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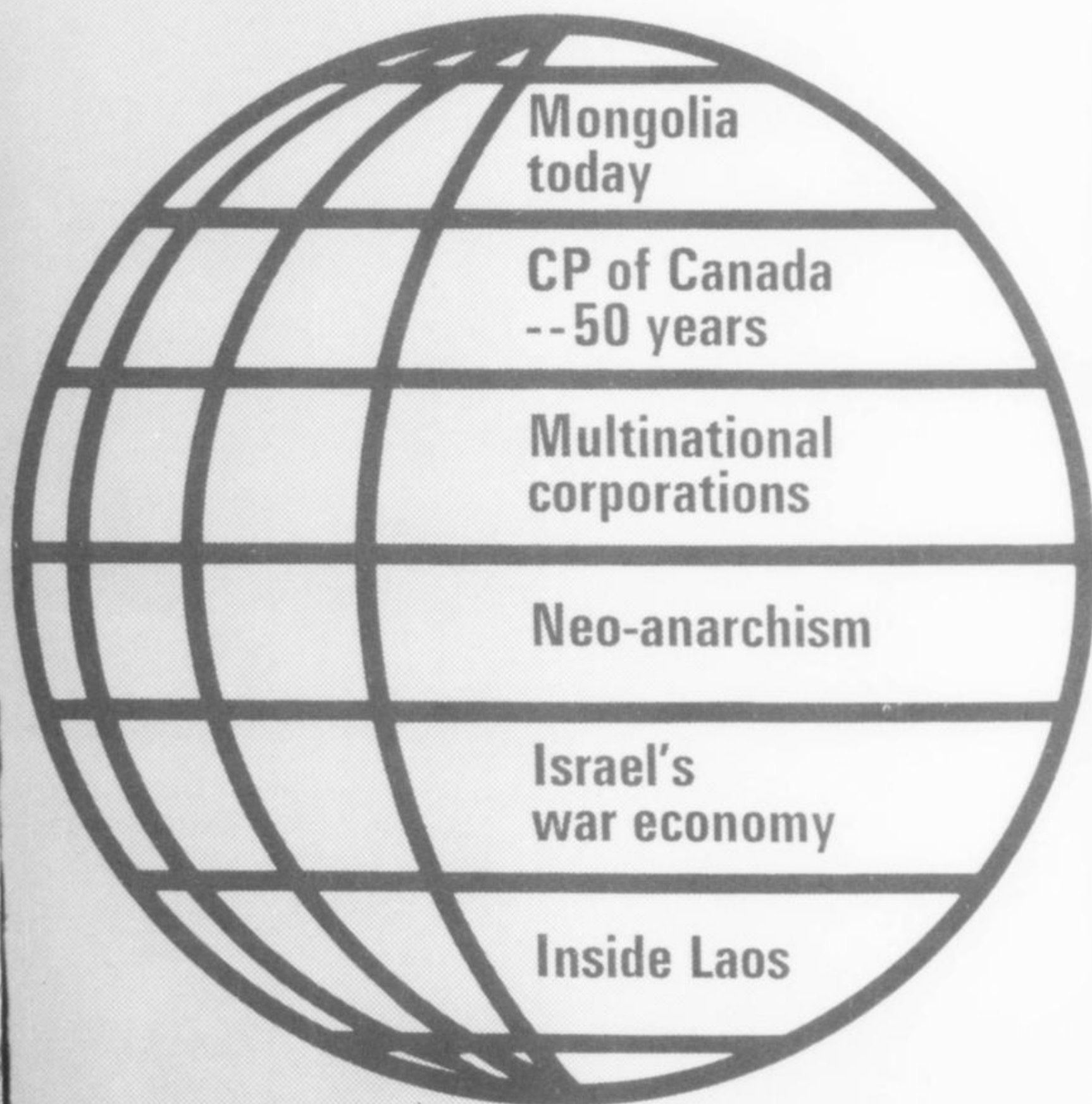
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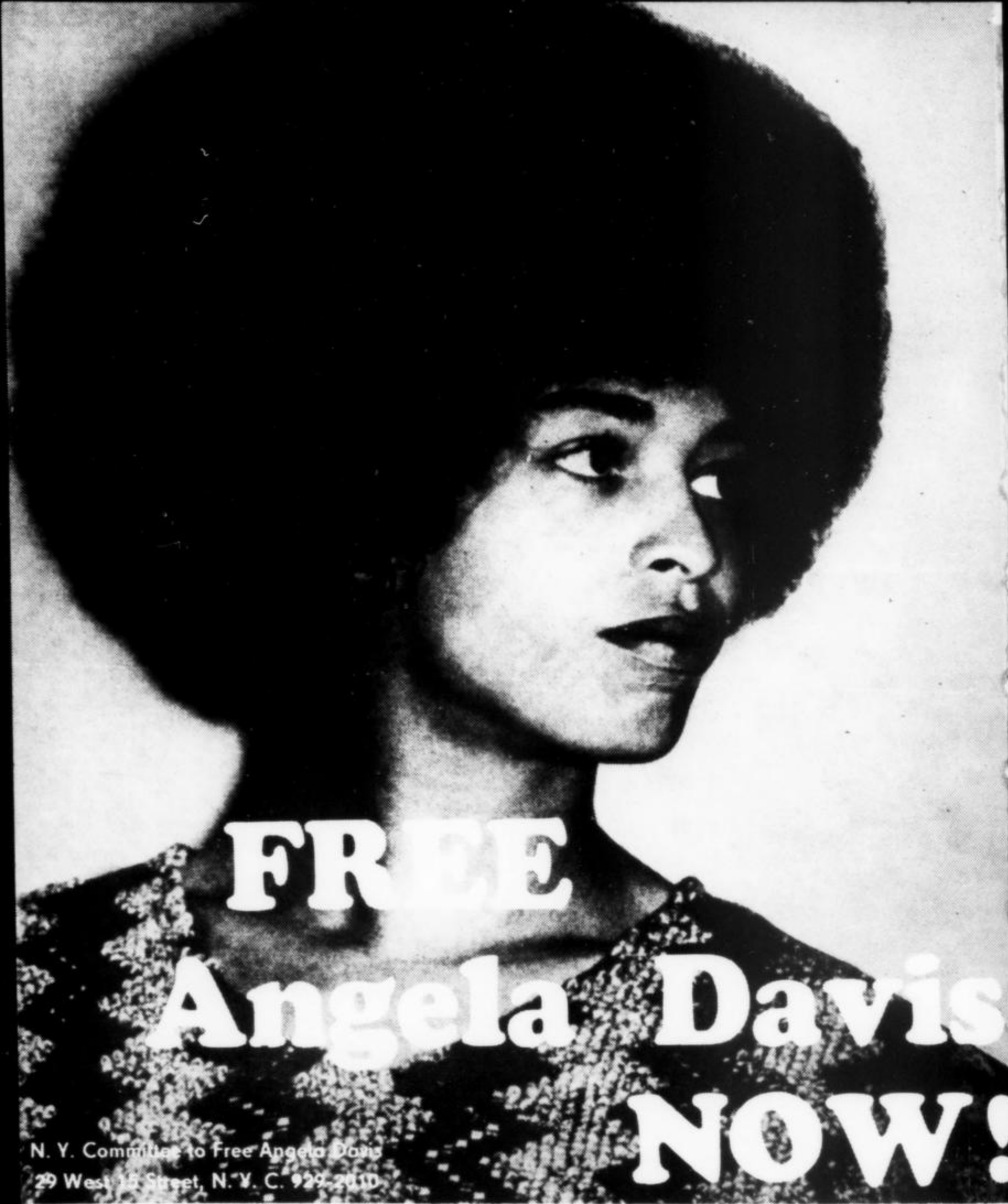
MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

July 1971, Vol. 14, No. 7 50c



A high-contrast, black and white portrait of Angela Davis. She is shown from the chest up, looking slightly to her right. Her hair is dark and voluminous. The lighting is dramatic, with strong highlights on her face and hair, and deep shadows elsewhere.

FREE Angela Davis NOW!

N. Y. Committee to Free Angela Davis
29 West 15 Street, N. Y. C. 929-2610

FREE ANGELA DAVIS NOW! — poster issued by the New York Committee to free this outstanding Communist, victim of American reaction. (See article by B. Phillips on p. 143 of this issue.)



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

July 1971, Vol. 14, No. 7

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journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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Second class mail registration number
2352. Printed in Canada.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North Ame-
rican edition of the monthly journal Prob-
lems of Peace and Socialism published in
Prague.

Microfilm edition available through Uni-
versity Microfilms Library Service.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$5.00 a year. Single
copies 50 cents.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also
published in Arabic, Bulgarian, Czech,
Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek,
Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian,
Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese,

Rumanian, Russian, Singhalese, Spanish,
Swedish, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions to these may be obtained
through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE,
487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 133.

Or, in USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS,
1730 West Arcade Place,
Chicago, Ill. 60612

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by
PROGRESS BOOKS, 487 Adelaide Street West,
Toronto 133, Ontario, Canada.

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The Party, welfare and democracy

Soviet scientists on the
24th Congress of the CPSU

Communists' decisions, whether they are resolutions of national congresses or documents of international conferences, invariably attract world attention. This is true, too, of the materials of the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, translated into dozens of languages and disseminated on all continents. People of different political convictions, of different walks of life, different ages and nationalities – all who aspire to peace, security, democracy and socialism, who cherish the ideals of justice and liberty – are taking a lively interest in what the 24th Congress has projected.

Our previous issue contained an article on the 24th Congress by B. N. Ponomarev, Secretary of the CC CPSU, and comments by several prominent figures of the world Communist movement. In this issue we offer interviews on the Congress with a number of Soviet scholars – Academician **P. N. Fedoseyev**, Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU; Academician **T. S. Khachaturov**, Editor-in-Chief of the journal **Voprosy Ekonomiki**, and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences **V. M. Chkhikvadze**, Director of the Institute of State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences.

ACADEMICIAN P. N. FEDOSEYEV

Q.: The 24th CPSU Congress attached much importance to the content and methods of Party guidance in building the new society. Is there anything you would like to say on this score?

A.: The Central Committee Report to the Congress delivered by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, and the Congress documents too, summed up the experience of our own and of fraternal parties. Important theoretical propositions take the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the party a step farther.

By virtue of recent experience, the Congress again emphasized that the leading role of the Communist Party is one of the most salient issues of the revolutionary movement and the building of socialism and communism. It pointed out that the Party's leading

role increases together with the development of socialist society, that it is necessary to continuously strengthen ties with the masses and improve the forms and methods of Party guidance.

The Party's political guidance, our experience shows, is the decisive factor of economic and social progress. The greater the scale of constructive work, the more complex the problems, the greater is the role and responsibility of the Communist Party standing at the head of the masses. Exercising its leadership in the setting of developed socialism, the Party takes a broad approach to society as an integral social body.

The objectively necessary growth of the Party's leading role in building communism is not automatic. It depends on all Party units and echelons, on their capacity to mobilize, to make the most of, the initiative and collective experience of the masses, to extend and enhance its determinative influence on all areas of society. Another imperative is its fidelity and creative approach to Marxism-Leninism.

The Party's general capability, as stressed at the Congress, depends in many ways on how faithfully and correctly it observes the principle of democratic centralism. Anarchic laxity passed off as democracy and bureaucratic centralization hemming in the initiative and activity of Party members, are equally injurious. Also important is the Congress conclusion that principled criticism and self-criticism are a testimonial of the Party's political health. The development of democracy goes hand in hand with greater discipline – not, of course, discipline based on fear or rigid command, which kill confidence and initiative and breed a 'play-safe' mentality and dishonesty rather than resourcefulness and a sense of responsibility.

This list of Congress conclusions and generalizations relating to various aspects of Party building could be prolonged. The main thought behind them is that effective leadership depends decisively on the state of the Party, its good organization and cohesion, on how faithfully it observes the Leninist principles and norms of Party life.

Q.: What can you say about the objective of assuring for the working class the leading place in the Party and in society as a whole?

A.: The workers' historic mission is not confined to just overthrowing capitalism. There still remains the reconstruction of society along communist lines. And in this they play the leading role by virtue of their place in socialist society. The working class is the main productive force in society, the maker of the principal means of production and of the bulk of national income. Workers

comprise more than 55 per cent of the gainfully employed population. Their labor is based on the higher form of socialist property. Their heroic revolutionary and labor traditions, high degree of organization and awareness, team sense, ideological tempering and firm allegiance to Marxism-Leninism – all this puts the workers in the van in the system of socialist social relations. The working class, the CPSU Program points out, will complete its mission of leader when communism has been built and classes disappear.

Q.: What new elements has the 24th Congress added to the Marxist criticism of Right and 'Left' opportunists who try to revise the teaching on the Party?

A.: The Central Committee report and the speeches of delegates and of representatives of the fraternal parties emphasized that struggle against Right and 'Left' revisionism, as well as nationalism, is on the order of the day. At the same time, and this should be specially stressed, Marxist-Leninists do not want to confine themselves merely to well-grounded criticism of fallacious and dangerous concepts (e.g., 'dissolution of the Party in society' or 'the Party's separation from power'). They have set out to elaborate the problems of Party leadership, to improve all its aspects. Organizing and inspiring the masses and directing public and state bodies does not mean that the Party duplicates these bodies. It only coordinates their activity. Doing so, it uses means and methods that no organization but the Party possesses. Elucidation, persuasion, political education, organization and again persuasion – that is the substance of all the forms, means and methods of the Communist Party's work as guide and leader. The aforesaid shows that anyone who places the army above the Party, who regards the army as the Party's model, departs from Marxism-Leninism. Militarizing the Party and subordinating it to such a tool of the state as the army can only lead to the Party's losing command of the inherently Party forms, means and methods of work, forcing it to perform completely alien social functions.

Q.: The revisionists harp on an alleged bureaucratization of the CPSU, emergence of a Party 'elite,' and the like. The Central Committee Report contains figures that refute these allegations: the Party's membership has doubled in the past 14 years, while the Party machinery decreased by one-fifth. What do you think is the most characteristic features of the present stage of inner-Party democracy?

A.: The figures you quote speak for themselves and are unquestionably indicative. And their substance will be a hundred times clearer to those who examine the materials of the 24th Congress. These show the truly popular, democratic nature of our Party's cadre policy. Here are just a few of the facts mentioned at the Congress.

The leaders in all areas of communist construction are selected by the Party from the midst of the people. More than 80 per cent of the present secretaries of central committees of Communist parties of the Union Republics, the territorial and regional committees, as well as the chairmen of the councils of ministers and the territorial and regional executive committees, and nearly 70 per cent of the ministers and chairmen of state committees of the USSR began their careers either as workers or farmers. More than half of the directors of the nation's biggest industrial enterprises were once workers. And in recent years the cadre was repeatedly renewed or augmented with new men.

Workers, collective farmers, all social groups, all nationalities, people of different sectors of government, public, economic and cultural activity, are represented in the top Party bodies. As many as 423,000 workers and collective farmers are members of Party bureaus and committees at enterprises, and nearly 40 per cent of the members and alternate members of district and town Party committees are either of the working class or farmers. The number of workers and collective farmers in the regional and territorial committees and in the central committees of Communist parties of Union Republics has also increased.

There were 4,963 delegates to the 24th CPSU Congress, of whom 1,195 were industrial, building or transport workers, and 870 were farmers; of the latter, two-thirds were rank-and-file collective farmers or state-farm workers, team or group leaders.

In this context, there can be no question of any 'bureaucratization' or any dominance by a Party 'elite.' There are absolutely no grounds for these malicious inventions of the foes of communism, who try to obliterate the fundamental class difference between the leading cadres of the socialist countries and the ruling element in the capitalist states. It is barefaced slander by revisionists, who take their cue from bourgeois ideologists and aim to drive a wedge between the leaders and the masses, to poison people in socialist society with the venom of alienation. There is no room for any privileged social groups in socialist society.

The aforesaid facts illustrate that most important element in the present stage of inner-Party democracy, namely: a further rise in the activity of Party members, their higher sense of responsibility for the state of affairs in their Party branches and the Party as a whole; greater initiative and activity of all political Party bodies in working out and carrying forward the Party's political line; a genuinely collective approach combined with individual responsibility; a broad development of criticism and self-criticism; a tightening of Party discipline, without which democracy in its true form is inconceivable, and strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party life, of the principle of democratic centralism.

Q.: Refusing to acknowledge the Party's leading role in socialist and communist construction, some people interpret this principle as a 'dictatorship of the Party.' What can you say on this score?

A.: Our Party has never indentified itself with state power. Back in the 1920's it exposed and repulsed the Trotskyites' and Zinovievites' attempt to saddle it with the concept that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a 'dictatorship of the Party.' This was done because such conceptions, which are nowadays exploited by various falsifiers, are insolvent and fraught with grave danger to the building of socialism and communism. They are wrong because no Party can impose its will on the masses: never will millions of people accept a Party's advice if it does not conform with what they have learned from their own experience. They are dangerous because they distort the relationship between the Party and the masses, the mass organizations, confusing the functions of state and Party bodies.

Their leading and directive role in the building of socialism and communism was won by the Marxist-Leninist parties in dedicated struggle for the interests of the masses. It is essential, because the Communist Party has in its ranks the most advanced and most aware members of the working class, the farmers and the intelligentsia; because it is the highest form of socio-political organization; because, being the bearer of scientific communism, it has a higher theoretical and ideological level than any other public organization; because it has more experience in political, organizational and educational work with the masses than any other organization.

Q.: Your article in the March issue of our journal dealt with the principle of collectiveness. Some anti-Communists averred that it was meant to justify a curtailment of that principle. Could you once again present the Marxist standpoint on collective leadership?

A.: Distorting the meaning of what Soviet authors say is a fairly widespread practice among anti-Communists. My idea of collective leadership has never departed from the Marxist-Leninist view. I do not think it is necessary to repeat what I wrote for your journal. The main thing is – and this the 24th Congress stressed – that all matters pertaining to the Party's activity are discussed and settled in all the echelons, at all levels, on a broadly democratic basis. To be sure, the collective approach, too, has its limits and presupposes personal responsibility on the part of the leaders.

Q.: What are the present tasks in fortifying communist ideology, proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism in the Soviet Union?

A.: Marxism-Leninism is the dominant ideology in Soviet society. A new attitude to labor and socialist property, the lofty principles of communist ethics and fidelity to proletarian internationalism have

triumphed. Much has been done to create a moral atmosphere at all levels of social life, at work and at home, conducive to respect and consideration for others, promoting honesty, decency and trust, which combine with a sense of responsibility.

This does not mean, however, that all problems have been resolved. Educating the new man is one of the key areas in our work. The moulding of the new man, we know, is taking place against the setting of an acute ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism, a continuous, uncompromising battle against survivals of the past. That is why ideological education by the Party, by all conscious forces in society, is so necessary.

The main area in ideological work, as the Congress decisions point out, is to propagate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to continue a sustained offensive against bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Cultivating the new, communist attitude to work ranks high on the list.

Soviet people are by nature internationalists. For them, international duty is no less sacred than patriotic duty. The idea of further strengthening the friendship and cohesion of the socialist countries, of the world Communist and working-class movement, of solidarity with peoples fighting for emancipation, resounded afresh at the Congress.

Q.: Each CPSU congress charts a political line for a definite period, working out pertinent concrete plans. Yet the basic aims of CPSU policy and the main means of achieving them do not change. This secures continuity in the Party's political course. How was this reflected in the decisions of the 24th Congress?

A.: To put it briefly, it was reflected in all the constructive work done by the Congress and, first and foremost, in the following:

- like the preceding congresses, the 24th Congress was imbued with the life-giving ideas of Marxism-Leninism. 'As an ever vital and developing teaching,' Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in the Central Committee Report, 'Leninism was and will always be in the center of the Party's ideological life, the basis of all its revolutionary transformative activity;

- the 24th Congress continued the line of the preceding ones, carrying forward Lenin's tenet that the Party must at its congresses sum up the results of periods of social development, take note of practical experience, conceptualize all valuable elements, and then accurately define, and effectuate, the immediate practical measures;

- the 24th Congress continued the course set by the 20th Congress on strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party life and leadership principles, consistently implementing the Program of the CPSU;

- the 24th Congress reasserted the Party's fidelity to the Leninist

democratic traditions. The Congress was an embodiment of the democratism, collective experience and intelligence of the Party and passed in a purposeful and creative atmosphere.

ACADEMICIAN T. S. KHACHATUROV

Q.: What, do you think, is required to achieve the new substantial rise in the Soviet people's living standard projected by the 24th Congress of the CPSU?

A.: The CPSU has always done its utmost to improve the life of the people. At certain times, however, the people have had to deprive themselves of many comforts in order to fortify the country's defenses, have had to make costly sacrifices in wars imposed on us by world imperialism, and have then had to restore the war-ravaged economy. The radical repatterning of the economic structure at the time of socialist industrialization, too, was an extremely strenuous job. But the effort was not in vain: under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people have in a short time turned the world's first socialist country into an advanced industrial power and a dependable bastion of the world revolutionary movement.

The program of raising the standard of living adopted by the 24th Congress is based on the fundamental changes keynoting the present stage in Soviet economic development. The leading factor is our scientific and technical progress. The chemical, engineering and power industries will expand at priority rates in these five years. Technological progress makes it possible to build up consumer production. This build-up is made possible by the rapid growth of heavy industry, which is equipping the consumer and food industries with highly-productive plant, raw and other materials. It is also backed by the fact that agriculture has been growing more rapidly in recent years. Enterprises in the heavy industry bracket are producing consumer goods as well. The defense industries, too, are using a large part of their capacities to make commodities needed by the population: 42 per cent of their output is for civilian use.

Big changes are in process in the structure of consumer production, with output of durable goods rising at the highest rate.

The qualitative changes in the economy also involve man, the main productive force. Scientific and technological progress is forcing out hard manual labor. Skills and education are changing substantially. As many as 433 per thousand gainfully employed had a higher or secondary (10- or 8-year) education in 1959; according to the latest general census, the corresponding figure for 1970 was still higher: 653.

The more sophisticated technological resources and the rising pro-

iciency of personnel are necessary factors for boosting output. At the same time, the requirements of people expand and new, higher demands are put on industry and other economic branches.

Q.: Could you describe the more essential measures envisaged to raise the living standard?

A.: There are so many of them that simply listing them would take up many pages. But we could, of course, single out the features they have in common. To begin with, their comprehensive nature: they encompass all aspects of life – working and living conditions, the raising and education of children, public health, food leisure, recreation and entertainment, etc.

As before, the public consumption funds, i.e., grants and benefits provided by the state, will play a substantial role. Public consumption funds help mitigate the differences in people's material conditions that remain under socialism due to different professional qualifications or the size of families. The state undertakes the maintenance of those who cannot work. The social security system now includes the collective farmers. The old-age pension is being increased, and so is that of invalids. General education in the Soviet Union has been free for decades, and a large part of the students of higher and specialized secondary educational establishments receive a stipend.

Another dominant feature of the Party's policy is that the life of *all* sections of the population will improve. Wage increases will apply to nearly 90 million people, 60 million people will get better housing, and pensions will go up for more than 40 million. As much as 22,000 million rubles is set aside in the present five-year plan for measures raising the living standard and increasing grants out of the public consumption funds, as against 10,000 million in the previous five years. With wages rising for all, the minimum wage will gradually increase too and the earnings of middle-bracket wage-earners will rise. Just as in the previous five years, collective farmers' incomes will rise more rapidly than those of wage-earners. This will reduce the disparity in the urban and rural standards of living.

Q.: High growth rates have been put down in the ninth five-year plan for consumer production. How does this conform with the postulated priority growth of the production of means of production? We are asking you this, because bourgeois observers maintain that this relation of growth rates is a departure from the economic development policy that the Party has always pursued.

A.: That can only come from people who are either ignorant of the fundamental precepts of Marxist theory which our Party follows unfailingly or from people who deliberately distort these tenets. It is quite true that in the last few years of the previous five-

year plan, and in the coming five years too, we set the objective of developing the light and food industries (Group B) more rapidly than heavy industry (Group A). In the context of aggregate social production, however, which includes agriculture and other branches, the principle of the priority growth of the production of means of production still holds good. That is self-evident because this is necessary in order to supply the economy with new plant, with more advanced means of production. That is why we always bear in mind Lenin's tenet that priority growth of the production of means of production is just another way of expressing the imperative of continuous technical progress.

The law of the priority growth of the production of means of production should not be conceived primitively as a numerical annual relationship. At certain times, in certain circumstances, a change in the rate of growth of groups of industries may become advisable. And the degree of change, too, is never arbitrary; it depends on many factors, which are taken into account when drawing up the plans. We are now able to push up the industries making consumer goods. Indeed, it is an economic imperative, because in the final analysis capital goods are produced in order to produce consumer goods. So we can tell our critics this: there is no departure from the Party's fundamental policy; the numerical approach is primitive, for what we are doing is to establish harmonious proportions conforming with the present degree of economic development.

Now a few facts and figures: the physical accretion in the production of plant and equipment for the light and food industries will triple in these five years against the previous five-year period. With the overall growth in engineering output set at 70 per cent, output of plant for the textile, light and food industries is to go up 100 per cent, and for trade and public catering 80 per cent. In textiles, approximately one out of every three spinning machines and looms are to be replaced with new ones. High growth rates in consumer production are unattainable without a further growth of capital production.

The socialist economy allows for the deliberate and constant maintenance of the required proportions, enabling us to speed up branches which have begun to lag and are retarding general economic growth. The accent on consumer goods production is but a part of the comprehensive approach to the development of the socialist economy typical of the present stage. Earlier on we were compelled to concentrate on just the top priorities, those on which the existence of our socialist land depended. Now, as Comrade Brezhnev pointed out at the Congress, 'we can no longer, while surging forward in some fields, even if they are of great importance, tolerate a drawn-out lag in other fields.' Our economy is now capable of developing more comprehensively and harmoniously.

Q.: Huge investments are evidently required to carry out this comprehensive economic development program. What are the sources of these funds and how effectively can they be put to use?

A.: We have always maintained high investment rates. Some 10 per cent of the national income is allocated annually to augment the fixed production assets. And the national income, as you know, grows quite rapidly – by 41 per cent in the past five years. This enables us to channel large amounts into consumption, and also to increase the physical volume of our accumulation, i.e., of funds earmarked for the expansion of production. In the coming five years, total investments will be about 500,000 million rubles, that is, 40 per cent more than in the previous five.

To begin with, investments in agriculture will be much greater. The allocation for agriculture has never been so great, and funds are also being put into industries that supply farming with fertilizers, machinery, feeds, and the like.

Frequently in the past we have had to urgently reallocate funds from one branch into another to cope with bottlenecks. Now, as we have already said, the Soviet economy is unfolding on a broad front and the 24th Congress has set an investment policy that will lay the groundwork for the five-year plan.

The greater investments make the question of effectiveness doubly topical. This means that expansion will be achieved chiefly through an all-round intensification of production.

Q.: Why the accent on intensification?

A.: We should not lose sight of the fact that intensification also existed when our economy was still unfolding horizontally, new industrial centers were going up across our vast country and new areas were being opened up. On the other hand, at present our economy is also developing in breadth. Take, for example, the further development of the Siberian and Far Eastern natural wealth envisaged in the five-year plan.

However, further extensive development is inevitably limited to the available resources, above all manpower, for with our high employment level labor would soon become a natural barrier for production growth. Hence, intensification is the main way of increasing production.

What this means first of all, is that production will go up principally by virtue of higher labor productivity. In the next five years this is expected to yield 80-85 per cent of the national income increment. What it also means is more economical and rational use of raw and other materials, and of fuel, and more effective use of plant and equipment.

What intensification means is making production as effective as possible. We could list many ways, but the main one is scientific

and technological progress and its use in production. Automation and mechanization, electrification, chemicals and chemical methods and computer techniques are therefore decisive.

Q.: How will higher effectiveness act on the Soviet Union's economic relations with other, especially the socialist, countries?

A.: Higher effectiveness will allow us to further increase our participation in the socialist international division of labor. This accords with the aim of socialist integration, the need for which is especially acute in the case of countries short of raw materials and those that have difficulties in selling their products. But a country like the Soviet Union, too, needs it. Integration implies joint development of natural resources, a capital-intensive proposition, exchange of technology and technical information, and still higher production effectiveness in all the countries concerned.

Integration implies a broader approach to many of the economic problems. It implies skill in finding rational solutions that benefit all countries concerned, as well as the home country. This means that effectiveness of production should be regarded from a new angle – the benefits that accrue for the socialist community as a whole. This Comrade Brezhnev pointed out in his Report to the Congress. Given the advantages of the socialist international division of labor, these countries want the kind of cooperation that yields the maximum economy of social labor for the entire socialist world system. Hence the common aim of rapid scientific and technical progress, of raising production effectiveness.

Better use of our resources will also have its effect on our aid to the developing countries. They need sophisticated technology and enterprises with up-to-date plant. Therefore, scientific and technological progress in our country has a direct bearing on their independent economic development, too.

Q.: What is the bearing of higher effectiveness on the economic competition of the two world systems?

A.: This competition has now become an important area in the class struggle. Socialism displayed its advantages from the outset, securing high and stable rates of economic growth. For example, the average annual Soviet industrial growth rate in 1951-1969 exceeded 10 per cent, while in the case of the United States and Britain it was 4.5 and 3 per cent, respectively.

The present stage of the economic competition is set in the epoch of the scientific and technological revolution. Linking scientific and technological progress with the advantages of socialism, our economy will pick up speed and leave the capitalist world behind.

The effects of scientific and technological progress and higher effectiveness of production in the socialist countries reaffirm Lenin's postulate that socialism exercises its main influence on the world

revolution through its economic policy. The masses in the capitalist countries will again see that neither scientific and technological progress nor industrial development can *per se* eliminate oppression or social injustice, or meet their vital needs. They will see that higher labor productivity as a result of scientific-technical progress improves living conditions and assures fuller satisfaction of the people's needs only in a society in which the means of production are publicly owned.

V. M. CHKHIKVADZE,

Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences

Q.: What are the socio-political changes in Soviet society?

A.: As noted in the Central Committee Report to the Congress, *a new historical community of people, the Soviet people*, has come into being in our country in the years of socialist construction. The description of this community, or, more broadly, of the social structure in the stage of developed socialism, is unquestionably important for theory.

There are no longer any exploiting classes, while all the working classes, all strata – the workers, peasants and intelligentsia – are coming closer together. New, harmonious relations of friendship and cooperation, a dependable basis for the unity of Soviet society, have evolved between them.

There are striking changes in national relationships. National discrimination and privileges are totally ruled out. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has eliminated the factual inequality between nationalities, though it is the most multinational country in the world, in which, before the revolution, various nationalities were at different stages of social development, including the pre-feudal.

The Marxist-Leninist ideology which reigns undivided in Soviet society is the ideological basis for the unity of all classes and social groups, all nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union, forming one Soviet people.

The lofty aim of building Communist society, of which the working class was the original bearer, has now become the common aim of the entire Soviet people.

Q.: Bourgeois propaganda makes the most of the fact that there are still differences between the interests of classes and social strata in Soviet society, claiming this as proof that the main aim set by the Communists has not been achieved. What could you say on this score?

A.: It is quite true that differences between classes remain under socialism, that the various social groups have specific interests. But there are no contradictions, no antagonisms between them, because

the basic interests of all classes and social groups, expressed by the Communist Party in its policy, have become identical.

From the diversity of interests in socialist society bourgeois ideologists infer the theory of pluralism, the need for the free play of political forces and groupings. They could not be more wrong. The existence of numerous public leagues and organizations and other democratic institutions enables the various social groups to express their specific interests. These are considered and dovetailed with the common interests of the nation by the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

Q.: Many bourgeois sociologists maintain that by virtue of the scientific and technological revolution social processes in the socialist and capitalist environments tend to converge and acquire a high degree of resemblance. What can you say about this?

A.: The scientific and technological revolution is unfolding in a definite social medium, by reason of which the pertinent scientific, technological and social problems are dealt with differently under socialism and capitalism. This, among other things, shows the fallacy of the different variants of the theory of convergence.

Far from mitigating any of the essential contradictions of capitalism, the scientific and technological revolution has made them more acute and added new ones. Capitalist relations of production have proved too narrow for it and bar the use of its results for the public good. The socialist system, on the other hand, offers it unlimited scope and uses its results in the best interest of all society.

We regard science and technology as the main lever in building the material and technical basis for communism. The scientific and technological revolution is also helping to gradually advance major social objectives, such as the elimination of essential distinctions between town and country and between mental and manual labor, the harmonious development of the individual, and the like. Socialism's main socio-political doctrine, 'everything in the name of man, everything for the good of man,' proclaimed by our Party, is a crucial factor in determining the trends of scientific and technological progress in our country.

Q.: Scientific and technological progress and the rising cultural and educational standards lead to a numerical growth of the intelligentsia, especially the technical intelligentsia, to a growth of its social role. Would this mean that it is taking over the leading place in society?

A.: The numerical growth of the intelligentsia and the growth of its percentage in society are absolutely natural processes. The Soviet Union has made tremendous strides in training specialists. And as communist construction unfolds, the intelligentsia plays an increasingly active role in social development.

It should be borne in mind, however, that scientific and technological progress also elevates the skills and competence of the working class, gradually obliterating the disparity between worker and technician. And this, obviously, fortifies the leading role of the working class in society. The industrialization of farming and the rising production skills of the farmers, too, bring them closer to the workers. Consequently, far from stimulating social differentiation, as in the capitalist countries, the scientific and technological revolution in the socialist environment spurs the further coming together of classes and social groups.

Q.: What do you think is the most typical feature of the 24th Congress's approach to the socio-political development of society?

A.: As I see it, one of the main conclusions is that the role of political factors in accelerating social progress is increasing greatly in the present stage. First and foremost, this applies to the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party in society and the state.

By accentuating the political factors in economic and social affairs, the 24th Congress reaffirmed the course set by the October (1964) Plenum of the CC and the 23rd Party Congress, calling for a strictly scientific approach in policy-making and ruling out voluntarist and subjectivist distortions.

The Congress approach to all matters is based on integrated systems analyses, encompassing the interconnection of the different aspects of social development. The economic and socio-political problems and their solutions are associated more closely than ever in the new plan.

To be noted, too, is the continuity the Congress has preserved with the political line of preceding congresses, from the 20th onward. The reference here, naturally, is not merely to particular issues, but to the political line in general, based on a steady unfolding of democracy in Soviet public and government life.

The Congress underscored the importance of extending the influence of law and legislation on public affairs, devoting much attention to the question of socialist democracy, strengthening the Soviet state, improving legislation and assuring undeviating observance of legality.

Q.: The individual's place in society, as we know, is not determined only by the degree of his material welfare. It also covers the opportunities for his free activity in various public spheres. How was this reflected in the decisions of the 24th Congress?

A.: The interests of the people and the happiness and welfare of each Soviet citizen were the over-riding consideration in the work of the Congress. As a student of law I should like to emphasize the cardinal importance which the Party attaches to protecting the

rights and freedoms of the individual and to cultivating respect for law among citizens. For Communists, the exponents of the loftiest humane ideals, as Comrade Brezhnev stressed at the Congress, this is a matter of principle.

In socialist society, the state is the main body protecting civil rights and freedoms. State bodies and officials are responsible for their observance. Equally alien to the Marxist-Leninist concept of the relation of the individual and society is the demand of unlimited individual freedom and the idea of the individual's absorption by society, which regards men as a cog in the social mechanism. In the system of socialist democracy the broad social and political rights of citizens are tied in closely with their duties to society.

Improving Soviet legislation is of the utmost importance for the further extension of civil rights and freedoms. New legislation on labor, marriage and the family, etc., has been adopted in recent years. Millions of Soviet citizens participated in discussing the bills. The policy of improving legislation, the decisions of the 24th Congress state, will be continued.

Q.: The 24th Congress stressed the importance of strengthening the Soviet state. Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists aver that this conflicts with the policy of extending socialist democracy. Tell us, please, how the strengthening of the socialist state accords with the extension of socialist democracy.

A.: Our Party regards improvement of social democracy and strengthening the Soviet state as a single process aimed at resolving common, rather than opposite, social tasks. It should be borne in mind that the socialist state is an all-embracing organization of working people, and, therefore, contrasting the state and democracy is absolutely groundless.

Once more the Congress stressed the need for enhancing the role, and improving the work of the Soviets, which in our country are mass public organizations and, at once, the political foundation of the socialist state. To improve the work of Soviets and to enliven the activity of deputies, it was noted at the Congress, it is desirable to draft a special law defining the status of all deputies, from the Supreme down to the village Soviet, spelling out their powers and rights, and the obligations of officials vis-à-vis deputies.

The Congress noted the significance of the trade unions, the YCL and other mass organizations in the administration of public and government affairs, and pointed to the necessity of enhancing the role of production groups, the main cells of socialist society.

The Congress materials set out the main aspects of the democratic essence of the Soviet socialist state, which has now developed into a political organization of the whole people. Strengthening our state may be defined, first and foremost, as greater political con-

sciousness and political activeness of the masses. However, it is a many-sided and complicated process, for it also envisages improvement of the state machinery, securing its efficient operation. Besides, it envisages expanding the country's defense capacity.

Special note should be made of improving administration and management. The growing scale and the quality changes in our economy set new, higher demands on administration. We cannot be content with the existing forms and methods of government, no matter how well they served us in the past. The knowledge and professional skill of the personnel has risen greatly of late, and the science of management has developed rapidly. So have computer techniques.

The system of economic management is being improved. Increasingly greater use is made by all administrative bodies of prognostication, mathematical modelling, systems analysis, and the like. This conforms with the decisions of the 24th Congress. But no matter how extensively sophisticated techniques are applied, we should always remember that smooth operation of the entire political mechanism depends chiefly on the extent to which broad sections of the people are drawn into the business of administration. That, indeed, is the main direction in which Soviet socialist statehood is developing.



Strengthening the Party's role

Edward Babiuch

The Polish United Workers' Party is preparing for its Sixth Congress, an outstanding event in the life of our Party and people. The Congress will analyze social and economic development in the country over the past years and discuss the difficulties encountered in this period. It will also assess fulfilment of the decisions of the Seventh and Eighth plenums of the CC PUWP, which initiated a process of eliminating harmful phenomena from the practice of socialist building, re-establishing close links between the Party and the working class and other working people, and on this basis strengthening the Party's leading role in all social and economic fields. The Congress will decide on the Party's subsequent activity in accordance with its general line, which has been and remains correct and unchanged. As regards the causes and sources of the December events in Poland, they lay mainly in the former Party leadership's departures from the Party's correct line and from Leninist standards.

Serious political conflicts took place and social tensions built up in Poland in mid-December 1970, as everyone knows. The stoppages in large industrial enterprises, followed by big street demonstrations, primarily in cities on the Baltic coast, were an expression of discontent over various mistakes in social and economic policy, over incorrect methods of managing the affairs of Party and state.

The workers' actions in the coastal cities and the manifestations of discontent in other areas were not directed against the socialist system or its principles. Indeed, the workers insisted on ending practices and methods foreign to socialism that were a product of the former Party leadership's dissociation from the masses.

This position of the working class – the social vanguard consistently advocating realization of the ideals of socialism – is borne out by the entire record of socialist building in Poland. Lenin pointed out that 'socialism can be implemented only through

the dictatorship of the proletariat, which combines violence against the bourgeoisie, i.e., the minority of the population, with full development of democracy, i.e., the genuinely equal and genuinely universal participation of the *entire* mass of the population in all state affairs" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 25). However, when no conditions are provided for the working people to state their views on important economic and socio-political issues in which they have a direct interest, or to participate effectively in government, it may come to a sharp social conflict, as it did in Poland.

The Seventh plenum of the cc, called in a tense situation, declared for a political solution of the crisis and effected requisite changes in the Party leadership. An earnest of correct Party policy is the ability to distinguish in each particular situation between what is alien to socialism and what indicates a desire to promote socialism.

The support given to the decisions of the Seventh Plenum by the working class and the whole of society, and the civic responsibility and discipline shown by the vast majority of the working people enabled us to deal with the crisis. As a result, the standing of People's Poland as an important component of the socialist world front was not shaken for one moment.

The Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee (February 1971) made a comprehensive critical assessment of the social, political and economic situation of the country and the Party's past activity. It specified the Party's tasks for the next period and provided conditions for furthering its ideological and political unity and overcoming the difficulties it had encountered.

These difficulties had grown over a number of years. The correct decisions of the Fifth Party Congress (1968), which called for a modernized economy, greater ideological activity and a correct personnel policy, were not carried out in a proper manner. Departure from the Leninist principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership led to a narrowing of the role of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the cc and the Central Committee itself, causing legitimate concern in Party ranks.

While the December events arose from definite mistakes, they revealed, on the other hand, how very deep and irreversible the process of socialist change in Polish society was and how very far it had advanced. The working class took a resolute stand against attempts by anti-socialist elements to take advantage of the situation. This was only logical – after all, it was the victory of socialism that enabled the Polish people to re-establish their independent state within new, just boundaries. And it is thanks to socialism, to revolutionary social changes that meet our people's

vital interests, that Poland has risen from the ruins and rid itself of backwardness and now holds a fitting place in the world, while membership of the socialist commonwealth safeguards its peace and security and ensures its further advance.

The headway made by the Polish people under the leadership of the working-class Party is far-reaching. The economy has grown by 34 per cent in five years. An important achievement was the provision of roughly 1.5 million new jobs. The Eighth Plenum revealed, however, that this unquestionable progress in socialist building was made at too high a price in social forces and funds.

The program for the Party's political, economic and social activity adopted by the Eighth Plenum is the basis on which society will overcome its difficulties and pursue its socialist course. It is a realistic program within public grasp and meets the hopes and aspirations of the working people, for the fundamental function of a socialist economy is to meet their material and spiritual needs. We manage our national economy in a way that ensures that economic growth is accompanied by tangible improvements in the standard of life and by cultural progress in society. This is a task for the whole Party, for all its committees and organizations, as well as for all government agencies and mass organizations.

We introduced necessary amendments into the plan for 1971 and into projects covering the period between now and 1975 to restore a proper relationship between growing production of capital goods and output of consumer goods, which fully accords with the Leninist concept of socialist economy – given a considerably developed heavy industry. Upsetting the socially necessary balance in this field resulted in economic tension and slowed down progress in the standard of life.

After the Seventh and Eighth plenums of the CC, the lowest rates of pay and of old age and disability pensions in the case of certain categories were raised and so were family allowances. We set out to improve working conditions and to make them safer. Students were allotted more funds for meals. We raised allowances for students, increased the housing program by 10 per cent, and froze food prices for two years. Lastly, thanks to a credit granted by the Soviet Union, we revoked certain ill-considered and arbitrary price increases decreed on December 13, 1970, increases which hit the low-paid categories hardest of all.

The economy has now been set the difficult task of supplying extra quantities of consumer goods. This task is made more difficult by the fact that we have promised to cut the prices of manufactured goods in step with growing output and decreasing production costs. It means that we must use all spare capacities and raw material reserves in numerous industries and increase agricultural output.

An important task in the countryside is to make up for lost time and produce more meat, grain and milk. The socialist sector is to be considerably reinforced, not only by extending the land area of state farms, production cooperatives and agricultural groups, but by fostering other forms of socialist farming.

To fundamentally improve economic management, the Political Bureau of the CC and the Council of Ministers have set up a Party and government commission which will prepare guide lines for updating the management and functioning of the economy. What we wish to achieve in coming years is a more harmonious combination of economic and social effort. Specifically, the current five-year plan calls for 1.9 million new jobs to be made available to young people beginning their working lives and for the provision of further prospects to the younger generation. The commission's proposals are expected to help in making centralized planning more effective by bringing it more consistently into line with scientific requirements.

It will be seen that the decisions adopted by the Seventh Plenum and carried forward by the Eighth apply in equal measure to the present situation and the country's long-range development. Some problems have already been solved and the solution of others is being considered. The measures taken since the Seventh Plenum will on the whole produce a bigger increase in real incomes this year than in any one of the past ten-odd years. Our Party will go on steadily improving the material and social standards of life.

The primary condition for the success of the program approved by the Eighth Plenum is a high standard of public discipline and concentration of the whole Party on production tasks whose fulfilment this year will condition the realization of subsequent projects. Creative labor, smoothly running production, discipline and devotion are valued above all else in Poland today. They are particularly important in helping the Party and government to solve existing problems.

The measures adopted in respect to wages and prices exhaust our present economic possibilities. This is obvious to the working class, which backs the program adopted by the Eighth Plenum with hard work. In response to the miners' call, people all over the country take on production commitments, work in exemplary fashion and do extra work on days off. The working people's civic position is seen in the growing output of goods needed for the home market and for export. Just as widespread is the initiative to improve labor organization and working conditions, as well as to solve social and other problems of wage-earners. The program approved by the Eighth Plenum is supported by all — workers, peasants and intellectuals. Another indication of this

is industry's performance in the first quarter of this year and signs of an upward trend in agriculture.

Public opinion is daily satisfying itself that our Party keeps its word and is steadfastly following the guidelines of the Seventh and Eighth plenums of the CC and that the steps it takes serve the direct interests of the working people of town and country, which are fully understood. The measures in question unite our society, promoting it to work hard for the implementation of the policies approved by the Eighth Plenum.

The Party's recent election campaign showed that the decisions of the Eighth Plenum enjoy full approval both in and outside the Party.

The regional election conferences of the Party in March and April went a long way to specify the tasks of the Party committees and organizations in mobilizing the membership on the largest possible scale to fulfil the decisions of the Eighth Plenum. They owed their constructive character to preparatory consultations with Party members which enriched the content of Party committee reports and helped to amend proposals bearing on personnel policy, mainly in the sense of bringing more workers, peasants, women and young people into Party committees. Workers now make up 43 per cent of the membership of regional Committees against 26 per cent in the past.

Speakers at the conferences stressed the need to enhance the Party's leading role and to strengthen its links with society. This is the main condition for realizing the Eighth Plenum's program of Party building, solving social problems, improving the standard of life and encouraging the working people's production effort and their social and political activity. The conferences confirmed the fact that the Party's everyday policy is increasingly marked by a Leninist style and that its initiatives are becoming ever more effective.

'Our road,' Comrade Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUPP, said at the Eighth Plenum, 'leads neither to the right nor to the left of socialism. It leads to better living conditions for the working people, more rapid economic progress and a socialist state that will be strong both internally and internationally. It is on these tasks that we are uniting the whole Party and concentrating its thoughts and actions.'

The Ninth Plenum of the CC (April 1971), after hearing the report on the work of the Political Bureau and Secretariat, noted that their activity had been in keeping with the decisions of the two previous plenums and had helped to strengthen the Party and its links with the working class and the whole of society.

The Main Document of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and

Workers' Parties says that using the objective possibilities of the socialist system depends, first of all, on the ruling Communist and Workers' parties, on their ability to solve problems of socialist development in a Marxist-Leninist spirit.

The experience of socialist building shows that socialism implies not only more developed productive forces but the unfolding of democracy, for without ample democratic conditions for the working people fully to use their energy, creative power, knowledge and initiative, it is impossible either to manage public affairs effectively or to solve the challenging problems of building a new society. Lenin stressed that it is not enough to govern in the interests of the masses, for it is also necessary to win their daily support, to ensure that they participate in government more and more widely and effectively.

It is the possibility of creating democratic conditions in which the masses can directly participate in the management of public affairs, a growing awareness of his socialist responsibility on the part of every citizen, and proper scope for the various activities of the individual that account first and foremost for the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Our democracy neither has, nor can have, anything in common with the liberal bourgeois system of free play of political forces. The Eighth Plenum re-emphasized that the system of people's democracy in Poland is a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat guaranteed primarily by the leading role of the Party. While preserving the finest progressive and democratic traditions of the Polish people, our socio-political system develops its own forms of democratic life whose deepest content is given by Lenin's idea of the working people's participation in government. The PUWP is determined to follow this course. In recent months we have adopted decisions intended to promote the legislative and control functions of parliament and improve the functioning of trade unions and other exponents of workers' self-government.

It must be stressed that never throughout this period has the Party lost its leading role, and that never since the Seventh Plenum has its leading activity been slackened in any political or economic field.

The Party's leading role implies a special responsibility for everything that goes on in the country. Awareness of this makes it necessary for Communists to take a critical and self-critical view of past work. They feel ever more strongly that the Party's working methods need to be steadily improved and that Party committees and organizations must be made, more than ever, centers taking the initiative in political, economic and cultural matters and closely linked with the working class and social reality.

The experience of the international labor movement and our own experience tell us that we must build up and enhance the Party's leading role. However, the Party can exercise its role only if it adheres to the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. A key rule with us is: more discussion before taking a decision and more discipline when carrying it out. We consider that genuine progress in inner-Party democracy does not depend so much on formal guarantees as on political ones, on the actual functioning of democratic institutions in the Party.

The recent period has seen important changes in our methods of Party leadership. They express themselves, first of all, in greater emphasis on team work, in increased information and the practice of consulting enterprise teams and other working people's groups on all important matters, of appealing to their political consciousness. We can solve all important problems provided the mechanism of socialist democracy functions properly. This is the way to strengthen the standing and prestige of the Party.

When we say 'Let the Party be the Party and the government, the government,' we do not mean that the Party will no longer concern itself with economic matters. What we want is, first of all, to preclude a situation in which some take decisions and others are nominally responsible for them. We will be able really to call people to account for decisions only if responsibility rests on those who make them.

We must devote more time to what the Party should concern itself with above everything else, namely, checking on fulfilment of social, economic and political tasks, work among people, and a correct personnel policy.

The Party must not do the job of government agencies for them. We hold that to improve the functioning of government and economic agencies, we must strive to make them more efficient by using up-to-date management methods and scientific and technological findings and evaluations, doing away with bureaucratic practices and seeing to it that all administrative agencies react promptly to the citizens' everyday requirements.

The Party has devoted much attention to personnel matters ever since the Eighth Plenum. Due to the changes that have been effected, most leading Party and government jobs are now held by people who went through the hard school of socialist development in the forties and fifties and have been active for many long years in youth and other mass organizations, in Party and government. They are people who have proved their devotion to the Party. Normal promotion of people according to actual needs will strengthen the Party and every echelon of government administration and economic management.

The PUWP has over 2.3 million full and candidate members. However, its strength and its ability to lead the masses and guide the policy of the state are determined primarily by quality and not quantity, the ideological and moral position, the political awareness and militancy of its membership. The need to make a greater effort to improve the Party's composition confronts Party committees with new tasks in ideological education. They must stimulate the membership's activity in the production sphere and make them keenly aware of their share of responsibility for implementing our program. We must use the time between now and the Sixth Party Congress to consolidate the Party and to strengthen it qualitatively.

The successful solution of Poland's problems will also be a contribution to the worldwide fight for progress, peace and socialism. The international positions of socialism directly depend on how far each contingent of the Communist and working-class movement is able to cope with problems of progress in its own country as it fulfils the mission entrusted to it by the people. To build socialism and to carry forward the new society is the Party's duty, not only to its own people, but to the working class of the world, an essential contribution to the strength of world socialism.

A component of the world Communist movement, our Party will foster internationalist relations with other Marxist-Leninist parties and contribute to the unity of our movement and the socialist community and to cooperation with socialist countries.

Our relations with the CPSU play a special role. Friendship, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union are the cornerstone of our foreign policy, the main source of our strength and a guarantee of Poland's security. To further ideological and political unity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is of decisive importance in raising the prestige and strengthening the position of Poland, in carrying out our economic plans and our program for the socialist advance of our people.

The results of the 24th Congress of the CPSU are of tremendous value to our Party, as they are to the entire world Communist and labor movement. The Congress contributed numerous valuable creative generalizations and guidelines to the theory and practice of socialism and showed how a complex program for the solution of immediate and long-range economic and social problems should be worked out.

We all know that the 24th Congress gave prominence to the task of raising the working people's standard of life at a higher rate. This is also a key task of our Party, now and in the future. This similarity of the two brother parties' programs, which

strengthens their ideological and political unity, prompts us carefully to study Soviet experience so as to benefit from it all the more. This applies to our Party and government and all our economic agencies.

We will return to the results of the 24th Congress of the CPSU again and again as we discuss problems of further socialist development in Poland. By making the experiences and achievements of the CPSU the patrimony of our Party and the whole of Polish society, we will extend our knowledge of the road of socialist development and strengthen the fraternal ideological bonds linking our Parties and peoples together.

Led by their Party, the Polish people will go on building socialism, for socialism is the source of our past achievements and constitutes our future.



A half century of progress

Demchigiin Molomzhamts

On July 11, 1971 the Mongolian people celebrated the 50th anniversary of their revolution, which opened a new chapter in the history of the country; they were joined on this proud occasion by the peoples of other socialist countries and all friends abroad.

Mongolia's working people, led by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, have travelled a glorious road marked by a victorious revolution, the triumph of non-capitalist social relations and remarkable socialist gains. The experience of the Mongolian People's Republic is evidence of the great vitality of the revolutionizing ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the traditional fraternal friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples in the struggle to effect the historic transition from feudalism to socialism.

I

The victory of the revolution in 1921 was the logical outcome of a long and strenuous fight for freedom and independence, against national and social oppression, a result of the beneficial impact of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which paved the way to freedom for the peoples of the East.

The founding of the People's Revolutionary Party by revolutionary democrats under D. Sukhe Bator's leadership made a decisive contribution to the national liberation movement and the people's victory. At its first, constituent congress (March 1921) the Party adopted a political platform setting out the program of struggle for national liberation and people's rule.

The close links established by the Party with the world Communist movement as represented by Lenin's Bolshevik Party and by the Communist International played an important part in defining the goals and tasks, the strategy and tactics of the Party, and in preparing and accomplishing the revolution. Guerrilla units led

by the Party and the Red Army troops which came to the aid of Mongolia's working people at the request of the Provisional People's Government defeated the Chinese invaders and the main forces of the White Guard bands ravaging the country. Feudal power was overthrown and the people took over.

The Mongolian revolution, accomplished in new historical conditions, was a component of the world revolutionary process. It was anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and genuinely popular in character and tasks. It opened the road to revolutionary change and social progress for the working people.

Immediately after the revolution the Party and the people set about consolidating their revolutionary gains and reorganizing social life and the economy on new principles. The Party had to make a difficult decision on the further course of the country's development. Drawing on Lenin's theory of the possibility of backward countries going over to socialism without passing through the capitalist stage, specifically on Lenin's advice regarding the perspective of the Mongolian revolution, the Party confidently chose the non-capitalist road. Its Third Congress (1924) has gone down in Mongolian history as a congress which proclaimed the Leninist path to be its general line.

The Party and the people had to overcome enormous difficulties arising from age-long backwardness, the inadequacy of the productive forces and the existence of pre-capitalist relations. Pre-revolutionary Mongolia's economy was dominated by extensive nomadic animal husbandry and the country had no industry, mechanized transport or communications. It was in these conditions that the Party entered the democratic stage of the revolution, whose main content was to effect anti-feudal changes and lay the foundations for a new type of economy.

Feudalism was an obstacle to our advance. Revolutionary measures consistently carried out by the Party and the government, such as stripping the secular and spiritual feudal lords of their political power and privileges, the abolition of serfdom and other institutions of the old regime, democratization and the setting up of local government bodies, encouraged the political and revolutionary activity of the working people. The proclamation of the Mongolian People's Republic and the adoption of its first Constitution (1924) went a long way to strengthen the new system.

As the revolution progressed it undermined the economic power of the feudal lords, who owned a substantial proportion of the livestock population, the country's main asset. The nationalization of the land, for its part, contributed to this in large measure. The Party and the state, which originally followed a policy of abolish-

ing feudal taxes and duties and of taxing feudal property, moved afterwards to expropriation measures.

A highly important aspect of the anti-feudal revolution was the fight against the domination of the lamaseries, in which almost half of the country's male population led a parasitic life. The disestablishment of the lamaseries undermined their influence and produced a differentiation among the lamas. Most of the lamas were drawn into socially useful labor as a result of successive revolutionary measures.

The abolition of existing social relations went on in an atmosphere of fierce resistance on the part of the feudal lords. This task was accomplished in the late thirties with the full support of the working people, who showed a high degree of political activity.

To ensure the country's economic independence, the Party and the people's government launched an offensive against foreign capital, which had made its way into every sphere of commodity-money relations, into foreign and home trade. Using their strong economic positions, the capitalists ruthlessly plundered the country. However, by the mid-thirties we had completely expelled foreign commercial and usurer capital. We won economic independence and removed survivals of the colonial past thanks in decisive measure to the state monopoly of foreign trade, the remission of debts to foreign capitalists, the exclusion of foreign currencies from circulation and the strengthening of the tariff system.

At the same time we laid the groundwork for a modern economy. In line with Lenin's advice about the need to create a new economic structure as the main condition for non-capitalist development, the Party began, with Soviet aid, to build up a state sector in the economy. We set up consumers' cooperatives and a finance, credit and trade system and adopted a national currency. We began to build modern industries, transport facilities and communications, as well as state farms and hay-supply stations. Thus the state won key positions in the economy and provided the economic basis for the people's democratic system.

One of the fundamental tasks at that period of the revolution was to support the arats (nomadic livestock-breeders) delivered from feudal dependence and to encourage their private economic initiative with a view to developing the country's productive forces and creating conditions for them gradually to embark on socialist development. True, owing to the predominance of small-commodity production private capitalist elements began to appear as well, but they were curbed, mainly through economic measures, which prevented them from developing into an independent capitalist class. In combating Right and 'Left'-wing deviations, the Party

was invariably guided by the interests of the arats, whom it firmly led on to the socialist road.

Socio-economic changes at the democratic stage of the revolution led to changes in the class structure of society. A working class and a people's intelligentsia came into being. By 1940, having completed anti-feudal changes, the Mongolian People's Republic set out to build the foundations of socialism.

At the socialist stage of the revolution, the Mongolian people, led by their Party, consolidated and extended the socialist sector of the economy and carried it forward under state plans covering the whole country. With the state sector playing the leading role, the economy developed on the basis of annual plans from 1941 on and of long-term plans from 1948 on.

Socialist planning helped develop industry at a high rate. We built a number of mining and other industrial enterprises, strengthened our fuel and power base, launched large-scale construction and set up light and food industries. Gross industrial output increased by 440 per cent from 1940 to 1960. By the late sixties Mongolia had become an agrarian-industrial country.

One of the most challenging tasks in the revolutionary transformation of the country was the socialist reorganization of agriculture. By the late fifties we had successfully completed the campaign to bring individual arat households into cooperatives, a change prepared by the entire course of non-capitalist, revolutionary development.

The cooperatives were set up according to the Leninist principles of voluntary entry, gradualness and consistent advance from lower to higher forms. This led hundreds of thousands of private arat households to socialism and strengthened the alliance between the working class and the arats. Socialist relations of production gained the upper hand throughout the economy.

The victory of socialism in the countryside allowed vast scope for the growth of the productive forces in agriculture, for increasing its efficiency by using the achievements of science and technology, and for raising the arats' material and cultural standards.

One of the key revolutionary changes was the cultural revolution. We set up the first cultural centers in years of struggle against obscurantist forces. Progress in public education had enabled us by the early sixties to do away with illiteracy and introduce universal compulsory elementary education in the countryside and seven-year education in the towns.

As the cultural revolution went on we laid the foundations for a socialist literature, art, science and health service. Our intelligentsia, which had risen from the ranks of arats, became a force serving the people's cause. Cultural and educational activity thoroughly transformed society.

Revolutionary changes were carried out in a complicated international situation, amid continuous imperialist intrigues. The support and assistance given by the great Soviet Union, the Mongolian people's true friend, were highly important in the circumstances. The victory over the Japanese militarists at Khalkin Gol in 1939 revealed the strength of the people's democratic system and the vitality of Mongolian-Soviet friendship.

We went on building the foundations of socialism – in line with the Third Program approved by the Party's Tenth Congress (1940) – all through World War II, a trying period for all progressive mankind. The working people of Mongolia helped the Soviet people to the best of their ability in defeating the Hitler fascists, and at the closing stage of the war they took a direct part in eliminating the seats of war in the Far East.

The victory over fascism and reaction, the formation of the world socialist system and the decisive change in the world balance of forces provided favorable external conditions for socialist development in Mongolia. Our country's transition to socialism was a triumph of the general line of the Party and Lenin's theory of non-capitalist development.

By effecting this transition from feudalism to socialism our country passed in a comparatively short period through what was a whole epoch of history. This was a result of the constructive activity of the Party, which consistently takes guidance from the victorious theory of Marxism-Leninism and creatively applies it in our national conditions, Mongolia's experience in building a new life is a contribution to the theory and practice of renovating society along revolutionary lines.

The Mongolian people's achievements are an excellent refutation of the allegations of bourgeois theoreticians who claim that backward peoples cannot govern their countries or ensure social and economic progress.

II

After laying the foundations of socialism Mongolia entered a new period, that of completing the construction of a socialist society.

The 15th Party Congress formulated the main tasks for this new period as follows: fostering the growth of the productive forces, perfecting socialist relations of production, and raising the material and spiritual standards of society. The new Party Program, adopted by the 15th Congress (1966), says: 'The key economic problem of this period is to complete the creation of an optimal material and technical base for socialism by carrying

forward industrialization and mechanization of agricultural production and raising the technological standards of all branches of the economy. The Party sets itself the task of transforming the Mongolian People's Republic into an industrial-agrarian country in the near future, with rationally organized manufacturing and processing industries and correctly and efficiently combining the main branches of a socialist economy.' Our Party is mobilizing all the forces and energies of the people to fulfil these tasks.

Under its fourth five-year plan Mongolia made considerable progress in building up the material and technical base for socialism and the country's economic potential. Between 1966 and 1970 investments in the economy grew by roughly 40 per cent over the previous five years. Hundreds of projects of national economic significance were carried out, including about 90 industrial plants and shops and a number of large projects in agriculture, transport and communications, trade, public catering, culture, education, housing and the municipal services. The fixed production assets of the economy (exclusive of livestock) increased by 50 per cent. The level of mechanization increased in all branches of the economy, including agriculture.

The share of socialist industry has been steadily growing. Industry now accounts for 34.1 per cent of the gross social product. Its share in the national income is going up. Important changes are taking place in the pattern of industry. The fuel and power base is being developed as a priority. We are building up an integrated power system. The mining, metal-working and wood-working industries are on the rise. New plants are going up in the building materials industry and in the light and food industries.

Gross industrial output has increased by 160 per cent over the past ten years, the average annual growth rate being 9.8 per cent; the output of electrical power has increased by 300 per cent and coal 220 per cent. We are widely introducing industrial methods of processing the main raw materials of animal origin.

Our socialist agriculture is making good progress. It makes extensive use of the advantages of the socialist economic system by supplying livestock and crop farming with better technical facilities and by introducing machinery and using electric power. The principal agricultural producers today are the cooperatives and state farms. Publicly-owned livestock has grown on the average from 47,900 to 60,700 head per cooperative and money incomes have gone up from 728,000 to 2.3 million tugriks. The cultivation of virgin land and improved farming methods have become the second most important branch of agriculture. Our country already meets its grain requirements.

Under the fourth five-year plan the Party and the government

concentrated on building up the material and technical base for agriculture. Dozens of mixed feed enterprises and a number of fattening stations were put in operation. Livestock housing is being built on a large scale and a special effort is made to irrigate pastures. Modern machinery and techniques are introduced into agriculture. From 1961 to 1970 the number of tractors (in terms of 15 hp units) increased by 220 per cent and that of combine harvesters, 70 per cent.

The socialist cultural revolution is being pressed forward. The republic now has a large network of schools. There are six institutions of higher education and the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, which comprises a number of research institutes. In recent years we have organized the training of skilled workers. We are introducing universal compulsory seven-year education for all children of school age.

Socialism affords great opportunities for scientific progress. We are extending the scale of research into the fundamental and applied sciences. The numbers of research personnel are growing and their qualifications are improving.

The people's rising standard of life is one of the best indications of our progress. Real income in the past decade has grown by 60 per cent and the income derived by the members of cooperatives from collective farming shows a 100 per cent increase. Public consumption funds spent on teaching and educating children, medical service, and so on, are growing.

Every working man or woman in Mongolia is entitled to an old age pension, as well as to an allowance in case of disability. The total amount of pensions and allowances paid to the population increased by 190 per cent between 1960 and 1970, and in the case of mothers of large families, by 630 per cent. We have introduced pensions for cooperative members.

Medical assistance to the rural population is improving as more medical institutions are set up. In 1970 we had 94 hospital beds and 18 doctors for every 10,000 people. The population has doubled in the years of people's rule and so has life expectancy. The population is growing at an annual rate averaging 2.8 per cent. The people's growing purchasing power is a sign of progress in the standard of life. The past 10 years have seen a 100 per cent increase in retail trade. We have built new housing in the towns with a floor space exceeding 800,000 sq. metres.

The victory of socialist relations of production led to an important change in the class composition of the country. The working class has become the leading force of society. It is reinforced by school-leavers and graduates of vocational schools. The arats associated in cooperatives have become a new social force. The al-

liance of the working class and the arats is growing stronger and so is the moral, political and ideological unity of our people. Socialist democracy is being perfected and carried forward.

We owe all our achievements to the Party's correct leadership, the devoted labor of the people and the internationalist fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Life is confronting us with ever more difficult tasks. Our people and Party have already set out to reach the targets of the first year of the fifth five-year plan. The plan provides for the further expansion of the material and technological base of socialism: from 1971 to 1975, the main production assets of the economy are to increase by 45-50 per cent, the total social product 30-35 per cent and the national income more than 30 per cent.

These tasks call for a further increase in the organizing and mobilizing role of Party, government and mass organizations in the economic and cultural spheres. Of great importance in carrying them out are recent decisions of the Party's Central Committee providing for important steps to improve management and planning, make fuller use of production capacities and potentialities – including economic levers and incentives – raise the efficiency of social production, utilize new achievements of science and technology, organize labor on scientific lines, improve the quality indices of the economy, ensure steady progress in animal husbandry, and so on.

The Mongolian People's Republic can make progress only in close alliance and friendship with the socialist countries, in a climate of peace and friendship. This is why our Party perseveres in its policy of providing peaceful conditions for socialist development, promoting friendship and cooperation with brother countries, and supporting national liberation movements and the revolutionary struggle of the working class in capitalist countries.

Mongolia's foreign policy is determined by the fact that it is a member of the socialist community. The main aspect of this policy is close cooperation with the great Soviet Union, the main force of world socialism. Friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples, initiated by V. I. Lenin and D. Sukhe-Bator, has stood the test of time and demonstrated its great viability. It has been and will always be the decisive factor for the historic achievements and victories of the Mongolian people. Friendship and cooperation between Mongolia and the Soviet Union exemplify a new type of international relations.

Fraternal relations and economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation between our country and other socialist countries are making good progress. Mongolia's entry into the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) opened up ample

opportunities of maintaining manifold relations with brother countries, utilizing the advantages of the socialist division of labor and coordinating economic plans. The Mongolian People's Republic supports CMEA activity intended to bring about socialist economic integration and to foster the objective process of internationalization of the socialist countries' economic life. Trade between Mongolia and other CMEA countries has increased by 34.7 per cent over the past decade.

CMEA countries aid Mongolia in building industrial, agricultural and other projects of great importance to economic and cultural development. Active in various spheres of the Mongolian economy are numerous experts and workers from the Soviet Union, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary and Rumania. Their effort benefits socialist progress in our country and contributes to the strength of the world socialist system.

Due to fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance and to rational use of internal resources, our peoples are in a position to catch up with more developed socialist countries in a relatively short time.

The Mongolian People's Republic seeks normal and friendly relations with all countries of the world on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Mongolia's main foreign policy task is to contribute to efforts to maintain and promote peace in Asia and throughout the world, European security, and to unite all revolutionary and progressive forces against war, aggression and imperialism. Our people fully support the just fight of the heroic Vietnamese people and other peoples of Indochina against the U.S. aggressors. They back the Arab peoples against the Israeli extremists.

A member of the United Nations and other international organizations, Mongolia takes an active part in their work. At present our country has diplomatic relations with 52 countries and trade relations with more than 20 countries.

As a contingent of the world Communist movement, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party sees its supreme internationalist duty in working for the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and for the purity of Marxism-Leninism. It takes a resolute stand against all manifestations of opportunism in the Communist and working-class movement, for the unity of action of brother parties.

The jubilee of the people's revolution was a noteworthy event in the life of our country. It demonstrated the close unity of Party and people. A vast popular movement was launched to greet with fruitful labor this glorious date in our history and the 16th Party

Congress, which charted subsequent socialist progress in our country by adopting guidelines for the new five-year plan. The working people of Mongolia, led by their tried and tested Marxist-Leninist vanguard, are marching confidently on within the fraternal family of the peoples of the socialist countries, along the road of socialism opened by the people's revolution.



Fifty years of Canada's Communist Party

William Kashtan

This year the Communist Party of Canada is celebrating its 50th anniversary.

Our Party was founded in June 1921. However, due to the fact that the repressive and dictatorial law – the War Measures Act – was still on the statute books three years after the war, it was not possible for the Communist Party to function in a public and legal way. Yet there was a pressing need for a revolutionary organization, one which would be able to publicly and directly lead the rising tide of working class and democratic action, and in February 1922 the Workers' Party of Canada was founded based on the science of Marxism-Leninism.

This Party functioned for two years. However, when the legislation directed against the Communist Party lapsed, the April 1924 Convention decided to change the name of the Workers' Party to the Communist Party of Canada.

The conditions which brought the Communist Party into existence had been prepared for it over the years by the countless struggles of the working class and of a growing trade union movement, the struggle against the imperialist war and its consequences, and the emergence of various socialist currents in different parts of the country.

It had been prepared as well by the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, the first General Strike in Canadian history, in which the working class virtually established their own administration to run the city. This strike was brutally smashed by the government which also used Section 98 of the Criminal Code to imprison its leaders. The repressive measures aroused deep anger in the working-class movement and were an additional factor in stimulating the formation of the Communist Party.

While these internal conditions were primary, the native soil out of which the Party was formed, the great October Socialist

Revolution, was no less a decisive factor in giving impetus to its formation. Its great liberating ideas had a revolutionizing influence on Canadian workers, opening their eyes to the fact that a revolutionary, not reformist road, was the way to end the exploitation of man by man, and advance to socialism.

The formation of the Communist Party based on a scientific world outlook, that of Marxism-Leninism, added a new quality and a new dimension to the working-class struggle.

It marked the beginning of a systematic struggle to integrate Marxism with the working-class movement, to bring socialist consciousness into the working class, to make it conscious of itself as a class and to raise it to an understanding of its historic mission—leadership of the struggle to achieve political power and build a new social system in Canada.

I

The history of the past fifty years of communist activity has been a history and a record of that struggle. It required an ability to combine the struggle for the ultimate aim—socialism—with a realistic analysis of the concrete situation and the concrete possibilities to generate mass actions. It required an ability to develop various forms of struggle depending on the prevailing conditions and a correct development of tactics. It required, as Lenin had emphasized in 'Left-Wing Communism,' that 'all efforts . . . should now be concentrated on the next step . . . the search after forms of the *transition* or the *approach* to the proletarian revolution' (Vol. 31, p. 92).

From its very inception the Communist Party was compelled to take up the struggle against reformism and opportunism in the working-class movement, against all expressions of capitalist pressures and capitalist ideology on the working class.

It combined this with a consistent struggle against anarcho-syndicalism which had established a base of support for itself in the trade union movement in Canada.

The necessity for such a struggle was obvious.

Reformism and class collaborationism tied the working class to capitalism. It limited its aims to winning some reforms within the capitalist system, while abandoning the struggle to change it. Anarcho-syndicalism focused exclusively on economic action and repudiated the necessity of political action on the part of the working class. Thus, opportunism from both 'Right' and 'Left' achieved the same results, a paralysis of effective struggle against capitalist rule.

It was necessary for the Party to combat both currents in the

working-class movement, combining this ideological struggle with a consistent struggle for the united front, for work in reformist-led trade unions, and for active participation in the parliamentary arena. Lenin's 'Left-Wing Communism' was of enormous assistance to the Party in developing its policies and tactics in this period.

At every stage the Communist Party of Canada made a notable contribution to the organization, stimulation and development of the struggle of the working class. It is not possible to deal with all of them, but some are worth drawing attention to.

In the period of the 1920's it led strikes. It fought for the formation of a Canadian Labor Party of which it would be part, through which the working class could advance its parliamentary interests. It fought for an autonomous trade union movement free of control from the USA.

On the eve of the world economic crisis it warned the working class against the widespread illusions of 'American exceptionalism' prevalent at that time, that is, that North America was immune from the laws of capitalism and of economic crises, that 'Fordism has replaced Marxism,' a theory which capitalist propagandists spread and which the Right-wing opportunists in the trade union movement fully accepted. This 'theory' found reflection in the leadership of the Communist Party as well. This 'theory' and its right opportunist advocates in the Party were decisively defeated and a new leadership elected, headed by Comrade Tim Buck, on the very eve of the economic crisis. Thus, when the economic crisis of 1929 broke out, the Communist Party was right at the center of the struggle in defense of the interests of the working class and of the unemployed.

It took the initiative in the organization of the unemployed and in the struggle against mass evictions of working people from their homes. It took the initiative in defense of the poor farmers who were likewise faced with the loss of their farms. It sparked the struggles of the unemployed on a countrywide scale by initiating the great trek of the unemployed from all parts of Canada on Ottawa so as to compel the government to alleviate the conditions of the unemployed. All these actions were initiated around the slogan of 'Work or Wages,' for immediate cash relief for the unemployed and for government responsibility for unemployment insurance.

While defending the interests of the unemployed, the Party simultaneously combated the wage-cutting offensive of the employers, who were striving to place the burden of the crisis on the backs of the working people and poor farmers.

The reformist leaders of the trade unions took the position that 'now is not the time to strike.' Our Party countered this false posi-

tion by leading many strikes at the height of the crisis, strikes which were able to win some improvements in conditions for the working people.

At the same time the Party undertook, together with Left-minded workers, the task of organizing the unorganized in the mass production industries. At that time only the skilled workers were organized and the Right-wing reformist leadership took no action to change that situation. Indeed they expelled militant trade unionists because they advocated the building of industrial unions. Communists were to the fore in this epic struggle to organize the unorganized which finally was crowned with success and strengthened the role of the working class in the political life of the country and in the struggle against monopoly.

Because of the role played by the Communist Party in defending the working people, it became the target of attack by political reaction.

Section 98, an anti-labor law first instituted in 1919, during the Winnipeg general strike, was used again by the Ontario Conservative government to declare the Communist Party an illegal organization. Tim Buck and some other leaders of our Party were arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. This, however, did not stop the struggle. The Communist Party grew in strength and influence. Moreover, alongside the economic struggle in defense of the working people, the poor farmers, the young generation, a large-scale campaign was launched to repeal Section 98. It took on sufficient countrywide proportions to bring about the defeat of the Tory government of the time. Indeed, the Liberal government which was elected, was elected in large measure because it had pledged to repeal Section 98 and lift the ban on the Communist Party.

While defending the economic and political interests of the working people and poor farmers, the Communist Party, following the rise of Hitler fascism, undertook to rally public support against it and its supporters in Canada. The new conditions created by the rise of fascism demanded the widest united front and the Communist Party worked for this on all fronts, in the working class, trade union and democratic movement and amongst the young generation.

When the fascist invasion of Spain took place the Party worked to establish broad united front committees in defense of the Spanish Republic. Through its initiative a blood transfusion ambulance unit was sent to Spain. At the same time, as a result of the efforts of the Communist Party, over one thousand Canadians went to Spain to fight fascism. The Mac-Paps, as they were known, took their name from two outstanding democratic Canadian patriots - Mackenzie and Papineau.

In 1939, after the outbreak of the Second World War, during the period when attempts were made in the West to turn the war against the first socialist land, the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Canada opposed these sinister plots to find common cause with nazism. Because of this it was again declared illegal under the War Measures Act.

Thus from the period of 1921 to 1939 the Communist Party was three times placed in conditions of illegality. In 1943, when the anti-Hitler coalition was in full swing between the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain, and when the Communist Party was still illegal, a new party of Communists was founded, the Labor Progressive Party. It was established at the time so that it could play a decisive role in working to unite the working class, all revolutionary and democratic Canadians in an all-out struggle to ensure the defeat of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. It was only in 1959 that the name Communist Party was restored.

II

In the postwar period the Communist Party was confronted with new problems and tasks. U.S. imperialism was out to achieve world domination and in this was supported by Canadian monopoly and its government, who saw the prospects of making a fast buck at the expense of the independence and sovereignty of Canada.

Through NATO Canada subordinated its foreign policy to that of U.S. imperialism, while through an economic policy of integration with the United States the doors were opened wide for massive U.S. imperialist penetration and growing control over the Canadian economy.

In these conditions the Party raised as a central issue of Canadian politics the struggle for Canadian independence and peace, the withdrawal of Canada from NATO and NORAD, the pursuit of a policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for trade, cultural and scientific exchanges with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, for support and solidarity with the colonial peoples and for an end to colonialism.

The Communist Party has indefatigably worked to arouse Canadian public support for the cause of the Vietnamese people and for an end to United States imperialist aggression. It has demanded an end to Canadian complicity with U.S. aggression by ending the sale of war material by Canada to the U.S., which is used against the Vietnamese people and other Indochinese peoples. It has persistently called for a political settlement of the Middle East crisis based on the United Nations resolution, for European Security Conference and the recognition of the GDR, and for Canada to become a nuclear-free zone.

Our Party program which was adopted in the postwar focused on several major issues which may become the catalyst for fundamental social change in Canada in the coming period of time.

First, the battle to regain Canadian independence, which is at the center of Canadian political life today. The persistent work of our Party over the years has begun to bear some fruit and finds its expression in the considerable upsurge of public support for an independent policy free of U.S. domination in economic and foreign affairs.

The government has been compelled to note this upsurge of sentiment and to make a pretence of standing up to U.S. imperialism. In fact, a report is being prepared on foreign investments directed to limit to some extent U.S. control, while some steps have been taken to establish a Canadian Development Corporation ostensibly to strengthen Canadian control over the economy. The government has cut its NATO forces in half and established sovereignty over Canada's Arctic territory. Some of these measures indicate that Canadian finance capital has grown in strength in the postwar period and is striving to strengthen its control over Canada's resources while simultaneously seeking to extend its trading positions in various parts of the world. But all this is clearly not enough.

Our Party has made clear that the struggle to regain Canadian independence is inseparable from the struggle to curb the power of monopoly, undertake nationalization of U.S.-owned plants in Canada and public ownership of Canada's vast energy resources which U.S. imperialism is striving to take control of through 'a sharing of resources' and a continental policy. The struggle for Canadian independence is at the same time a struggle for peace, against monopoly domination and control in Canada, the struggle to achieve a united and sovereign trade union movement.

The struggle for Canadian independence has reached a higher stage of development and now finds reflection in the positions taken by the New Democratic Party (NDP) and by the trade union movement. The NDP has come out for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and NORAD, against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and for curbing U.S. control over the Canadian economy.

The struggle for self-determination in French Canada has also reached a higher stage of development. The political crisis in Quebec last October brought to light the awakening of national consciousness in French Canada, and the extent of the economic and social inequality which exists in Quebec, arising from monopoly control of the economy.

As is known, the response of the government in Ottawa, in Quebec and in Montreal, to the national awakening of the French Canadian people was the imposition of the repressive War Mea-

tures Act, the military occupation of Quebec and mass arrests. Indeed, over 500 people were arrested and held incommunicado and over 3,000 homes were raided by the police.

All this was carried through around the false claim of an 'apprehended insurrection,' when in fact the real problem was and remains the national rights of the French Canadian people and the elimination of economic, regional and social inequality in Quebec. Around this issue, too, a polarization of political forces is shaping up in Quebec. Our Party works to unite the national and democratic forces in English and French Canada around the working class in struggle against monopoly and U.S. imperialism. It opposes separatism, which would divide the working class and democratic forces of English and French Canada, weaken the struggle for fundamental change and objectively serve the interests of U.S. imperialism. Our Party works for an equal, voluntary partnership of the two nations, English and French Canadian, in a new Confederal Pact in a sovereign, democratic bi-national state.

The Communist Party, alongside the demand for the right to self-determination, works to unite all democratic forces in Canada against the War Measures Act, the Public Order Temporary Measures Act, and for the restoration and extension of democratic rights. This struggle, too, is now being joined by an ever wider section of the people in Quebec and all other parts of the country.

Together with the fight on these fronts the communist Party concentrates particular attention on the economic and social needs of the working people, who are confronted with a growing monopoly offensive on their standards, jobs and democratic rights. The economic and social policies of the government are aimed at making the working people the victims of its anti-inflationary and recessionary policies. These policies have already thrown close to one million workers out of work, the biggest percentages being young people and the French Canadian people. The Party has fought for new policies directed at protecting the working people and for uniting the trade union movement in action against wage guidelines and wage freezes, the restriction of trade union rights and for a say over technological change.

What is typical of the situation today is the marked upsurge of movements against monopoly, the growing radicalization and militancy in the working class and amongst the young generation. There is a direct continuation here with the pioneering work conducted by the Communist Party over the years.

All the efforts of the Party are being directed to unite these movements into a united and powerful force, a democratic alliance, an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist coalition which could unite the national and democratic forces around the working class and take

Canada along a new road, to curb the power of monopoly and open the door to socialist advance.

Basing itself on this aim as the next decisive stage of advance, the Party strives to strengthen its influence not only in the working class, which is decisive, but amongst the youth, women, the poor farmers, all sections of the population affected by monopoly policy. It pays particular attention to the organization of the unorganized and the further development of independent labor political action by the working class. Only one-third of the working class is yet organized, while about 80 per cent of the working people still support the political parties of monopoly. To facilitate the process of breakaway of the working people from these parties, while simultaneously strengthening socialist consciousness, will require a great effort. It will demand great flexibility of tactics, a systematic struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunism and revisionism.

Our Party throughout its history has been imbued by the spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and of solidarity with the Soviet Union. We never saw them as two separate compartments but as part of one process with each strengthening and reinforcing the other. Our internationalism has been a great source of strength for our Party and will continue to be so.

Throughout its history our Party has been in a constant struggle against bourgeois and reformist ideology and against bourgeois nationalism. Indeed, whenever the Party ceased struggling against these alien ideas, it opened the door for opportunism, revisionism from the Right and Left. This lesson is important today, too.

Looking back over the past 50 years we can take pride in our record and achievements and in our work as a revolutionary party which has constantly striven to act as a vanguard party.

We are confident that as a result and consequence of the work of the Communist Party over the years, the changing relationship of forces on a world scale, the ever growing movements of the people and their demand for radical change, conditions are being created for greater advance for the working class and the cause of Socialism in the coming period of time.

The past 50 years have been rich in experience for our Party as they have been dramatic in the changes taking place in the world. It has been a long and hard struggle with its advances and temporary setbacks. The Communist Party has always been true to the working class and to Marxism-Leninism and looks to the future with confidence.



Congress of Norway's Communists

Reidar Larsen

The Communist Party of Norway held its 13th Congress last April to discuss the Party's policies and to decide on the main line of Party activity for the coming period.

Central to political life in Norway is the attitude to the EEC. The campaign against joining the EEC is becoming an extremely important factor in preserving national independence. Due to vigorous action by the growing People's Movement against Norwegian Membership of the Common Market, resistance to entry is mounting and it is becoming feasible to prevent the move. Domination by the monopolies of 'Little Europe' would cause incalculable damage to the Norwegian economy. As soon as EEC laws became effective in Norway we would lose the rights granted by our legislation. From then on, conditions on the labor market and policies bearing on taxes, credit and social matters, as well as on rent, would be shaped in Brussels and not in Norway.

The Norwegian Labor Party, which formed the government after the fall of the bourgeois coalition cabinet, was entrusted with taking the country into the EEC, a task its predecessors failed to cope with. The leaders of this party, who do not generally display great energy, seem unexpectedly to have discerned 'new horizons' and are anxious to proclaim 'socialism' within the framework of the Common Market. They accuse the socialist Left of lacking an internationalist spirit. Now there are at least two concepts of internationalism. One of them proceeds from the solidarity of all workers, all the oppressed and exploited, all who are fighting for national and social liberation. This genuine, progressive internationalism forms the basis of the peoples' struggle for self-determination.

The other concept of internationalism is prompted by monopoly capital's effort to win and control new markets. As far as the monopolies are concerned, national boundaries are an obstacle to be removed. This 'internationalism' is reactionary and hostile to the working-class movement, to national and social liberation move-

ments. And it is precisely this kind of 'internationalism' that the Common Market has in store for us.

The Communists' devoted fight for the people's right to self-determination and national independence has nothing in common with the national self-satisfaction typical of the Norwegian bourgeoisie. We uphold national sovereignty because it provides a dependable basis on which to fight for the vital interests of the working people.

The winning of national freedom was a milestone in Norwegian history. The country's rich cultural legacy and its noteworthy contribution to world culture are linked with the struggle for national independence. Whether this tradition will be continued depends on the activity of the Norwegian working class and Communist Party.

Resistance to the EEC is in the best interest of the masses. It is growing outside political parties as well, involving forces that are united by awareness of the danger and by the desire to uphold the people's right to independent nationhood. The Communist Party has backed the People's Movement from the outset and is active in it. The Congress stressed that full cooperation with the movement is still one of the tasks of the working-class vanguard.

The campaign against the Common Market extends to other big problems of Norway's foreign policy, which has hardly changed despite the change of government. The parties supporting NATO are correct in saying time and again that they are at one on foreign policy. And while the attitude to the EEC disrupts their common front to a considerable extent, they are virtually agreed on all other issues, now as in the past.

The 13th Congress of our Party pointed out that the subversive, reactionary policy of the North Atlantic bloc, to which Norway is shackled, was unable to prevent the growth of the forces of democracy and socialism throughout the world. 'The events of the past decade,' the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stated in its Main Document, 'bear out that the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the character, content and chief trends of the present epoch is correct. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.' This conclusion has been confirmed by social development over the past two years. All over the world, the revolutionary forces continue to grow and their struggle is bound to result in more countries breaking away from imperialism.

In Indochina the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia go on delivering powerful blows to the U.S. war machine. U.S. imperialism has revealed its inhuman and monstrous nature. The Congress hailed the fighting peoples of Indochina. We signify our deep solidarity with them.

The Communist Party considers that Norway cannot follow an

independent foreign policy so long as it is a member of NATO and should therefore withdraw from this bloc.

The Norwegian people's security hinges on solving the problem of disarmament and international detente. The government should strive for these objectives. It should seek an end to the dangerous policy of blocs and contribute to cooperation between the Nordic countries and to a collective settlement of problems of European security, which would safeguard the sovereignty of each country and future peace.

These are our tasks and objectives. We will persevere in the policy we have adopted, for it meets the genuine interests of the nation.

Three years have passed since our previous Party Congress. The growth of production registered over this period was accompanied by sharp price increases while wages showed a moderate rise. Capitalist rationalization resulted in increased pressure on the working class. A 20 per cent tax was imposed on newly created value and there were other changes in taxation affecting primarily the working people and aggravating social inequality and injustice. Rents are steadily increasing. People live in a tenser atmosphere than ever and their leisure time is dwindling continuously. We might mention still other changes. What has not changed is the capitalist system itself.

We propose a broad alternative which would put society in control of the forces impeding its healthy development. We are willing, however, to consider any particular problem and put forward specific proposals for its solution. Capitalism is incapable of solving man's most urgent problems arising from the scientific and technological revolution. The Congress pointed in particular to the danger of such consequences of technological progress as pollution. Communists also insist on solving transport problems, improving the housing situation, and so on.

Several sharp class conflicts have taken place in Norway lately. The strikes were indicative of the social climate despite their isolated character. They may recur at any moment. Discontent is strong in the enterprises. Rigid rationalization, implemented to the detriment of the working people's health and leading to an early exhaustion of labor power, has assumed such dimensions as to necessitate firm and consistent action. To unite all class-conscious and militant workers is the primary task of the trade union opposition that came into being a short time ago. We hope this movement will help to revive the Central Trade Union Federation of Norway as a militant organization. It is essential to foster the workers' militancy by opening their eyes to the tremendous force

they constitute. The Party's political activity provides for backing trade union demands.

Cooperation among socialist forces has been the main task of the Communists for years. We have gained ample experience in this field, an experience which at times was bitter due to our own mistakes. It shows that we must use every opportunity for unification. The movement of Left-wing forces may vary in scale according to the situation but its core will always be made up of those who champion genuine socialism.

At the present stage of the country's development, characterized by growing monopoly domination, important changes are taking place in the social consciousness of the working people. More and more sections of the people express their dissatisfaction over the policy of the monopolies. A political renovation is felt to be imperative. This puts a special responsibility on the Left-wing parties of the Norwegian working-class movement – the Communist Party and the Socialist People's Party. They must lead the forces seeking new paths and work out a program for united action. There is every opportunity to develop a common program covering both current political problems and the general perspective of the advance to socialism. 'Today,' the Congress said in its resolution, 'there is a particularly strong need for groups and currents on the Left-wing of the working-class movement to take joint political action. The situation is fraught with numerous dangers but it also affords the working people great opportunities. The socialist forces of the Left can use these opportunities only if they overcome their split. They must jointly advance a socialist alternative to big capital's policy, which today unites forces ranging from the Hoire Party to the top leadership of the Norwegian Labor Party and the Trade Union Federation.'

The Congress noted that all the tasks facing the Communists and the working-class movement should be considered in the light of the world political situation. The Communist Party proceeds from the fact that today there is powerful front of socialist countries strongly influencing world development. This front is the leading force in the fight to maintain peace and avert a new world war. '*Imperialism*,' the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stated, '*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.*'

After the October Revolution the common struggle of the peoples resulted in the rise of new socialist states. This was a victory for all revolutionaries and the entire working-class movement. The interest

aroused by these countries to this day is perfectly logical. We rejoice over their achievements and deplore their setbacks.

Our strategy is based on the assumption that the road of various countries to socialism has many common characteristics. This makes it particularly important, among other things, thoroughly to study positive experience as well as mistakes.

It should be clear that, while taking account of general objective laws, we must follow a road which is natural to Norway and is determined by the tradition of the political struggle and the conditions of the class contest going on in our country.

In fighting for socialism, it is important to show the democratic rights that the working class and all our working people will win by adopting the new system, to tell them how their influence will increase, how their role in the production and distribution of material benefits will grow and how their social standard and way of life will change. These problems should be borne in mind in renewing and improving the Party Program. The people are bound to be interested in the solutions we propose, for these problems will gain in importance as capitalism develops.

We must elucidate our concepts in view of the stand we take on the forces that do not understand the significance of the socialist world to the working-class movement, as well on those trying to tempt the working people with a hopeless 'third alternative.' It is also our duty consistently to dissociate from extremist trends which see their main task in attacking the Soviet Union and other socialist countries by absurdly accusing them of 'collusion with U.S. imperialism.'

The socialist countries have effected a leap in the sphere of social progress. Those who fail to see this do not understand the character of the present epoch. This is why cooperation and unity of the socialist countries and the entire Communist and working-class movement are so important to us. We are part of this common movement and intend to continue in it.

We fully adhere to the view that the socialist countries and Communist parties should enjoy unlimited sovereignty and decide on their policies and development without unwanted interference from without. We have set out this position in a number of statements. It has been essential to our Party's line and we intend to abide by it.

On the other hand, we consider it necessary to stress that we expect all the socialist countries and Communist parties, despite existing differences, to show a desire to maintain the common front against imperialism, and to refrain from any divisive activity in the Communist parties of other countries. Those who hold a dif-

ferent opinion and follow a different practice will get no support or approval from the Communist Party of Norway.

Unity is important to both the world Communist movement and the democratic forces which realize that imperialism poses the greatest threat to the peoples and that a common struggle is needed to defeat it.

The Communist Party of Norway scored noteworthy gains between its 12th and 13th congresses. Ours became a close-knit party, united on a common political platform. We improved Party education and we have a Youth League whose able and militant members are fighting side by side with us. The Party's task now is to achieve success in the election. The Congress called on the Party membership to work for this.

The Congress put on record the Party's close unity, which also manifested itself at all regional Party conferences. The Congress revealed the Communists' vigorous activity in every field of the class struggle and their effort to unify all socialist and Left-wing forces.

Two years from now, it will be fifty years since the Communist Party of Norway was founded. In war and peace alike, Communists have shown themselves to be champions of the interests of the working class and the people. They marched on with firm step where others dropped out. The people are used to turning to the Communists in a difficult situation, and we are proud of this.



Problems of Left unity in Turkey

Yakub Demir

Economic and political life in Turkey today is marked throughout by collaboration between the ruling classes and imperialism. This reality seriously injures the economy and tells on the condition of practically every social class and stratum. It is an important cause of social and political crises.

The economic situation continues to deteriorate. Turkey's national debt, which recently stood at 41,000 million liras, has climbed to 72,000 million due to the devaluation of the lira plus interest on loans. The budget deficit in the previous fiscal year was officially said to be 3,500 million liras but unofficial data set it at 5,000 million liras. This is due to growing military spending, with the working people paying the bill. Last year 2,000 million liras of revenues came from the taxpayer.

Before 1947, when Turkey began to receive U.S. 'aid,' exports topped imports but ever since then they have invariably fallen short of imports. Last year the foreign trade deficit amounted to \$278 million, according to official data, and Turkey had to pay about \$200 million in interest on loans.

Deputy Prime Minister Karaosmanoglu said that foreign capital worth \$112.9 million was exported to Turkey between 1967 and 1970. In the same period foreign companies pumped \$121.9 million in profits out of the country. These are only some of the facts showing the disastrous effect of U.S. and other imperialist 'aid.'

Imperialist monopolies control the oil and oil refining, metallurgical, chemical, electric engineering and other key industries. Foreign competition undercuts the nation's industry, hits agriculture and warps the economy as a whole.

Imperialism does enormous harm to our national culture, which has a centuries-long tradition, and undermines our science and education. American and West German films glorifying violence, hatred, gangsterism and racialism are almost the only fare offered by Turkish cinemas. Nor do the authorities do anything to change

this. On the other hand, they launch irresponsible political campaigns against 'communism' as if on a signal (from abroad).

Our science and culture are passing through the hardest period of their history. Members of the professions live from hand to mouth, are compelled to leave the country in search of employment. Thousands of destitute teachers have gone to West Germany to work as ordinary laborers. Yet hundreds of thousands of our people cannot read and we are short of teachers and schools. Our theatre, literature, music and spiritual life generally are deformed through adaptation to the needs of the foreign and national monopolies bossing the country.

These facts show up imperialism as the chief enemy of the Turkish people and this is why the main contradiction of our society is that between the people, on the one hand, and imperialism and the handful of domestic big capitalists and landowners who betray our national interests, on the other. This contradiction is at its sharpest today.

Leading anti-imperialist forces

Actions by workers, peasants, office employees, students and other young people, intellectuals and patriotic servicemen who insist on ending imperialist domination and demand fundamental socio-economic reforms and a democratic society have reached vast proportions and increasingly influence the nation's life.

The proletariat – over three million people, or up to 25 per cent of the gainfully employed population – is leading the anti-imperialist, general democratic movement. It is stepping up its effort for unity and organization as its class consciousness grows. Over 1.2 million workers are members of trade unions and other labor organizations.

The development of capitalist relations in agriculture and industry has faced vast numbers of peasants, hundreds of thousands of small producers and employers with ruin and destitution and also led to latent unemployment. It affects about five million semi-proletarians and poor people in both rural and urban communities, and their numbers are growing. Despite large-scale emigration to West Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, Belgium and other developed capitalist countries (last year there were 500,000 Turkish workers abroad), we have 500,000 unemployed according to even official reports, while the press speaks of approximately two million.

The plight of our working class is truly tragic. Wages do not provide more than 25 to 30 per cent of the official (under-stated) subsistence minimum of the average family. Last year alone consumer goods prices rose by 45 per cent.

The workers are intensifying the fight for their rights. Following the exposure of the leadership of Turk Is, the federation of yellow trade unions, dozens of unions withdrew from it to found DISK (Confederation of Progressive Labor Unions), which today comprises one-third of organized labor. In the early days of the June 1970 class battles during which over a hundred participants were killed or wounded, about 100,000 employees of 118 enterprises struck in response to the DISK's call and went into the streets in protest against repression. The stoppage involved such large enterprises as the Istanbul steel works, Sungular, Otosan, Rabak, Phillips, Grundig and Vinilex. In the second half of 1970 strikes occurred in the metallurgical, oil, textile, sugar, food, chemical and other industries.

The labor movement in Turkey today is not isolated – the demands it puts forward are in keeping with the interests of all working people and the democratic sections of the population. The Turkish working class is the real force which can unite all progressive elements against imperialism and home reaction. The labor movement stimulates the activity of the democratic sections of society and imparts a political character to their actions. It is increasingly backed by the peasants, handicraftsmen, progressive youth, intellectuals, students and patriotic servicemen. It is fair to say that the democratic segments of the people are gaining a better insight into the nature of social phenomena and identifying themselves with the working class viewpoint. There is growing evidence that the democratic forces can only win in close alliance and cooperation with the working class and under its leadership.

The necessity for working-class hegemony in the fight against imperialism, for general democratic changes, is also coming home to part of the national bourgeoisie, especially its petty-bourgeois elements.

The domestic monopolies allied with foreign capital undermine the interests of a numerous petty and middle bourgeoisie, whose condition is deteriorating as it is under the impact of an economy in crisis. In 1960 over 658,000 bills were protested in Turkey, 101 trading companies announced failure and another 64 went into liquidation, according to the Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry. About three per cent of private capitalist enterprises pocket over 80 per cent of all profits. Official statistics indicate that the proportion of Turkish millionaires (having a private income of at least one million liras a year) increased in the 1965-1969 period from 215 to 245, their total income going up from 287.8 to 605.8 million liras. The inequality of different sections of the bourgeoisie breeds sharp antagonisms in its midst.

The handicraftsmen, middle strata and the millions of peasants

today can free themselves from mounting oppression on the part of big capital, the domestic and foreign monopolies, and the big landowners only by fighting in common for their economic and political rights. The situation demands unity of action, not only of the workers and peasants – the two main classes of Turkish society, which are ruthlessly exploited – but of part of the national (petty and middle) bourgeoisie and the small producers of town and countryside.

It should be borne in mind, however, that Left-wing trends are represented not only by organizations adhering to Marxism-Leninism and genuine internationalism, using the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement and taking into account the common tasks of the worldwide fight against imperialism, but also by various petty-bourgeois revolutionary currents and trends, including extremist and voluntarist ones. The activity of most of these prejudices the real revolutionary struggle. There are, furthermore, leftist nationalist currents which reject the class struggle or which regard the peasants as the main revolutionary force. Active in the country are also advocates of 'Moslem,' 'Turkish' or 'popular' 'socialism.'

Nevertheless, the unification of anti-imperialist forces under the leadership of the working class is becoming a political factor to the reckoned with.

The accelerating process of change in the alignment of class forces, and the polarization of political life have lately taken a manifestly anti-imperialist turn. This, of course, could not be disregarded by either the ruling bloc – the big bourgeoisie and landowners – or the foreign imperialists, especially those of the United States and other NATO countries. Repression against the working class and all progressive forces was stepped up. So was the activity of terrorist groups and 'societies against communism' formed all over the country with the acquiescence and assistance of reactionary quarters. This, however, failed to produce the expected results, for the workers continued to fight, the anti-imperialist movement of the masses went on growing and the armed forces showed increasing discontent. In some areas the peasants, having lost all hope of the long-awaited agrarian reform ever materializing, tried to seize land by force. The regime found itself in a precarious situation. Besides, the government lost the support of its own divided party and the parliamentary majority. In these circumstances the reactionary forces, abetted by the imperialists, resolved not to wait till the long-range measures adopted by the Demirel government to destroy the democratic movement bore fruit. Parliamentary procedure was discarded. The generals stepped

in and on March 12, 1971 forced the government of the Justice Party out of office.

Political crisis

In its memorandum dated March 12, the generals accused the Demirel government of 'frustrating the hope of the public that the country would attain the level of civilization envisaged by Ataturk.' Deputy Prime Minister Karaosmanoglu said in one of his early statements that at the present rate of development and population growth it would take Turkey 2,359 years to draw level in consumption with Common Market countries.

The writers of the memorandum did their best to create the impression that they shared and expressed the discontent with the Demirel government that had built up among the masses and in the armed forces, first of all the rank and file. They wrote that 'parliament and the government have led the country to anarchy, fratricidal war, and social and economic unrest by their conduct, views and measures . . . They have failed to effect the reforms provided for by the Constitution.' The generals insisted on forming a 'strong' civilian government that would 'carry out in a Kamalist spirit the reforms stipulated by the Constitution. Parliament, which had become a political sham was left as a democratic facade. However, in a second memorandum handed to the President they demanded that the section of the Constitution dealing with the fundamental rights and duties of man be amended. They insisted on the need to combat 'anarchist' and 'extremist' right and Left-wing movements. What they were after, however, was to abolish the rights granted to the working people, if nominally, by bourgeois democracy. They found it necessary to amend the electoral law so as to bar the illiterate population from the polls. Unless these demands were met, the generals warned, there would be an outright and open military dictatorship. Parliament yielded to the ultimatum.

The demand for reforms, which the generals emphasized during the March 12 events to disguise their real aims, embarrassed the big bourgeoisie and landowners at first. On the other hand, it gave some hope to certain progressive groups of intellectuals disturbed by the Demirel government's anti-democratic policies. But subsequent developments came as an eye opener to all. Shortly after March 12 the leaders of the new regime spoke frankly of the reasons for sweeping the Demirel government out of power. The point was that this government had proved unable to implement the policy of NATO and the U.S. and domestic monopolies effectively enough. 'We were certain,' Vehbi Koc, a Turkish multimillionaire,

said, 'that the Justice Party would bring the country stability and that national development would be speeded, but we turned out to be wrong. First of all, the Demirel government was unable to put down the actions on June 16*, secondly, the labor unions' demands, which were out of keeping with the economic possibilities of the country, confronted industry with serious problems, and thirdly, continued struggle between Right and Left-wing forces created a dangerous situation in the country.'

The program of the new government under Nihat Erim, like the generals' memorandum, speaks of 'reforms envisaged by the Constitution': agrarian, educational, tax, etc. Before proceeding with these reforms, however, the government intends to take a series of steps the imperialists and foreign and domestic monopolies have long been clamoring for.

At a press conference for foreign journalists held shortly after he was made Prime Minister, Erim said that he regarded the Turkish Constitution as more liberal than those of some European countries and that Turkey could not allow itself such a 'luxury.'

The new regime announced that the struggle of the masses for fundamental democratic rights would be defined by the government as 'subversion' aimed at 'destroying public order' and 'dividing the country and the nation.' The government began to take drastic repressive measures against the working people and proclaimed a state of emergency over most of the country. Arrests were made among workers, young people, members of the national minorities, progressive writers and journalists. Democratic organizations were outlawed. Hundreds of Kurdish villages were overrun by troops. At the same time reactionary terrorist organizations, the real source of unrest and anarchy, such as the 'societies against communism' were given free rein. It became perfectly clear that the main purpose of the 'March 12 Movement' and the 'new' program of Turkey's rulers was to make it impossible for the working people to seek a better life, and to prevent the growth and consolidation of an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-feudal alliance of progressive and democratic forces.

On the whole, the ruling classes, who mould the country's economic and political life, formulated their program (in the Karaosmanoglu statement quoted earlier) as one intended 'to raise the country to the economic and technological standards of developed countries.' They propose to achieve this by capitalist methods. And this leads them to the conclusion that the country 'must' collaborate with imperialist powers. Unlike its predecessors, the Erim government did not find it necessary to camouflage its foreign

*Powerful demonstrations by the proletariat in 1970 against curbs on the workers' rights, ending in bloody encounters with troops. - Ed.

policy orientation. A number of bourgeois commentators stress that the government is trying to outdo Demirel in strengthening the alliance with Western imperialism. Erim considers the North Atlantic Alliance a dependable guarantee of Turkey's external security. He does so despite the aggressive nature of this pact, aimed at kindling the flames of a new world war and hence detrimental to Turkey's own security – a fact that has long been common knowledge. Entirely in line with imperialist policies is also the government's stand on the Cyprus question as specified in the Prime Minister's program and in various statements made by him.

The big industrial bourgeoisie welcomed the Erim government's program and pledged full support for the new policy. That has been spelled out in statements by the Turkish Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry and similar organizations.

The patriotic forces sincerely concerned about the country's fortunes were disappointed by the government program. Bulent Ecevit, General Secretary of the Republican People's Party (the biggest opposition party holding 141 seats in parliament), resigned in protest against the endorsement of Nihat Erim for the office of Prime Minister by Ismet Inonu, General Chairman of the Party. In Ecevit's view, the '12 March Movement' is the Turkish version of the Greek method of establishing a military fascist dictatorship. He described the overthrow of the Demirel government as 'applying the Greek method in Turkish conditions.'

The program of the Erim government, the Turkish Labor Party declared, 'is a striking expression of the demand put on behalf of the industrial bourgeoisie by the chairmen of the Istanbul and Izmir chambers of industry representing it.' Labor Party leaders stressed that the purpose of this program is 'to suppress the working classes and all democratic forces.'

The newspaper *Cumhuriyet* made a noteworthy assessment of the government program. 'This program,' it commented, 'was drawn up to satisfy primarily the capitalist countries, NATO and the Common Market.' The government, it went on to say, 'has been formed, not to carry out serious reforms, but to emasculate them or even prevent their implementation.'

We have no doubt that the social and economic problems of our country cannot be solved by suppressing the working people's struggle for their rights. In no country has fascism been a sign of strength of the ruling class. This is also true of the reactionary Turkish bourgeoisie.

The anti-imperialist, democratic struggle in Turkey is entering a new, still more trying phase.

In these conditions the Communist Party regards it as its duty to make an objective evaluation of the present stage of the struggle and to specify the tasks facing us.

Left unity and national rebirth

The principal task at the moment is to develop a new tactic for the anti-imperialist struggle. We must increase the role of the working class, step up the political activity of the masses and unite them in a movement for an end to imperialist domination, for radical socio-economic reforms and a domestic social life. This struggle can be successful given unity of the progressive forces, and provided these forces concentrate on achieving general democratic goals meeting the nation's vital interests.

The idea of Left unity is not new – Turkey's Communists have advocated it throughout the fifty years of their activity. What makes the present situation distinctive is that this idea is gaining ground among the masses. Everyone realizes, to one extent or another, that united action against imperialism and reaction is an imperative of success in the effort to regain national independence and to achieve social progress.

The record of the Turkish working class shows that the workers can only accomplish their historic tasks under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist Party. Only by implementing the program put forward by our Party is it possible to end dependence on imperialism and overthrow the tyranny of home reaction. Only under the leadership of this type of party can the people win real power and overcome all hurdles to the country's economic and political rebirth.

On what basis and how the Left-wing forces can and should attain real unity, establish a broad national front of democratic parties and groups and mobilize these forces against the common enemy is something not understood by all or always. It is highly important to answer this question. In our view, the Left-wing forces can be united only by giving them a correct idea of the objectives of the struggle, coordinating their joint efforts, opening their eyes to the ill-advised actions of certain Leftist organizations, isolating both ultra-Right and ultra-Left nationalist groups, anti-Communists and anti-Sovietists and unmasking them in the eyes of the people. A special effort must be made to expose imperialist agents who try to split the revolutionary and democratic movement.

All this calls for organizational measures. The program for the socio-economic renovation of Turkish society we advanced fifty years ago is essentially still valid. On the other hand, we must take into consideration the immense changes that have come about in the world since then and have produced a definite effect on the situation in Turkey, the alignment of the country's class forces and the policy of its rulers.

Analysis of the social, economic and political situation at home leads the Communist Party to the conclusion that the Left-wing forces should base their program of struggle on the principles listed below.

The main task facing the people is to regain national sovereignty. This means annulling all agreements with imperialist powers that curtail national independence; dismantling all foreign military bases on Turkish soil, securing the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel from the country; establishing and abiding by strict neutrality, and following a policy of cooperation and peace with all nations; vigorously supporting every effort to prevent war, bring about disarmament and establish a lasting peace.

Foreign capital must be denied the possibility of exploiting the Turkish people. This means making it impossible for the imperialist powers to exploit the nation's riches at will; nationalizing all foreign enterprises and assets and putting them under the control of a democratic state; relieving national industry and agriculture of the burden of unequal competition with foreign capital in their own country. The U.S., West German, British, French and Italian imperialists must make good the losses they have inflicted by plundering the people and robbing them of their natural resources for years.

The economic and political positions of imperialist agents in Turkey must be destroyed. This necessitates the nationalization of all private banks – first of all the IS Bank, the chief domestic monopoly – insurance, wholesale home trade, foreign trade, the big private and semi-nationalized companies and enterprises.

As for socio-economic measures, the primary task is to end unemployment and raise wages to a level commensurate with a modern standard of life, introduce free medical aid, increase allowances for disabled people and abolish the present unfair taxation.

Radical reforms must be carried out in agriculture by nationalizing the land, which must be made the property of the whole people, and handing it over to those who till it; abolishing big landed estates and all semi-feudal forms of peasant exploitation; aiding small farms with credits, implements, fertilizer and machinery; remitting the peasants' debt to the Agricultural Bank, as well as to usurers and big landowners; reorganizing rural self-government, setting up cooperatives; carrying out extensive land reclamation and afforestation measures, and so on.

The democratic state should protect and fully back small and medium-scale enterprises, the handicrafts and small retail trade by granting credits on easy terms and providing raw materials and other supplies. It should also encourage the cooperative movement,

business and commercial initiatives that do not injure the interests of the nation, of the working people in town and country. The bias in foreign trade should be discarded in favor of mutually beneficial trade with all nations.

To carry out these measures is a task facing all Turkish democrats irrespective of party allegiance. We believe that now is the time when the democratic tasks put forward by progressive parties can serve as the basis for a common program of national rebirth.

We Marxist-Leninist fighters of the Communist Party of Turkey hold that the crises continuously shaking Turkey and their dire consequences for the people and country cannot be eliminated until the program whose main aspects we have set forth above is carried out. We propose this program to all anti-imperialist patriots, to all democratic organizations and progressive groups.

As the workers, peasants, intellectuals and students fight for their rights they will undoubtedly set themselves new specific tasks. Life itself should be the criterion of the accuracy and necessity of the demands made. The Communist Party of Turkey has always upheld the interests of the working people and championed genuine democracy enabling the people to affect necessary changes. Our Party will continue to uphold the interests of the nation as it fights in the front line against imperialism and reaction, for peace and friendship with all nations.



For a peaceful, independent and prosperous Laos

Kaysone Phomvihana

I. The people of Laos, led by their revolutionary forces, have been engaged in an uncompromising fight against imperialism, for independence and freedom, for over 25 years. They are carrying on this heroic fight, which requires tremendous sacrifice, side by side with the brother peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia, their closest and most devoted comrades-in-arms, scoring ever more impressive gains. These gains are a direct outgrowth of the spread of Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and the foundation in 1930 of the Communist Party of Indochina under Ho Chi Minh's leadership. They are a result of the correct line and far-sighted leadership of the revolutionary working-class parties operating in the three neighbor countries.

The Laotian revolution is a component of the revolutionary movement in Indochina and the world. It has been developing in an era of radical change, the era of the formation and consolidation of the world socialist system, and has therefore gone on in favorable conditions. As part of the common offensive of the revolutionary forces, it enjoys the solidarity and active support of democratic opinion and peace supporters throughout the world. This is why it firmly holds its own against the aggressive power of U.S. imperialism, the van of the capitalist camp.

The revolution has yet to travel a long and arduous road of struggle but this struggle is bound to culminate in the victory of our people.

II. Following the expulsion of the Japanese invaders the Laotian people in October 1945 took power into their own hands, formed a provisional government and proclaimed independence. But in 1946 the French colonialists, backed by the U.S. and British imperialists, tried to recapture Laos by occupying it. The revolutionary forces were not strong enough at the time and had to withdraw from the cities, where they resisted the enemy for a time. They retreated to

avoid a reverse and set up revolutionary bases in rural areas. Rousing the peasantry to the struggle, our patriots organized strong-points first in mountain regions and then in the valleys and the vicinity of cities. They began extensive political work among the population, formed armed units and took steps to increase agricultural production and improve the peasants' condition.

All this made it possible to bring the various sections of a multinational population into Neo Lao Itsala, the united national Liberation Front of Laos. The revolutionary forces established a Resistance government to lead the armed fight against the French colonialists and to coordinate operations with the patriots of Vietnam and Cambodia. Sustained aid from the Vietnamese people and their revolutionary armed forces, and our patriots' close cooperation with them led to victory after victory. The historic battle at Dien Bien Phu compelled the French colonialists to sign the 1954 Geneva agreements proclaiming the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Our country registered a success of immense significance by setting up a vast liberated region comprising two provinces, Sam Neua and Phong Saly. The triumph of the Resistance movement against the French imperialists went a considerable way to arouse the national consciousness of diverse segments of the population. The revolutionary forces of our people became strengthened politically and militarily and gained valuable experience in setting up bases, in training and educating people, and so on. They created the material and moral prerequisites of a new stage of struggle.

Shortly after their defeat in Indochina, the French colonialists were succeeded by the U.S. imperialists, who are out to turn Laos into a new type of colony, a bridgehead for attack on the DRV, China and other Asian states, crush the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia and subjugate the peoples of the area.

Faced with this new threat, the revolutionary vanguard of our people raised high the banner of national independence and democracy and led the fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation. In 1956 Neo Lao Haksat (Patriotic Front of Laos - PFL) began to operate, its goal being to mobilize the masses against attacks by the imperialists and their traitor accomplices.

The patriotic forces beat off all the enemy attacks aimed at overrunning the liberated areas and seizing our bases in Sam Neua and Phong Saly. They supported the revolutionary movement in ten provinces. The enemy was forced to sign the Vientiane agreements and accede to the formation of a national unity government including the PFL.

Having suffered a telling defeat, the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices resorted to political plots in an effort to eliminate the

revolutionary forces. When their schemes failed they began to obstruct the activity of the national unity government, jailed revolutionary fighters and tried to encircle and destroy armed units of the PFL. Things reached a point where the accomplices of imperialism arrested several leaders of the revolution. In these circumstances the revolutionary vanguard promptly directed the patriotic movement towards combining armed with political struggle and mobilizing the people to resist the U.S. imperialists and home reactionaries.

The upsurge in the armed struggle and the growing political activity of the democratic forces stimulated anti-imperialist sentiment among the population, especially the middle strata, as well as among opposing officers and soldiers. This enabled the leaders of the revolution, treacherously seized by the reactionaries, to escape, and accounted to a degree for the coup carried out in 1960 by some units of the royal army. It led to the formation of neutralist forces, which allied themselves with the PFL and joined in the fight against the American aggression. The revolutionary forces became much stronger and the national unity front was extended.

Assistance from the DRV, the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries enabled us greatly to step up military operations and the political struggle and to liberate two-thirds of the country comprising half of the population. The patriots' gains forced the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices to sign the 1962 Geneva agreements recognizing the independence, sovereignty and neutrality of Laos. A tripartite national government was formed (comprising the PFL, neutralists and Right-wingers). This was another serious setback for the neo-colonialist plans of U.S. imperialism in Laos and a noteworthy gain for the people that helped to strengthen the positions of the revolution and to build up its forces.

However, the U.S. imperialists and home reactionaries did not give up the fight. They obstructed implementation of the 1962 Geneva agreements and carried on subversion against the tripartite government of national unity. Subsequently the United States intensified its 'special war,' put its air force in action and sent its mercenaries (so-called special forces, troops of the Vientiane regime subservient to it, and Thailand and Saigon army units) against the liberated areas.

In that critical situation our Party called on all patriots to close their ranks for a resolute armed and political struggle, build up their revolutionary forces, firmly resist the U.S. aggression, defend and extend the liberated area and launch combat operations in enemy-occupied areas. In response to this call, the patriots foiled the imperialists' aggressive maneuvers, captured the initiative and forced the U.S. neo-colonialists and their accomplices on the defensive.

By now the flames of war fanned by the U.S. imperialists have spread all over Indochina. In the spring of 1970 U.S. and Saigon troops invaded Cambodia and last winter they moved into Laos in an attempt to bolster the aggressors' strategic positions in Indochina. But their operations on Laotian soil miscarried, the enemy incurred heavy losses. The three peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos are fighting shoulder to shoulder against their common enemy, inflicting ever more telling reverses upon him.

III. In the past 25 years of struggle the Laotian people have taken a real leap forward, scoring gains of tremendous historic moment which they are legitimately proud of. These gains pave the way for genuine freedom and are a fitting contribution to the peoples' common struggle for peace, national independence and social progress.

The liberated areas have been dependably consolidated and are making progress in every sphere of life. The country's diverse nationalities enjoy equal rights and live in friendship and unity, building a new, democratic society. Their material and cultural standards are improving. The stability of the liberated areas adds strength to our people's resistance to the U.S. aggression and fosters their national progress.

Our revolutionary movement was tested in severe struggles marked by numerous trials. It has a genuine revolutionary party well trained in battle and experienced in leadership. The movement comprises a broad-based national front and both military and paramilitary organizations of the revolutionary masses. Its leaders are devoted to the people's interests. These fundamental factors are an earnest of success for the patriots.

Revolutionary ideas are spreading throughout the country. The PFL is daily consolidating its positions both at home and abroad. Our revolution has the sympathy and support of progressive mankind and is aided on a large scale by the socialist countries, national liberation movements and all freedom-loving peoples who uphold justice. We therefore express our gratitude to the peoples and governments of the DRV, the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries, to the peoples and governments of countries in the 'Third World,' to all who are fighting against imperialism, for freedom, progress and peace.

The Laotian revolution is producing deep-going historic changes in our society. The country's multinational working people, once subjugated, are becoming masters of their own destiny. The forces of our people, more powerful than ever, are a reliable guarantee of the complete victory of the revolution. Our gains are an expression of the triumph of the revolutionary ideas of our time. The people

of a small, formerly colonial country, which inherited a backward economy and culture, are advancing to a radiant future, and no enemy force can stop them.

The Laotian revolution owes its victories to the following factors:

- the leadership of a genuinely revolutionary party entirely devoted to the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, a party which has been following a correct policy in military and political matters, using proper methods of revolutionary struggle, and whose backbone is made up of tried and tested people;

- the establishment and consolidation under the Party's leadership of a broad united national front based on the worker-peasant alliance. It unites diverse nationalities and is fighting with determination against the imperialist aggressors and their underlings who have betrayed the people's cause. Its slogan is, 'Everything for the independence and freedom of the country';

- the favorable international situation in which the revolution has been going on. The world socialist system is steadily building up its might and has become the decisive factor in social progress. The national liberation movement is gathering momentum. The working class and other working people in the developed capitalist countries are stepping up their struggle. The Laotian revolution is developing in Southeast Asia, an area of a great revolutionary storm. It is directly influenced by the heroic, victorious fight of the Vietnamese people.

These three factors are closely interlinked and the revolution would have been less successful in the absence of any one of them. However, the decisive factor is the correct leadership provided by a genuinely revolutionary party.

Twenty-five years' experience of struggle in Laos shows that the *revolution is bound to win against all difficulties in even a small and economically weak country with a nascent working class, a country which is compelled to resist an imperialism commanding a powerful economic and military potential and using treacherous and brutal methods. This, however, calls for a revolutionary party following a correct policy in the political and military field, using effective methods, well organized and united, closely linked with the masses, fully dedicated to the people's cause, mobilizing and organizing the masses to resist foreign intervention, and having secured the aid of brother countries, primarily the socialist countries.*

In the forties, the patriotic movements Lao pen Lao and Lao Seri gained some strength and became active in many provinces. They were launched by the urban petty bourgeoisie under the influence of the patriotic anti-fascist movement led by the Communist Party of Indochina. These petty-bourgeois movements contributed their share to the general rising in 1945. However, they were unable to

unite the mass of the people because their leaders, who ignored the laws of social development, proposed to establish an outdated system of bourgeois democracy on winning independence. It was only the Communist Party of Indochina that gave the Laotian revolution the right direction.

Today the revolutionary party of our people, which is devoted to the interests of the working class and the Laotian nation as a whole, is effectively leading the fight against aggressive U.S. imperialism. *At every stage our Party made a correct estimation of the balance of forces – its own and the enemy's – correctly defined the chief enemy and the key aspects of the situation, adopted the right policy and correctly charted the path of the revolution. It closely linked the tasks of the national revolution in Laos with those of the democratic revolution, the interests of the national revolution with those of the world revolution. The Party skilfully used an offensive strategy and flexible tactics and took advantage of the enemy's internal contradictions, concentrating forces at every stage to defeat the chief enemy. In this way it made the enemy retreat step by step and continuously achieved impressive victories.*

iv. There are two fundamental contradictions in Laotian society:
– between the Laotian nation, on the one hand, and aggressive imperialism (U.S. imperialism at the moment) and its accomplices, on the other;

– between the Laotian people (first of all the working people) and the clique of compradore bourgeoisie and feudal forces.

The former is particularly sharp. This is why our revolution is faced with two general tasks, the national and the democratic: to deliver the Laotians from the tyranny of the imperialist aggressors and home reactionaries and build an independent, neutral and democratic Laos.

In leading the national-democratic revolution, our Party has closely coordinated its tasks. It has raised high the banner of the national revolution to unite all forces against aggressive imperialism and its flunkies who betray the country. The program of unity of the whole people, designed to defeat aggressive U.S. imperialism and the reactionary clique and to establish a peaceful, independent and democratic Laos, is an important initiative of our Party as leader of the national-democratic revolution. The Party's creative strategic leadership and flexible tactics enabled us to unite the popular forces, disrupt the ranks of the enemy and isolate him, achieve ever more important victories in our great struggle against the U.S. aggression and lay the groundwork for completing the national-democratic revolution.

What we have is, in effect, a peasant revolution of liberation.

The key to its success is the formation and consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance led by our Party. The Party has deep roots in the countryside and it has mobilized and organized the peasants – 90 per cent of the population – to fight against imperialism and its lackeys, for independence, freedom, happiness and progress. It has formed a united bloc of peasants of diverse nationalities and considerably improved their life in the liberated areas. Social and economic measures are carried out in these areas, people's power there is being strengthened and its functioning improved. As a result, links between the rural population and the revolution have become stronger and so has the worker-peasant alliance. The revolutionary bases set up in the countryside have helped to increase our Party's political influence and to build up the patriotic armed forces.

The vast experience of the Laotian revolution warrants the conclusion that *revolution is creative effort by the masses and that it always expresses itself in the exploited classes using revolutionary force against the ruling classes to seize power.* The liberation struggle of the masses against aggressive imperialism and its accomplices is mainly twofold: political and armed. Since U.S. imperialism is committed to a 'special war' in Laos and an aggressive neo-colonialist policy, the Party calls on the masses to use flexible and varied forms of struggle. Military operations are combined with political action aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement in the country. The patriots use every opportunity to carry on their struggle in legal and diplomatic terms. They have repeatedly held talks and formed national unity governments. However, the Party considers that armed action today is particularly important if we are to win.

In accordance with the principle that victory over the enemy and triumph of the revolution require unity between the revolutionary forces and progressive forces willing to establish this unity, and with due regard to the political and social characteristics of the country, the Party formed a united national front whose foundation is the worker-peasant alliance led by it. It helped to create a climate of friendship and mutual assistance in the country's big multinational family. By putting forth a constructive minimum program corresponding to each particular period of the revolution, our Party was able to unite the patriotic peace-loving and democratic forces and win the confidence of tribal and clan chiefs, individual leaders, priests and others.

Another important conclusion to be drawn is that for the revolution to win in our country it is necessary to arouse the patriotic feelings of the people and, while relying mainly on ourselves, form *a broad alliance with all revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces of the world.* We must secure the solidarity of the peoples,

coordinate resistance to the enemy with the revolutionary struggle of the patriots of Vietnam and Cambodia, and win the support and assistance of the socialist countries, the world Communist movement and national liberation movements.

Recent development have shown that U.S. imperialism, which is persistently aggressive by nature, is trying to bring Laos under its neo-colonialist sway at all costs. The recent invasion of our country was just one of the various operations carried out under the overall strategic plan of U.S. imperialism in Indochina and the whole of Southeast Asia, a component of its aggressive global strategy designed to achieve world domination.

The *political* objective of U.S. imperialism is to carry out its counter-revolutionary schemes by quelling the people's patriotic movement. To this end it is trying to bolster the position of the subservient Vientiane regime and undermine the national front established to fight against the U.S. aggression. It wants to weaken the revolutionary forces of Laos through political subversion and to destroy the alliance between the PFL and neutralist patriotic groups. It foments and exploits national discord. On the other hand, the U.S. imperialists try to strengthen reactionary rulers in the occupied areas by setting up and bolstering anti-popular organizations. On instructions from Washington, a so-called 'rural development program' is being carried out, whose object is, in effect, to extend the network of concentration camps, camouflaged as 'unity villages,' 'revival areas,' 'refugee camps,' and so on. The idea is to force the peasants into submission and to continue the aggression by drawing on the Laotian people's manpower and material resources.

Besides, the U.S. invaders are conducting an extensive psychological war, a slander campaign against the PFL, the neutralist patriotic forces and the socialist countries, first of all the DRV, in an effort to mislead the people and to prevail on them to reduce their support of the revolutionary patriotic forces. They are also trying to disunite and antagonize the people of Laos and Vietnam so as to more effectively to implement their neo-colonialist plans of aggression in Indochina.

In the *military* field the U.S. imperialists are trying to reinforce the Vientiane troops, as well as the 'special forces' of mercenaries which they fully maintain and have put under the command of U.S. officers. They step up air raids on Laotian territory, particularly the liberated areas, and send Vientiane puppet troops (reinforced with more and more new Thai and Saigon army units) against the patriots.

The aggressors are building up and extending the network of airfields and strategic lines of communication along the Laos-Thailand border and improving the system of military bases in Thailand

along the so-called Mekong Line. Washington is trying to bring Vientiane, Saigon, Phnom Penh and Bangkok into a military and political bloc directed against the liberation movement and independent countries in Southeast Asia. The U.S. imperialists plan to press forward their aggression in Southeast Asia with the aid of this bloc, by using their bases in South Vietnam and Thailand and enlisting the help of the reactionaries of Vientiane and Phnom Penh. They hope to implement the 'Nixon doctrine,' which advocates setting Indochinese against Indochinese and Asians against Asians and inducing them to fight for U.S. imperialist interests.

In the *economic and cultural* fields, the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies are pursuing a neo-colonialist policy in the areas controlled by them. Using the 'aid' mechanism, the United States has flooded these areas with its surplus goods and has 'opened the doors' of Laos to monopolies to bring the Laotian economy under their control. At the same time it is trying to inject its 'culture' into our countries.

As far as implementing these schemes is concerned, U.S. imperialism has an ally – the monopoly capital of Japan, which is again laying ambitious plans for expansion in Southeast Asia. Japanese monopolies are making ever deeper inroads into numerous branches of the Laotian economy, trying to increase their influence over the country. They help the U.S. invaders in their war of aggression in Laos while at the same time spinning their own neo-colonialist web in which they hope to enmesh our country.

The reactionaries of Thailand, those devoted menials of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia, are sending more and more troops into Laos to fight against the people's armed forces; in the liberated areas their secret agents and paratroop units carry on espionage and sabotage.

Despite serious reverses, U.S. imperialism persists in its aggression. The invasion of Laos by more than 40,000 U.S. and Saigon troops on orders from the Nixon government and the extension of hostilities to the whole of Indochina are the main cause of the present tension in Laos. 'The sacred and urgent task of all Laotians irrespective of age, sex, social status and national origin, religion, party allegiance or political views,' the political program of the PFL stresses, 'is to unite for resolute struggle in order to achieve victory in the "special war," foil the neo-colonialist policy of U.S. imperialism, overthrow the venal clique of its traitor underlings, establish a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos, and contribute thereby to the restoration and maintenance of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world.' The political program of the PFL fully reflects the innermost aspirations and vital interests of the multinational Laotian people. So long as

the u.s. imperialists persist in their aggressive plots, and so long as their accomplices persevere in their policy of betraying national interests, all our patriots will go on fighting as one man and will carry their fight through to complete victory.

The Laotian people are certain to encounter numerous difficulties and hardships in implementing the PFL program and vindicating their fundamental interests. There can be no question, however, that the conditions in which our revolution is developing are becoming more and more favorable. The Laotian people's enemy – predatory u.s. imperialism – has been driven to a dead end by the peoples of Indochina. It is isolated and sustains heavy losses and will doubtless be defeated. As for its henchmen in Laos, they have fully exposed themselves as traitors to their country. They are rent by internal contradictions, which are intensifying as a result of guerrilla warfare and tend to deepen the division. The traitors will meet with the same fate as is in store for their masters.

By building up its morale as it fights under the slogan 'Everything for the independence and freedom of the country,' enriching the tradition of patriotic struggle against foreign invaders and displaying revolutionary heroism on a mass scale, our people will achieve complete victory in the great battle against American aggression, for a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos.



Latin America: liberation struggle and the working class

Recent developments in Latin America have shown that this vast continent has entered a new period of historic change. A great battle for genuine national liberation, democracy and social progress is under way from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn. The international revolutionary movement and world opinion are taking a growing interest in the struggle going on in Latin America. What are the characteristics of the present stage of this struggle? What is the alignment of political and class forces? What is the role of the working class and its vanguard in the revolutionary process? What is the outlook for extension of the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and democratic movement? Why is it that some contingents of the proletariat are weak?

These questions were discussed last April at a round table conference sponsored by the Editorial Board of this journal and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile. The conference, which took place in Santiago, Chile, was attended by Orlando Millas, member of the Political Commission, CC CP of Chile, P. Ortega Diaz, member of the Political Bureau, CC CP of Venezuela, F. Arias Schreiber, member of the Political Commission, CC of the Peruvian CP, Jaime Paiva, alternate member, CC of the Brazilian CP, Alberto Cohen, CP of Argentina, and Edgardo Caicedo, CP of Colombia.

In opening the discussion, Julio Laborde, member of the Editorial Board of the journal, expressed confidence that the proposed exchange of views would stimulate further study and provide a deeper knowledge of many important problems of the present stage of the liberation movement in Latin America. The items on the agenda, he said, bear on the present tactics of the Communist and Workers' parties of the continent. They were also of interest to other fraternal countries.

Worthy of special attention were the qualitatively new changes in the Latin American liberation movement as a whole and in each particular country, the content of the struggle of the working class and the progress made by the workers in building up their alliance with the peasants and other social strata with a view to forming a

broad front of anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic forces. It would be useful, Laborde stressed, to hear the participants' comments on the main difficulties and problems facing the working class today and on how they should be overcome.

SECOND LIBERATION OF THE CONTINENT

'The Cuban revolution has broken the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America and has led to the establishment of the first socialist state on the American continent, marking a historic turning point and opening in this region a new phase of the revolutionary movement.'

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Cuba, Peru, Bolivia, Chile are the main milestones of the present stage of the liberation struggle in Latin America. A distinguishing feature of this stage, participants in the discussion pointed out, is that recent years have seen important changes in the liberation movement on the continent which determine the new content and scope of anti-imperialist action, of class battles, of the political and socio-economic changes coming about on the continent. As correctly noted by Comrade Millas, these changes are increasingly assuming a revolutionary character. Most typical of the revolutionary process was the fact that it involved very broad sections of society. The revolution was becoming the cause of millions. This was confirmed by Chilean reality which was by no means an isolated phenomenon. The revolutionary process in Chile was dialectically linked with the international working-class and liberation movement which had profoundly influenced the development of new conditions on the continent.

Comrade Caicedo, evaluating the great battle for national liberation going on in Latin America, said that never since the war against Spanish and Portuguese domination in the last century has Latin America gone through so decisive a period as the present. While it was difficult to compare these two liberation processes separated by long spans of time, it was fair to say that in either case it was a question of a deep historic change. The first process had taken place at a time of bourgeois revolutions, while the second was developing in the era of transition from capitalism to socialism opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The new stage of struggle initiated by the victory of the Cuban revolution, Caicedo said, has its distinctive characteristics due to the backwardness and dependent condition of the countries of the continent. It was a people's democratic revolution for national lib-

eration. It varied in form according to the level of political, social and economic development, and to the historical conditions and specific situation obtaining in the country concerned. Despite the diversity of conditions, however, a common feature of this process was the fight against imperialism, the national oligarchy and reactionary regimes, the main obstacles to progress. The common strategy of the progressive and democratic forces of the continent was, therefore, to accomplish a far-reaching anti-imperialist agrarian and democratic revolution that would in the end develop into a socialist revolution.

Speaking of this, Comrade *Ortega* said that in the world of today, at a time of transition from capitalism to socialism, all Latin American revolutions are socialist to a degree. In other words, in almost every country of the continent the defeat of pro-imperialist governments would mean creating prerequisites for socialist change. As for the main task at the first stage of the revolutionary process, it was to abolish imperialist domination and the national oligarchies closely associated with it, establish popular, democratic and patriotic governments and carry out deep-going political and socio-economic changes.

Comrade *Caicedo*, pointing out the significance of the Cuban revolution, said that the qualitative changes brought by it into the liberation struggle on the continent consist in something more than carrying the objectives of this struggle deeper, demonstrating the possibility of winning it despite the proximity of U.S. imperialism, and encouraging militant action by the working people. The victory of the Cuban revolution had increased the urgency of revolutionary change in other Latin American countries. On the other hand, it had made this change more difficult. The point was that the Cuban revolution had taught a lesson and served serious warning to the U.S. imperialists and Latin American ruling circles. This was why they had promptly resorted to brutal repression against the peoples of some countries and, on the other hand, to demagoguery and reformist measures to prevent the emergence of a second Cuba.

But while this tactic had helped the U.S. imperialists and the rulers of Latin American countries to dampen the liberation movement throughout the continent for a while – without, however, reducing the acuteness of class battles anywhere – it had proved powerless to do away with the objective factors for the inevitable national and social emancipation of the peoples of Latin America.

The new upsurge in the struggle on the continent, as well as the political, social and economic changes that have come about in various countries, *Millas* said, are due to the following factors:

- growing contradictions between the developing productive forces and the system of imperialist domination and plunder;

– the growing political consciousness of the working class, the increasing scope and unity of the trade union movement, and the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance on the basis of common demands for a radical agrarian reform;

– the failure of the imperialist policy of domination and oppression, as well as of the repressive policy of military dictatorships and the reformist measures of bourgeois governments;

– the impact of progress in the socialist countries, especially in the Soviet Union, the solidarity shown by these countries and the aid rendered by them to the peoples fighting for freedom;

– a general weakening of imperialist positions due to reverses in Indochina, the courageous struggle of the peoples of the Middle East and the miscarriage of attempts to isolate and blockade Cuba.

Imperialist actions, Comrade *Paiva* said, are assuming an increasingly defensive character. This was due to the shift in the balance of forces in favor of the democratic and anti-imperialist movement.

Speakers were unanimous in stressing that the victory of the Popular Unity bloc in the Chilean presidential elections on September 4, 1970, has been one of the most important developments since the Cuban revolution and affords new prospects to both the Chilean people and other peoples of the continent. The refreshing spirit of the victorious Chilean revolution has reached the remotest corners of Argentina, *Cohen* said. It was not accidental that the Andes were not high enough to bar the influence of the Chilean people's victory, as one of the typical spokesmen of Argentina's gorillas had said uneasily.

Giving his view of the significance of events in Chile, *Caicedo* said that they have demonstrated the growth and scale of the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist movement; the possibility of tackling at this stage the problem of building socialism by setting up a people's national and democratic regime; the indefensibility of various concepts denying the vanguard role of the working class, its revolutionary character and the need for unity between the proletariat and the rest of the people; the multiformity of the struggle and the diversity of the paths followed by the revolution; and lastly, imperialism's inability to stop the revolutionary process on the continent.

In this connection *Millas* called the attention of the meeting to the fact that the victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile is a distinctive development due to specific historical and socio-economic conditions. This was why it would be absurd to think of exporting Chilean experience. On the other hand, some of its features should be taken into account regardless of the distinctive character of the revolutionary movement in each particular country.

The speaker listed among these features the guiding political role

of the Communist Party, the Communist-Socialist alliance, the unification of the working class in one trade union center, the mobilization of the peasantry to win a radical agrarian reform, the formation of a broad democratic, national revolutionary coalition on the basis of an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic program, the consolidation of mass organizations of the population (such as house committees) uniting various segments of the people in the fight for pressing demands, and the campaign for an educational reform. All this made it possible to unite the patriotic forces to foil the sinister maneuvers of reaction, in particular its preparations for a coup, and to carry out the Popular Unity program.

President Allende's government, *Millas* said, has effected a series of important measures. Coal pits and iron ore mines and metallurgy had been nationalized. Congress had passed a bill to nationalize the copper industry. Private banks were now rigidly controlled, the state fully running nine of them. The agrarian reform was being carried out apace. Inflation and price and tax increases were curbed. The economy was given considerable impetus, with the result that trade was on the rise. Wages and salaries had been put up by 40 per cent on the average. A National Economic Development Council had been set up. The working people were now in charge of social security. Diplomatic relations had been established with Cuba, the Chinese People's Republic, Nigeria and the German Democratic Republic, and commercial and political contacts with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The Chilean Communists realize, *Millas* said, that they have only just begun a long and strenuous struggle, that there are numerous dangers ahead and that the Party will have to solve difficult problems. However, he added, it should not be forgotten that the Allende government, which includes Communists and for whose activity Communists share responsibility with their allies, is a revolutionary government.

Comrade *Arias* spoke of the liberation movement in Peru and its motive forces. He stressed that the balance of forces in Peru is becoming ever more favorable and that imperialism has irrevocably lost the political initiative and the ability to shape the course of events despite its increased aggressiveness. An indication of this was a process of limited but deep-going structural reforms of a markedly anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and anti-feudal nature that were radically changing the country's economic, social and political character. For the first time in Peruvian history, the oligarchy of big landowners and financiers and the upper stratum of the industrial bourgeoisie, those accomplices of imperialist oppressors, had been removed from the seats of power.

One of the typical aspects of the political situation in Peru was that the process of revolutionary change was directed by a government not representing working-class power. This government was a heterogeneous military junta. It was made up of at least three groups. One group was inclined to compromise with home reaction and the imperialists. It was opposed by a radical and patriotic-minded group including General Juan Velasco Alvarado, President of the Republic. Between these two groups was a moderately nationalist trend with centrist leanings.

The policies of the Peruvian military government at present were framed primarily by the anti-imperialist radical group. At this stage of the revolution, the junta might be said to reflect the common interests of the workers, peasants, petty and middle bourgeoisie and progressive intellectuals and young people in the fight against imperialism and the home oligarchy, or, in other words, the interests of large, genuinely democratic, progressive and revolutionary segments of the population. The main objectives of these segments at the present stage were to end economic dependence and backwardness, vindicate national sovereignty and ensure economic and social progress, which would undoubtedly pave the way for new and more radical social changes.

This means, the speaker said, that in the historic aspect, due to the dynamics of the class struggle, the present military government of Peru is undergoing an evolution as reforms are carried out.

The situation in Argentina was described by Comrade Cohen. He said that the political situation was aggravated by the 1966 coup. According to the Communist Party, Argentina was going through a deep power crisis. This crisis could not be solved through palliatives designed to head off the social explosion building up fast as a result of mass action by all social sections headed by the working people. The working people refused to have any one of the old forms of political and socio-economic organization. They wanted to link the country's progress with the deep changes taking place on the continent and in the world. A pressing task in the social and political struggle in Argentina was to establish a new regime that would be democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic and would effect radical socio-economic and political reforms.

Speaking of the progress of the liberation movement in various Latin American countries, participants in the meeting stressed the need to steer clear of sweeping generalizations. We must not forget, Caicedo said, that despite the overall upswing in the liberation struggle on the continent, a vast country like Brazil is ruled by a fascist-type military dictatorship and shows no sign of a broad revolutionary movement for the time being although the Communists are fighting to change the situation.

It must also be remembered that U.S. imperialism, unable to check the revolutionary process in Latin America, was not, however, just an onlooker. Indeed, the imperialists devised subtle tactics, and wherever possible they encouraged reactionary, militarist quarters, subsidized conciliating bourgeois governments, stepped up the ideological offensive and whipped up anti-Communist and anti-Soviet hysteria.

Nevertheless, the speaker added, it is a fact that more and more working people, new social strata and whole peoples and states are joining in an active fight against U.S. imperialism.

While it is true, Cohen said, that the positions of U.S. imperialism on the continent are weakening and that the political, social and economic structures of Latin American countries are finding themselves in an increasingly deep crisis, national, anti-imperialist and agrarian revolutions achieve victory in different ways and at a varying pace. The victorious advance of the liberation struggle would have been impossible without the existence of the socialist system headed by the Soviet Union, the growing political consciousness of the working class of Latin America and the Communists' vanguard role.

IN THE VAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

'The proletariat and the Communist and Workers' parties play an increasingly important role in the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America. The existence and activity of the working class is an historic advantage and a guarantee of its further development.'

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The qualitative changes that have occurred in the Latin American liberation movement are a further confirmation of Lenin's prediction that the peoples of the colonies and dependencies would go on from the struggle for national freedom to the struggle against the foundations of the system of exploitation.

Speakers linked this issue with the growing role of the working class in the revolutionary process throughout the continent. They stressed the immense responsibility of the Latin American proletariat in transforming society along revolutionary lines. Needless to say, they commented on the quantitative and qualitative changes that the working class has undergone.

An overall picture of the numerical growth of the proletariat was given by Comrade Ortega. Rural and urban workers plus those in the service industries today numbered 47 or 48 millions, or 57 per cent of the gainfully employed population of the continent. This

was necessarily creating a qualitatively new situation in Latin America, where revolution was becoming the order of the day.

While capitalist development in Latin America has increased the proportion of the proletariat on the continent, *Cohen* said, there are countries where the working class is small. However, it was not numbers that determined the historic role of the proletariat in the revolutionary process, even though they were far from immaterial. Lenin pointed out that the strength of the working class in historical development is far greater than its share in the total population. That is because in any capitalist country the proletariat 'economically dominates the center and nerve of the entire economic system of capitalism, and also because the proletariat expresses economically and politically the real interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people under capitalism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 374).

Comrade *Millas* spoke of the increasing leading role of the working class. The Communists of Chile saw the revolution as a series of continuous encounters with the enemy in every sphere and on every front of the class struggle. In the course of these encounters the proletariat underwent qualitative changes and strengthened its organization. It was highly important that the working class of Chile had a tradition of trade union unity and a single trade union center of its own. In taking part in the struggle of urban and agricultural workers, Communists closely linked immediate socio-economic demands with political and ideological issues. It would be wrong to give preference to one aspect to the detriment of the other. The social consciousness of the proletariat grew in class battles but this process could not be allowed to drift. The Party should always bear this in mind.

Speaking of the victory of the Chilean people and of the far-reaching anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic reforms carried out in Peru and Bolivia, *Cohen* stressed that these were all concrete indications of the growing class awareness of the proletariat. With reference to the current mass actions of the Argentine people against the dictatorship, the speaker said that the working class is putting forward more and more economic and social demands as well as political ones. Its actions were marked by the growing unity of working people holding different political views.

Caicedo emphasized that only the working class can guarantee the success of the revolution thanks to its consistency. He devoted particular attention to the situation in Colombia. The organization and unity and degree of political consciousness of the Colombian proletariat did not enable it to become the leading class as yet. However, there was no other genuinely revolutionary social force in the country. The gains of the working class were becoming ever

more manifest and this showed that a general process of transformation of the proletariat into the main force of the revolutionary movement was taking place in Colombia.

A similar view was expressed by Comrade Arias, who said that the outlook for the liberation movement in Latin America going deeper and culminating in victory depends in decisive measure on the leading role of the working class. The maturity of national consciousness, which had expressed itself in the movement to nationalize oil and had even spread to the Peruvian armed forces, was a result of years of stubborn anti-imperialist struggle by the working class and its Communist Party. Growing political consciousness and closer organizational unity of the proletariat would guarantee the advance of the process going on in Peru and enable the working class to take the lead in the changes being effected in the country.

Tangible progress had been made in organizing the proletariat on class principles. The influence of the Confederation of Working People of Peru, controlled by Aprist trade union leaders,* was declining. On the other hand, the united class center of the Peruvian proletariat – the General Confederation of Working People of Peru, founded by Jose Carlos Mariategui, and having over 350,000 members today, that is, comprising the overwhelming majority of the country's organized workers – was gaining in prestige.

Comrade Ortega, speaking of the working class of Venezuela, said that it has yet to play its historical role in the life of the country. The reason for this was that the proletariat as a whole was young and had not yet dissociated from its handicraft and peasant past. Hence its organizational disunity, which expressed itself in the existence of several national centers dominated by reformist leaders.

Asked how this state of affairs could be remedied in a short time, the speaker said that in addition to the Party's effort to make the proletariat class-conscious and militant, the experience of the international working class would help.

The inadequacy of the political consciousness, organization and militancy of the Brazilian working class, Comrade Paiva said, is due to its rapid growth since World War II. The non-proletarian masses swelling its ranks brought alien ideas with them. The bourgeoisie took advantage of this to carry on subversion among the working people. Nevertheless, this did not prevent the proletariat from playing a growing political role. Despite the 1964 reverse, it was well remembered that in earlier years the working class had demonstrated its ability to be the leading force of the revolutionary pro-

*The Aprists are members of APRA (American People's Revolutionary Alliance), known since World War II as the People's Party, which expresses the interests of the big, pro-imperialist bourgeoisie.

cess. For all their mistakes, the Communists had shown that they could make the proletariat the leader in the struggle to reshape society on revolutionary lines.

The mass character of the liberation movement and the growing role of the working class in it, *Millas* said, prompt us to pose the problem of people's rule in explicit terms. This important new aspect of the revolutionary struggle on the continent confirmed the thesis that ideas which grip the masses become a great material force.

It was the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia that had first posed the problem of taking power before the peoples of Latin America. Under its impact Communist parties had come into being. The issue of power had been posed with new emphasis after the victory of the Cuban revolution, whose significance was hard to underrate. This problem was now being solved by the Chilean people and was also being dealt with by the Communists of Uruguay, Argentina and other countries. From the sphere of propaganda it was passing into the sphere of deeds by the masses.

The trend of unification of the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and democratic forces in the National Meeting of Argentines, *Cohen* said, was such that one could speak of the eventual formation of a popular government on its basis. The growing trend towards radical social change and the establishment of democratic regimes, on the one hand, and the crisis of such traditional institutions as the Army and the Church, on the other, invites the conclusion, as Comrade *Caicedo* saw it, that the road to socialism passes through the stage of revolutionary democratic people's regimes.

Speakers pointed out the immense role of the working-class vanguard, the Communist parties, in the revolutionary process. In recent years the proportion of workers has grown considerably in some Communist parties. They make up 78 per cent of the Party membership in Uruguay, 70 per cent in Chile and 63 per cent in Argentina. New members are recruited among the finest spokesmen of the working people. Under the Lenin Enrolment alone, 20,000 new people have joined the Communist Party in Uruguay, over 12,000 in Argentina and 10,000 in Colombia. The Communist Party of Ecuador, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, the Nicaraguan Socialist Party and other parties, too, have grown numerically. The Communist movement in Latin America today comprises over 350,000 people.

Comrade *Cohen* stressed that tremendous credit is due to the Communists of the continent for rousing the masses against imperialism. Large sections of society were uniting under the banner of the anti-imperialist struggle. The Communist Party of Argentina took a firm and meaningful stand for unity of the country's trade

union movement, for joint action by Communists, Peronists, Radicals, Socialists and Catholics, or, in other words, for democratic anti-imperialist unity. By defining policies and tactics, the Communist Party taught the masses to master every form of struggle and draw lessons from their experience. The party leaned on the working people for support in carrying on its every activity and enjoyed their growing confidence as it became a mass party of the working class.

Comrade Millas pointed out that the revolutionary movement in Chile today is unthinkable without Communist participation. However, this participation implied continuous struggle for the ideological purity of the proletarian party of a new type based on Leninist organizational principles. Chile's Communists held that the revolutionary process could make headway only if the Party always remembered its class character, primarily the role of the proletariat in transforming society, the Party's duty to be the dynamic and imaginative maker of all that is new, and loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Because they bore all this in mind, the Chilean Communists had been able to win decisive support from the younger generation and bring it into the struggle of the working class in large numbers. An important factor for the success of the revolutionary movement in Chile was the founding of the Young Communist League with its militancy and youthful zeal, and the fact that the YCL backed the Marxist-Leninist policies of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party applied its political line in a variety of situations; it made no concessions to opportunism and steered clear of sectarian dogmatism. In the hardest trials, Chile's Communists were always ranged beside the CPSU, the main bulwark of the world Communist movement. For its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for its clearly defined policy, Millas said, the Communist Party is respected by its allies and understood by the people, winning more and more prestige.

Chile's revolutionary process, Ortega said, exercises a profound influence on the other Latin American countries. In Venezuela, for example, where the democratic forces priorly objected to Communist participation in a broad political front, they have now reversed their attitude and are offering cooperation. It is now up to the Communists to make the most of the mass enthusiasm evoked by the victory in Chile.

Venezuela's Communists, he added, may have made mistakes but have always sought to organize the masses against imperialism and to promote proletarian internationalism. And they have won some marvelous victories, proving that they represent the people's interests. Among the latest is the ouster of the Petkoff and Marques renegades.

Though in Colombia the Communist Party is still not a mass party, Comrade Caicedo said, it is indisputably the main mover of the revolutionary process. It has shown the masses the main directions of the struggle and provided them with an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic and patriotic program. With the revolutionary process hinging on working-class hegemony, the Party is working to win over the main contingents of the proletariat, and with visible success. Its strategic objective is to forge united working-class action. Strong evidence is at hand, he said, that the Party's popularity is growing. Several of its candidates were voted into office in the latest elections. Today, the Party is building up broad popular opposition to overturn the oligarchic regime and pave the way for a patriotic national-liberation front with a revolutionary democratic and anti-imperialist platform.

The Communist Party can unite different political movements, Paiva said. Despite the difficulties, Brazil's Communists are combating the disenchantment, passivity and adventurism afflicting the revolutionary movement of today. They also oppose the intention of some trade unionists to leave the government-controlled unions. Though the unions are persecuted and weak, their role in some of the successful working-class actions against the dictatorship's anti-worker policy, particularly the wage-freeze, should not be belittled.

The peasant movement, too, Paiva said, is an object of concern. Working hand in hand with other forces, the Communists have reorganized some peasant unions or established new ones, which instantly enlivened the democratic struggle in the countryside. Besides, the Communist Party is trying to reanimate the student movement, to combat the unrealistic extremist postures of part of the student leaders and to give the youth correct bearings. In short, Paiva said, the Party is set on a policy of patient and cautious work, rallying the working class and the nation for a bitter, perhaps long, struggle. It is working for a mass movement and seeks to unite the progressive forces in order to isolate and smash the military dictatorship.

The view that only mass struggle headed by the working class and its vanguard can bring about the downfall of imperialism and the local oligarchies, opening the way for deep-going revolutionary reconstruction, ran through all the contributions to the round-table exchange. As rightly noted by Millas, the revolutionary vanguard depends entirely on mass support in forging its victories. As long as the movement encompasses but small groups, it is easy for the enemy to divide and destroy them. Hence the main objective on the continent and in each country is to win over the masses, to forge unity between the working class and the people, to gain the allegiance of the farmers and urban petty bourgeoisie, and thus

build a broad anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and anti-latifundist coalition.

UNITY IS THE EARNEST OF VICTORY

'The proletariat cannot achieve victory if it does not win the majority of the population to its side'

(Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30,
p. 265)

Lenin's idea of drawing as many social strata as possible into the revolutionary struggle is turning into reality in Latin America. Only an alliance of all forces aspiring to true independence and radical socio-economic reconstruction can perform the multiple tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic, democratic revolution, and the question of popular unity fronts has been put on the continent's political agenda by the actual situation. This was the gist of what the speakers said at the exchange.

The working class, they pointed out, is the most active of the fighters for popular unity, the organizer of mass anti-imperialist action, the pioneer of joint action, and hence the main motive force of the revolutionary process. When fighting for its class interests, the proletariat also champions the interests of the entire nation and all social strata suffering from the imperialist presence and the oligarchies.

To perform its leading role, to be the hegemon in the popular unity front, it was stressed, the working class must be monolithic. Also stressed was the appreciable contribution of the Communist and Workers' Parties to popular unity and the coordination of all progressive and democratic forces and organizations. 'Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working-class unity,' says the Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 'are in favor of cooperation with the Socialists and Social-Democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future. . . . Communists are likewise in favor of cooperation with other democratic parties and organizations interested in the renewal of society. To advance on this path, it is, of course, necessary for the Socialist parties and other political organizations favoring socialism resolutely to break with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and to pursue a policy of effective struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.'

Dwelling on this point, Millas stressed the importance of the alliance and the continuous consultation between Chile's Com-

munists and Socialists. It was hard to weld the alliance, he said, but without unity we would have had no people's government, and none but reaction would have benefited.

A broad anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic coalition, it was pointed out, is inconceivable without a worker-peasant alliance. In the Latin American context this alliance is of special importance, because farmers are in the majority. Their lack of rights and their poverty, the fierce exploitation to which they are subjected by landowners, coupled with the land hunger, make them the workers' natural allies and bearers of a strong revolutionary potential.

Of late, some bourgeois governments, for example that of Colombia, have launched agrarian reforms to avert an explosion. The facts show, however, *Caicedo* said, that the reformism of the bourgeoisie is ineffectual, because, since the bourgeoisie is dependent on imperialism and the landowners, it cannot solve the agrarian problem. The only way the peasants can satisfy their hunger for land is by alliance with, and under the guidance of, the working class. 'The peasantry have not, and cannot have, any other means of ensuring the satisfaction of their just demands,' wrote Lenin, 'than that of joining the class-conscious proletariat' (Vol. 12, p. 296).

The need for radical agrarian reform has already produced worker-peasant alliances in many countries. How the peasants set out to achieve radical rural reconstruction with the backing of the urban proletariat and its vanguard, was described by Comrade *Cohen*. They have formed organizations, such as the United Rural Producers' League in Argentina, and farmers' action is fast becoming a prominent factor in the anti-dictatorial movement of that country. A special feature, the speaker added, is that some landowner (e.g., the Village Unity movement) are making common cause (albeit in a small way) with the farmers.

The present movement is unfolding in many countries, and in some the agrarian problem is being resolved by direct land seizures. The despairing peasants take matters into their own hands, but are successful only if they act in close contact with the working-class movement.

Millas described the alliance of the working class and the broad urban and rural masses as a dependable foundation for the democratic revolutionary movement. Chile's workers, he pointed out, take a direct part in the mass movement, seeking points of contact responsive to the real needs and interests of the nation and helping forge the basis for united action with other social groups and classes opposed to imperialism and the landowner and financial oligarchy..

Since the landowners, the oligarchic bourgeoisie and the im-

perialist monopolies are their enemies, the urban petty and middle bourgeoisie, as well as the working class and the peasants, must work together. And with the tasks of the proletariat, the revolutionary class, gradually taking precedence, its cohesion increases. It firmly supports the popular demands, winning the masses and thus broadening the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic struggle.

Chile's Communist Party tackled the crucial problem of unity without prejudice, eyes fixed on the future, seeking accord on the main issues and holding fast to its principles; at the same time, it dialectically weighed all the factors of the revolutionary process, the potentialities of all participants, for it is important to know not only what these participants are at present but what they may become as the struggle unfolds.

Delving into the specifics of the Popular Unity bloc, which came to power in Chile in September 1970, the speaker demonstrated that pluralism implied not coexistence with the policy of ideology of imperialism and the oligarchy, but with certain historically-evolved political and ideological trends reflecting the interests of social groups and classes in the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic alliance. The leading role of the workers' party, correctly conceived and exercised, *Millas* said, was not prejudiced by the fact that the Communists participate or, one might say, share leadership, in the revolutionary process, because all the other members of the Popular Unity bloc are also contributing to the drive for the common aims.

Chile's revolutionary movement, he amplified, is a movement of the working class, the worker-peasant alliance, a broad union of popular forces, of millions of people with different ideological and political views. It is a clearly delineated, flexible, enduring and versatile mass movement with a definite orientation.

Referring to the significance of popular unity, *Millas* quoted from the speech at the recent Bulgarian Party Congress of Comrade Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CP of Chile:

'The victory of the Chilean people was not a gift from heaven, but the result of a long battle for working-class unity, for a united front of the working people and the masses. We again declare from this rostrum that we do not consider our way a model for imitation. Yet our experience also contains a useful element for others. This element may be defined as the power of the unity of the working class and the people . . . The facts show that for working people division is the synonym of defeat and continued capitalist exploitation, whereas unity and struggle lead to victory and class emancipation. In our time, creative Marxism-Leninism implies struggle for the unity of the working class and all revolutionary forces working for the elimination of capitalism.'

The workers of Uruguay, Argentina, Colombia and many other countries are working for broad popular coalitions, for united mass action, though the struggle for this differs from country to country. The National Meeting of Argentines movement, a league of anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and democratic forces, is an interesting development, of which Comrade Cohen spoke at some length. It is not simply an alliance of parties or an election bloc, he said, but a public movement of which the working class is the most dynamic force. It could become the mainstay of a new-type popular democratic government. He described the Argentinian students' revolutionary actions and the increasing participation of women in political life. Large segments of the small and even middle bourgeoisie, certain Catholic elements and army officers, are veering leftward.

In Brazil, Paiva said, an anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorial and democratic front is a feasible objective. Opposition to the regime is considerable in most sections of society. But it must be rallied and shaped into a strong front uniting the trade-union, peasant and student movements, the progressive clergy, some political leaders and members of different classes and groups.

Hence, Paiva added, the Communists attach importance to all actions, albeit indirect, so long as they are aimed against the dictatorship and its policy. A persevering search for ways of organizing concrete popular resistance is the best retort to those who issue trumpet calls for struggle and whose extremist stridency is barren of realistic revolutionary aims. Top priority goes to promoting mass action; it is high time to go over from defense to attack. That alone can bring closer the day of the general assault on the dictatorial regime.

The reality thus bears out the Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which points out that united anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist action is creating favorable preconditions for a political alliance of all democratic trends, which can decisively restrict the monopolies' role in the economy, end the power of big capital and effect radical political and economic changes securing the best possible conditions for the struggle for socialism.

THE PURITY OF MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES

'Communists regard it as their task firmly to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against all enemies.'

(Address of the 1969 International Meeting, 'Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin').

The ideological struggle on the continent, much sharper now due to the upswing of the national-liberation movement, was examined at considerable length. While still using the old method of suppressing other peoples, it was pointed out, U.S. imperialism resorts increasingly to diversionary ideological moves, seeking to arrest the spread of liberation ideas. The theories of 'convergence,' 'new industrial society,' and the like, are given enormous publicity. Concepts are produced that claim to respond to the problems of the Latin American peoples – an assortment of reformist development theories, U.S.-sponsored integration plans, etc. This ideological offensive is meant to divert the masses from revolutionary struggle, to confuse and retain them in the orbit of bourgeois influence.

That Communist parties must combat bourgeois reformism was emphasized in his contribution by Comrade Caicedo. The collapse of the reformist ventures of the Colombian bourgeoisie, particularly of the 'social-agrarian reform,' he said, has made people more responsive to Marxist-Leninist ideology, though the bourgeoisie still wields influence over part of the workers, peasants and non-proletarian urban groups. It is the Communists' task, therefore, to fight reformism tirelessly.

Bourgeois ideology assumes diverse forms and is at the root of several fairly widespread political trends. Peronism, a variety of bourgeois nationalism, said Cohen, is a strong political factor in Argentina. The Communist Party differentiates between reactionary bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, on the one hand, and anti-imperialist nationalism, on the other. It, therefore, differentiates between the rightist Peronist leadership, which gravitates towards fascist corporatism, and the masses under the spell of Peronist ideology but moved by anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic sentiment. This has enabled the Communists to preserve the unity of the labor movement, invigorate their ties with the main mass of Peronists, even with many of their leaders. The popular movement against the dictatorship is highlighted by united action of Communist and Peronist workers. The leftward swing among Peronists has also affected other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and trends, with the rift between right and left forces increasingly distinct.

Nationalism was also discussed by Paiva. The Communists, he recalled, took part in the nationalist movement widespread in Brazil in the decade preceding the coup d'état of 1964. Yet they would never reconcile themselves with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois postures dominant in that movement. On the contrary, they tried to assert their leading role. Working for the national interest, they did not forget their internationalist duty. Fighting against U.S. imperialism, they took into account it was the deadliest

enemy not only of the people of Brazil, but of working people throughout the world.

The ideological struggle, the aim of which is to affirm the hegemony of the working class, said *Cohen*, is also directed against 'national Marxism,' a posture adopted of late by the Argentinian 'left.' Delving into the reasons for the spread of non-proletarian theories, he pointed out that broad ideologically immature groups espousing the concept of Argentinian 'exclusiveness' are joining the revolutionary struggle. A variety of purportedly Marxist and socialist 'theories' is being circulated to deny the democratic agrarian and anti-imperialist character of the revolution, the leading role of the working class, the necessity for the worker-peasant alliance and a united front. This takes the form of 'left' extremism, whose exponents reject the idea of a working-class alliance with the masses and of a broad anti-imperialist front, propagating what is essentially tailism, i.e., tailing behind the bourgeoisie, and thus splitting the movement. But these views do not have much influence among the workers.

The fact that former peasants and petty-bourgeois are pouring into the ranks of the working class, *Caicedo* said, has had a negative effect on the Latin American labor movement, because non-proletarian elements naturally gravitate towards anarcho-sindicalism, Right opportunism and ultra-Left extremism. Lenin, he added, put it very aptly:

'One of the most profound causes that periodically give rise to differences over tactics is the very growth of the labor movement . . . The enlistment of larger and larger numbers of new "recruits", the attraction of new sections of the working people must inevitably be accompanied by waverings in the sphere of theory and tactics, by repetitions of old mistakes, by a temporary reversion to antiquated views and antiquated methods, and so forth. The labor movement of every country periodically spends a varying amount of energy, attention and time on the "training" of recruits' (Vol. 16, pp. 347-348).

The Communists' struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology was examined by Comrade *Paiva*. The stand of the Chinese extremists, he said, has done much damage to the Communist movement in Brazil. The Trotskyite 'permanent revolution' thesis, which is part of that stand, was seized upon by a group of dissenters, who had to be expelled from the Party in the early sixties, and who mounted a vile campaign of slander against the world Communist movement and the CPSU, its foremost contingent.

Other 'left' elements, *Paiva* said, have tried to imitate the Cuban revolution, ignoring the real relation of strength, the objective and subjective conditions. The revolution in Cuba, he added, galvanized

the entire continent and may be compared to a jumping off board for the leap into the future. It was a victory for all the Latin American peoples, showing that socialism is attainable in the Western hemisphere. However, its one-sided interpretation by the Brazilian Communists led to differences of opinion on certain issues, particularly the question of what is a revolutionary situation, and on the forms of struggle, the role of the proletariat and its allies, and the like.

Imperialism, *Paiva* noted, continuously churns out new anti-Marxist doctrines denying the historic mission of the working class and substituting the scientific and technological revolution (people's capitalism, convergence, consumer society, social integration, etc.) for social revolution. Ideas, concepts and theories denying the historic role of the proletariat also circulate among non-proletarian sections of the anti-imperialist camp, leading in practice to a rejection of the leading role of the Communist party. For them, the peasants are the main movers of the revolution, with students, intellectuals or army officers playing the leading role.

Comrade *Ortega* amplified that such anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist concepts had surfaced most tangibly in the Communist Party of Venezuela. T. Petkoff expounded a mixture of neo-Trotskyism and Marcuseanism with a dash of liberal opportunism. He and his followers denied the role of the Communist Party and the significance of the worker-peasant alliance, belittled the achievements of the Venezuelan workers and of world socialism, opposed proletarian internationalism and engaged in out-and-out anti-Sovietism.

The Communists are fighting these 'theories,' calling attention to the grandeur of socialism, elucidating the vanguard role of the Soviet Union, the significance of the Communist parties and the historic mission of the working class, and accentuating fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The importance of asserting the leading role of the working class and the Communist parties was emphasized by many of the speakers, who presented concrete examples. Calling attention to the specifics of ideological work in Chile, *Millas* said that though the workers did not demand any formal acknowledgement of their hegemony, their right to leadership, as a condition for participating in the Popular Unity coalition, they are strongly conscious of being the most advanced social class. With the unfolding of the revolutionary process, the working class is coming to the fore as the hegemon, while it works for the consolidation of popular unity.

Chile's Communists, he said, tie in their ideological activity with the concrete tasks of the mass movement and the fight

against the class enemies. The working class seek hegemony in the anti-imperialist, democratic and revolutionary coalition not because this is fated by history, but because its selfless struggle gives it the right to lead all those who aspire to progress.

Another acute problem in ideological work is that of the forms of revolutionary struggle. Comrade *Paiva*, who dealt with it in his contribution, criticized the ultra-left concept that for Brazil the armed way is the only way. Lenin's view on this source, he said, is: Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by not binding the movement to any one particular form of struggle' (Vol. 11, p. 213).

The Popular Unity victory in Chile, Comrade *Arias* said, confirmed this. The proponents of the armed struggle theory not only overrate the peasants' revolutionary potential and misinterpret the Cuban experience, but also disregard the variety of concrete conditions from country to country. A process of deep revolutionary change is under way in Peru, as well as in Chile, and no one can deny that it has so far followed a relatively peaceful pattern.

True, *Arias* continued, the possibility of an imperialist intervention or a reactionary plot should not be discounted. Yet the course of events shows clearly that different forms of struggle are required. The revolutionary process can and does follow a direction differing from the narrow way conceived by the exponents of the 'guerrilla warfare' theory. The choice of ways depends on the concrete objective and subjective conditions, on the specifics of each country.

Communists, *Cohen* pointed out, must master and use different methods, including strikes and mass manifestations, which help the masses build up self-defense. Working people's self-defense, *Paiva* observed, is the opposite to the Brazilian Leftists' 'direct action' groups, which scorn mass support.

Speakers criticized those in the revolutionary movement who underestimate parliamentary activity. *Millas* recalled that Marx, Engels and Lenin censured those who make a fetish of such conceptions as the state, democracy, culture, law, power, etc., in isolation from the class struggle. Some people, he said, think government does not change its nature even if Communists are represented in it. Not only do they disavow laws enacted by the bourgeoisie against the people, but also laws won in struggle by the workers and the people. They regard democratic freedoms as 'a trap for simpletons.'

This primitive view, far removed from Leninism, has never cut any ice among Chilean Communists. Nor do they agree with those who see an antagonistic contradiction between the formation of a people's government and its advent to power by consti-

tutional means. The Communists do not idealize the legal institutions inherited from the past, but neither do they reject the possibility that these may develop dialectically. It is a question of destroying the apparatus of imperialist oppression and rule. At the same time, however, *Millas* stressed, it is wrong to throw out the baby with the bath water. In other words, the Communists should let the people experiment with each of the existing institutions and launch radical reconstruction, taking guidance not in *a priori* notions, but in the objective necessity of historical development.

All speakers stressed the connection between the national and international tasks of each detachment of the Communist movement. Fighting for their national tasks, *Cohen* noted, the Latin American Communist parties also fulfil their international duty. As *Millas* said, the foe had tried to make the Communist Party of Chile depart from proletarian internationalism. It was told it would make better progress if it abandoned solidarity with the Soviet Union, the socialist world, the Cuban revolution, the heroic people of Vietnam and the fraternal parties. But Chile's Communists have always been true to the principles of proletarian internationalism and regard them as a condition of success in the revolutionary struggle.

The round-table exchange in Santiago touched on a fairly wide range of topical issues relating to the new upswing of the liberation struggle on the continent, the role of the working class, and the theory and practice of the Communist and Workers' parties. Indicatively, it was the first such exchange in Latin America, and the fact of its being held in Chile, soon to observe the first anniversary of the Popular Unity government, added to its political impact and related it more closely to the problems of present-day Latin America.

The exchange of opinions revealed identical views on all the cardinal problems of the labor movement and the Communist parties of Latin America. The outcome of the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and democratic struggle, it was stressed, depends largely on the degree of involvement of the working class and on the leading role of its vanguard, on the workers' ability, their ability masses in a popular front under their leadership, their ability creatively to use Lenin's theory of revolution, to align the national tasks with the international tasks of the world movement.

One of the crucial issues raised in the discussion was the question of popular government—an issue that now stands on the order of the day in a number of Latin American countries. For all their variety, the ways of achieving it are based on a common

objective law: the only way to win is to unfold a mass struggle and to unite all progressive forces in a coalition in which the working class and its vanguard play the leading role.

Naturally, it was impossible to discuss all issues exhaustively. For that one round-table exchange is not enough. It was impossible, for example, to examine conclusively the role of the peasants, students, intellectuals and women in the fight for liberation. The question of working-class unity, that of alliance between labor parties, and the question of pluralism in the leadership of broad coalitions, too, merit a closer examination. A deep study of the problem of combating bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, opportunism and revisionism, should combine with a further study of the roots of 'Leftism.' This is certainly relevant for the successful development of the revolutionary process in Latin America, where 'Leftism' is fairly widespread.

The suggestion to hold more round-table exchanges on the principal issues of the Latin American revolutionary movement is, therefore, highly welcome, and the editors are prepared to continue the discussion and to make space available in this journal for topical contributions of other fraternal Latin American parties.



Not a spearhead, but a peace factor

Gerhard Danelius

In the elections to the West Berlin City Assembly (parliament) and District Assemblies, held on March 14, 1971, compared with the 1967 elections, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) increased its vote by 75,000, the Free Democrats (FDP) by 18,000, and the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (SUP) by 4,000. The Social Democrats lost 100,000 votes.

Measured against a total voter turnout of over 1.5 million, the SUP gain does not seem very large, but the important thing is that its vote has been steadily increasing – 20,000 in 1963, 30,000 in 1967 and 34,000 in 1971.

A brief outline of the political background in West Berlin will provide a clearer understanding of the conditions in which our Party fought the elections. Having partitioned Germany, German and international finance capital have been working to convert West Berlin into a frontline city of the cold war and to use it in the ideological struggle against the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries.

The contradictions between socialism and imperialism stand out especially sharp in West Berlin. And though the city is not, and never will be, part of the Federal Republic, the latter's ruling element has systematically interfered in its internal affairs and has made claims that have no validity either in the Allied agreements of the victor powers or in the city's geographical position. These unlawful claims are but the starting point of a revanchist policy that has more far-reaching aims: German imperialism wants to revise the results of the Second World War, turn back the tide of history.

West Berlin is an enclave in the German Democratic Republic, 180 kilometres from the FRG's eastern boundary. But the Adenauer and Erhard governments treated the city as though it were part of West Germany, and that policy has been taken over by the present Social-Democrat and Free Democrat coalition. More, the illegal 'federal presence' in West Berlin is being intensified. And this at a time

when the four powers are discussing measures that could improve the situation and when the GDR government has taken important initiatives to normalize relations with West Berlin.

The Federal Republic gives West Berlin an annual subsidy of about DM 6,000 million. The money comes from the West German taxpayer and is entered into NATO accounts under the head of 'defense expenditure.'

Our Party's strategy and tactics, based on West Berlin's unique position, were worked out at its first congress in 1966 and further elaborated at its special (1969) and second (May 1970) congresses.

The Party is working to mobilize the working class, young workers and other sections of the population for democratic renewal. From a frontline city, West Berlin must become a factor of European peace and security. That is our overall aim and to attain it we are working to overcome bourgeois ideas in the working class and to cultivate socialist consciousness.

Our Party played a prominent part in the 1968, 1969 and 1970 May Day demonstrations. It organized solidarity actions in support of the heroic peoples of Vietnam and of Greek and Spanish revolutionaries.

Our election slogan was: 'Fight together with the West Berlin SUP and vote for its candidates,' with the accent on the first part of the slogan. We made only one pledge to the electorate: in the City Assembly our deputies would work for the general demands of the Party, which has consistently combined parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activity to restrict and eventually eliminate monopoly power. We told the voters that socio-political change can come only through working-class unity, through joint action by everyone opposed to present-day capitalism, through cooperation in parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggle.

The Christian Democrats, in line with their bourgeois conception of democracy, put out this slogan: 'Vote CDU! Your next chance to change things will come only in four years!' Our Party took a more responsible attitude, explaining that the workers' rights in the factory, economy and society, a democratic education system and normal relations with the socialist countries can be won only in the day-to-day struggle to roll back the power of Big Business.

With the help of nationalistic and social demagoguery the Christian Democrats were able to mislead wide sections of the electorate. In fact, they were able appreciably to increase their vote among workers. In our view, the credit for that must go, first and foremost, to the Social Democrat leadership. Its economic and social policies have resulted in higher prices and higher rents and more job insecurity, and its education policy has aroused widespread resentment among parents, teachers and students.

The Christian Democrats were quick to exploit that. They made lavish election promises – lower rents, better town planning, far-reaching educational reform and, to top the list, prosperity for all. Evidently many voters fell for that.

The anti-Communist resolution adopted by the Social-Democrat Executive and Party Council and the virulent campaign against our Party did not add to the Social Democrats' political capital, though they helped the reactionary forces and strengthened the CDU.

Typical of the anti-Communist campaign launched by the Right-wing Social-Democrat leaders was the conference of factory councils and delegates of office personnel. The *Berliner Stimme*, the Social-Democrat newspaper, declared that the conference would 'stimulate Social-Democrat activity on the shop floor.' But it turned out that this 'stimulated' activity would not be against employer tyranny, but against the Communists. And the *Stimme* made this all too plain: 'The Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin is our most dangerous foe.' Why? Because, the paper said, 'the Communists are, as a rule, able to pinpoint shortcomings in the factories and their exposure meets with the understanding, indeed with the approval, of most workers.'

The campaign against our Party, the GDR, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, became especially vicious in the eight days preceding polling day. The CDU and SPD leaders who stage-managed it made wide use of all the bourgeois mass media, notably the Springer press. Bonn luminaries were brought in to support the three parties, the Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Free Democrats.

All three had one and the same aim, to prevent SUP representation in the City Assembly. And they were not squeamish in their propaganda. They assiduously cultivated a feeling of fear, telling the people that if Communists were elected, West Berlin would no longer receive subsidies and credits, and leading West German firms would annul contracts with local industry. Our policy was grossly distorted. The SUP, the voters were told, is against economic, scientific and financial contacts with West Germany, though our Party has repeatedly and clearly called for normal relations with West and East on a basis of equality, mutual advantage and non-interference in internal affairs.

The three parties' propaganda was slanted to create the impression that they favor worker participation in management through industrial conferences and the trade unions; that they stand for a radical education reform, detente and normal relations between West Berlin and the GDR.

Such are some of the methods the enemy uses against us. They hamper our Party's rapid advance, influence the thinking, senti-

ments and consciousness of a large segment of the population, which they have so far managed to keep from voting for our Party.

The coming months will dispel the illusions of those who voted for the three parties. The elections have not solved any of the pressing problems that are causing so much worry to West Berliners. And it is a safe bet that none of these parties will honor its election pledges.

In fact, that is already becoming evident. A few days after the elections, shops in a number of West Berlin plants were closed down; the Siemens concern introduced an obligatory holiday schedule; rent-rise notices, delayed pending the elections, were circulated; opportunities for normalizing relations with the GDR are demonstratively ignored.

Our Party's election program was addressed primarily to the workers, the working and student youth, the middle strata and pensioners.

The election results indicate that the SUP was supported by those groups of the population which in the course of non-parliamentary action had accumulated experience in the fight against present-day capitalism. Our tactics, and vigorous election campaign, strengthened the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally and won it new allies in the anti-imperialist struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. Members of industrial councils, shop stewards, apprentices and senior secondary school students, school-teachers, university students, artists who support the Communists – they all make up our golden fund, and together with them we shall continue the fight, recruiting new members and new readers and subscribers for the Party press. This will improve our mass work and enlarge our influence.

Our Party's Action Program for peace, democracy and social progress calls for united working-class action and cooperation with Social Democrats in industry and the trade unions in the struggle against monopoly control of the economy, politics and culture.

We regard the working class as the great class of our time. Working for its own interests, it at once expresses those of its allies. It subordinates every democratic movement, every battle for reform, to its lofty aim – the building of a new society, abolition of exploitation of man by man, abolition of oppression, the moulding of socialist relations of production.

The closer united action by the working class becomes, the greater will be its decisive role in the revolutionary process and the more people will be won over to fight for pressing socio-political demands, and, in the end, overcome the system of present-day capitalism.

All our Party's work, its statements and actions, are based on

orientation on the working class as the chief force of social change. The Rightists spare neither effort nor money to help the bourgeoisie obscure the class substance of the Bonn state, prevent the workers from understanding their position and interests and fighting for radical social change. The task before us, therefore, is to step up ideological and political work among the masses, patiently and persistently to help the workers, notably young workers, to break out of bourgeois influence and bring them into the anti-monopoly struggle. For only those who understand the course and interconnections of social development, those who are prepared to go beyond day-to-day demands, will fight for a thorough remaking of the social system in the interests of the working people.

Many workers still get their ideas of socialism from the Springer press. The CDU, SDP and FDP, working through the mass media, stress the difficulties encountered in building the new, socialist society, and this is followed by the assertion that such difficulties are intrinsic to socialism. But they overlook this 'detail': they have done everything within their power to cause the GDR material and spiritual damage. Blinded by the economic boom and high employment in West Germany and West Berlin, they refuse to see that the socialist GDR is a whole era ahead of capitalism and that socialism has brought a new pattern of human relationships.

We are combating the Right Social Democrats through whom the bourgeoisie exerts its influence on the working class. But we are also fighting those who use pseudo-left ideas and the Red Flag to cover their anti-Soviet, anti-Party and anti-trade union views and doctrines.

The bourgeoisie will stop at nothing to undermine the international revolutionary workers' movement and the socialist states. It will use anything to dupe the workers. But it no longer relies on blatant anti-communism which is rapidly losing its effect. The men who speak for the bourgeoisie, and this includes some Social Democrat leaders, are now resorting to more flexible forms of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. They are even prepared to admit that the socialist countries have accomplished much in the economic field, education and youth policy. But they categorically reject proletarian dictatorship and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party. On the other hand, they are giving every assistance to the small groups, now emerging in the capitalist countries, that parade as the 'true Left,' 'genuine revolutionaries,' 'principled Communists.' These bogus Left grouplets are loud in calling for proletarian revolution, claiming that they alone speak for proletarian interests. They are small in numbers and most of their members come from the bourgeoisie. Their anti-Soviet slogans, slander of the Marxist-Leninist parties and of socialist reality are doing much harm to the democratic and socialist movement.

The role of these groups in the system of present-day capitalism is becoming increasingly clear. It is to subvert and split progressive movements, discredit them in the eyes of the working class and the people. In the election campaign these small groups joined the CDU and the more conservative Social Democrat leaders in vicious press attacks on our Party. The smaller these groups get, the more venomous they become. Their 'political platform' is a hodgepodge of ideas borrowed from Trotskyism and Maoism and anarchism.

On our sector of the battlefield the contradictions between imperialism and socialism stand out especially sharply. Our Party will never take a neutral stand, will never vacillate. We are fully aware that it will take a long time for the majority of West Berlin workers to realize what the GDR means for them. But our Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin will never tire of explaining why they should welcome the existence of a country where capitalism and big landowners have been expropriated once and for all and deprived of power, where the workers and all the working people, led by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, are building a society free of exploitation, oppression, crises, racial discrimination and all the other evils of capitalism.

The 24th Soviet Communist Party Congress gave fresh impetus to the struggle of our Party and other West Berlin progressive forces. In our propaganda we concentrate on two aspects of this historic forum, the five-year plan directives, and the program of struggle for peace, international cooperation, freedom and national independence.

The Soviet Union combines the upbuilding of its economic and defense might and the continued rise of living and cultural standards with a consistent Leninist policy of peace. In his report to Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said: 'For more than 25 years now, our people have lived in peace. We regard this as the greatest achievement of our Party's foreign policy. For a quarter of a century now, mankind has been safeguarded from world war. That is another historic achievement of the people to which the Soviet Union and its foreign policy have made a considerable contribution.'

Strengthening the economic and defensive capacity of the USSR is especially important in view of the adventuristic and chauvinistic policy pursued by the forces of militarism and aggression. For experience has conclusively demonstrated that the stronger the Soviet Union, the more durable is peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The West Berlin issue figures prominently in the fight for peace and European security. In his 24th Congress report, Comrade Brezhnev clearly reaffirmed that if the USA, France and Britain

would, like the Soviet Union, respect allied agreements determining the special status of West Berlin and the sovereign rights of the GDR as an independent socialist state, the present negotiations could be successfully consummated to the advantage of all the parties concerned, including the population of West Berlin.

Much work lies ahead for our Party in its fight for the political, social, economic and cultural interests of the workers and working people of West Berlin, for normalization of relations with countries of East and West, particularly with the GDR.

We will win over new fighters for the noble cause of peace, democracy and socialism. We will strengthen our Party ideologically, politically and organizationally and heighten its mass influence. Ideas become a material force when they grip the minds of the masses. For us that has always been a guiding principle.

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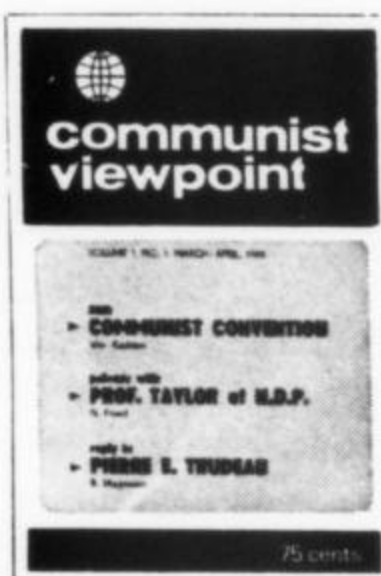
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A report on democracy

The working man has gained many benefits from socialism. It has made him master of the means of production, has placed him at the helm of the state. Apart from these crucial revolutionary gains, it has given him the opportunity of participating in running the enterprise in which he works, in resolving its vital everyday problems. Participation is growing and becoming more effective as socialist society becomes more mature. In response to readers' requests, we present below the first of a series of reports on this subject, from the German Democratic Republic.

A hard day's work

Director Aust is head of the Fortschritt Combine's Plant No. 1 in Neustadt, Saxony. The Combine ranks among the foremost in the German Democratic Republic, though some of its technology badly needs updating, differing appreciably from, say, the technology of Robotron, the new electronics giant the research center of which is one of the most imposing buildings in the new downtown Dresden. Fortschritt has 19 diversified medium and lesser factories scattered throughout Saxony, amalgamated to launch large-scale production of agricultural machinery. Their resourceful and highly skilled personnel is wasting no time in re-patterning operations, expanding, and at once keeping production to schedule. That is why the Combine ranks among the foremost. The factories are old, however, and require more rationalization and concentration than others.

This January, in his obligatory monthly account to the workers, Director Aust spoke of just that — rationalization. Plant No. 1 is squaring off to start making a new type of self-propelled silage cutter. No easy proposition that, and doubly so since the occasion is being used to reorganize production along more effective, scientific lines, which applies primarily to labor organization.

The reorganization project was ready. The plant's engineers had given it deep and careful thought. Estimates showed that efficiency

would go up substantially. The production plan would be met without fail. And this the director told the workers' meeting.

Then came the workers' turn to speak, and as the minutes ticked off it became clear that the project was not as good by far as the director had thought. Scientific labor organization encompasses the entire complex of living and working conditions, while the project centred almost exclusively on changes in technology and technique. Almost no notice was taken of working conditions and still less of the rest-time facilities. The factory buildings were old, with practically no space for the workers to sit back and relax during their lunch hour, or to talk things over. The lighting was poor, and the work benches not all arranged effectively.

In short, the workers' meeting rejected the project. It had to be reworked, and there was no sidestepping this, for according to GDR legislation the minutes of the meeting go to the directorate and the trade union, and the director must in due course report to the Party branch and his superiors, and, naturally, to the next workers' meeting on what has been done in compliance with the document.

Yet time was short. Serial production of the new machine was to begin before the Eighth Socialist Unity Party Congress in June. Four working groups were therefore formed to whip the project into shape, and it did not take them long to produce their recommendations. However, the director knew that what they recommended could not be accomplished in time. To provide the necessary amenities, he would need building workers, all of whom, however, were engaged in re-equipping the shops. He told the workers about it. They asked him if funds were available to pay for the job. Yes, the money was there. The factory had been fulfilling its plan regularly and its share of the profit in hard cash was quite adequate.

'Very well,' the workers said. 'Give us the building materials. We'll do it ourselves, in our free time.'

I have been to the factory shops and have seen the canteens. They are attractive and cosy, and obviously built by people for their own use.

The story was told to me by factory activists – members of the Party committee, the union committee and the production committee – in response to my request that they should name two of the Director's recent reports – one that they thought was the most unpleasant for him and one that seemed to have been the most pleasant. They said the March report was the most pleasant, for in it the Director could tell the workers that their recommendations had been met. I met the Director later, in a factory shop, and asked whether his comrades had named the most unpleasant and the most pleasant of his reports correctly.

'Wrong,' he replied. 'The director's reports are never pleasant.'

Something is always criticized. There would be no sense to reports if this were not so.'

Prof. Galbraith and electrician Schneider

During my talks at enterprises my mind turned back frequently to a story told by two Berlin sociologists, Dr. Hahn and Prof. Ritterhaus, of the Berlin Social Sciences Institute, CC SUPG. They had investigated the various ways in which people are democratically active in enterprises. In one questionnaire they put the question directly:

'Are you given a chance to participate in running the enterprise?'

Only one in every four put down a definite 'yes.' Most of the replies to the direct question differed in meaning from what the same people replied to other, more specific questions, from which it followed that some 80 per cent of all wage-earners were democratically active in one way or another. Workers, it follows, do not always view their actual participation in just these terms, showing only that everyday participation in making decisions has become commonplace; on the other hand, it shows, too, that consciousness is trailing somewhat behind the changes, now deep-rooted.

Wherever I asked about wage-earners' participation in management, people gave me the same detailed account of well-known, obligatory, legislatively enforced forms: control by the factory's Party branch, trade-union control, production conferences and committees, mediation boards, worker-peasant inspections, systems of information, and the like. Those forms of participation the administration cannot overrule. The law is behind them. But one form, at least, the 'working group,' is not down in any law, not binding on anyone. None mentioned it in his account, though when I asked about some concrete measure – relating to, say, the automated line in Neukirch – everyone would for various reasons refer to a working group. Finally, at the Otto Buchwitz Factory in Dresden I asked what a working group was. It was in connection with a rationalization project, without which, it appears, no production unit in the Republic is conceivable these days.

The Otto Buchwitz Factory is a veteran electrical engineering enterprise. Much of what it makes is exported, meaning that its produce is high-grade. Until recently, however, it produced chiefly in small lots, and its output range was fairly wide. Then it was decided to concentrate on a single item for mass production. The industry amalgamation, its superior body, allocated funds for the reorganization, and since money must never lie idle for long, the schedule was a tense one.

The management estimated that picking the most desirable flow-

line pattern, designing the production lines, ordering the equipment, installing it and solving the transportation problem would take up all the available time for several months, in which it would never cope with the matter of *administrative problems*. This prompted the search for a new approach. Eight working groups were formed – one for organization, another for storage, transport and shipment, one for assembly, another for electrical installation and testing, one for labor economy, another for equipment designing, one for fulfillment control and one more for information and instruction. The groups were temporary and those that accomplished their mission were disbanded. Some of their members were relieved of other jobs during their term on the group, while most combined group work with their usual duties. The information group published leaflets on what was being done and what the men could do to help. One leaflet was devoted to an 'ideas contest' or to what American technocrats call 'brain storming.'

Here are electrician Schneider's comments:

'I was in the group for electrical installation. There were four of us – an engineer and three workers. The workers were cagey at first, wondering how we would get along with the engineer, how he would treat us. Besides, we could not imagine ourselves sitting behind a desk, handling papers . . . But soon we saw that the idea was working well. First, we discussed the general approach, then assigned each one to specific areas and had him put his ideas on paper. The result was compounded into a recommendation, which we took to the workers. After putting in their suggestions, the ready project went to the designers. All of us had done factory work for years and accomplished the job quickly. Did I have any differences of opinion with the engineer, the head of the group? Yes, of course. We argued ourselves hoarse. Whether he came round to our view? Well, take the question of work-benches. We suggested that each bench should have a complete set of tools. The engineer said on theoretical grounds that a complete set was unnecessary. But we got him round to our way of thinking. Were there times when we were wrong? Hm . . . I guess so. I had been on construction sites before. We would hitch a piece of equipment to a girder, never bothering to calculate. That is what we suggested doing in the factory too. Yet the engineer proved there could be accidents if the support failed.'

Now, the opinion of the head of the fitters' workshop, Justen:

'We owe our success to the cooperation of engineers and highly-skilled workers. The worst results were in the group with only one worker. When the group brought its project to the shop floor, the men insisted on altering it and valuable time was lost. There was little or nothing to add to the recommendations of Schneider's group.'

This detail-laden account should not irk the reader, for we are dealing with something entirely new, something worth thinking about. Lenin, it will be recalled, attached the utmost importance to the workers' learning the art of government. He regarded the trade unions, the biggest of all workers' organizations, chiefly as a school – a school of communism, a school of administration.

The Russian worker had proved his class consciousness in the revolutionary battles. But by and large he was not learned enough because the capitalist could not care less about his education. Fitter Schneider, on the other hand, has had eight years of schooling plus vocational training and years of factory work. Besides, he could fall back on the two decades or socialist construction in the GDR, the quarter century's experience of the SUPG and, finally, on the half-century's experience of the Soviet worker. And if the management felt it was worthwhile teaming him up with an engineer not only in the production process, but also in *framing and adopting decisions*, his learning must have borne fruit.

One cannot avoid the association this evokes with the latest bourgeois theories. One of the uppermost 'achievements' of Western social science, John Galbraith's theory of the 'new industrial society,' maintains that in capitalist countries the real power has shifted from capitalist to technocrat, the man of learning. He explains this by the enormously greater complexity of modern production, by reason of which a decision taken by competent men can hardly be altered by anyone less conversant, even though wielding the nominal power. We shall not, at least at this point, contest Galbraith's views (suffice it to say that the possessor of capital also has the best opportunities to become the possessor of knowledge). It is quite true that the question of competence is in a certain way related to the question of power. Indicatively, the theory, quite bold by bourgeois standards (and criticized for this by conservatives), does not aspire to anything more than a transfer of power from one exploiting minority to another. And this is the foundation for the theory of convergence, the convergence of capitalism and socialism.

Certainly, under socialism, too, the scientific-technical revolution lays the emphasis on competence. But in contrast to Galbraith's construction, it infers competence for all, not merely an elite. All citizens of a socialist country are the owners of the socialized means of production. All are also the *producers*. Gradually, all become *participants in management*. The emergence of working groups is a notable step forward in this process. Notable, because of the collaboration of engineers and workers, who tackle a task jointly, and notable, too, because of its mobility: one day it is one group of workers, the next another, until ultimately most of the workers become involved.

*The 'kind' Neckermann, the ingenious Drucker,
and the power of the working man*

Everything the people of the GDR own today they produced with their own hands. Even the medieval castle that tourists admire is often the creation not only of a long-since-dead architectural genius, but also of the present generation of architects and workers. Eighty-five per cent of Dresden's buildings were destroyed in U.S. air-raids in just a few days before the war's end. Today, the new and old Dresden, at least all the old worth having, including the Zwinger Palace, the home of the Dresden Art Gallery, are rising out of the ruins simultaneously. The old Town Hall with the inevitable Ratskellar, an element of all German towns, stands spick and span beside attractive modern houses in the new city center. Everything in the Ratskellar has been restored. As before, countless inscriptions – the wisdom of the Middle Ages, written in medieval script – grace its walls. Sitting around a bottle of local wine with the Dresden comrades, we discussed the lettering directly above us: 'No Fish is Without Bone. No Man Without Error. Therefore, be Kind to Each Other.' This old adage, I was told, was adopted as a political motto by the prominent West German industrialist, Neckermann. He preaches class peace at home and abroad, and calls for broader trade with the socialist countries, which, *per se*, is certainly a deserving cause. To be sure, he has his own notion about the terms of the class peace. He, too, is no fish without bone.

The capitalists would like nothing better than peace with the classes they exploit. To achieve it, they fall back not only on medieval lore, but also on modern 'science.' Bourgeois sociologist Peter Drucker puts it thus: cultivate the workers' sense of responsibility for the enterprise, a sense of enterprise. Revealing is one of his specific recommendations: take no decision through bureaucratic channels, thrash it out first with the workers. Yet he concedes that the worker's interest wanes where profit is concerned. The social function of capitalist profit blots out the workers' sense of enterprise. No advice Drucker can give will alter that. Kindness is all he can counsel.

Sham co-ownership is ludicrous. Real co-ownership, such as exists in the socialist countries, is the only conceivable solution. Under socialism, incidentally, profit becomes a factor promoting a collectivist spirit.

Here is what the deputy director of the local branch of the Industrial and Commercial Bank, a man named Ferentz, said to illustrate the point at our gathering in the Fortschritt Combine:

'We had an interesting investigation in January. Word came from Sibnitz, where Fortschritt has one of its plants, that twelve auto-

mated lathes had not even been unpacked for six months. Since our bank had financed the purchase, the Sibnitz workers asked us to increase the interest on our loan. Why? To compel the management to put the lathes into operation. We did not raise the interest at once, and sent a spokesman to the nearest superintendent's meeting with the workers. A workers' group was formed, the Worker-Peasant Inspection took a hand too, and within a month the lathes were in operation. I regard this as the effect of the new economic system sponsored by the SUPG. Now the workers are more conscious of the direct relation of their income to the results of the collective as a whole through the distribution of a portion of the profit among the personnel. The working man has learned to think in economic terms.'

This episode helps understand the concept of participation in management. For the worker in a capitalist enterprise democracy is principally a chance to come to grips with the capitalist over his share of the surplus product, over fair hiring and firing, and over working conditions. The worker in a socialist enterprise is in an entirely different position. The only falling out he may with the administration can be over violations of labor legislation. For that sort of thing (and for a few other functions) wage-earners elect so-called disputes committees, which protect their rights against possible mistakes or abuses by the management. On the main issue, however, that of profit distribution, workers have no antagonistic contradictions with anyone, because, with all the other working people of the country, they are the owners of all enterprises and of all their profit.

True, not all matters pertaining to distribution and use of profit can be settled directly in the enterprise. The needs of the rest of society, too, have to be taken care of, such as public education, health, the civil service, defense, and fundamental scientific and technical development. The share of the profit allotted for these purposes is determined by representative democracy through elected national bodies. Then there are the needs of individual branches of industry. To repattern production in the electrical engineering industry, for example, or to move the manufacture of certain items to other factories, is a decision taken by the amalgamation, and it is the amalgamation that provides the essential funds (under the new economic system, by the way, matters pertaining to investment financing are largely dealt with directly by the amalgamations). At this level, workers' participation is fairly direct, for factory meetings delegate representatives to the amalgamation's public council.

A fixed portion of the profit remains at the disposal of the enterprise and is earmarked partly for factory development, partly for

housing and social-cultural facilities, and partly for bonuses to the personnel. Not a mark out of these funds is spent without the consent of the trade union branch, for the annual financial plan is invalid until endorsed by the union. And it is when plans are discussed by the personnel that the functional difference between socialist and bourgeois democracy is best seen. Naturally, the worker wants the portion of the profit placed at the disposal of the factory collective to be bigger. But how? At the expense of the national treasury? But the treasury pays for benefits to society, including his own family. The other way is to see to it that the volume of profit rises.

This is often the object of discussion, often spirited. Management and union do not necessarily differ on this point. In fact, differences of opinion are improbable, though not impossible. The union committee at the Freithal steel works, for example, once thought the management's draft of the plan did not set a high enough productivity growth target. The workers' spokesmen showed that certain potentialities had been overlooked. And the Minister backed the union.

It is fitting to recall something once said by Felix Dzerzhinsky (whom much has been written of as a proletarian revolutionary and fearless fighter of counter-revolutionaries, and deplorably little as an outstanding economic administrator). In 1925, as Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council of the USSR he wrote to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, then Chairman of Gosplan, the State Planning Board: 'I would like to see the Gosplan provide the techniques for Workers' Democracy conceived as creative mass activity. Here is how I picture the techniques:

'1. To produce for each branch of the economy, for each syndicate, trust and factory, for each civil service, for public education, etc., a diagram of figures and an analysis of mismanagement, waste, poor organization of production and labor, and the like, so that the masses can accordingly bring to task the men in responsible positions, and so that our press can use these diagrams to produce analyses – criticism and not praise.

'One more measure:

'2. To assure real support and encouragement of worker inventors.'

That was how Dzerzhinsky understood workers' democracy back in the early years of the Soviet state: as a chance for each worker to analyze independently the economics of the enterprise, trust or industry. And that is the kind of Democracy he spelled with a capital letter.

A report has its limits. Hence, to put matters into perspective, we

shall devote a few lines to what every worker in the GDR is well aware of. Hundreds of thousands are members of the SUPG. In all enterprises, Party branches are authorized to control the management. Besides, 7.1 million wage-earners, or 94.5 per cent of the working class, are trade union members. For the first time in the country's history, trade union rights are formalized in the Constitution and set out in detail in the Labor Code. No factory may adopt a production plan without its being approved by the union branch.

Apart from this and other forms of control, the socialist state, led by the SUPG, is developing various other forms of direct worker participation in management. This was revealed in our conversation by Comrades Eberlein and Wildenhain, deputy heads of Central Committee departments. Some years ago, workers' committees elected by factory personnel were experimentally formed in 20 enterprises. They did not prove effective enough, however, and a search for other forms began. Production committees, also elected, which management must consult before taking any important decisions, appeared in hundreds of enterprises. Time went by, new experience was gained, the level of culture rose, and still more democratic bodies of worker participation appeared in all enterprises and shops with more than 50 workers. These are known as standing production conferences. And as practice confirmed their validity, they were legislatively endorsed. As recently as a year ago the GDR Council of Ministers issued a decision on the procedure and terms governing the compulsory managers' reports to the personnel. The mechanism of democratic activity transcends the enterprise level, embracing entire industries and making public councils an obligatory form in industry amalgamations. Indicatively, not only representatives of the various enterprises in the amalgamation, but also members of university staffs and research institutes and specialists in other fields, are included in these councils.

We have passed on just a few ordinary stories about ordinary people. Perhaps the reader's own imagination will help him multiply them by the following figures: the GDR has 145,000 public controllers in the Worker-Peasant Inspection system, 70,000 trade union controllers, 20,000 members of youth control groups, and 190,000 members of disputes committees. Hundreds of thousands take part in the production conferences and committees, to say nothing of the large numbers serving on the working groups.

Berlin-Dresden-Prague.

O. Lacis



The multinational corporations and the problems of the working class

Philip Bart

Among the distinctive features of the modern economy based on advanced science and technology is its galloping internationalization. Imperialism seeks to expand the sphere and refine the forms of exploitation. Yet, for all the changes, its class nature – the thirst for profit – remains unaltered. The ceaseless scramble for markets sharpens the contradictions between the imperialist powers.

The greater international division of labor in the capitalist world is accompanied by the emergence of large-scale multi-national companies. Many, especially the U.S. corporations, are based on partnerships with companies of other capitalist states. Whole foreign-controlled combines arise in some countries. Many U.S. monopolies gain positions of dominance in foreign countries at a minimum investment. To establish their control, they use the so-called Eurodollars and other devices. Monopoly groups of other imperialist states employ similar methods.

In the drive for new sources of profit, the imperialist powers try to retain their grip on the less developed Asian, African and Latin American countries. The continuing U.S. aggression in Indochina, causing great losses of life and property, is essentially an attempt to keep the region for subsequent exploitation. Portugal and other states likewise strive to hang on to areas where super-profits are obtained through ruthless oppression of the native population.

The intensive growth of multinational enterprises sparks numerous mergers and take-overs. The huge corporations in the main capitalist countries are now merged into giant conglomerates. They embrace diversified industries and utilize their combined power for further expansion. In the U.S. 102 corporations, each with assets exceeding \$1 billion, controlled 48 per cent of the assets and 53 per cent of the profits of all manufacturing corporations in 1970. The more powerful monopolies reach into other capitalist countries to establish their industrial enterprises. In their search for

new productivity areas, they strive to eliminate obstacles and to leap over politico-economic barriers of their rivals. The home base of a company may be the U.S., England or France, but the productive operation is spread into numerous other countries.

The scientific-technological revolution accelerated the new mass production of computers, communications apparatuses, electronics, transportation, etc. For example, the chief U.S. computer producer, International Business Machines (IBM) has expanded into 14 countries, the largest - 3 in the FRG, 2 each in France and England, and 1 each in Italy, Sweden and Holland. IBM employs over 65,000 workers in Western Europe alone.

International monopolies are constantly searching for new areas and forms of exploitation, reaching not only into the developing countries but also into the highly developed countries. While this feature of imperialist expansion existed previously, it has been accelerated in the past two decades. This has resulted in the creation of a network of multinational corporations on a world scale.

The U.S. is the dominant factor in the multinational market. Thirteen U.S. monopolies are among the many operating in England alone. Among them they employ some 298,000 workers and their profits after taxes reached \$189 million. They include such well-known names as Ford, Standard Oil (N.J.), Woolworths and IBM. Some twenty American corporations receive about half of their profits from abroad. About 40 per cent of foreign investments in England, West Germany and France is controlled by three American corporations: Standard Oil (New Jersey), General Motors and the Ford Motor Company.

Britain is second largest in multinational ventures. Other countries of Europe and Japan, too, stimulate the activity of their monopolies abroad. During 1957-60, German, Italian and Japanese firms' investments overseas were on an average of \$230 million a year, in 1967 they were 600 million and by 1968 they reached \$840 million. The FRG's foreign investments abroad in 1969 exceeded foreign investment in the FRG for the same period.

Japan's protectionist wall for its domestic economy delayed somewhat its entry into the multinational club. But it is making strides in this field and the direction seems to be for greater participation in West European and U.S. production. Undoubtedly Japanese monopolies will seek to move into the U.S. market in the future as well. In a year-end outlook the head of one of the largest Japanese corporations wrote that 'simple export or import of commodities is not enough.' He projected that 'we might have more establishments in each other's market, more investments, joint ventures, exchange of technologies and systems or other economic cooperation . . .'

Judd Polk, U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, estimates that the output of goods and services by U.S. business abroad is well over \$200 billion now. Judd concludes that when you add the contribution of multinational companies controlled by other countries, the total of internationalized output comes to around \$450 billion. An aggregate to help shape certain policies in many countries.

The growth of productive forces under capitalism proceeds in warped, chaotic forms. It is well to cite as an example automobile production. The U.S. has the capacity of producing over 10 million cars annually. With the yearly change of models, it constantly encourages the destruction of automobiles only a few years old. Japan likewise faces similar problems in the production of television sets and electrical products. *Business Week* comments that 'the economy (auto production) may be infinitely expandable, but the earth is not even minutely expandable.' Japanese and other economists have drawn similar conclusions. Yet the motive power of capitalist production, the profit urge, has led to the constant drive for new multinational expansion in precisely the industries already cluttering the market.

Multinational production is often most lucrative and attractive for big monopolies. Reflecting the objective laws of the economic process, the multinational corporations are creating a new division of labor. Heretofore such division was limited primarily to a single plant or group of plants within a country. But this division is now spread internationally.

The social consequences of this process are rather serious. A single commodity may be produced by workers in a number of countries. They may be employed at different wage standards, different levels of industrial development, and various stages of strength of their labor movements, i.e., international differences.

The Massey Ferguson Company (a Canadian-U.S. based concern) is a case in point. It advertises in the *Financial Times* (April 30, 1970) that 'We employ 45,000 people (and) operate 42 plants in 14 countries . . . and our manufacturing is highly rationalized and integrated.' They define their integration: 'A French-made transmission, a British-made engine and a Mexican-made axle can be assembled with sheet metal in the United States' and the completed tractor bears the trademark of a parent company. The same is true of the production of electric appliances (radio, TV, etc.). The manufacturing of these products may initially begin in such low paid countries as South Korea or Hong Kong at wages of 10-15 cents an hour, then assembled in the U.S., and sold at 'Western' inflationary prices. The completed product carries the stamp of approval of George Meany, president AFL-CIO: 'Buy American.'

The Japanese worker shares the production with an American worker, who, in this field, may be employed at a minimum wage, three times that of the Japanese. But neither wage scale is adequate to meet the minimum standard and conditions in their respective countries. But as a result of such 'division of labor' the wages for the total product are considerably reduced, and monopoly profits soar.

The multinational corporations give rise to the need for closer international class unity of workers in the same industry, employed by the same corporation, and operating in different countries. A Ford worker in the U.S. finds a direct bond with his shop mate in England. The company's practices in its home plant are introduced into the foreign plant. There may be some differentiation, but their relation is the common tie as Ford workers. The inter-national employer has created an inter-national employee.

The multinational company exports not only investments, patents, and its productive capacities, it also sends along its anti-working class methods and its accumulated exploitative experiences. The workers face a new threat which requires new, united resistance crossing national borders.

International combines can utilize production in one country to compete with workers of the same company elsewhere. The Tory government's anti-labor legislation takes a page from the U.S. Taft-Hartley Act. Herbert Maier, ICFTU official, in his appearance before the U.S. Congress (July 28, 1970), concluded that 'preconceived anti-trade union policies' are brought along with investments into new plants abroad. In the U.S. it was customary for corporations to threaten workers that they would move their plants to new unorganized communities if they faced union organization, now this tactic is transferred, in a modified form, to the inter-national arena. In the struggle against weak or newly-established workers' organizations the multinational corporation often utilizes its favorable ties with governments to restrict or defeat the trade unions in a locality. It seeks to impose an international labor code for its offensive against the working class.

Much European anti-labor legislation bans sympathy strikes by trade unions. The magazine *Fortune* (February 1971) devotes its pages to forms of opposing trade unions internationally. It hails every act of class collaboration which weakens the working class as essential to monopolies. The author of the articles, Gilbert Burck, complains that 'full employment' and such protective measures as 'unemployment insurance' have given 'relative comfort' and encouragement to strikers. He praises the Tory anti-working class offensive in Britain and showers praise on

West Germany which has enjoyed 'what might be called a statesman-like labor movement.' He, especially, greets the arrangements between industrialists, government and trade union officials in the FRG. Burck considers the two million imported workers from Yugoslavia, Turkey and Italy as having 'helped to soften demands for higher wages' in the FRG. So the direction is not only to export productivity but, where possible, also import workers whose presence will 'soften demands' of the workers at home. In the United States this visibly affects farm workers. Seasonal labor brought in from Mexico, Puerto Rico and the Caribbean is brutally exploited, paid a miserable wage and kept in inhuman conditions, and when no longer needed is shipped back home.

The rapid and extensive expansion of U.S. international monopolies into new areas is of little concern to the AFL-CIO top bureaucracy. Confronted with the workers' discontent and the consequences of mounting international rivalries, it seeks temporary palliatives as a gesture of its defense of American workers' interests. Meany proposes a return to the 'good' old protectionism. The anti-labor Nixon administration is willing to throw a temporary sop by limiting imports of certain products - as shown by its agreement with Japan limiting the import of textiles.

In regard to multinational monopolies Meany continues his reactionary policies in support of U.S. imperialism. Here he even clashes with the conservative trade union leadership in Europe. At home he supports U.S. Vietnam aggression. Abroad he now seeks to isolate the American working class from their international labor association. This can only help the monopolies in their international drive against the working class. It is not accidental, therefore, that the trade unions in the automobile, electrical and other industries have shown growing concern with this pro-imperialist policy.

'Buy American' is reactionary. It is not motivated by assuring jobs for the U.S. workingman. Meany is not opposed to the policy that lays excessive strains on the economy in the interests of U.S. imperialism, shifting the hardships on to the workers. The slogan is merely meant to deceive the working people. There is no possibility of returning to 'protectionist' measures. It will not secure jobs for the U.S. worker and will not stop the introduction of multinational groups into the U.S. any more than it will halt the move of U.S. economic expansion abroad. The giant monopolies cannot be liquidated, they can only be opposed by the united strength of the working class to curb their powers, to force concessions and to develop struggles leading to nationalization of the monopolies with workers' participation.

The international unity of labor was discussed by the World Federation of Trade Unions at its General Council meeting in October 1970. Their initiative has found a welcome response among international progressive labor forces. The projection of a Round Table with the ICFTU and independent labor organizations leaves room for the widest discussion without restrictions as to the outcome. The ICFTU's proposal, through its International Metalworkers' Federation, to 'provide for the prohibition of investment in countries whose national laws—as in the case of South Africa—impose racial discrimination in wages and employment,' should be welcomed. There is the possibility of closer ties on specifics as well as on general issues.

The working class faces many obstacles on the road to unity, resulting from ideological, regional and other diversities. But significant developments have been shaping up. The threat to workers' living standards in highly developed as well as underdeveloped countries is a reality. The offensive waged by capitalism has found response in unprecedented strike struggles in many parts of the world.*

Workers' resistance to imperialist aggression, their opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam, to the racist policies in South Africa and to the Israeli and other aggressive adventures help to further crystallize unity. In these actions the labor movement in the West finds a strong ally among the workers in the socialist countries.

International formations initiated by world bodies, national trade unions, regional groupings, all tend to help in developing international unity. The nature of the new struggles requires the utilization of all forms of the economic and political struggle—both old and new—and the new experience accumulated by the working class.

The major objective today is the urgency of international ties on an intercontinental level. The U.S. trade unions have an important contribution to make. They are associated with industries whose economic ties spread into every area of the capitalist world. Unions in such industries as automobile, steel, electrical, face problems similar to those of their fellow members in Europe and elsewhere.

Working-class unity goes beyond the confines of the U.S. and Western Europe. The rapid economic growth of Japan makes the workers of this Asian nation a vital contingent of the anti-imperialist struggle.

International solidarity of all contingents of the fighting proletariat is one of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

*See 'The Battlefronts of Labor' in the previous issue of the journal.

The struggle of the working class of the developed countries in cooperation with the workers of the developing countries is part of the overall struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The rapid rise of the Latin American revolutionary forces encourages the Left and progressive forces in the United States and acts as a support for the world working-class movement. The growing cooperation between North American and Latin American workers ultimately facilitates the emancipation of both from the oppressive U.S. imperialist exploitation. It is a step, too, towards firming up the international trade-union movement.

The ability of U.S. imperialism to utilize Asia and areas of Latin America as a continued reserve for intensive exploitation and archaically low wages is influencing conditions at home. The possibility of an international minimum wage standard may now become a reality. Maier (ICFTU) made such a proposal in his report on multinational corporations in Washington. But it will require the attention of the whole working class, especially in the advanced industrial countries.

The struggle against the offensive of the multinational corporations is a component of the general struggle against world imperialism. Cementing unity and agreements on united action by different trade union organizations help advance the working people's immediate interests and clash with the objectives of imperialism.

Marxist-Leninist parties are consistent proponents of international working-class solidarity. Every international meeting and discussion within parties fully proves this. Closer unity of the international working class is the common goal of all Communist parties.

Israel's war economy

Tamar Goznanski

In the four years since the June 1967 war the Israeli economy has undergone important changes: it is more war-oriented and more dependent on foreign capital; the bourgeoisie has grown richer and the working class poorer.

Military expenditures, high already before the June war, soared. The following picture is produced by official data, plus additional unbudgeted expenditure:

	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971 (est.)
Military spending (million IL*)	2.8	3.2	4.5	6.0	7.5
Per cent of GNP	23	23	28	31	33

*One IL=\$0.29.

Approximately half the military outlay pays for purchases abroad, mostly in the United States. Rising war expenditure has increased the balance-of-payments deficit, which reached a record \$1,265,000,000 in 1970 (in 1968 it was \$660,000,000).

The inflated war budget has expanded the military sector out of all proportion, which affects the entire course of economic development. In 1970 Ministry of Defense purchases from industrial and building companies accounted for seven per cent of the nation's industrial output and 25 per cent of construction. Some 10 per cent of the civilian labor force is directly involved in war production. The growth rate of the military sector may be illustrated by the fact that from 1960 through 1969 the state-owned 'Aviation Industries', working mainly for the military, increased its personnel fourfold and its annual turnover 15-fold. Since 1968 the government has been encouraging private enterprise to switch to war production by offering easy credits, long-term contracts, etc.

Exploitation of occupied territories

The Israeli rulers' avowed intention to retain control over the occupied territories is not only politically motivated. A weekly of one of the coalition parties describes the occupation of Arab territories as 'the best ever economic deal of the state of Israel.'

What are the immediate economic benefits derived by Israeli and foreign capitalists from the occupation?

Firstly, Israeli firms have expanded their market. Official statistics show that Israeli goods account for 90 per cent of the imports in territories brought into Israel's economic sphere, with the surplus in Israel's trade with them rising from IL130,000,000 in 1968 to IL200,000,000 in 1970.

The government lost no time in getting the Sinai and Gulf of Suez oilfields working, and according to official figures \$55,000,000 worth of oil was produced in 1970. This gave impetus to the construction of a pipeline from Eilat to Ashkelon, financed in part by foreign capital.

By the end of 1970 some 33,000 workers from occupied territories were employed in the Israeli economy, half of them in building and the other half in agriculture and industry. An Arab building worker is paid only half of what a Jewish worker is paid

for the same work and, furthermore, receives no social security benefits. It is estimated that by reason of this wage difference alone, Israeli contractors have increased their yearly profits by 60-70 million liras.

An Arab's wage in the occupied territories is even lower, amounting to about a quarter of an Israeli worker's. Firms use this to attract small local sub-contractors and set up Israeli enterprises with their help. Last year an industrial center was built in the Gaza area, where Israeli firms exploiting local labor installed themselves.

Thus, from the economic angle the occupied territories may be regarded as an Israeli colony and, what is more, in the classical sense of that word. Israeli and foreign capitalists are raking in substantial profits from exploiting these territories.

Economic consequences of militarization

Militarization of the economy and colonization of occupied territories helped Israel overcome the 1966-1967 economic crisis more speedily. In 1968-1970 the gross national product increased by an annual average of 11.6 per cent, while unemployment declined substantially. Meanwhile, inflationary processes sparked by the growing budget deficit IL1,200 million worth of new money in 1969, and 900 million worth in 1970.

The war boom is now over, and if the military sector continues to advance, civilian production may be expected to fall off and unemployment to rise.

Higher taxes and deficit financing do not fully explain how Israel can sustain the huge war expenditures (doubly so since civilian branches of the economy also expanded). The explanation lies mainly in the influx of foreign capital, primarily American. In four years (1967-1970) the officially specified influx of capital totalled \$4,300 million against the \$6,700 million in the preceding 18 years (1949-1966).

Israel's foreign debt spiralled from \$1,600 million at the end of 1967 to \$2,800 million at the end of 1970, and is expected by the government to climb to \$3,500 million by the end of 1971.

All other varieties of capital imports have increased along with direct foreign investments - credits, West German reparations payments, donations from Zionist foundations and private sources. Since the June war the dimensions of grants and direct U.S. government aid have increased considerably. Whereas before the war grants were 22 per cent of the total influx of capital, in the past three years they amounted to 47 per cent. Whereas over 19 years (1949-1967) U.S. government subsidies and loans totalled \$502 million or seven per cent of the total influx of capital to Israel, in

the three subsequent years they were \$537 millions, or 15 per cent. If cash collections of U.S. Zionist bodies and the proceeds from sales of Israeli bonds are added, the total for 1968-1970 builds up to \$1,800 million or almost 50 per cent of the total import of capital. This shows clearly who is financing the Israeli rulers' military adventures.

Thus, the war and the militarization of the economy have resulted in Israel's growing dependence on American imperialism, which, for its part, is generous in aiding the annexationist policy of Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan.

All Israel's influential financial groups were linked with foreign capital long before the June war. The militarization of the economy gave impetus to the penetration of international monopolies into the military sector, especially electronics, iron-and-steel and non-ferrous metals. The major American corporations with investments in Israeli concerns dominant in war production include (the corresponding Israeli firm is given in parentheses: General Telephone and Electronics (Tadiran), Control Data (Albit and Contal), Motorola (own enterprise), Miles Laboratories (Miles Yeda and Miles Chimicalim) and Monsanto (Monsol). These are closely connected with U.S. military businesses and are Pentagon suppliers, their control over military production in Israel emphasizing the latter's dependence on the United States.

At present, with the cease-fire in effect, when the influx of private capital has decreased considerably, the exploitation of our economy by foreign monopoly interests is especially apparent. In 1965 net foreign investments totalled \$113 million, while repatriation of profits (including dividends, interest, etc.) was \$94 million; in 1970, net investments slumped to \$55 million, but the outflow of profits leaped to \$165 million. When the new Israel Corporation was set up in 1968 to attract foreign capital, it obtained only \$21 million instead of the planned \$100 million by the end of 1970, mostly from private firms in West Germany and the International Reconstruction and Development Bank.

Social aspect of war economy

The growing influence of the military-industrial complex on the country's life may be judged even from the trickle of press reports. The complex includes such financial groups as the Kur concern, Discount Bank (one of the country's three biggest), and G.A.S. Industries. In the case of these groups war production accounts for a substantial part of their output; all have highly profitable government contracts and excellent connections with the army and Defense Ministry. Retired General Meir Amit is the director-general

of Kur and its metalworking enterprises are headed by another general, Yeshayau Gavish.

These groups of the military-industrial complex and the capitalists connected with them have made money out of the military business. The profits of Israeli banks, for example, almost doubled from IL44 million in 1967 to 80 million in 1969.

The enrichment of the Israeli bourgeoisie is accompanied by a pauperization of the masses. According to figures of the Histadrut's Institute of Economics, the percentage of wages in the national income fell from 63 in 1966 to 55 in 1969 despite the 13 per cent increase in job holders, while the percentage of profits increased from 37 to 45. The Israeli working class was unable to maintain its share in the national income, and the responsibility for the deterioration of the condition of the working people rests squarely on the government, which is placing on them the burden of its policy of conquest and annexation. The government enforces a wage-freeze and is raising direct and indirect taxes.

In 1970, according to official statistics, the average nominal wage increased by 11 per cent. However, the official price index, too, went up by the same amount. Four per cent of the eleven per cent nominal wage increase, moreover, is deducted for compulsory payment for state bonds. The actual real wage, therefore, has fallen.

The growth of direct taxes has greatly outstripped growth of nominal wages. In 1970, total wage payments were some 40 per cent higher than in 1967. But wage-earners' income taxes rose 65 per cent and social security dues 125 per cent. By the end of 1970 direct taxes and compulsory deductions alone swallowed from one-quarter to one-third of a worker's wage.

As a result real incomes declined and consumption of meat and other staples in working-class families dropped, testifying to a continuous absolute impoverishment of the working people. An analysis of urban family budgets by the Statistical Bureau in 1968/69 showed that 34 per cent of all families spend less than 600 liras monthly, a sum meeting only the most essential requirements.

These findings present a picture of woeful housing conditions and want often bordering on semi-starvation. Children are often forced to leave school before the compulsory term of schooling. According to the National Security Institute, 800,000 people or 27 per cent of the population, are poor.

The working class struggle for better working conditions and higher wages is difficult. Cheap manpower from the occupied territories enables employers to reduce wages, especially in building and agriculture, and in some branches of industry. Meanwhile, government agencies cooperate with employers and the Histadrut leaders to check the working people's struggle by invoking anti-

labor laws and fanning chauvinist sentiment to prevent labor unity.

Yet, even in the difficult wartime conditions the people are fighting on. The number of strikes went up from 100 in 1968 to 168 in 1970, and the number of strikers from 42,000 to 120,000. Protracted strikes were held in several metalworking and chemical plants, and by schoolteachers, postal staffs and airport and port workers.

Should peace be feared?

Government circles spare no effort to convince the people that the present situation of 'neither war nor peace' is the best, claiming that a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict would precipitate an economic crisis. History has already proved the fallacy of this claim: no economic crisis followed the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Sinai in 1957. On the contrary, 1958 saw the beginning of an economic upsurge, which lasted until 1964.

The only ones to gain from fanning this fear of a peaceful settlement are the monopoly groups of the military-industrial complex, which are afraid of losing lucrative military contracts; foreign monopolies that have profited from militarization and taken over promising economic fields, extracting high profits, and local capitalists in town and country exploiting cheap manpower from the occupied territories.

The working class and other working people are suffering increasingly from the burdens of the military situation. Continued militarization bodes nothing but higher taxes, worse labor conditions and insecurity; inflationary price increases will continue and unemployment, according to all indications, will grow.

Only the Israeli government's consent to take practical steps towards implementing the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, and, in the first place, withdrawal from occupied territories, can put an end to the bloodshed and lead to a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict. A settlement based on respect for the legitimate rights of all the peoples of the Middle East, the right of all states of the area to a sovereign existence within stable and recognized boundaries, may not solve all the political, economic and social problems of the people of Israel, but would at least facilitate their struggle for a democratic solution.

Peace would facilitate a drive to reduce the military budget and to allocate more to economic and social needs: medical services, extension of compulsory schooling, developing industry and agriculture, and subsidizing scientific research for peaceful purposes. A settlement of the conflict would create better conditions for the workers' struggle for their class objectives. It would be harder, for

instance, to invoke the emergency laws banning strikes and attaching factory and office workers to their jobs. Peace would help the working class to rid itself of chauvinist prejudices, which impede its fight against the impoverishment policy.

In conditions of peace the struggle for economic independence, limiting the domination of foreign capital in the economy, would be on the order of the day. It would become possible to develop mutually advantageous economic ties with the socialist and developing countries. All this may sound like a pipedream. But the dream can come true. As a new Israeli peace song says: 'Say not "The day will come," but bring that day!' This lofty task now faces the people of Israel.

T H E

African Communist

Published quarterly
in the interests of African
solidarity, and as a forum for
Marxist-Leninist thought throughout
Africa by the South African Communist
Party — 50 cents a copy; \$2 for one year
subscription; \$3 via airmail.

LONDON AGENT:

Inkululeko Publications, 39 Goodge St., London W. 1, England.

IN CANADA:

Progress Subscription Service, 487 Adelaide St. W., Toronto 2B



The farther mankind advances in building the new socialist world, the more resolute the struggle against capitalism, the more acute is the need for a conceptualization of the complex social phenomena, and the greater, the more important, becomes the role of revolutionary theory. The Communist and Workers' parties consider it their prime duty to impart to the working class, to broad strata of working people, the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to defend its principles against reformist and revisionist distortion. To master the fundamentals of theory is for every Communist a vital necessity.

Responding to readers' requests, the Editors have decided to publish a series of articles setting out the Marxist-Leninist view on the more topical problems of the present day. We hope they will help those, especially the young, who are studying theory, will equip them with additional arguments in elucidating the Marxist-Leninist standpoint and defending it in debates.

The series opens with an article on the Marxist-Leninist outlook, to be followed by another on the role and interaction of the world revolutionary streams. Editors request readers to suggest topics for this series.

Why Marxism-Leninism is not obsolete

'The Marxist doctrine, is omnipotent because it is true.'

V. I. Lenin

1. No theory, no outlook in the history of man has ever spread so widely or had so powerful an impact on social development as Marxism-Leninism. It won worldwide recognition with astounding speed – in but a few decades. Works of the classics of our revolutionary teaching are published, disseminated and studied more extensively than books by any other political author.

No other social or philosophical theory can compare with Marx-

ism-Leninism in its impact on men's minds and on the course of history. The science of communism lies at the root of all progressive developments in contemporary history, and especially the October Socialist Revolution, which launched the transition from capitalism to socialism. Communist science illumines the way for the socialist brother states. It provides the guidelines for the Communist and Workers' parties of the capitalist world in their struggle for the liberation of labor from the shackles of capital. It inspires the vanguard detachments of the national-liberation movement.

The quest for a clear and integral outlook leads millions of workers, progressives and all those concerned over the future of mankind, who oppose imperialist aggression, want peace and friendship among nations and who fight for socialism, to Marxism-Leninism. It attracts people of many strata of capitalist society, especially the young, who see the evils of capitalism and look for ways of eliminating them – all who are no longer content with the many bourgeois recipes for 'improving' or 'renovating' capitalism than with the bankrupt patchwork reformist doctrines. The ideas of our revolutionary teaching are increasingly attracting scientists, artists and writers of the capitalist West seeking a sound ideological basis for their creativity.

As Karl Marx put it, 'theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses.' This may be justifiably said of Marxism-Leninism, for, having gripped millions of people in all continents, it has become a material force repatterning the world and changing society for the benefit of the working people.

The reasons for the growing influence of Marxism-Leninism may be summed up thus:

– Marxism-Leninism, for the first time, brought the materialist understanding of nature and society and the dialectical method together in an integral scientific teaching, providing man with a powerful means of cognition. A product of human civilization, it absorbed the scientific gains and revolutionary experiences of the 19th and 20th centuries. The Marxist doctrine, Lenin wrote, 'is the legitimate successor to the best that man produced in the nineteenth century, as represented by German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 23-24).

– Marxism-Leninism, for the first time, showed the profound unity of the theory and practice of the world's revolutionary transformation. It overcame the weakness common to all social theories, including progressive ones: their isolation from life, from the history-making activity of the masses. It showed feasible ways of liberating the working class and all toilers from the capitalist yoke and of building a new, just and prosperous socialist and communist society. This made it the most *effective* teaching.

– Finally, Marxist-Leninist principles are being successfully embodied in the social practice of the Soviet Union, which is building communism, and the other socialist countries, which began building the new society in conditions of either highly developed or relatively underdeveloped capitalism. That Marxism-Leninism is correct is confirmed by the spread of the revolutionary struggle and the expansion of its social base in the capitalist world.

When they first appeared in print, the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' and other Marxist works were instantly assailed by the academics of capitalism. Since then official bourgeois ideology has never ceased its vicious attacks against Marxism-Leninism. It has been cursed and ignored, falsified and challenged. Sometimes, as in tsarist Russia or, in our time, in many countries of the so-called free world, the authorities think that the most effective way is to ban Marxist literature and to persecute its disseminators. Sometimes, as in Hitler Germany and the latter-day fascist dictatorships, books by Marx, Engels and Lenin are burned and Communists are slain in concentration camps. Sometimes feverish attempts are made to eradicate Marxist ideas from the minds of working people and replace them with various brands of quasi-socialist ideology.

In short, the greater the spread and influence of Marxist-Leninist theory, the greater the energy and resources that are used against it. Realizing that Marxism-Leninism cannot be destroyed, bourgeois 'Marxologists,' as well as reformists and revisionists, increasingly invoke 'science' and 'objectivity.'

The student of the political literature appearing in capitalist countries will frequently encounter the names of Marx, Engels and Lenin. By its references to the authors of 'Capital,' 'Anti-Duehring,' 'Materialism and Empirio-criticism,' modern bourgeois science concedes that nowadays it is impossible to ignore Marxism-Leninism in the sciences relating to society and the laws governing its development.

This 'objectivity,' however, is merely a cloak for a very refined type of tactic against our revolutionary theory. Some authors pretend to 're-assess' the Marxist-Leninist classics, producing tendentious misinterpretations and falsifying our science by quoting out of context, or by omissions or barefaced inventions. Other authors pretend to acknowledge the classics, but as authorities belonging to the past. In other words, they 'quote' and 'recognize' them in order to persuade the masses that Marxism-Leninism and its fundamental idea – the revolutionary reconstruction of capitalist society by the proletariat – is obsolete, irrelevant, and inconsequential.

The claims that Marxism-Leninism is outdated are easily refuted: if this were so, why waste so much time and effort to prove the obvious? When theories become obsolete, they are quickly for-

gotten. Is not the fact that modern bourgeois ideologues go out of their way to prove the 'obsolescence' of Marxism-Leninism, to attack it, clear evidence of its viability and relevance?

However, this is largely a logical, speculative argument. Let us consider the arguments of our ideological opponents. Among other things, that would give us a clearer idea of the reasons why Marxism-Leninism is so remarkably viable, why, contrary to the claims of its foes, it does not age with the passing years, acquiring new strength in every new phase of history and influencing it more and more decisively.

II. Obviously, it is impossible to analyze and answer all the arguments of the opponents of Marxism-Leninism in an article. The answer is provided collectively by the aggregate of Marxist-Leninist literature, including our journal. This purpose is also to be served by the articles in this series. Take but one question which our enemies try to distort perhaps more than any other: the question of socialist revolution.

Marxism has proved the inevitability of the revolutionary transformation of capitalist into socialist society. The material basis for the advent of socialism is the socialization of labor through the continued expansion of large-scale production, giant monopolies and corporations. Aggravation of the conflict between the social character of production and its capitalist form – i.e., bourgeois production relations, which act increasingly as a brake on economic progress – creates the objective need for a social revolution. The working class, whose place in the system of capitalist production motivates its struggle against the bourgeoisie, is, as Lenin put it, the intellectual and moral mover and physical executor of the transformation of capitalism into socialism. The proletariat's class struggle inevitably becomes political in character, revolving around the issue of political power. Led by the Marxist-Leninist party, the proletariat establishes its dictatorship and rallies all working people for effecting the socialist reconstruction. The dictatorship of the proletariat performs not only the function of suppressing bourgeois resistance but, first and foremost, that of building the new society. The transformation of capitalism into socialism is effected by revolutionary means only.

Of course, like any cursory exposition, the above does not convey the depth and impact of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on socialist revolution. It is adequate enough, however, to refute the main argument of the critics of Marxism-Leninism, who maintain that in the mid-20th century the need for a socialist revolution has disappeared. What proofs do they advance in support of this contention? They

argue that in recent years industrial efficiency in the main capitalist countries has risen, that capitalism uses economic programming and forecasting and state financing of scientific and technological progress. They also argue that workers share in the profits of private firms, that living standards have gone up thanks to the scientific and technological revolution, that scientists and engineers, whom they call technocrats, are 'replacing capitalists at the helm of government and are oriented on social justice, etc. In the view of the critics of Marxism-Leninism, one can only ask: Is revolution necessary? Is it necessary to aggravate the situation, complicate the natural course of events, make needless sacrifices?

This, broadly, is the reasoning of the makers of the fashionable bourgeois theories of 'convergence,' 'the industrial society,' 'the post-industrial society,' etc. The point is, however, that in trying to refute the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution, our opponents merely cleverly exploit and distort the essence of the new developments in capitalist economics and politics caused by the changed relation of forces on the international scene, the scientific and technological revolution, and other factors.

Certainly, the capitalist states and monopolies try to regulate the capitalist economy. Modern imperialism has boosted the effectiveness of social production by utilizing the opportunities provided by the scientific and technological revolution. But does this mean that capitalism has rid the working people of exploitation, ended all wars, offering genuine democracy, freedom and independence? Further: why is capitalism forced to introduce state regulation of the economy? Primarily, because it hopes thereby to stave off its inevitable collapse, to avoid falling behind in the competition against socialism, which has long since proved the tremendous advantages of a planned economy. Thus, the proofs invoked by our ideological opponents as evidence that Marxism-Leninism is outdated, really confirm its correctness. It was Marxism-Leninism that first scientifically explained why increasing regulation by the bourgeois state is inevitable, showing its consequences in the social class context. It was the Marxist-Leninists who produced practical proof of the advantages of the planned socialist economy.

Certainly, these days capitalists make certain concessions to the working people. But those are forced concessions, wrung from them by the growing might of organized labor and its mounting resistance. They are also wrung from them by the economic, scientific and technological achievements of the socialist countries. When put to the test, what bourgeois ideologues call 'higher living standards' is but a one-sided view often based on technological advance ('they can buy a car,' 'they can have refrigerators and wash-

ing machines'). They ignore the social aspect of a working man's life under capitalism with its humiliations, absence of political rights, insecurity, the mounting sense of alienation and disillusionment. Bourgeois ideologues also conceal the fact that the workers pay for the concessions wrested from the capitalists with exhausting labor, that new burdens are placed on them. Though the methods of class domination change, the working man in a capitalist country constantly feels that he is living in an exploiter society. Whatever betterment of living standards the working class of some capitalist countries manages to secure, it gains primarily by fighting for its rights in accordance with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This fact, too, is therefore largely an *effect* of applying Marxist-Leninist theory, and not at all the *cause* that allegedly makes that theory obsolete.

We could analyze the arguments of the opponents of Marxism on other questions, with the inevitable conclusion that Marxism-Leninism is right and the fundamental tenets of the theory of socialist revolution are still valid.

No matter how conditions may change on the international scene, and no matter what changes may occur in capitalism, the fact remains that as a class the bourgeoisie will not relinquish its wealth or power without a fight. And if it should lose power, it spares no effort to recover its positions, of which the intervention and the civil war in Russia and the counter-revolutionary activities in other socialist countries are ample evidence.

The struggle with the bourgeoisie may take various forms: it may be armed or non-violent, and may result in different forms of government by the working class: it may involve different classes, groups, strata, etc., depending on the circumstances. But struggle as such is inevitable, because society's transition from capitalism to socialism is neither more nor less than a political and social revolution. Hence the Marxist-Leninist approach remains valid in assessing the objective economic and socio-political conditions of socialist revolution, the role in it of the subjective factor, the revolutionary situation, the national crisis and the formation of the political army of revolution, the struggle for democracy and the development of national-liberation movements, in assessing the laws of the world revolutionary process, the need for international solidarity and all-out support of the revolutionary detachment by all the forces of the world revolutionary movement, the need for the leading role of the Communist party, for uncompromising struggle against all forms of opportunism, etc.

Practice has always been the criterion of truth. Whenever a relatively long period of calm sets in on the battle fronts of the class struggle, bourgeois ideologues and politicians hasten to pro-

claim that Marxism-Leninism has at last become obsolete and socialist revolution is no longer needed, cheering and performing the funeral rites for the science of communism; but all this time the clouds gather, incendiaries accumulate, until one day, to the horror of the bourgeois philistines, the storm breaks out.

Glance back into history.

When the bourgeoisie drowned the heroic Paris Commune in blood it said socialist revolution was banished once and for all. But in October 1917 the socialist revolution in Russia shook the entire capitalist world. Yet its ideologues still clung to time-worn dogmas, predicting the early end of the revolution, described it as a 'protracted experiment,' etc. The facts refuted our opponents; socialism triumphed in the USSR completely and irrevocably, and socialist revolutions took place in countries accounting for more than one-third of mankind.

Bourgeois ideologues and their revisionist hangers-on advanced all kinds of arguments to show that the taking of power by the working people in the People's Democracies was 'unnatural.' A favorite theme – one still expounded in some quarters – was that revolution is impossible in peacetime and is inevitably associated with war. Another contention was that socialist revolution would never occur in the Americas, to which the spirit of socialism is 'alien.' And when the Cuban revolution took place some declared it an 'unhappy exception,' a freak of chance. Then, in the autumn of 1970, the elections in Chile were won by the Popular Unity bloc with its avowed goal of building socialism. These things will happen again and again until, one by one, all countries take the road of social progress, the road of socialism.

III. Logic and the realities show that Marxism-Leninism is not obsolete and continues to be the weapon of revolutionaries. More, though it is farthest from our thoughts to pose as prophets, we declare at the risk of totally discouraging our ideological foes that the teaching of Marx and Lenin will never be obsolete.

Why? Is our claim truly justified, especially in this dynamic age when theories sprout and vanish into oblivion by the dozen within the lifetime of one generation?

The answer is that Marxism is not an immutable doctrine. It is a developing science. And the fundamental feature of every science is its ability to provide an adequate, i.e., correct explanation of reality. If practice does not confirm some inference, science rejects it and renews the quest. It has no sacred cows, and acknowledges only the truths it has gleaned, experimentally verified and confirmed through practice.

Marxism-Leninism is a consistently scientific ideology whose strength derives from the following fundamental qualities.

Firstly, Marxism is not a collection of isolated ideas; it is a powerful instrument for the cognition and transformation of the world. 'Marx's way of viewing things is not a doctrine but a method,' wrote Engels. 'It does not provide ready-made dogmas, but criteria for further research and the method for this research' (Letter to W. Sombart, March 11, 1895).

In the Marxist-Leninist dialectical method we have a comprehensive science that, once mastered, enables us to act meaningfully in the most complicated situations. It requires us to approach every phenomenon concretely – to take into account all associated and fringe phenomena and the degree of their interactions; it requires us to define its origins and traits passed down from preceding phenomena and to pinpoint the tendencies of its development. Insofar as the phenomenon is a social one, we must establish its class meaning, the social forces interested in preserving it and those opposing it, and so on. These are but some of the requirements of the Marxist dialectical method in investigating social processes.

Lenin always emphasized the vast scope of materialist dialectics, describing it as the living soul of Marxism. Because for the proletariat and its Communist vanguard the dialectical method, which continuously develops and improves, adopting new methods of research, has been and will always be a powerful instrument of cognition and the revolutionary transformation of society.

Secondly, all the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist theory retain their basic value. 'We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable,' Lenin wrote. 'On the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life' (Vol. 4, pp. 211-212).

Note that Lenin speaks of the foundation stone of science, i.e., of the principles on which it is based. This is of the utmost importance, because various interpreters of Marxism, especially of the revisionist variety, are trying to prove that only the Marxist method is still valid and all the rest is obsolete. We have just spoken of the method's importance. But this does not mean that the elements of theory which Lenin called its foundation stone are unnecessary, ineffective, incorrect. The fact of the matter is that the laws of social development discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin are entirely valid; this is true of the succession of social formations, the class struggle as the motive force of social development, the correlation between the superstructure and basis of society, between the state, right and morality, etc. The concept

of the historic mission of the working class and the role of its Communist vanguard is completely relevant.

The significance of the truly great scientific discoveries is not invalidated by any of mankind's new experiences. Time and history, far from refuting the essence of Darwin's and Mendeleyev's discoveries, have provided fresh proof of their validity. Similarly, the new experience of class struggle does not negate the Marxist-Leninist fundamental laws of social development and the revolutionary replacement of capitalism with communism. On the contrary, these are fully confirmed.

Lenin's theoretical and practical work is an unsurpassed example of creative Marxism. It is the most convincing proof of the vitality of Marxism and shows the sources of its strength. More than anyone else, Lenin firmly defended the fundamental principles of the teaching of Marx and Engels and fought for its postulates, for every thesis. At the same time, he was always aware of the need to clarify or to finalize the various conclusions to fit the changing situation, and showed true courage in creatively developing theory.

Suffice it to recall Lenin's struggle against Kautsky and other opportunist leaders of the Second International. He criticized them for their departure from Marxism, for accepting only those of its propositions that were acceptable to liberals, the bourgeoisie, while throwing out, ignoring or obfuscating whatever the bourgeoisie found objectionable. On the other hand, Lenin performed a great scientific exploit by formulating a new theory of world socialist revolution. It was Lenin who proved that with capitalism entering its higher stage, imperialism, which bared the disproportionate economic and political development of capitalist countries, socialist revolution could not take place simultaneously in all of them as Marx and Engels had suggested earlier, and would triumph initially in only a few, even one country.

In other words, Lenin displayed a profoundly dialectical approach to Marxism. It is this approach that constitutes the true strength of Marxism-Leninism. Being true to it means equally *using its method and upholding its theory and developing them*. But we also know of cases when certain groups or trends in the workers' movement distort the principles of our teaching on the excuse of developing Marxism. Then, instead of development, we have what are in effect attempts at undermining Marxism-Leninism. That is the only way we can describe the activities of such Right-wing revisionsists as Garaudy, Fischer and Sik, as well as of the 'Left' opportunists who are equally hostile to Marxism.

The Communist and Workers' parties – each separately, and all together in their collective documents – develop Marxist-Leninist

theory, advance the science of communism, enrich it with the enormous experience of the world socialist system and the international Communist movement. A fine example of this is the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the participants of which discussed important problems of the struggle against imperialism, analyzed the present stage of social development, and collectively defined the urgent tasks of Communists and all anti-imperialist forces.

A major contribution to the development of a number of important aspects of Marxist-Leninist theory was made by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Questions of theory are likewise debated in depth at congresses of other fraternal parties. This Leninist tradition has become one of the principles of the work of those who remember that all their achievements are linked with the science of communism.

'Theoretical work is a major element of our common internationalist, revolutionary duty,' Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said at the Party's 24th Congress. 'The struggle between the forces of capitalism and socialism on the world scene and the attempts of revisionists of all hues to emasculate the revolutionary teaching and to distort the practice of socialist and communist construction require that we continue to pay undivided attention to the problems and creative development of theory. Repetition of old formulas where they have become outworn and an inability or reluctance to adopt a new approach to new problems harm the cause and create additional possibilities for the spread of revisionist counterfeits of Marxism-Leninism. Criticism of bourgeois and revisionist attacks on our theory and practice becomes much more convincing when it is founded on the active and creative development of the social sciences, of Marxist-Leninist theory.'

The fundamental revolutionary changes taking place in the world today are testimony to the relevance and the truth of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, they show that Marxism-Leninism never stops at the frontiers reached, that it develops continuously, enriched with new social experience and the new findings of science. There can be no doubt that as Communists tackle great historical tasks—stepping up the struggle against imperialism, against the survivals of colonials, for the victory of socialism in new countries, for the broad utilization of all arising opportunities in building socialism and communism—they will contribute to the further creative development of their internationalist teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

K. Zarodov, I. Norlund



Neo-anarchism in a blind alley

Bruno Frei

For some years now, we have been witnessing a revival of anarchism in the developed capitalist countries, especially among the students and intellectuals. This is an indisputable if amazing fact, for anarchism had long been considered dead and seemed to have become a museum exhibit. However, events in Paris in May 1968 brought it back into the public eye. Black flags and 'anti-authoritarian' slogans lend a peculiar color to protest meetings in West Germany, the United States, France, Italy, Japan, Britain. Numerous bourgeois sociologists and writers advocate 'absence of domination,' 'the great renunciation,'* the 'anti-authoritarian revolution, as an ideal.

Marx, Engels and Lenin had on numerous occasions to remove obstacles raised to scientific socialism by the anarchist ramification of the labor movement. When still developing the new world outlook, Marx and Engels came up against an outbreak of extreme anarchism on the part of Max Stirner, a Young Hegelian, who in his book 'The Unique and His Property' called for absolute autonomy of the individual in relation to society.

The 'pivot' of Stirner's book, Marx wrote, is the German petty bourgeois who, being powerless, seeks comfort in the most trivial self-embellishment. Stirner, the spiritual father of 'anarcho-individualism,' was firmly rebuffed in 'The German Ideology,' Nevertheless, his influence shows in the views of numerous contemporary ideologists from Heidegger through the early Sartre to Herbert Marcuse.

No sooner was the controversy with Stirner over – 'The German Ideology' had not been published yet – than Marx found it necessary to take up the defense of the nascent theory of scientific communism against the attacks of Pierre Joseph Proudhon, the French an-

*The phrase 'le grand refus' was widely used in May 1968 to indicate renunciation of all the institutions and values of modern bourgeois society. – Ed.

archist. In 'The Poverty of Philosophy' Marx showed that Proudhon with his professed radicalism did not rise above bourgeois economists. Writing to Kugelmann on October 9, 1866, Marx took a sharp stand against revolutionary phrase-mongering and professed radicalism, whose 'ignorant, vain, presumptuous, talkative, blusteringly arrogant' exponents 'actually preach ordinary bourgeois economy, only Proudhonistically idealized.'

Marx's estimation of Proudhonism corresponds closely enough to present-day phenomena arbitrarily misnamed 'Left-wing radicalism.'

Among the revolutionaries of the last century it was primarily Mikhail Bakunin who expressed anarchist ideas after Proudhon and put them into practice. When, in 1861, Bakunin arrived in London after escaping from prison in tsarist Russia, the International did not yet exist. By the time it was founded, in 1864, he had settled down in Italy. The environment he found there seemed to him more suitable for disseminating his notions of revolution than did the industrial areas of Britain. By then, an irreconcilable contradiction was manifest between Bakunin and Marx, between anarchism and Marxism, a contradiction which a few years later caused a split in the International.

Bakunin denied that the working class was prepared or able to accomplish a revolution. The 'affluent society' theory had not yet been conceived, nor had Marcuse invented his 'one-dimensional man.' However, there already was a theory saying that the revolution would not be carried out by the working class but would rather be stimulated 'from without,' by peripheral sections of the population. This theory was from the outset an anarchist dogma, a fundamental principle of anarchism. Ever since then, Bakunin's followers, old and new, have been unanimous in alleging that under capitalism wage workers are useless to the revolution. They pin all their hopes on groups of people whom Bakunin extolled as the 'flower of the proletariat' and 'great popular rebels.' The 'Leftist' sociologists of today see the most important revolutionary potential in declassed elements, in the undercultured and 'unintegrated,' that is, the slum dwellers of big cities and the landless rural population. In U.S. cities today they are called 'street people' and are considered to include the colored population and young people.

Bakunin's ideas were favorably received in the Italy and Spain of his time. Marx gave the reason for this. In a letter to Friedrich Bolte, delegate of the International in New York, written on November 23, 1871, at the height of the controversy with anarchism, he spoke of Bakunin's intrigues and concepts as follows: 'This children's primer found favor (and still has a certain hold) in Italy

and Spain, where the real conditions for the workers' movement are as yet little developed.'

Of course, economic factors favorable to anarchist ideas also operate today, particularly in the developing countries. However, in view of the resurgence of anarchism among European and American intellectuals and youth, it would be wrong to attribute it to economic backwardness alone. The scientific and technological revolution has produced an intelligentsia which, though a part of the working class, has a largely petty-bourgeois mentality making it receptive to anarchist ideas. The spiritual emptiness of latter-day bourgeois civilization, the dissolution of a rational image of the world, the de-ideologization of a consumption-minded society, and the spontaneous revolt against inhuman conditions are all capable of creating a spiritual and moral atmosphere in which the germs of anarchism develop just as well as in slums and starving villages.

In 1968 Cohn-Bendit, the ultra-left leader, published a book pretentiously entitled 'Left-wing Radicalism: Compulsory Cure for the Senile Disorder of Communism,' which may be regarded as a manual of neo-Bakuninism. The book generalizes the experience of the May action from an anarchist standpoint, saying that its aim was not only to defeat capitalism, but to 'abolish power structures in all organizations of both society and the revolutionary movement itself.' This is a revival of Bakuninism, rejuvenated but as intoxicated with 'radical' talk as ever.

Horst Bienek, a 'Young Communist' of Munich, has dedicated a paean to the Bakuninist ideal of destruction on behalf of literature. His main thesis is: 'The language of anarchy is action, arbitrary action contrary to logic, destruction of the order of syntax. To be an anarchist means being against causality and holding up the fatal course of natural development for an instant; it means holding up this formation and this passing by destroying and by beginning anew.' The word 'destruction' is repeated again and again with undisguised relish, as will be seen.

The fact that this ecstatic author, of whom it is not known whether he is a swindler or a dreamer, longs for bombs, is a problem for the psychiatrist. But the fact that his work has been published by a well-established West German company, that a 'German journal for European thought' ('Mercur') offers its columns to this literary bomb-thrower, and lastly, that a Social-Democratic party newspaper hails Bienek's book, shows that neo-anarchism can be integrated into reformism and revisionism without difficulty, with anti-communism as the common denominator. Capitalism feels threatened by Marxism and rightly sees it as its grave digger. As for anarchism, that twin brother of petty-bourgeois reformism, capitalism cherishes it.

Cohn-Bendit, also spoon-fed by big bourgeois publishing companies, concludes his 'masterpiece,' posing as a revolutionary educator, as follows: 'Put on your clothes now – we hope you have read these pages in bed – and go to the cinema. Look there at the sad tedium of a life from which you are generally excluded. See the sequences dancing before your eyes, the actors enacting what you experience daily, except that with you it is unfortunately no acting. Then, as soon as the first ad of the next show appears on the screen, take out your tomatoes or rotten eggs and act. Say no to everything. After that, go out and tear off all posters so as finally to find your way back to the forms of political demonstration used in those May and June days. . . . And so, act! Seek a new relationship with your girl-friend, love in a different way, say no to the family. Begin the revolution here and now – not for others, but with others, for yourself.' This calls for no comment.

When, in 1873, the Spanish section of the International, led by Bakuninists, steered the revolutionary movement in Spain to catastrophe by its putschist tactics, Engels made a proper evaluation of that anarchist experiment. 'The upshot,' he wrote, 'was not only that the well-organized and numerically strong Spanish sections of the International – both the spurious and the true one – fell with the Intransigents and are virtually dissolved today, but that no end of invented excesses are laid at their door, without which the philistine in any country just cannot imagine a workers' rising. This may mean that it will be impossible to bring a new organization of the International into being among the Spanish proletariat for years to come' ('The Bakuninists at Work'). In the oft-quoted article 'On Authority' he contributed to an Italian almanac, Engels made an appropriate comment on the 'anti-authoritarians': 'They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority. Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon – authoritarian means, if such there be at all.'

Hans Magnus Enzensberger, one of the literary spokesmen of the 'New Left,' claims that Engels here predicts the subjugation of mankind by modern technology and progress in the productive forces (Kursbuch, 14/1968, p. 67). To accuse Engels of a 'technocratic ideology' with reference to his work 'On Authority' means distorting him. We have every reason to say that Engels affirms the opposite. Characteristically, none other than Herbert Marcuse, talking with Enzensberger two years later, used against him precisely the arguments advanced by Engels ('Kursbuch', 22/1970, p. 57).

Of course, Engels could not have foreseen that the tragedy of the Spanish revolution, with the anarchists in their traditional role, would be re-enacted six decades later. The events of 1936 were analogous in this respect to those of 1873.

The pseudo-revolutionary theory rejecting the state was tested in Spain and the result on both occasions was the same – history disproved it. In revolutionary Petrograd, the Bolsheviks put Marx's theory of the state to the test of historical practice. The result was a brilliant victory for the socialist revolution and the formation of a system of socialist states extending from the Elbe to the Pacific and exerting an ever more powerful influence on man's history:

In August and September 1917, when a revolutionary atmosphere in Petrograd was building up, Lenin, while preparing for the uprising, worked on the theoretical foundations of a new type of state, the Soviet state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, in 'The State and Revolution,' he set out to rid the Marxist theory of the state of opportunist distortions and safeguard it against false, anarchist views and notions. He clearly revealed the contradiction between Marxists and anarchists. 'It is precisely the revolution in its rise and development, with its specific tasks in relation to violence, authority, power, the state, that the anarchists refuse to see,' he wrote (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 438). A society without violence, without suppression, without subordination, and without a *special apparatus* for suppression known as the state, will appear only when the rules of collective social life gradually become a habit with people delivered from capitalist exploitation, that is, in communist society. Throughout the historical period of transition from capitalism to communism, Lenin wrote, 'a special apparatus, a special machine for suppression, the "state," is still necessary' (Vol. 25, p. 463).

In new, ultra-revolutionary literature it has become customary to draw on Lenin's 'The State and Revolution' in advertising anarchism. The work is misquoted in the process, of course, by arbitrarily snatching passages out of context. Cohn-Bendit is particularly unscrupulous in manipulating Lenin's words. In his fashionable book he glibly alleges that in 'The State and Revolution' Lenin sets anarchist goals, that he was 'anarchoid' and that 'the masses compelled him to be an anarchist rather than a Bolshevik.' The anarchist student leader falsely alleges that at the Third Congress of Soviets (1918) Lenin said: 'The anarchists' ideas have taken living forms.' Cohn-Bendit somehow forgets to give the source of his bold assertion. There is no such source. What does exist is a rebuff which Lenin, speaking at the Extraordinary Fourth All-Russia Congress of

Soviets (March 14-16, 1918), administered to ultra-left and anarchist talkers. 'The whole history of revolutions,' he said, 'has shown many such revolutionary phrase-mongers and nothing is left of them but stench and smoke' (Vol. 27, p. 198).

A favorite neo-anarchist argument is the allegation that the Kronstadt rebellion was the last hope of setting up genuine Soviets, an expression of the spontaneity of the masses. The Kronstadt counter-revolutionaries' slogan, 'All power to the Soviets – without Communists,' is enthusiastically if belatedly applauded by the neo-anarchist 'left-wing radicals.' Lenin saw the social roots of the rebellion – with petty-bourgeois revolutionary elements, frustration due to exhaustion often expresses itself in anarchism. He warned that unless we beat the petty-bourgeois-anarchist element, 'we shall slide down as the French Revolution did' (Vol. 32, p. 282).

The Tenth Congress of the RCP (B) (March 8-16, 1921) was held during the Kronstadt rebellion. It focussed attention on the problem of combating the 'workers' opposition,' which upheld the anarcho-syndicalism from positions of principle. His statements at the Congress and his draft resolutions are of invaluable help to us in the present controversy with neo-anarchism. The thesis of 'producers' self-management' is nothing but an infusion of Proudhon's ideas and failure to realize the class structure of society, Lenin stressed. However 'radical' the program for 'producers' managing society might sound, its meaning was that, instead of 'the practical work of building new forms of economy already begun by the Soviet state, we get petty-bourgeois-anarchist disruption of this work, which can only lead to the triumph of the bourgeois counter-revolution' (Vol. 32, p. 247). The experience of all revolutions in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, Lenin said further on, shows most convincingly that the only possible result of this kind of petty bourgeois-anarchist vacillations will be the restoration of the power and property of the capitalists and landowners. This is all the truer of present-day conditions for the revolutionary struggle against monopoly.

The message of anarcho-syndicalism is most explicit in the views of Georges Sorel, the French sociologist and philosopher. Lenin called him a 'well-known muddler.' According to Sorel, the proletariat needs neither organization, leadership, nor objective conditions. All it needs for a 'spontaneous explosion' is the 'myth of revolution,' faith in it. The putschist character of his concept will be readily discerned. The concept shows that 'Left-wing revolutionism and 'actionism' are in effect reactionary because they deny the needs for taking account of objective factors in revolutionary struggle and reduce everything to the voluntarist

aspirations of the subject. It is not accidental that the idea of the miraculous power of myths in politics was used by fascism as a 'theoretical' justification of its crimes. Let it be said in passing that Mussolini called Sorel his 'spiritual father.'

In past decades we have seen the mythologization of politics spread like an oil stain, taking up the ideological sphere of the 'New Left.' Herbert Marcuse, for instance, invites everyone to go back from science to anarchist Utopia. Asked by the *Paris Express* (in connection with the May 1968 events) whether anarchism could lead the revolution to victory, he answered; 'No, but I regard the anarchist element as a very powerful and very progressive force' (Herbert Marcuse, 'Ueber Revolte, Anarchismus and Einsamkeit,' Zurich, 1969, p. 34).

Why anarchism should be considered 'progressive' is not clear. On the one hand, it is said that coercion – 'progressive coercion' – will exist in the freest society. On the other, a change of society implies a 'complete rejection' ('great renunciation') allowing for no exceptions, not even for coercion. Marcuse is moving in a world that is neutral in terms of class relations – an imaginary world. He believes (as does Ernst Fischer) that the May slogan 'fantasy to power' was really revolutionary and that the students, by reinstating fantasy in reality through this slogan, brought about a turn in the development of modern society. This lands Marcuse on the platform of classical, irrational anarchism.

In 'An Attempt at Liberation,' a book published in 1969, Marcuse explicitly glorifies the slogan of fantasy again, extolling it as an adequate symbol for the 'great, real, transcending strength' of the May events, 'the first powerful rebellion against the whole of existing society, for a total reappraisal of values, for qualitatively new ways of life' ('Versuch ueber die Befreiung,' Frankfurt/M, 1969, p. 41). He says those events showed that the 'great renunciation' is no Utopia but a revolutionary deed.

'New radicalism,' Marcuse says further on, 'opposes both centralized, bureaucratic-Communist and semi-democratic, liberal organization. This revellion contain a strong element of spontaneity, indeed, of anarchism. It expresses the new sensitivity, the annoyance with all domination. The anarchist element is an essential factor in the fight against domination' (op. cit., p. 130). It follows that since domination is 'annoying,' the goal to strive for is, evidently, the absence of domination.

Small wonder that seeds like these have sprouted abundantly among young people born in 1945. Answerable for this are also those ideologists who offer theoretical support to the anarchist aspects of the youth's protest rather than objectively analyzing and revealing its illusory, Utopian aspects.

Marxist critics of the so-called Frankfurt school, among whose main exponents is Marcuse, have with good reason come to the following conclusion: 'The apparatus of categories of the "Frankfurt school" (in which technology, science, the state, institutions, organizations, authority, productivity, labor, separated from the concrete social basis, are presented as incarnations of a supra-temporal reification and alienation), drained increasingly of an economic and historical class content, was intended politically to support the abstractly romantic trends of anarchism, ultra-left talk and spontaneous individualism' ('Die "Frankfurter Schule" im Lichte des Marxismus. Zur Kritik der Philosophie und Sociologie von Horkeimer, Adorno, Marcuse, Habermas.' Frankfurt/Main, 1970, p. 179).

The starting point (and set objective) of Marcuse's reasoning is the idealist Utopia of freedom, the postulate that progress in freedom implies progress in awareness of freedom. The criterion is a Utopian society in which there is no domination and hence all past and future societies, except for the ultimate ideal, are lumped together and rejected because domination exists in all of them. They were all 'bad,' therefore, irrespective of how close they were to capitalism or communism. The main characteristic of Marcuse's arguments (and ideologists akin to him) which brings him close to anarchists is an impatient skipping of concrete social situations and relations, 'mistaking the second month of pregnancy for the ninth,' as Herzen once said of Bakunin.

Evidently, it would be wrong to describe the whole protesting generation as 'anarchists.' The 1969 Meeting of Communists and Workers' parties spoke highly of the growing political militancy of students and young workers. 'Communists think highly,' we read in the Meeting's Main Document, 'of the upsurge of the youth movement and actively participate in it. They propagate in its ranks the ideas of scientific socialism, explaining the danger of various pseudo-revolutionary ideas, which could influence young people . . .'

At a round table conference late in 1969 sponsored by the Italian Communist Party, Luigi Longo spoke of those groups of young people whose ideas are foreign to contemporary capitalist reality. 'These are young people,' he said, 'who feel they have something to say and who are fighting for their ideas with an ardor and passion commanding respect. What they say should be taken into account, analyzed, discussed, and combated, if necessary, for this is the only way of taking them seriously . . . We cannot disregard the fact that they are all striving for a radical renovation of which everyone wants to be a champion.' (*Unita*, December 20, 1969).

In certain conditions, a forum is the right battlefield. Worthy

of note in this respect is that arguments and discussions on topical political and ideological issues in the West German student movement have given rise to Spartacus, a new association of Marxist students, who have gained in some West German institutes of higher learning an influence as strong as the Socialist League of German Students once wielded. In this instance, Marx's ideas have virtually overcome anarchism.

Regrettably, this is not always the case. In some big European cities and to an even greater degree in some American cities, it is often hard to tell protest action from police provocation. This is largely 'due to the infiltration of the student movement by anarchist views and methods. With the aid of the term *anarchy*, which carries a negative emotional charge, a slander campaign is conducted in the United States against students joining in demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, poverty and racial discrimination. They are isolated from 'well-meaning' people. The National Guard is pitted against them, the police make arrests among them, and for all one can tell, the authorities may soon begin to send them to concentration camps.

On the other hand, there is no denying that the just struggle of American youth against imperialism is often linked with anarchist visions and helpless attempts to set up an 'anti-society' and an 'anti-culture.' In the Hippie movement elements of anti-capitalism, 'sexual freedom,' the 'great renunciation,' and aversion to the 'consumer society' merge with youthful adventurism. Although the Hippies express their protest by dropping out of capitalist reality, that is, in an extremely passive form, there are authors who see the Hippie movement as an embryo of an American revolution and, indeed, a herald of the world revolution (see J. F. Revel, 'Ni Marx, ni Jésus. La nouvelle révolution mondiale est commencée aux Etats-Unis.' Paris, 1970). There is not a whit of the scientific, of class, analysis, in this conception of the destinies of the revolution.

In every shading of neo-anarchism—from bomb-throwers to 'Flower Children'—what goes on behind a facade of novelty is in many ways a return to earlier forms of the struggle for emancipation believed to have been eliminated by the socialist working-class movement. In countries dominated by monopoly capitalism this process is in considerable measure due to failure to understand the experiences of war and fascism.

For all their vacillations, uncertainties, and misappraisals of political developments and the outlook for struggle, students in revolt are a potential that must be channeled into the mainstream of the militant Marxist movement. The development of the anti-authoritarian student movement in West Germany has revealed

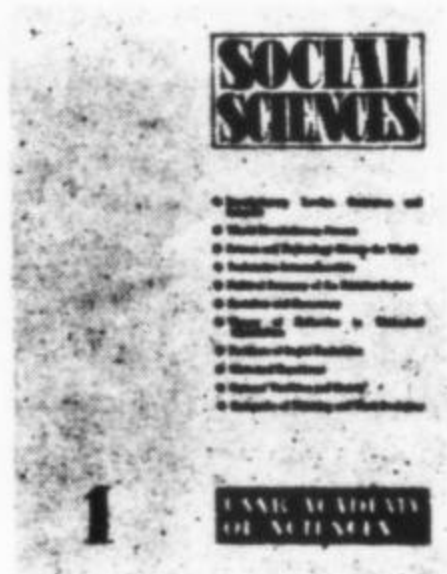
the possibility of rebels becoming fighters and of anarchists becoming Marxists. Between the two world wars, this transition was accomplished by Bertolt Brecht. His example may benefit many. As for the revolutionism of Cohn-Bendit or the romantic nostalgia for Bakunin felt by a Horst Bienek, we must emphatically dissociate from them.

The task is, therefore, to offer really revolutionary alternatives to militant students, so that they may not find themselves in the blind alley of anarchism as they express their only too legitimate protest, and that their untapped energy may serve the common struggle of the working class and other working people against monopoly domination.

It is only close links with the working-class movement and its Communist vanguard that can open real prospects of successful revolutionary battles for young people.

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Angela Davis and struggle against racism-imperialism

When the state of California, USA, indicted Angela Davis on a criminal charge which can lead to a death sentence, a cry of protest reverberated throughout the world. Millions echoed the call: *Free Angela Davis*. Her indictment was associated with U.S. imperialist aggression and its related racist persecution at home. It was associated with imperialism-racism which inflicts systematic persecution upon 25 million blacks in the United States. This conclusion was unequivocally drawn by Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, when he stressed:

'... The indictment against Angela Davis is an indictment based on racism. The struggle to free Angela Davis is a struggle against racism.'

This is the heart of the Angela Davis case.

Millions of opponents of U.S. aggression in Vietnam observed the close tie between the massacres in Indochina and the persecution of Blacks in the U.S. President Nixon ordered that Lieut. William Calley, convicted of murdering men, women and children in My Lai, be given all comforts while his conviction is being appealed to a higher court. But he joined the pack of

racists in calling for speedy action against Angela Davis, following her arrest by the discredited Nazi-minded J. Edgar Hoover and his FBI.

Angela Davis is a brilliant young scholar. She did not isolate her academic achievements from the struggles of the oppressed in her own country. She was in the front line of the Black Liberation Movement, in the struggle for peace, and as a Communist, a part of that glorious movement devoted to the transformation of capitalist into a socialist society. Because of it she was hounded by the police. The Nixonite Governor, Ronald Reagan, sought to deprive her of the right to teach in California's universities. This indomitable woman leader fought back and won the support of her colleagues and students.

Internationally, millions have associated themselves in the struggle to save her life – to win her freedom. They see it as part of the struggle to defend the lives of millions in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos from death by napalm; aerial bombings of their cities and destruction of their lands.

The worldwide response is

indicative of the tremendous opposition to imperialism – first of all U.S. imperialism. They see Angela Davis as the victim of naked monopoly-capitalist power which, in its drive for greater exploitation and in its attempts to reach out for further domination of whole peoples, seeks to crush all who challenge it.

In all parts of the world, in Europe and in Asia, in Latin America and in Africa, her name is associated with their own struggles against U.S. imperialism. This is a significant development in the international movement which can help win her freedom.

This movement is an integral part of today's central objective – the struggle against imperialism and one of its major instrumentalities, racism. It helps further expose U.S. imperialist aggression abroad and its treatment of racial groups at home. It is part of the fight against the fascist-apartheid policy in South Africa which has the support of the Nixon administration.

From the lands of socialism the response was speedy. The call, 'Free Angela!' won the support of wide sections of the population and their organizations. In the Soviet Union, particularly, millions responded. Support came from factories and farms, from youth and the vigorous Young Pioneer organization. It demonstrated the bond of international solidarity of the lands of socialism.

It is well to recall that the new socialist state at its very

birth, on the direct intervention of Lenin, helped snatch the working-class leader, Tom Mooney, from the gallows in the same state of California. The combined efforts of the socialist lands allied with the mass movements in other countries may play no small part in helping wrest this young Communist from the death clutches of U.S. imperialism.

In the U.S. defense committees have been established in every part of the land. The movement for her freedom embraces many sections of the population. They are black and white, they come from churches, colleges, communities. It has the support of a growing section of the working class. Large sections of the Black people identify their own fate with the struggle for her freedom.

Angela Davis symbolizes the noblest qualities of a revolutionary and a Communist. She stands alongside the many heroic Black women who preceded her. They were the freedom fighters against slavery during the U.S. Civil War in 1861-1865. She is part of that noble band of revolutionary women who suffered and died in the Nazi concentration camps. Today she is part of those heroic women who are in the dungeons of fascist and reactionary regimes.

Angela Davis must be snatched from the California gas chamber. She can be freed. The struggle for her freedom is part of the international struggle to defeat racism and imperialism.

B. Phillips

World peace assembly

From May 13-16 last, the World Peace Council (WPC) held its regular Assembly in Budapest. It was attended by delegates from 124 countries and by representatives of 33 international peace organizations. The nature of the items on the agenda and the anti-imperialist spearhead of the resolutions lent the meeting special importance.

The Assembly concerned itself with the growing threat to world peace, the intensification of imperialist aggression and the key tasks of the WPC in extending joint action by the forces fighting for peace and national independence, against imperialism and war, and in strengthening their unity; building up the organizational basis of the WPC and its national committees; amending the Statutes, and electing new Council members.

Six committees were set up to study the following problems: the road to a peaceful settlement in Indochina; winning peace and justice in the Middle East; cooperation among the social and political forces of Europe to ease tensions and safeguard European security; racialism and colonialism and the fight against these manifestations of imperialism; neo-colonialism and development problems of the newly independent countries; banning weapons of mass destruction and effecting general and complete disarmament as steps towards an end to the

arms race. While the Assembly was in session there were meetings of leaders of trade unions and youth, student, peasant and women's movements, as well as of lawyers, members of parliament and spokesmen of religious organizations. The Assembly passed a number of resolutions, including one demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina, one on the restoration of peace in the Middle East, and one in favor of a European security conference.

The previous Assembly was held in Berlin in 1959. It revealed complete mutual understanding, as Romesh Chandra, General Secretary of the WPC, stressed at the time. It is safe to say that the Budapest Assembly proceeded in a similar atmosphere or was perhaps marked by still greater unity. Delegates holding the most diverse political views stressed the need closely to link the fight for peace with popular action in each country in support of other important objectives, above all action against imperialism, for peace, democracy and social progress. The Assembly's approval of this principle provides broad prospects for the peace movement on all continents.

The policies of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, are highly injurious to the interests of the people because they lead to aggression and threaten war,

and also because they put the burden of heavy military spending on the working people. No people—not even those without direct experience of the horrors of war—can be indifferent to the fate of peace. The Assembly was unanimous on this. Pointing out that a nuclear war would be disastrous to all mankind, delegates voiced the opinion that the problems of hunger, unemployment, housing, hospitals, and so on, in the capitalist countries could be partly solved if the enormous appropriations for military purposes were diverted to peaceful projects. The message sent to the Assembly by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India was indicative in this respect. She wrote that peace is not only the absence of war. It also means creating conditions that would make it possible to prevent conflicts and end wars, help people to develop their personalities and enable them to live in harmony with themselves and other people.

The 'Manifesto' adopted by the Assembly says: 'The real danger of a world war persists. To stave off this catastrophe is the paramount task of all peace forces. We counter the imperialist policy of aggression by actively maintaining peace and promoting international secur-

ity.' The document calls for the unity of all men of goodwill.

The Assembly fully identified itself with the peace policy of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. It was not accidental that the Assembly was so interested to hear the following passage of the message sent by N. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR: 'The Soviet Union, loyal to the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, consistently follows a policy of actively defending peace and building up international security. This is explicitly reaffirmed in the program for safeguarding peace and promoting international cooperation announced by the recent 24th Congress of the CPSU.'

The representative character of the Assembly and the consensus it revealed on pressing issues of today are an earnest of further progress towards a genuinely universal peace movement. More and more social sectors are showing readiness to join in the various forms of struggle which merge into one great battle against imperialism, the main source of mankind's misfortunes.

Longino Becerra
Budapest-Prague.



Europe: peace or conflict

The problem of European security, making Europe a peace zone, has preoccupied men for many centuries. However, the results so far give little or no grounds for optimism: there have been abortive attempts at effectuating them, and all was followed by disenchantment.

This does not mean to say that all the projects were lame. Many were quite sensible for their day and age. With deference we leaf through the peace treatises of Pierre Dubois (14th century), George of Podebrad (15th century), E. Croix (17th century), J. Bellers and Immanuel Kant (18th century). Frederick Engels' European security formula, set out in his article, 'Could Europe Disarm?' at the end of the 19th century, is still a model of realistic thinking. And the Soviet collective security proposals in the League of Nations are highly instructive.

It would hardly serve any useful purpose to anatomize the factors that precluded European security in the past. The political reality has changed with the changing times and many of them are no longer relevant. Meanwhile, the stimuli for peace have grown immeasurably.

To be sure, any turn to de-

tente and peace involves formidable difficulties. To begin with, a mutually acceptable foundation is required for the edifice of European collective security, and this hurdle is neither purely technical nor purely diplomatic. It encompasses class attitudes, the attitudes of governments, and a quest for political compromise on an international scale.

Western 'models'

In these days, no politician or commentator in his right mind would venture to maintain that war in Europe is inevitable or desirable. That alone is a sign of the essential change in the European political climate. Yet the prescriptions for security are highly varied and often mutually exclusive.

A London Strategic Studies Institute group under A. Buchan has examined six models of Europe's possible future arrangement, incorporating a variety of projects contributed by Western political scientists. They were listed in our 6th (June) issue. Let us now take a closer look at them.

'*Evolutionary*' Europe, the present structure of Western Europe remains intact, all reforms

are rejected. The exponents of this model rely on a natural 'evolution' of the European situation.

'Atlanticized' Europe: in effect, Western Europe is subordinated to the United States and made a NATO military place d'armes.

'Europe des Etats': the West European countries gain a certain amount of independence from the USA, NATO is replaced with a 'security treaty' and the continental part of Western Europe is integrated.

'Fragmented' Europe: the Customs Union is retained, while all other forms of integration are abandoned. Relations between West European countries are principally bilateral.

'Partnership' of Europe and USA: a supranational West European alliance is formed and is an equal partner of the United States in the economic and politico-military contexts.

'Independent federal' Europe: a West European bloc is formed endowed with all the attributes of a great power. It has its own armed forces and nuclear weapons.

These formulas differ from each other in nothing but 1) the degree of European integration and 2) the nature of Western Europe's relationship to the United States, lacking which, the model-makers assumed, progress in resolving Europe's problems is hardly feasible. Common to all six is their orientation against Eastern Europe, their obvious intent to make continental security dependent on the strength of West European strategic forces.

The built-in error in these projects is spotted by the researchers themselves. None of these models, they point out, can apparently fully meet the demands of all Europe. And they reject the models representing the extremes of 'Atlanticism' and 'Europeanism' out of hand. Though admitting the major error, however, the London experts are reluctant to take the next step and suggest formulas meeting the interests of all European states.

Need it be argued that the principle of preserving, let alone fortifying, the present political and military confrontation is not a suitable basis for European security? Present-day Europe is split into opposite military blocs. That is the cause and the effect of the tension. All solutions envisaging the perpetuation of this state of affairs clash with the idea of European security.

Picture someone in an air-raid shelter. He may think he is in relative safety. Yet uncertainty and fear will remain, for how can he feel secure from a direct hit?

Some say fear is the best guarantee of security. That is the logic of the 'balance of terror.' We maintain that it is vicious. Terror without end can easily become an end with terror.

Trace back Europe's history. Military means have never succeeded in guaranteeing peace. They are doubly inadequate now and will be more so in the future. To be sure, the exponents of militarism have themselves demonstrated the futility of

'peace built on military power.' Here is an example of their logic. From the military-strategic standpoint no position is ideal. It can always be improved. Suppose it runs along a river. In that case a bridgehead on the other bank will make it stronger. Better still, it should be extended to cover the entire basin of the river, up to the mountains. And to fortify the mountain positions it is best to push on into the valley beyond, etc., ad absurdum, until the whole world becomes a strategic position. More, army experts these days say that this is not enough. They have their eyes on the Moon as a potential military base. In sum, security through military strategy denies the very object of security – the sovereignty of states.

Europe, say the exponents of 'Atlanticism,' is incapable of assuring security on its own. Any conflict, wherever it may break out, Hermann Kahn says, cannot be 'settled' unless the United States, the superpower, takes a hand. In Europe, meanwhile, the chances of conflicts erupting due to both external and internal political motives are great; hence the inference that the West European states cannot do without the USA.

U.S. diplomatic participation in drawing up the European security project is, of course, acceptable. What is important, however, is that Washington's terms should facilitate, not obstruct, the security policy. Though Europeans are quite capable of arranging their own affairs, the U.S. presence in Europe, as everyone knows, is a

political, economic and military reality.* Each European country has its own system of relations with America, though, to be sure, this is the case, too, as regards countries elsewhere in the world. But in speaking of a European collective security system, no one aims to create a bloc of European powers. What would be the good spearheaded against non-Europeans. What would be the good of peace in Europe if it were attained by these methods.

Voices resound in the Western press, asking: Why a system of security in a collective context? Peace, they aver, prevails and will prevail in Europe by virtue of the equilibrium between the two 'superpowers' (USA and USSR) and the 'super-blocs' (NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization). To agree is to accept nuclear build-up and the development of destructive weapons. Yet the danger of the two processes is universally recognized. The military confrontation of colossal forces is fraught with the danger of an armed explosion. And most of all this applies to Europe.

Realistic proposals

The proposals of the European socialist countries take to heart the interests of all nations. They were not produced overnight, but thrashed out jointly during the past five years at conferences of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Bucharest (1966), Budapest (1969) and Berlin (1970), and at foreign ministers' con-

*Cf. in this journal Jan Prazsky's 'Quiet Americans' in Western Europe, February (No. 2), 1971.

ferences of the same states in Prague 1969), Budapest (1970) and Bucharest (1971). The Bucharest foreign ministers' conference this February noted, among other things, that by virtue of the efforts of the socialist countries and contributions by other states progress has been made in relieving European tensions. The objective now, they stressed, is to begin preparing an all-European security and cooperation conference on a multilateral basis.*

The 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in March-April set out a peace program, approved by all the fraternal countries, offering perspectives for a 'Big Europe,' an effective European security system. Its main objectives relating directly to Europe are:

- renunciation of the use or threat of force in resolving controversial issues;

- conclusive recognition of territorial changes in Europe following on the Second World War and a radical turn to détente and peace on the continent;

- simultaneous annulment of the North Atlantic Union and the Warsaw Treaty or, as a first step, dissolution of their military bodies;

- active efforts to end the arms race; nuclear disarmament of all states possessing nuclear weapons and establishment of nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world;

- reduction of armed forces and armaments in areas where the military confrontation is

especially dangerous, primarily in Central Europe;

- reduction of military expenditures, primarily by the major states;

- measures reducing the likelihood of accidental or deliberately fabricated armed incidents and their development into international crises, into war;

- extension of mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres; joint solutions for problems such as protection of the natural environment, development of power and other natural resources, development of outer space and the World Ocean, etc.

The firm resolve to translate these objectives into practice was reaffirmed in Leonid Brezhnev's speech at festivities in Tbilisi.

Working for an effective European security system, the socialist countries hold that the vast majority of people, irrespective of their political and ideological views, want peace. There is, therefore, a realistic basis for agreement. The profound socio-political changes on the continent in our time have made agreement entirely feasible.

Yet the West casts doubt on the socialist countries' proposals, alleging, for example, that the Soviet Union is promoting the security idea for purely tactical, time-serving purposes. The Communists' battle for peace in Europe, however, is not something that began today. At the Genoa Conference back in the spring of 1922, which was the first international forum attended by revolutionary Rus-

*For detailed accounts of these conferences, see Nos. 5 and 6, 1971, of our journal.

sia, the Soviet delegates pointed out that their country wished 'to propose universal arms reduction and to support all proposals designed to alleviate the burden of militarism.' The Soviet Union's stand in the League of Nations in the mid-thirties, too, is well known. The Soviet delegation to the League declared that peace is indivisible and that talk of security for but one part of Europe, to the detriment of the other, jeopardizes European security in general.

Guessing at the motives behind the Soviet security and peace proposals of that time, Western experts traced them to the alleged weakness of the world's first socialist state and its wish to break out of isolation. Now, however, when Soviet strength is beyond question and the entire system of socialist states is making peace and security proposals, none would think of ascribing the present socialist initiatives to 'weakness.' Working for collective security in the present condensing the sincerity and selflessness of its stand.

Take the economic development program drawn up by the 24th Congress of the CPSU for socialism's principal country. Could a country oriented in the long term on raising the living standard of nearly a quarter of a billion people fail to want lasting peace?

The socialist countries, it is said, seek 'unilateral advantages' from European collective security, namely: to undermine NATO, weaken the West European countries' political and military ties with the United

States, impede the growth of the West German military potential, etc.

Do the socialist countries' proposals really aim at undermining one military grouping, i.e., NATO, and strengthening the other, i.e., the Warsaw Treaty Organization? The actual offer is to dissolve all military groupings in Europe, which also accords with the interests of the West European countries.

The West European countries' ties with the United States are evidently the business of the parties concerned. It may be safely assumed, however, that when tensions ease military ties will become redundant, while economic, political and cultural ties will grow. Consequently, the question should be put thus: Will the West European countries lose anything by terminating their alignment with the United States in aggressive blocs? Obviously, it is easier to speak of gains than of losses.

Do the socialist countries want to prevent the growth of German militarism? Certainly. What is more, they are highly active on this score. And past experience justifies their efforts. The Western countries that had been overrun by the Nazis have a stake in it, too. So does the German nation, which experienced the horrors of Nazism and militarism.

In sum, those really aspiring to European peace stand to gain, not lose, from collective security.

Insistent demand of the peoples

There is nothing that can match the sensible European security

program outlined by the Warsaw Treaty countries. Many Western scholars are beginning to appreciate the 'Big Europe' concept. Norway's Professor Galtung, who suggests forming a European commission for security on an all-European basis, is one of them.

The discussion in the West of the socialist countries' proposals is also reflected in the official policy of some European states. Finland's government has given active support to the all-European conference project. The Soviet-French communique, signed during President Georges Pompidou's visit to Moscow in October 1970, stresses the two countries' positive view of the all-European conference and states the wish to begin active, comprehensive preparations, including multilateral contacts.

The foes of European security have mounted counter-actions. Speaking at the Brussels conference of the NATO Council in December 1970, U.S. State Secretary Rogers said his government opposed multilateral contacts between NATO countries and the socialist states, and the NATO Council lost no time in taking up his cue. The tactic of preliminary conditions is being used to create obstacles to the conference. For one thing, it is being made conditional on the outcome of the negotiations on two international problems: limitation of strategic arms and the West Berlin situation. The former of the two problems so far concerns but two countries – the USA and USSR – while the second is in the competence of the four powers that signed the

Potsdam Agreement. The all-European conference, meanwhile, in which more than 30 European countries could take part, could set broader aims.

The *New York Times* wrote last December that NATO is reverting to the bellicosity of the cold war period. The first six months of this year have borne this out. U.S. General Goodpaster, NATO Supreme Commander, called on the NATO allies in May to desist from seeking detente, while NATO Admiral Horatio Rivero raised a howl about an alleged 'Soviet threat' in the Mediterranean.

But the winds also blow in the other direction: the champions of peace and cooperation are more active and a mass movement for European security is building up in the capitalist countries. The initiative in the movement is held by the Communists, who take guidance in the decisions of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which stressed: 'Communists regard it as their duty to combat the imperialist policy of whipping up international tension and any attempt they make at bringing back the cold war, and to work for a relaxation of tension, which is one of the most insistent and urgent demands of the peoples.' Organizations, leagues and parties far removed from communism in outlook and political conviction support the all-European conference plan. The idea of making Europe a peace zone attracts religious and pacifist groups, bourgeois liberals, many trade-union leaders and Social-Democratic functionaries,

and some leaders of Western social reformist parties.

Jens Otto Krag, a Danish Social-Democratic leader, for example, said, 'The unquestionably most important international task for the future is to erect a European security system.' He called for coordinated action by Europe's Social-Democratic parties. In an article entitled, 'Social-Democratic Perspectives in the Seventies,' Bruno Kreisky, leader of the Austrian Social-Democrats, comes out in support of European integration, interpreting the term in the usual Western propaganda spirit. He, too, however, admits that 'in its own vital interests, Social-Democracy should promote detente and peaceful development.'

A process of differentiation is visibly under way in the international Social-Democratic movement with regard to the problems of a European arrange-

ment. We shall soon publish an account of the Socialist International's Council meeting in Helsinki in May. At this point we should only like to note that many Social-Democratic leaders, including Willy Brandt, Harold Wilson, Bruno Kreisky and W. Leskinen, showed an interest in the Soviet peace and security proposals, and a resolution of the Council contains a call for an all-European conference at the earliest possible date.

Building the European security system is the business of all European states. That makes an all-European conference highly topical. And if anyone doubts the sincerity of the socialist countries, suspecting them of wanting 'unilateral advantages,' there is no simpler way of verifying that than to sit down, to negotiate, and to exchange opinions and proposals. *Jan Prazsky*

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Karl Liebknecht — revolutionary and internationalist

On his birth centenary

Albert Norden

When Wilhelm Liebknecht entered his son Karl's birth in the Register of Leipzig's St. Thomas Cathedral on August 13, 1871, he put down Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, then residing in London, as the boy's godfathers.

A few months later little Karl's father, a close associate of Marx and Engels and one of the founders of the German Social-Democratic Labor Party, was sent to prison with August Bebel, the German workers' leader, for hailing the Paris Commune and denouncing the Prusso-German seizure of the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

Karl Liebknecht grew up in an era of class battles. In later life he would never forget the grim period following 1878, when Bismarck put out the notorious anti-Socialist law, trying to wipe out Social-Democracy by means of the police and judiciary. Karl experienced all the hardships of the underground and house searches by the police; he saw the clandestine meetings at his father's and, finally, tasted the fruit of



triumph, witnessing the stormy growth of the Social-Democratic Party that not only reversed the 'Iron' Chancellor's law in 1890, but also threw the man himself out of office. In this revolutionary environment Karl developed into one of the most outstanding figures of the German and international working-class movement.

Karl studied law and national economics and became Doctor

of Law. In 1899, together with Theodore, his elder brother, he took up legal practice, quickly winning the affection and trust of the poor and oppressed. Representing the revolutionary Social-Democrats in the Berlin Assembly, the Prussian Chamber of Deputies and finally in the Reichstag, he was a fearless spokesman for his class and came to grips with the reactionary forces of the Wilhelmian Reich. He had extraordinary vitality and energy. Against imperialism and war he employed every possible method of legal and illegal struggle – the parliamentary rostrum, leaflets, mass demonstrations and clandestine conferences. Addressing workers' meetings, sometimes of 100,000 men, he reached the hearts of his audience with intelligent, incisive and expressive oratory, inspiring them with his bravery and dedication. He was the only Social-Democratic Reichstag deputy to vote against war credits on December 2, 1914. And during the November 1918 Revolution, Liebknecht, who with Rosa Luxemburg headed the workers of Berlin, became one of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany.

He had been imprisoned time and again, and during the First World War was stripped of his Reichstag immunity and shipped off to build fortifications. Bids were made to deprive him of civil rights, and court proceedings were started against him in 1907 and 1916 on trumped-up treason charges.

He never wavered, remaining a steadfast and courageous leader of his class and the

working youth. The more he was hated, feared and persecuted by the reactionaries, the more did his name epitomize relentless struggle against imperialism and war for the class-conscious workers. His slogans, 'The Main Enemy Is in Our Own Country!' 'Civil War, Not Civil Peace!', 'Down with the War!' and 'Down with the Government!' were passed on from mouth to mouth, crossing frontiers, instilling confidence and inspiring several generations of Communists even after his death to fight imperialism, fascism and war. 'Karl Liebknecht is a name known to the workers of all countries,' wrote V. I. Lenin in January 1919 in his *Letter to the Workers of Europe and America*. 'Everywhere . . . it is the symbol of a leader's devotion to the interests of the proletariat and loyalty to the socialist revolution. It is the symbol of really sincere, really self-sacrificing and ruthless struggle against capitalism. It is the symbol of uncompromising struggle against imperialism not in words, but in deeds' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 432).

Militarism and anti-militarism

The capitalist social system Karl Liebknecht regarded as the deadliest enemy of the workers, of all men of peace, all democrats. He fought militarism, the Prusso-German state and war-industrial capital, whose main interest lay in war.

His book, 'Militarism and Anti-Militarism', which appeared in 1907, quickly gained public notice. It was confiscated by order of the Prussian War Min-

ister and its writer was sentenced by the Imperial Court in Leipzig to eighteen months' penal servitude for 'high treason.' During the trial he used the court-room fearlessly to expose the crimes of the ruling class.

Thousands of Leipzig workers publicly expressed their admiration for him. Maxim Gorky sent him a hand-inscribed copy of his novel 'Mother' to the Silesian prison-fortress of Glatz. And in November 1908 August Bebel wrote him, the courageous son of Wilhelm, his old and then deceased friend, 'We need a new vigorous generation. Unfortunately, it is not very numerous. You are the only one in whom I put my hopes.'

Not only did Liebknecht reanimate the anti-imperialist struggle of the revolutionary German Social-Democracy. Drawing on the postulates of Marx and Engels and the experience of the international working-class movement, he made the first ever detailed study in Germany of the class essence of militarism and the forms it assumes in the imperialist epoch.

He described militarism as a highly ramified anti-popular system reaching into all areas of economic, social, political and cultural affairs. 'Militarism,' he wrote, 'is a system that enmeshes all society in a network of militaristic and semi-militaristic institutions. . . ., a system that injects the militaristic spirit into the people's public and private life, assisted as deliberately, in the same refined way, by the church, school and, to some extent, the tendentious arts, as well as the press, the wretched

and mercenary literary scum who so assiduously cultivate in society a nimbus of glory for "our gallant army".'

Liebknecht's book added to our knowledge of militarism and showed the significance of anti-militarism as an element of the workers' struggle for political power. His examination led to conclusions close to those of Lenin's 1908 article, 'Bellicose Militarism and the Anti-Militarist Tactics of Social-Democracy.'

Mentor and leader of the youth

Unlike most German Social-Democrats, who scorned working with the youth, Liebknecht, energetic as ever, devoted himself to promoting independent and close-knit revolutionary youth organizations. At the Bremen Congress in 1904 he called for meaningful and systematic anti-militarist educational work among young people, thus backing up Rosa Luxemburg's earlier proposals at the 1900 International Socialist Congress in Paris. As Liebknecht saw it, the bulk of this important politico-ideological work was to be done by workers' youth organizations.

All the key events in the international workers' youth movement of the time are associated with Liebknecht's name: the first general meeting of the League of Young Workers of Germany in Mannheim (September 1906) at which he delivered the main paper, 'Youth and Militarism,' and suggested convening an international youth conference; the first in-

ternational conference of Socialist youth organizations in Stuttgart in 1907, which formed the Socialist Youth International; the second international conference of Socialist youth organizations in Copenhagen in 1910; the underground opposition conference of the German Socialist youth in Jena during the 1916 Easter holidays, and the conference of the Free Socialist Youth of Germany in Berlin, October 1918. Karl Liebknecht was a member of the Bureau and later the Chairman of the Socialist Youth International, and exercised a strong influence on its activity.

He fought for the youth, for he knew that it would suffer most from militarism, demanding that anti-militarist propaganda among the youth should be directed, first and foremost, against the segregation of the military from the civilian population, the barrack-house drilling, inhuman treatment, the military judiciary and the imposition of military expenditures on the people. Anti-militarist education would make the youth aware of the essence of imperialism and win it to the workers' side in the fight against capitalism.

Organizer of the struggle against imperialism, opportunism and war

Gradually, Karl Liebknecht became the leading spokesman of the Left wing of the German Social-Democratic movement and the foremost proponent of revolutionary class struggle. In 1909 he was invited to Sweden,

in 1910 went to the United States on a four months' lecture tour, addressed meetings in Switzerland in 1911, Budapest in 1912, and France, Belgium and Britain in 1913. In April 1913 his exposés of corruption and espionage in Krupp's and other military concerns evoked a public outcry. Addressing the Reichstag, he produced factual evidence that Krupp's had for years bribed government officials and army and naval officers to provide information about the government's war plans and about rival arms manufacturers at home and abroad. Hundreds of secret reports code-named 'Kornwalzer' fell into the hands of Baron Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach.

The exposures proved compromising to Kaiser Wilhelm, a friend of Baron Krupp and a shareholder in his firm since 1908. Liebknecht exposed the Krupp corporation as an organization of German imperialism lavishly assisted by the state. He revealed the meaning of the arms race and said from the rostrum of the Reichstag that the foreign policy of imperialist powers had long been made, not in foreign ministries, but in corporations and banks using not so much diplomatic as bank notes.

On analyzing these facts so typical of imperialism, Liebknecht came to the conclusion that the country was in danger but that the danger came from within, from the munitions industry, and not from without. This fact was gradually realized by many workers and ser-

vicemen during the war—they realized that their chief enemy was inside the country. How very correct Liebknecht was is seen in the two wars started by the German imperialists.

The existence of imperialism in the world and the atmosphere of militarism and nationalism prevailing in countries like the United States and West Germany, as well as the strong influence exercised by one-time Nazi managers of the war industry, army officers and diplomats in West German society all show that Liebknecht's conclusions are valid to this day.

Liebknecht always linked the fight for peace and democracy with the issue of classes and power. He constantly stressed that only socialism can definitively assure peace since war is inherent in capitalism. An explicitly proletarian class position enabled him to evolve a program for ending the war by revolutionary means, a program essentially coinciding with the thesis first formulated by Lenin about turning the imperialist war into a civil war to eliminate capitalism. 'Let us replace capitalist society, which divides mankind into classes and into hordes of robbers destroying each other, by a socialist society reconciling and uniting mankind,' he wrote from Lueckau prison, where he was in 1916. 'The road to this goal is a social revolution that will not only safeguard peace today but can remove the causes of future wars.'

After the opportunists had betrayed the working-class

cause at international Socialist congresses in Stuttgart (1907), Copenhagen (1910) and Basle (1912) and openly taken a stand in favor of the imperialist war (August 1914), Liebknecht called on the workers to put an end once and for all to the social-chauvinist ideology and policies of the Right-wing leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party and the dual position of the Centrist forces. In the difficult conditions of the state of emergency declared by the military dictatorship and of division of the working class movement by the opportunists, he showed himself once again to be an outstanding proletarian internationalist.

Liebknecht did his best to make clear to the workers of Germany and other countries that the policy of so-called civil peace pursued by the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders tended to subordinate the working class to the imperialist system of domination rather than doing away with exploitation. The working class, he said, must counter this policy with the slogan of civil war, that is, class struggle against war and the spread of the imperialist ideology of chauvinism, annexation and class harmony in the Party and its press. The Spartacus union, whose heart and soul Liebknecht was, emphatically condemned the Social-Democratic leadership's policy of civil peace 'under whose influence the party is sinking ever deeper into the Masurian marshes of nationalism and illusions, surrendering one position after another without a fight, to the

point of publicly renouncing the class struggle for a definite period.'

Liebknecht fought for every opposition deputy in the Social-Democratic group of the Reichstag, trying to secure enough votes for vetoing the war credits bill. He organized illegal meetings of his comrades-in-arms, took part in workers' meetings, published the work, 'The Class Struggle Against War,' and brought out leaflets against the war.

On May 1, 1916, when guns were thundering as heavy fighting went on, he called on the workers at a meeting in Potsdamer Platz, in the heart of Berlin, to oppose the war and overthrow the Kaiser's imperialist government. He was arrested, stripped of parliamentary immunity and sentenced to four years at hard labor. The trial, at which the defendant became an accuser of the military system, angered tens of thousands of German workers, who called a mass political strike – the first since the beginning of the war – and roused world opinion.

'Liebknecht today', Karl Kautsky, the Centrist theoretician, pointed out horrified in one of his letters, 'is the most popular man in the trenches. This is unanimously admitted by all who return from there.' Henri Barbusse, the French writer, reproduced a dialogue between two French soldiers in the trenches in his novel, 'The Fire,' written during World War I. 'There is a man,' Barbusse wrote, 'who has risen above the war. There is immortal beauty and greatness in his courage.

It's Liebknecht.' To those condemned to hunger, torture and violent death in World War I, Liebknecht became an internationalist symbol of active resistance to war.

With Lenin's Party

Liebknecht stressed time and again that there can be no socialism without international solidarity of the proletariat and proletarian class struggle. This clear-cut internationalist position manifested itself in many ways. Worthy of special note is his active support of the Russian revolutionaries. As early as 1904, being a lawyer, he took up the defense of Social-Democratic comrades charged with high treason for taking part in the dispatch of Lenin's *Iskra* to Russia.

Liebknecht hailed the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 and called for a powerful movement of solidarity with it. 'We would be the most despicable people not worth a penny,' he wrote, 'if we did not see to it that an eventual attempt to stab the Russian revolution in the back from Germany ended in complete defeat for Prussian-German reaction.' Together with Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin he actively advocated in Germany a mass political strike – the experience of the Russian revolutionary movement – and encouraged the activity of Russian Socialists wherever he could. When, in 1913, the latter asked him to sum up his experience of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activity for the benefit of the Social-Democratic members of the Duma, he

wrote theses entitled 'On Tactics in Parliamentary Struggle.' These theses are most valuable to anyone making revolutionary use of bourgeois parliament, combining parliamentary with extra-parliamentary action and political demands of the day with the general program for the proletariat's liberation struggle.

Liebknecht fought unrelentingly against all opportunist and anarchist trends that made an absolute of certain forms of class struggle. '... The fight for confidence, for the "souls" of those vested with extra-parliamentary power,' he explained, 'is the substance of any serious parliamentary struggle . . . Of course, no one should entertain illusions about the ability or readiness of the Russian government or the Duma to carry out reforms. However, to demand and secure reforms does not mean cherishing illusions, it means carrying on a class struggle.'

Lenin repeatedly emphasized that Liebknecht set an example of how to use bourgeois parliament in the interests of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat. Liebknecht knew perfectly how to use the method of obstruction, interpellation, debate on matters of procedure, speeches and meaningful repartees. In using these forms, he was invariably prompted by the historic mission of the working class.

It took years of explanation of a number of controversial issues for the leaders of the German Left as well as the majority of Marxist forces in parties

of the Second International to realize that what was historically new and progressive in the international working-class movement had been embodied ever since the turn of the century in Leninism and the Bolshevik Party. Marxist positions helped the leaders of the German Left to draw nearer to Leninism and come to terms with it on the fundamental aspects of the proletariat's struggle for freedom.

The news of the revolutionary rising of Russia's workers and peasants in November 1917 reached Liebknecht in prison. 'The great process of social and economic revolution in Russia, which has stirred up everything to the very bottom and one of whose political manifestations is the revolutionizing of the Constitution and the state machinery - a revolutionization that is in its initial and not closing stage and holds unlimited possibilities - is far greater than the Great French Revolution,' he wrote enthusiastically to his wife on November 11, 1917. He was among the first in the international working-class movement to realize that it was a question of the political power of the working class in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the urban and rural masses close to the working class. 'We have reached a historic landmark . . .' he wrote on the occasion of the first anniversary of the October Revolution. 'The Russian Soviet Republic has become the banner of the fighting International. It urges on those who are lagging behind, encourages the

wavering and redoubles the strength of all. It is surrounded by slander and hatred. But it rises above all that torrent of mud, a great creation of gigantic energy and the noblest ideas. A new, better world is in the making.'

The attitude to Soviet power became the touchstone of genuine proletarian internationalism throughout the world, the decisive prerequisite of success for every Communist and every Communist Party. This was re-emphasized by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg at the founding congress of the Communist Party of Germany, two weeks before they were assassinated. They called on the working class to unite more closely with the Russian proletariat and to demonstrate their solidarity with the Russian Soviet Republic through action; they called on the German workers in uniform on the Eastern front to unite with Bolshevik troops and overthrow the rule of criminal officers and counter-revolutionaries.

Proletarian statesman

Liebknecht foresaw that in many ways Germany's future depended on her attitude to the October Revolution. In December 1918, he appealed to the German workers to perform their historic mission, revolt, and defend the gains of the October Revolution, thus ensuring their own future. 'Either we sink again in the quagmire of our past, from which we tried to rise on the wave of revolution,' he said, 'or we continue the struggle until victory and

liberation—the liberation of all mankind from the curse of slavery. In that way we shall victoriously complete the great undertaking—the greatest task that human culture ever set itself; for this the German proletariat must strive to establish its dictatorship.'

During the November revolution in Germany, acting on the October program of the Spartacus Union, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and other comrades, headed the mass battles for peace and bread. He correctly assessed the revolutionary situation, warning against underestimating the flexibility and the military-economic and war potential of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist states, its ability to adapt to changing conditions. He prepared his comrades for large-scale ideological and organizational work.

Liebknecht's qualities as an outstanding Socialist political leader are strikingly illustrated in two documents—his 'Theses,' published in November 28, 1918, and his speech, 'The Aims of the Spartacus Union,' delivered a month later in Berlin. He defined the November revolution in Germany as proletarian in political form and bourgeois-democratic in social content. He drew up a long-term program for consolidating and developing the results of the November revolution, a constructive program for a fair and lasting peace and for social development towards socialism. He singled out the measures essential for this, notably, expropriation of war industries, public ownership of the means of production,

arming the working people, organizing socialist cooperatives, etc.

He used the facts of the November revolution to expose the specious bourgeois democracy, contrasted it with the Marxist concept of socialist democracy, demonstrating that the road to genuine democracy for the masses is inconceivable until the working class assumes full political and economic power. The German people and the world would have been spared so much suffering, horror and bloodshed if these ideas had been put into effect as from 1918!

The members of the Spartacus Union soon saw that the working class needed an independent militant revolutionary party. As opposed to parties abusing the concept of socialism to mislead the masses, Liebknecht called for a party 'resolute and implacable, cohesive and united in its aspirations and spirit, with a clear program, and with goals and means conforming with the interests of the socialist world revolution.' The founding of the Communist Party of Germany in 1918-1919 was the culminating event in Liebknecht's revolutionary career. Together with his comrades he thus created the decisive prerequisites for healing the rift in the German labor movement and for successful struggle against imperialism. At the Party's inaugural congress Liebknecht said the question of power was the yardstick of the contradictions between revolution and counter-revolution; he emphasized the need to win the

industrial workers for the revolution, and also the poor peasants, small proprietors and other groups. This, too, was evidence of his visionary powers, his skill in grasping the realities of the class struggle, his qualities as statesman and leader of the working-class party.

Implemented tenets

Many of Liebknecht's tenets have been confirmed by the world socialist system, the international workers' movement and the national-liberation struggle – the three main revolutionary streams of our time.

When Liebknecht proclaimed the free socialist republic in Berlin on November 9, 1918, he saw the earnest of its future in a close alliance with the Soviet state and the free peoples of the world who had cast off capitalist slavery. His vision has come true: the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stands in the van of the world revolutionary movement as the forward detachment of builders of communism. The decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress opened a new chapter for future victories on an international scale. They speak of the growing strength of the socialist community and the advantages of its social system, of new impulses in the worldwide struggle against imperialism.

We owe it to the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp that international crises and acts of aggression endlessly provoked by imperialism have not resulted in a new world

conflagration. The peace plan charted by Lenin's party again shows the peoples the way to mutual understanding and guaranteed security.

This is the peace Liebknecht fought for, for peace benefits the masses. Concerted action of the peoples on all continents is required to consolidate peace, do away with imperialist wars and the run-away arms race. The 24th Congress decisions are new landmarks on the way to more solid united action by Communist and workers' parties and the world's anti-imperialist forces. They lay the foundation for the happiness and future of mankind in conditions of peace and security.

What determines internationalism in the light of the world's revolutionary renovation?

First of all, the merging of the struggle for peace and social progress, fidelity to Lenin's theoretical heritage which has brilliantly withstood all trials in the revolutionary epoch, and provision of favorable conditions for building socialism and communism. Socialist internationalism also presupposes a deep sense of responsibility for the future of socialism at home and in the world as a whole, implying broad mutual support among socialist countries and of the national-liberation and anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples.

The greater our economic, social and cultural achievements at home, the stronger are the international positions of socialism. Hence the deep responsibility for rapid economic development, the maximum utiliz-

ation of the advantages of the socialist social system and for raising living standards. The 24th CPSU Congress directives show that the further development of the cooperation and economic integration of the socialist states, and accomplishing the tasks of the scientific and technological revolution, are the principal means for attaining these goals. The successful development of socialist economic integration, in volume as well as quality, will enable the world socialist system to scale new heights in the economic competition with capitalism.

The socialist system has proved its viability in the historic struggle with capitalism. Its steady progressive development facilitates the growth of revolutionary forces in the world and is a prototype of the future world community of free peoples. Socialist internationalism and the new forms of community which it produces are a guarantee that the modern revolutionary processes will continue.

The ideas of the redoubtable internationalists, the fighters for socialism and communism, are yielding rich fruit in the consciousness and deeds of millions. The German working class takes pride in the fact that Karl Liebknecht is one of these staunch and courageous men devoted to proletarian internationalism. He is one of those glorious fighters for the people's cause of whom L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, said at the 24th Congress, quoting Lenin: 'Boundless loyalty to the revolution and preaching revolution to

the people bear fruit even when decades separate the sowing from the harvest.'

What Liebknecht sowed in the German working class has borne fruit. This is confirmed by the building of socialism in the German Democratic Republic. Reactionaries assassinated Liebknecht and Luxemburg, reimposing an imperialist dictatorship on Germany and hurling her into the disaster of World War II. But they could not prevent the Liebknecht and Luxemburg program from materializing several decades later on German soil, in the GDR.

The two triumphant revolutions in the GDR – the anti-fascist-democratic and the socialist – which are part of the world revolutionary process, and the building of socialism in our country, an inseparable part of the world socialist system, are the living embodiment of the ideas of those who made the ultimate sacrifice in the struggle for social reconstruction. The working people of the GDR know that all our achievements are the fruit of the efforts of the working class led by its Party, and at the same time the result of the all-round assistance and cooperation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Socialist Unity Party of

Germany has always taken its international obligations seriously, and in the first place as regards strengthening socialism in the community of fraternal and allied states and the integration of the GDR in the socialist comity of nations. That is the only way to secure the vital interests of our people and live up to the hopes placed in the SUPG by the international working-class movement. These were the guidelines in the work of the Eighth Congress of the SUPG this June. Our country is on the threshold of a new phase leading to a developed socialist society. All its achievements show that the German socialist state is the natural outcome of the struggle of the finest sons of the German people, including Karl Liebknecht. He belongs not only to the German proletariat. A convinced internationalist who declared socialism to be the salvation of mankind, an ardent fighter who, even in prison, continued fearlessly to advocate the closest unity of the German working class with the young Soviet Republic, who gave his life for it, Liebknecht belongs to the international working class, to all those who loathe imperialism and militarism, to all who believe that socialism is the future of mankind.



Robert Owen

200th birth anniversary

The most distinguished of the Socialists of the past are three men – Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen. In 1785 Robert Owen came to Manchester as a junior draper's assistant. In 1799 he was the principal figure in a partnership which bought the world's largest spinning mill, at New Lanark, a few miles outside Glasgow. On the face of it an extraordinary success story, but perhaps less astonishing when one takes into account the time, the place and Owen's character.

In 1785 the Industrial Revolution was gathering force in Britain, on the verge of a great breakthrough. In textiles, especially in cotton textiles and most especially in cotton spinning, this development was most marked. New techniques were by then coming into general use, water-powered spinning mills were opening, employing large numbers of workers. New Lanark itself began to operate in that very year. And 1785 was the year also which saw the first steam-driven mill and the invention by Edward Cartwright of the power loom. The



full effects of these were, of course, some way in the future.

And Manchester was the very heart and center of all these advances, a new, vigorous, harsh, money-making city which offered almost unlimited prospects to men of energy and talent provided that they had or could obtain a minimum of capital. Those who were able to adopt the new methods were assured, at this stage, of an abundant super-profit. And Owen himself appeared the very type of the virtuous apprentice – studious, hard working, sober and without the faintest doubt about his own talent and capacity. Something of this comes out in the

story he tells of his application for the post of manager at one of Manchester's largest mills. The proprietor said:

"'You are too young'... I said, 'That was an objection made to me four or five years ago, but I did not expect it would be made to me now.' 'How old are you?' 'Twenty in May this year,' was my reply. 'How often do you get drunk in the week?' (This was a common habit with almost all persons in Manchester and Lancashire at that period.) 'I was never,' I said, 'drunk in my life' - blushing scarlet at this unexpected question.'

Owen, of course, got the job and soon, he says, 'My name was up for being the finest cotton spinner in the world.' As most probably he was.

A real Industrial Revolution Success Story, you would say. Owen could make money, and later in his life showed that he could get rid of it too, but money as money meant little or nothing to him. He went to New Lanark with an idea and to test this idea in practice was what interested him.

It was at that time an article of faith among orthodox and prosperous people that the masses were poor, because they were idle, vicious, intemperate and ignorant, and that such poverty was the inevitable lot of the vast majority of the human race. Religion gave this dogma a divine sanction and Malthus gave it the blessing of science. Owen, on the contrary, was convinced that insofar as the masses were idle, vicious,

intemperate and ignorant it was because they were poor and oppressed. And he believed that by abolishing poverty and transforming the material conditions of life human nature could also be transformed. 'Man's character is made for and not by him,' he liked to say. Man could not be held responsible for his character or his acts and blame and punishment was as unjustified as praise and reward.

'Had the present Judges of these realms been born and educated among the poor and profligate of St. Giles, or some similar situation, is it not certain, inasmuch as they possess native energies and abilities, that ere this they would have been at the head of their *then* profession, and, in consequence of that superiority and proficiency, would already have suffered imprisonment, transportation or death? Can we for a moment hesitate to decide, that if some of these men whom the laws dispensed by the present Judges have doomed to suffer capital punishments, had been born, trained and circumstanced as these Judges were born, trained and circumstanced, that some of those who have so suffered would have been the identical individuals who would have passed the same awful sentences on the present highly esteemed dignitaries of the law?'

Owen saw man as wholly the product of his environment, his character automatically shaped by training and circumstance. And of course, as compared with the theories that human nature is unchangeable, or that

man is inherently sinful, Owen's idea is both true and progressive. We, holding no less firmly to the idea that man is capable of change, have learned from much bitter experience that this process is not, as Owen thought, quick and simple but rather long, difficult and frequently painful. Further, it is clear that such a one-sided mechanical theory cannot really account for change: if man is wholly the product of his circumstances, how can he change them? Owen tried to get round this problem by supposing that to him alone the truth had been opened and if mankind would listen to him, this truth would set it free. He never realized, and, indeed, this was something not yet understood, that man and his environment are dialectically related, that it is by man's struggle to transform his environment that he transforms himself, that history is, in fact, a process in which human struggle, and in particular the struggle of classes, leads ultimately to radical changes in social relationships and in man's character.

However, on the scale at which he worked at New Lanark, with its magnificently organized system of labor and economy and its leisure facilities, with its famous system of material and moral regulation, he had changed the environment with startlingly beneficial results. New Lanark acquired the name of 'The Happy Valley,' and became a show place to which thousands of the rich and eminent came from all parts of Europe to admire the achievements of 'the benevolent Mr. Owen.'

He himself was less satisfied with what he had managed to do. As time went on he realized the limitations of his undertaking, which left intact the social injustices and evils. Here is what he wrote:

'In a few years I had accomplished for this population as much as such a manufacturing system would admit of; and although the poor work-people were content, and, by contrast with other manufacturing establishments . . . were highly satisfied, yet I knew it was a miserable existence compared with that which, with the immense means at the control of all governments, might now be created for every population over the world.

'I could do no more for a mere manufacturing population, for manufactures are not the true foundation of society. And, after all, what had I done for these people? What was their real condition, even with all the expenditure that had been incurred, and the measures that had been adopted to improve it?

'The people were slaves at my mercy; liable at any time to be dismissed; and knowing that, in that case, they must go into misery, compared with such limited happiness as they now enjoyed.'

The reality of capitalist Britain was worlds removed from any glowing ideal. The social inequalities grew more and more pronounced. The ending in 1814-15 of the long war with imperial France precipitated a general economic crisis. Thousands of demobilized soldiers and sailors were flung on to the

labor market. Prices fell, production was cut down as stocks piled up, unemployment reached among the laborers, who saw in the corrupt and oligarchic society the cause of their hunger and sufferings.

A thoroughly alarmed ruling class began to look around for palliatives. Among other things a committee was set up to raise a fund for the relief of distress and to consider possible remedies. It was almost inevitable that Owen should be included. In 1817 he presented his *Report to the Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor* which contained the first statement of his famous Plan and the germ of all his later socialist ideas.

Broadly, he proposed that instead of pouring out money unproductively on poor relief, the government should raise a fund to establish village settlements, each with around 1,200 inhabitants, in which the unemployed could maintain themselves and add to the wealth of the nation. In many respects these villages were to resemble his own New Lanark establishment, with the important difference that while that was purely manufacturing these should have sufficient land to grow their own food, for Owen always regarded a unity of manufacture and industry as the correct basis for any community.

At this stage these villages of cooperation were seen as a scheme of Poor Law reform. They were to be set up by the government, by local authorities or even groups of public spirited capitalists and would

be neither socialist nor self-governing in any real sense. Gradually, as he warmed to the idea he began to see that life in these communities might be far more attractive than anything outside. If that were so, could they be restricted only to the unemployed?

'Of course,' he wrote, 'no part of society will long continue in a worse condition within such proposed establishments . . . The change from the OLD to the NEW must be universal.'

Let but a few such communities be set up, perhaps but one, and soon Britain, even the world, would follow. From about 1820, as the idea grew, Owen began to lay more stress on the necessity for equality and self-government, and on the relations between the villages and society at large.

The more these thoughts were obtruded the chillier grew the government and the upper classes. Everyone was polite but it was soon obvious that nothing would be done. Owen saw that he must appeal to a wider public. He printed and distributed thousands of pamphlets and tracts and in August 1817 began a series of large and enthusiastic meetings in London.

In that period (1817-1820) Owen gradually understood that society must be repatterned along socialist lines, on 'true and sensible principles' concordant with human nature. The obstacle, as he saw it, was the 'trinity of evils'—private property, religion and bourgeois marriage. That, as Frederick Engels pointed out, was a turning

point in Owen's life. 'As long as he was simply a philanthropist,' wrote Engels, 'he was rewarded with nothing but wealth, applause, honor, and glory. He was the most popular man in Europe. Not only men of his own class, but statesmen and princes listened to him approvingly. But when he came out with his communist theories that was quite another thing . . . He knew what confronted him . . . -outlawry, excommunication from official society, the loss of his whole social position. But nothing of this prevented him . . . without fear of consequences' to mount his attack on the pillars of bourgeois society (Engels, 'Socialism: Utopian and Scientific').

He knew that the way to socialist reconstruction was objectively laid by material production. Yet he remained an idealist and utopian, and regarded propaganda and education as the principal vehicle of his socialist ideals.

For some years, however, Owen continued to appeal to men of enlightened good will in all classes. He stood aloof from the political battles of the time, in effect isolated himself from the revolutionary Chartist movement, and had as yet no contact with the working class and little sympathy with their radical leaders. So, from 1819 to about 1822, he was occupied with attempts to obtain capital to set up a model community. In spite of support from some eminent people, including the Duke of Kent, father of the future Queen Victoria, all these attempts ended in total failure. Baulked at

every turn, Owen at last decided to attempt to set up a community with his own resources together with those of a few like-minded enthusiasts of whom William Maclure was perhaps the most prominent.

For this purpose he turned, as many utopian enthusiasts before and since, to the USA. Here was a country where political democracy already existed, where land was cheap and plentiful, social relations fluid and survivals from the institutions of the old world were minimal. Seen from across the Atlantic at least, it appeared the land of freedom and opportunity. There Owen established his colony of New Harmony.

Of the failure of New Harmony and of its causes it would take too long to write here. But a few words must be said about its most successful aspect—as a pioneer center of education. Owen believed that all character was affected by environment and thought that 'children are, without exception, passive and wonderfully contrived compounds, which by accurate attention, can be formed collectively to have a human character.'

The considerable fortune he had made at New Lanark had been lost at New Harmony. All that remained was an unconquerable conviction of the absolute correctness of his ideas and of the readiness of the world to adopt them once they were understood. If he had lost the ear of the rich and powerful he must look elsewhere.

Meanwhile in Britain, socialist ideas had been making

headway among the working class. These were years of a rapidly growing Trade Union movement following the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1824-5, of a new working-class radicalism leading to the struggle around the Reform Bill of 1832 and later to Chartism, and of the growth of a workers' press.

A whole literature of socialism, with such writers as Thompson, Grey and Hodgskin, all of whom owed much to Owen, had come into being. Related to this, in London and elsewhere groups of workers who regarded themselves as followers of Owen were forming little cooperative societies, both for trade and production. One of their objects was to accumulate sufficient capital to start model communities on Owenite principles.

This period culminated in 1834 with the formation and the rapid rise and decline of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union. Owen had little interest in trade unionism as such but saw in it an instrument by which his Plan could at last be realized. How far that conviction was shared by the rank and file of the Union is doubtful, but its constitution, clearly reflecting Owen's views and influence, declared:

'That although the design of the Union is, in the first instance, to raise the wages of the workmen, or prevent any further reduction therein, and to diminish the hours of labor, the great and ultimate object must be to establish the paramount rights of Industry and Humanity . . . in

bringing about a *different state of things*, in which the really useful and intelligent part of society only shall have the direction of affairs, and in which well-directed industry and virtue shall meet their just distinction and reward, and vicious idleness its merited contempt and destitution.'

This was a time when Owen's ties with the labor and cooperative movements were the closest, and when he took a hand in initiating a number of cooperative organizations.

The defeat and extinction of the Grand National Union, however, brought down with it most of the Cooperative Societies and destroyed the national cooperative movement that had been built up over a number of years. It ended also Owen's direct connection with the broad masses. In the period of Chartism, though many Chartists had been educated in Owenism and long continued to hold Owenite principles, these began to seem less relevant to the immediate political issues. And Owen himself, with his belief in pure reason which could appeal equally to enlightened men of all classes, was always opposed to the raising of class issues. True, he was oriented on the working class in all his plans and undertakings, but regarded it solely as an agent of peaceful reform.

In this new political climate with its Chartist working class, Owenism became a propaganda sect, lively and active for a time but steadily declining, and virtually extinct before Owen's death in 1857.

It was this sectarian Owenism in its years of decline which Engels encountered and about which he wrote somewhat critically in *The Condition of the Working Class* in 1844. It will be recalled that in the 1840s Engels was actively involved in the struggles of Chartism, in the actual development of a political movement and a political party among the British workers. From this standpoint Owenite socialism, standing apart from and claiming to be above the struggle, had to be criticized, and Engels had no choice but to do so.

At the same time, he could not but commend Owen's ideals and activity. He stressed Owen's noble simplicity, the boldness and originality of his thinking and the magnitude of the contribution he had made to the advance of the British working class. He turned directly to the working class, Engels stressed, unfolding his

fruitful work among the toilers. 'Every social movement, every real advance in England on behalf of the workers,' Engels wrote in his *Anti-Duehring*, 'links itself on to the name of Robert Owen.' Time and again, Engels referred to Owen's 'definite communism' and his 'practical nature,' which Owen 'preserved always and everywhere.'

Robert Owen is the founder of English socialism, the initiator on a national scale of the British workers' trade unions and one of the initiators of the cooperative movement, a reformer of factory production and, last but not least, a pioneer of new methods of education. As such, he fully deserves the place of honor that he occupies in the history of the socialist and working-class movement as the predecessor of scientific communism, the ideas of which have become the beacon for all progressives.

Arthur L. Morton



AUSTRIA

A forum on the Communist Party's work in the trade unions drew 160 Party workers, trade unionists and production council members from all provinces and industries. L. Hornik, Chairman of the Central Committee's Ideological Commission, said in his speech that the leadership of the Federation of Austrian Trade Unions had reduced the biggest organization of working people to an 'instrument of class cooperation.' Communists active in the Federation must carry on a theoretical and practical fight to make the trade unions a militant class organization of industrial workers and office employees, he stressed.

VENEZUELA

The youth organizations of the Communist Party of Venezuela and three other parties – the People's Electoral Movement, Republican Democratic Union and People's Democratic Force – have decided to establish a united front. The constituent meeting adopted a declaration calling on youth to fight against Venezuela's neo-colonial depen-

dence on the big imperialist monopolies and against a social system which enables a handful of national and foreign exploiters to rule the country. The declaration criticizes the present system of education for barring ordinary people from school.

The united front emphatically condemns police repression against student demonstrations during which several people have been killed, dozens wounded and hundreds arrested, and exposes the attempts of provocateurs to misrepresent the demonstrators' demands. The declaration stresses that 'the front leadership should include militant and responsible young people who will tolerate no anarchist action and will lead the students to victory.'

In conclusion the declaration says that the youth front will join up with the working people and all patriots in the struggle to free Venezuela from foreign capitalist domination and establish a social system that will bring the country economic, social and political freedom.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

The Party of Working People of Vietnam and the government of the DRV carry on diverse political campaigns to rally the people's effort for the complete defeat of the U.S. aggressors and for socialist building.

One of these campaigns, the Ho Chi Minh Enrolment (May 19, 1970-May 19, 1971), brought tens of thousands of new people into the Party, *Nham Dan* reported.

In building up the Party, the newspaper wrote, it is necessary always to give proper attention to the members' qualities, for this is a factor determining the Party's efficiency, prestige and influence, making for purity and internal cohesion and preserving the Party's character as class vanguard.

Another campaign—for productive labor and thrifty management—was launched by decision of the Political Bureau and the government last year. Its main objects are to 'mobilize the whole of society's manpower for production and construction, distribute manpower judiciously and increase the number of people directly engaged in production,' so as to achieve a rapid growth of the social product. Further tasks are to improve labor organization and production management, enhance socialist awareness, tighten labor discipline and exercise stricter economy. Industrial plants have been instructed to operate in three shifts. Care of living conditions, above all in the case of people on difficult jobs or working in night shifts, is one of the key tasks set before Party organizations and government agencies. Material incentives receive increasing attention.

An important development in the countryside is the campaign to promote democracy and collective farming methods. Its purpose, the press notes, is to bring about closer links between the Party and the government, on the one hand, and the cooperatives and peasants, on the other, and to strengthen the

worker-peasant alliance. Co-operative members have an ever bigger say in discussing production plans, labor organization, pay, and incomes distribution. The Party and the government have decided on a series of material incentives in agriculture. Among them is a decision to stabilize the rates of obligatory deliveries of farm produce to the state for five years. Produce delivered above the obligatory amount is purchased at premium prices.

All three campaigns, designed to make full use of the country's internal resources, are accompanied by measures to raise combat preparedness. They help to consolidate the socialist gains of the DRV and strengthen its defences.

ITALY

Over 1,440,000 Communists have been issued their 1971 Party cards. The yearly campaign for the exchange of Party cards is continuing throughout the country amid increased activity. During this year's campaign the Party has admitted almost 85,000 new members, according to *Unita*.

URUGUAY

Nearly 500 delegates attended the National Conference of the Communist Party, which discussed problems of strengthening the Party organizationally.

Speakers stressed that the Party enjoys high prestige among the working people. Over 26,000 people had joined it between the 19th and 20th congresses. In four months of

this year 2,205 Uruguayans joined the Party, three times as many as in the same period of 1970.

Delegates pointed out an increased desire for unity among the masses. The formation of the Broad Front meant bringing into being a movement that must defeat the oligarchy. The organizational, political and ideological strengthening of the Communist Party benefited the Front.

Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the cc cp of Uruguay, called on all democratic forces vigorously to extend the anti-imperialist movement in the country. Thousands of new Broad Front committees must be set up, he said, the better to prepare for the November elections.

CHILE

A recent national assembly of Chilean youth outlined the tasks of young men and women in

the new conditions, with the Popular Unity government in power. It resolved to set up 1,000 committees before the end of 1971 that would include members of all progressive youth organizations. These committees will help to mobilize the masses to carry out the government program, Gladys Marin, secretary of the Communist Youth League of Chile, said at a press conference. Young people had readily responded to President Allende's call to increase industrial and agricultural output and would do their utmost to this end. Youth teams were being set up all over the country to build houses, schools and hospitals and to work on farms.

We welcome, Gladys Marin said, the young Christian Democrats' desire to contribute their share to the common effort for social change, and we call on them fully to back Popular Unity.

DIARY

In Budapest, Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the cc, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, received K. I. Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of this journal, who informed him of the journal's work and plans.

The First Secretary underscored the journal's good work in disseminating Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of internationalism in the world Communist and working-class movement. The Hungarian Party, Kadar said, will continue to cooperate in the publication and

dissemination of the journal.

The talk, which was cordial and friendly, was attended by Zoltan Komocsin, member of the HSWP Political Bureau and Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee.

On a visit to the editorial offices of this journal, Comrade Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia, outlined the revolutionary changes under way in Latin America, and spoke of the situation in Colombia and of his Party's activities. Analyzing the relation of class forces

in his country, Comrade Vieira noted that the working-class movement is gaining in scale and gravitating towards unity. Students' and teachers' actions and the peasants' fight for land and a radical agrarian reform are also evidence of the new upswing of the revolutionary movement.

In the circumstances, Vieira said, the Communists' main task is to build up a popular patriotic front. The coalition of opposition forces, a broad alignment of anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist groups, now shaping up, could be a good basis for this front.

Speaking on behalf of the Editorial staff, Editor-in-Chief K. I. Zarodov congratulated Comrade Vieira on his 60th birthday and wished him success in the struggle for Colombia's happy future.

The Editorial staff was recently addressed by Comrade Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party. Referring to the growth of the revolutionary process in Latin America, Prestes said that U.S. imperialism was trying to impede the liberation movement; its support of the reactionary 1964 coup in Brazil, he

said, was ample evidence of this. Listing the objective and subjective factors that paved the way for the fascist-type military dictatorship, Prestes stressed, however, that the regime is losing its foothold.

Prestes spoke at length about the work of the Brazilian Party, the only revolutionary force that has preserved its organization in face of brutal repression. The main task facing the Communists is to unite the masses in the fight for democratic freedoms, for isolating and overthrowing the dictatorship.

Our Editorial offices were visited by the Cuban delegation to the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, headed by Comrade Blas Roca, member of the Secretariat, CC CP of Cuba. Comrade Roca spoke of the economic and cultural successes of the people of Cuba and of their struggle under the Communist Party's leadership, to resolve the various problems of socialist construction. He described the most recent U.S. imperialist provocations against the Cuban Republic and reaffirmed the Cubans' determination to block imperialist aggression.



BOOKS IN BRIEF

TODOR ZHIVKOV, *Leninizmat preobrazuva sveta* (Leninism Transforms the World), Sofia, BCP Publishers, 1970, 186 pp.

This book by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, is an important event in Bulgaria's ideological life. It contains reports, papers, speeches and articles on the Centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth, analyzing present-day processes and problems on the basis of Lenin's theoretical heritage.

Referring to Leninism's relevance for the world Communist and working-class movement of today, Zhivkov stresses that 'the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the brilliant revolutionary thought and activity of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, man, thinker and leader, who to this day, half a century after his physical death, stands by our side—alive among the living—leading us from victory to victory, are the main ideological, political and organizational weapon' in the battle between the new and old worlds (p. 5).

Among the central topics is an examination of the Leninist stage in the history of the Bul-

garian Communist Party. The author shows the impact of Leninism on socialist construction in his country. Another important topic: the harmony of the international and national in the Party's activity. The national factors, Zhivkov warns, should be neither exaggerated nor belittled in the Party's strategy and tactics. He acclaims the principles of proletarian internationalism, advocates united action by the world Communist movement and calls for the consolidation of the socialist world system. He describes the Party's attitude to the Soviet Union as the most accurate criterion of the balance between the international and national in its activity. The facts show, he says, 'that those who adopt nationalist and opportunist postures, who fall in with anti-Sovietism or fail to repulse it, impair not only the world relation of strength between socialism and imperialism, but also the standing of their own Party, their own working class and people' (pp. 59-60).

The pages devoted to the Leninist style of work attract notice. Its distinctive elements are: scientifically-grounded situation analysis, partisan class approach, bold reasoning, clear definition of tasks, perseverance in carrying them out, enlistment of, and reliance on, the masses in translating ideas into a material force, into a meaningful and deliberate action by a collective or society. "All undertakings," the book notes, 'from the biggest to the smallest, from general to particular ones, should be tied in closely

with the Party's struggle for the new society, with the education and moulding of the new man, the triumph of the communist ideas and cause' (p. 100). Creative solutions of topical theoretical Marxist-Leninist problems and a distinctly revolutionary optimism – those are the outstanding qualities of Todor Zhivkov's book, speaking of the determination to follow the path charted by the leader of the October Revolution. Available in English, Russian, French, Spanish and German. I. Kirilov

G. A. ARBATOV, *Ideologicheskaya borba v sovremennykh mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniyakh* (Ideological Struggle in Present-Day International Affairs). Moscow, Politizdat, 1970, 352 pp.

G. A. Arbatov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, examines the most salient factors behind the increasing role that ideology plays in international relations, the reasons for the crisis of bourgeois ideology, the theory and method of imperialist propaganda, the specifics of its strategy and tactics in present-day conditions and the ideological activity of the socialist countries in the conditions of peaceful coexistence. The author takes a fresh look at some of the principal aspects relating to the spread of scientific socialism and the fight against anti-communist propaganda.

Arbatov draws the difference between ideological struggle and 'psychological warfare.' The former, he says, is a concomitant

of the competition between the two systems and does not prejudice peaceful coexistence, whereas psychological warfare 'embodies the more aggressive feature of imperialist foreign propaganda, making it not so much an instrument of convincing people as an instrument of political intervention and interference in the internal affairs of other countries' (p. 207). It feeds the cold war and the arms race and breeds armed conflicts. Its target is the socialist world system. It is oriented not so much on denying or contesting communist ideas as on propagating stereotyped notions that generate fear, hatred, and the like. The author traces the predominance of this 'psychological' approach to the crisis of bourgeois ideology, its inability to offer attractive spiritual values of its own. To combat 'psychological warfare' we must create a kind of permanent immunity through general ideological tempering, good information and knowledge of its strategy and methods (pp. 219-220).

Y. S.

H. R. NECOCHEA, *Historia del imperialismo en Chile* (The History of Imperialism in Chile). Santiago, Editora Austral, 1970, 352 pp.

This is the second and enlarged edition of the scholarly work by Herman Ramirez Necochea, dean of philosophy and pedagogics at Chile University. The first edition appeared in 1962 and was translated into several languages. The author shows the specific ways in which British and North American ca-

pital penetrated Chile's economy, examines U.S. and British policy in Latin America and describes the anti-imperialist struggle in his country. New revealing facts are given, relating to Chile's rapid neo-colonialization since the outbreak of the Second World War. Of special note is the section, 'North American Imperialism: Latin America and Chile from 1941 to Our Time,' which outlines the different ways in which North American capital penetrated the Latin American countries, how it gained a stranglehold on Chile's economy, and the ravages this inflicted. The book points to the destructive effects of North American credits, the mounting foreign debt, the additional profits derived by U.S. monopolies from non-equivalent

commerce, and to other forms of imperialist profiteering.

The study contains a Marxist analysis of the consequences of U.S. imperialist ideological penetration and Latin America's involvement in U.S. war plans. Of interest are the profiles of organizations used by U.S. imperialism to fortify its positions in Chile and elsewhere on the continent.

The concluding section deals with the anti-imperialist struggle. It describes the advent to power of the Popular Unity coalition with its declared primary aim of ridding the country of U.S. imperialist domination as an event of history-making significance. The new edition of Nechochea's book is unquestionably timely. J. Texier

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication)

MARX, K., ENGELS, F. *Tagebuch der Pariser Kommune* (Chronicle of the Paris Commune). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1971, 400 pp.

LENIN, V. I. *Nasjonal politikk og proletarisk internasjonisme* (National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism). Collection. Oslo, Forlaget Ny Dag, 1971. 214 pp.

LENIN, V. I. *The Awakening of Asia*. New York, International Publishers, 1971. 80 pp.

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نضال الحزب الشيوعي اللبناني من خلال وثائقه • الجزء الاول •
لبنان • بيروت • كانون الثاني ١٩٧١

(The Struggle of the Lebanon Communist Party. Documents. Part 1.) Beirut, Lebanon, 1971.

Magyar szemtanúk a Parizsi Kommunrol (Hungarian Witnesses of the Paris Commune). Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1971. 256 pp.

Spomeni za Georgi Dimitrov (Remembrances of Georgi Dimitrov). Sofia, BKP, 1971. Collection in two volumes, 500 pp. each.

BNMAU-yn kapitalis bus khogzhliin tuukhen turshlagyn zarim asuudal (The Historic Experience of the Non-Capitalist De-

velopment of the MPR). Ulan Bator, 1970. 301 pp.

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gress of the CPSU). Moscow, Politizdat, 1971. 320 pp. (APN Publishers, in English, French, German and Spanish).

Society and Revolution. Essays in Honour of Engels. New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1971. 236 pp.

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HALL, G. *Racism. The Nation's Most Dangerous Pollutant*. New York, New Outlook Publishers, 1971. 38 pp.

Our contributors

<i>William Kashtan</i>	General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada
<i>Reidar Larsen</i>	Chairman, Communist Party of Norway
<i>Yakub Demir</i>	First Secretary, CC, Communist Party of Turkey
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