRANCE

Concentration of Banking (end of year)

	Number of Banks			Branches		Assets		
	French	Foreign	Total	Paris	Provinces Total	Own (mln. francs)	Other (mln. francs)	
1949	380	35	415	450	2,876	3,326	362	12,080
1959	306	37	343	583 ¹	3,013	3,596	2,354	44,955
1968	232	66	298	613	4,604	5,217	7,107	139,295

1. Paris & Seine Dept.

ITALY

Concentration of Banking (end of 1968)

	Assets		Branches and agencies	
	bill. lira	%		%
Main credit institutions	47,541	100.0	10,523	100.0
including 6 biggest banks	21,144	44.5	2,292	21.6
Banca Nazionale del Lavoro ¹	5,629	11.8	255	2.4
Banca Commerciale Italiana ¹	4,621	9.7	474	4.5
Credito Italiano ¹	3,200	6.7	296	2.8
Banco di Roma	3,059	6.4	269	2.5
Banco di Napoli	2,462	5.2	499	4.7
Monte dei Paschi di Siena	2,173	4.7	499	4.7

1. State holds more than 50 per cent of stock.

III. FINANCE CAPITAL AND THE FINANCIAL OLIGARCHY

'The concentration of production; the monopolies arising therefrom; the merging or coalescence of the banks with industry—such is the history of the rise of finance capital and such is the content of that concept.'

LENIN (Vol. 22, p. 226)

The coalescence of bank and industrial capital results in the emergence of gigantic financial groups. Some 20 of these in the U.S., 10-20 in Britain, 10 in France and 5-10 in Japan control a substantial part of industry, trade, transport, credit and services.

The U.S. financial groups play a big role in the economy of international imperialism. In addition to branch banks, they exercise control over an impressive number of U.S. monopoly subsidiaries in more than 60 countries of the capitalist world and of sales agencies in 130. By penetrating the market of other countries they are able to gain control of important branches of the economy, e.g., oil, chemicals, motor vehicles, electronics, etc.

USA

Main Financial Groups (end of 1968)

	Main Interests	Total Assets (\$ billion)	In Banking	In Industry Trade & Services
1. New York (J. P. Morgan)	Oil, steel, chemicals, auto, electrical equipment, electronics, rubber, etc.	167.5	54.7	112.8
2. New York (Rockefellers: Chase Manhattan, Chemical Bank)	Oil, electrical equipment, electronics, rubber, food, paper, chemicals	124.6	67.4	57.2
3. California (Western Bank Corp., Crocker, Wells Fargo Security Pacific)	Oil, aerospace, electrical appliances, electronics	66.7	45.0	21.7
4. Chicago (amalgamated, Crown-Hilton)	Steel, oil, electrical equipment	55.0	17.4	37.6
5. New York (First National City Bank)	Oil, chemicals, aircraft, steel	32.9	19.4	13.5
6. Mellons (First Boston)	Oil, chemicals, aluminum, auto, electrical equipment	29.7	7.3	22.4
7. Boston	Steel, electrical equipment	28.1	20.2	7.9
8. Texas (Great America, amalgamated, Merckisson)	Oil, chemicals, food, precision engineering	27.7	14.7	13.0
9. Cleveland (amalgamated Humphrey-Hann, C. Eaton)	Steel, chemicals, rubber, auto, electrical equipment, farm machines	24.0	7.6	16.4
10. Dupont	Chemicals, oil, rubber, aircraft	21.7	7.6	14.1

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	Main Interests	Total Assets (\$ billion)	In Banking	In Industry Trade & Services
11. Hartford	Food, service industries	20.3	19.4	0.9
12. Detroit	Auto, electronics	17.4	8.9	8.5
13. New York (Manufacturers Hanover Corp.)	Chemicals, food	15.6	10.4	5.2
14. Minneapolis-St. Paul	Chemicals, textiles	13.7	7.3	6.4
15. New York (Sullivan & Cromwell, Marine Midland)	Auto	10.1	5.8	4.3
16. St. Louis	Chemicals, food	8.9	3.2	5.7
17. New York (Goldman Sachs, Lazard Bros.-Lehman)	Engineering, electrical equipment, radio, food	7.2	1.3	6.9
18. New York (Newmont Mining, Harrimans)	Aircraft	6.3	1.9	4.4
Total		678.4	319.5	358.9

BRITAIN

Main Financial Groups (late 1960s)

	Sphere of influence
Lloyds – National Westminster – R. Fleming	International banking, consumer credit, steel industry
Barclays – Martin's – United Dominions Trust – Royal Insurance	Financial links with British companies operating in South Africa, where Barclays DCO is the biggest commercial bank
Midland – Hill, Higginson – Eagle Star – Drayton	Aircraft construction, television, electronics
Jardine-Matheson – Hongkong & Shanghai	Shipbuilding, insurance, banking
Prudential	Major insurance company owning real estate and linked with engineering
Imperial Chemical Industries	Chemicals
Rothschild – Samuel – Oppenheimer	Oil, non-ferrous metals, chiefly in parts of the former British Empire
Morgan – Morgan Grenfell – Lazard	Oil, engineering. Emission and acceptance, insurance
Peninsula & Oriental Steam Navigation – W. Cory – Runciman	Shipping, foreign trade, real estate
Bowater Paper – London & Yorkshire Trust	Paper industry

The biggest financial monopolies of **Japan** are Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo, Fuji, Dai-ichi and Nippon Kangyo (industrial bank group), with centers in banks and trading companies. They are controlled by coordinating centers including the presidents of the parent companies. Mitsubishi, Mitsui and Sumitomo supply up to 17 per cent of the nation's industrial output.

The Mitsubishi group is managed by Kinyokai, a center which includes the presidents of 26 companies employing over 250,000 work-

ers and selling over two trillion yen's worth of products annually. Mitsubishi Shoji, one of Japan's biggest firms, sells the output of the group's enterprises both at home and abroad. Its sales average more than 2.3 trillion yen per year. It accounts for 13 per cent of imports and 10 per cent of exports. Its chief company is Mitsubishi Jukogyo, which has over 95,000 employees and sells close on 630 billion yen's worth of products per year, netting over 14 billion yen. There is hardly an industry in which the group has no vested interest. Mitsubishi heads the list of companies manufacturing arms and has interests in a number of foreign concerns.

The principal financial groups of the **Federal Republic of Germany** are linked with Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank, three of the country's biggest. Deutsche Bank, the most powerful group, includes the Siemens electrical engineering company, the Bayer and BASF chemical corporations, Glanzstoff, the Mannesmann, Hoesch, Kloeckner and Rheinstahl steel corporations, the Demag engineering corporation, the Reemtsma tobacco monopoly and Allianz Lebensversicherung, a major insurance company. Deutsche Bank controls enterprises employing over one million workers and selling about 70 billion marks' worth of products per year.

The economic and political life of **France** is dominated by Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Rothschild, Lazard, Banque de l'Union Parisienne, Crédit Industriel et Commercial, the Lorraine group, Crédit Commercial de France, Schneider, Banque de l'Indochine and the North group.

Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas assets late in 1967 amounted to one billion francs. The total share capital controlled by it in French companies operating in diverse economic fields—with the exception of foreign subsidiaries—amounted to 7.4 billion francs. Most of the enterprises controlled by the group operate in key economic branches: iron and steel, oil, electrical engineering, chemicals, cement, paper, textiles, foodstuffs, heavy engineering, publishing, transport and trade. In 1967 the group's enterprises in these branches had over 310,000 employees and sold 36.5 billion francs' worth of products.

A typical financial giant in **Italy** is the IFI-FIAT group. IFI (Institute for Financing Industry) shareholdings in 1969 were estimated at 107 billion lire, of which FIAT held 48.9 billion, or 45.6 per cent.

IV. CAPITAL EXPORT

'Typical of the old capitalism, when free competition held undivided sway, was the export of goods. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of capital.'

LENIN (Vol. 22, p. 240)

Capital export in postwar has been governed by new objective laws. Formerly capital was exported mostly to underdeveloped countries—the sources of raw materials and cheap labor. Today large amounts of capital flow into economically developed countries, with a close intertwining of economic interests and immensely increased competition between the major monopolies as a result. Another essentially new aspect of capital export since World War II has been

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its more pronounced state-monopoly character. The capitalist state has become an important exporter of capital to every part of the capitalist world.

USA

Investment abroad, end of year (\$ billion)

	Total			Western Europe		Canada		Latin America		Other countries	
	1950	1955	1969	1955	1969	1955	1968	1955	1969	1955	1969
Total	31.5	43.3	140.9	15.0	41.4	10.6	34.3	9.3	26.3	5.4	39.9
Private	19.0	29.1	110.2	5.4	30.3	10.6	34.3	8.3	20.3	3.6	25.2
Direct Shareholdings & others	11.8	19.4	70.8	3.0	21.6	6.5	21.1	6.6	13.8	2.6	14.3
Government	5.7	7.3	25.2	1.6	5.1	3.8	11.5	0.7	3.1	0.6	5.5
	12.5	14.2	30.7	9.6	11.1	—	—	1.0	5.9	1.8	13.7

JAPAN

Private capital export (\$ mln.)

FRG

Direct private investment (mln. marks)

	1951-1959			Total 1951-1967		1955 1960 1968 1969			
	1951-1959	1960	1967	1951-1967		1955	1960	1968	1969
Total	197.2	94.0	229.0	1,415.9	All investments	354	2,928	14,349	17,618
Securities	92.6	34.1	118.8	614.8	Industrial countries		1,898	10,159	12,234
Loans & credits exclusive of export credits	75.9	21.1	85.1	504.9	Developing countries		—	4,190	5,384
Others	28.7	38.8	25.0	296.2					

BRITAIN

Investment abroad

FRANCE

Trend of private long-term capital movement
(balance of payments data)¹

Year	Total £ mln.	Commonwealth countries		Year	Direct investments and loans by French residents abroad (millions of francs)
		£ mln.	%		
1948	1967	1,111	56.5	1961	768
1966	10,000-11,000			1968	2,121

1. Official statements set French investments abroad at from 15 to 20 billion francs.

Developing countries are an important sphere of both private and government investment as in the past. Ever since the mid-fifties, private, state and inter-state economic 'aid' programs have been playing a growing role in capital export to these countries.

'Aid' to developing countries (\$ mln.)

	Total		Private programs	
	1961	1968	1961	1968
USA	4,549.1	5,675.1	1,102	2,071
France	1,406.3	1,482.9	463	628
Britain	899.0	845.1	442	417
FRG	839.0	1,663.7	221	1,040
Japan	376.7	1,049.3	160	542
Netherlands	200.3	276.1	— —	— —
Italy	257.5	550.4	177	356
Belgium	163.9	243.0	72	150
Canada	87.0	306.4	26	94
Australia	70.9 ¹	187.2	—	30
Sweden	51.9	128.8	44	54
Portugal	43.8 ¹	48.1	—	—
Denmark	33.3	73.7	25	45
Norway	26.9	57.7	18	35
Austria	20.2	73.7	18	46
Switzerland	210.6	241.8	187	223
Total	9,235.4	12,903.6	3,097	5,875
1. Estimate.				

V. UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM

'The only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the strength of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc. And the strength of these participants in the division does not change to an equal degree, for the even development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industry, or countries is impossible under capitalism.'

LENIN (Vol. 22, p. 295)

Some statistics indicate a narrowing of the development gap between monopoly capitalist countries, of a certain pulling up of Western Europe and Japan to U.S. standards due to the technological revolution and overall economic growth. However, the uneven course of development which makes for sharper inter-imperialist antagonisms tells with every shift in the balance of capitalist forces.

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Capitalist industrial production indices (1950=100)

Year	USA	Britain (1)	Belgium	Italy	France (1)	FRG	Sweden	Japan	All countries
1951	108	103	114	114	112	117	104	136	110
1961	146	137	153	259	198	263	155	519	174
1969	229	176	228	434	307	407	259	1,398	267
1970 ²	223	179	246	455	325	448	264	1,594	275
Average annual growth rate in 20 years (1951-1970, per cent)	4.2	3.0	4.6	7.9	6.1	7.8	5.0	14.8	5.2
Average annual growth in 10 years (1961-1970, per cent)	4.5	2.9	5.6	6.8	5.6	6.1	5.5	13.8	5.1

1. Building included. 2. Estimate.

Share of individual countries in capitalist industrial production (%)

	1948	1950	1960	1965	1969	1970 ¹
All capitalist countries	100	100	100	100	100	100
USA	55.8	54.6	45.8	44.9	43.4	41.3
Britain	11.9	11.6	9.3	8.3	7.1	7.0
Belgium	1.4	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Italy	2.2	2.5	3.4	3.4	3.6	3.7
France	4.5	4.4	4.7	4.5	4.6	4.8
FRG	4.2	6.6	9.6	9.3	9.4	9.7
Sweden	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Japan	1.3	1.6	4.4	5.6	8.5	9.6

1. Estimate.

Share of individual countries in capitalist exports (%)

	1948	1950	1960	1965	1969	1970 ¹
All capitalist countries	100	100	100	100	100	100
USA	23.8	18.3	15.9	16.5	15.5	15.6
Britain	12.1	11.0	8.0	8.0	7.0	7.1
Belgium and Luxembourg	3.2	2.9	2.9	3.9	4.1	4.0
Italy	2.4	2.2	2.8	4.4	5.0	5.0
France	3.8	5.6	5.4	6.1	6.1	6.3
FRG	1.1	3.6	8.9	10.9	12.0	12.2
Sweden	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.4	2.3	2.3
Japan	0.5	1.5	3.2	5.1	6.6	6.9

*Estimate.

VI. GROWING ECONOMIC ROLE OF THE STATE

'Monopoly capitalism is developing into state monopoly capitalism. In a number of countries regulation of production and distribution by society is being introduced by force of circumstances.'

LENIN (Vol. 24, p. 309)

State-monopoly capitalism has become the decisive aspect of production relations in all imperialist countries. Government economic activity has greatly extended and its impact on capitalist production has increased accordingly.

Today the state is a major owner in numerous capitalist countries. Even in the United States, where no industries have been nationalized, the share of the state in national wealth in the early sixties was about 15 per cent, or 23 per cent if military assets are taken into account. In Japan the share of the state in national wealth in the mid-sixties was estimated at 21 per cent.

The bourgeois state is playing a bigger role in production and service industries and in investment.

Government investment in imperialist countries

	% of total		% of total
USA	20-25	France	25-30
Britain	over 40	Italy	about 30
FRG	20-25	Japan	over 30

USA

Investment

	Total (\$ bln.)	Gov't ¹ (\$ bln.)	Gov't share (%)
1939	13.7	4.9	35.7
1950	56.4	9.1	16.1
1969	167.5 ²	36.1 ²	21.6

1. Only the Federal government, barring outlays for military construction and the purchase of military hardware.

2. Estimate.

FRG

Government investment¹ (1968)

Spheres	Bln. marks	% of total
Total	20.8	16.7
Plant	2.2	4.2
Building	18.6	25.9

1. Excepting investments by state-owned enterprises.

BRITAIN

Government share in total of domestic investment (%)

1950	48.2
1960	40.0
1969	46.5

BRITAIN

Government share in housing construction (%)

1950	81.7
1960	42.1
1969	47.8

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FRANCE

Share of state-owned enterprises in various industries (1967)

Government share (per cent)	Industries
Over 80	Coal, gas, electric power, tobacco and matches, television
From 40 to 80	Aircraft, arms and materiel, land, sea and air transport
From 20 to 40	Oil, automobiles, mineral chemicals

ITALY

Government share in production (1968)

Economic branch	%	Economic branch	%
Steel		Shipyards	80
Iron	58.3	Telecommunications	100
Steel	94.0	Radio and television	100
Oil products		Roads	62.5
Natural gas	97.0	Shipping	
Crude oil	98.3	Passenger	60.2
Refined oil products	19.4	Cargo	6.5
Petrochemistry		Airlines	
Nitric fertilizers	40	Passenger	99.9
Synthetic rubber	96		
Synthetic fibres	8		

ITALY

Government share in the economy (1965)

Indices	Unit	Entire national economy	State sector	Private sector	State sector Per cent	Private sector
Proportion of wage workers	thous.	12,144.1	2,568.9	9,575.2	21.2	78.8
Total investment	blns. of lire	6,714.0	2,424.0	4,290.0	36.1	63.9

State purchases of goods and services and state investments today range from 20 to 50 per cent of the GNP* depending on country. In most capitalist countries the share of the state has been increasing at a fairly high rate.

GNP* and government spending

(billions of national currency units)

	GNP*		Government spending		Government spending – % of GNP*	
	1950	1969	1950	1969	1950	1969
USA	284.8	931.4	60.8	293.0	21.3	31.5
Japan	6,922	51,077 ¹	1,481	10,629 ¹	21.4	20.8 ¹
FRG	97.8	530.8 ¹	30.3	184.3 ¹	31.0	34.7 ¹
Britain	11.7	38.6	4.6	19.0	39.3	49.2
France	100.8	625.1 ¹	30.7	247.0 ¹	30.5	39.5 ¹
Italy	12,455	51,456	3,545	18,908	28.5	36.7

1. 1968.

*As calculated by Soviet sources.

A substantial part of the capitalist countries' national income is re-

distributed through the state budget. Budget funds provide the material basis for state-monopoly regulation of the economy.

Proportion of national income redistributed through state budget (1969)
(per cent)

USA	31.1	FRG	45.5	Italy	45.4
Britain	54.4	France	52.0 ¹	Japan	26.0 ¹

1. 1968.

VII. IMPERIALISM IS MILITARISM

'Modern militarism is the result of capitalism. In both its forms it is the "vital expression" of capitalism—as a military force used by the capitalist states in their external conflicts . . . and as a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes for suppressing every kind of movement, economic and political, of the proletariat.'

LENIN (Vol. 15, p. 192)

The inseparable connection of militarism and war with imperialism, pointed out by Lenin, has been borne out by the subsequent development of imperialism.

Militarization of the economy has become part and parcel of the capitalist economic structure. One of its results is the 'military-industrial complex,' an alliance of the military establishment and the industrial monopolies. Military spending in the imperialist countries is on the rise. From 1949 to 1968 the NATO countries spent directly for military purposes over \$1,300 billion, of which \$800 billion was spent from 1960 to 1968.

NATO military spending (\$ million)

	1949	1959	1970		1949	1959	1970
USA	13,580	46,614	80,253	Belgium	153	374	677
France ¹	1,370	3,631	5,874	Denmark	52	143	365
Britain	2,181	4,460	5,712	Norway	52	150	370
FRG	—	2,640	6,111	Greece	51	158	—
Italy	482	1,067	2,416	Portugal	50	98	356
Canada	372	1,642	1,741	Luxembourg	2	8	8
Netherlands	179	396	1,075	Total ²	18,777	61,641	105,359
Turkey	199	269	401				

1. France withdrew from the military organization of NATO in 1966.

2. Totals may not tally due to differences in converting national currencies into dollars.

VIII. THE FALL OF COLONIAL EMPIRES*

'The socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism.'

LENIN (Vol. 30, p. 159)

*This journal plans to carry in one of its subsequent issues an economic statistical survey covering problems of the developing countries and the remnants of colonial empires.

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World War I and the October Revolution brought on the crisis of colonialism. The 1940s were the historic watershed in the abolition of colonial oppression in vast areas of the globe. At the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism, we are witnessing the fall of the imperialist colonial system.

Political map of the world in 1919 and 1969

Countries	Area	1919		1969		Area	1969		Population
		Mins. of sq. km.	%	Mins.	%	Mins. of sq. km.	%	Mins.	%
1. The world	135.8 ¹	100		1,777	100	135.8	100	3,520	100
a) Socialist countries	21.7	16.0		138	7.8	35.2	25.9	1,210	34.4
b) Other countries	114.1	84.0		1,639	92.2	100.6	74.1	2,310	65.6
2. Big imperialist powers and their colonies	60.3 ²	44.4		855	48.1	12.3	9.0	539.2	15.3
3. All colonies and semi-colonies	97.8	72.0		1,235	69.4	5.0	3.7	36.3	1.0
4. Former colonies and semi-colonies that became sovereign states after 1919 (excepting socialist countries)	—	—		—	—	79.1	58.2	1,616	45.9

1. Without Antarctica.

2. USA, Britain, France, FRG (Germany in 1919), Japan and Italy.

IX. IMPERIALISM AND WAGE LABOR

'Classes can be abolished only by the dictatorship of that oppressed class which has been schooled, united, trained and steeled by decades of the strike and political struggle against capital . . . of that class alone which will be able to bear all the hardships, trials, privations and great sacrifices which history inevitably imposes upon those who break with the past and boldly hew a road for themselves to a new future.'

LENIN (Vol. 29, p. 390)

The postwar period, and more particularly the sixties, have seen considerable changes in the social composition of wage labor in the developed capitalist countries. By early 1970 there were roughly 220 million wage workers, half of whom held jobs in industry. They make up the overwhelming majority of the gainfully employed population.

Their average share in all developed capitalist countries is 79 per cent and varies from 61 per cent in Japan to 93 per cent in Britain.

Qualitative changes in composition (skills, trades and distribution by industries) express themselves in a steadily growing proportion of workers by brain due directly to progress in science and technology.

**Proportion and branch composition of wage workers
in developed capitalist countries**
(millions)

	All countries (1)	USA	Canada	Western Europe (1)	EEC (1)	FRG	France	Italy	Britain	Japan	Australia and New Zealand
1960	190	56.1	5.3 ²	99	54.4	20.9 ²	13.6 ³	13.4 ²	21.9 ²	23.6	4.1 ²
1969	220	70.6 ⁴	7.1	105	57.0	21.8 ⁴	15.2 ⁴	13.8	22.4 ⁵	32.0	5.1
1969 – per cent of 1960	116	126	140	106	105	104	112	103	102	136	124
Distribution by key branches in 1969											
Industry ⁶	112	31.0	3.0	57	31.7	13.4	7.9	7.6	12.5	18.0	2.6
Agriculture	8	1.4	0.2	6	2.6	0.3	0.5	1.4	0.4	0.5	0.2
Service industry ⁷	97	37.8	3.6	38	20.6	8.1	6.3	4.0	9.4	13.0	2.3

1. Estimate. Not all totals tally because they include unclassified categories.

2. 1961.

3. 1962.

4. 1968.

5. 1966.

6. Extractive and manufacturing industry, energetics, building, transport and communications.

7. Trade and the service industry.

Skill composition of industrial workers in some capitalist countries
(per cent)

		Group of workers		
	Year	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
USA	1950	33.1	51.9	15.0
	1969	36.2	52.1	11.7
FRG	1951	47.6	28.0	24.4
	1966	43.4	36.8	19.8
Britain	1951	41.0	39.8	19.1
	1969	39.2	38.5	22.3

The deterioration of the general economic situation in the capitalist countries is exemplified most clearly by increased tensions on the capitalist labor market, which expressed itself in a lower growth rate of employment or even an absolute reduction of it in a number of countries and in fast-growing unemployment. This applies above all to the United States, and in 1970 it was also true of Britain, Canada, France, Japan and Australia.

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Proportion of officially registered unemployed in developed capitalist countries
(thousands)

	1960	1969	1970 ¹		1960	1969	1970 ¹
Total	7,882	6,473	7,780	Canada	446	382	500
				Sweden	19	30	29
USA	3,852	2,831	4,210	Norway	17	16	13
Japan	500	570	601	Denmark	31	35	25
FRG	237	173	148	Austria	82	67	62
Britain	393	597	641	Belgium	114	85	72
France	131	223	247	Netherlands	29	49	47
Italy	1,746	964	930	Australia	—	80	86

1. Estimate based on 10 or 11 months.

NOTE: As unemployment registration varies in method and completeness from country to country (data furnished by labor exchange or trade unions, selective investigation, etc.), the totals should be regarded as rough estimates.

The technological revolution implies, not only new production techniques and technologies, but a new content and character of labor itself and at the same time more flexible and disguised forms of intensification and exploitation of labor. Occupational diseases and industrial accidents have shown an upward trend in recent years.

Industrial accidents
(thousands of workers)

	1960	1969
USA ¹		
Total	1,195.0	2,200.0
Fatal accidents	13.8	14.6
Britain		
Total	382.3	322.4
Fatal accidents	0.9	0.6
Italy		
Total	1,057.4	1,208.0 ²
Fatal accidents	1.9	2.5 ²
FRG		
Total	2,697.7	— —
Fatal accidents	3.0	4.3
France		
Total	990.6	1,254.2 ²
Fatal accidents	1.7	— —

1. Occupational diseases included.

2. 1968.

Productivity indices in the manufacturing industry
(output per man-hour, % of 1960)

	1965	1969	1970 (first six months)		1965	1969	1970 (first six months)
USA	120	132	136	France	126	171	177
Britain	119	139	140	Italy	152	189	197
FRG	130	165	167	Japan	142	236	261

Inflation is problem Number One for most of the developed capitalist countries. It hits the workers' family spending hard. Living costs are going up everywhere, swallowing much of the increase in nominal

wages. As a result, real wages have stopped rising in some countries (USA, Britain) and there has been a drop in the case of numerous categories of workers. In other countries, such as the Netherlands or Canada, the growth rate of real earnings has slackened noticeably.

Living cost indices (1963=100)

	1960	1970 ¹		1960	1970 ¹
USA	96.6	126.4	Belgium	95.6	128.3
Canada	96.2	126.1	Netherlands	94.0	140.8
Britain	90.9	134.5	Austria	90.0	127.6
FRG	94.2	120.3	Sweden	90.8	134.2
France	92.4	130.6	Japan	82.6	143.5
Italy	87.1	127.0			

1. Estimate based on 10 or 11 months.

The advance of state-monopoly capitalism and the ruinous socio-economic effects of the technological revolution have aggravated the antagonism between labor and capital. This finds expression in the great scale and militancy of strike actions. The following bourgeois official statistics give only an approximate idea of the scope of this form of class struggle.

Strikes in capitalist countries

	Number of strikes	Number of strikers (thousands)	Number of man-hours lost through strikes (thousands)		Number of strikes	Number of strikers (thousands)	Number of man-hours lost through strikes (thousands)
Britain				France			
1950	1,339	302.0	1,389.0	1950	2,586	1,527.3	11,728.8
1960	2,832	819.0	3,024.0	1960	1,494	1,071.5	1,070.0
1969	3,116	1,665.0	6,846.0	1969	2,208	4,549.2	2,224.6
1970 ¹	3,888	1,784.0	10,950.0	1970 ¹	2,850	3,100.0	1,950.0
Italy ²				FRG			
1950	1,250	3,537.1	7,760.8	1950	1,344 ³	79.3	380.1
1960	2,471	2,337.9	5,786.2	1960	28 ³	17.1	37.7
1969	3,788	7,507.0	37,824.6	1969	86 ³	89.6	249.2
1970 ¹	3,150	5,700.0	18,500.0	1970	—	—	—
USA				Japan ⁴			
1960	4,843	2,410.0	38,800.0	1950	584	763.5	5,486.0
1960	3,333	1,320.0	19,100.0	1960	1,063	918.0	4,912.0
1969	5,700	2,481.0	42,869.0	1969	1,783	1,411.9	3,633.6
1970 ¹	5,600	3,300.0	62,000.0	1970 ¹	2,900	1,950.0	5,880.0

1. Estimate based on 8 to 11 months.

2. Excepting political strikes.

3. Number of enterprises involved in strikes.

4. Exclusive of strikes lasting less than four hours.

The main law-governed historical processes of the past 50 years have confirmed the validity of Lenin's theory of imperialism as the highest and last stage of capitalism. On the other hand, this period has seen a number of new phenomena due to the evolution of state-monopoly

capitalism and the technological revolution, an intensification of the main characteristics of imperialism, a sharpening of the old contradictions. The world revolutionary process has created a new situation and a new balance of forces in the world. The 1969 Communist forum, proceeding from an analysis of contemporary capitalism and the alignment of class forces in the world, drew the following conclusion: **'Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces.'**

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