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Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

August 1971, Vol. 14, No. 8 50¢



**Socialism
and democracy**

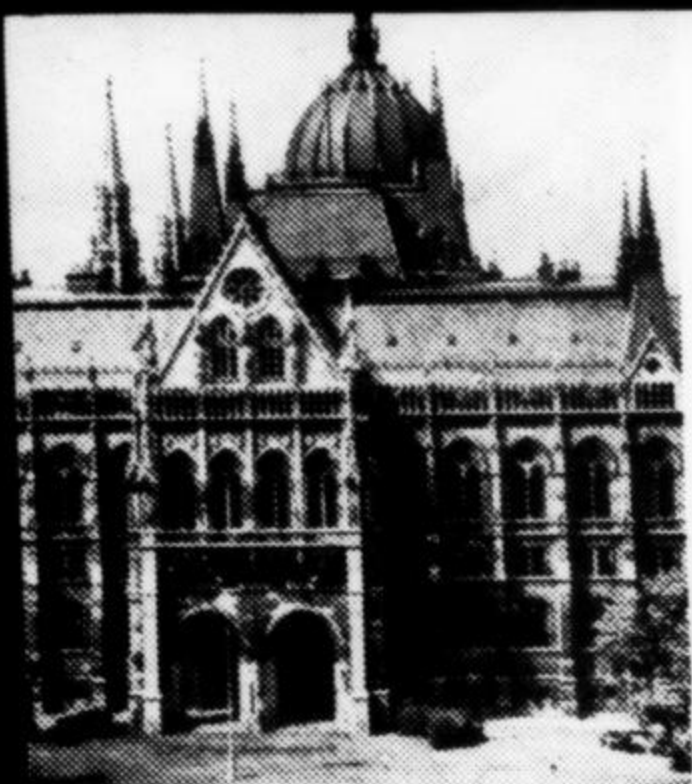
**Battle against
opportunism**

**50 fighting years—
South African CP**

**Socialist International
—a report**

**Anti-imperialism
in Tropical Africa**

Existentialism



SCHOLARS FROM SOCIALIST COUNTRIES EXCHANGE VIEWS

The Socialist State and Democracy was the subject of a discussion session in Budapest.

The participants met with Hungarian Party and government leaders in the Parliament buildings.

A report of the discussion appears on pages 3-38 of this issue.



A discussion seminar on the development laws of the socialist world system was recently held in the offices of **World Marxist Review**. A report will appear in one of our coming issues.



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The socialist state and democracy

A round-table exchange on the socialist state and democracy was held in Balatonaliga (Hungary) May 19-20 under the joint auspices of this journal and the Institute of Social Sciences, Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Below is a survey of the discussion, in which scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union, and members of the Editorial Board and staff of **World Marxist Review**, took part.

TOPICAL PROBLEMS

Stressing the benefits of round-table exchanges for closer ties among fraternal parties and for conceptualizing questions of theory, Comrade Miklos Ovari, Secretary of the CC HSWP, bid its participants a warm welcome on behalf of his Party. Marxism-Leninism, he said, is a vital and ever developing science continuously enriched with generalizations of new experience. Creative research, he added, gives the necessary impulse for the further growth of the Communist movement.

Marxism-Leninism is profoundly international. Practice shows that fraternal parties building socialism face many identical or similar problems. Hence the need for comparing notes and for collective generalization of the topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. This benefits each fraternal country, enabling it to use the good solutions of others and to avoid their mistakes.

The development of the socialist state and democracy, Ovari said, is a central theoretical topic. The work of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and particularly its recent congress, he said, shows that his Party, like the other fraternal parties in the socialist lands, attaches due significance to it. This is necessitated by the ideological struggle in the international arena and the building of the new society. Socialist democracy fortifies the people's state, draws the masses into socialist construction, adds to their socialist consciousness and assures the development of the individual.

K. Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of this journal, who opened the exchange of opinions, described Marxist international discussions as one of the main creative media for the development of revolutionary theory. This reflects the present state of science, he said, for only large groups of scientists are a match for the complicated and many-sided problems of today. Also, it reflects the international nature of Marxism-Leninism.

With the socialist world system fast becoming the decisive factor in social development and with world events depending greatly on our success in building the new society, it is especially important to hammer out constructive solutions for the topical economic, political and social problems of socialism.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties called attention to this in 1969; the 24th Congress of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union also stressed the point, and so did the fraternal parties of other socialist countries.

World Marxist Review promotes discussions and round-table exchanges, of which the present one, too, will surely yield a deeper understanding of the growth trends of present-day socialism.

The question of statehood or, more broadly, of power and politics, Zarodov said, is crucial not only during the revolutionary take-over, but also during the reconstruction of society and the consolidation of socialist and communist principles. For the new society is built in a setting of class struggle on the world scene – a continuous confrontation between socialism and progress, on the one hand, and imperialism and reaction, on the other.

Marxist scholars should *generalize the experience of the socialist state*. The practice of many other socialist countries has augmented that of the Soviet Communist Party. The new type of state has evolved enduring traditions; its perspective has crystallized. Studying these traditions is important, among other things, because some people in capitalist countries have but a vague, sometimes even warped, idea about the nature and mechanics of the state and democracy in the socialist countries. And we are not doing enough to show readers in capitalist and developing countries the wealth of our experience and the essence of socialist power and democracy.

The facts have borne out that economic development in all socialist countries is governed by common laws; in a similar way, objective laws predicate identical political structures. The similarity, of course, is in the principles, not in the details. It applies, among other things, to the leading role of the Communist Party, assuring genuinely scientific guidance in the interests of the working class and all working people; democratic centralism, which enables us to avoid anarchist tendencies as well as bureaucratic deformations and to secure truly popular and meaningful government; the combination of representative bodies and different forms of direct democracy, e.g., working people's participation in government through their public organizations; broad social rights and obliga-

tions of the individual and the equality of citizens, irrespective of sex, race and nationality; socialist legality, and the like.

Experience likewise shows, as Lenin predicted, that the forms of socialist people's government may vary from country to country. By studying the experience of the socialist state in each fraternal country, Zarodov said, we uncover valuable elements that have stood the test of time and may be used to advantage in other conditions, and, among others, by the people of capitalist countries once they have seized power.

Marxist scholars should also examine *the theoretical aspects of the further development of the socialist state and democracy*, Zarodov said. Economic progress is exercising an increasing influence on the social and political life of the socialist countries. It may be useful, therefore, to examine the inter-relation of politics and economics, of the basis and superstructure, and the relation of state and public forms and methods of directing social development.

The scientific-technical revolution and its social effects are introducing many new elements in socio-political life. It is complicating social administration, adding to the importance of framing the strategic line for the long term, and requiring more profound scientifically grounded principles of government. Also, it is changing the position of various classes and social groups, giving impulse to their self-awareness and political involvement. It would be useful, therefore, to examine the relation between the scientific-technical revolution and the development of the state and democracy.

Lenin's postulates on the connection between democracy and culture, too, are highly topical at this time. Educational expansion and the rising cultural level have stimulated public initiative in the running of social processes. How to make the most of this mass initiative in improving the machinery of state is, therefore, another topical problem meriting our closest attention.

It is a standing rule that social phenomena cannot be correctly evaluated, unless viewed in the long-term perspective. It would be useful to show, therefore, in the light of accumulated experience, how the practice of socialist construction bears out the Marxist-Leninist tenet about the future of the state. Especially interesting, it seems, is the growth of the proletarian dictatorship into the state of the whole people. The idea has won recognition in the world Communist movement, since it reflects the actual condition of the political system in the mature socialist society. It would also be useful to examine the criteria of the state of the whole people, to show the fallacy of proclaiming it prematurely. It is a complex social and political process culminating a long stage of advance towards communism.

Examining the development of the socialist state in a constructive context, we should, of course, regard it as our duty to repulse our class antagonists, reformists and revisionists.

A paper on the 'Development of the State and Socialist Democracy' was presented by Comrade S. Lakos, Director of the Institute of

Social Sciences, CC HSWP. He drew on Marxist-Leninist theory and the work of his Party in the theoretical and practical domains, particularly on the decisions of the 10th HSWP Congress, to delve into the development of socialism's political system in the present stage. The experience of the fraternal countries, especially the Soviet Union, and the documents of the 24th CPSU Congress, he said, are of invaluable help in resolving the various problems. The fundamental similarity in approach permits us to regard the principles formulated by congresses of fraternal parties on the socialist state and democracy as a common basis for our round-table discussion.

Lenin stressed time and again that it would take a long historical stage to build socialism and that the proletariat would need an efficient system of state and economic administration to build the new society. Lenin attached importance to the art of government, the training of personnel and personal responsibility. He opposed the Trotskyist call for the 'etatization' of trade unions and the anarcho-syndicalist demands of the 'workers' opposition' and the 'democrataic centralists.' He regarded efficient government and growing democracy as parts of one problem.

Development of the state and socialist democracy must go hand in hand. There is no extra-class or supra-class democracy; the state and democracy are class categories and cannot be regarded in isolation from the class struggle. The 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party noted, therefore, that one of the crucial conditions for extending socialist democracy is effective use of state bodies, coupled with society's greater influence on the state.

The political system of proletarian dictatorship

While occupying itself with the problems of state development, the HSWP has devoted considerable attention of late to the work of public organizations, primarily the trade unions, and to greater people's participation in management. However, any development of the socialist political system depends primarily on the further perfection of the socialist state.

The experience of the past decades, Lakos said, has proved the fallacy of the theoretical views and practical steps aimed at 'accelerating' the withering away of the state. To prematurely raise problems that refer solely to communist society and to try skipping necessary stages will only harm socialism.

Far from declining, the scale of the state's constructive activity increases during the building of a developed socialist society. True, the nature of the work of state bodies changes. During the reform of economic management, for example, economic stimuli play a bigger role, but this does not detract from the role of the state in running society. On the contrary, its organizational activity in the economic and cultural domains increases.

Speaking of the state's place in the political system, Lakos singled

out three sets of tasks: (a) consolidating the leading role of the Party, (b) broadening the competence and independence of government bodies, and (c) promoting the activity of public organizations, primarily the unions.

Clearly, the cardinal problem is to consolidate the leading role of the Party. It is the Party that should define the basic standpoint on each issue that has or may in certain circumstances acquire a socio-political content.

The Party, the state and the mass organizations follow the same general line, striving for common aims, though in their daily work they approach the various problems from different angles. This may be traced to the fact that, while society's fundamental interests coincide, there are also specific interests, which must be taken into consideration and coordinated. In the system of proletarian dictatorship, therefore, each institution and organization must have clearly defined purposes and tasks.

In recent years the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has made a deep study of the Fatherland Front, the unions and other public organizations. While mobilizing people for production, the Party pointed out, the unions should also protect the interests of wage-earners.

In the political system of the proletarian dictatorship, the paper said, the state performs specific functions. These, of course, are not immutable. It tackles a certain set of tasks upon winning power, another set of tasks when laying the foundation of socialism, and entirely different tasks when completing socialist construction.

What are the main trends in the evolution of the political system when building the developed socialist society?

The view that functions of the state should be gradually turned over to public organizations was fairly widespread in Hungary at one time. Experience showed, however, that *transfer of state functions to public organizations is not the main trend for us at present*. The role of public organizations in the socialist political system will continue to increase. However, only those functions that are by nature better suited to their methods should be entrusted to public organizations.

The bulk of the tasks now being performed in government, however, require state methods. If we make an absolute of the public principle, the state will be regarded as an evil. Yet the socialist state is an organization of the working people, which is not only and not primarily an instrument of compulsion. The growth of socialist society does not mean that the state is automatically and progressively 'relieved' of its functions.

In the present stage, the organizational function of the state has grown in many areas – not only economic, but also social. The socialist state is assuming more of the care for pensioners and those unable to work. And it appears that in the future, too, the state will perform many of the social functions.

Yet transfer of some functions to public organizations would be

quite timely now, or in the very near future. This applies first and foremost to the protection of the working people's interests at work—a function in which the unions have a great part to play, and to extra-scholastic training, cultural work, and the like.

We should also look for forms that would involve public activists, while assuring the effective operation of state bodies. A combination of state and public forms should be highly effective in some cases. Organizing public education, for example, including its facilities, is obviously a concern of the state. Yet the role of the parent body and of youth and other public organizations is doubtlessly great.

Transfer of certain functions earlier performed by the state to public organizations has yielded varying results, and it is hard to say whether the move has been useful. The number of activists from different population groups has increased, and this is unquestionably a token of expanding democracy, which, indeed, is the rationale of the whole undertaking. On the other hand, the process has sometimes yielded no essential change; the change was no more than formal, and the problems of principle, relating to the definition of functions and the ways of dealing with them, to the dividing line between the competence of the state and the public institutions, were not always resolved. That is why in some cases we are still unable to say whether a certain function is a function of the state or of public organizations. Possibly, it would be better to avoid categorical judgments ('purely' state or 'purely' public) and devise 'mixed' or 'intermediate' forms.

Improvement of the state apparatus and development of socialist democracy

In the past, Lakos said, improving the state apparatus was often identified with reorganization. Experience has shown, however, that reorganization does not always yield the desired results. If the staff of a ministry or administration was reduced without first determining the functions to be taken out of its competence and turned over to some other body, the apparatus soon swelled to its previous proportions. Hence, a one-sided administrative solution does not, per se, yield positive results. We must first examine the government sphere in question, and only then tackle the organizational problems. And in so doing, we must remember that the nature of the various government functions, as well as their methods, change in the different historical stages.

To develop socialism, Lakos said, we must have scientifically grounded government. The professional approach gains in significance, and it is wrong to think that this impinges on the democratic principle. The relation of science, professionalism and democracy may be viewed from different angles. To begin with, it is a mistake to regard the decisions of the government apparatus as purely professional. The demarcation line between the professional and

political elements is a relative one. The role of the latter in decision-making is not prejudiced in any way. The socio-political effects of decisions are important, and therefore carefully considered.

The rising level of education, culture and political awareness equips the masses for greater participation in running society. And it should be remembered that democracy in the administrative sphere does not amount to mere control. The work of the administrative machinery should not be regarded as a purely bureaucratic process and the work outside that machinery as an embodiment of democracy. We know, for one thing, that organizationally the administrative apparatus is based on democratic principles. On the other hand, bureaucratic deviations may also occur in public organizations.

It is one of the advantages of socialism, however, that it provides for democratic procedure and control. Hence, the relation of professionalism and democracy should be conceived as a dialectical unity of both.

The same may be said of the relationship between the representative and executive bodies. Earlier, there was a tendency to make most matters the competence of the representative bodies. It was thought that the more matters they handled, the more democratic the government would be. Yet it is not the number but the nature of the issues that matters. The representative bodies should deal only with the fundamental problems directly relating to the interests of the people. Meanwhile, the administrative bodies should have more relative independence in dealing with operational matters.

The speaker went on to examine the essential and formal elements of democracy. There is a sufficient number of democratic forums in Hungary, he said, for the working people to make themselves heard. But there are still many elements of merely formal participation in the case of some institutions. Take the various commissions of the Councils vested with administrative competence. It is part of their work to apply administrative sanctions, and their members, who are representatives of the public, are not always qualified for this. Much additional effort was invested, the results of which, moreover, far from producing speedier and meaningful solutions, only created encumbrances. Yet commissions organized on public principles have acquitted themselves well in spheres where their operation did not involve frequent use of juridical means. That is why, for example, the work of the commissions dealing with social security has been useful, while that of commissions dealing with financial matters was in many ways merely formal.

That is the problem we encountered in the case of the public courts and people's assessors. It was envisaged by law, for example, that public courts should be set up in all enterprises employing one hundred or more people. At present, it is suggested that they should operate only where the necessary conditions exist and the unions think they are needed. In the case of people's

assessors, it is important to select them more carefully and provide for their proper training. As we see it, they should not be required to participate in minor court cases. Like the other democratic institutions, public courts and the system of people's assessors are important socialist gains, but elements of formalism in their work should be rooted out. This will make it more effective.

Lakos outlined some of the concrete measures taken by the Socialist Workers' Party to enhance the socialist state and democracy. A decision to analyze the problems of state development was taken five years ago, and the Party's Central Committee appointed a commission to coordinate and guide the project, with seven working groups assigned to concrete problems. Five of these completed their work before the 10th Party Congress. The Central Committee based some of its decisions on their recommendations. The State Assembly passed laws relating to the Councils and altered the election system. New decisions on other aspects, particularly amendments to the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic, are now in preparation.

The Party attaches importance to enhancing the role of the State Assembly as regards defining the main trends in legislation and state development, and in controlling observance of laws. It is also necessary to enhance the role of the government, which should not be regarded as merely an executive body. It is the highest administrative body, vested with broad powers and responsible for the work of the entire administrative apparatus.

The further improvement of the socialist state logically implies *all-round consolidation of the lower echelons of the state machinery*. While the central agencies concentrate on the fundamental and crucial problems of socialist construction and redouble the effectiveness of their work, this should combine with greater independence for the Councils, and all matters of local significance should be placed within their competence. That, in the present stage, is a substantive element in the practical application of the principle of democratic centralism, as envisaged in the new law on Councils.

The growth of the system of Councils does not detract from the various forms of direct democracy widely applied in factories, enterprises and neighborhoods. On the contrary, the importance of these forms is rising, and their sphere will surely expand. Yet in the case of most problems, their function is not determinative. That is why improving the election system is all the more necessary, for it is an important medium for the people's participation in government.

The new election system has given added impulse to the political activity of the masses, as evidenced by the high turnout to the ballot-boxes and the involvement in pre-election meetings.

A lively discussion of Comrade Lakos's paper ensued.

PAST EXPERIENCE

The round-table conference endeavored to generalize the collective experience of developing the socialist political system.

In this system, the state occupies the central place. It guides economic and socio-cultural development, assures public order, protects the rights of citizens, and provides for the defense of the people's revolutionary gains. The accent laid by Marxist-Leninist parties on the further development of socialist democracy is linked closely with the policy of consolidating the state.

Main instrument of building the new society

The history of the many-sided integral system of socialist democracy, embracing both state and public forms and institutions, shows the cardinal significance of state law and its institutions. This point was made in his contribution by Professor N. Farberov, Dr. of Law (Moscow).

Consolidating the state mainly means expanding people's participation in the handling of state affairs. But it also implies fortifying and improving the entire machinery of state, without which guidance of society is inconceivable.

Some of our critics say that the policy of consolidating the state conflicts with the Marxist-Leninist teaching on its withering away. Yet Marx, Engels and Lenin, who postulated the withering away of the state, always stressed that the process is a long one, related to the elimination of class distinctions, achievement of a material and cultural abundance assuring distribution according to needs, and a high degree of civic consciousness and organization, when observance of the rules of community living will become second nature for all.

Socialist society has not come to this stage yet. And to advance to it, it must consolidate the socialist state. This is required by the state's ever increasing role in communist construction and principally by the considerably bigger scale and complexity of the economic-organizational, social, cultural and educational challenges. It is also required for the maintenance of foreign relations, which are continuously expanding.

Attempts to speed up the natural historical development of the state – in the name, among other things, of combating bureaucracy and étatism, of promoting public self-government – are likely to create serious difficulties and contradictions in production and other important areas. This does not mean that we do not fight bureaucracy or that we are opposed to public self-government. We regard the latter as an attribute of socialist statehood and, therefore, reject the very idea of contrasting public self-government and the state. That would mean underrating the state's role as organizer and rejecting Lenin's principle of democratic centralism, thus creating the danger of parochialism and autarchic trends.

Realistic democratization does not imply premature replacement of the state and judiciary with various non-state, public forms, but their meaningful and sensible combination. The main idea is to democratize the state institutions and make more effective use of them.

Professor D. Mazilu, Dr. of Law (Bucharest), examined the functions of the socialist state. The democratic nature of the worker-peasant state comes into evidence more and more distinctly as socialist building progresses. Past practice has proved this. The Rumanian socialist state, he said, expresses the interests of the working class, society's leading class, the peasants, the intelligentsia, all working people, irrespective of nationality. In sum, the socialist state has a new social basis, one that grows stronger steadily with the elimination of exploiting classes.

There is an evolution of the functions of the state, due to the growth and improvement of democracy. By virtue of social progress and the diversification of economic and social life the role of the state becomes more active. The greater prerogatives of the state do not imply any extension of its administrative or repressive spheres, which, in effect, tend to diminish, but greater organizational and managerial activity in the economy and social affairs. The socialist state performs a predominantly creative, transformative mission, for it is the main instrument of building the new system. And it performs this function in the setting of a developing national economy. Its internal and external functions are expressive of the sovereignty of the socialist state.

The content of each function, and the methods of performing it, keep changing. The standard of economic guidance is improved, the democratic principles in the economic structure are accentuated, and the principle of democratic centralism is advanced. Rumania rejects the idea that economic and social life should be regulated by, or rather abandoned to, chance, to the free play of the market, the law of supply and demand. Yet we also reject excessive centralism. In the drive to improve the economic mechanism we have taken steps to accentuate the democratic principles in management. The broader rights of local organs and economic organizations, however, do not mean that the role of the center is deflated. On the contrary, central control is made more effective thereby.

The socialist state promotes the growth of culture and science and assures education in the socialist and communist spirit. The evolution of economic and social life created an insistent need for new legislation, with the accent on enhancing its effectiveness and on rule of law. As concerns the function of defense, Mazilu said, Rumania devotes much effort to fortifying and modernizing the armed forces and patriotic units, called upon to defend the socialist gains and the sovereignty and independence of the country. Cooperation and exchange of experience with the armies of all socialist countries are also being promoted.

A people's state, the Socialist Republic of Rumania promotes mutual assistance and cooperation with the socialist countries and cooperates with other states in the world on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Relations among socialist states, based on equality and mutual respect, are aimed at promoting economic and social progress in each country, the growth and prosperity of each socialist nation, consolidation of the socialist world system, and greater international economic and cultural exchange.

Evolution of the socialist state

The socialist state is a dynamic organism. It improves itself, acquires new features, and provides ever fuller scope for its democratic essence.

When building the developed socialist society, said Professor Y. Radev, Dr. of Law (Sofia), the proletarian dictatorship develops gradually into a political organization of the whole people. The state of the whole people is a class organization, but the nature and relationship of the classes are essentially different under it than during the period of proletarian dictatorship. In the scientific-technical revolution the rapid growth of the productive forces tends gradually to eradicate class distinctions in socialist society, strengthening its unity. The gradual passage to the state of the whole people occurs through the extension of the state's social basis. Economic and cultural functions, the functions of protecting socialist property and the rights and freedom of citizens gain pride of place, while the function of suppressing the exploiting classes becomes gradually redundant.

The leading role of the working class is a necessary attribute of socialist democracy. Dictatorship of the proletariat implies political domination over exploiters and political leadership of the masses. In the course of historical development the first attribute changes form, and finally disappears, whereas the second comes to the fore.

The evolution of the socialist state is tied in with improvements in democracy, the latter being the result of the development of the new society, on the one hand, and an essential precondition of its sustained progress, on the other.

The representative system and electoral procedure, the Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party says, are improved to conform with the rising level of social and class relationships. The composition of state bodies is regularly renewed. Their participation in effectuating decisions and controlling the work of the executive apparatus, increases.

Public organizations, the new Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria notes, help the state bodies to fulfil their tasks. This help is becoming more active. The state, for its part, relies more extensively on public organizations. With their consent, the

state may turn over to them some of its functions.

Socialist democracy means free scope for the harmonious development of the individual. The rights and freedoms of citizens acquire new guarantees in the period of building the mature socialist society.

Professor D. Kerimov (Moscow), Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, examined the dialectics of the passage from proletarian dictatorship to the state of the whole people. This multiple, highly complicated process, he said, is objectively impelled by the deep-going economic, political and social changes resulting from the complete victory of socialism. It cannot be arbitrarily decreed or introduced by fiat. It is rooted in the revolutionary changes in the system of production, radical alterations in society's class structure and the change in the way of life and the psychology of the masses.

A natural result of the development of the proletarian dictatorship, the state of the whole people continues the former's mission and is the people's main instrument in building communism. Together with the other socialist states, it conducts the class struggle against imperialism in the international arena. The state of the whole people is supported by the entire nation and relies on the political awareness, organization and discipline of the masses, using primarily the method of persuasion, though when necessary also that of compulsion against violators of socialist legality and offenders against the law. The dictatorship of the proletariat is from the outset a democracy of the whole people, and in the state of the whole people democracy attains the highest degree of development. On the other hand, the working class continues to play the leading role, just as it did in the proletarian dictatorship.

The further democratization of the various aspects of social life depends on economic conditions, the political maturity and educational and cultural standard of the people. Socialism's political system is an organic aggregate in which democracy, government and legality are interdependent and interactive.

Professor I. Ilyinsky, Dr. of Law ('World Marxist Review'), examined the social factors influencing the growth of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of the whole people. The collective experience of building socialism, he said, showed that haste in proclaiming the state of the whole people is counter-indicated. After socialist relations of production triumph, the state deals with a variety of tasks completing socialist construction. The evolution of the socialist state, therefore, cannot outstrip the objective processes that consolidate socialist relations and the moulding of the new individual.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary not only for laying the groundwork of socialist society, but also, as Lenin noted, 'for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism' (Vol. 20, p. 381). The mission of the proletarian dictatorship is not merely to transform the economy and to socialize the means

of production. It must also consolidate the new economic structures and eliminate the survivals of proprietary relationships.

Lenin linked the aim of building socialism with the aim of making 'all members of society working people' (Vol. 29, p. 388). That takes a long time, for the traditions of the old society are tenacious. The socialist ideology of the working class does not instantly become the ideology of the whole people. The ideological struggle continues. And if the bearers of the old traditions, encouraged by world imperialism, take action against the socialist system, compulsive measures become necessary.

It is the purpose of the dictatorship of the proletariat to produce guarantees ruling out the restoration of capitalism. It is with the elimination of the danger of restoration that Lenin associated the end of proletarian dictatorship. Now that we have a socialist world system, and by virtue of its confrontation with imperialism, the matter assumes international proportions. As noted by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 'the defense of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists.'

The proletarian dictatorship develops into a state of the whole people in different ways and at different times. But in all countries, the culmination of the process is linked with the construction of a developed socialist society. Soviet experience shows that the state of the whole people is conditional on a high level of socialist relations, highlighted not only by the absence of exploiting classes, but also by a profoundly socialist mould of all classes and social groups, their intrinsic homogeneity. In the Soviet Union, the socialist ideology of the working class has become the ideology of the whole people. The state becomes a state of the whole people when all sections of the people assume the positions of the working class.

Like the proletarian dictatorship, the socialist state of the whole people will probably assume different forms. Yet different countries will borrow the most effective forms of socialist statehood and democracy from each other, and the scale on which the collective experience of developing the state is studied and applied, will increase.

Asked about the concept 'forms of state,' Ilyinsky said that it should not be identified with the concept 'forms of society's political organization,' for the latter encompasses all political institutions, including the state. Past socialist development has produced a variety of state structures (forms of government and arrangements) and non-state political structures (one-party and pluralistic forms, the popular front form).

The conference noted that a further study of the question of forms of state on the basis of available political experience in the socialist countries, would be highly useful.

The Communist Party and the socialist state

The collective experience of the socialist countries bears out Lenin's thesis that the working class cannot win state power or effectively organize the forces of society for building socialism and communism after winning it, without a party of the new type, said Professor A. Lopatka, Dr. of Law, (Warsaw). The political awareness of the working class rises continuously during socialist construction. However, not all workers understand the mechanics of social life and class struggle to an equal degree. The working class must be led by its most advanced section, which defines the objective interests of its class and understands the social processes in the country and the world.

The socialist reconstruction of society is undertaken in the interest of all working people. But not all of them understand the need for it at once. Many are willing to support it, but are incapable of initiative. What is needed is a party with a scientifically grounded program, one that leads the masses. And doubly so, because the resistance of hostile forces or elements inimical to the socialist system, continue until long after the establishment of people's power.

The Party is necessary in order to harmonize the current and long-term interests of the people, to align the different requirements of different strata. Lacking this, transient, group, local or other interests may take precedence, creating impediments to the guidance of society as a whole.

The working class cannot direct the building of socialism by means of the state apparatus alone. The latter is necessary, of course. It is the most effective instrument for building the new society. Yet it is but one of several. Furthermore, it is exposed to the influence of different social groups and classes. So the party is necessary to assure working-class guidance of the state apparatus, effective control and its orientation, and also to counteract undesirable influences.

The leading role of the Party is a precondition for socialist democracy and its development. Hence, it is a democratic factor, lacking which socialist democracy would be but a short-lived episode in history. No matter what revisionists say to the contrary, socialist democracy is impelled by the mounting influence of the Party on social affairs, not the reverse. Violation of this principle would be inevitably result in the use of democratic institutions against the interests of the working people.

In Poland, Lopatka said, the Party's leading role manifested itself forcefully in the overcoming of the political crisis of December 1970. The crisis was precipitated by mistakes of the previous Party leadership in the economic and, especially, social policy, and by its insufficiently democratic manner of action. And it was overcome by the Party's own forces. In accordance with its statutes, the Party changed its leadership, modified the earlier ill-

conceived measures, formulated new ideas and consolidated the position and authority of the working class.

At present, the working class is able to exercise influence on the work of the Party, of state bodies and the organs of self-administration. Steps have been taken to carry forward the socialist ideal – the equality of people. The role of the Sejm and the people's councils is being enhanced, and the administrative apparatus is being made more efficient.

Party guidance, said *D. Mazilu*, is not an aim in itself, but a crucial factor in building socialism and communism. The Party directs the life of the state and socio-economic affairs, while steering clear of petty patronage and armchair fiat.

Party guidance connotes correct definition of the essence of social processes – of positive trends as well as of contradictions, and timely measures to resolve them. If contradictions are not remedied in time, they become more acute and even lead to social conflicts. The Party strives to eliminate negative phenomena and to create political, economic and organizational preconditions for innovation. It sees to it that the dialectical laws should not operate spontaneously, that their operation should be consciously guided.

Replying to a question, *Mazilu* said that the practice of combining the office of first secretary of the party committee and that of the chairman of the executive committee of people's councils in one person makes for better organization and coordination of political activity in district, town and commune. The measure is meant to eliminate parallelisms in the work of Party and state bodies, Professor *B. Zaharescu*, Member of the Editorial Board of this journal, explained. We are determined to accentuate the leading role of the Party, he said. Party bodies are now able to handle problems facing local government more competently, with a fuller knowledge. This does not mean, however, that Party and state bodies have been merged.

Noting that the leading role of the Party increases in the period of building communism, *D. Kerimov* examined its main forms.

The Party frames the general political line and sets concrete directives for the work of the state apparatus. This does not depreciate the independence of state organs. The 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party pointed to the need for extending the role of the Soviets, of enhancing and increasing the responsibility of the administrative machinery.

The Party exercises its leading role by selecting and distributing personnel for the state apparatus. The personnel must be of a higher grade. That is the demand of the times. They must have a good grasp of modern methods, must know the long-term perspective and be skilled in finding the most effective solutions, utilizing the knowledge and experience of others. In view of this, the 24th Congress called for improvements in the training and re-training the leading cadres.

The leading role of the Party also implies control over the fulfilment of Party directives by state bodies and officials. The 24th CPSU Congress took a new, important step in improving fulfilment control. Not only Party branches in factories, but also those in research institutes, educational establishments and in cultural and medical institutions are now empowered to control the work of their administrations.

Other participants in the round-table conference, too, referred to the leading role of the Communist Party and its enhancement as an important tendency in the development of the socialist political system. This tendency, they said, should not be conceived primitively as a substitution of party activity for that of the other sectors of the political mechanism. The Party's leading role is a profound and objective factor predicated by the need for a higher standard of guidance of the complex social processes on an up-to-date scientific basis.

Speakers emphasized the fallacy and harm of concepts that belittle the Party's role in socialist society and reduce its sphere of activity to only ideologico-educational work.

The general and the particular in the socialist political system

This problem was commented on by E. Avirmed, Can.Law (Ulan Bator), who referred to the Mongolian People's Republic as a country with pre-capitalist relations which proceeded directly to building socialism.

The people's revolution of 1921 freed the working people from national and social oppression by bringing about the dictatorship of the working *arats* (herdsmen). In 1924 Mongolia was proclaimed a people's republic and the Constitution adopted in the same year stripped the feudal lords of political rights and granted democratic rights to the people. The Constitution made people's *khurals* (assemblies) the political foundation of the new system. Prominent on the public scene alongside the khurals were the Revolutionary Youth League, the trade unions and other mass organizations of the working people, established under the leadership of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

The revolutionary democracy brought by the revolution was a prerequisite of socialist democracy, a stepping-stone to it. With economic and cultural progress on new lines there emerged a national working class and intelligentsia and a lasting worker-arat alliance. Since the forties the arats' revolutionary democratic state gradually developed into a state of the dictatorship of the working class. In step with this process the revolutionary democracy of the working people developed into socialist democracy.

The 1940 Constitution formalized the abolition of feudal relations and extended democratic civil rights. In 1949, substantial amendments were made to the electoral system by introducing direct and equal elections by secret ballot to all government bodies. This

meant strengthening the links between the state power and the people.

By the late 50s socialist relations of production had fully triumphed. A new Constitution was adopted in 1960, and the principles of socialist democracy laid down in it have been applied ever since. The chief medium through which the working people are drawn into government is the Khurals of People's Deputies. In 1969, elections brought 99.99 per cent of the voters to the polls and over 14,000 deputies were elected at all levels. The khurals have over 1,400 standing commissions involving more than 20,000 deputies and activists.

Direct democracy is developing in intimate connection with representative democracy. The draft of the new Constitution was discussed at 1,166 meetings that brought together over 208,000 working people and were addressed by more than 2,900 speakers who made various suggestions. Other objects of nationwide discussion were the bill to perfect public education, and the draft of model Statutes of agricultural cooperatives. A practice of recent date is to discuss draft decisions of local khurals beforehand. General meetings of workers and of members of agricultural cooperatives, as well as standing production conferences have become common practice.

Some speakers noted that people's rule takes a vast variety of forms within the framework of the general principles and development laws of the socialist political system, which in some countries is characterized by the existence of several parties. Asked about the nature of the multi-party system under socialism, A. Lopatka said that it is not only the Communists but all working people who build the new society. Today a growing number of non-communist trends sincerely declare for socialism. This provides the basis for cooperation among diverse parties as they fight for the new social system.

During World War II the Communists in a number of countries fought fascism in common with other political parties and groups. In Poland the program for people's rule was upheld by the Polish Workers' Party, part of the Socialist, Peasant and Democratic parties, and noted non-party personalities.

Before the 50s Poland had an intricate party system comprising both Left-wing parties and parties that included opponents of socialism. This system changed in the course of sharp class struggles. Late in 1948 the workers' parties merged on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. So did the peasant parties - on the principle of recognizing socialism and taking an active part in socialist construction, after expelling all reactionaries from their ranks. The Party of Labor joined the Democratic Party. That system still exists. It comprises the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP, 2,300,000 members), the United Peasant Party (360,000, the proportion of members in the countryside equalling that of PUWP members) and the Democratic Party, which unites handicraftsmen and

intellectuals (86,000). There are also Catholic groups advocating socialism.

This system may be described as a multi-party one but it would be more exact to call it a system of cooperation encompassing the PUWP and other working people's parties and having nothing in common with a bourgeois multi-party system. All parties adhere to the program of building socialism and recognize the leading role of the working class in society. The PUWP recognizes the autonomy of the other parties in regard to organizing work, internal structure, membership and world outlook. On the political scene, it is only the PUWP that represents the working class. It also speaks for other working people. As to the other parties, they represent various categories of working people outside the working class.

All parties are represented on government bodies. Out of the 460 deputies to the Sejm (parliament), the PUWP accounts for 255, the Peasant Party for 117 and the Democratic Party for 39. Thirteen non-party deputies represent progressive Catholic groups.

Inter-party cooperation has developed in definite forms. Thus, the PUWP elaborates its agrarian program jointly with the Peasant Party. There are central, regional and district committees for inter-party cooperation.

The multi-party system in socialist countries, speakers said, has nothing in common with the revisionist concepts of 'pluralist socialism' and 'free play of political forces.' Whether or not there is a multi-party or one-party system depends on historical conditions in the country concerned, specifically on the attitude of the given non-Communist parties. Where several political parties exist they all cooperate in a popular patriotic front. In the absence of class antagonisms there is no ground for opposition between them.

The collective experience of building up socialist statehood, speakers pointed out unanimously, is a most valuable gain for the international revolutionary movement. It confirms the validity and revolutionizing power of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

PROBLEMS AND QUESTS

It is not easy to separate an exposition of established practice and a discussion on the further development of democracy. There is probably no marked boundary between them. By the time this or that solution has been sanctioned by experience and won universal acceptance, life puts forward new problems, whose analysis and creative solution are a constant concern of the brother parties.

Now for the ways and means of carrying forward socialist people's rule.

Socialist democracy as one system

Several speakers commented on socialist democracy as one, uniform system functioning in all countries.

K. Ondris, Cand. Law (Prague), pointed to three important tasks

of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC) in eliminating the effects of the crisis development of 1968. One of these tasks is politically to unite society behind the Communist Party on the socialist platform of the National Front which embodies the alliance of the working people of town and country and the unity of the peoples of Czechoslovakia. A second task is to ensure the normal operation of democratic mechanisms. It will be accomplished with elections to all representative bodies – from the National Committees through the Czech and Slovak National Councils to the Federal Assembly. The third task is to strengthen links between the socialist state and its agencies, on the one hand, and the citizens, on the other. A key problem is to make fuller use of existing democratic forms, whose potentialities are far from being spent.

After stressing the leading role of the working class in society and state, Ondris dealt with certain development lines of socialist democracy. They may be listed as perfecting representative democracy and extending the citizens' participation in government through elected bodies; promoting the mass organizations, in which the interests of large sections of working people, and in many cases professional or specific interests, are democratically integrated both organizationally and ideologically, the activities of these organizations are united in the CPC-led National Front; encouraging participation of the working people in government in spheres in which established organizational forms are lacking and the democratic mechanism is to a point self-generated, though not of a spontaneous nature.

The most important of these lines, in the speaker's view, is to stimulate participation in government through representative bodies, especially those directly linked with the working people's interests and needs. He meant the city, village, district and regional National Committees, which combine the characteristics of mass organizations of the working people and government bodies.

Political activity on the local level in its broadest sense, ranging from the discussion of problems of the service industry to the framing and implementation of government policy, greatly stimulates interest in social matters. People often come to know the needs of the whole state and the various political interconnections through their reflection in local problems.

The socialist democratic system, Ondris said in conclusion, goes on developing. In shaping it, we take into account the experience gained by the Party in the struggle against Right-wing opportunism and summed up in 'Lessons of the Crisis Development in Party and Society After the 13th Party Congress.' The experience of socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, is of invaluable help to us.

The speaker was asked to what extent Czechoslovakia's highly developed traditions of bourgeois democracy made it easier or harder to further socialist democracy.

K. Ondris pointed to certain positive aspects of those traditions,

such as a rather high degree of political activity and the population's interest in general political problems. After January 1968, however, earlier traditions played an essentially negative role. This expressed itself, among other things, in advocating Masaryk's ideas, exaggerating the distinctive characteristics of Czechoslovakia and idealizing its pre-Munich political system.

Professor M. Samu, Cand. Law (Budapest), spoke of perfecting socialist statehood on scientific lines. He said that after the 20th Congress of the CPSU the Communist parties of socialist countries intensified their creative analysis of development problems of the socialist state.

We do not, he said, identify the socialist social system with the political and state system. We regard the political system as part of the social organism and it is in this light that we see the Party, mass organizations and the state apparatus. Of course, to differentiate concepts does not mean dissociating components of the political system. It merely helps us to make a deeper analysis of interconnections. Account must be taken of the relative autonomy and distinctive working methods of the state apparatus and public organizations.

Marx and Lenin stressed the fundamentally new character of the socialist state. With reference to the experience of the Paris Commune they pointed out that in the socialist state there can be no gulf or conflict between legislative and executive activity and that there must be a division of labor in the socialist state apparatus.

There is a certain demarcation between the activities of parliament and government. The government executes decisions made by parliament. It is a question of cooperation between two agencies implementing the Party's policies. The division of labor between them is complemented by inter-connection, a component of which is parliament's growing activity as a control body.

The administrative machinery, which comprises the ministries, central departments and medium and low-level bodies, is an important factor in government. Government is widely differentiated. Hence the need for central bodies not only to lead but to coordinate the efforts of all government agencies towards a common goal.

An important aspect of government is to lead local bodies. The democratic nature of the socialist state implies that local government bodies must not be regarded as mere executors of the will of the central body. They must give expression to local peculiarities and deal autonomously with local problems.

In analyzing administrative activity, it is essential to devise efficiency indicators. For this precise research methods and new scientific achievements are being used ever more widely. Government bodies can function effectively only when decision-making, the execution of decisions and control over it are based on scientific findings and methods.

The activity of the population, collectivism and the formation of the new man largely depend on the standard of social life. The masses must be helped to enhance their political awareness and acquire increasing skill in solving social problems. This necessitates

the confrontation of different opinions and concepts to arrive at optimal solutions of socialist development problems. The freedom of opinion stipulated by every socialist Constitution, an atmosphere guaranteeing free thought, and effective struggle against hostile ideology are requisites of progress in socialist democracy.

Professor C. Vlad, Dr. Phil., of Bucharest told about the progress of socialist democracy in Rumania. He said that direct participation of the masses in the guidance of public life is increasing and that representative democracy and the functioning of government bodies are improving. The politico-organizational expression of the cohesion of society is the Socialist Unity Front, which comprises mass organizations, and the councils of working people of different nationalities, which enjoy the same rights as the Rumanian people and take an active part in political life.

In recent years workers, peasants, intellectuals have been taking a greater part in the discussion of important economic, cultural and social measures. Party functionaries and statesmen meet frequently with working people to inform them of the situation. Together they analyze various problems and take steps to fulfil the country's development plans. In other words, the Party maintains a broad dialogue with the people.

The legislative activity of the Grand National Assembly is steadily expanding. Important draft laws are submitted to the public for preliminary discussion. The State Council has become more active. The Grand National Assembly has studied measures for improving the procedure of drafting laws. A legislative council will be set up to help coordinate legislative activities.

The development of socialist democracy is marked by the use of more varied forms of collective leadership. These forms are used not only by Party committees but by ministries and other central agencies, by industrial enterprises, research centers, educational and cultural institutions. The boards of ministries and industrial amalgamations, enterprise management committees, university senates, teachers' faculty councils, scientific councils of research institutes, are administrative bodies virtually directing the activity of the institutions and enterprises concerned. They are composed of representatives of the management, Party committees and trade unions, as well as spokesmen of the workers and other employees. Students, too, are represented in university senates and teachers' councils.

It is necessary, the speaker said, to ensure that democratic forms are effective and that they guarantee genuine and not nominal participation of the masses in the effort to perfect public activity. Last year we began to call meetings of enterprise staffs at regular intervals. These meetings are expected to state their opinion when enterprise development and production extension plans and various social problems are discussed. A meeting's disapproval of the performance of the management may result in the management being replaced by decision of higher bodies.

Public organizations have in recent years been represented on

government bodies more extensively than before. Thus, the Chairman of the Central Council of the General Federation of Trade Unions, First Secretary of the Communist Youth League and Chairman of the National Federation of Agricultural Production Cooperatives are full members of government. The Chairman of the Federation of Student Associations is a member of the board of the Ministry of Education and the chairmen of the Unions of Writers and Artists are on the Executive Council of the State Committee for Culture and Art.

Socialist democracy in Rumania is reaching deeper as the role of the Communist Party grows. This is the main factor for the people's effective participation in the guidance of public life and in building their socialist and communist future.

C. Vlad was asked how it is proposed to coordinate the activity of parliamentary commissions entrusted with drafting laws, on the one hand, and the legislative council, on the other. He replied that the legislative council will be a consultative agency. Its function is to contribute to the activity of the Grand National Assembly.

The development of socialist statehood and democracy depends on something more than the system of various institutions and legislation governing their activity. The general standard of political life and the habits and traditions that have been accumulated play a noteworthy role, N. Farberov pointed out. It is well known that bourgeois democracy has its own traditions – the multi-party system, opposition in representative bodies, and so on – which bourgeois ideologues zealously publicize. We have democratic traditions of our own: wide participation by the working people in the management of public affairs and the state, including production management, publicity of the activity of representative institutions, combining collective leadership with personal responsibility, people's control, criticism and self-criticism.

Among our traditions are the unity of rights and duties, proper use of democratic freedoms, combining private interests with the interests of society, the responsibility of each for the collective body and of the collective body for its every member, organization and discipline.

We may describe as standards of democracy, a businesslike, principled and exacting approach to problems combined with a thoughtful attitude to people and to their suggestions and complaints. There is also the moral atmosphere, which should make for an uncompromising stand on any infringement of democracy.

Direct and representative democracy

The relationship between direct and representative democracy was discussed by numerous participants in the exchange of views. M. Samu asked whether state and society were drawing closer together so that in the long run the forms of direct democracy would gain in importance and influence the activity of the state, with representative bodies being controlled accordingly. At present the

problem of direct democracy is linked above all with enterprise-level activity. The sphere of operation of direct democracy will evidently expand as the standards of human relations rise.

N. Farberov said that in tackling this problem a distinction should be made between social content and political form. As far as its content is concerned, all socialist democracy is direct. Not so the forms and methods of organizing and exercising people's power. To believe that as socialist and communist building progresses direct democracy will take over the functions of representative democracy and end by fully replacing it is hardly right. In a large state, citizens cannot directly solve all problems of leading society. It is necessary to combine direct and representative democracy and use all that is best in either form. For example, the legislative activity of the highest representative body is combined with the discussion of important bills by the whole people. This device is used more and more often and it would be useful to institutionalize the procedure to be followed. Greater recourse should also be had to referendums on crucial problems of social development.

But even with extensive direct democracy, representative democracy under socialism fully retains its validity as the principal form of people's rule. We regard it as a standing task to perfect representative bodies. In recent years we in the Soviet Union have extended the powers of local government bodies, reinforced them with more efficient personnel and provided them with greater material facilities. Other socialist countries, too, have taken steps to strengthen local government bodies.

Y. Radev voiced the opinion that at the stage of mature socialist society both direct and representative democracy will develop, the former through direct legislation and systematic participation of the masses in government, and the latter by extending the mass base, jurisdiction and control powers of representative bodies.

The new Bulgarian Constitution, approved by referendum on May 16, 1971, extends the sphere of operation of institutions of direct democracy. There are to be both nationwide and local referendums. Nationwide referendums will, of course, follow discussion of this or that bill by the whole people. The meetings which discussed the draft Constitution involved three million citizens and proposed 14,000 amendments. As for referendums at local level, all People's Council are empowered to poll the local population on any matters under their jurisdiction.

Socialist democracy in the GDR, said Professor G. Egler, Dr. of Law (Berlin), is being carried forward by strengthening the democratic foundations of state activity, primarily the socialist representative bodies of the people.

The integrated system of representative bodies is expressive of the working people's sovereignty. These bodies are the political expression of the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party, the organizational form of leading the working classes and strata at every stage of the formation and development

of socialist society. They are the most direct and comprehensive mass organizations of the working people embodying the alliance of the working class and other working people in town and country. They are what Marx described as 'working' institutions intended to methodically direct social progress. All government agencies receive their powers from people's representative bodies, whose instructions they carry out and to which they are accountable.

The activity of representative bodies is closely linked with citizens' participation in government. In addition to the 200,000 deputies, there are 400,000 people cooperating with the standing commissions and other agencies of representative bodies on a voluntary basis. National Front committees are assisted by 335,000 activists.

The working people took an active part in the discussion of the draft Constitution and in the relevant referendum held in 1968, as well as in the discussion of the drafts of the Labor and Family codes and the public education bill. This is direct practical and increasingly effective participation in government by the working people.

The speaker criticized bourgeois theories setting competence against democracy. The purpose of these technocratic arguments is to dissemble the strengthening of the imperialist power machinery and raise a barrier to democratic development. In reality it is not competence that rules out democracy but state-monopoly capital.

Under socialism, democracy and competence do not exclude but complement each other. Socialist management cannot be a game preserve for a handful of 'experts.' Competence of the whole people is the soil on which democracy thrives. In the GDR the scientific standard of leadership is rising as its democratic basis expands. The crux of the problem is that the working people should become more and more expert in controlling increasingly complex social processes and foresee the social implications of the decisions they make.

This purpose is served by a manifold and comprehensive system of measures, especially such as promoting democratic centralism. The sounder the decisions made by the center, the more dependable the basis on which local bodies can operate. And the more efficiently local bodies carry out their tasks, the more attention central bodies can devote to key social problems.

G. Egler was asked to tell about city and communal government bodies. He said that according to the Constitution cities and communes enjoy local autonomy within the framework of centralized leadership. They are not islets cut off from the social structure but important components of the socio-political machinery.

Government is being perfected along two lines. One of them is to raise the scientific standard of central leadership. The other is to improve the functioning of local government bodies, especially in cities and communes, where these bodies are in direct contact with the population. We are trying to specify the functions of the lower and higher bodies more strictly. It is important to decide,

therefore, what government functions should be assigned to the regions, districts, cities and communes.

P. Schmidt, Cand. Law (Budapest), spoke of recent progress in the Hungarian people's representative system. The electoral law enacted in 1966 abolished the earlier procedure of voting for lists of candidates and provided for the constitution of one-seat electoral districts for elections to the State Assembly. The new system has enhanced the political significance of elections and the role of candidates as individuals. Citizens, public bodies and Councils now try to determine which of the candidates is more likely to be helpful in solving development problems of the area concerned. The increased weight of local matters has enlivened public interest in elections and the activity of the State Assembly.

Should special territorial interests be supported or sidestepped as running counter to the interests of society as a whole? The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party found it necessary for representative bodies to take account of territorial interests. In the event of these interests conflicting with the public interest the problem should be dealt with by political means.

The speaker next dwelt on amendments to the electoral law approved in 1970. Two or several candidates may now be proposed for the office of deputy. This issue was discussed at length. The Party Central Committee held that the nomination of two or more candidates should be encouraged where a considerable proportion of voters demands it. However, to impose the nomination of many candidates without cogent reasons would be wrong.

Formerly candidates in Hungary were nominated by agencies of the Popular Front on the basis of proposals made at election meetings. The new law empowers the election meeting itself to nominate candidates. A candidate may be put forward by any voter attending the meeting. All candidates who at nomination have collected at least one-third of the votes are entered in ballot papers.

Furthermore, the new law has entrusted city and village councils with the election of deputies to regional Councils. This means that elections to regional Councils are no longer direct and that lower government bodies now carry greater weight with the result that citizens take a greater interest in elections and are more active. P. Schmidt saw this as "an instance of indirect elections having a more real democratic content than direct elections.

Unless the masses are interested and politically active in elections, the socialist system of people's representation cannot develop, nor can socialist democracy be perfected, P. Schmidt said in conclusion.

Socialist democracy and freedom of the individual

This subject – one of the 'eternal' topics of all political discussions – was at the root of the contribution made by Professor G. Haney, Dr. of Law (Jena, GDR). Many great thinkers, he said, came up

against the contradiction between knowledge and morality, between spirit and power. This contradiction could not be resolved in a society dominated by competition. Genuine freedom of the individual is achieved through social progress, in connection with the activity of the working class and its party and state, with socialist moral values.

Under socialism, society and state are not anti-human, and the humane and personal ceases to be directed against state or society. The motto of early bourgeois society was: 'As much of the state as is necessary, as much of freedom of the individual as is possible.' It is foreign to socialism to pose one against the other in this way. Socialist socialization does not express itself in the individual being dissolved in society as something anonymous but in the social principle coming to manifest itself in the individual man as well. This principle exists in his consciousness and creative effort and in his responsibility for the common cause.

Under capitalism, every action of the individual aimed at preserving his existence reproduces at the same time the conditions for the rule of capital. The interests of the individual are each time realized against him. Thus, in advancing demagogical slogans about workers' co-management, the West German CDU makes the following reservation: 'When it is a question of a say in decision-making, one must see to it that the right of property is not nullified . . . Economic decision-making should remain with those who not only vouch for success with their property but take the responsibility in the event of failure.'

The experience of the GDR shows that socialism removes the one-time contradiction between the state and its citizens. This is the result of the new historical pattern and new social relations. Unless, however, these new relations are consciously shaped, there may be a danger of conserving phenomena typical of relations between the bourgeois state and its citizens. The concept of a 'pluralist' severance of social relations and other revisionist ideas of the same nature are directed against the law-governed trend towards closer links between the socialist state and its citizens.

The Marxist theory of state and law is at the same time a theory of the individual. It is expressive of the process of man's emancipation, a process in which the democratic element is a real and vital personal element.

D. Mazilu said that enforcing laws without fail is an important condition if socialist democracy is to progress. Laws make it possible to maintain civil rights and freedoms and to prevent arbitrary decisions, such as were occasionally taken in the past. Legality becomes an instrument of defending both the individual and society against all attempts to violate democracy.

Insistence on strict adherence to the law, the speaker said, cannot be an obstacle to initiative or creative thinking. Indeed, it should make for greater activity by government bodies and social institutions.

D. Kerimov spoke of the relationship between the development

of the individual and the specific conditions of society's life. The progress of socialism in an age of scientific and technological revolution created a social situation in which the objective law of planned development made it imperative to extend its sphere of operation. The idea was conceived of planning both the economic and the social life of work collectives on scientific lines.

In the mid-sixties Leningrad sociologists set out in common with the employees of large enterprises to study the social activity of the staffs concerned. They made plans for the social development of these enterprises intended to gradually reduce social and economic distinctions between staff members, meet their material and spiritual requirements more fully, improve their working and living conditions and enable each worker to develop fully and harmoniously.

The fulfilment of social development plans produced appreciable results: labor efficiency increased considerably, the composition of the personnel became stabilized, losses of working time were reduced, the workers' living standard improved. So did their educational and cultural standards, vocational training and proficiency, and they became more active in management and in public life generally. Social planning, in which the working people themselves take part, has become yet another form of socialist democracy, the speaker said.

The discussion of new problems confirmed the 1969 Meeting's conclusion that the socialist world has entered a period when it is becoming possible to make much fuller use of the great potentialities of the new system. This is due in part to the development of more effective economic and political forms meeting the requirements of a mature socialist society.

IDEOLOGICAL BATTLES

The more advanced socialist statehood and democracy, the more tangible the advantages of real socialism and the stronger its appeal to the working people of the world. It is only natural that the fundamental interests of the working class and world capital should clash over these issues with particular force. And this explains the growing bitterness of the ideological struggle over problems of the political organization of society, the state and democracy.

Our opponents' methods

Participants in the discussion spoke of a method used more often than any other in attacking socialism, namely, idealizing bourgeois democracy and taking an abstract, 'extra-class' approach to political relations and institutions.

Talks with citizens of capitalist countries, G. Haney said, often reveal that they used bourgeois democratic institutions as a cri-

terion of socialist democracy. This formal approach cultivated by bourgeois ideologists, prevents a correct appraisal of the entirely new historical meaning and forms of socialist democracy, whose institutions can be objectively estimated only from the standpoint of the working class. Applying any other criterion results in socialist democracy not being seen as an expression of a natural historical process.

Abstract 'pure democracy,' from the positions from which our opponents assail socialist democracy, is designed to justify the bourgeois politico-legal system. No revolutionary class grants reaction unlimited freedom of association, Y. Radev said in speaking of freedom for various organizations and opposition in capitalist and socialist society. The bourgeoisie persecuted and banned feudal reactionary organizations and fought against active opponents of its system, using even the guillotine. By now the imperialist bourgeoisie has moved into the historical place of feudal reaction. There is no unlimited freedom of association under bourgeois democracy, either.

In capitalist society, opposition to the exploiters expresses the will of the majority. In socialist society, however, opposition to the dictatorship of the working class is an anti-socialist reaction on the part of a minority. This is why curbs on this reaction serve democracy and are needed to safeguard the freedom of the working classes.

Anti-communism is the main content of the ideology of the bourgeoisie today, D. Kerimov said. Imperialism resorts to it in an effort to stop the world revolutionary process and rescue the antiquated capitalist system.

The bourgeois concept of 'totalitarianism' exemplifies the indefensibility of anti-Marxist criticism of the socialist political system. This so-called criticism, based on contrasting dictatorship and democracy, claims that a necessary attribute of democracy is the existence of two or more political parties and that 'one-party rule' is the negation of democracy and a manifestation of totalitarian dictatorship. What makes the multi-party system valuable is, according to Professor W. Ebenstein of the United States, that it affords a constructive outlet for the aggressive impulses of human nature. In reality the multi-party system in the United States is rather the concrete background providing an outlet for the 'aggressive impulses' of the imperialist political system.

The advocates of 'convergence' propose various recipes of 'improving' socialism through 'reforms' of its political system. All these recipes come in one way or another under the formula of 'democratic socialism' charged with the dynamite of provocation. What is meant by 'democratizing' socialism is, first of all, disruption of the leading role of the Communist Party, the guiding and organizing force of socialist democracy.

Criticism of revisionist concepts

Those who have reneged on scientific communism and revise its fundamental principles under the guise of creatively carrying forward Marxist-Leninist theory, belong among our ideological adversaries. 'Left'-wing revisionism wants to substitute reactionary utopian and barracks socialism for Marxism-Leninism. The petty-bourgeois and nationalist character of this 'socialism' manifests itself in attributing a messianic role to various countries and in indoctrinating the masses in a hegemonist, chauvinist and militantly anti-Soviet spirit.

Right-wing revisionists advocate the concept of 'liberalized' socialism, which denies the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, substitutes political liberalism of a bourgeois type for socialist democracy, minimizes the importance of centralized planning and economic management and banks on the free play of market forces and on competition.

L. Tomasek, Cand. Phil. (Prague), described the revisionist departures from Marxist-Leninist ideology which in 1968 led to a crisis of socialist statehood and democracy in Czechoslovakia.

Our country, he said, had strong Social-Democratic traditions. This found reflection in the plans of the anti-Communists, who wanted to use revisionism and Social-Democracy as a means of subverting the socialist system in Czechoslovakia. The revisionists exploited the fact that new growth factors born of scientific and technological progress appeared in the structure of the socialist economy in the latter half of the fifties. They overestimated the technological aspects of the productive forces and belittled the role of production relations, which meant siding with the advocates of the 'industrial society.' They ignored the issue of the nature of ownership of the means of production and dissociated politics from economics, approaching politics from a non-class position. Subsequently this expressed itself in an overestimation of economic group interests and a minimizing of the interests of society. The thesis was advanced of enterprise property, which was expected to replace ownership of the means of production by the whole people. Linked with it were the theory and practice of a market economy, which denied the role of state planning and the principle of democratic centralism in economic development.

Revisionism was characterized, in particular, by anarcho-syndicalism which under the slogan of 'separating the economy from the state' undermined planned furtherance of the public interest. The revisionists proposed forms of economic management that hampered the growth of modern productive forces and set 'production' democracy against the political power of the working class.

Taking advantage of the anti-Communist thesis of the 'contradiction' between the scientific and ideological meaning of Marxism, Right-wing opportunists tried to divorce Marxist-Leninist theory from the political practice of the working class. They described

ideology in its pure form as a privilege of the intellectual elite. The dissociation of ideology from politics imparted a spontaneous character to social development and led to pragmatism.

The revisionists misinterpreted the problems of social structure under socialism. They ignored its class, political and ideological aspects and emphasized the technological and professional aspects of the social division of labor. They even claimed that the class structure had disappeared. These illusions made for an overestimation of the degree of maturity of socialist society and for a wrong appraisal of the rate of development of socialist democracy. It was typical of Czechoslovak revisionism that it over-emphasized the quantitative aspect of democratic development and disregarded its class substance. The revisionists called the dictatorship of the proletariat an anachronism or recognized it as only a temporary development after the conquest of political power by the working class. They propagated 'naive optimism,' underrating the threat posed by the anti-socialist forces.

The Right-wing opportunists discarded the Leninist criteria of the social structure of socialism in favor of the theory of stratification and intellectual elite, which was in line with the concept of a pluralist socialism. These concepts resulted in a distorted view of the political system of socialism. The opportunists called for complete autonomy of the various echelons of the political system, a spontaneous 'distribution' of political power, and participation of any and all groups or organizations in it. They rejected democratic centralism and ignored proletarian internationalism and the class struggle in the world arena.

The lessons of the mistakes which resulted in an offensive of the counter-revolution make it our duty to foster socialist democracy from consistently Marxist-Leninist class positions, L. Tomasek said.

Criteria

G. Ostroumov, Cand. Law. (World Marxist Review) spoke of the criteria of scientific evaluation of socialist democratic development. The significance of the activity of the socialist state lies primarily in the fact that it must methodically contribute to the elimination of the spontaneously evolved division of labor and socio-economic distinctions between people. This highly important task is accomplished over a long period of history, until communism matures. How democratic and socialist the state and social forms are at all levels, is determined in the final analysis by the extent to which these forms promote socialization of production and labor and the unity of society on the basis of the fundamental interests of the working class.

This is an obvious Marxist postulate. Nevertheless, the idea of building society on the basis of closed, 'self-supporting' and 'self-supplying' nuclei operating on instructions from above, according

to the principle 'politics are a commanding force,' is still put forward. Its advocates claim that it carries forward the Marxist doctrine of socialist statehood and democracy. Yet the more persistently this idea was put into practice, the more untenable it proved.

There are what would seem to be entirely different theoretical notions to the effect that state property and state organization of the economy are only needed at the early, relatively brief period of socialist socialization of production. Subsequently the socialization process is supposed to take social and not political forms, the latter being regarded as bureaucratic-étatist lumber.

Whoever refuses to back these ideas is written off as an exponent of bureaucratic or, at best, not 'genuinely socialist' views and interests. It is this presentation of the problem and this trend that cause concern.

There are many people in the non-socialist world, specifically among liberal democrats and ultra-Leftists, and more particularly among youth, who are inclined to think that the fundamental principles of the state and economic system in most of the socialist countries are actually geared to the interests of bureaucrats, étatists and technocrats. This notion is at variance with both our theory and our historical experience. Science and life have accumulated a wealth of arguments in support of the paramount and irreplaceable role of state forms in production socialization at every stage of socialist building. One of the main ideas whose implementation made it possible to create real socialism is the Leninist idea of the necessity for the strictest control over the measure of labor and consumption under socialism, to be exercised by both society and the state.

It is revealing that lately the proponents of anti-étatist concepts have been speaking more and more often about the mechanism of social integration, admitting that not everything that is of the state should be regarded as étatist.

Consolidating the state is alleged to breed bureaucratic practices. Experience shows, however, that bureaucratic practices may occur in public organizations as well and, indeed, in greater measure at times than in government organizations. The effort to perfect socialist democracy, combined with consistent elimination of bureaucratic practices, is effective only when production socialization is carried deeper, and this is something which cannot be successful unless forms organized by the state are used. Realization of this helps various sections of the working people in the non-socialist world to form adequate ideas of socialism and promotes the solution of a number of problems of developed socialism. It is a question, among other things, of a set of criteria to gauge effects of the interaction between the development of statehood and democracy and the socialization of production and labor. These criteria would enable us to assess more accurately society's advance in socialist democracy and, in the long term, to communist public self-government.

The idea that the unity of practical politics and Marxist-Leninist ideology is a most important safeguard against spontaneity and subjectivism, a safeguard serving socialist development on a scientific plan basis, was central to all contributions.

In his closing remarks K. Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of this journal, said that many interesting opinions were voiced and noteworthy facts cited in the course of the exchange. The various contributions added up to a broad panorama of the development of statehood and democracy in many socialist countries and the ways of further progress in the socialist political system. The exchange, while revealing differences over some questions, was characterized by unanimity in approaching fundamental aspects of the theme under discussion and proceeded in an atmosphere of comradeship and mutual respect.

The entire discussion was conducted *in line with the ideological heritage of the founders of our revolutionary theory and on the basis of creative analysis of the present stage*. Hence the usefulness of the discussion and the recommendations. Most of the speakers showed, by arguing from the standpoint of principle, the indefensibility of various Right and 'Left'-wing bourgeois, reformist and revisionist concepts of the issues under review.

In examining highly topical problems of socialist statehood, speakers proceeded from *class positions*. Partisanship in social science today is as important as it was 30 or 50 years ago. Whatever political problem we set out to solve, we cannot accomplish our task properly unless we ascertain what class will benefit by the solution of the problem. However, there is more to it than that. This criterion should be closely linked with the content of the present epoch, the epoch of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. In other words, it is necessary to ascertain what political organization in the country concerned helps to strengthen the main revolutionary force of today, the socialist world system, how it influences the world revolutionary process and how actively it fosters this process by deeds.

It is wrong, the speaker stressed, to try mechanically to transplant various principles and forms of bourgeois democracy into a socialist environment, or weaken socialist statehood under the slogan of combating bureaucratic practices. Just as untenable is any theory treating democracy and centralism as opposites, since these categories are inseparable.

The role of the *Communist party* received considerable attention in the discussion. Speakers pointed to the objective factors which account for the growth of the party's role, such as the growing scale and complexity of economic development, the increasing necessity for a scientific approach to the management of public affairs at the stage of developed socialism, and a permanent need for the working class and its Communist vanguard to exert decisive influence on all public affairs. This also applies to the growing

responsibility of each party to world socialism and the international Communist and revolutionary movement at a time when the socialist system is becoming an ever more decisive factor for social development throughout the world and when the transition from capitalism to socialism faces, and will face, more and more countries.

The speaker pointed out that the activity of Communist parties today is characterized by an increasing variety of forms and methods, a widening range of problems solved on *scientific lines*, and a special *dynamism*. It is precisely the Communist party that provides the most powerful stimuli for renovation and fights in the van of the revolutionary process against all that is conservative. Lastly, it is the Communist Party that embodies the *spirit of democracy* to the highest degree, and this is true of both its internal structure and its effort to extend democracy in society.

The speakers' generalization of the vast and varied political experience of the socialist countries showed once again the exceptional role of the *general laws of socialist development* and revealed the *danger of departing from them*. The abundance of democratic forms existing or coming into existence in socialist countries is an asset of socialism, the historic patrimony of the working people of the world.

Contributors to the discussion spoke of the steadily growing participation of the masses in government, of the inexhaustible potentialities that have yet to be used and the need for developing the basis and superstructure of socialist society as a complex. These are no easy tasks, of course, but the brother parties of the socialist countries already have substantial positive experience which it would be wrong to disregard.

The record of the exchange of views, K. Zarodov said, may be regarded as a contribution to the solution of theoretical and ideological problems posed by the 1969 Meeting and by congresses of the brother parties of socialist countries. Drawing on the creative discussion we had here, *World Marxist Review* will concern itself with such issues as the role of government and social management bodies and the relationship between them, the nature of socialist people's representation, forms of the socialist state, socialist democracy in the enterprises, the interconnection between democracy and culture, criticism of new and old anti-Marxist concepts of statehood, and so on.

STATE DEVELOPMENT IN HUNGARY

On May 21 participants in the exchange of views met in the Hungarian parliament with Party and government representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic, who answered their questions. The meeting was opened by *Lajos Cseterki*, member of the CC HSWP and Secretary of the HPR Presidium, who welcomed the guests on behalf of the CC HSWP, Presidium of the HPR and the government of the republic.

Speaking of the leading role of the Party, *B. Hari*, deputy head of the Department of Party and Mass Organizations at the CC HSWP, said that socialist democracy, which covers the whole range of government agencies and mass organizations, expands as the Party's role grows. We adhere to the principle that the Party should concern itself with all socio-political matters irrespective of what agency is answerable for them. On the other hand, he added, we have always seen to it that the functions of Party, government and other bodies are specified.

We try to avoid parallelism in our work, and experience shows that the Party's activity in this field produces positive results. For example, the trade unions now show greater independence and function more effectively, which enhances their prestige among the masses and fosters socialist democracy.

Asked about the development of democratic centralism, *B. Hari* said that the HSWP is against counterposing democracy to centralism. Democracy is the source of centralism. As a general rule, all Party members take part in the solution of important political problems and account is taken of the opinion of various mass organizations. Before the 9th and 10th congresses of the HSWP, Party organizations throughout the country discussed drafts of the guidelines to be approved by the congresses. By decision of the Political Bureau of the CC HSWP, those who addressed any question to the congress would get an answer during or after it. Much the same principle is applied in every echelon of the Party. This practice, approved by the Party membership, is employed in mass organizations, in Councils and all other government bodies.

Democratic centralism is one of the Party's guiding principles. It implies unfailing execution of Party decisions. This was reaffirmed by the 10th Party Congress and laid down in the Party Rules. The development of democratic centralism in the Party benefits the functioning of government agencies and mass organizations.

The procedure of enacting laws in the HPR was commented on by *J. Szilbereki*, Deputy Minister of Justice. The right to initiate legislation belongs to members of the State Assembly, Presidium of the Republic and Council of Ministers. More often than not, new laws are passed on government initiative. This is due to the fact that the government concerns itself directly with practical matters. Bills are generally submitted to the government by ministers. After approval by the Council of Ministers bills go to parliament. They are first dealt with by standing commissions, which over the past two or three years have returned several bills to the government to be improved. This is an indication of the growing role of parliament and its commissions. What has been new during the past few years is that the main ideas of important draft laws were examined before they were actually drafted. This was the case with the bill on local Councils.

Many draft laws are based on Party decisions. The 10th Party

Congress approved guidelines on a number of problems whose solution calls for legislative measures. We have a four-year plan of legislative work. Its main lines bear on the economy and on steps to improve the functioning of government agencies, to promote socialist democracy and to raise the people's standard of life. Some themes are concerned with inter-state relations.

Speaking of the deputies' work, J. Szilbereki said that they are responsible to the electorate and to parliament. Under the Constitution the electorate may recall a deputy. The electoral law spells out the procedure to be followed in this case. Communist deputies are accountable to the Party and non-Party deputies to the Popular Front, whose program they must carry out.

I. Molnar, staff member of the cc Department of Management and Administrative Bodies, told about the results of the application of electoral laws.

The recent elections to the State Assembly and local government bodies yielded most positive results. The masses showed greater political activity: 2,500,000 people took part in the nomination of candidates. Election meetings drew over two million people. Preparations for the elections involved 400,000 activists. Two or three candidates were nominated in 49 districts for election to the State Assembly and in 3,014 districts for election to local Councils. Over one million people voted in these districts. Those candidates who failed to win election polled 400,000 votes, or 40 per cent of the total. New elections were held in three districts for election to parliament and 81 districts for election to local councils in which none of the candidates won a majority. We are carefully analyzing the experience of the application of the new electoral law.

J. Varga, deputy chairman of the government department in charge of local government bodies, spoke of the new law bearing on these bodies. The law provides for their greater autonomy and responsibility, for more effective functioning of the central agencies and government activity in general. It defines the local Councils as agencies of people's representation, self-government and state administration functioning on the principle of democratic centralism. The law extends the area of local Councils in regard to economic activity and provides for decentralizing administrative functions.

The jurisdiction of the various echelons of the system of local government bodies has been specified more clearly than before. This is also being done *within* Councils. The new law increases their role in dealing with important problems. Current matters have been transferred to the jurisdiction of executive committees and specialized agencies.

Participation in the activity of local Councils by citizens is growing. The law provides for the convening of villagers' meetings (an institution of direct democracy) and election of non-deputies to the standing commissions of Citizens' Councils.

Constitutional supervision of the work of local Councils is the responsibility of the HPR Presidium. Their work is guided by the government.

In conclusion, L. Cseterki told about amendments to the Constitution now in preparation.

The present Constitution was adopted in 1949, or in the initial period of socialist development. In the more than two decades that have passed since then, the working people of Hungary, led by the Party and supported by other socialist countries, have scored great successes in socialist building. They have laid the foundations of socialism in Hungary. We are using the experience in perfecting the functioning of government bodies, and developing socialist democracy in amending the Constitution. In line with the principles approved by the Central Committee, a special commission will submit its proposals to the cc. We sum up our own experience and the experience of brother parties and enlist the assistance of spokesmen of the public to draft new constitutional provisions.

It is not a question of drafting a new Constitution but of amending various articles of the 1949 Constitution.

What are the amendments we are contemplating? We want to confirm the results we have achieved to date and determine the main lines of further development. The Constitution is expected to reflect the tremendous changes that have come about in the social, political, economic and cultural spheres since 1949. We expect it to reflect the long-range goal of building communism and to include an article on the role of the Party, the Popular Front and the trade unions and to formalize the functions of the state, in particular the function of cooperating with socialist countries and maintaining peace. We want to specify various articles dealing with the organization and functioning of government agencies and extend legal guarantees of fundamental civil rights.

The exchange of views, and the talk with Hungarian Party and government representatives, showed again that building the new society is the work of the masses led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party and that democracy is an objective element of socialism.

The development of socialist statehood and democracy is a living, continuous and complex process whose every aspect could not possibly be dealt with in one discussion. Problems of carrying forward and perfecting socialist democracy will be further discussed in this journal.



The importance of international Communist Party contacts

Franz Muhri

It is a little more than two years since the Communist and Workers' Parties held their June 1969 international conference in Moscow. The Austrian Communist Party actively shared in every stage of its preparation and endeavored to make a positive contribution to its deliberations and decisions, in the belief that closer unity would not come of itself, automatically.

The conference was held in an atmosphere of comradely discussion of cardinal problems on some of which opinions differed, and all the reports and debate speeches were published in full. Experience has shown that such procedures strengthen rather than weaken our movement. Many delegations proposed suggestions which were incorporated in the main document. Our amendments concerned the role of neutral states and the fight against racialism and anti-Semitism.

We are convinced that the conference produced positive results. In assessing its importance we must be careful not to regard it in isolation from the then international situation. And central to that situation were intensified imperialist attempts to split the world Communist movement and undermine cooperation of the socialist countries. That, too, was the aim of certain Social-Democrat parties. We know, for instance, that prominent Socialist International leaders took advantage of the Czechoslovak events of 1968-69 to try to drive a wedge between the West-European parties and the CPSU.

Today, the international Communist movement stands out as the most consistent and powerful force in the worldwide class struggle for socialism, democracy, national independence and peace. In an all-out effort to undermine this force, imperialism and its lieutenants rely to no small degree on 'Left' and Right opportunism, still extant in the movement.

Seen in this light, the convocation of the conference, and more so its positive results, came as a telling blow to the splitters. For it adopted a number of vital documents: tasks at the present stage of the struggle against imperialism and united action of the Communist and Workers' parties and all anti-imperialist forces; state-

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ments on the Lenin centenary, and on independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam, and an appeal in defense of peace. The conference analyzed the international situation, the present stage of world development, and formulated the common tasks in the fight against imperialism, for democracy, national independence, peace and socialism. Of outstanding importance is section 4 of the main document, which sets out the principles governing relations between Communist parties.

The record of the past two years fully corroborates the analysis given by the conference. For we have witnessed a sweeping development of the struggle against imperialism and for peace; have seen the U.S. aggressors sustain one defeat after another in Vietnam and the rest of Indochina and their resultant political and moral isolation; the widening anti-war movement in the U.S. itself, progress towards European security; a steep rise in the Latin American popular anti-imperialist movement, with the Popular Unity Alliance scoring a signal victory in Chile. We can point also to more major strike actions in most of capitalist Europe, where the workers are fighting in support of their just demands.

Within the world Communist movement, notwithstanding persistent problems and difficulties, there is closer cooperation between the parties on cardinal matters. And we agree with what Comrade Brezhnev said in his report to the 24th CPSU Congress: 'On the whole, there is ground to say that cohesion in the international Communist movement is being increasingly strengthened, and that fruitful bilateral and multi-lateral inter-Party ties are becoming ever more active.'

The CPSU Congress made a valuable contribution to consolidating this world Communist unity. The presence at the Congress of numerous delegations, the cordial and fraternal atmosphere that characterized their relations with Congress delegates, were expressive of the positive process now taking place in the Communist movement. It is no exaggeration to say that the 24th Congress was a world revolutionary forum. And in his Central Committee report Comrade Brezhnev emphasized the close unity between the CPSU and the international workers' and liberation movements. As for the differences with the Chinese Communist Party leadership, Congress took a constructive position designed to improve relations between the two states. The Congress decisions, the general line it mapped out for Soviet home and foreign policy, will do much to promote the common cause of the world Communist movement. All this comes as a telling blow to anti-Sovietism, that enemy weapon of division and discord in the international workers' and liberation movement.

From its very beginning, the Communist movement has been deeply internationalist, living by the slogan 'Workers of All Countries, Unite!', formulated by Marx and Engels in their *Communist Manifesto*, the movement's first program document. And although conditions differ from country to country, the international work-

ing class and its Communist vanguard have been fighting for a common goal, to fulfil their great historic mission of liberating mankind from all exploitation and oppression and building a world communist society. But we should never disregard the fact that the exploiting classes, in a desperate attempt to retain or re-establish their domination are concerting their actions on an international scale. More, in this age of imperialism we are faced with the growing trend towards the concentration of capital in giant national and international monopolies and intensified exploitation, by these monopolies, of the working class. Imperialism, and more especially its American species, is the chief foe of the people and the chief obstacle to liberation, peace, independence and socialism. And it uses many different methods to maintain itself in power and to further its aggressive aims. In particular, it seeks to weaken the workers' and liberation movement by sowing division in its ranks.

The prevalent feature of our age is the class struggle between the forces of imperialism and socialism. Closer united action by the international workers' and liberation movement and its vanguard, the world Communist movement, has a decisive bearing on the outcome of this struggle. And united action is now more imperative than ever before.

It need hardly be proved that the content and forms of cooperation between our parties change with the changing conditions of the class struggle. The First International (1864-72) fully accorded with the conditions of its time – the Communist movement was still in its infancy. But, in the words of Lenin, it laid the foundation of the international proletarian struggle for socialism. The Second International, founded in 1889 when mass Social-Democrat parties were appearing on the scene, eventually succumbed to the opportunist influence that led to its collapse in the early years of World War I.

The Communist International (Comintern), founded in 1919, both in aims and structure met the requirements of the new stage of the struggle and played a positive role in promoting the world Communist movement. It gave valuable political and ideological assistance to the young and largely inexperienced Communist parties formed shortly after the First World War and was instrumental in organizing the international solidarity movement with the first socialist state and helping it beat back the attacks of counter-revolution and imperialist intervention. At its Seventh Congress, the Comintern analyzed the experience of the anti-fascist struggle and on this basis worked out the fundamentals of united front policy. The Comintern was dissolved in 1943, since the Communist parties had grown stronger and an international center no longer conformed with the differing and complex conditions in the various countries.

World War II created an entirely new situation and posed entirely new problems. The Soviet Union emerged from the war greatly strengthened; the world socialist system came into being; the

national liberation movement became a powerful force and made rapid headway. New tasks confronted also the Communist parties of capitalist countries. The need, consequently, was for new forms of international Communist cooperation. This became the subject of much discussion in the postwar years and held a prominent place at the 1957, 1960 and 1969 international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties.

Comrade Johann Koplenig, for many years Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, maintained that, though fully independent and autonomous, 'each Communist party, big or small, is responsible not only for the destinies of its own country, but also for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. . . . Each party must make its contribution to the common cause,' and though each defines its policy and tactics in line with national conditions, 'all Communist parties are closely linked with each other by Marxism-Leninism and international proletarian solidarity.' That was the tenor of his two speeches at the 1960 Moscow Conference as head of the Austrian delegation. His words have lost none of their topicality.

We believe that the principles governing relations between Communist parties worked out at the 1969 Conference are fully relevant to present-day conditions. This has been conclusively confirmed by our own experience over the past two years.

The Communist parties must concert their activities on a common political program based on Marxism-Leninism. We are persuaded that the conclusions drawn by the 1969 Conference represent just such a program for the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle. And our Party has exerted every effort creatively to operate that program in Austrian conditions, concentrating on the main tasks following from an analysis of the concrete situation.

The Moscow Conference document declared: 'The participants reaffirm their common view that relations between the fraternal parties are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, and mutual support, respect for independence and equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Strict adherence to these principles is an indispensable condition for developing comradely cooperation between the fraternal parties and strengthening the unity of the Communist movement.'

Observance of these norms must be principled, not merely formal. Internationalism and party independence, taking into consideration international experience and devising party policy in keeping with national conditions – these are not contradictory, but closely interconnected and interdeterminative requirements. As Communists we are both internationalists and Austrian patriots: our Party pioneered cultivation of a national consciousness. In 1938-45 we made a crucial contribution to the fight for a renewed democratic and independent Austria. And today, too, our efforts center on upholding and extending the people's democratic rights, strengthening Austria's neutrality and independence, jeopardized by the in-

creasing infiltration of West German monopoly capital. In our statements on the Austrian road to socialism we closely link the universally applicable experience of socialist revolution with our country's historical and national specificities and traditions.

As Austrian Communists we consider ourselves an integral part of the world Communist movement, firmly associated with all the forces working for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. That is why in all our activities we make a special point of solidarity with, and support for, the heroic Vietnamese and other Indochina peoples. We stand united with all Communists and progressives fighting fascist dictatorships in their respective countries. Last December, for instance, during the Burgos trial we initiated a mass movement against the Franco dictatorship.

Nor is there any contradiction between our national and international duty, for there is no contradiction between the interests of the Austrian and the world proletariat. As Communists we are aware of our responsibility both to the Austrian working class and the international workers' and liberation movement, which we can best serve by vigorously championing the Austrian workers' interests.

The 1969 Conference document correctly states that, in the absence of a leading center, it is especially important for the parties to devise new forms of cooperation and voluntary coordination. And in this respect (in addition to the proven value of international Communist and Workers' party conferences) much can be accomplished by regional conferences and bilateral consultations. It is from this standpoint that we welcome the results of the conferences of Communist parties of capitalist Europe, in which our Party had an active share. They were the occasion for an exchange of views and for examining many problems and coordinating action throughout Western Europe. One such problem is the rise of new international monopolies and the coordinated fight against them. This was discussed in detail by representatives of 15 West European parties in January. We also took part in the theoretical seminars arranged by fraternal parties and international Marxist organizations. We believe that such conferences are useful if they involve participation not only of experts, but also of Party leaders.

Besides attending the congresses of fraternal parties – always a useful and instructive experience – we have in recent years expanded exchange of Party delegations.

Delegation visits to socialist countries furnish many opportunities for consultations and exchanges of views on various questions and on political, economic and cultural contacts with Austria. For Austria borders on the socialist countries which exert a very definite influence on her (closer economic and cultural ties, increasing tourist travel, etc.). We can safely say that our relations with all the parties of socialist Europe (Albania excepted) are cordial and that frank, comradely discussions have helped these parties better understand the situation in Austria, the conditions of our

struggle and have given us a clearer understanding of socialism in practice. Of course, all this has its importance for cementing the movement's unity.

Delegations, and particularly study groups, concentrate on one or another aspect of socialist construction and gain a detailed picture of socialism's problems and realities. This is of the utmost importance for our work. For Austria, situated as it is between the socialist and the capitalist worlds, is subjected to a veritable torrent of propaganda, through the mass media and every other available conduit, designed to instil a false, distorted picture of the socialist lands. In fact, this is a basic element of anti-Communist propaganda and the purpose, clearly, is to divert the Austrian worker from fighting for socialism in his own country.

Ever since socialism ceased to be an idea and became a reality, first in the Soviet Union and later in 13 other countries, Socialists and Catholics have insisted that we, Communists, explain the whys and wherefores of socialist construction. We show them the obsolescence of capitalism and the correctness of our Austrian road to socialism. But we are also seeking to prove, convincingly and conclusively, the superiority of socialism as demonstrated in countries where the Communist parties are the leading force. In this context, our 21st Party Congress (May 1970) singled out as a key element of our ideological work the need 'increasingly and more effectively to keep the people informed of life in the socialist countries, their problems and the international implications of their achievements.' This is a cardinal factor in the ideological class struggle in Austria, and one that requires thorough, scientific study of life in the socialist world.

Our Communist Party is anxious for closer contacts with fraternal parties in capitalist Europe. Delegations visiting France, Italy, Belgium and Sweden have brought back interesting data on the position in these countries, Communist struggle and activity. More recently we have formed closer links with the German Communist Party, enabling us to benefit from its valuable experience of political and ideological struggle, its policy and tactics vis-a-vis the Social-Democratic Party, work in the factories, trade unions, among the youth, etc.

Our two parties have agreed to expand their cooperation. This is necessitated largely by the accelerated penetration of West German monopoly capital, which spells a clear danger to Austria's independence and neutrality. And this raises the question of joint struggle against these super-concerns, one of which, the West German Siemens firm, already dominates Austria's electrical-engineering industry. It has made large investments in the hope of large profits, since wages in Austria are considerably lower. Besides, they can exert pressure on the workers employed in West Germany itself.

Exchange of lecturers with fraternal parties in Western and socialist Europe has proved an effective method of international cooperation. This year and last there have been lecturers from

France, FRG, GDR and Czechoslovakia. Joint theoretical research and exchange of experience are effectively assisted also by *World Marxist Review* and the *Information Bulletin*, put out by Peace and Socialism Publishers, with its important documents and policy statements of Communist and Workers' parties.

We believe that the movement should reach out to other forms of keeping fraternal parties informed and enable them quickly and effectively to react to developments on the political and ideological front. Of course, a small party like ours cannot afford to maintain correspondents, let alone a news service, in every part of the world. Imperialism has at its disposal a powerful and ramified news-gathering network which it uses against the socialist countries and the international workers' and liberation movement. That being the situation, the effectiveness of our ideological struggle often depends on early reaction to one or another hostile statement, speech or action.

It should be likewise clear that in so great a movement as ours, with individual parties conducting their struggle in widely different historical and national conditions, differing concepts and opinions can always crop up. Nor is it only a matter of temporary disagreements; we have to deal with fundamental ones, too. The Communist Party of Austria strongly supports the means and methods of overcoming such differences in the Communist movement set out in the 1969 conference document. In some instances the course of events itself resolves controversial problems, while others require a fairly long time for final solution. Exchange of experience, comradely discussion, analysis of concrete reality, joint international action – such are the main ways of overcoming differences. Our Party is guided by the principle that joint struggle against imperialism is of primary importance and must be constantly energized, regardless of differences on one or another issue.

Closer united action presupposes sustained struggle against every manifestation of 'Left' and Right opportunism. It is our opinion that the long-range prospect is for a new unity that will include the Communist Party of China, and we support every effort towards that end. That is why we deem it our duty openly and resolutely to oppose the anti-Soviet stand of the CPC leadership, especially its allegation that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union and its attempts to equate the USSR with the imperialist USA.

The attitude to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has in recent years been the subject of much controversy in the Austrian Communist Party. Ernst Fischer, Franz Marek and other Right opportunists have steadily, and rapidly, slid into a garbled presentation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and have disseminated all manner of patently false stories about them. They hold up their 'socialism with a human face' as an alternative to the existing socialism, which, they allege, lacks 'humanism.'

But significantly enough, the very men who were so assiduous in embellishing reality in the socialist countries, and so diligent in

propagating the Stalin cult, have now gone to the other extreme of painting the Soviet Union in the darkest colors. And this is done on the pretext of 'autonomy,' though their line is anything but autonomous – they have simply defected to the Social-Democrat brand of anti-Sovietism. Thus, in connection with the Czechoslovak events, Marek alleged that the Soviet state was not socialist.

And in reference to the Czechoslovak events we can say the following: there has been, and to certain extent there still is, a difference of views in the Austrian Communist Party on this extremely complicated issue. A resolution adopted by our Central Committee this March says that the vast majority of Party and Central Committee members held that the march-in of the five Warsaw Treaty countries' troops was a bitter necessity. The course of events has confirmed the view expressed by our Party in 1968 that the coming of the troops was motivated not by a desire to 'enslave' the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and prevent the continued development of socialist democracy, as the Right opportunists maintained, but by concern for the destinies of socialism. Now as then, our Party believes that the decisive factor is positive political solution of the problem by consolidating socialism, developing the economy, raising living standards and advancing socialist democracy. It is in this spirit that our Party has reaffirmed its solidarity with the fraternal Czechoslovak Party and has categorically rejected the Fischer and Marek orientation on a break with the world Communist movement and the CPSU.

We have a better understanding than before of the difficulties involved in the building of socialism and communism, which should be seen as a process of history. The economy, culture, and socialist democracy do not develop automatically: in the final analysis, everything is determined by the constructive effort of the people and, more especially, by the correct policy of the Communist Party as the leading force of the new society.

The record of socialist revolution and socialist construction is one of immense achievements in raising the material and cultural level of the people, extending education, and providing opportunities for active and creative participation in shaping the society of the future. By its foreign policy, aimed at supporting the national liberation movement and preserving peace, the Soviet Union is fulfilling a truly democratic and humane function on the international scene as well. For only the existence and strength of the USSR and of the socialist community have furnished the conditions for achieving the ideals and aims we have been championing these past 15 years as part of the Austrian road to socialism. And that is precisely why, for our Party, solidarity with the Soviet Union, comradely unity with the CPSU and the parties of other socialist countries, have always been the touchstone of proletarian internationalism, which fully conforms with the national interests of our own country.



Fifty fighting years

J. B. Marks

July 30 1971 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party, the first Communist Party on the African continent.

The fifty years that have passed have been filled with stern and heroic struggle in defense of the working class and rural masses, against racialism and white minority domination. Even during its first thirty years when it enjoyed formal legality the Party was subjected to constant victimization: few of its members escaped incarceration in prison cells or violence at the hands of white racist hooligans, some wearing the uniforms of the South African Police. From 1950 onwards, when it was declared unlawful in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, the Party, like other organizations fighting for democracy and national liberation, has been subjected to unbridled fascist terror at the hands of the neo-Nazi Nationalist Party. Thousands of Communists, trade unionists and fighters for freedom have been imprisoned, tortured, sentenced to lifetime prison sentences or secretly murdered in police cells.

During the course of these hard struggles the Party has become steeled and hardened. It has deepened its Marxist-Leninist understanding of the complex problems of a country whose history, structure and institutions embody a special type of colonialism. From a Party which sprang from only a section of the organized working class, the South African Communist Party developed to become the pace-setter and close partner in the united front of liberation centered in the African National Congress, aiming at a democratic South African revolution, an armed struggle against the racist regime whose main content is the national liberation of the rightless and disinherited African people.

The story of these developments contains a number of experiences of rewarding interest to the international Communist and liberation movements.

1. The inaugural conference was held in Cape Town from 30 July to 1 August 1921. It united into a single Party, and on the basis of the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International, several

revolutionary socialist organizations. Chief among these was the International Socialist League (ISL).

The ISL was formed in 1915, following a Right-wing 'coup' in the South African Labor Party which switched the policy, away from the internationalist position it had hitherto held, into one of support for the imperialist war of Britain and the Smuts-Botha government of the Union of South Africa. The League was founded and headed not by 'newcomers' but by the very founders and foremost leaders of the trade union and labor movement, including W. H. Andrews and D. I. Jones, the chairman and the secretary respectively of the Labor Party.

But it must be remembered that this was predominantly, if not exclusively, a white labor party. And like the party from which it sprang, the ISL consisted in the main of immigrants, artisans from Britain, workers and revolutionaries in exile from tsarist Russia and other European countries. They were part of the great flood of immigration drawn into our country following the discovery, at the close of the nineteenth century, of fabulous treasures of diamonds beneath its soil.

At that time the majority of South Africans had not yet been drawn on any significant scale into the process of capitalist production as wage workers.

The indigenous peoples – Khoikhoi, San, Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, Sotho, Tsonga, Venda and others – had valiantly and for over three hundred years defended their ancestral lands and their freedom against the unending aggression of European colonists.

At the time when the white emigrants were forming their labor movement our people were engaged in a bitter fight for the survival of what was left of their land and their traditional way of life. British imperialism had ruthlessly set out to dispossess the Africans and convert them into a colonized, rightless, propertyless people, providers of cheap labor for the mines and farms. They had transferred political power to the Union of South Africa, whose Parliament no black man might enter, inevitably dominated from the start by the bitterest enemies of the African people, the millionaire mine-owners of the Rand and the parasitic Boer farmers, merciless exploiters, both, of African labor power. That Parliament immediately set about framing the 'Native Land Act (1913) – that monstrous cornerstone of racialism and robbery – which to this day prohibits Africans to own land in 90 per cent of the country.

The Africans were determined to resist and fight back. They had fought, magnificently, with spears against rifles and machine-guns, but they had fought separately and had been overwhelmed, tribe by tribe. By the formation of the African National Congress (1912) they proclaimed their resolve to overcome disunity and backwardness, to build a single nation, regardless of tribal or linguistic differences, capable of asserting African rights and restoring our motherland to its rightful masters.

The labor movement in its early days had shown little under-

standing or sympathy with the sufferings and aspirations of the oppressed people. Indeed – although engaged in militant class struggles with the same harsh exploiter, the capitalist class – the white workers regarded the growing body of African workers as competitors rather than allies, and strove to maintain a racial monopoly over the more skilled and lucrative forms of labor.

To the great credit of the founders of the ISL, dividing with Right-wing Labor Party elements over the war issue they at the same time made a sharp and increasingly profound break with the opportunism and white chauvinism characteristic of those elements. They began, with deepening Marxist understanding, to apply the truths of proletarian internationalism at home as well as on a world scale, to preach and practice the solidarity of labor irrespective of class or race.

Three names in particular stand out in the early history of the revolutionary labor movement:

The name of W. H. Andrews (1870-1950) spans five decades of working class history in our country. Typifying everything that is best in the tradition of the British working class from which he sprang, 'Bill' Andrews, engineering worker, was the founder of the labor movement. He was elected general secretary of the Party at the founding conference in 1921; he served as national chairman during the forties, and was a member of the Central Committee in the year of his death at the age of eighty.

David Ivon Jones (1883-1924), the first editor of *The International*, journal of the ISL and later of the Party, proved himself an outstanding and creative Marxist thinker. Ardent supporter of the Bolshevik Party, his articles on the Russian developments from the February 1917 revolution onwards revealed a depth and breadth of understanding. He was a co-worker of Lenin in the early days of the Comintern in Moscow, but the ill-health which had pursued him since his childhood in Wales overtook him, and he died in a Soviet sanatorium.

S. P. Bunting (1873-1936) will always be remembered as the courageous and tireless defender of African rights, within and outside the movement. He introduced as early as 1916 a 'Charter' of African rights adopted by the ISL, and was largely responsible for the transformation of the Party from the Left wing, however revolutionary, of a minority section into a true Party of the South African working class. Though he died, unhappily, at a time of factional struggle when sectarianism prevailed and he himself was even excluded, time and perspective have enabled our Party to estimate his contribution at its true, extremely high value.

The ISL was the first body to bring Marxist theory and trade union organization to the African proletariat. It established friendly links with the African National Congress. It enthusiastically supported the Great October Revolution and spread its message of liberation to all sections of the people.

These splendid traditions were built upon and tremendously en-

larged, with the fraternal assistance of the Communist International, by the Communist Party.

II. At its national conference in 1924 the Party rejected a proposal that it affiliate to the chauvinist Labor Party, and decided to place the main emphasis of its work among the African masses.

It reached these decisions not so much because of theoretical generalizations, but because life itself had decisively rebutted the false concept that the organized white working class was destined to be the revolutionary vanguard of the fight against imperialism in our country.

In 1922 the white miners had fought a more bitter and bloody struggle against the mine-owners than ever before or since; a strike that was only defeated after armed conflict between the workers and the state. The issue was an attempt by the Chamber of Mines, representing the owners, to introduce Africans at lower rates of pay into jobs previously the preserve of whites. Inevitably, despite the message of black-white workers' unity ceaselessly proclaimed by the Communists, who were among the foremost leaders of the workers, the strike fostered racial antagonisms. The white workers drifted into the camp of racialism. They voted a new government (a coalition of the Nationalist and Labor Parties) which proceeded to fortify and extend color bars in every field of South African industry and society.

The same period of the 1920s witnessed the spectacular and inspiring rise of one of the most dynamic movements of the African proletariat, which under the leadership of Clements Kadalie and Communists like E. J. Khaile and James La Guma, rose to count its members in hundreds of thousands in every corner of South Africa and beyond its borders.

It was these deeply significant events which convinced the Party that a reassessment was necessary. Under the leadership of S. P. Bunting, E. Roux and others a determined turn was made to recruit and mobilize the most oppressed and exploited section of the African population.

The policy bore fruit. Africans responded to the call of the Party and came to constitute the great majority of its members. It was at this period that the Party recruited a number of outstanding figures: Albert Nzula, who became the first African to serve as general secretary of the Party, Moses M. Kotane, our general secretary from 1939 onwards to the present day, Johannes Nkosi, the heroic martyr murdered by police in Durban on December 16, 1930, E. T. Mofutsanyana, trade unionist Gana Makabeni, Josie Mpama, African women's leader, and many another.

Those of us who joined the Party at that time found we were welcomed into a comradeship of equals, entirely free from the attitude of patronizing paternalism which prevailed among certain white missionary and liberal organizations. The Party became our mother, our never-failing source of strength and inspiration for all the bitter trials and battles which lay ahead.

The ideological progress of the Party was greatly helped by the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, which declared that 'the national question, which is based on the agrarian question, lies at the foundation of the revolution in South Africa,' and enjoined upon the Party to fight for African majority rule, an independent African republic. The essential correctness of that analysis is confirmed in the Party's 1962 Program, *The Road to South African Freedom*, summing up the experience of forty years of struggle, and constituting a profound Marxist-Leninist exposition of the South African type of colonialism.

It would not, however, be correct to imagine that so drastic a reorientation was easily attained without sharp inner conflict. Such is not the way of revolutionary development. The early thirties, as noted above, witnessed a series of sharp inner struggles. Unfortunately these came to take a factional direction, and a sectarian, dogmatic tendency temporarily prevailed which confused and disoriented many members and left scars for many years even after sectarianism had been defeated.

A new and important period began at the end of the thirties, with the election of a Central Committee headed by the irreconcilable fighter against dogmatism and brilliant practical worker, Moses M. Kotane, as General Secretary, and under the chairmanship of the veteran Bill Andrews.

Throughout the forties the Party grew steadily in size, activity and influence. Through its public meetings and newspapers such as *The Guardian* and *Inkululeko*, through the work of its members in mass organizations, it ceaselessly aroused and mobilized the people against the racist, fascist and imperialist enemies.

The Party fought for the building of a united front of all the people, tirelessly preached by comrades of the calibre of Kotane and Mofutsanyana in the ANC, Dadoo in the Indian Congress, La Guma among the Colored people.

The Party fought for unity of all anti-fascists against the fascist danger abroad, for solidarity with the Ethiopian, Spanish, Chinese, Czechoslovakian and other victims of aggression, for solidarity with the great bastion of workers' power, liberation and democracy, the socialist Soviet Union; it mercilessly exposed the fascists and fifth-column agents in South Africa: Pirow, Verwoerd, Vorster and many others.

The Party fought for the building of trade unions of the most exploited workers, on the sugar plantations of Natal, the sweated farmworkers and canners of the Cape, and, most difficult of all, the hundreds of thousands of migrant semi-slaves imported from many countries of Africa to labor and suffer in the Witwatersrand gold mines.

For all these activities the Party earned the love and loyalty of the working people, but also the bitter hatred and persecution of the imperialists and racialists.

These conflicts erupted in the great African mineworkers' strike

of August 1946, led by the African Mine Workers' Union, of which the writer of this article was then the president. To the building of the Union the Communist Party of South Africa made a tireless and selfless contribution.

For a week up to 100,000 African workers, imprisoned in mine compounds, and living under a constant reign of terror, intimidation and organized spying by the employers, defied the bullets and batons of the militarized police force, and came out on strike for an increase of wages to the wretchedly low amount of 10s. a day. (White miners average fifteen times that amount!)

The anger of the ruling classes knew no bounds. Its brunt was directed against the Communist Party. Police raids were conducted on Party premises and the homes of Party members throughout the country, and thousands of documents were seized – including, unfortunately, the names of thousands of members and sympathizers. The members of the District Committee, together with leaders of the Union were arrested and convicted of aiding and abetting an 'illegal' strike. This was followed by the arrest of the entire Central Executive Committee and their arraignment – in a trial which dragged out over two years – on charges of sedition.

A new period had commenced: one of intense repression against the working class and national liberation movements, and in the first place of the Communist Party. Seen in retrospect the raids and the arrests of 1946 were the forerunner of that era and of the formal outlawing the Communist Party itself by the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.

It is true that this vicious Act was passed not by the Smuts government which ruled in 1948 but by the neo-Nazi Nationalist Party government of 1950, but Smuts' United Party itself began the process and it did not oppose but welcomed the main provisions of the Act.

Our Party, regrettably, did not read the signs fully enough. Even after the election of the Nationalist government, sworn to 'destroy' Communism, no preparations were made for illegality. Legalistic illusions led to the temporary and tactical dissolution of the Party, by majority decision of the Central Committee, as soon as the Suppression of Communism Act was introduced.

Liquidationist concepts had no basis among the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the South African working class. Fearlessly and skilfully, under most difficult conditions, a great number of our comrades threw themselves into the exacting and dangerous task of building the underground apparatus of the South African Communist Party, and of combining that illegal task with the legal tasks of rallying and building the mass movement of resistance and liberation.

III. The first 30 years of the Communist Party were years of a certain legality – though of a most precarious character, with the prison cell, the police baton or even bullet not far away.

The past twenty years have been years of mounting fascist terror and police dictatorship, with our Party forced to carry on its work underground and in secret.

The reader will not expect an article such as this to deal in any sort of detail with the formidable organizational problems which have been met and overcome.

Yet the people of our country and the world know that these have been the years of the greatest and most heroic achievements of our united liberation movement and of the Communist Party which has done so much to build, unite and inspire that movement.

During the stormy fifties the Congress alliance, the national liberation front of South Africa, consolidated its forces and fought every inch of the road to fascism followed by the governments of Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd and Vorster.

Time and again, great national general strikes of protest – called jointly by the African National Congress, the S.A. Indian Congress, the Colored People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the Congress of Trade Unions – brought the country to a virtual standstill.

Thousands of disciplined volunteers faced imprisonment during the historic Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in 1952-53.

In 1955, under the batons and sten guns of the police, the greatest and most representative all-South African gathering ever seen, the Congress of the People, adopted the inspiring common program of the entire liberation movement, the Freedom Charter, envisaging political freedoms, a fair solution of the agrarian question, and an end to all racial discrimination.

The government remained deaf to every protest, every appeal whether from the oppressed majority at home or from the whole of democratic and progressive mankind. The Nazis of South Africa opted for a resolution of the differences by means of civil war. They followed their ban of the Communist Party with a ban on the African National Congress. Their police were ordered to open fire on peaceful demonstrations, and massacre followed massacre. All democratic newspapers were closed. Tens of thousands of patriots were jailed without trial.

Our people stood firm, and resolved to fight back by all means at their disposal. Under the auspices of the liberation movement, cadres were recruited and trained for armed conflict, sabotage and guerrilla war.

Brave South Africans of all national groups, of all democratic beliefs, Communists and non-Communists have stood united through all the trials and hardships of this difficult period.

Certainly we have endured heavy blows and losses. The whole world knows the names of our heroes. Communists like Mbeki and Kathrada stood side by side with the Congress comrades Mandela, Sisulu and others in the Rivonia trials and were sentenced to life imprisonment; our beloved Bram Fischer,

captured leading the underground work of the Party and serving a like sentence.

And these are but symbolic of thousands of others, jailed, tortured and murdered by the fascists.

These trials have served not to break but to steel and fortify our people, our national liberation movement and our great and indestructible Communist Party.

At our historic Augmented Central Committee of 1970, which confirmed our policy of proletarian internationalism, of Communist unity around the socialist community and its heartland, the Soviet Union, strengthened our leading organs and laid down our tasks for the period ahead, we reaffirmed our unqualified support for the revolutionary fight to overthrow white supremacy and ensure the victory of democracy and national liberation.

Half a century of struggle has served to reinforce the confidence of our members in the victory of our people, and in the profound correctness of our cause and our Communist principles. We will go on fighting.

T H E

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Czechoslovak Communist Party congress: a landmark in consolidating socialism

Alois Indra

Prague held the world's attention in May this year. Doubting Thomases, friends and foes followed the 14th Congress of Czechoslovakia's Communist Party. Those who wished us ill and expected sensations, were disappointed. *The 14th Congress was a big victory for the Party and socialism, and evidence of our fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.*

The crisis in our Party and nation in 1968-1969 is common knowledge. Its causes and effects have been elucidated in our Central Committee documents. The elucidations were objective and truthful and presented from working-class positions. Those who know how deep the crisis had been and what harm was inflicted by the bloc of anti-socialist forces and Right revisionists, should be impressed by the fact that we were able to convene our 14th Congress so soon after the peak of the crisis and less than a year later than the statutory date. Congress proved the viability of our Communist Party. The vast majority of its members remained true to the Party and summoned enough strength to overcome the tremendous difficulties. This infused confidence and optimism into the Congress delegates.

The slander of bourgeois commentators and Rightist Czechoslovak emigrés will not alter the fact that the preparations for Congress were democratic and that the Leninist norms of Party life, especially the principles of democratic centralism and inner-party democracy, were strictly observed all down the line. Attendance at pre-Congress meetings of party branches was the highest in ten years. Hundreds of thousands took part in the debates. (Indicatively, less than half the members of Party branches participated in elections of delegates to mid-term district conferences in 1968, when Rightist pressure was high.) General unity and expressions of support for the policy of our Central Committee were the keynote of district and regional conferences and of the Slovak Communist Party Congress, assuring the good outcome of our 14th Congress. The period of preparation for Congress proved that the expulsion of Rightist renegades strengthened the Party, enhanced

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its political, ideological and organizational cohesion and its influence on society.

Congress was not a purely Communist concern. It attracted the attention of the bulk of the working class, of most of our working people. This is borne out by the lively interest in its work, the public response to its documents and the active involvement of non-members in various important political undertakings. The workers, members of farming cooperatives and the working intelligentsia celebrated the 14th Congress and the 50th anniversary of our Party with production pledges and labor achievements, with almost all enterprises surpassing plan targets. No previous congress had attracted as much attention. It did its work in public view, the entire Republic following the proceedings by TV and radio.

Whatever our antagonists may have predicted, Congress showed that the Communist Party, the organized political vanguard of the working class, is in close touch with the people and has deep roots in all layers of society. This is likewise proved by the 50 years of our history.

The Central Committee Report to Congress on the Party's work and further tasks in developing socialist society, delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak, was described as a truly Marxist-Leninist document and unanimously approved. It summed up the results of 50 years of effort in discharging the Party's historic mission and carrying forward its program in the people's best interests.

The Report devotes considerable attention to the period following the 13th Congress, the most complicated and instructive in the Party's history. It examines our crisis and its causes, which germinated long before 1968, showing that working-class power may be endangered years after its establishment, with socialism already deeply embedded in the people's consciousness. The mistakes of the old Party leaders – their subjectivism, leaps across stages of development, impracticable goals, departures from class positions, depreciation of the Party's leading role, under-emphasis of ideological struggle, and formalism coupled with excessive liberalism – put the Party out of touch with the people, precipitating a crisis in the Party and society. This facilitated the emergence of a Right opportunist and revisionist bloc in the Party and encouraged the anti-socialist forces, which had lain in wait for the propitious hour.

In January 1968 the CC CPC created premises for overcoming the crisis, eliminating mistakes and faults, and, ultimately, for fulfilling the decisions of the 13th Congress. 'Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th Congress of the CPC,' a document adopted by the Central Committee in December 1970, shows why the Party failed in its intentions and how events developed from then on. Making common cause with the enemies of socialism and aided by world reaction and international imperialism, the Right opportunists brought socialism to the brink of a counter-revolution, jeopardizing the revolutionary gains of

our people and the interests of the socialist community. Yet the Czechoslovak events proved once again that all counter-revolutionary schemes are futile, that socialism built by the people cannot be vanquished, that the socialist countries will never abandon each other in need. The 14th Congress approved the document and thanked the parties and governments of the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR, Hungary and Bulgaria for their fraternal internationalist help in August 1968.

Comrade Husak's Report examines the Party's work since April 1969, when election of a new leadership created preconditions for eliminating the anarchy touched off by the Rightist forces. The subsequent two years were not easy ones. The political battle against the Right revisionists, who had no intention of abandoning their positions, was bitter. It required enormous efforts for the Party to restore its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary character, for the socialist state to perform its functions in the interest of the people, to overcome the substantial economic difficulties, and for the National Front, all mass organization and political parties to act again in a socialist spirit. *Congress commended the work of the Central Committee and thanked the hundreds of thousands of Communists and other citizens for their loyalty to socialism, for supporting and effectuating the policy of the Central Committee.*

Revisionists and Right opportunists were defeated in the bitter political confrontation, and the Marxist-Leninist forces won. The only possible and correct way out of the crisis, the facts show, was to return to the universal Marxist-Leninist principles. Congress emphasized that we had fought for them by political methods. Though the situation was extremely complicated, the Central Committee did not resort to fiat, did not stoop to bureaucratic centralism, observing the Leninist principles in inner-Party life and in directing society. It restored and fortified the Party's ties with the working class and other working people. In so doing, it avoided losing touch with the Party's rank and file.

The delegates to the 14th Congress were people who had for years participated actively in the country's life. They could check the points in Comrade Husak's Report against their own experience. Naturally, they were the most competent to approve the strategy and tactics of the Central Committee since April 1969, its main documents and the measures that led up to the Party's victory and the consolidation of socialism; it was natural, too, that they should be filled with a sense of well-earned triumph.

The delegates were conscious of their immense responsibility for the outcome of Congress, the Party's supreme organ. The 51 delegates who took part in the debate represented all the regions of the country. They included Party functionaries and statesmen, factory directors, art workers, engineers and technicians, workers and farmers, men and women. Some had been in at the founding of the Party 50 years ago, and many had served the socialist cause throughout the past 26 years. The younger people, too, who had

but recently joined the Party, made themselves heard. Delegates displayed their commitment by trying to work out the best possible documents, and the entire Congress was highlighted by unanimity in all matters of principle and by a creative approach to the problems of socialism's further development in our country.

The Congress faithfully reflected the Party's activity, the life, views and work of our Communists. The delegates called on the Party to remember the experience of the past few years, for which it had paid so dearly. All displayed readiness to draw lessons from it, to avoid mistakes and defend, consolidate and advance socialism. Various shortcomings were criticized in the Party's life and in the work of Party members, in the representative bodies of the socialist state and mass organizations. This showed that the delegates were deeply concerned for everything taking place in the country.

However great their joy over successes achieved, the delegates were anything but self-satisfied. The reports, speeches and resolutions stressed that Communists should never rest, that the struggle for the present and future of socialism will not tolerate petty-bourgeois sentiments. To carry on successfully, the Party requires its members to be politically active, taking stock of present and future needs and mobilizing the people for the urgent tasks. To mark time, make no progress, is to fall prey to dogmatism, to ignore Lenin's teaching and the needs of the time.

It was not surprising that Congress dwelled on the dramatic events of recent years. But it was not a 'retrospective congress.' It had its eyes on the future, and was imbued with a striving for progress and creativity.

Ideological and political struggle against Right revisionism and opportunism, against forces hostile to socialism, the Congress said, is one of the important tasks facing the Party. The influence on people of the recent subversive Rightist activity is still in evidence. The political isolation of the Right revisionists does not mean that they have been ideologically routed. Congress did not conceal the fact that in our specific conditions factors still existed that could revive and encourage Right revisionism and opportunism, and give scope for anti-socialist activity.

The ebbing but as yet widespread reformist social-democratic influences, the worship of bourgeois parliamentary traditions and the surviving, even multiplying, petty-bourgeois views and way of life, are fertile soil for Rightist postures. The ex-capitalists living among us, who cannot forget that socialism stripped them of privilege and of the chance to exploit other people, are waiting for a suitable opportunity to strike. In view of Czechoslovakia's geographic situation, we must not ignore imperialist acts of ideological diversion aimed at corrupting the Party with refined methods, undermining the people's politico-moral unity and holding up the building of socialist society. Communists must, therefore, devote due effort to the ideological struggle and the political education

of the people, exposing and purging Right and revisionist views. In this struggle, which will be long, our ideas, the truth of our arguments and the practical results of our policy are sure to triumph.

Congress dealt with the Party's economic policy, centered on extending socialism's material and technical base, and discussed cultural and educational problems. The Congress Directives on the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975), envisage a realistic though difficult program of dynamic growth. High growth rates have been set for industry, building and transport in line with our potential, and socialist agriculture is to enter a new stage. The plan envisages a 34-36 per cent rise in industrial output and a 14 per cent rise in farming.

Congress laid special stress on quality, setting the sights on intensive factors of industrial and agricultural development and on a rapid rise in labor productivity. Responding to the needs of the scientific-technical revolution, it devoted attention to science and technology and their application in practice. Alterations are called for in the structure of industry. Congress also urged broader international socialist cooperation and integration with the CMEA countries, especially the Soviet Union.

Rapid growth of the material and technical base requires a higher grade of management and planning. Better planning and management, better training of managers, technicians and workers, more efficient central and factory-level administration and closer harmony of central planning with the operation of economic levers – all this Congress put down as a priority objective. People's initiative is highly important in socialist society, and Congress called for moral and material incentives, socialist emulation and greater people's participation in running the economy.

In a socialist state, economic development is not an aim in itself. It does not enrich any restricted social group and principally serves the interests of the working class and other working people. The economic policy approved by Congress is convincing proof of the humanity of the socialist system. Growth of production, fulfilment and overfulfilment of production plans, consolidate socialism and raise the people's standard of living.

Individual and public consumption is high in our country. And by fulfilling the plan, by meeting its quality and quantity targets, we shall satisfy the people's requirements all the better. Provisions have been made to keep retail prices stable, while average wages are to go up. Real incomes will rise about five per cent annually, calling for adjustments in the quantity, range and quality of home-produced and imported consumer goods, in retail trade and the services. Sales of cars alone, for example, will approach the 700,000 mark in the next five years.

The Directives provide for not less than 500,000 new flats. Steps are envisaged to enhance education, culture, medical services, sports and physical culture, recreation and vacation facilities. The pensions system is to be improved. Additional benefits will be gradually

introduced for newly-weds, mothers and families with children. Congress called for more care for working women and mothers. They should have more time to devote to their children, the children's upbringing, to political and public concerns, to participation in management and government.

Delegates drew on the teaching of Marx and Lenin in examining the ways of further extending socialist democracy. By virtue of its class character and the people's direct participation in government, the socialist system is incomparably more democratic than any bourgeois democracy. The Right revisionists' slogans of 'democratic socialism' and 'political pluralism' were nothing but demagoguery to misguide the people, subvert the foundations of socialism and pave the way for capitalist restoration.

For true Communists revisionist theories are unacceptable. They are building socialism not only for themselves and cannot build it without the support of the workers and other working people, and without the active participation of millions of citizens. The Party owes the successes of its 50 years to its close alliance with the masses. But new problems crop up as socialist democracy develops, and to be the leading political force the Party must continuously improve the content and form of the people's participation in government. Congress examined the work of the National Committees, legislative bodies, the National Front and public organizations. All socialist organizations and institutions should be media of socialist education, extending the participation of the masses in framing and effectuating Party policy. Facilities must be provided for the development of individual ability and for people to make better use of their leisure.

Congress showed its appreciation of the leading role of the working class and of its mission in history, and discussed the revolutionary trade union movement. The unions are a highly topical question, because the damage done them by Right opportunists is now being eliminated. Congress reaffirmed Lenin's concept of their role under socialism, instructing Communists working in the unions to use their influence in advancing their tasks. The unions will again become schools of communism. They will again exercise an influence on economic development and will again be the vehicle of wage-earners' participation in management. While performing this mission, the unions must also concern themselves with the legitimate interests and needs of the working people, help improve their general knowledge and professional skills, their working and living conditions, health and leisure.

Delegates showed a deep interest in the problems of the younger generation and the Socialist Youth League, the new united youth organization. The youth, its education and upbringing and its active involvement in building socialism, Congress stressed, is the concern of society, all its organizations and institutions. It examined ways of extending youth participation in the work of national committees and mass organizations, and discussed means of rejuvenating the Party. The perspectives of our socialist society, as conceived by

the 14th Congress, are a call for the youth to improve their political knowledge, to think and live the socialist way, to acquire knowledge, improve their professional skills, and take an active part in effectuating the decisions of the Congress. We are deeply convinced that most of the youth will respond to this, will range themselves with the Communists, because socialism is the present and future of our younger generation.

Methodical improvement of the Party's work and enhancement of its leading role, Congress noted, is the main condition for the successful development of our socialist society. 'The Party assures the leading role of the working class,' says the Central Committee Report, 'combining in its policy the interests of all classes and social groups, guaranteeing defeat of hostile forces, eliminating class antagonisms and consolidating socialist power. It is the guarantor of the link between our own development, the struggle of the international progressive movement, the community of socialist countries, and the Soviet Union. It is the main force, paving the way for new requirements and new methods. It is the only force that can formulate a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist program of social development on the basis of scientific socialism, organizing the working people for its effectuation.'

Congress examined various aspects of Party life, ideological work, propaganda and agitation, the working methods of territorial organs and Party branches, and selection, training and allocation of cadres. Mindful of recent experience, Congress called for systematic consolidation of the Party's ideological, political and organizational unity and capability. What it had in mind was not unity in abstract terms, but unity, the content of which, and the methods of attaining which, follow from the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Congress proved that Czechoslovakia's Communists are now following Lenin's norms of inner-party life, which they apply to the fullest with an eye to the inter-dependence of their various elements. The principles which Congress followed in defining the ways of enhancing Party unity were: democratic centralism and inner-Party democracy, conscious discipline, observance of their obligations and use of their rights by Party members, criticism and self-criticism, collective framing of decisions and personal responsibility for their effectuation, active participation of each branch and each Communist in Party policy, and concern for the politico-moral image of every Party member.

Congress reaffirmed the resolution of the December 1970 Central Committee meeting, 'Apropos the Topical Questions of Party Unity,' the propositions of which are still valid, and expressed its determination to safeguard unity. Accordingly, it made partial amendments to the Party Rules, accentuating the responsibility of Party bodies and all Communists. The amendments took into account the recent experience as summed up in the document, 'Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th Congress of the CPC.'

Moved by the spirit of unity, Congress elected the new Central

Committee and Central Control and Auditing Commission. At its inaugural meeting, the Central Committee unanimously elected a Presidium and Secretariat, and the secretaries of the CC. The election of Comrade Gustav Husak to the office of General Secretary was an expression of trust and appreciation of past work.

Congress demonstrated our Party's fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Delegates accorded a warm welcome to the 77 delegations of fraternal Communist and progressive parties. They followed the speeches of the foreign guests with close attention and stressed in their own interventions that allegiance to the world Communist movement is the main requisite of success. The unbreakable link between the principles of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism was a keynote of our Congress.

Only recently, the Right opportunists fraudulently tried to create the impression that most fraternal parties did not agree with our policy. They predicted that our Party would be isolated. We therefore deeply appreciated the assurances of revolutionary solidarity by foreign delegates, who acclaimed our work and its results. What they said redoubled our confidence, our knowledge that we are on the right path. This fraternal support impels us to acquit ourselves honorably in performing our duty to the world Communist movement.

The differences between our Party and some fraternal parties on certain points, we are sure, are no obstacle to cooperation and the cohesion of the revolutionary movement in fighting against imperialism, for the victory of socialism. That is the spirit in which the Congress delegates received the speeches of some of the foreign guests. 'We again express our readiness,' the Central Committee Report says, 'to receive anyone who wants to know the objective truth about the situation in our country, anyone who wants to learn the facts on which our present-day experience and assessments are based. The fraternal parties must decide for themselves what elements of our experience are significant for them.'

Congress defined the place and role of our Party in the world Communist movement and formulated the principles of the country's foreign policy. We consider it our duty to promote united action by the Communist movement, to help cement the international ties of the working class and to support the world's progressive forces. Congress approved the documents of the June 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. We, too, hold that international meetings and exchanges of opinion and experience are highly useful.

Peace, as we see it, is mankind's supreme possession. That is why our Congress reaffirmed its support of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. It stressed, however, that peaceful coexistence of different ideologies is ruled out, for there can be no accommodation between the Communist and bourgeois

ideologies. We are aware of the dangers presented by world imperialism, headed by aggressive U.S. groups. Our Party will join all actions mounted by progressive, democratic, national-liberation and socialist forces against the expansionist plans of the imperialists.

We have a vital stake in European peace and will therefore work actively for an all-European security conference. Nor do we make a secret of the fact that we want to normalize government relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, provided it acknowledges the Munich deal as invalid from the beginning.

Congress showed the dangers to the interests of socialism, world communism and the joint anti-imperialist struggle of the present-day theories and practices of the Chinese Communist Party leadership, voicing the hope that the Communists and people of China will sooner or later understand their leaders' mistakes. A normalization of inter-state relations between Czechoslovakia and the People's Republic of China, as we see it, would benefit socialism and world peace.

Congress expressed its support of the workers' struggle in capitalist countries, the peoples fighting for national liberation and those battling courageously against imperialist aggression. We assured the heroic people of Vietnam and the peoples of Cambodia and Laos of our active solidarity. Czechoslovakia's sympathies are with the Arab peoples working to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression. We expressed our support of, and solidarity with, the Republic of Cuba and the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Our people also follow the struggle for progress, democracy and socialism in Latin America with deep interest and sympathy.

Congress commended the Central Committee's effort of the past two years to extend and strengthen cooperation with the other countries of the socialist community. A warm reception was accorded to the delegations of the Polish United Workers' Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Bulgarian Communist Party, headed by their First Secretaries, epitomizing our fraternal bonds. Close alliance and all-round cooperation of the socialist countries is the guarantee of our socialist future. During their visits to various enterprises these delegations saw that Congress expressed the standpoint of all Czechoslovak Communists and the majority of our working people.

Delegates did not miss the opportunity afforded by the presence of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of its Central Committee, to express their fraternal friendship, affection and gratitude to Lenin's Party, the Soviet Communists, the Government of the USSR and the Soviet people as a whole. Congress was a convincing demonstration of the unbreakable and eternal Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance. Delegates expressed gratitude to the Soviet Communists and the people of the Soviet Union for what they have done for Czechoslovakia's liberation, for protecting our independence, preserving and advancing socialism in our country, and

for world peace and progress. All words addressed to the CPSU and the Soviet people were warmly applauded. This atmosphere of friendship was felt and appreciated by all.

Bourgeois commentators had no choice but to fulminate against this display of internationalism: what else, they said, could be expected of the congress of a party dependent on Moscow. They are furious over the failure of their plan of prying Czechoslovakia loose from the community of socialist nations and breaking our traditional alliance with the Soviet people. But they will have to reconcile themselves to this unalterable fact. Yes, we are content with this 'dependence' on the Soviet Union, for lacking it we would be prey to imperialist aggression. Our 'dependence' amounts to learning from the CPSU, the most experienced Communist party. It also amounts to economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, which makes for more rapid socialist development in Czechoslovakia. That is why the inspiration and influence of the 24th Congress of the CPSU was of invaluable help in preparing and holding our own Congress. We are strengthening our alliance with the Soviet Union deliberately and freely in the interests of our people, in conformance with their aspirations, in the interests of world peace and socialism, to preserve our socialist gains and avoid falling into imperialist bondage.

The 14th Congress of our Communist Party was a congress of Communists who have restored the lofty traditions of our 50-year-long struggle, reverted to the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, raised high the name of Klement Gottwald and again made the attitude to the Soviet Union the acid test for each Communist and patriot.

Our Congress was truly an imposing and unforgettable manifestation of proletarian internationalism. It proved that the Party is again a reliable detachment of the world Communist movement and Czechoslovakia a dependable member of the socialist community.

The 14th Congress has ended, but the country lives by its decisions, is influenced by it, approves its firm stand and realistic optimism, and its creative approach to our vital problems. Party organizations and branches, and Communists at various levels – in the Party, the people's representative bodies, government agencies, mass organizations and the economy – have begun to carry out its decisions. The coming months and years will test the political maturity and organizational ability of the Czechoslovak Communists.

Under Communist leadership, we are sure, our people will put the Congress decisions into practice. The new Central Committee will doubtlessly be able to declare proudly to the 15th Congress five years hence that they have been fulfilled. The 14th Congress will go down in the history of our Party and country as a milestone that ushered in the Party's next 50 years. We shall fulfil the main Congress slogan: Follow Lenin's way in assuring the further development of our socialist motherland.



In battle against opportunism, for internationalism

80th anniversary of
Bulgarian CP

Venelin Kotsev

1. The foundations of the Bulgarian Communist Party were laid 80 years ago by Dimitr Blagoyev and his associates at a congress held on Mt. Buzludzha in the Balkans. Ever since then the Party has given militant leadership to Bulgaria's working people in the struggle to abolish exploitation and to build a classless society.

The history of our Communist Party is the history of its utter devotion to Marxism and its selfless effort on behalf of the working class. For more than half a century the Party had to work in conditions of bourgeois-monarchist reaction and rabid fascist terror. But it never relaxed its efforts to rally the masses to overthrow capitalist domination and assure the triumph of communism. The attainment of that goal opened up new vistas, and for more than a quarter of a century the Communists have been in the forefront in building socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Our Party arose in an economically backward country with only a small working class and with no organized labor movement, that natural base of a Communist Party. But it successfully countered the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, maintained its Marxist character and developed into the revolutionary vanguard of Bulgaria's oppressed masses, always acting as a loyal detachment of the international revolutionary proletarian army. The history of our Party is replete with heroic deeds: it led four armed risings; hundreds of Bulgarian revolutionaries fought on the barricades of St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1905; many more took part in the Great October Revolution, in the civil war in Soviet Russia and the national-revolutionary war in Spain; many shared in the European peoples' armed struggle against fascism.

The Communist Party was formed, grew and gained strength in irreconcilable and consistent struggle against opportunism. The latter arose in Bulgaria against a background of small commodity production and relations following liberation from five centuries

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of Turkish oppression, and moreover in a country with a weak working class and a frail socialist movement. And yet opportunism was never able to take hold in the Party. The credit for that should go, above all, to Dimitr Blagoyev and his associates, Georgi Kirkov, Gavril Georgiyev, Khristo Kabakchiyev, Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov. It was their uncompromising stand against opportunism that spared the Party the ruinous disintegration that brought on the collapse of the Second International.

Our Party had to battle against opportunism virtually from its very inception. In fact, it was founded in the fight against Economism as represented by the 'Unionists,' who vehemently opposed the very idea of working-class political activity and organization.

Bernsteinian revisionism came to Bulgaria as the 'Broad Socialism' or 'Common Cause' movement. Blagoyev and his followers exposed it as a petty-bourgeois ideology wholly alien to revolutionary Marxism and its exponents as conduits of bourgeois influence in the working class. Like the Russian Bolsheviks, Bulgaria's revolutionary Marxists did not hesitate to carry the fight against opportunism to its logical conclusion, namely, expulsion of the opportunists from the Party. The parting of the ways came in 1903 when the Party purged itself of the revisionist Common Cause faction. The importance of that can be fully appreciated in the light of Lenin's maxim that a complete break with opportunism is the prime requisite of genuine communism.

Bulgaria's Marxists were irreconcilable against the centrism of the Second International and in 1905-08 the two Bulgarian centrist groups, the 'Anarcho-liberals' and 'Progressives' shared the fate of the Common Cause faction. The Second International centrist leadership did everything it could to force the Party into accepting unity with the Common Cause. But Blagoyev and his associates stood firm, unswayed by the authority of Plekhanov and Kautsky and the pressure of the International Socialist Bureau. They remained true to their revolutionary principles.

Throughout World War I Blagoyev's party fought social-chauvinism. This brought the Bulgarian revolutionary Marxists close to the Russian Bolsheviks and in 1919 they became one of the founders of the new, revolutionary International.

The Great October Revolution, which presaged the end of imperialism and the bourgeoisie, dealt a devastating blow to opportunism. Our revolutionary Marxists regarded the Bolshevik victory as their own and did not for a moment hesitate to come out on the side of Leninism. And it might be added that this did not cause any upheavals within the Party: it confidently set out to master Leninism and to assimilate the experience of the Bolshevik Party. Furthermore, this Bolshevization process was carried out in the harsh conditions of illegality.

Our Communists considered defense of the October Revolution their prime revolutionary duty. They exposed all the lies of bourgeois propaganda, but also counter-revolutionary opportunism,

trenchantly criticizing sundry 'theories' of class cooperation and peaceful evolution to socialism. Blagoyev and his followers convincingly proved that the capitalist system would be abolished by relentless class struggle and proletarian revolution and not by class cooperation and peaceful evolution. Our revolutionary Marxists sharply rebuffed opportunist attacks on the proletarian dictatorship in Soviet Russia, upholding the Marxist theory carried further by Lenin and put into practice by the Bolsheviks.

In the post-war revolutionary crisis, and later during the years of fascist dictatorship, Blagoyev and his associates were just as vigorous in rebuffing the 'Left' Communists within the Party for campaigning against the use of legal, notably parliamentary, forms. Taking as their guideline Lenin's *'Left-Wing Communism — an Infantile Disorder,'* they showed that these 'leftists' were playing with adventurist slogans that took no account of the alignment of class forces, the mood of the masses and the international situation. This could only harm the proletariat.

Having cleansed its ranks of revisionists and centrists in the early 1900s, now, in the mid-20s, the Party had to repel a fresh opportunist onslaught. This time it was the Liquidators, a group which, following the defeat of the September 1923 rising, urged liquidating the Party and setting up a new, legal, opportunist organization that would be 'independent' of the Comintern. The Party categorically rejected all such plans, remaining unswervingly loyal to the international working class and its revolutionary vanguard, the Communist International, and the first fatherland of the proletariat, the Soviet Union.

There was a fresh flare-up of Leftist adventurism, notably in the Party's military organization, late in 1924 and early in 1925. Capitalism had entered a period of temporary and partial stabilization and the mass struggle was receding. This was not the time for an armed rising, and yet some Communists, reacting to the fascist terror, were carried away by guerrilla methods and terrorist acts. The healthy forces in the Central Committee came out against the ultra-Lefts. The Party's central organ *Rabotnicheski Vestnik*, wrote: 'Ours is the path of victorious Bolshevism. All other paths are sham revolutionariness, anarchism, desertion, even betrayal.'

In 1929 sectarian elements, taking advantage of the Party's difficulties and the police terror against it, managed to capture the leadership for a time and to hamper operation of its Leninist strategy and tactics. Their slogan was immediate proletarian dictatorship, to the exclusion of painstaking day-to-day work to mobilize the masses in defense of their vital interests. Instead, they called for a 'general offensive on all fronts,' 'capture of the streets,' and so on. Led by Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov, the Party exposed this as sheer adventurism which only added to the difficulties of the fight against fascism.

The Seventh Comintern Congress played a decisive part in de-

feating sectarianism and asserting the Leninist line in our Communist Party.

Having overcome Right and 'Left' opportunism, the Party completed its Bolshevization process shortly before World War II. It was now a Party of the Leninist type, the accepted leader of the people's struggle against capitalism, fascism and war.

Sustained struggle against opportunism gave the Party valuable revolutionary traits. Utter devotion to Marxism, proletarian internationalism, an irreconcilable attitude towards the bourgeoisie and its revisionist abettors, implicit faith in the strength and future of the working class, conscious iron discipline – all these transformed the Party into a genuine vanguard of the class, into a reliable contingent of the revolutionary movement, enabling it to withstand all the ordeals of World War II. And as leader of the long armed struggle against German and Bulgarian fascism, it was able to organize the mass anti-fascist rising which, with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army, was consummated in the momentous victory of September 9, 1944.

Our perseverance in promoting Marxism-Leninism and the rich revolutionary experience accumulated under the guidance of such outstanding international leaders as Dimitr Blagoyev and Georgi Dimitrov, paved the way for creative application of Marxism-Leninism in building socialism in Bulgaria. And socialism triumphed in a very brief span of history, due largely to the Party's policy which conformed with the objective laws of social development, its resolute stand against any deviation from that policy and its intolerance of opportunist groups and factions within its ranks.

Consistent adherence to Marxism-Leninism combined with creative boldness enabled the Party, through its April 1956 plenum decisions, to overcome the negative consequences of the personality cult that surfaced after Dimitrov's death. We thus entered a new stage in Bulgaria's socialist development. The Party elaborated and concretized its general line of accelerated economic development, perfection of socialist relations and radical improvement of ideological work.

The new Party Program, adopted at the recent 10th Congress, spells out the prospect of building a developed socialist society. It culminates years of search for the correct forms of combining the international and national, theory and practice, the immediate and more distant goals. Operation of this program will give us the material and spiritual requisites for gradual transition to communism.

II. Our Party is deeply convinced that the fight against modern revisionism is a key task of the Communist movement. The new Party Program emphasizes: 'Right and "Left" revisionism and opportunism are now the ideological lieutenants of the bourgeoisie within the Communist movement, and their main characteristic

is complete retreat from Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice.'

Common to both is their pronounced nationalism and anti-Sovietism. The anti-Communists and the splitters have made internationalism, the CPSU and Moscow the targets of their virulent attacks.

The present attack on internationalism is on a bigger scale than ever, but the main danger within the Communist movement is revisionism. And we are faced with a new phenomenon, alliance of the Right and 'Left' revisionists, sworn enemies of the theory and practice of proletarian internationalism. In present-day conditions – and this is emphasized in the Party Program – 'the iron logic of the worldwide class struggle has led to opportunism and revisionism, whether Right or "Left", degenerating into anti-Sovietism and, in the end, defecting to the enemy and siding with anti-communism.'

In pursuance of their nationalistic and anti-Communist aims, the revisionists are 'modernizing' their arguments. One of these is that the proposition that socialist revolution and socialist construction are subject to common laws does not apply in the radically changed post-war situation. They maintain that there are 'different models of socialism.' That pet theory is their main export commodity, and main instrument, they hope, in sowing discord within the Communist movement and eroding socialist society. The revisionists are anxious to keep alive nationalist prejudices within the working class in order to impose their conception of 'many variants' of Marxism.

In analyzing the activities of the present Chinese leadership, the Bulgarian Communists found that it has completely broken with internationalism and is reviving reactionary nationalism. Peking's main effort centers on isolating the USSR from the other socialist countries, bedevilling relations between some of them and instigating separatist and nationalist sentiments. The Maoists and other 'Lefts' consider the USSR the chief obstacle to their far-reaching nationalistic and hegemonic aims. Accordingly, they have made anti-Sovietism the ideological basis of their divisive activity in the international Communist movement and the socialist world. They flatly reject a proletarian class appraisal of the present international alignment of forces, maintaining that the contradiction is between the two 'superpowers' on the one hand, and the rest of the world, on the other. Furthermore, they equate the USSR, the bulwark of world peace and progress, with the USA, the bulwark of world imperialism. The Maoists are using the slogan of 'combating superpower hegemony' in a vain attempt to win over the 'small and medium' states, irrespective of their social system. Their appeal is addressed to political groups of every political and ideological color prepared to oppose the policy of the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has never subscribed to nar-

row-minded nationalism and has always combated the opportunist theories of 'national communism,' 'reliance on one's own forces,' building socialism in isolation, etc. Proletarian internationalism is deeply rooted in our Party and is a dominant trait of our people.

Our Party has vigorously fought every manifestation of nationalism from the very first years of popular rule. In his historic report to the Fifth Party Congress, Georgi Dimitrov, that great son of the Bulgarian people, said: 'People's democracy and the people's democratic state stand for internationalism. Nationalism is incompatible with people's democracy, for it is a weapon of capitalism and capitalist reaction . . . We hold that nationalism, whatever guise it assumes, is the foe of communism . . . The fight against nationalism is therefore a prime duty of all Communists.'

The Party's First Secretary, Todor Zhivkov, told the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: 'There can be no proletarian internationalism, no cohesion of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, without a vigorous struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism. For us this is a crucial problem, for it concerns the very nature of the Communist parties, the very existence and future of socialism.'

For our Party, the mastery and creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory is synonymous with the mastery and application of the theoretical and practical contribution the CPSU has made to the Communist movement.

Georgi Dimitrov declared at the Fifth Congress: 'People's democracy and Soviet power have the same *main and determinative* features – both represent the power of the working class in alliance with, and at the head of, the working people. From this follows the need comprehensively to study and widely apply the Soviet Union's vast experience of socialist construction. *Adapted to our conditions, that experience is the best, indeed only, model of socialism in our own and all other people's democracies.*'

In a number of articles, reports and speeches, Todor Zhivkov, speaking for the entire Party, has exposed the main erroneous propositions of opportunism, notably the theory of 'national communism' or 'native paths to socialism.' Bulgarian experience conclusively proves, Comrade Zhivkov has stressed, that the path of socialism chosen by our People's Republic is not some 'special' or 'national' path, differing radically from that of the Soviet people, but basically the same path.

For the Bulgarian Communist Party – and this has been repeatedly emphasized – the principal criterion of fidelity to proletarian internationalism is the attitude to the CPSU, the vanguard of the international Communist movement, and the USSR, the mainstay of world socialism. And our Party has systematically educated the people in a spirit of deep affection for the CPSU and the Soviet people and has always uncompromisingly fought anti-Sovietism.

Our internationalist policy rests on the common laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism, on the identity of

the social and political system of the socialist countries, on community of aims and class interests in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the building of communist society.

Unity of the socialist states is dictated primarily by the underlying contradiction of the world we live in, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, by the need for collective defense of our socialist gains, and for mutual assistance and fraternal cooperation in erecting the new social structure.

Lenin pointed out that the victory of socialism in one or several countries 'is bound to create not only friction, but a direct attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the socialist state's victorious proletariat' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 79). And with characteristic foresight, Lenin warned that the triumph of socialism in more countries would strengthen this trend towards imperialist unity.

Close cooperation of the socialist countries follows also from the objective trend toward internationalization of the productive forces and economic life in general. And there is also this important factor—the need to exchange revolutionary experience and cooperate in diverse areas of public life.

Progress in socialist construction is directly dependent not only on the unity and cohesion of the Communist parties and peoples of the socialist countries, but also on the international solidarity of the working class and all revolutionary and progressive forces. 'The workers of various countries,' Marx wrote, 'must not only *feel* but also *act* as brothers and comrades fighting for their liberation in the ranks of a single army.'

III. Guided by the common principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction, first materialized in the Soviet Union, our Party devised the forms of their purposive application in Bulgarian conditions. The establishment of a people's democracy as a specific form of proletarian dictatorship, the organization of cooperative farms as the most suitable transition form to socialist agriculture, and specific forms of industrialization and of the cultural revolution, add up to a valuable contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. Of no less importance was our Party's work in forging unity of the people in the process of socialist construction. This found expression in the growth and strengthening of the Fatherland Front as the embodiment of alliance of the working class, laboring peasantry and people's intelligentsia.

In keeping with national traditions, Bulgaria has a second political party, the Popular Farmers' Union, which accepts Communist Party leadership and has an active share in socialist construction. And our experience shows that socialist democracy is best served by unity and cooperation with the Communist Party, not opposition to it. For in a socialist society there is absolutely no social basis for a political opposition to the ruling Marxist-

Leninist party. The revisionist slogan of 'free play of political forces' in a socialist country is sheer demagoguery.

The Party has done much, both in theoretical research and practical work, to analyze and elucidate the central problems of socialist construction. The decisions of Party congresses and Central Committee plenums provide solutions for such important problems as the character and development of the socialist basis and superstructure, particularly the socialist state; long-range development up to 1980, and many more. In recent years we have tackled the important question, in all its theoretical and practical implications, of devising and implementing a new system of economic management.

The Party has always sought to provide scientifically grounded and integrated solutions for social problems. It has studied the interaction of all the factors that go into socialist construction. In this respect much was accomplished by the July 1968 Plenum, which conceptualized the ways and means of improving the direction of society. Central Committee plenums in the period between the 9th and 10th Congresses examined the role of the local People's Councils, educational reform, rational distribution of productive forces, more efficient management of industry and agriculture, development of the power industry, wider use of the new technology, etc. On all these matters we took into account the fact that a complex social system can function smoothly and develop properly only if all its subdivisions are efficiently run.

The 10th Party Congress, and more especially the new Program it approved, gave us a creative Marxist-Leninist solution to many of our development problems.

iv. Right and 'Left' revisionists maintain that the principles of socialism in the USSR and other CMEA countries preclude extensive development of the productive forces. That is effectively refuted by the impressive achievements, economic, political and cultural, in our and other socialist countries. Take agriculture, for example. In bourgeois Bulgaria the arable was fragmented into 12 million lots averaging between 0.3 and 0.4 hectares and farmed by the most primitive methods. Of course, there could be no question of anything even remotely resembling a modern agricultural structure. In the past 25 years the situation has changed beyond recognition. Today, our peasants are organized in large cooperatives using modern cultivation methods. Bulgaria was the second country after the Soviet Union completely to reorganize its agriculture along socialist lines. The result is a gigantic concentration of productive forces, with our agrarian-industrial complexes averaging from 30,000 to 40,000 hectares. Agricultural progress is measurable also in crop yields: the average per hectare wheat crop in 1965-70 was 27 centners, compared with only 8-12 in bourgeois Bulgaria.

The rural way of life is changing. Practically all our farmers

live in new houses and practically every village has new, modern welfare and cultural amenities. Peasant mentality has changed, too, and it would be hard to find a peasant eager to return to the old way of private farming.

Socialist industry, too, can look back on a proud record of achievement. Prior to September 9, 1944, one could hardly speak of a Bulgarian industry: per capita power production was 42 kwh; the present figure is 2,300 kwh. Predominant in the economy now are such new industries as machine-building, chemicals, metallurgy, electronics and precision engineering. The ratio of industrial to farm output is 80:20; and we hold a top place in rate of economic growth.

The cultural revolution, which has changed the very spiritual image of our people, should be seen against this background of rapid progress. Illiteracy has been wiped out. Also these indicators: before 1944, only 48 per cent of the child population attended elementary school; now, with elementary schooling universal, 96 per cent of graduates go on to secondary school. The number of students has risen from 10,000 in 1944 to 90,000 and is expected to reach 120,000 by 1975. Most of our specialists are trained in Bulgaria. Rapid progress in science has enhanced its role in the life of our society. Marxism-Leninism has become the predominant ideology and its principles increasingly determine people's attitudes and actions.

All these major gains are the result of the Party's fidelity to Marxism-Leninism. Bulgaria's progress would have been inconceivable without the fraternal and disinterested support of the Soviet Union. For it is this support, plus the new economic and political relations with the other socialist countries, that is helping Bulgaria rapidly to become a front-rank industrial nation. More, our experience fully corroborates the conclusion drawn by L. I. Brezhnev in his report to the 24th CPSU Congress that socialism cannot be built if a country does not rely on the common laws of socialist development and does not take into consideration its own concrete and historical specifics.

v. There is even less veracity in the revisionist contention that the principles of socialist construction in the USSR and other CMEA countries militate against the development of democracy and the personality. The facts show that by promoting socialist democracy and assuring social equality and justice, our Party is paving the way to the genuine Communist self-government of the future. And this has nothing in common with the demagogic slogan of 'self-management' which underestimates the leading role of the Party and the socialist state.

This is a vital issue. Some people, and there are Communists among them, fail to see the dialectical unity of centralism and democracy. They regard the two aspects of democratic centralism as all but mutually exclusive opposites. Either centralism, they

say, or democracy. Actually the opposite of centralism is anarchy and the opposite of democracy tyranny.

The development of socialist democracy is logically and essentially linked with strengthening the Party's leading role, the growth of its ideological and political authority and more accent on centralized direction of the economy, science, culture, etc.

The experience of our and other socialist countries indicates that centralism is an objective condition for expanding production and an essential condition of democracy. Marx emphasized that under socialism '*national centralization of the means of production* will become the national basis of a society composed of free and equal producers jointly engaged in social labor under a common and rational plan.'

In a socialist country, centralization of the means of production enables the state to concentrate and control the chief levers of management. Increasingly efficient centralized leadership and steady extension of democracy are not antipodes, but complement each other, creating the conditions for rapid and comprehensive development of socialist society.

The Right-wing revisionists maintain that democratic centralism destroys creative individuality, 'de-individualizes personality.' That interpretation of freedom and democracy is borrowed from the bourgeoisie. The revisionists simply discard the basic Marxist-Leninist criterion of freedom and democracy, their class substance. Lenin wrote: 'Until classes are abolished, all arguments about freedom and equality should be accompanied by the questions: freedom for which class, and for what purpose; equality between which classes, and in what respect?' (Vol. 31, p. 393).

Freedom and democracy represent the very substance of socialist society. They are determined by its economic structure, by the abolition of class privileges. The decisions of our 10th Party Congress are imbued with the idea that all our activity must center on man and his well-being. This alone refutes all the fabrications of the latter-day revisionists.

If we are to believe these gentry, democratization of socialist society necessarily implies repeal of public ownership and its replacement by group ownership, and repeal, also, of the law of balanced, proportional economic development, which would place the economy at the mercy of the market. And unless this is done, we are told, the 'management monopoly' will degenerate into a 'privilege' of a definite group, i.e., into 'power over the class.'

Such arguments have absolutely no foundation in science. Our Party has always been guided by the Marxist proposition that law, and indeed the very system of government, are superstructures and cannot dominate the economic basis or develop independent of it. The character of government is determined by the type of economic relations. Genuine, socialist democracy and socialist self-government can stem only from a socialist economy in which the means of production have been centralized. Socialist democracy as the

superstructure and private ownership as the basis are, of course, incompatible.

The real way to more democracy and self-government lies through developing, bringing closer together and gradually merging the two forms of socialist property (state and cooperative) into a single communist property. This implies more economic planning and extension of the socialist state's economic, organizational and cultural functions.

The beginnings of public self-government appear in a developed socialist society, and they must be encouraged and cultivated. That is the lesson we draw from our experience.

More scope for worker participation in economic and social management, broader functions and rights for public organizations, and gradual transition to election of executive and managerial personnel, combining state and public functions make for increasingly more socialist democracy and gradual introduction of self-government.

The latter-day revisionists shun that method of developing socialist democracy. They fail to see the *fundamental difference between the capitalist and the socialist state*. And they contrast state to public leadership, arguing that in a socialist society, too, there is alienation, with the interests of the state inimical to those of the people. They have wholly abandoned the dialectical materialist method, using such terms as the 'state in general,' 'étatism,' 'bureaucracy in general' and so on. They regard political institutions and organizations as something abstract. But we know that under capitalism the class substance and implications of such institutions differ radically from those under socialism. Our Party Program emphasizes that 'the socialist state is government by the people. While retaining the main characteristics and functions of proletarian dictatorship it is steadily being transformed into the political organization of the entire people.'

That is the road to communist self-government in a classless society. And Marxist-Leninist theory, as well as our own experience, show that that goal can be reached only through steadily *enhancing the leading and organizing role of the Communist Party* in all areas of public life. The building of socialism is not a spontaneous, but a conscious process, and it is directed by the Communist vanguard, that main vehicle of socialist consciousness.

The opportunists have always rejected the Party's vanguard role, affirming that socialism is 'reproduced automatically.' In fact, Garaudy would reduce the role of the Party to that of an 'intellectual vanguard' formulating general directives and conducting propaganda. He sees no need for concrete leadership, and this brings him back to the old theory of spontaneity, which flatly rejects conscious mass activity.

True, society develops according to objective laws, but that development is not automatic. Under socialism these laws can be scientifically investigated and employed by the Party. Lenin empha-

sized: '... We shall not allow history to take any turn ... without the active intervention of the advanced class' (Vol. 19, p. 378). The revisionist argument, in effect, is that the leading role of the Party and working class is an 'obstacle' on the road to so-called direct, non-Party democracy.

The growing role of the Party in building developed socialism is not someone's idle thought, not a subjective wish, but a cardinal objective requirement.

By attacking the Party the opportunists are attacking its Marxist-Leninist ideology which they would like to deprive of its *proletarian class character* and demolish the integral scientific philosophy of communism. They contend that Marxism-Leninism's conversion into 'an institution of the socialist state,' into the world outlook of the organized working-class movement, has produced a 'bureaucratic ideology.' E. Fischer and F. Marek, in their book *What Did Lenin Really Say?*, are at pains to discredit the Communist Parties' ideological weapon and speak of an 'institutionalized ideology.' Like other 'theorists,' they seek to isolate Marxism from the revolutionary labor movement and reduce it to the status of an academic theory, turn it into a system of abstract moral tenets. In line with their slogan that socialism is philosophically neutral, Garaudy repeats the shopworn revisionist thesis that the Communist Party cannot have an 'official' philosophy. And this from another revisionist, L. Kolakowski: No one knows 'what is and what is not essential in Marxism' and there is therefore no need for Communists to study Marxism.

The revisionists are objectively assisting the infiltration of bourgeois influence by operating their capitulation policy under the slogan of ideological neutrality. And in deference to bourgeois ideologists they are trying, in effect, to refute the scientific validity of Marxism-Leninism and transform socialism from a science into a utopia. Some of them allege that Marxism overestimates science and ignores man's anthropological nature, which, they contend, robs Marxism of its humanism. Others preach abstract humanistic ideas borrowed from existentialism, philosophical anthropology and other reactionary bourgeois sources.

Marxism-Leninism is the organic unity of social science and effective revolutionary humanism. For only science allied with revolution can emancipate the men of labor. In contrast, abstract revisionist humanism disarms the masses in the class struggle and in the building of the new, just society. It is therefore tantamount to anti-humanism.

Our Party has indefatigably upheld the Marxist-Leninist understanding of dialectical and historical materialism as the methodological basis of the Communist movement's theory and practice. Without Marxist-Leninist theory there can be no socialism: that has been proved by the history of the class struggle and proletarian revolution.

By creatively applying Marxism-Leninism, we are contributing to

the Communist parties' common struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunism. Our Party has always rebuffed, from scientific positions, all attempts to revise revolutionary theory, undermine the ideological unity of the international Communist movement and the socialist world system. By all its practical work it exposes revisionism and revisionists.

Our people are confidently advancing to communism. They are attuned to the pulse of history. They learn from experience and are bringing to reality the aims formulated and scientifically substantiated by the Party.

The earnest of our success lies in our fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which we have maintained throughout our Party's long history. This is our achievement, our pride. We draw confidence from the unity of Party and people. And our people have the utmost affection for the Communist Party, for they are convinced that it is leading them along the correct road and under a pure and noble banner.

The earnest of our radiant future lies in the world of triumphant socialism, of which our country is an indestructible link.

The earnest of our future achievements lies in our sacred friendship and increasing cooperation with the Party of Lenin and the great Land of Soviets, the most powerful and most noble force on earth and the chief generator of human progress.

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Marxist-Leninist education in the SUPG

The Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) showed once again that the Party is doing much to improve the Marxist-Leninist training and education of its cadres. It stressed that this task should be combined with that of steadily building up the professional knowledge of cadre members.

Our Party has always seen it as one of its most important functions to help Communists in mastering the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It invariably gives special attention to the systematic ideological and political education of its members in various forms, considering this a decisive prerequisite of the Party's efficiency, of promoting its unity and cohesion and raising the scientific standard of Party, government and economic leadership.

Marxist-Leninist education and sound professional knowledge are particularly important in this age of the scientific and technological revolution, with capitalism and socialism locked in a grim ideological battle. The stronger the people's socialist convictions and the more conscious their effort, the greater is their contribution to the good of society. The better people are trained ideologically and professionally, the more easily they find their bearings amid new phenomena and the more fruitfully they work.

Studying Marxism-Leninism has become indispensable to every Party member and all working people. It is an everyday topic. Now as before, we do much to satisfy the desire for scientific knowledge, to equip Communists with Marxist-Leninist theory and to give Party cadres a high general education.

In the years of socialist construction, the Party has trained hundreds of thousands of devoted champions of its cause. As many as 445,000, or 23.4 per cent, of its full and candidate members have received a higher or a specialized education. In every echelon of the Party, government and economic leadership we have theoretically well-trained and professionally competent organizers enjoying universal prestige. Almost 90 per cent of the Party cadre have had a higher or a specialized education. Sixty per cent of it have received sound Marxist-Leninist training in Party schools of one or more

years. And it is noteworthy that three-fourths of the Party's leading cadre come from the working class.

We have a streamlined and diversified system of ideological and political training and extension courses for Communists and leading executives. It did not take shape automatically, of course, nor did it come overnight. And it had to be tested in practice. The search for effective forms was based on a careful consideration of requirements, of people's knowledge and their interest in this or that theoretical or professional problem. Today this system comprises branch organization meetings, Party-sponsored classes and study groups, training in Party schools, and extension courses provided by higher and specialized educational institutions. Naturally, we attach primary importance to training and educating Communists through the work they carry on in implementing Party decisions.

We believe this system accords with the high demands that the individual is expected to meet under socialism: ideological staunchness, Communist convictions, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the ability creatively to apply Marxist-Leninist theory in strengthening the GDR, to take a firm class stand in exposing bourgeois ideology, every manifestation of anti-communism and social-reformist or revisionist views.

The Party education system, which encompasses all Communists, is the most widespread form of improving knowledge. Study groups and seminars generally meet once a month. Their program comprises the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, the Party Program and decisions of Party congresses and the Central Committee. This gives students a deeper insight into the strategy and tactics of the struggle to build up the GDR and into the significance of our republic's further integration with other socialist states. Party theory and policy are studied in close connection with Party history. In four years devoted to the main problems of German working class history, about 800,000 Communists and non-Communists acquainted themselves with the revolutionary traditions and experience of the Party and the working class.

Study group which help candidate members to prepare for joining the Party have proved their worth. They study the main writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Party Program and Rules and various Party documents.

Experience has shown that studies in the system of Party education benefit Communists most when theoretical problems of Marxism-Leninism are linked with practice, with analysis of economic plan targets and other important problems relating to the students' fields of activity. The result is stronger conviction.

The numerous Party schools we have form the core of the system of Marxist-Leninist training and retraining of leading Party and government workers and economic executives.

We train our Party members in the Karl Marx Higher Party School and the Institute of Social Sciences under the CC SUPG, and in the

Higher Party School and Academy of Social Sciences under the CC CPSU.

Students at Karl Marx School are issued with a diploma of lecturer in social sciences after three years' study. The School also offers a one-year course of study. Studies at the Institute of Social Sciences last four years whereupon graduates defend a thesis. The Institute graduates highly competent theoretical workers of the Party.

The Central Committee has three institutes training personnel for work in agriculture and the food industry, Party functionaries holding jobs in agricultural production cooperatives, people's estates or forestry enterprises. They take examinations after two years' study and receive an agricultural expert's diploma.

The Central Committee also has a Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management. It offers refresher courses to leading Party workers from ministries and factory managements, as well as to managers and Party secretaries of large enterprises.

Regional and special Party schools, too, have proved effective. The term of study ranges from one to four weeks, and besides, there are three-month and one-year courses. Most of the students are district executives, secretaries or committee members of branch organizations, staff members of government agencies, economic and other institutions, Party propagandists and journalists.

A common educational medium is the one-year schools of Marxism-Leninism operating on the district or enterprise level. They train secretaries of branch organizations and thousands of Party activists. Classes are based on standard curricula approved by the Secretariat of the Party CC. Day-by-day guidance of the study process is provided by elected bodies.

Every year close on 100,000 full and candidate members of the Party improve their knowledge in the Higher Party School, 14 district and 26 specialized schools and 644 schools of Marxism-Leninism operating in districts and enterprises.

Party schools enable us steadily to improve the training of cadre members. By now 66.3 per cent of the full and alternate members of regional Party committees and over half of those of district committees, as well as 33.2 per cent of the members of branch organization committees have gone through these schools. Higher or specialized Party schools have graduated 99 per cent of the secretaries of district committees, and 49.1 per cent of them hold the diploma of lecturer in social sciences. Of the secretaries of branch organizations (94.8 per cent of them combine their regular work with this job), 48.1 per cent have finished various Party schools from three-month ones up, and 50.1 per cent have received a higher or specialized education.

We have many Party workers with a long service record who are devoted to socialism and show initiative but who received their Marxist-Leninist training years ago. The Party sees to it that these comrades update their political and professional qualifications. The

formation of a developed socialist system in the GDR and the growing role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, put ever higher demands on leaders, and confront them with new theoretical and practical problems.

The Central Committee has set up a system of extension courses for Party workers involving over 3,000 people. It offers regional and district committee secretaries lectures, classes and seminars. Classes are conducted on the premises of the Karl Marx School, Institute of Social Sciences and Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management under the CC SUPG, as well as in various higher or specialized schools. The Central Committee also directs the retraining of staff members of district Party committees and the secretaries of large branch organizations. After each plenary meeting of the Central Committee they come together in classes to study CC decisions for three to eight days and discuss ways and means of carrying them out as effectively as possible.

In recent years higher and specialized schools have set up departments for the political and professional instruction of Party workers. These comrades, who have long held various jobs, can obtain an engineer's, economist's or agricultural expert's diploma in two years. Leading scientific centers have drawn up an appropriate curriculum.

Like the Central Committee, regional and district Party committees organize extension courses for their cadres. They hold theoretical seminars, consultations and colloquiums in Party schools, higher educational establishments and enterprise study centers at which papers are read or series of lectures delivered. Propaganda measures on a regional or district level to elucidate topical aspects of Party policy and the world Communist and working-class movement have proved fruitful. All these forms of Marxist-Leninist training and political education are inspired by a creative approach to theory and linked with practice. They often give rise to lively discussions arousing keen interest.

The maturity of cadre members is tested and confirmed in practice, which our Party has always regarded as a most important factor in education and training. We maintain that the training and extension training of Communists in the system of Party studies is only one aspect of the matter. The decisive factor in ideological training is life, active participation in socialist construction. It is in the process of implementing Party decisions in common with the working class and other working people, that the Communist convictions of Party and government functionaries and economic executives, as well as their ability to apply Marxist-Leninist theory in a creative spirit, are tested. The Party calls on its cadre and rank and file to establish still closer links with the working people and not only to teach the masses but to learn from them as they lead the way in the fight for socialism.

The Party's attention is invariably focussed on the working people, whose socialist class consciousness Party organizations must

mould and foster. The ultimate object of training and education is to ensure that Party organizations increase their efficiency, consistently apply the principles of democratic centralism and the Leninist standard of Party life and enlist every Communist's effort in implementing Party policy.

The organizing and theoretical work carried out by the Party enables everyone to acquire sound political knowledge. We have brought out a 40-volume edition of the works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and a six-volume edition of their selected works, and have extended publication of Lenin's works. Biographies of the founders of our revolutionary theory are widely distributed. All this provides a scientific basis for the Marxist-Leninist training of our comrades.

We have a high opinion of the help we get from the CPSU and other fraternal parties in the Marxist-Leninist training and education of our cadre. Our ideological life has benefited considerably from the publication of the records of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and the documents of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, from interchanges of delegations, scientific achievements, books and periodicals, from meetings of creative workers and various discussions.

Equipped with Marxism-Leninism, the cadre and members of our Party establish ever closer links with the working people and give their knowledge, energy and organizing ability to the building up of the GDR and to its prosperity in unfailing alliance with the Land of the October Revolution and other socialist countries.

Harry Dietrich



Ways of the anti-imperialist struggle in Tropical Africa

Our correspondent interviewed representatives of several African parties who had come to Prague to attend the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The interviewed, who discussed some of the general problems of the present stage of the national liberation struggle in Africa, touching on their specifics from country to country, were:

- head of the delegation of the Marxists of Senegal;
- Toumara **Sangare**, Central Committee member of the Democratic Party of Guinea (DPG), minister-delegate;
- Luis **Cabral**, member of the Standing Commission, Executive Committee of the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (AIP);
- Antonio **Zola**, leader of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola (PLM).

The organizations they represent differ – one is a Marxist group, the other a ruling party, and the latter two head the struggle for independence. The tasks facing them and their countries differ as well. What they have in common is the striving for genuine independence, social progress and a society without exploitation of man by man. The interviews reveal a common approach to many of the problems.

IMPERIALISM—THE MAIN ENEMY

Contrary to the facts, the ideologists of neo-colonialism maintain that imperialism's policy in the liberated countries follows the principles of equality and friendship. In fact, however, the neo-colonialists deal with the developing countries from positions of economic, political and military strength. While devising new, more flexible methods, they are also likely to employ the 'classical' instruments of old-style colonialism. Espionage, violence, blackmail, conspiracies and armed provocation, even outright war against national liberation forces, are the rule rather than the exception.

The main blow is aimed against the progressive regimes. However, the relation of world strength is changing against imperialism. Its

setbacks have become more frequent. One of the most recent examples is the failure of imperialism's Portuguese and African mercenaries in their aggression against the Republic of Guinea.

Toumara Sangaré

Imperialism's attempt to destroy the revolution in Guinea has failed ignominiously.

The imperialist-Portuguese aggression of November 22, 1970, has brought it home to the people of Guinea that the contradictions with imperialism are irreconcilable. The battle against the Portuguese mercenaries in Conakry and Koundra gave our people fresh strength. They are more conscious of the perils of imperialism's colonial policy for the African continent. They are ranged still more closely round the DPG and President Ahmed Sekou Touré, Supreme Commander of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces of Guinea.

The masses, DPG members, youth, women, all working people are mobilized to defend the country and the revolution. The entire nation – in towns and villages, offices and factories – is carrying arms and is ready to repulse any new act of imperialist aggression. The fact that our Party has issued arms to the entire organized population shows how closely it is linked with the masses, for no unpopular regime would take the risk.

In the economy, the people have mounted a national campaign for higher agricultural production, land melioration, better roads and higher sanitary standards in towns and villages. The workers have organized production committees in factories and other enterprises and are determined to boost labor productivity and to combat absenteeism.

Thus, despite imperialist claims to the contrary, the situation in Guinea is not a bad one. More than ever before, President Sekou Touré said, it is favorable for the rapid development of the revolutionary process.

Despite its defeat, imperialism has not changed its spots; its aims are the same. And our people, true to their revolutionary option, must be always prepared for clashes with imperialism and its henchmen.

Sangaré spoke at length about new imperialist preparations for aggression against the Republic of Guinea. The aggression, he said, is aligned with the campaign for a so-called dialogue with the ultra-racist regime in South Africa.

The initiators of this anti-African campaign, Sangaré said, declare publicly that the long-term aim of the projected 'dialogue' is an alliance with the South African and Rhodesian fascists and the Portuguese colonialists in order, as they put it, 'to save Africa from the Communist peril.' The 'dialogue,' as we see, is worlds removed from any thought of liberating the millions of Africans

languishing under the genocidal fascist regimes in South Africa, Rhodesia and Portuguese occupied territories. Its sole purpose is to fight communism. We maintain, therefore, that ceaseless acts of subversion against the Republic of Guinea and other progressive African states are also prejudicial to progressive forces on other continents, because they are part of imperialism's campaign against the anti-imperialist struggle across the world.

The coalition of Portuguese colonialists and their NATO patrons is also suffering setbacks in the colonial war against the national liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique. For the parties heading the liberation movement, the situation on the fighting fronts naturally holds pride of place.

Luis Cabral:

The AIP is effectively in control of more than two-thirds of Guinea-Bissau. The liberated area constitutes one whole, not isolated enclaves. That is very important. The colonial troops control the towns and fortified camps, and a few of the roads. And their positions are continuously attacked by patriotic forces.

The colonial war in Guinea-Bissau (co-called Portuguese Guinea) is fought, in effect, against the civilian population. Evading engagements with regular AIP forces, the Portuguese troops leave their barracks and camps solely for terrorist actions in liberated areas. The villages, where mostly only old men, women and children remain, are bombed. The napalm and defoliants supplied by the NATO allies, are used against the peasants.

The Caetano government imitates the American 'Vietnamization' device to form so-called African companies with a number of traitors getting officers' commissions. Confronted with sagging morale, the colonialists have decided to train African replacements for Portuguese troops. But they have failed. This April the AIP mounted an offensive on all fronts, putting most of the traitor officers out of action, including two who hold high Portuguese decorations. The privates of 'African companies' have been coming over to our side in batches.

Our struggle is not purely military. It is also, and primarily, a political one. Its purpose is to establish an independent state in the swiftest and least painful way. And there are indications that Portugal's ruling element is experiencing a change of heart. It is beginning to see that colonial domination in Guinea is approaching its end. And it does not want to let itself in for a total defeat. For our part, we are always ready to negotiate, provided Portugal unconditionally recognizes our right to self-determination and respects the gains of our people. But we are also ready to fight on for our independence.

Antonio Zola:

The PLM has completely liberated or virtually controls one-third

of Angola – nearly 500,000 sq. km. with a population of more than one million.

Armed action has intensified since January. Eight Portuguese military bases have been under heavy attack. We have consolidated our positions in the heart of the country and are pushing on to the north-east. Since there is hardly any credibility in the Portuguese accepting conditions that would enable us to agree to negotiate, the People's Liberation Movement is following its 1966 resolution and orienting its ranks on a long armed struggle.

The progressive forces in countries with pro-Western regimes are conscious of the impact on their countries of neo-colonialism, of which dominance of foreign monopolies instead of economic independence, pressure on democratic freedoms and organizations and a free hand for reaction are some of the typical features. Senegal is often described by the African press as the 'show window' of capitalist development.

Representative of the Marxists of Senegal:

Eleven years of independence are too short a time to overcome the backwardness Senegal inherited from colonialism. They should have been enough, however, to attain qualitative changes in her economic structure and destroy the pillars of imperialist domination through a national-democratic revolution. This did not happen.

As in other countries that imperialism wants to retain in the capitalist world system, in which it wants to perpetuate its rule and strategic interests, political power in Senegal was turned over to the pro-Western section of the African elite. The foreign monopolies, according to official figures, control more than 85 per cent of Senegal's modern economic sector (industry, commerce, transport). And the French military base in our territory is another factor curtailing our sovereignty.

An offensive has been mounted against democratic freedoms. That is obviously an effect of foreign monopoly domination. Trying to stem the general discontent with the present state of affairs, repressions have been launched against progressive organizations. Among other things, the government has ordered the dissolution of the African Party of Independence, the first to raise the independence slogan and bear the brunt of colonial reprisals. The same has befallen the General Union of the Working People of Black Africa, youth and student organizations.

There remains no legal opposition body, whether political, labor, student or youth. The imperialist monopolies are pleased and continue to pump wealth out of the country.

THE PARTY—LEADING FORCE IN BUILDING THE NEW SOCIETY

How to fuse the many social and ethnic groups into a nation? What methods to use in securing the participation of the people, primarily the peasants, in building new national states?

These are the central political concerns of African governments following independence. Government leaders try to organize society through parties and related public organizations. But the task is tackled in different ways, depending on the socio-political orientation and degree of democracy in the regimes and on the sharpness of the class struggle.

Toumara Sangaré:

Our people have drawn the due lessons from the imperialist-Portuguese aggression against the Republic of Guinea. They have redoubled vigilance, purged the traitors, imperialism's 'fifth column,' and are more exacting in matters related to defense and to our Party and government cadres.

The first thing we had to do was purge the Party, especially its leading bodies, of all elements tainted with the petty-bourgeois outlook. This we have accomplished. To the Party's leading bodies – from village committees to the National Political Bureau – the people have elected those who were truest to the revolution and staunchest in fighting the class enemies and their imperialist bosses.

The tasks of our revolution condition the relationship between Party and government bodies. We assert the Party's priority in all spheres. This is facilitated by the fact that the main government offices are held by the best steeled Party cadres.

Sangaré described the role of the ruling and only party in revolutionary-democratic Guinea. A capitalist-oriented one-party regime, as the African press has repeatedly noted, yields entirely different results.

Representative of the Marxists of Senegal:

Having installed itself as the only party in the country, the Progressive Union of Senegal did not relax its repressions. In 1969 the ruling regime renewed a sustained offensive against the working class and intelligentsia, which had formed the National Union of Labor after the dissolution of the General Union of the Working People of Black Africa.

Taking cover behind calls for 'class cooperation' and 'responsible participation,' the government drew up a set of measures against the trade unions. Recently, it actually banned all strikes and in February 1971 arrested union leaders on trumped-up arson charges.

The situation of the peasants, who comprise more than 70 per cent of the population, is a tragic one. This year's crop of groundnuts, virtually the only source of cash income, is lower than in 1936. The dismayed peasants are reverting to subsistence farming. Their rejection of the government's agrarian policy is more vehement, for its adverse effects are aggravated by price fluctuations on the capitalist world market. Observers agree that rural discon-

tent is mounting. The failure of the 'rural socialism' policy is so obvious that even the authorities are becoming apprehensive.

In 1968 and later the regime dealt brutally with student manifestations. Student organizations were disbanded, dozens of students were expelled from universities, and their leaders were forcibly inducted into the army or sent to correction camps.

The neglect of national interests is also resented by the Senegal bourgeoisie. The 'unifying' congress of employer organizations in 1970 gave in to the combined pressure of the authorities and foreign business, removing the chairman of the employers' union. Though he was a member of the ruling party, his sentiment was qualified as 'excessively nationalistic.' He was replaced by a man known for his unquestioning loyalty to the government. However, in face of the outright pressure of the foreign monopolies, he, too, was soon compelled to declare the position of the national bourgeoisie 'abnormal after ten year of independence.' In the next ten years, he said, problem No. 1 is to secure Senegalese participation in running the economy. This May he, too, was removed and charged with making statements 'prejudicial' to Senegal's prestige.

All this shows that the attempt to win the support of the national bourgeoisie for the government's economic policy has fallen through. It is also evidence of a serious crisis in Senegal's society – a deep rift between the authorities and the various social groups exposed to foreign monopoly oppression. And the rift will not be closed by the government's organizing public bodies (trade unions, student unions, etc.) integrated in the ruling party as separate 'political sectors.'

BUILDING UP NEW STATEHOOD

In territories liberated from colonialism by armed force, political structures are, as it were, being built from scratch. How is this done?

Luis Cabral:

The liberated area in Guinea-Bissau is actually an independent country, some points of which are still occupied by a foreign power. The state is directed by the AIP through its various bodies. In April 1970 the Party's Political Bureau has, on the proposal of Amilcar Cabral, its General Secretary, refashioned the Party structure to suit the aims and conditions of our struggle.

Heading the AIP is the Supreme Council of Struggle, which elects the Executive Committee and its Standing Commission. This three-man commission, headed by General Secretary Cabral, exercises day-to-day leadership of the AIP and is responsible for political matters and the armed forces, security and finance, and national construction.

The division of military and political functions occurs at the level of the national committees of liberated regions, of which there

are two – the North and South. Military leadership is vested in the front commands, and the political in the national committees. The latter's principal function is to organize life in the liberated regions. The committees form their own standing commissions, comprising the same three departments (with the political department also handling local self-defense).

Below them are the district committees, charged with similar functions, followed by zonal committees, which consist of a political commissar (who is also in charge of production matters) and members in charge of security, education and public health. At village level we have primary AIP committees.

Special mention should be made of the judiciary system, which is in the charge of officers handling security. People's tribunals (military tribunals in the army) have been set up at all levels, from the village up. Besides, we also have a civil registry service.

The system helps to unite the people and cultivate the new outlook befitting citizens of an independent country. Maintaining a close alliance with the peasants is particularly important, and in this development of education and public health plays an enormous role. The AIP attaches political importance to the People's Shops, a national enterprise. These supply consumer goods through warehouses and trader teams in exchange for farm produce. That is how we lay the foundations for an enduring alliance with the peasants and for their active participation in building the new society. In the process, the AIP battles tribal exclusiveness, paving the way for the formation of the single nation of independent Guinea-Bissau.

Antonio Zola:

At the head of the PLM of Angola stands the congress-elected Leadership Committee, which forms a Politico-Military Coordinating Committee of four permanent members headed by Agostinho Neto, the Party chairman, exercising the day-to-day leadership. All members of the Leadership Committee are in the battlelines. Conversely, all top army commanders are members of the Leadership Committee.

The liberated territories are divided into districts, zones, sectors and groups (the latter equal a village). At all these levels functions are divided between the military command and the action committees, the bodies of people's power.

The action committees at all levels are elected by the people. They consist of a chairman and three or four members, entrusted with organizing the various aspects of life: establishing schools and hospitals, judiciary bodies, and the like. The members of action committees undergo special political and military training in revolutionary education centers set up in each district and zone.

The action committees enlist the help of mass organizations – the PLM women's and youth organizations, the National Union of Working People – in uniting the population of the liberated areas.

The National Union of Working People deals with economic matters – farming, hunting, fishing and small-scale artisan production. Contacts with peasants are also maintained through the 'people's shops' and cooperatives.

The cooperatives help peasants in cultivating new crops and organize work on PLM fields, that is, collective fields (apart from which there are also individual peasant holdings).

This helps the PLM to unite the peasants, tear down tribal barriers and rally the people for victory.

IDEOLOGICAL WORK AND PARTY PROGRAMS

The importance of ideological work need hardly be stressed for countries where the overwhelming majority of the population, especially the peasants, are still in the thrall of patriarchal traditions and where colonialism left behind wholesale illiteracy. The interviewed stressed the importance of combating imperialist ideology and long-term tasks of building the new society to the masses.

Antonio Zola:

All our work of building the new life in the liberated areas has an ideological aspect. Teachers, doctors, activists of public organizations and 'people's shops' help explain to the masses the program of our Party, the aims and tasks of the struggle. Special training in ideological and party work in revolutionary education centers is obligatory for all military and civilian cadres.

The PLM's immediate program is to liberate Angola from colonial rule, while the long-term program envisages the establishment of a new, independent state, an agrarian reform (with the land of Portuguese planters to be turned over to cooperatives) and nationalization of the main branches of the economy. The principles of foreign policy are: non-alignment and relations based on equality and sovereignty with all countries.

Thus, the PLM program is of a general democratic nature. When elucidating it to the masses, say as regards the establishment of cooperatives, PLM ideological officers often refer to the experience and achievements of the socialist countries.

Luis Cabral:

The structure and main principles of the ATP bear ample evidence that propaganda of the aims of our struggle holds priority in our work. Now a few words about our work in the army. All army units from the platoon up, have political commissars. These work under the guidance of political officers, who are members of the front commands.

Our minimum program is national independence. The maximum program is to put the country's wealth at the service of the people,

assure the maximum growth of public education and health, and, fighting against imperialism and colonialism, eliminate all forms of exploitation.

Toumara Sangaré

In accordance with National Political Bureau directives, a far-flung campaign was mounted after crushing the Portuguese aggression to elucidate the aims, means and methods of revolutionary action. It provides the criteria for detecting the class enemy and exposing his counter-revolutionary aims and perfidious methods. Central in DPG propaganda work are such issues as the present situation in Africa and the world, the global confrontation between socialism and capitalism, and the objective factors assuring the inevitable triumph of progress over exploitation and obscurantism.

Representative of the Marxists of Senegal:

Our national democratic program, the alternative to the policy of the ruling quarters, is the basis of the Marxists' influence on the masses. We envisage a broad front of patriotic forces that will wrest from imperialism the commanding heights in the economy and restore democratic freedoms by lifting the ban on democratic and patriotic organizations.

The National Union of Working People, the student movement, the unions of teachers, a large section of civil servants and members of other social groups and political trends are all ranged behind us.

In its main points, such as the elimination of the power of foreign monopolies, our program also coincides with the aspirations of the national bourgeoisie. It reflects the interests of the peasants, paving the way for the immediate tasks and long-term goals of a genuinely democratic agrarian policy.

Ours is a national program, because it is addressed directly to the masses. It is a patriotic program, because it is oriented on ending foreign domination. It is the basis for the Marxists' prestige. This the ruling circles are compelled to admit, though, as usual, they try to distort the meaning of our policy. Editorials in government newspapers, for example, call for an end to the 'infiltration of irreconcilable Marxists' into mass organizations. Yet, as everybody knows, we have always scrupulously respected the independence and inner democracy of the trade unions and other mass organizations.

CONCEPTIONS OF A PARTY AND OUTLOOK AHEAD

For most leaders of the national liberation movement in Africa there is no question of weighing a party representing a broad national-democratic front uniting all sections of the nation aspiring to anti-

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imperialist, democratic reconstruction against a vanguard party orienting the masses on long-term social reconstruction. Both concepts, as they see it, are relevant in Africa and which of the two predominates depends on the stage of the national liberation revolution and the concrete conditions in the country. This raises a problem common to many African countries – that of the relationship between Marxist-Leninists and the ruling regime.

Representative of the Marxists of Senegal:

Our national and democratic alternative is addressed to all patriots – those still connected with the ruling regime and those who have broken with it, who are fighting against the orientation of the ruling circles. We are working for the broadest possible alliance of anti-imperialist and democratic forces.

At a press conference on the 10th anniversary of Senegal's independence in 1970, President Senghor said he intends to legalize Marxist-Leninists. But far from effectuating this intention, the government, as we know, has unleashed new repressions against democratic organizations.

We, for our part, are prepared to support any regime that takes concrete action against imperialism and provides democratic freedoms for all patriotic forces. It stands to reason that this support should not prejudice our organizational independence and the principles flowing from the national and democratic program.

Toumara Sangaré

Though I can make no exhaustive analysis of the problems of a mass party in a peasant country, I should like to briefly set out the Guinean conception, which, as we see it, flows from both the general laws of Marxist analysis and Africa's specific conditions.

In the underdeveloped countries still bearing the scars of colonial partitioning and imperialist oppression, a mass revolutionary party is the instrument for building a nation and liberating the working people, an essential vehicle of revolutionary reconstruction to eliminate the aftermaths of colonialism, of imperialist exploitation. A mass revolutionary party with a consistently revolutionary ideology, profoundly anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist, a party with truly revolutionary cadres in all posts of responsibility, the flesh of the flesh of the people – that kind of party can lead the country in which at least 90 per cent of the people are peasants, to building socialism, provided it follows a conclusive and consistent policy of class struggle. For us the mass revolutionary party is not a marketplace that anyone can enter. It is an organization of the working people, that is, of broad peasant strata, factory workers, office employees and the revolutionary intelligentsia.

Luis Cabral:

The AIP is a broad front of national liberation. Every member of our armed forces is a member of the Party. In effect, living in the

liberated areas means being in the Party. The vanguard is formed by the tested Party cadres. As for the Party's development after winning independence, I should like to quote the favorite expression of our General Secretary, Amilcar Cabral: 'Don't jump your fences before you come to them.'

Antonio Zola:

The PLM is a broad front uniting all sections of the people fighting for liberation from colonial rule. In the future (just as in the present) the vanguard role falls to the Party cadres.

The African states are not living in a vacuum. They live in the conditions of the confrontation of socialism and capitalism. The interviewed spoke at length about the all-round aid to Africa of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the progressives of the world. To the imperialist conspiracy against free Africa, the fighting peoples oppose unity and African solidarity. They are consolidating their alliance with the forces of social progress and democracy throughout the world and are an integral part of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The foregoing does not exhaust the problems discussed in relation to the present stage of the national liberation struggle in Africa. The facts and opinions given in this survey on but a few of the questions are, we hold, of practical and theoretical interest for readers following socio-political developments in the African countries. Many of these issues also face progressive forces in other sectors of the national-liberation zone. We intend to continue the examination of these problems in our journal and request our readers to send in their opinions.

India after the parliamentary elections

S. G. Sardesai

The democratic forces in India inflicted a heavy defeat on the reactionary parties in the parliamentary elections held in March, 1971.

The election results in India are no isolated event. They constitute an important part of the big advance registered in the recent period by the left and democratic forces in India and throughout the world. In fact, the masses are becoming more and more radicalized and impatient; they are coming out in decisive support

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for parties they feel are committed enough and powerful enough to introduce swift and deep-going reforms in the interests of the common people and against capitalist and feudal domination.

This is corroborated in India also. The verdict of the people of India in the parliamentary elections was not actually in support of any particular party; in fact, it was a mandate for radical socio-economic reforms. This is accepted even by the leadership of the ruling Congress Party which won 350 out of the 518 seats in the Parliament.

This is the essence of the new post-election political situation in India, which opens up great possibilities and opportunities for the left and democratic forces in the country to force the pace of economic and social progress and uproot reaction which is at present demoralized and in disarray because of its election setback. But this can be done only if the left and democratic forces outside forge unity with the left and progressive elements inside the ruling Congress Party for mobilizing the people on the burning economic and political issues facing the country and rapid implementation by the Government of the promises made by the ruling Congress Party, thus fulfilling the expectations of the working masses roused during the election campaign.

But there are problems and difficulties on this path. During the elections the major left parties, viz., the CPI, CPI/M/, the SSP, and PSP failed to unite and form a common electoral front for defeating reaction in cooperation with the progressive elements in the ruling Congress Party. Only our party, the CPI, came forward with the proposal to form such a front.

The election results in general have vindicated the political-tactical line of our Party. Our Party advocated unity of all the left and democratic forces, including the progressive sections inside the ruling Congress Party, to defeat the right reactionary combine and bring into existence a more left and democratic oriented parliament capable of making radical changes in the constitution and taking the country forward. And in the new parliament, taken as a whole, the democratic forces have emerged stronger and the reactionary forces weaker. But its composition could have been weighted more decisively in favor of the left, and representation of the left parties could have been far greater than what they have secured, if only the SSP and the CPI/M/ had cooperated with our Party and joined in the common fight against the right reactionary combine on the basis of maximum unity of the left and democratic camp.

In assessing the election results, the National Council of the CPI has self-critically pointed out that the independent mass political-ideological campaigning of the Party has to be strengthened and its organizational weaknesses overcome, so that the mass bases of the Party stand firm against various bourgeois influences under difficult and fast-changing conditions.

The National Council posed the question why our Party did not emerge as a bigger force than before both in terms of votes and

seats. In the opinion of the National Council, the main reasons for our failure in this respect are to be sought in the basic defects and shortcomings of our mass political work, in our failure to build strong and expanding political bases relying on the basic masses and in the serious weaknesses of Party organization.

These basic defects and weaknesses of the Party have in fact been continuing for the last several years. Their overcoming has become more urgently necessary than ever before, in view of the nature and possibilities of the present period and the responsibilities devolving upon the Party. General political radicalization alone is not enough, the masses must be imbued with revolutionary class consciousness.

What about the post-election situation? General insurance has been nationalized, a good step but long overdue. It is reported that the ruling Congress Party is also considering the question of amending the Constitution with a view to removing the right to property as a fundamental constitutional right.

At the same time, the Preventive Detention Act has been revived and the government is also planning to link up 'wages with productivity,' which, as is known, is an indirect threat of a wage-freeze.

The government cannot be credited with the adoption of swift and radical measures in pursuance of the popular mandate.

At the same time, in the very first session of the new Parliament, not only the spokesmen of left parties but a very considerable section of new, young deputies of the ruling party came out with demands for radical action against the monopolies, for lowering of the upper limit of land holdings and the vigorous implementation of land reforms, for effective measures to lower prices and reduce unemployment, and so on.

This factor is of great significance since it presages the coming differentiation inside the ruling Congress itself. The conflict between the progressive, radically inclined Congress elements and rightist and opportunist forces still inside the Congress, is sharpening and is going to sharpen in the period ahead.

Not only this: the reactionary forces, though defeated in the election, have by no means been uprooted. They are firmly entrenched in the industrial and agrarian economy and in the powerful bureaucracy. Under the new circumstances, they are going to do everything possible to strengthen and support the reactionary forces inside the Congress. The National Council has therefore taken the position that it could be a dangerous illusion to expect that the ruling party, left to itself, will move forward towards rapid democratic reforms.

The program of the ruling Congress Party does not go beyond the basic framework of capitalism, however much the Congress leadership may try to present it as 'socialism.' Continuation along the capitalist path cannot lead to the liquidation of the social and economic base of right reaction. In the opinion of the National Council of the CPI, in the coming period it will be essential to mo-

bilize all possible forces to bring about the reversal of the capitalist path, for basic structural changes and advance in the direction of the non-capitalist path of development. Sharp mass and class battles will have to be waged around the pivotal issue of which path the Indian people will have to take.

Hence the period ahead will be not one of calm and relative stability, but one of sharp confrontation and struggle between the forces of national democratic advance and the counter-revolutionary forces of neo-colonialism and reaction.

The key requisite of the situation is to organize the widest possible united mass campaigns and popular struggles and such democratic and mass demands as:

a) amending the Constitution so as to remove the impediments placed by the Supreme Court in the way of radical social and economic legislation, subordinating the powers of the judiciary to Parliament and state legislative Assemblies;

b) radical amendments to the existing land-ceiling laws and free distribution of surplus lands as well as all types of Government lands, among agricultural workers, poor peasants and tribal people, in cooperation with popular committees;

c) nationalization of monopoly concerns, taking over by the state of foreign capital such as foreign-owned oil companies and banks, taking over of the wholesale and export-import trade; democratizing the management of public sector concerns, weeding out the agents of the monopolies;

d) a national minimum wage, dearness allowance to fully neutralize the rise in cost of living and full trade union rights for the working class;

e) extension of democratic rights of the people by curbing the powers of the bureaucracy and the police;

f) strengthening the policy of peace and non-alignment based on active anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism and of cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

This implies serious rethinking on the part of most of the left parties. The close linkup of the SSP leadership with the 'grand alliance,' the extremely sectarian, disruptive, vicious tactics of the CPI(M) in mass organizations no less than in national policies, and the blind anti-Congressism of both have created extremely serious hurdles in the path of united mass actions of the working class, the peasantry, the youth and students. These parties, as also the PSP have to give up such sectarian and disruptive policies and agree to forge unity, at least to begin with, in the trade union, peasant and youth movements. Together with the CPI, these parties have their roots in the working class and the peasantry.

Some rethinking has already begun. The national trade union centers under the guidance of these parties have recently come together for a joint approach on questions of wages, trade union recognition, the take-over by government of industrial establishments deliberately closed down by the monopolies, and so on.

Further. The national trade union center led by the Congress also is gradually drawing closer to all the left trade union centers for a common program and action.

This is a very welcome development and can become a very powerful weapon to pressure the government to shift to the left, to take at least partially effective measures to reduce unemployment, and also take over monopoly concerns which are deliberately sabotaging national production and the economy.

A similar advance towards united peasant action will also have to be brought about. That will need more patient and strenuous efforts.

However, unity in the sphere of popular economic demands and for action on such demands has to move forward rapidly, and, in fact, go hand in hand with serious efforts to forge the political unity of all Left and democratic forces.

It has to be clearly realized that blind anti-Congressism, however 'left' the garb in which it may strut out, cannot be the basis of such political unity.

Vast sections, not only of youth but even of broad masses in the rural areas have voted for the Congress and expect much from the leadership of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

But moving these sections into action demands strengthening the links between the left forces outside the Congress and the left and progressive forces inside it. The Congress masses have to learn and advance through their own experience. Bridges between them and those outside have to be built.

It is precisely this task which blind anti-Congressism not only fails to see but actually obstructs. In reality, with all its apparent 'militancy and radicalism,' blind anti-Congressism divides the masses and obstructs the unfolding of the full potentiality of mass actions.

The National Council of our Party has warned against both revisionist and sectarian dangers in the coming period.

The danger of revisionism lies in the failure to see the role and necessity of mass struggles in the days ahead, of independent mass campaigning for the political line of the Party as a whole, of the task of strengthening the mass organizations and the Party.

Such a failure will be exploited by the reactionary elements inside and outside the ruling Congress Party to slow down and sabotage the introduction of urgent democratic reforms leading to a loss of faith in the masses, which, again, will be utilized by the same reactionary forces for sinister and disruptive purposes.

At the same time, it is necessary to guard against the leftist deviation which is represented by the opportunism and sectarianism of the CPI(M). This deviation consists in understanding the post-election situation as a simple return to the pre-election conditions of monopoly rule of the old united Congress Party. Such an understanding completely misses the mass people's upsurge, a left upsurge, based on expectations of rapid implementation of radical reforms, that led to the landslide victory of the ruling Congress Party. Such a wrong understanding will result in disrupting popular

unity through provocative and adventurist slogans; it will also result in pitting the masses following the left parties against those following the ruling Congress Party as well as against progressive elements inside that Party. The CPI(M) has already advanced the sectarian opportunist slogan of the old outmoded 'anti-Congress' left unity. Such an approach will also offer an opportunity to the reactionary forces to regain the initiative they have lost and launch a new offensive against democratic advance.

The experience in the state of Kerala has shown that the mass following and progressive sections inside the ruling Congress Party can be rallied in support of radical reforms. In Kerala there is a United Front Government, headed by a Communist Chief Minister and supported by the Congress Party. Recently the Government in Kerala took over all the cultivable waste-land belonging to the biggest tea plantation, owned by a British firm, without paying any compensation, for distribution among the landless and poor peasants; it also nationalized 1,200 square miles of private forests, also without compensation. These measures were fully supported by the ruling Congress Party in Kerala.

The left and sectarian forces, however, are endangering the results achieved. This June, the leaders of the SSP and PSP signed a preliminary agreement in Delhi to merge the two parties in a united 'socialist party,' to be ratified at special conferences of the two parties. The draft agreement says that the newly established party will not join any united fronts with other parties, including the Communist Party. Following the agreement, PSP Chairman Gorey said that his party would withdraw from the coalition governments in Kerala, Bihar and West Bengal.

In a statement on June 22, the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India described the merger agreement as 'a setback to the cause of building up of broad left and democratic unity in order to bring about a leftward shift in our nation's political life.'

Hence, what is necessary is to consolidate and extend the left and democratic unity already achieved during the election campaign. The coming period is critical. The enthusiasm and expectations of the masses have to be rapidly channelized into militant and positive action. The task is definitely feasible in the context of the massive popular victory at the polls.



Strengthen international position of the GDR— a goal in battle for peace and socialism

Otto Winzer

The growth of the German Democratic Republic's international authority and contacts is one of the most significant developments of our time. In the past two years, diplomatic relations have been established with 16 Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, and the widespread recognition movement involves many political parties and organizations in Western and Northern Europe. Even in the Federal Republic, bourgeois politicians, Bundestag members and journalists have learned a thing or two. A few years ago they questioned the stability of the GDR and accepted the CDU government's claim to sole representation of the whole of Germany. That policy has failed, dismally. And the realization is growing in imperialist circles that no major European issue can be resolved without, let alone against, the German Democratic Republic.

1. This broadening international recognition of the GDR is the result of the sustained effort and achievements of its people. Working in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the world's progressive and democratic forces, they have built and consolidated their socialist state and, in complex and difficult conditions, made continuous progress in every area.

The GDR offers no threat to other states and peoples; on the contrary, it is a factor of peace in the very heart of Europe. That is basic to its international position and policy.

It has systematically put into practice the democratic principles of the war-time anti-Hitler coalition. Following the defeat of the Nazi Reich of German imperialism by the glorious Soviet Army and its coalition allies, the property of war criminals, active Nazis and big landed interests was expropriated. This eliminated the power of the big capitalists and Junkers responsible for unleashing imperialist war. And drawing the necessary lessons from the recent and more distant past, we rooted out fascism and militarism; today there are no classes or groups in the GDR with a stake in wars of aggrandizement.

The republic had to forge its way ahead amidst the countless

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difficulties caused by Hitler's war and the imperialist powers' post-war policy. Economic dislocation, a legacy of the fascist 'war economy,' the anti-democratic policy of the Western powers' military government, the country's partition, engineered by West German monopoly capital in alliance with U.S. imperialism, confronted the working class and its party, and all the progressive forces in East Germany with formidable problems. Partition meant sharp disproportions in the economy and sharply aggravated all the problems created by the war.

Their solution, as well as abolition of monopoly and Junker rule, required the organization of an entirely new mechanism of government. In this battle for the new Germany we in many cases had to advance along unexplored paths, seek and find new forms and methods of guiding social processes.

Despite these onerous conditions, the GDR has successfully coped with the problems of socialist construction. That was emphasized by L. I. Brezhnev in addressing the Eighth SUPG Congress: 'The socialist German Democratic Republic has travelled a long and glorious path. The process of its assertion and dissociation from the forces of the past was not an easy one. Every new position in the building of socialism had to be won in battle, in bitter struggle against revanchist and imperialist machinations.'

Considering the economic ruin left us by Hitler's Reich, considering, also, that people's minds had been poisoned by fascist hate propaganda, the building of the new, anti-imperialist democratic state and educating its citizens in a spirit of peace and friendship was indeed a difficult, well-nigh irresolvable, problem. And it was solved in a brief span of history only because we were able to re-establish working-class unity by merging, on a Marxist basis, the Communist and Social-Democratic parties to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. A firm foundation was thus laid for the passage to socialism.

The unity and leading role of the working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist Party, has throughout these years been of crucial importance in our socialist advance. The teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, adapted to our concrete conditions, has been our unfailing guide. The SUPG always proceeds from the fact that the USSR is a model socialist state and wholly rejects the theory of some special 'German' path to socialism. That is basic also to our present work of building a developed socialist society.

Today the GDR is a dynamic industrial nation in which socialist production relations have triumphed, creating the main conditions for accelerated progress. The Republic's economic potential – the GDR is one of the world's ten leading industrial powers – its peace policy and extensive foreign trade ties, its active solidarity with the liberation struggle of oppressed peoples and equal cooperation with countries that have won through to independence – these are the principal factors that have enhanced its international authority and prestige. The superiority of socialism has been demonstrated in

the specific conditions of Germany. For though we have had to build on the ruins of World War II, in a situation, moreover, far less favorable to industrial growth than in the Western part of the former German Reich, and in the teeth of constant hostility from the imperialist forces in the FRG, the Republic has, step by step, built up its socialist system.

Its sustained and dynamic progress would have been inconceivable without systematic extension of socialist democracy. Led by the working class, all classes and strata have an active and conscious share in building a developed socialist society. Our people regard their country's self-determination as a natural right and duty. The nationwide referendum endorsing the 1968 socialist Constitution was preceded by months of public debate before the final draft was worked out. The referendum, held by secret ballot, convincingly showed that the vast majority of our people want their country to follow the socialist path.

II. From its very inception, the socialist GDR has consistently followed a policy of peace. Its underlying principles – peace, equality, cooperation – are expressly set out in the Constitution.

The cornerstone of our foreign policy is indestructible, progressively closer and more multiform, fraternal alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries. Fraternal cooperation is the key factor in all our successes and in the growth of our international authority. All attempts to isolate the GDR from its natural allies have been, and will be, foiled by the strength of our alliance.

The GDR is an inalienable part of the socialist community. The Eighth SUPG Congress was a living manifestation of this. Its resolution declares: 'The chief foreign policy task is to strengthen the GDR as a firm component of the alliance of socialist states through all-round and closer cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.'

And representatives of these countries have repeatedly and vigorously emphasized their solidarity with the GDR at meetings of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, Foreign Ministers' conferences and on other occasions. At its December 1970 meeting in Berlin, the Political Consultative Committee was unanimous and emphatic in declaring that there could be no question of building a durable edifice of European peace without GDR participation.

The defense and strengthening of the GDR's international positions is a priority policy aim of the Warsaw powers, for this is a matter that affects the interests and position of the European socialist community and of the socialist camp as a whole. Accordingly, the Political Consultative Committee stressed the vital need for relations of equality between the GDR and other countries, including the FRG, on the basis of accepted standards of international law and the GDR's admission to the United Nations and other international organizations.

From this logically follows the socialist countries' utter rejection of FRG attempts to invent a pattern of 'inter-German relations' between it and the GDR. The idea, of course, is to prevent international recognition of the GDR. The consistent and increasingly extensive support the GDR is receiving from other socialist countries is a guarantee of fresh successes in the struggle for the Republic's equal participation in international affairs.

III. In its foreign policy, our socialist state upholds and operates the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence as the only realistic basis of relations between countries with mutually-opposed social systems. And in accordance with that principle, the GDR renounces war as a means of achieving political and economic aims, insists on respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty, and non-interference in internal affairs. Situated as it is in the center of Europe, our Republic is fulfilling an important function in the effort for peaceful coexistence. And it need not be doubted that its persevering opposition to revanchism and neo-Nazism is helping to produce a more congenial climate for lasting European peace and security.

The stable development of our socialist state in part of the former German empire, one of the most powerful imperialist states in history, is expressive of the changed, and changing, European balance of strength in favor of socialism and progress. The task now is to force imperialism to reckon with this irreversible fact by recognizing the GDR under international law. This would mean peaceful coexistence between the socialist GDR and the imperialist FRG and would considerably facilitate European security and cooperation of states of differing social systems.

The FRG ruling element wants to avoid this inevitable development. And to do so, it is pleading for 'national unity' – which it has itself destroyed – and so-called 'inter-German relations.' It has, in fact, advanced the arrogant demand that relations with the GDR – a sovereign state – and its equal membership in the United Nations and participation in other international organizations and agreements be dependent on prior establishment of 'inter-German relations,' a formula wholly at odds with international law. The purpose behind this demand is to place the GDR under FRG tutelage, keep it outside the international community, deprive it of the security guarantees implicit in international law and intrinsic to every sovereign state. In short, the purpose is to retain a potentially explosive situation, with its constant menace to peace and security, in the center of Europe, at the confrontation line of the chief forces of socialism and imperialism. The purpose, too, is to restrict the right of third countries and international organizations to establish relations with the GDR at their own discretion and in keeping with their legitimate interests.

There can be no 'inter-German relations' between the GDR, a member of the socialist community, and the monopoly-dominated

FRG, a leading member of NATO. Nor can there be negotiations for relations that are not based on international law, just as there can be no 'inner' relationship between socialism and imperialism, and certainly no convergence of the two. Attempts to produce anything resembling 'special inter-German relations' are unrealistic and futile. Relations between the GDR and FRG – two states independent of each other and with opposite social systems – are not moving towards rapprochement, but as the Eighth SUPG Congress declared in its resolution, are characterized by a 'logical process of dissociation. Accordingly, the only possible pattern of relations between them is peaceful coexistence under international law.'

And so, in keeping with the objective laws of social development, only a policy of peaceful coexistence can hope for success, one that would put intercourse between the two countries on a basis of international law as befits relations between states with differing social systems.

iv. Our clear-out policy of equal and mutually advantageous relations with emergent countries is part of the fight against imperialism, for peace and social progress. Many Afro-Asian and Latin American nations are using our high-quality goods and technological know-how to further their own economic and cultural development.

In helping these countries fight imperialism and neo-colonialism, the GDR enjoys their growing support. Their statesmen have shown a growing interest in our experience in solving the complex problems of social development amidst the complications of ceaseless struggle against imperialism and revanchism. For the hard-won political independence and sovereignty of these developing countries are being constantly attacked, openly or obliquely, by the imperialists.

The GDR firmly supports the Vietnamese people in their intrepid struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialism and its puppet Saigon regime. Together with the USSR and other socialist countries, our Republic is giving Vietnam manifold assistance and pressing for an immediate and unconditional end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and satellite forces from the whole of Indochina.

We support the Arab states in their fight against imperialism and for social progress. The GDR stood by Egypt in repelling the 1956 Anglo-French-Israeli aggression, trenchantly condemned the 1958 U.S. and British imperialist aggression against Lebanon and Jordan, gave every support to the Algerians in their courageous fight against French imperialism. The GDR resolutely supported an end to British colonial domination in Southern Yemen, firmly stood by the Sudan when its people fought to break out of British colonial rule, was one of the first to voice its solidarity with the people of Libya when they overthrew the monarchy and set out

on the path of progress; in fact, we were one of the first to recognize the new Libyan government.

The GDR has been equally resolute in condemning the 1967 Israeli aggression and from the very start has given every assistance to the Arabs in rebuffing the imperialist onslaught. It supports the Arab states in their efforts to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression and their constructive proposals for a political settlement of the Middle East conflict.

The GDR demands complete dismantling of the colonial system. It fully supports the liberation fight of all colonial and dependent nations. It unreservedly condemns South Africa's fascist apartheid policy and Rhodesia's racist regime.

This principled anti-colonial and anti-racist policy has earned our Republic the confidence and friendship of the nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. And in deciding to normalize contacts with the GDR, developing countries signify their appreciation that the socialist state of the German nation has from the very start supported their anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle. That has been emphasized by prominent political leaders in a number of these countries when establishing diplomatic relations with our Republic.

v. The 24th CPSU Congress stressed the vast political importance of the GDR's international recognition, Comrade Brezhnev made a special point, in his Congress report, of the successes jointly scored by the socialist countries in consolidating the international position of the German workers' state.

The GDR now maintains diplomatic relations with 29 countries and has diplomatic representatives in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. No less significant is the fact that relations with the GDR have been normalized by countries locked in battle with imperialism and therefore appreciative of our Republic's role as an anti-imperialist German state. The very fact of diplomatic ties with us is evidence that they share our understanding of the problems of anti-imperialist struggle, and this has become the basis for solidarity and close cooperation.

There is a growing urge in many Afro-Asian and Latin American states for diplomatic ties with the GDR and a growing readiness to form such ties. One indication of that is the elevation to consulate-general status of our diplomatic missions in India and Kuwait.

To this might be added that more countries support our equal membership in UN and other international organizations, and fewer countries are prepared to follow the hostile policy of Federal Germany and the U.S. on this issue.

Recent discussions of GDR membership in international organizations have clearly revealed that most countries accept our right to full and equal participation in the belief that GDR membership would serve a useful purpose. In fact, no serious politician now ventures to claim that the GDR is not really a state under international law and is not entitled to an equal share in world affairs.

Debates in West and North European parliaments are likewise symbolic of the growing appreciation that diplomatic relations with the GDR are long overdue and that there can be no effective and lasting solutions for Europe's peace and security problems without equal GDR participation. There is also a growing interest in closer links with our Republic in many different fields. This has found expression, in particular, in the long-term trade agreements with Denmark, Austria, France, Britain, Italy and several more countries, and in the establishment of French and Austrian economic missions in the GDR capital. Still another avenue of fruitful cooperation is provided by the bilateral economic committees with Finland, France, and Sweden.

Today, the movement for normal relations with the GDR under international law has spread to all continents. Besides the Standing International Committee for GDR Recognition there are national friendship societies and recognition committees in 53 non-socialist countries, with more being started. They include representatives of different classes and groups and their influence on public and official circles is steadily mounting.

VI. Every step in strengthening our international position is the result of persistent struggle against the U.S. and FRG policy of isolating our country. Diplomatic relations with 16 independent Afro-Asian and Latin American countries sounded the death knell of the Hallstein doctrine, for 20 years Bonn's main diplomatic weapon against the German Democratic Republic: the FRG would break off diplomatic relations with any government recognizing the GDR. The result has been just the opposite of what Bonn expected: growing international recognition of our Republic militated against the foreign-policy and, more especially, economic, interests of West German imperialism. In the end, Bonn had to abandon its celebrated doctrine.

In fact, it found itself compelled openly to admit that the Hallstein doctrine had failed and it had to modify its discriminatory policy with regard to the GDR. But it has not abandoned discrimination, which is now conducted through another doctrine, the Scheel doctrine. Its point and purpose have been formulated in instructions to West German representatives abroad. One directive, issued in September 1970, says: 'Pending a satisfactory inter-German settlement, the Federal government will firmly abide by its former policy of resisting every attempt to alter the GDR's international status.' In other words, the Scheel doctrine, now being imposed on sovereign states, is no more than the old policy of international discrimination of the GDR. And the purpose is the same too - force the GDR to accept FRG tutelage in the form of 'inter-German relations.'

Bonn State Secretary Moersch told the Bundestag on April 30 that the government had taken a wise step in dispatching special ambassadors to a number of countries where recognition of the

GDR was in the offing, and to international organizations about to demonstrate their universality by admitting the GDR.

Bonn has retaliated to the development of our international relations by unlawful actions against India, Somalia, Ceylon, Algeria, and especially Chile. But in these and other countries its arrogant demands have met with a stern rebuff. The Scheel doctrine, the facts show, is faring no better than its predecessor. And Herr Moersch had to tell the Bundestag that the government should 'pursue a more flexible policy once recognition (of the GDR) has become a fact.' In other words, Bonn is powerless to take any serious action against independent states.

And more governments are proceeding from the fact that there exist the GDR and the FRG, two states independent of each other and with mutually-opposed social systems. The meeting of their Prime Ministers in Erfurt and Kassel, and official negotiations at State Secretary level and with the participation of Foreign Ministry officials in the two capitals, have made it *perfectly obvious to the world that the GDR and FRG are separate states in international law and totally independent of each other.*

The treaties the Soviet Union and Poland have concluded with the FRG are of exceptional importance for universal acceptance of the post-war alignment in Europe. Under these treaties, the FRG recognizes the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the GDR, pledges to respect the territorial integrity of all European states in their present boundaries, accepts the inviolability of these boundaries and renounces all territorial claims, now and in future.

In short, there is no legal warrant whatever for refusing international recognition of the FRG-GDR boundary, the GDR's territorial integrity, the Oder-Neisse line, and the sovereignty of all European states without exception. That is expressly formulated in the above-mentioned treaties.

Addressing the Eighth SUPG Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized: 'The GDR is convincingly demonstrating the big role it plays, and the growing potentialities it has, in widely differing areas of international intercourse. It is steadily developing parliamentary and public contacts. Now it is clear to all that an all-Europe conference is inconceivable without equal GDR participation.' Progress made so far, plus a more favorable situation, offer better conditions for eliminating discrimination of the GDR and for its equal participation in international relations. Full utilization of the opportunities this presents is a pressing task of all the forces of peace and democracy.

Old ideas and new trends

Notes on the Socialist International Council Conference

This journal has repeatedly concerned itself with the Social-Democratic movement. The Social-Democrats have a large following among the working class and other working people. They influence a number of trade union centers (such as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which has about 60 million members in 100 countries) and play a prominent role in many West European countries.

The Socialist International (SI), founded in 1951, comprises 54 parties differing in social composition, influence, and ideological and political stance. These parties have an aggregate membership exceeding 13 million and are backed by more than 70 million voters. About one-fourth of them head or participate in the governments of their countries.

Thus the SI is fairly strong even though the prestige and influence of a number of affiliated Socialist and Social-Democratic parties is steadily declining, as its own leaders admit. Speaking of the situation in the British Labor Party (6,163,000 members), *Socialist Commentary* noted that it was affected with a progressing malignant disease. Socialist positions are said to have weakened in France, Italy and Luxembourg. Hans Janitschek, SI General Secretary, called this trend an 'ideological crisis.' Its roots lie in the very nature of social-reformism, which is running into an impasse as an opportunist trend in the labor movement.

Some SI leaders do not hesitate to describe the International as the 'successor' of the First International founded by Karl Marx. Reality shows, however, that the present-day association of Socialist parties is the direct political and ideological successor of the Second International, which fell apart during World War I, and the 'two-and-a-half International' founded in Vienna in 1921, both of which subordinated the proletariat's interests to those of the bourgeoisie, compromised with the bourgeoisie and impeded the revolutionary movement. Evaluating the inglorious role of these social-reformist associations, Lenin wrote that their member parties 'are actually in a bloc with the whole of the bourgeois counter-revolution and are serving it loyally' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 460).

The Right-wing leaders of Social-Democratic parties have virtually reduced them to an ideological and political prop of state-monopoly capitalism in the labor movement. This prop is not solid, however,

for internal contradictions and sharp differences springing up time and again erode the si. The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stated that 'a differentiation is taking place in the ranks of Social-Democracy, and this is also reflected in the leadership. Some of the leaders come out in defense of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to reckon with the demands of the working masses in the economic and social fields, and in the questions of the struggle for peace and progress.'

The two years that have passed since the Meeting have proved this deduction to be correct and relevant. The si Council Conference in Helsinki last May was an indication of growing differentiation. The progressive press carried numerous reports and comments on the conference. Nevertheless, a more detailed examination of certain aspects of the conference may help in revealing the evolution going on in the Social-Democratic movement.

Solidarity with aggressors

A brief note on outward details to begin with.

In the small hall of Rakennusmestarien Talo, a grey building in a quiet by-street, delegates sat at desks covered with an orange cloth (bunting of the same color adorned the speakers' platform). Almost half of the seats were vacant—many of the invited had failed to arrive. And when the conference opened (half an hour behind schedule), over a dozen delegates went on chatting at the buffet over their coffee. Among those present were several prominent leaders of their countries, including Willy Brandt of the FRG, Bruno Kreisky of Austria, Trygve Bratteli of Norway and Olof Palme of Sweden. However, the idol of the sponsors, led by si Chairman Bruno Pitterarmann, was Prime Minister Golda Meir of Israel.

The agenda was truly global and covered the situation in the Middle East and Southeast Asia, European security and fascism in Europe, and colonialism and racialism in Africa. At the very first sitting it was announced that the report on Southeast Asia, to be presented by T. Nielsen of Sweden, was off.

'What's the reason for the surgical operation?' I asked Artur Bratu, delegate of the International League of Social-Democratic Teachers.

'I understand strong differences have arisen in the Bureau (of the si. — A.B.) he replied. 'Some wanted the report to be made. But the majority found it undesirable. Besides, the U.S. Socialist Party delegation was against it.'

Now, the social-reformist leaders have in effect backed the invaders throughout the Indochina war. The official shorthand record of si activities shows that the tension in Southeast Asia was discussed by the si only once, at the London meeting of its Bureau in May 1970, following the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. The statement adopted by the meeting said: 'The Socialist International has . . .

condemned the military activities of *all* (my italics. – A.B.) participants in the conflict in Southeast Asia. In other words, Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders equate bare-faced foreign intervention with the legitimate liberation fight of the peoples of Indochina in an attempt to *whitewash the imperialist aggression*. They stuck to this line at the conference. The report on the international situation presented by Harold Wilson, the British Labor Party leader, was in line with the position of official Washington with regard to the situation in Southeast Asia. This identity of views is understandable. The Labor cabinet under Wilson invariably abetted the U.S. policy of aggression in Southeast Asia. Among other things, it readily put Hongkong, the British colony bordering on China, at the disposal of the Pentagon as a rear supply base of U.S. forces in Indochina. Senator Muskie has said that the White House's policy on Vietnam found stronger backing in the British Labor government than in the U.S. Congress. It is indicative that last June the U.S. Senate voted for the complete withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina within the next nine months. The publication of secret Pentagon plans in the U.S. press prompted many noted Congressmen – to say nothing of public opinion – to voice their anger at Washington's adventurist and criminal policy in Southeast Asia.

The debate on Wilson's report showed most delegates to be indifferent to the Indochina problem, which they did not even mention. Only a few of them condemned Washington's Asian policy. They included Finnish Social-Democratic delegates Kalevi Sorsa and Ulf Sundqvist, the Japanese Katsu Kawamura and the Canadian Socialist David Lewis. In these circumstances the Right-wing leaders had no difficulty in pushing through a resolution that, as well as putting the aggressor and his victim on a par, slanders the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

There was some friction when the delegation of the U.S. Socialist Party (3,000 members) raised objections to the resolution. The Vice-Chairman of that party, a man named S. Friedman, took the floor to lash out at the resolution for failing to condemn the 'aggressiveness' of the DVR strongly enough. Pittermann, who was in the chair, tried hard to call a halt to the enraged 'hawk's' verbiage. He told Friedman again and again that his time was up but got nowhere.

The subservience of the reformist International leaders to the imperialist aggressors stood out even more when the situation in the Middle East came up for discussion. Many journalists were struck by the fact that in asking Golda Meir to speak, Pittermann rose from his chair and said with feeling: 'We hail in her person our fellow Social-Democrat.' And making a sweeping gesture with his hand, he added: 'If you please, dear Golda!' Golda Meir went to the rostrum with mincing steps. Janitschek, beaming, hurried to her from the speakers' platform and escorted her to the rostrum, supporting her respectfully by the elbow.

Half of the Israeli 'Labor' leader's lengthy speech was taken up with attempts to justify Israeli policy and with charges of 'aggression' by the Arab countries, in particular the UAR. Then came the exposition of a frankly expansionist policy which Israel intends to uphold by every means.

In conclusion, Meir said dramatically that she thought it was a sacred duty of the Socialist community to declare that Israel needed help.

The top leaders of the 'community' responded eagerly to the call for solidarity with the aggressors. Against the objections of the Finnish, French and Swedish delegations, they managed to impose a resolution explicitly backing the Israeli warlords. It virtually rejects the Security Council resolution on the plea that talks on a peaceful settlement should be held 'without prior conditions' and hypocritically expresses concern over 'the despatch of new advanced weapons to Egypt and Syria.' This despite the fact that the writers of the resolution know that these two victims of a treacherous aggression are compelled to strengthen their defenses with the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries against the Israeli aggressors, whom the United States supplies with huge quantities of offensive weapons.

Comments made in the lobby suggested that many delegates were jarred by the resolution and still more by Meir's speech containing threats against the Arab countries. The sponsors must have realized this, for, curiously enough, the text of the Israeli Premier's speech was not released to the press until the following day. It took time to edit the speech, we were told in the press room (certain sharp expressions were taken out).

Golda Meir found herself in a predicament at the very first news conference.

'You said Israel would under no circumstances consent to return certain territories to the Arabs. Which territories did you mean?' she was asked.

She tried to dodge the question by resorting to vague arguments but had finally to admit that under no circumstances would Israel withdraw its forces from the western bank of the Jordan or the Golan Heights.

Just then there was an uproar beyond the heavily curtained windows. We heard the scanned words: 'Golda Meir, go home!' Afterwards we were told that demonstrators tried to make their way into the building but were barred by police. The crowd, several hundred strong, included numerous young Finnish Social-Democrats.

Realism versus dogmatism

When you read reports on the June NATO Council meeting in Lisbon, you feel as if it had been a sequel to the May conference of the SI Council: many concepts, formulas and arguments were similar. The two-day political debate in Lisbon showed that most NATO

countries are far from living up to their professed desire for international détente. They cling to NATO dogmas refuted by life, peddle distrust of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries and insist that talks with these countries be carried on from the discredited 'positions of strength.' In Helsinki, some Social-Democratic leaders approached the problem of peace in Europe from much the same standpoint.

This is why one cannot quite agree with the Finnish paper *Uusi Suomi*, which wrote that 'the Socialist International has given the green light to the convocation of a security conference without strings.' On the other hand, the debate on this issue as a whole differed considerably from the debate on the situation in the Middle East and Indochina. In contrast to 'Atlantic' dogmatism, most delegates made an obvious effort for a *realistic assessment of the situation on the continent*.

Characteristically, speakers focussed attention on the Warsaw Treaty countries' collective program for security on the continent, and the proposal for a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe renewed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, in Tbilisi in the middle of May. Vaino Leskinen, a noted representative of the Finnish Social-Democratic Party, said that this proposal, as well as the incipient improvement in relations between West Germany, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and Poland, on the other, contacts between the GDR and West Germany and other positive developments might well mark a turning point towards a lasting peace in Europe. K. Sorsa, Secretary of that party, drew the attention of the meeting to the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is pursuing a constructive policy line. He called on the SI to use the new opportunities of opening an era of peace and cooperation. Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt said in his report, 'The Policy of Peace and Cooperation in Europe,' that the Soviet proposal for a reciprocal reduction of armed forces puts the problem of European security on a more concrete basis.

Some speakers were agreeable to the idea of holding a European forum but made various reservations raising hurdles to it. Harold Wilson, for one, said that the agenda of the proposed meeting should cover *all* European problems and not just the problems suggested by the Warsaw Treaty countries. Joop den Uyl, leader of the Dutch Labor Party, who declared for normalizing relations between the two German states and for setting up a permanent European security organ, made the convening of a European conference conditional on a 'satisfactory formula' for West Berlin.

Thus there is a tendency to lump together important and complicated political problems which cannot, of course, be solved at once. There can be no question that settling the problem of West Berlin is very important for improving the situation in Europe. Nevertheless, a satisfactory solution hinges primarily on the attitude of the Western powers, on their respecting the legitimate

interests and sovereign rights of the GDR, an independent socialist state.

Lastly, some delegates, while refraining from frontal attacks on the idea of a continental security system, resorted to biased evaluation and conjectures casting doubt on the usefulness of talks on European peace with the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries.

Denis Healey, ex-Defense Minister in the British Labor cabinet, called the Soviet Union's peace proposals a tactical maneuver, and advocated caution in East-West contacts. Gianni Finocchiaro, a spokesman for the Italian Socialist Party, advanced the concept of a 'bipolar system' to minimize the role of an eventual European security system. His compatriot Antonio Cariglia, a delegate of the Italian Social-Democratic Party, frankly took a cold war stand and slandered the socialist countries while extolling the 'peaceful' intentions of NATO.

Thus the debate on European security brought out growing discord in the SI over key international problems. This discord is due to mounting pressure on the leadership of various parties from the rank and file, who long for a durable peace, and secondly, to a certain revision of foreign policy postures by a section of the ruling bourgeoisie, from which top Social Democrats take their cue.

The meeting in the Finnish capital unanimously approved a resolution calling on the governments and peoples of Europe and North America to work for the early convocation of a European security conference. The resolution also expressed the hope that the conference would set up a permanent agency in which European countries with different political systems could demonstrate the possibility of replacing conflict by cooperation and thereby transforming the continent into a peace area.

It follows that the reformist top leadership was unable, like the NATO ministers at Lisbon, to disregard the broad and constructive program for European peace put forward by the socialist countries, even though the discussion was laced with anti-Communist and anti-Soviet attacks. This forced change of mind by SI leaders is an indication of the tremendous impact of the Leninist peace policy of the Soviet Union and its allies.

Opposition to rightist policy

It became known to the journalists accredited to the conference that the Central League of the Social-Democratic Youth of Finland did not bar its members from the powerful demonstration in front of the conference building although the demonstration was directed against Golda Meir's arrival and, in effect, against the imperialists.

'We disapprove of the conference resolutions on the situation in the Middle East and Indochina,' U. Sundqvist, Chairman of the League, a young, energetic MP told the press. 'The League objects

to them. Some are putting pressure on us to make us change our position. But we will maintain it.'

The League leadership firmly countered resolutions imposed by the Rightists with demands of its own. These demands include complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab areas as a first step to the solution of the problem of the Middle East, strong condemnation of U.S. imperialism, which is responsible for the Indochina war, and settlement of the situation in South Vietnam in line with the proposals of the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

This 'rebellion of youth,' as a Finnish radio commentator described it, was only one element of the general process of increasing opposition to the top leadership's policies. Yielding to monopoly capital on matters of home and foreign policy, this leadership cannot approach key domestic and international problems progressively and constructively, in keeping with the aspirations of the Social-Democratic rank and file, nor put forward an ideological and political platform acceptable to them.

In an ironical remark about British Conservative practices, Harold Wilson said they applied to the problems of today methods and solutions that had been good the 'day before yesterday.' Yet this comment is also true of the activity of the Labor Party and the SI. On the pretext of 'enforcing Party discipline,' their Right-wing leaders try to suppress every initiative running counter to their formulas and principles disproved by reality. In view of this hide-bound attitude of the SI, some of the member parties tend increasingly to ignore resolutions passed by SI congresses, Council conferences and Bureau meetings.

For a fairly long time the reformist leadership contrived to rigidly implement its principle No. 1 - refusal to cooperate with the Communists - proclaimed by the Council in Zurich in 1956. Its purpose was to isolate the Social-Democratic rank and file from the revolutionary influence of Communists and the impact of the ideas of scientific socialism. But reality reveals to many Social-Democrats the harm of this principle.

Last December D. Tamburrano, member of the CC, Italian Socialist Party, speaking at an SI seminar in Vienna, said that the Social-Democrats 'today are faced with the question whether it is possible to speak of new relations with the Communists with a view to achieving political unity in one way or another.' This is not to say that large sections of the reformist movement are drawing nearer to communist ideals, assimilating the ideas of scientific socialism and coming to recognize the correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory. This may come afterwards. What is meant here is only political cooperation on a number of concrete issues, in areas where goals coincide.

While exposing social-reformism from positions of Marxist-Leninist principle, Communists attach decisive importance to working-class unity in anti-imperialist action. They favor cooperation with

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While exposing social-reformism from positions of Marxist-Leninist principle, Communists attach decisive importance to working-class unity in anti-imperialist action. They favor *cooperation* with

the Socialists and Social-Democrats and are doing all in their power to bring it about. This fundamental line was emphasized by the 1969 Meeting and reaffirmed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. 'In accordance with the line of the International Meeting of 1969,' L. I. Brezhnev said in his Congress Report, 'the CPSU is prepared to develop cooperation with the Social-Democrats in both the struggle for socialism, of course without foregoing its ideology or its revolutionary principles.'

At the Helsinki conference the Communist appeal met with a favorable response. V. Leskinen stressed the advisability of broad cooperation between the forces of progress to further peace. 'We have proposed,' he said, 'establishing contacts between the Social-Democratic parties and the ruling parties of the socialist countries in Eastern Europe; we repeat this proposal now.' K. Sorsa agreed with him, saying that such contacts were desirable for joint discussion of the idea of a European conference. These statements were applauded – an indication that other delegates held the same views.

This is a promising trend, of course. It would be wrong, however, to overrate it, ignoring the big obstacles to cooperation with certain Social-Democratic quarters. The Right-wing reformist leaders are still strong enough and will continue to regard the struggle against communism and the socialist countries as their main task.

It is revealing that at the Helsinki conference Rightist leaders hastened to neutralize 'rebellious' proposals for cooperation with the Communists. Ignoring the list of speakers, they put forward Arye Eliav, General Secretary of the Israeli Labor Party, and A. S. Wasik, a spokesman for the emigre scum who call themselves the Socialist League of Central and Eastern Europe. Both smeared the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

There was a stormy scene at one of the news conferences. In reply to a question the Right-wingers declared against cooperation between Social-Democrats and Communists. What Kreisky and Bratteli meant was that there may be cooperation between West and East European states but by no means between Social-Democratic and Communist parties. It was noteworthy, however, that the reformist top leadership refrained from imposing frankly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet documents on the delegates as they did at Eastbourne two years ago. It obviously feared that this might aggravate contradictions in the SI.

Closing the news conference devoted to the conclusion of the conference, Pittermann said, indicating Finnish Social-Democratic delegates with a nod:

'What they propose can be of no use to us.'

The SI Chairman did not say whom exactly he meant by 'us.' He was probably speaking of the Right-wing leadership whose anti-communism prompts them to serve the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the international arena, as the Helsinki meeting showed.

This conference of the SI Council does not warrant the conclusion that any radical changes had occurred in the policy of the Socialist International. Nevertheless, there was evidence of new trends which may well grow strong enough to force the reformist top leadership into a certain revision of its position. It is certain that the old ideological and political ideas this leadership brought to Helsinki are proving more and more unsuitable.

A. Baturin

Helsinki-Prague.

On people's struggle against repression and for democracy

Letter from East Pakistan

For months Bangla Desh (East Pakistan) has been the scene of violent repressions. Government troops have massacred thousands of men, women and children. Among the dead are many prominent political leaders and intellectuals. Dacca, Chittagong and other towns have been pillaged; thousands of villages have been burned. Nearly six million people have crossed the border into India in search of shelter. The only 'crime' of these people is that they are demanding respect for their democratic rights and national interests, and freedom from exploitation and oppression. They are determined not to allow the verdict of the peoples of Pakistan in the December 1970 general elections, a turning point in our history, to be trampled underfoot.

The state of Pakistan was formed in 1947 when the British imperialists were forced to quit India and grant political independence to the peoples of the Indian sub-continent under the hammer-blows of the post-second world war revolutionary upsurge. The Muslim majority areas were then carved out to form the state of Pakistan, consisting of two parts, West and East, separated by almost 1,500 kilometres.

The population of Pakistan consists of distinct nationalities with their own language, culture and economic setup. East Pakistan with a population of 75 million, is inhabited by the Bangla people, who are either Muslims or Hindus. West Pakistan's population of 60 million is divided into Punjabis, Sindhis, Baluchis and Pathans. When the state of Pakistan was created, power passed

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into the hands of feudal landlords and big capitalists, mainly coming from among the Punjabis. In the name of Islam, the Pakistani rulers brutally suppressed all the national, political, economic and social aspirations of the people. Every demand aiming at the abolition of feudalism and monopoly capitalist exploitation was characterized as going against the tenets of Islam, as atheism and communism. And always the scare of Pakistan in danger was raised to suppress all mass movements.

If every demand for progressive changes in the socio-economic setup in West Pakistan was termed as 'hersey and atheism,' the slogan of regional autonomy in East Pakistan was condemned as a 'betrayal' of the very concept of Pakistan. The people of East Pakistan had to wage a prolonged struggle to get the right of education in their own Bangali language.

Since the creation of the Pakistan state, during the past two decades, 22 West Pakistani big business families, controlling the state power, have acquired control of 60 per cent of the nation's industrial, 80 per cent of its banking and 75 per cent of its insurance assets. This concentration of national wealth in a very few hands was made possible by economic discrimination. Bangla Desh was virtually turned into a colony of the Punjabi tycoons.

A major share of the foreign exchange earnings of Bangla Desh from the export of jute was annually taken away by West Pakistan for industrial development, mainly in Punjab. The appalling record of disparity in economic development can be seen from the fact that only 20 per cent was spent in Bangla Desh out of the total revenue expenditure of the Central Government during the past twenty years. At the same time the lion's share of the foreign aid received by Pakistan was utilized in West Pakistan for economic development in Punjab.

After the 1965 conflict with India, all economic relations between Pakistan and India were cut off. This affected the economic life of Bangla Desh very adversely. Many industries which were getting raw materials from India were closed down. Bangla Desh is forced to supply raw materials for industries in West Pakistan at very low prices and pays exorbitant prices for the consumer goods supplied by the West.

Although the Bangla people comprise the majority of the population (56 per cent), priority in the army and civil service goes to the Punjabis, who account for 80 per cent of the defense service. And it is officers and servicemen, chiefly Punjabis, who get allocations of reclaimed, newly-irrigated land. This, at least, was the case in Sind. When land is auctioned, it is bought by Punjabis, who are well-to-do, while the Sindhi peasants are left empty-handed. There is also discrimination in the recruitment of manpower for factory work and building projects.

In foreign policy matters, too, the situation left much to be desired, for Pakistan was dragged into pro-imperialist military blocs.

It was against this that the people of both wings of Pakistan rose in an unprecedentedly powerful mass revolt against the military regime, for national rights and parliamentary democracy. President Ayub Khan was forced to quit and hand over power to Yahya Khan in 1969. Yahya Khan had to promise constitutional reforms, general elections in December 1970 and handing over power to the elected representatives of the people. The general elections were a victory for the democratic forces, while the Right-wing parties who supported military rule, suffered defeat. The Awami League, led by the popular leader of Bangla Desh, Mujibur Rahman, swept the polls in East Pakistan and won an absolute majority in the National Assembly. The People's Party of Pakistan, led by a former foreign minister, Z. A. Bhutto, won the majority of seats in West Pakistan.

Full provincial autonomy for East Pakistan and the Sindhi, Baluchi and Pathan nationalities in West Pakistan was the main campaign slogan of the Awami League. Abolition of the monopoly power of the 22 big business families, nationalization of the banks, insurance companies and key industries, radical land reforms, rights for workers, peasants and other sections of the working people figured prominently in the election manifestos of the Awami League and the People's Party.

The ruling circles in Pakistan, however, did not want to relinquish the initiative. They started their maneuvers to nullify the results of the elections, and exploited the stipulation in the decree ordering general elections that the National Assembly should frame a constitution within three months after it is convened and that the constitution should be acceptable to the President before power is handed over to the elected representatives of the people.

Mr. Bhutto, leader of the People's Party, demanded prior agreement on the basic principles of the new constitution. He was opposed to the demand of the Awami League for full provincial autonomy and even threatened to boycott the National Assembly.

This threat was used as an excuse by President Yahya Khan to postpone indefinitely the convening of the National Assembly, fixed for March 13, 1971. The people of East Pakistan were naturally angry. There were spontaneous and powerful mass demonstrations and repeated general strikes. Yahya Khan reimposed martial law and let loose the military to suppress the mass protest movement. The Awami League replied by calling for non-cooperation with the authorities of the Central administration; the whole civil administration was in effect taken over by the Awami League. Yahya Khan had to make a tactical retreat on March 25, 1971 and went to Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan, for negotiations with the leaders of the Awami League.

In the negotiations with President Yahya Khan, Mujibur Rahman, leader of the Awami League, insisted on the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people throughout Pakistan before the National Assembly was convened.

Agreement was reached on lifting the martial law and transfer of power to a civilian government by a Presidential proclamation: power will be transferred immediately to the majority parties in the provinces; and separate meetings of the National Assembly members from West and East Pakistan would be held preparatory to a joint session of the house to finalize the constitution.

But the government was not prepared to honor this agreement. It was only playing for time through the ruse of conducting negotiations to deploy sufficient military forces in East Pakistan before it could strike. And on 25th March at midnight, without giving any warning the government troops opened fire with machine guns and artillery. Leaders of the Awami League, including Mujibur Rahman, were arrested; the city of Dacca was turned into an inferno with fires raging all over the city. By the next morning some 50,000 people had been killed by the army in the city.

The people of Bangla Desh rose as one man in defense of their hard-won democratic rights. The Awami League, which had insisted only on broad autonomy for all the nationalities within the framework of a federated Pakistan, was forced to declare Bangla Desh independent, which was welcomed and supported by the entire people of East Pakistan.

The working class was in the vanguard of the struggle. The workers in the various factories in the capital Dacca and other cities, together with the students, were the first to lead the call for general strikes and non-cooperation with the military regime. The unity of the working class with the rest of the people strengthened the movement and provided it with a progressive democratic socio-economic content which is essential for sustained resistance to the overwhelmingly superior armed forces.

Responding to these events, the Communist Party of East Pakistan issued an appeal, in which it stressed that all its work was part of the struggle of the Bangla people. The toiling masses of West Pakistan, the Pathans, Baluchis, Sindhis and Punjabi, should not be misjudged as enemies. The rights of these nationalities were also being trampled underfoot by the ruling autocracy. Therefore, the appeal went on, all attempts should be made to forge unity among the Bengalis and non-Bengalis, the Muslims and the Hindus. The stronger the unity, the surer the conquest of democratic freedoms and national rights.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of East Pakistan in a letter addressed to fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, has pointed out that 'all democrats of the world should be fully convinced that the present struggle for the liberation of our motherland is a just struggle against native and foreign reactionaries. The defeat of these reactionaries in Bangla Desh will strengthen the forces of democracy and peace in the Southeast Asia region.'

The people of East Pakistan welcome with deep gratitude the communication, sent by Nikolai Podgorny, chairman of the Presi-

dium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to President Yahya Khan, appealing for adopting the most urgent measures to stop the bloodshed and repression against the population of East Pakistan and for turning to methods of a peaceful political settlement. They were also happy at the statement by Prime Minister Kosygin that Pakistani authorities must immediately take such measures as to create conditions for the refugees to return to their homes and to guarantee their personal safety and opportunity to live and work peacefully in East Pakistan.

Any move from any quarter to put an end to the bloodshed in East Pakistan and to enable the people of East Pakistan to exercise their democratic rights and the refugees, numbering many millions, to return to their homes is welcome. The democratic forces throughout the world should vigorously back our struggle for a united front of all Left and democratic forces so that a political solution may be found to the crisis in East Pakistan on the basis of respecting the democratic rights and national interests of the Bangla people.

Nukul Ahmed

new from the ussr

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Important landmarks

One thing that strikes the reader of the world press these days is the worldwide discussion, by friend and foe, of the problems of socialist society triggered off by the recent Communist and Workers' parties' congresses in several socialist countries. Between November 1970 and June 1971 there were the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the 14th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the 16th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Preparations are under way for the 6th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

The Hungarian, Soviet and Bulgarian congresses have been reviewed in earlier issues of this journal,* a report on the Czechoslovak congress appears elsewhere in this issue and articles on the Mongolian and GDR congresses will appear in coming issues. The purpose of this article is to pinpoint some features common to all the congresses.

It is no accident, of course, that these supreme forums of the Communists of socialist countries were held at practically one and the same time. Communist congresses discuss vital problems, chart out the direction of home and foreign policy, set the Party's next tasks. These are questions of such importance that every congress becomes an important landmark in the political life of the country concerned.

Dominating the agendas of all the congresses was economic policy. In the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia and the GDR, the congresses discussed and approved directives for the 1971-75 economic development plans. The Hungarian congress concentrated on formulating policy for the five-year plan adopted earlier. Naturally, the plans are not identical – each is tied to the country's potentialities and requirements. But the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have now reached a point when it is objectively necessary more closely to coordinate their economic development program, both in the common inter-

*See issues 4-7 for 1971.

ests of the socialist community and in the national interests of each of its members.

The CMEA countries began coordinating their national five-year plans 15 years ago, in 1956. At that early stage national planning methods and plan-periods differed, but it soon became clear that plan-periods would have to be harmonized with the requirements of international coordination. And in 1966 all the CMEA countries shifted to a five-year plans covering more or less the same period, making it possible to incorporate agreed international arrangements in national plans.

Central to economic development in all the socialist countries now is the need for closer integration. And the integration process naturally leads to joint undertakings based on international socialist division of labor. This has produced a fundamentally new development, namely, the organization of international socialist enterprises, jointly managed by all the partners and with 'shops located in several countries. Typical examples are the Friendship oil pipeline, the Peace power grid, joint development projects, etc. Through this new pattern of interconnecting the national economies, economic integration greatly accelerates the progress of world socialism.

In its political aspects, economic integration furnishes additional guarantees for the socialist system in each country and, consequently, strengthens its sovereignty. A salient feature of integration policy is that it is framed and operated on a multilateral basis, taking into account the current and long-range requirements and interests of each country and of the socialist community as a whole. Integration problems figured prominently at all Party congresses, a sure sign of their growing importance for the socialist community.

Naturally, the scale and degree of integration and plan coordination depend on the stage reached by the socialist countries in socio-economic development. A close reading of the congress debates and resolutions will show that further growth hinges mainly on solution of these problems:

- how best to combine the advantages of socialism with the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution;
- how to assure, on this basis, optimal effectiveness and balanced, proportional development of the entire economy and a steep rise in prosperity standards;
- how best to improve the work of cultivating the Marxist-Leninist world outlook;
- what forms and methods to employ in the continued development of socialist democracy;
- how to raise cooperation of the socialist countries to a higher plane.

The fact that these problems have been raised in different countries is indicative of the closer similitude, the evening out, of their economic and social development processes. Indeed, a num-

ber of countries are now building a mature, or developed, socialist society, and the Soviet Union is successfully building communism.

What is behind these formulas which have been tested in theory and are now widely used?

The building of 'developed socialism,' 'a mature society,' 'laying the foundations of communism' – let us consider what they mean from a purely practical point of view. First, realization of the most humane social program. That, indeed, is the point and purpose of the decisions adopted at the recent congresses: they concentrate on meeting the aspirations and needs of the men of labor. And they have thus dealt another blow to the theory that socialism can develop without raising the material standards of the people, without concern for man and his well-being.

At the present stage of socialist construction, the common interests of fraternal nations go far beyond economics. There is a growing and insistent need for joint progress, based on the achievements of all the socialist countries, in the social and cultural fields, home and foreign policy, development of the socialist state and democracy, and in many different areas of science.

Harmonizing socio-economic development goals poses in a new way the whole problem of pooling experience. In the past, with a much wider margin of difference between the targets set by the various CMEA countries, the positive experience accumulated by one or another of them might have to wait years before it was internationalized, that is, applied in one or more other countries. The position has changed: now many socialist countries are going through practically the same or similar development stages, and the experience of one can immediately be employed by the rest. That explains the heightened interest in these countries' methods of socialist construction, and the greater demand for interpretative generalization of their experience. And we can now speak of immediate internationalization, both in terms of theory and practice, of the constructive experience of each country in building the new society.

Party congresses are the highest form of appraising and generalizing this experience in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory. And the fact that these congresses were held more or less simultaneously fully accords with present-day requirements. For it need hardly be proved that it is much wiser to weigh accumulated experience before, and not after, the final decision is taken. This enables each Party fully to assess the collective experience of the socialist community in formulating policy.

There is also the added advantage of accelerating the progress of the socialist countries, their advance in a united front, so to say. For if each country relies only on its own experience, which cannot be as comprehensive as that of the entire community, the framing of correct decisions is much more difficult. Besides, the study and judicious use of this collective experience can obviate repetition of mistakes made by others.

The congresses set a splendid example of coordinated Marxist-Leninist theoretical research. By generalizing the results of the parties' theoretical work, and by furnishing scientifically-substantiated solutions to current problems, they gave a powerful impetus to the solution of new problems and set the course for ideological struggle against anti-communism and Right and 'Left' revisionism.

Still another feature common to all Communist Party congresses is their use of CPSU experience, notably the 24th Congress materials. This is expressive of the Soviet Union's objective role in consolidating and developing world socialism, in the worldwide class struggle and in mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism. The 24th CPSU Congress demonstrated anew that the Party of Lenin is attuned to the needs of the epoch and furnishes correct, principled Marxist-Leninist solutions for the pressing problems of our time. In Sofia and Prague, Ulan Bator and Berlin, the Communist congresses, in resolving the cardinal problems of their countries' development, stressed that the 24th CPSU Congress was for them an example of creative Marxist-Leninist thought, a model of principled policy and its business-like implementation.

In the present-day world, with the intensive struggle against imperialism and aggression, there is a pressing need to coordinate also the foreign policy of the socialist countries. And a pursual of the programs for world peace and security, freedom and independence, drawn up by fraternal parties, will show that they are working towards common foreign-policy aims, strengthening their alliance and their internationalist solidarity. And alliance of the socialist states is the chief guarantee of continued success in the battle against imperialism.

Interest in the experience gained by the socialist countries goes far beyond their community. The recent congresses were a clear demonstration to the entire Communist movement of the successful building of the new world. The 24th CPSU Congress was attended by 102 delegations from 91 countries, and these are the figures for the other congresses: Hungarian, 32 delegations; Bulgarian, 89; Czechoslovak, 77; Mongolian, 50; GDR, 94. The figures are indicative of the vast authority and prestige the fraternal parties of the socialist world enjoy. They re-emphasize the importance of Party congresses as forums of international cooperation and testify to the closer contacts between the Marxist-Leninist parties and their allies in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The high appraisal of the recent congresses given by the world Communist movement is no more than natural. For these congresses presented to the world a convincing picture of real socialism in all its magnificence, highlighting the humane plans of economic and cultural development oriented on the interests and needs of the working people. They showed the successes of the socialist countries, and also the problems that still have to be solved. They were characteristic of the farseeing policy, and calm,

business-like style of work, of the buoyant optimism and confidence with which these countries are tackling their problems, of socialism's vast superiority over capitalism.

This was well put by the West German workers' paper *Unsere Zeit*: 'Some events do not need to be elevated to international status – they speak for themselves. And that Soviet Communist Congresses are in our country considered events of utmost international significance is something quite new, all the more so that this view is now generally accepted. This is expressive of the fact that, in our day, the course of history is decisively determined by socialism.' Much the same can be said of the congresses of fraternal parties in other socialist countries. We thus have fresh evidence of the dynamic growth of the new social system and of the greater influence it exerts on world development.

Addressing the Eighth SUPG congress, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, emphasized that the congresses of the fraternal parties in the socialist states were of great significance. 'They are landmarks, important and gratifying. Important because at their supreme forums the Communists chart their countries' development for many years to come; gratifying because this development unfailingly leads to the continued flourishing of socialism, higher prosperity standards and better conditions for the happiness of the people in their fruitful and creative labor effort.'

The results of the congresses are vivid evidence that the Socialist countries are confidently advancing to their set goals. They are entering a stage of continued consolidation, with more accent on joint decisions and efforts in building the new society. And there need be no doubt that realization of the plans they adopted will mean new victories for world socialism and new successes for all the revolutionary forces.

Jan Prazsky

FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORTS

Intensive participation in the international division of labor is a key factor of our economic development. In this age of rapid scientific and technological progress, not only an increasing volume of goods, but also the productive forces and production processes, extend far beyond national boundaries.

J. KADAR—10th Congress, HSWP, November 23, 1970.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has regarded and continues to regard as its internationalist duty in every way to promote the further growth of the might of the socialist world system. Our stand is that the cooperation between the fraternal countries should grow ever more diverse and gain in depth, that it should involve ever broader masses of working people, and that each other's concrete experience should be more fundamentally studied at every level of state, social, economic and cultural life.

L. I. BREZHNEV—24th Congress, CPSU, March 30, 1971.

In building a developed socialist society, we are discharging our internationalist duty to world socialism and to the international revolutionary movement.

T. ZHIVKOV—10th Congress, BCP, April 20, 1971.

It is an irrefutable fact that the defense, consolidation and present development of socialism in our country is a signal victory for the world revolutionary forces and a tangible loss and setback for imperialism. Our Party's priority task is to exert every effort for operation of decisions made by the 1969 Moscow conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

G. HUSAK—14th Congress, CP Czechoslovakia, May 25, 1971.

Socialist construction can be successfully conducted only through constant strengthening of the working class party's leading role, its contacts with the masses to ensure their broad participation in administering the state; only through all-round development of friendship and cooperation with the great Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Y. TSEDENBAL—16th Congress, MPRP, June 7, 1971.

By its very nature socialism is internationalist, and interaction of the socialist countries is increasingly bringing to reality on a higher plane the slogan of Marx and Engels, "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

E. HONECKER—8th Congress, SUPG, June 15, 1971.

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Socialist economic integration and the state plan

Vaclav Kves

Discussion of socialist economic integration in this journal promotes the exchange of international experience on a pervasive problem of the socialist countries' development and the two-system competition. Examination of general and concrete integration problems, thorough analysis of various aspects of this new phenomenon, comparison of the views of writers from various countries – all this is doubtlessly of great practical and theoretical value. This article examines integration problems in the light of Czechoslovak experience.

1. A high level of productive forces, stable growth rates, continued perfection of socialist production relations, consolidation of the socialist state, all-round development of democracy and assertion of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in all spheres of public life – such are the essential characteristics of the stage of developed socialism. Economic integration is a key element in the present stage of socialist construction in the CMEA countries. The 23rd and 24th CMEA sessions urged theo-

retical study of all the problems of integration and outlined concrete measures towards that end.

In the absence of a theory of socialist integration, pressing problems were sometimes solved empirically, under pressure of objective processes. Now that such a theory is being developed, we can tackle these problems in good time and create the conditions for consistent realization of the advantages of socialism not only in individual countries, but throughout the socialist system.

Czechoslovak experience reaffirms anew that consistent adherence to the objective economic laws of socialism, particularly the law of planned economic development, is a cardinal condition for the socialist countries' successful cooperation. In 1968 and through April 1969, the Right opportunist elements disparaged the role of planning, contending that the market was the basis of economic development. First in theory and then in practice – from central economic agencies down to factory level – they assiduously implanted their model of 'mar-

ket socialism.' They regarded planning from ideological positions entirely alien to Marxism-Leninism. They set out to prove—in line with the convergence theory—that the socialist economy, of which planning is a major element, can organically combine with the class-antagonistic and haphazardly developing capitalist economy.

The revisionists suggested handing over state property to individual factories. This would have demolished socialist planned economy and released market anarchy. The Right opportunists, in defiance of objective laws, gave pride of place to 'market socialism,' thereby hampering expansion and deepening of CMEA integration and impeding Czechoslovakia's active participation in socialist cooperation. In practice, 'market socialism' would have steadily severed the Czechoslovak economy from the socialist division of labor, inevitably subjecting it to the capitalist system.

Socialist construction and long-range planning in all fraternal countries clearly showed the need for integration. But the then Czechoslovak Prime Minister declared in August 1968: 'The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is too narrow a framework for our highly developed economic potential.'

Unfortunately, that was not the only statement of its kind. For the idea was to revise the fundamentals of scientific socialism. And propaganda towards that end was accompanied by talk of the non-partisan, 'objective' character of science. Those who tried, or still try, to present science as 'independent' of poli-

tics fit into Marx's description of Proudhon: 'He wants to soar as the man of science above the bourgeois, and the proletarians; he is merely the petty bourgeois continually tossed back and forth between capital and labor' (*The Poverty of Philosophy*).

In the period of revolutionary refashioning of society and the building of socialism, dissemination of 'supra-class' theories disarms the working class ideologically. It also has the effect of projecting petty-bourgeois illusions into policy-making, and under definite circumstances this provides a receptive soil for counter-revolution. That is borne out by the Czechoslovak crisis of 1968-69, notably the activities of the Right opportunists in the Party and state leadership, who were paving the way for a counter-revolutionary coup.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party effectively exposed and categorically rejected all these Right opportunist and revisionist 'theories' of how the economy should develop.

However, our principled criticism of the 'market socialism' concept does not imply rejection of commodity relations under socialism. Planning as the priority factor in socialist integration does not preclude the need for a commodity market, both national and international. The socialist states are steadily enlarging their foreign-trade and other economic contacts. Questions relating to commodity-money relations and operation of the law of value have to be taken into account in framing the overall socialist integration program. Nor is it merely

a matter of gradually perfecting international currency and financial arrangements, credit and interest terms, for the coming period. We must foresee the application in a more distant period of economically substantiated and coordinated exchange rates for national currencies and also the introduction of mutually convertible collective and national currencies of the CMEA countries. Views on how to achieve this differ. Hence, the need for intensive research both by academic and practical economists.

However, we cannot accept the view held by some economists that integration should start with streamlining financial arrangements – exchange rates, say, or convertibility, or exchange of national currencies for the freely convertible currencies of the capitalist world, etc. For it has to be emphasized again and again that *the main instrument of socialist integration is the state plan*. It and not the commodity mechanism and its built-in levels, viz., price, currency, credit, interest, exerts a decisive influence on economic relations between our fraternal countries.

Planned development is an economic law of socialism and serves as the main economic regulator for each of the socialist countries and their economic system as a whole. Lenin's thesis that planning is a process of constant and consciously cultivated proportional development, acquires special meaning for economic integration.

Socialist integration is a comprehensive process involving the participation of ministries and

other government departments, research centers and factories in all the CMEA countries. Of course, realization of this stupendous program is inconceivable without coordination of national plans. We therefore fully agree with Oleg Bogomolov (in WMR, No. 11, 1970) that the state plan is the most effective lever of the integration process and the *main link* of its economic mechanism.

Unfolding of the integration process and planned development of the international market give more prominence to the economic functions of the socialist state. Socialist integration is possible only through continued perfection of state planning and international coordination of national development plans. The latter is particularly important in fostering closer international division of labor and expanding economic contacts, especially against the background of the scientific and technological revolution.

II. Socialist Czechoslovakia is a highly developed industrial country. In the past twenty-five years (with the exception of 1968 and early 1969), its people have, under the leadership of their Communist Party, made great strides in all spheres of public life. Industrial output has increased sevenfold, further accentuating the country's industrial character. The restructuring of industry has greatly increased the share of technically progressive branches, notably engineering and chemicals, thus providing a good base for the continued unfolding of the technological revolution.

Agriculture, reorganized along socialist lines, withstood the upheavals of the 1968-69 crisis, thereby proving the correctness of the Party's agrarian policy. The Right opportunist leaders, who were playing into the hands of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces, could not disorganize a single cooperative farm.

In these years of socialist construction, Slovakia has approached the level of developed countries, and under the new federal structure the process of evening out the economic levels of the Czech and Slovak regions will steadily gain momentum. Czechoslovakia's close ties with other CMEA members guarantee our economy stability and an even, sustained development tempo.

The policy of the Communist Party leadership elected at the April 1969 Plenum, stopped the haphazard economic development of 1968 and the beginning of 1969. It also largely eliminated the consequences of the anti-socialist policy of the recent past: arrested the inflation process, improved the position in capital construction, achieved positive results in foreign trade.

The Party regards the *state plan as the chief economic regulator*. The directives for the 1971-75 five-year plan and the overall concept of a longer-range plan have already been worked out. In both cases the object is consistent technological progress to bring out the country's latent reserves to raise efficiency standards in production and all other areas of social endeavor. Proper use of our latent reserves will, al-

ready in the coming five years, meaningfully heighten our economic potential.

The Party is working on the premise that the Czechoslovak economy can operate more effectively and at a higher growth rate if we carry out the necessary structural changes in cooperation with other socialist countries. Czechoslovak industry can achieve a high growth rate only through active participation in economic integration.

In drawing up the 1971-75 plan we were conscious of the need to coordinate our targets with those of the CMEA integration program. The December 1970 Central Committee plenum emphasized the need for central economic agencies to formulate basic integration measures.

But, of course, integration cannot be left to central agencies alone; it requires purposive planning and action by each enterprise in accordance with the national plan.

The directives of the 14th Party Congress define socialist economic integration as a vital factor of effective economic development, and one that should receive the utmost support. Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC, said at the Congress that economic integration offers our economy greater opportunities of joining in the development process of the world socialist system and will provide it with new resources for growth as a result of this cooperation.

Obviously, cooperation with the Soviet Union is decisive for Czechoslovakia's continued economic advance, with optimal use of the new technology.

Bourgeois propaganda deliberately plays down the value of Czechoslovak-Soviet economic contacts, claiming that they are to Czechoslovakia's disadvantage. Reality, however, clearly refutes all such propaganda figments. The following facts speak for themselves.

Czechoslovakia is developing her basic industries in cooperation with the Soviet Union and with its scientific and technical assistance. This applies notably to coal, power, iron and steel, engineering, chemicals, especially petrochemicals, rail and air transport, and also agriculture. The USSR, a major trading partner, assures our country stability in both exports and imports. Deliveries from the Soviet Union today meet Czechoslovakia's need for oil by 93.5 per cent, iron ore 80.7, zinc 44.7, lead 56.8, aluminum 74.3, phosphate fertilizers 84, cotton 64 per cent, and so on. Imports from the USSR account for a large part of technical equipment, raw materials for the consumer industries and consumer goods, etc. Czechoslovakia exports to the USSR a considerable share of its engineering products, notably about one-half of its total output of rolling-mill plant. The Soviet Union is a reliable market for Czechoslovak industrial goods.

Data compiled by our Technical and Economic Services Institute show that trade with the USSR holds first place in terms of economic effectiveness. That is why the 1971-75 plan provides for a larger volume of trade, as much as 13,500 million rubles, an increase of 43 per cent on the previous five-year period.

Under the new plan, about 90 per cent of the increase in primary power resources will be supplied through imports, first of all from the Soviet Union, which will increase its oil deliveries by roughly two-thirds. Gas imports will treble and gas will gain prominence in our fuel and power pattern. The new pipeline from the USSR, a major five-year plan project, will play a highly important role. Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in the manufacture of plant for atomic power stations holds a big promise.

The USSR and Czechoslovakia are equal and sovereign partners. Their cooperation is an example of the comradely relations that prevail in economic contacts between socialist countries. Based on socialist internationalism, they will be further developed in the process of integration.

Unlike the haphazard internationalization of production under capitalism, where the economically weak are dominated by their stronger partners, socialist relations are free of all elements of coercion. They are relations between equal states based on economic planning and facilitating a higher economic and political level of the socialist community and consolidating the national sovereignty of each of its members.

III. Integration should be seen as a new stage of socialist cooperation. It helps to create, through concerted effort, a more efficient production structure to accelerate economic growth of the CMEA countries, strengthen the entire community and the

socialist system in each of its countries and advance to new positions in science and technology and in the two-system competition.

Each CMEA country, regardless of its economic starting point, has, through socialist industrialization, rapidly increased production and substantially advanced the prosperity of its people. This was achieved in a remarkably short space of time due to the advantages of the socialist system and international socialist division of labor. But, of course, we cannot stop at that: expansion of the productive forces calls for joint effort, maximum specialization and close all-round cooperation.

A distinguishing feature of the present stage of CMEA economic and technological cooperation is uninterrupted and dynamic expansion and deepening of their economic contacts. *The main and qualitatively new element is elaboration of a comprehensive long-term integration program.* It is being worked out stage by stage, gradually extending to all the basic sectors of the socialist economy—production, science and technology, foreign trade and financial arrangements. Integration should be seen as a qualitatively new stage in the international division of labor.

An analysis of present economic levels and of the new tasks that have to be accomplished on a stage-by-stage basis shows that some planning methods and forms are no longer adequate. Short-term planning does not accord with the present stage of socialist cooperation. In our view, plan coordination

should be complemented by a more efficient form of cooperation, namely, long-range coordination of economic policy. This could be done mainly through mutual consultations to work out the main directions of economic and technical policy.

But if these consultations are to be effective, planning agencies must carefully analyze long-term economic trends. Even more essential, perhaps, is creative utilization of the planning experience of the various countries with a view to applying relevant elements in international planning.

Now that the CMEA countries are going over to comprehensive economic integration, more substantiated planning in each country is an essential condition for successful planning on an international scale. And this enhances the role and responsibility of national planning agencies; in fact the quality of their work will to a considerable degree influence international planning.

Economic planning is not, of course, confined to production. It must of needs extend to power, fuel, raw materials, rational use of manpower, the transport system, etc. And international planning must anticipate not only the economic, but also the socio-political impact of projected development. For integration is bound to produce new economic phenomena; it will change the very nature of labor and the way of life. All this has to be taken into account in framing long-range economic policies.

Multilateral cooperation extends to many areas: prognosti-

cation in the leading sectors of the economy, science and technology, long-term plan coordination, dovetailing of five-year plans and joint programming of individual industries, also exchange of experience in perfecting the planning and management system.

Prognostication reveals the objective trends in the main economic spheres and helps to formulate and coordinate long-range plans. It also reveals opportunities for joint solution of common economic problems and international coordination of long-range projects. This, in turn, helps national planners cope with their problems.

Socialist integration presupposes planned structural changes in the economy to meet the new technological requirements, attain higher effectiveness levels and carry on the scientific and technological revolution. It should be borne in mind that only rational restructuring of the economy, enabling it to make maximum use of the new technology, can create the productive forces that will even out economic levels of the CMEA countries.

This must always be taken into account in planning expansion of existing and construction of new industrial complexes and in setting optimal proportions with due account to international division of labor. And in this context we must pay special attention to the whole process of

introducing scientific and technical achievements in production, from research and designing to capital construction, cooperation and specialization.

Still another problem is specialization of individual countries on certain types of product. It is only natural that CMEA countries with better technical facilities and skilled labor should assume responsibility for solution of the more complex problems. As integration progresses, the conditions will be created for direct cooperation between production units of various countries.

Introduction and use of the new technology will necessitate planned structural changes in the division of labor not only on a national, but, no less important, on an international scale. That is the only way to increase the tempo of economic and technological progress.

Socialist integration is an objective process of internationalizing the economic life of the socialist countries. Carried out in a planned way and in keeping with the requirements of Marxism-Leninism, it leads to political and economic consolidation of the socialist world system, expansion and deepening of international division of labor, steady extension of all-round economic ties and evening out of the economic levels of fraternal countries.



Existentialism: reflection of the crisis of bourgeois society

Teodor Oizerman

Existentialism, one of the most influential idealistic philosophies of our time, is often said to have reached the reading public in ways barred to other philosophies: through the novels, stories and plays of Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus, Gabriel Marcel, Simone de Beauvoir and other authors. There is certainly some truth in this. But why have other modern philosophies failed to express themselves as extensively in the language of fiction? Why have existentialist ideas captured the imagination of a fairly wide range of people many of whom are lukewarm to philosophy?

1. Like other contemporary idealistic philosophies, existentialism is a product of the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism. But unlike other bourgeois philosophies, it recognizes that bourgeois society is fatally ill. It entertains no illusions about capitalism metamorphosing into an affluent non-capitalist society. This is one of the reasons why existentialism has a hold over those who are losing faith in capitalism and its future and many of whom see no way out

of the present crisis of bourgeois society. Existentialism sees no way out, either, at least not in social change. It invites everyone to cultivate his subjectivity, which it regards as the essence and meaning of man's being. The disappointed look on this invitation as an emergency exit. The Italian existentialist E. Castelli evidently has this in mind when he describes existentialism as not only a doctrine but a 'state of the soul.'

Existentialism sees the crisis of capitalism as a total crisis of all mankind. In its view, the contradictions of the capitalist system are not historically determined (and hence transient) but stem from the anthropological essence of man and are an expression of the age-long tragic disharmony of human existence. The historical destiny of capitalism is thus identified with that of mankind.

What are the social roots of the abstract humanism so characteristic of existentialism? State-monopoly capitalism means greater bureaucratic centralization, a more sophisticated system of manipulating human behavior, daily brainwashing

through powerful mass media. Publicity plays a bigger role than ever and is largely instrumental in molding public opinion. Capitalist production spawns new, often imaginary, requirements. Alienation, which until recently was regarded as a speculative philosophical category, has become an empirically tangible fact obvious to even everyday consciousness. More surprising still, the growing 'organization' of the capitalist system tends to strengthen the spontaneous factors of social development. This gives rise to the notion that spontaneity dominates the institutional relations established by men in accordance with their rationalist ideals. To the existentialist, the antagonisms of the capitalist system are born of the contradiction between the social organization of human life and abstract humanism. Hence the advocacy of breaking with the depersonalizing social relations and returning to the self, to genuine life. This concept of abstract bourgeois humanism is a peculiar reflection of reality, for capitalism is really incompatible with humanism.

Criticism of capitalism from these positions is, in effect, a romantic, nihilistic rejection of all developed, many-sided (in other words, modern) forms of social intercourse, socialization, organization. Existentialism is utopian, for its idea is the individual living in society yet free from it. Individualistic criticism of social intercourse logically becomes advocacy of subjectivism. Existentialism conceives man's subjectivity as the uniqueness of the individual, whom

it shuts off and alienates, as it were, from other individuals. The existentialist sees the true self-expression (and self-alienation) of this essentially self-contained individual man as *self-will* requiring no objective justification.

Human subjectivity does exist, and it manifests itself in various ways. But the existentialist does not realize that its image created by his fancy, like his inherently subjectivist vision of the world, is a product of definite historical circumstances. He speaks of man in general, of the genuinely sentient individual experiencing his existence and pulsating between birth and death. He would like to teach man to think of death so as to help him live correctly. But he does not see the characteristics of the human existence described by him that are due to the capitalist way of life, which has deformed men and perverted inter-personal relations and human emotions. Existentialism regards all the qualities imparted to man by capitalism as being inherent in human existence generally.

To be sure, life and death have always kept philosophers thinking, for man is mortal and this affects his whole life. The tragic does not belong to the stage alone: every human death is a tragedy. But why have the existentialists' speculations on life and death promoted the spread of their philosophy? The reason must be that existentialism has linked a traditionally philosophical subject with the bourgeois perception of the crisis of capitalism. Ours is an epoch of 'spiritual and material catas-

trophe,' says K. Jaspers (*Rechenschaft und Ausblick*, Munich, 1951, p. 132). This extremely biased concept of the present epoch is typical of bourgeois thinking. In Jaspers' view, social change and scientific and technological achievements have revealed the absolute impossibility of altering human nature, which is determined, to his mind, by human subjectivity, mortality and, of all things, transcendence. Rationalist illusions had collapsed and, contrary to Hegel, the real had turned out to be irrational and the rational, unreal. According to Jaspers, the achievements of science and technology have made human life more fragile and ephemeral than ever. Indeed, they have become a menace to the very existence of mankind. Death and destruction threaten everything, robbing it of all meaning. 'It is,' Jaspers comments, 'as if we tried again and again to settle on a volcano which is bound to erupt, although we do not know when, where and how this will happen' (*op. cit.*, p. 280).

Thus, Jaspers does not merely put on record the indubitable fact that modern capitalism is a menace to mankind. He claims that the sword of Damocles hangs over man irrespective of capitalism and that man is for ever doomed to live on a volcano. Obviously, this interpretation of reality veils the crisis of the capitalist system and is a subtle apologia for it.

Even more dangerous, existentialists hold, are humanitarian ideals, which they call illusions leading into an abyss. 'It is not the atom bomb, discussed in every manner as a machine of

death, that is the deadliest thing,' Heidegger writes. To him, the most terrible thing is man's conviction that 'through the peaceful release and conversion of natural energy he can control it and make human existence suitable for all and on the whole happy' (*Holzwege*, Frankfurt a/M, 1950, p. 271).

Heidegger oversimplifies the humanistic concept of man's future by deliberately identifying it with utopian attempts to make everyone happy. He makes an absolute of the negative effects of scientific and technological progress, which he interprets as its genuine and irrevocable essence. Whereas bourgeois ideologues of the past insisted on harnessing the elemental forces of nature and judiciously altering social relations, modern ideologues of the bourgeoisie dread development. The bourgeoisie senses that the growth of the productive forces is likely to undermine capitalist production relations. On the other hand, it neither can nor wants to renounce scientific and technological progress. This split of bourgeois consciousness, which sees no way out of the contradiction, and this disappointment with the socio-economic effects of the development of capitalism paradoxically translate themselves into rejecting all progress, into the conviction that faith in a better future and struggle for it are bound to result in total catastrophe.

'We do not believe in progress,' writes Jean-Paul Sartre, although he does not share the conservative political views of his German colleagues. 'Progress means improvement. But man

always remains the same in the face of changing circumstances' (*L'existentialisme est un humanisme*). Thus, the protracted decay of bourgeois society turns existential speculations about death into a peculiar philosophy of history.

The existential doctrine of 'outcry' (to use Castelli's expression) is a subjectivist criticism of capitalism, in which the existentialist sees suppression of the individual by the mass, the organization, an impersonal social system, negation of the inherent freedom of the individual through a set of restrictions imposed by the state and said to constitute society.

'Society, or the collective, is not something human,' writes the Spanish existentialist J. Ortega y Gasset (*Der Mensch und die Leute*, Munich, 1961, p. 10). 'Human life,' he says elsewhere, 'is always the life of each individual person, it is an individual, or personal, life.' Accordingly the essence of man is his aloneness, which should not be conceived as a specific mood or state due to more or less transient circumstances but as a basically determinate quality of human existence. As for society, existentialists see in it a requisite of individual being in which the individual loses himself by withdrawing from his real life. Existentialism thus absolutizes the contradiction between the individual and society, which precisely in the conditions of modern capitalism becomes truly glaring and intolerable even for those who are not really struggling against capitalist social relations. This contradiction, which existentialism interprets

as an ontological phenomenon inherent in human nature, is reflected variously in the mentality of beatniks, hippies and possibly some students.

Existentialism is up in arms against the 'spirit of abstraction,' in particular against the philosophy which sees its task in investigating reality as being independent of man or reduces its task to investigation of the nature of theoretical knowledge, the logic of science, and so on. From the existential point of view, a genuine philosophy rejects scientism, that is, the restriction of research to scientific problems and the research procedures accepted in science. Existentialism emphasizes the obvious fact that not all knowledge is scientific. There is, what for every individual is highly important, non-scientific knowledge gleaned not from books, nor from an inquisitive contemplation of the outside world, but solely from his own intimate, 'existential' experience, that is, from the fact that every unique, inimitable subject experiences its existence, senses its temporality, feels fear or pains, loves, suffers, hopes, and so on.

The importance of this ordinary knowledge in everyday life is unquestionable. The existentialist, however, contrasts it not only to science, which, incidentally, does not ignore man's personal experience, but to the social experience science interprets. In his opinion, science cannot show man the purpose or meaning of life: its truths are impersonal, whereas every human ego is a world in itself differing radically from the world of any other individual.

Classic bourgeois philosophy maintained the thesis of the generic, anthropological identity of all human individuals (the progressive meaning of this thesis in the struggle for democracy is obvious). Existentialism, however, insists that the essence of every individual differs from that of other people. The former one-sidedly stressed identity, while the latter stresses – even more one-sidedly – difference, which it reduces to the individual's subjectivity, that is, to his consciousness of himself. It follows that existentialism widens the metaphysical gulf between identity and difference.

II. Existentialism claims credit for attaching fundamental importance to the problem of man and alleges that earlier philosophies, notably materialist philosophy, overlooked it. Yet the problem of man is indisputably central to the teaching of Epicurus, Spinoza's *Ethics*, Holbach's *The System of Nature*, to say nothing of the philosophy of Helvetius. And that is especially true of Feuerbach's anthropological materialism. Historical materialism, which revealed how and why people make their own history and showed a realistic way of creating genuinely human living conditions, provided thereby a scientific, philosophical solution of the problem of man.

Now what makes existentialists think it is they who have evolved the 'philosophy of man'? A subjectivist and irrationalist conception of man, which they represent as the only one in accordance with the intimate essence of human existence. This

means basing existentialist claims on existentialist premises.

The existentialist rejects the scientific conception of man because, he says, science makes man the object, whereas man differs from everything else in being the subject and nothing but the subject. According to this view, science 'alienates' human subjectivity. Sartre holds that materialism makes the same mistake. 'All materialism,' he writes, 'results in people, including the philosopher himself, being regarded as objects, that is, as the totality of certain reactions that in no way differs from totality of qualities and phenomena which constitutes a table, chair or rock' (*L'existentialisme est un humanisme*).

While proclaiming their philosophy the authentic method of cognizing 'human reality,' existentialists say they do not claim to solve the problem of man. Such a solution, they believe, might restrict man's freedom by placing him within certain bounds which are not there, nor should be there, precisely because freedom is synonymous with genuine human existence. Existentialism sees its tasks, not in solving the problem of man, but in 'elucidating' it, so as to make him aware of his unlimited subjectivity, without which man is not, strictly speaking, a subject, an individual, himself. This view is upheld above all by Sartre. 'Our point of departure,' he writes, 'is the subjectivity of the individual.'

The existential conception of human subjectivity is a combination of subjective idealism with elements of an objective idealist interpretation of reality.

The existentialist recognizes only the existence of 'human reality.' On the other hand, he stresses that man is always in a definite situation because existence and all the experiences it is composed of are due to the existence of a reality distinct from man's being.

This combination is not merely an expression of the inconsistency of existentialism as a philosophy, but a principle inseparable from the existential conception of being. Heidegger, the father of the 'fundamental ontology' of existentialism, whose basic concept is that of being, argues in his principal work, *Being and Time*, that being is in principle unknowable and logically indeterminable. Whatever we cognize is, in his view, no more than *esse*, and is as inadequate an expression of being as phenomena are of the Kantian transcendent 'thing in itself.' Thus, agnosticism and its corollary, a subjectivist interpretation of the knowable (i.e., *esse*), is the intermediate link in the combination of subjective and objective idealism which specifically characterizes existentialist philosophizing. All that is really cognized is declared to be no more than human reality beyond which lies the unknowable. 'Reality in the world,' Jaspers announces, 'exists ephemerally between God and existence' (*Einfuehrung in die Philosophie*. Munich, 1959, p. 78). Thus, we have 'transcendence' (God) and, on the other hand, existence, that is, a definite conception of human subjectivity. As for the real world, it is something intermediate and ephemeral.

The fundamental characteristic of existentialism is subjectivism, which determines not only its peculiar vision of the world, but its whole theory of human life, of freedom and morality. The initial concept of this theory is a subjective, idealistic interpretation of the category of *existence*, said to be inapplicable to the objects of the reality surrounding man: they *are*, but they do not exist. 'Only man exists,' writes Heidegger. 'A rock is, but it does not exist. A tree is, but it does not exist. A horse is, but it does not exist. An angel is, but it does not exist. God is, but he does not exist' (*Was ist Metaphysik?* Frankfurt a/M, 1969, p. 15). Consequently, existentialism interprets existence only as a human property, which consists in man's experiencing his own being.

But not every experience is regarded by existentialists as *existence*—far from it. To perceive the outside world does not mean existing. According to existential philosophy, man really exists, truly lives, only when he is faced with death and hence senses his ultimate possibility, the possibility of not being. And this implies that there is no existence in man's social activity, either. In other words, existentialism denies the individual nature of the individual's association with diverse forms of social intercourse despite the fact (or rather, because) he breathes, enjoys life, fights, overcomes difficulties, carries out his plans, never contents himself with what he has achieved, and so on. All this, the existentialist contends, reason-

ing like an ancient stoic, is but external empirical being, oblivion of the self, loss of one's subjectivity and authenticity.

Existentialists see the mutual dissociation of individuals caused by bourgeois society. As Fourier once remarked, a doctor hopes for more patients, a profiteer longs for a crop failure, and so on. Fourier, it will be recalled, argued that the contradictions between social groups and the individuals they comprise would be overcome in a socialist society. Existentialists dismiss this conviction, scientifically substantiated by Marxism, as a utopia. As they see it, alienation cannot be eliminated and persists in both the 'external' empirical being of man and in existence. As a protagonist in one of Sartre's plays says, paradise does not exist but hell does – it is other people. Thus existentialism offers a weird combination of abstract humanitarian tendencies, on the one hand, and negation of the social essence of man – a negation hostile to humanism – on the other. In the final analysis, this conception comes close to the militant anarchism and individualism of M. Stirner, who wrote: '... what do I care for the common good? The common good as such is not my god, it is merely the extreme of self-denial' (*Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*). And further on: 'You, as the only one, have nothing in common with others.'

Existentialism maintains that alienation is not due to historically determinate social relations but to the fact of social life as such. Hence the develop-

ment of large-scale social production, urbanization and mass culture all extend the bounds of alienation, making it universal. Gabriel Marcel declares that in modern (in fact, capitalist) society 'man's own essence is increasingly becoming alien to man, and this to the point of calling the very existence of that essence into question' (*Der Mensch als Problem*. Frankfurt a/M, 1956, p. 22).

However, social alienation is seen by existentialists as only one, perhaps not even the main, aspect of man's tragedy. The important thing in alienation is its anthropological content: the ineffable subjectivity, uniqueness, infinite value of my existence which, however, is continuously escaping me, disintegrating, dying. Life is construed as a permanent alienation of life, with the result that the diversified content of human life is nullified because it cannot be perpetuated for the individual. 'It is absurd that we were born,' writes Sartre, 'and just as absurd that we shall die; at the same time this absurdity presents itself as a continuous alienation of my being-possibility which is no longer my possibility but the possibility of others. Consequently, this is the external and actual limit of my subjectivity' (*L'Etre et le néant*. Paris, 1943, pp. 631-632).

Thus, subjectivity as the fundamental, decisive characteristic of the human individual is restricted 'from without' by death alone. And what sets the 'internal' limits to this unrestricted (within the individual human life) subjectivity? Free-

dom. Insofar as he exists, man sets himself the limits of his activity. The doctrine of the subjectivity of the individual is transformed into the concept of indeterminate freedom.

The existential 'philosophy of freedom' is a radical negation of determinism, of the objective conditionality of man's actions. Where classical bourgeois philosophy sought dialectically to comprehend the antithesis of freedom and necessity, existentialism rejects this attempt as an unacceptable compromise virtually abolishing freedom. Man, says Sartre, is responsible for all he does, from which he infers that 'there is no determinism, man is free, man is freedom.' From this point of view, all human actions have their cause in man himself. More, man can always exclude the past from the game, as Sartre puts it, that is, deprive it of any power over his present. What makes man's existence genuine is, according to Sartre, that every action of the individual is a result of his own choice.

Man, Sartre affirms in *L'existentialisme est un humanisme*, 'is a being whose existence precedes his essence.' This means that man chooses his own essence, that is, arbitrarily acquires this or that determinacy, directedness, content. He has no such things as 'human nature' but is always 'only what he himself makes of himself.'

It is thus a question of absolute freedom since, according to Sartre, nothing can restrict it but the choice made by man himself. From this point of view, man becomes a slave be-

cause he has chosen slavery. But in that case the fact that some individuals belong to the oppressed and exploited and others to the exploiter class must also be a result of choice. Quite obviously, this concept of freedom is in crying contradiction with the facts. It may be claimed, with sufficient reason, that 'a coward makes himself a coward' and 'a hero makes himself a hero.' However, there is no reason whatsoever to claim that the division of society into classes, the division of labor existing in society, the class struggle, wars, and so on, are all a result of choice by individuals. An unemployed has not chosen unemployment. The Vietnamese people heroically resisting U.S. imperialist aggression did not want war.

Sartre is aware, of course, that his concept of absolute freedom comes into contradiction with what people consider freedom, on the one hand, and the suppression of freedom on the other. Therefore he joins issue with this 'ordinary' concept, arguing that freedom does not consist in attaining a goal, in realizing an aspiration, but in feeling free, in the very act of aspiring, desiring, in activity in general, in excluding 'external' motives of one's actions, thereby making them really one's own. 'It should be specified in contradistinction to everyday consciousness,' Sartre says, 'that the formula "to be free" does not mean "to achieve what one wanted" but "to define oneself with respect to desire (in a broader sense, with respect to choice)"' (*L'Etre et le néant*, p. 564). These reservations re-

veal that, to Sartre, freedom consists in subjective self-consciousness, which can renounce but not dominate external circumstances. Obviously, this is an imaginary freedom whose effect may be an equally illusory choice. This is recognized in a sense by Sartre himself, who writes: 'A choice made without a point of support and dictating its own motive may seem, and indeed is, absurd.'

The concept of absolute freedom evolved by existentialism is identical with the concept of man's absolute responsibility, that is, the responsibility of each for everything, including what is done by others, regardless of whether he could have prevented something, of whether he knew of a crime committed at the far end of the planet, and so on. 'This absolute responsibility,' Sartre says, 'is a direct logical requirement flowing from our freedom' (ibid., p. 639).

Of course, people are responsible for both themselves and others. But the social responsibility of the individual is a fact which does not require absolute freedom. Awareness of one's social responsibility is a marked quality of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Sartre is correct in emphasizing the importance of social responsibility, but existential subjectivism prevents him from revealing the concrete historical content of the concept in our time. Who is responsible for the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the armed conflict in the Middle East, neo-colonialism or racial discrimination? Speculations a-

bout the absolute responsibility of all for everything are likely to obscure the real responsibility of the actual perpetrators of these evils. However humanistic Sartre's ideas about the absolute responsibility of all for everything, we can answer him in Lenin's well-known words: 'Whoever feels guilty, let him repent; but in doing so, let him strew ashes on his own head and let him rend his own garments, not other people's' (Coll. Works, Vol. 11, p. 270).

As we see, existentialism is concerned, despite the highly speculative nature of its philosophical constructions, with very real and, as a rule, topical problems of the private and social life of people. Its concepts show that, in our day, the ideological struggle is increasingly becoming a struggle of philosophies. The world outlook advocated by existentialism robs man of all hope for the future and undermines his faith in his own strength, in the possibility of rationally reorganizing social life. Its assumptions are based on man's *weakness*, not his *strength*, on the notion that he realizes the meaning of his life, not from history, but in the face of death. Man finds support, not in others, not outside himself, but only in himself, within himself — this is the message of existentialism.

To be sure, politically existentialism is anything but homogeneous. Its exponents range from reactionaries and anti-Communists to supporters of progressive social forces. But it would be wrong to assume that

the progressive political stance of some existentialists is in keeping with their philosophical teaching. An irrationalistic, pessimistic, individualistic philo-

sophy, existentialism cannot serve as a basis for genuinely revolutionary, consistent struggle to radically change social relations.

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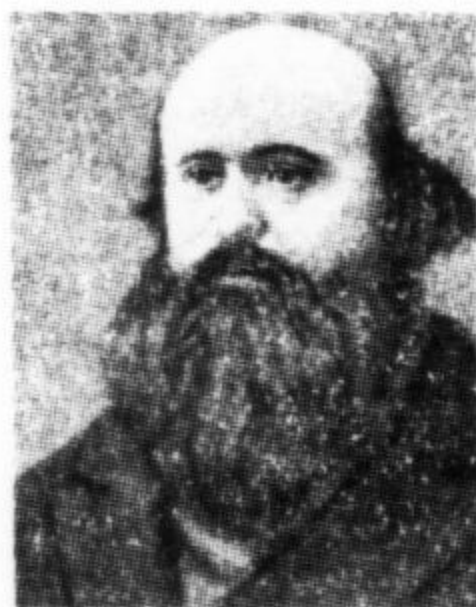


Mikhail Petrashevsky

150th birth anniversary.

St. Petersburg, capital of the Russian Empire, witnessed an extraordinary ceremony on December 22, 1849. Troops and mounted gendarmes lined up on the parade ground of the Semyonovsky Regiment in the presence of the military governor-general, the chief of police, commanders of the imperial bodyguard and the aides-de-camp of Emperor Nikolai I. On the platform in the middle stood a few men under armed escort. A roll of drums, and the emperor's sentence was read: death by shooting. The condemned were ordered to their knees and swords were broken over their heads. Once this ritual, known as civil execution, was over, sackcloth shirts were put on them, they were tied to execution posts, and hoods were pulled down over their eyes.

Yet instead of the firing squad's volley there resounded another roll of drums. A mounted officer had galloped up to the general in command and handed him a message. The emperor's 'mercy' was announced: death sentences commuted to penal servitude or lifelong army service. The men were untied



and immediately put in chains.

Who were these men whom the tsar treated so cruelly, whom he wanted to frighten and whom he so feared?

Mikhail Petrashevsky and his comrades have written a glorious chapter into the history of the Russian liberation movement. Like Alexander Herzen and Vissarion Belinsky, the two distinguished Russian democrats, Petrashevsky and his associates had a common aim—to fight against autocracy, for political freedom. That, indeed was the keynote of all Russian 19th-century revolutionary socialist thought.

The more critical of the Russian social thinkers displayed a

keen interest in utopian socialism, especially that of Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier, then widely circulated in the West. Their involvement was a reflection of the far-reaching economic, social and cultural changes in contemporary Russia. Capitalism had begun to erode the pillars of the feudal system. Peasant unrest spread. People followed admiringly the revolutionary upheavals of 1848-1849 in France, Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary. Revolutionary sentiment ran high among the progressive-minded nobility and the middle-class intelligentsia.

Who was this man, the leader of the forward-looking intellectuals in the bleakest days of tsar Nikolai's feudal rule?

Mikhail Vasilyevich Butashevich-Petrashkevsky was born on November 1, 1821, in a physician's family. He finished Tsarskoye Selo Lycée, studied law in St. Petersburg University, and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as interpreter in 1840.

In the early 1840s Petrashkevsky became deeply impressed with democratic enlightenment and socialist ideas. After an unsuccessful attempt at publishing a journal of progressive views, he amassed an impressive library of socialist literature, containing the philosophic and economic works of the classics of West European utopian socialism and various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois authors, including Frédéric Bastiat, Louis Blanc, Eduard Vidal, Victor Considérant, Pierre Leroux, Pierre Joseph Proudhon, and others.

Also, it contained works by the founders of scientific socialism, particularly Karl Marx's 'Poverty of Philosophy.' Though Petrashkevsky and his friends did not distinguish the proletarian socialism of Marx and Engels from the other socialist doctrines, the presence of these works in the library shows how closely they followed the development of socialist thought. In 1845-1846 they published an encyclopaedia of socialist knowledge disguised as a pocket dictionary of foreign words.

Petrashkevsky founded the first socialist circle in Russia, young progressives of different backgrounds gathering in his house each Friday night. Among them were the writers Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin and Fyodor Dostoyevsky, who later won world fame. It was a political club, which discussed the vital problems of the time, principally peasant emancipation and a democratic republican system to replace the feudal autocracy. Soon similar circles sprang up in Moscow, Kazan and a few other cities.

In 1848-1849 Petrashkevsky and the more radical members of his group, including N. A. Speshnev and N. Mombelli, decided to form a secret society uniting the country's revolutionary forces. On April 7, 1849, speaking at a Russian socialists' banquet in tribute to Fourier, Petrashkevsky said: 'We have passed the death sentence on the present social system; it must be carried out' (*Philosophical and Socio-Political Works of Petrashkevsky and His Asso-*

ciates, Moscow, in Russian, 1953, p. 389).

Police agents infiltrated the circle and in April 1849 Petrashevsky and his comrades were arrested and charged with plotting to overthrow the political system 'in order to establish a system of lawlessness.' The Petrashevsky trial was the biggest political trial in Russia since the conviction of the Decembrists earlier in the century.

Petrashevsky was taken to Siberia directly from Petersburg on December 22, 1849, remaining an implacable enemy of autocracy, a convinced socialist, a foe of capitalist as well as feudal slavery until his death on December 7, 1866.

What is Petrashevsky for us? What place does he occupy in the history of socialist thought?

Petrashevsky was a devoted propagandist of utopian socialism, especially its Fourier variety. He saw the main flaw of all preceding social structures, including the contemporary society, in their ignoring 'human nature.' This he conceived in the spirit of anthropological materialism, a doctrine which, though shallow and metaphysical, was espoused by many revolutionary democrats and socialists to fight idealist religious concepts and condemn private property and exploitation. The social order — always subject to change, he held — should be 'adjusted' to suit this constant and all but immutable 'human nature,' to man's needs and aspirations. The society that accorded with human nature, Petrashevsky maintained, was socialism.

Socialism, he said, is a na-

tural outcome of mankind's development, the way for which is paved by capitalist industry, anarchy and competition that sacrifice the individual to capital, causing incorrect distribution of produced wealth and impoverishment of the workingman.

Unlike the petty-bourgeois egalitarians, he knew that socialism would not be attained by simply redistributing property and installing ascetic equalism. Socialism, he said, is inconceivable without 'an accumulation of huge capital' to build up a machine industry, without a steep rise in the 'efficiency and fruitfulness of labor' based on a new, socialist pattern of production.

What Petrashevsky considered the strong side of Fourier's system was that it accentuated production, conversion of labor from a burdensome obligation into a pleasure and the achievement of abundance. For Petrashevsky socialism was principally an economic organization of a higher grade than capitalism. If anything, he emphasized the 'organizational' aspects of socialism even more strongly than Fourier.

Petrashevsky's utopian socialism fused organically with revolutionary democracy. This explains why his views on some fundamental issues were more realistic than those of the proponents of utopian socialism. He disavowed Fourier's educationalist illusion of passage to the new society, and on examining the history of the West European states and the liberation movement in Russia, saw that socialism could not be won

without revolutionary struggle. True, Petrashevsky and his associates did not regard socialism as a principally working-class cause. But, being revolutionaries, they associated the effectuation of socialism with a mass struggle for people's power. The only way humanity can win genuine, not merely formal, freedom, Petrashevsky said, was by revolution.

In the 1840s the relation of 'political revolution' to 'social revolution' was broadly debated in Russia, as well as the West. Proudhon, it will be recalled, held that social reconstruction should precede political. Petrashevsky thought the reverse, and was unquestionably closer to the truth. Political freedom, he said, would not become social freedom until after a revolution.

He knew that reconciliation between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in the West and between the peasants and landowners in Russia was impossible. Unlike Proudhon, he called for universal suffrage and representative republican government, which he described as a step forward from monarchy, a system that degraded the individual and contradicted 'human nature.' Not only the peasants, he held, but also the urban masses should be involved in fighting tsarism and building a democratic republic. He called for agitation and propaganda to arouse the townsmen, for 'action among the artisan class of the people,' the class best fitted for organization and political struggle.

A convinced socialist, Petrashevsky envisaged a republican

democracy that harmonized the interests of individuals with those of society as a whole. The welfare of each individual, as he saw it, depended on the welfare of society in general. Consequently, the common interest should be the focus, as it were, of all relationships.

While acknowledging the necessity of political and then social revolution, Petrashevsky warned democrats and socialists against premature risings. If history makes people, he told his friends, then people make history, enjoying them to bide their time. 'Not as socialists only, but also as people who have shed their prejudices and learned to face the facts,' he said, 'we cannot hope . . . instantly to win the sympathy of the masses for ourselves and our convictions' (*op. cit.*, p. 393).

His study of the struggles of oppressed nations convinced Petrashevsky of the peoples' natural right to independent national existence. He hailed the national-liberation struggle of peoples oppressed by the tsar as an aid to the peasant revolution, and also roundly condemned Western capitalist states, especially Britain in the case of India and Ireland, for national oppression and colonial enslavement. Resistance to oppressors, both internal and foreign, he described as just and lawful. In the long term, he said, nations would shed '*their individual particular properties or innate qualities*,' and national distinctions as well as strife would disappear for good.

His ideas about the necessity of socialism, the active role of

the masses in fighting for political and social freedom, the intrinsic worth of the individual and his meaningful interaction with society, the relation of the national and universal in social development, Russia's staggering potentialities and her great future, and many others, show that he was on the right path, evolving towards a correct revolutionary theory. His ideas are invaluable conjectures, suggesting the right approach to many complicated problems.

Russia, Lenin stressed in his works, had arrived at Marxism through suffering. Petrashevsky and his followers occupy a special place among those generations of Russian revolutionaries who had avidly searched for the right revolutionary theory and closely followed the development of progressive thought in Europe and America. Paying tribute to them, Lenin wrote that the history of Russia's revolutionary socialist intelligentsia, instructive in so many respects, began largely with the Petrashevsky circle.

Lenin's library in the Kremlin contains studies of Petrashevsky's life and works. One of these held pride of place among

books that Lenin kept close at hand in his study.

From the towering height of the 1970s we see the scientific, theoretical and political inconclusiveness of Petrashevsky's socialist views. We find in them traces of educational idealism, normalism, non-historism and indeterminate supra-class illusions typical of all pre-Marxian utopian systems. Russia's backwardness, Lenin said, explained the extraordinary tenacity of various unripe socialist doctrines. Referred to the beginning of the 20th century, this applied doubly to the 1840s, when the Russian socialists expected the peasants, the urban workingmen and progressive intellectuals to perform a task to which none is equal but the proletariat, the class history designated to lead all working people in the fight for socialism.

In the Russian environment of his time, however, the views of Petrashevsky and his followers were new and progressive, their profound humanity won the hearts of people, striking their imagination with the grandeur of men's historic tasks and aims and inspiring them to democratic revolutionary struggle.

V. Yevgrafov



STATEMENT BY COMMUNIST PARTIES

In keeping with a long-standing tradition, the Communist parties of Central America, Mexico and Panama held their Eighth Conference to compare notes on the anti-imperialist struggle and to exchange information on the political situation in their countries.

The Conference called for more effective cooperation between Communist parties and with other progressive movements, and for a regional united front against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism and the national oligarchies.

The Conference hailed the victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile and the liberation processes in Peru and Bolivia. It urged the peoples of the continent to stand by for the defense of revolutionary Cuba should U.S. imperialists attack the Island of Freedom.

The Communists parties identified themselves with the Soviet Union and the CPSU and condemned anti-Sovietism as a weapon of counter-revolution. They resolved to meet again to

exchange views and extend cooperation.

CONFERENCES OF WOMEN COMMUNISTS

The women Communists of Argentina held a National Conference. Women workers, peasants, clerks, housewives met in Buenos Aires against official resistance to compare notes on political work and discuss the tasks of women's organizations.

The main report was presented by Fanny Edelmann. She described the women Communists' participation in the working people's fight for political and social change and for giving women a bigger say in public life, against growing prices. Only far-reaching political changes could make the women's lot easier, she said.

The speaker called on Argentina's women to close their ranks in the struggle for their demands and take an active part in the work of the National Meeting of Argentinians and the Women's League of Argentina.

Chile's women Communists holding key positions on Party committees and in various mass organizations met at a national assembly in Santiago. The main speaker was Senator Julieta Campusano, a Communist leader. 'We have come together,' she said, 'to search for ways and means of speedily drawing hundreds of thousands of women into the solution of problems of the Chilean revolution.' Women had an important role to play in carrying out the plans of the

Popular Unity government, especially its production plans. The initiative of thousands of women in textile mills and other enterprises who work gratuitously on Saturdays and Sundays exemplified a new attitude to labor. Senator Campu-sano also spoke of the tasks facing peasant women in implementing the agrarian reform. 'We support the agrarian reform,' she said, 'because it brings health and education to our children.' She called on the nearly two million housewives of Chile to grow more vegetables.

Mireya Beltra spoke of how the Communist Party planned to increase the proportion of its women members to 40 per cent by its 50th anniversary.

There are 12,000 mothers' councils in Chile uniting 500,000 women, and the Party is trying to enliven their activity in line with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole. Mothers' councils must play an important part in price control to prevent profiteering. They should help in daily distribution of milk for children. They must coordinate their work with house committees. M. Baltra proposed giving mothers' councils official status. Besides, she called on women to set up 200 kindergartens in 1971 and contribute funds for a mechanized canteen.

The Communist forum was attended by a delegation of the Party's Central Committee and delegates of women belonging to other parties of the Popular Unity bloc.

The proposals approved by

the meeting will be discussed by the women's organizations of Chile.

ARGENTINA

The Communist Party of Argentina is conducting a national fund-raising campaign. The campaign is expected to involve 250,000 people and yield 225 million pesos (\$535,000) that will be spent on the Party press and other publications and partly on organizational measures. Five per cent of this amount will be contributed to the fund of solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

The German Communist Party held a cultural and political forum in Nuremberg. Over 400 writers, artists, scholars, workers and students discussed problems of meeting the cultural requirements of the working class, the effects of monopolization of the mass media and other problems.

It was decided to expose imperialist activity in the cultural field as an aspect of the oppression of the working class. The Party wants to set the image of the new, socialist man against the image of man distorted by present-day capitalism.

The forum resolved to launch Democratic Action, a movement for co-management of the mass media, among press, radio and television staffs, improve the Party's factory newspapers and the street theatre and organize more exhibitions like 'Art Is a

Weapon,' the Nuremberg exhibition unmasking imperialism.

POLAND

A new television serial, Civic Tribune, has been launched in Poland. It provides for meetings and dialogues between Party and government spokesmen and TV audiences.

During transmission televiewers may telephone the studio and ask the speaker questions in addition to those sent earlier. This can be done in all regional capitals, where questions are received to be forwarded to Warsaw.

Among the participants in the first transmission, dealing with key economic problems and the outlook for housing, was Jan Szydlak, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the cc, Polish United Workers' Party. He was assisted by a team of experts.

Civic Tribune, a new form in which Party leaders and statesmen carry on a dialogue with the public, has aroused keen interest. The press describes it as another big step towards providing more extensive information on important political and economic problems and the current activities of Party committees and government agencies, a step towards closer links between the Party and the people.

At the request of readers, *Trybuna Ludu*, the Party's main newspaper, has introduced a regular column of questions and answers under the heading 'Civic Tribune.'

SYRIA

Volume I of Karl Marx's *Capital* in Arabic is on sale in the bookshops. Volume II will be available shortly. The translator is Professor Anton Homsî of Damascus University. Experts say that the new translation is superior to earlier ones due to its scientific accuracy and stylistic qualities.

CHILE

The Communist Party of Chile has over 117,000 members. This was announced by Luis Corvalan, its General Secretary, in a speech on the 59th anniversary of the Socialist Workers' Party. Tens of thousands of people joined the Communist Party during last year's crucial election campaign. Membership has been growing fast ever since the victory of the Popular Unity bloc in the presidential elections.

The Communist Youth League of Chile has over 40,000 members.

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Burundi

'We cannot be a privileged elite in our country nor live in isolation from our people - the workers and peasants - if we want to be revolutionaries and socialists,' says a statement by the General Assembly of Burundi Students.

The young intellectuals of that developing country have resolved that they will work

free in their hours off, cultivating fields, building roads, combating illiteracy and laying out sports grounds. In this way, the statement stresses, students will help the people, who are wrestling with economic and cultural backwardness.

Hungary

A. Pullai, secretary of the cc, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, delivered a lecture on the Party's youth policy at the Political Academy of the cc HSWP. For the Hungarian youth of the seventies, he said, socialist society is an objective reality, a natural way of life. Most young men and women work and study well. They take a sober view of world developments and are interested in social life. However, occasionally they show a certain impatience. The fact that not all problems are solved ideally in Hungary confronts the younger generation with problems from which enemy propaganda tries to profit by exploiting the young people's inexperience.

The lecturer spoke of the need to improve educational work among young people and have more young men and women represented on government agencies and the leading committees of mass organizations. In the State Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic, for example, there was only one deputy below 30 years of age between 1967 and 1971. Today this highest legislative body has 31 deputies under 30. In local government the proportion of young people is 15 per cent.

India

A youth festival was held in Kerala. P. S. Shrinivasan, a Communist minister of the Kerala government, made a speech at the opening ceremony. He said that India is at a turning point of its development and stressed the role which India's youth must play in shaping the country's destiny.

The vast festival program included forums and seminars on such themes relevant to present-day India as 'Socialism and the Parliamentary Way,' 'The Indian Economy Today,' 'Unemployment,' 'Youth Problems' and 'Education.'

Colombia

A national meeting of students demanded an end to government repression of the teachers and students who joined in the movement for a democratic system of higher education.

The students adopted a new plan for holding demonstrations and will persist in the demand that interference by the United States and private companies in higher education be stopped.

Cuba

A new youth organization, the Federation of University Students of Cuba, has been founded. It comprises the student federations of all Cuban universities. Its National Council met to discuss the main lines of ideological and cultural work among students, scientific interchange between Cuban universities and relations with foreign universities.

The Assembly, the Federa-

tion's highest body, will meet once a year. It will represent at least 75 per cent of Cuba's students.

Poland

Dziennik Baltycki, a newspaper published in Gdansk, carried an interview with S. Olszowski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC PUWP, who said that the Central Committee will meet in October to discuss work among youth. The meeting would deal with problems of the younger generation and the prospects of participation in the country's social and political life by young people.

'Numerous problems have cropped up in recent years that must be settled promptly and thoroughly,' S. Olszowski said. 'They bear on education, social conditions, above all housing, recreational facilities, and so on. The Eighth Plenum of the Party CC defined the problems of the younger generation as crucial.' The Party wanted youth organizations – an important factor in the socialist education of the younger generation and a source from which new Party members are recruited – to function properly from the ideological and political point of view.

'Youth organizations have in late years had little chance of taking initiative. Interference and fiat where the Party should have provided the youth movement with ideological guidance tended to discourage youth organizations and detracted from the effect of their educational work.' Youth organizations, Olszowski said, are undoubtedly in a position to draw up and im-

plement a program meeting the needs of youth and the interests of the country. The Party would do all in its power to solve current and long-range problems of the rising generation.

Soviet Union

Moscow was the venue of a friendly meeting of young people from the capitals of socialist countries – Sofia, Budapest, Hanoi, Berlin, Havana, Ulan Bator, Warsaw, Bucharest, Prague, and Moscow. The meeting's motto, 'We are building socialism and communism,' is expressive of the goal of the young internationalists' work and interests.

Delegates spoke of the young people's role in building the new society. Various groups discussed problems of the Communist education of youth and the themes 'Youth and Progress in Science and Technology' and 'Organizing the Leisure Time of Youth.'

The participants visited factories, research centers, higher educational institutions, building sites and suburban collective farms.

Finland

The working people and youth of northern Finland held a Summer Festival in Kemi. Besides the varied cultural programs, there were discussions on a wide range of problems of the class struggle and the international situation. The youth were addressed by A. Aalto, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Finland, and some MPs representing the Democratic Union of the Finnish People.

The festival was attended by a delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party staying in Finland at the invitation of the CC CPF.

France

A nationwide recruiting campaign of the Communist Youth Movement has already won several thousand new members, and dozens of new branch organizations have been founded. The goal is 10,000 new members and 300 local cells, Roland Fa-

varo, General Secretary of the CYM, said.

Uruguay

The National Conference of the Communist Youth League of Uruguay called on youth to join Broad Front committees. It pointed out that the prospect of bringing about a democratic and popular government is a realistic one and Young Communists will devote all their energies to this task.

DIARY

Staff members of this journal had an interview with N. Chaoui, General Secretary of the cc, Lebanese Communist Party. He spoke about the situation in Lebanon and the Communists' fight for democratic unity. The Party is in the van of the anti-imperialist forces and is rallying patriots to defend the country's sovereignty against the encroachments of the Israeli military clique. It actively supports the brother Arab peoples who had been attacked and does its best to help the Arab population of Palestine defend their legitimate national rights.

Our Party, N. Chaoui said in conclusion, steadfastly promotes internationalist relations with Communist and Workers' parties and all anti-imperialist for-

ces in line with the documents of the 1969 Meeting.

Orestes Ghioldi, member of the Executive Committee and Secretariat of the cc, Communist Party of Argentina, visited the editorial offices of this journal. He told the journal's Latin American Commission about the situation in Argentina and stressed that the country is going through a deep social, economic and political crisis. In these circumstances the Communists strive above all to rally all progressive forces fighting against the military dictatorship, for a democratic, anti-imperialist government. O. Ghioldi pointed out the importance of the National Meeting of Argentinians, the broad popular movement gaining ground among the population.



GEORGI DIMITROV AND THE POPULAR FRONT

This selection of speeches and articles by Georgi Dimitrov published in 1935-1940* deals with problems of the popular front. Revealing the nature of the political changes that took place in the world at that time, Dimitrov maintained the need for effecting a turn in the strategy and tactics of the international Communist and working-class movement and establish a united proletarian and broad popular front on a national and international scale, such as could together with the Soviet Union stop fascism, prevent war and bring the peoples peace, democracy and social progress.

The popular front came into being in working-class battles against fascism and war. The theoretical elaboration of the idea of a popular front contributed to the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the alliance of the working class and the non-proletarian masses, of combining the fight for democracy with the fight for socialism, and of dif-

*G. Dimitrov, *Narodniyat front*. Sofia, 1970. 383 pp.

ferent approaches to the socialist revolution. In view of the world economic crisis, a marked sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, a new upsurge in the revolutionary movement and the growing influence of the Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie resorted to fascism, renouncing parliamentary democracy. The offensive of reaction and the fascists' seizure of power in Germany and other countries made the slogan of fighting directly for the dictatorship of the proletariat irrelevant in Germany and a number of other countries. The dilemma facing the working class and other working people was 'fascism or democracy,' not 'bourgeois democracy or socialism.' To rally the masses in defense of democracy against the fascist offensive, it was necessary to devise a new approach and carry forward the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement.

The selection shows Dimitrov's contribution to a creative solution of this important problem. In disclosing the class nature of fascism, he stressed that 'it is not a *routine replacement* of one bourgeois government by another, but *replacement* of one political form of bourgeois class rule, namely, bourgeois democracy, by another form – an overt terroristic dictatorship.' This clear-cut differentiation between fascist dictatorship and bourgeois democracy helped Communists and other anti-fascists to see and take advantage of contradictions in the imperialist camp. In working for the unity of all democratic and progressive forces against fascism and war, Dimitrov wrote, the Com-

munist parties must accomplish a twofold task; end the split in the working-class movement and strengthen the alliance with the masses and the democratic forces, that is, establish a united proletarian and broad popular anti-fascist front. One of the reasons for fascism's successes in Germany and a number of other countries was the conciliating policy of Social Democratic leaders, the disunity of the working class and its dissociation from its allies—the peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia—which was due among other things, to dogmatism and sectarianism in the Communist parties themselves.

Noting that the establishment of a united proletarian front depended primarily on relations between Communist and Social-Democratic parties, Dimitrov took a stand against a one-sided sectarian approach to the Social-Democrats, occasionally regarded as 'social-fascists.' He insisted that the sections of the Comintern should establish contacts and seek united action not only with the rank and file but with the leadership of Social-Democratic parties and reformist trade unions and should distinguish between Left and Right-wing groups in them. Dimitrov held that a united proletariat would wield tremendous influence on the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals. Having come to believe in the strength of the working class, these sectors would rise to wage a joint anti-fascist struggle in a broad popular front. Dimitrov did not see the popular front as a coalition of political parties but as a power-

ful movement of the whole people, a form of class struggle. His elaboration of a democratic anti-fascist program for this popular movement was an instance of creative application of Lenin's thesis about combining the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism.

Dimitrov also posed the question of a popular front government and indicated its role and class content. It would not be the dictatorship of the proletariat but would pave the way for it, given appropriate prerequisites. Dimitrov held that the Communist parties should back such a government and take part in it if the situation made it advisable. He also believed that in some countries the anti-fascist struggle could lead to the direct establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, provided the alignment of class forces was favorable.

Numerous pages of the selection deal with the problem of combining the struggle against war with the struggle against fascism. Dimitrov called for maximum effort to stave off war. He exposed the Trotskyist and 'Leftist' allegation that the Communists ought to want war because it would produce revolution.

Various items in the book treat the problem of strengthening the Communist parties ideologically and organizationally—'a concern of the whole working class and not a narrow Party concern,' Dimitrov wrote. Speaking of the harm which Right-wing opportunism and 'Left'-wing sectarianism had done to the Communist movement, he stressed that unless

both were eliminated it would be impossible to Bolshevize the Communist parties or set up a united proletarian and broad popular anti-fascist front.

Dimitrov's writings helped in mobilizing the proletariat and other working people, all democratic and anti-imperialist forces against fascism and war, for peace, democracy and socialism. They contributed to the consolidation of the world Communist movement.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International unanimously elected Dimitrov General Secretary of the Comintern. Dimitrov did much to implement the new policy line and to bring Social-Democratic and peasant parties and various non-fascist groups, especially their Left wing, into the anti-fascist struggle. With the Comintern's help, most Communist parties became strong Marxist-Leninist organizations enjoying widespread prestige. It was under their leadership that a powerful movement developed against fascism and war, for democracy, nation-

al independence, and alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union. Despite vacillation and the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders' subversion, the movement led to a popular front in a number of capitalist countries. Wherever unity of the working class and other working people was established in the fight against fascism, Communist influence grew. This showed the validity of the policy approved at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

During World War II the social base of the popular front extended, the front becoming a decisive factor in the anti-fascist Resistance and helping to defeat the Hitler war machine and to establish people's democratic rule in a number of countries.

Georgi Dimitrov's theoretical legacy has stood the test of time and is of great scientific and political value to this day. It teaches us to determine our strategy and tactics creatively and inspires us in the fight against monopoly and imperialism, for the vital interests of the working people. *Georgi Radev*

'HE SERVED HIS CLASS'

This is the title of a book on Johann Koplenig by Erwin Zucker-Schilling, one of his associates*. It includes selections from Koplenig's works.

The author portrays the young worker who became a leader of the Communist Party of Austria and the world Communist move-

*E. Zucker-Schilling. *Er diente seiner Klasse. Johann Koplenig, 1891-1968*. Vienna, Globus Verlag, 1971. 219 pp.

ment under the impact of the Russian socialist revolution and Marxist-Leninist theory. Koplenig had the finest creative and organizing qualities of a member of the working class. He was on the Presidium of the Comintern Executive Committee and led the CPA for over 40 years as its Chairman.

'I studied successfully in a people's school for two years,' Koplenig wrote about his early

youth. 'I wanted to go on studying but could not because my parents were poor.' The First World War broke out. The Social-Democratic leaders' betrayal of the movement killed the young worker's faith in Social-Democracy. He found himself at the front and was soon taken prisoner by the Russians. Koplenig saw the Bolshevik victory as a realization of his ideals, an event in harmony with the class interests of the Austrian proletariat. He contributed his share to the Russian workers' effort to consolidate Soviet power. In 1918 he became a Communist. On returning to his country he joined in the activity of the Communist Party.

'In Austria,' Lenin wrote in 1920, 'communism has passed through an extremely difficult period, which it seems is not quite over yet - growing pains, the illusion that by proclaiming themselves Communists a group can become a force without waging a profound struggle for influence over the masses, and mistakes in the choice of people' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 359). Guided by Lenin's ideas, Koplenig worked hard to strengthen the young, inexperienced Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. He saw a most serious cause of the struggle going on inside the Party in the fact that Social-Democratic ideas had not been fully overcome and that the Party still had 'Social-Democratic illusions.' And this led to the rise of factions threatening to split and destroy the Party.

Koplenig was elected to the Party leadership at the advice of Georgi Dimitrov, then delegate

of the Comintern in Austria. The author shows how Koplenig succeeded, with support from the Party's sound forces, in vindicating the principles of Marxism-Leninism, bringing the Party into the everyday political struggles of the working class and uniting Party ranks on the basis of principle. Firm conviction and the ability to set and carry out tactical tasks according to the situation, put decisions into effect in a creative spirit and use past experience, were among Koplenig's qualities.

An ardent fighter for the interests and freedom of his people, Koplenig invariably championed proletarian internationalism, which he believed should inspire all Communists. He never wavered in his solidarity with the Soviet Union or with Lenin's Party. He regarded the attitude to the Soviet Union as a criterion of every Communist's activity. Two weeks before his death, he wrote what Austria's Communists may consider his political testament: 'I regard the attitude to the Soviet Union as one of the main principles of the Communist movement, a principle binding on every Communist irrespective of all possible differences of opinion Whatever the special conditions of our way, friendship with the Soviet Union is an inviolable rule. Solidarity with the Soviet Union makes our fight for a socialist future real, rids it of utopian features, makes it a part of the great revolutionary transformations that have been reshaping the world and determining the course of history for half a century.' In exposing the revisionists, who in common with

anti-Communists were pushing the Austrian working-class movement towards anti-Sovietism, Koplenig stressed that this policy was bound to land its advocates in the morass of reformism.

The book depicts the eventful life of a fighter. It presents to youth one of the finest members of the working class and its Party, whose life sets an excellent example for the new generation. 'The past decades of this century,' Party Chairman Franz Muhri says in his preface to the book, 'have seen many

stars rise and disappear in Austria's political sky. The man whose career this book tells about was different. Johann Koplenig was not one of those who like to be in the limelight. Not that he was unaware of his role – it was the modesty of a Communist who had dedicated his life to the cause of the working class, his people and international proletarian unity. The memory of Johann Koplenig helps us carry on a cause he upheld all his life. I would like this book, too, to serve our struggle.' *Theodor MALLER*

FRANCOISM EXPOSED

The word crisis recurs time and again in French sociologist Jacques Georgel's book,* key-noting the present condition of the fascist dictatorship in Spain. Invoking a vast amount of facts in his survey of the country's past 30 years, the writer produces a picture of gradual degradation, showing a regime torn by intrinsic contradictions, harried by opposition forces and incapable of finding a way out. The most pervasive features of modern Spain, Georgel says, are her lack of democratic freedoms, continuous repressions, thought control and suppression of the individual by a bureaucratic state.

The book's merit is in its thorough analysis of the mechanics of power – the political institutions, judiciary, legisla-

ture, government, repressive agencies and civil 'rights.' The entire system, Francoists admit, serves the 'unlimited executive, legislative and judiciary powers' of the caudillo. Shown in relief is the battle of the opposition forces, especially in the 1960s. The emergence of the workers' commissions and the democratic, student and Catholic opposition is described in fairly exhaustive detail and mention is made of the conflict between Franco and the monarchist factions.

To produce a truly scholarly history of Francoism, however, or to show its essence, Georgel would have had to pinpoint its class basis. This he failed to do. While right about the role of the army, church and Falange in establishing Francoism, he overlooks their connection with definite classes. His view that Francoism, though it is just another variety of fascism, is an antipode to Falangism, is also unacceptable. His criticism

* Jacques Georgel, *Le Franquisme. Histoire et bilan. 1939-1960*. Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1970, 399 pp.

of Francoism would have been more convincing if he identified the forces on which the Franco regime relies for support, and which are bent on keeping it in power, now that the Falange has collapsed and a large section of of the lower- and middle-echelon Catholic clergy has joined the opposition. Georgel blames the inception of Francoism on just the imperfections of Spain's political institutions and their everlasting crisis, which at first toppled the Bourbon monarchy, then the Republic, and finally eroded the Franco regime.

The Communists, everybody knows, have made the greatest contribution to the nation's struggle against Franco. Yet the author, held prisoner by various anti-communist concepts, minimizes their effort and thereby distorts the historical facts.

He holds that the democratic opposition in present-day Spain

is weak. This prevents him from seeing the political tendencies in proper perspective. That the democratic opposition has not yet formed a united front (a process, incidentally, that is well under way), that it has not yet produced a united action program, is not reason enough for his view that it is not a real force with a way to eliminate Francoism (p. 373). What the author is unwilling to concede is that the democratic opposition, especially the working class, is developing its offensive, which Francoism is quite obviously unable to stem.

While listing the very substantial failings of the book, it is only fair to note that wherever Georgel departs from his mental schemes and tackles the facts as a thorough scholar, his work has the impact of an expose.

M. Markel

BOOKS IN BRIEF

MAKHN, ZKHUKN *sotsializmyн toloo akh duu essor khamtran tuukhen turshlaga* (The Historic Experience of Fraternal Cooperation between the CPSU and MPRP in the Struggle for Socialism), Ulan Bator, Ulsyn Khevleliin gazar, 1971. 335 pp.

Socialist construction in the Mongolian People's Republic has been examined by Mongolian scholars in many earlier works. This collective monograph by the Institute of the History of the Party, CC MPRP and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU, released on the 50th anni-

versary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, is a comprehensive investigation of the battle for socialist relations of production and the mobilization of the people for completing the building of socialism in Mongolia.

The way Mongolia effectuated Lenin's theory on formerly backward countries by-passing capitalism in the transition to socialism, is examined in a historical context. The country's non-capitalist development was made possible by the class alliance of the Mongolian arats (peasants) and the working class of the USSR, the world's first so-

cialist state. The book shows the impact of the October Revolution on the Mongolians' struggle for national and social rebirth, the importance of Soviet aid in eliminating backwardness, building the material and technical basis of socialism and completing socialist construction. The past and present relations between the two peoples and parties show that proletarian internationalism is an imperative if the struggle for socialism is to be victorious. *Ts. Luvsanzhav*

G. HANEY, *Die Demokratie – Wahrheit, Illusionen und Verfael-schungen* (Democracy – the Truth, Illusions and Falsifications); Berlin, Staatsverlag der DDR, 1971. 334 pp.

Jena University professor Haney's monograph consists of two parts – the first being a critical survey of the bourgeois, reformist and revisionist conceptions of democracy, and the second, based on the experience of political development in the German Democratic Republic, examining a number of topical aspects of democracy and government under socialism.

The state, law and democracy, the author says, are not relatively transient categories, but inalienable to the socialist social system, and their comprehensive development and use assure the progress of the new order. The antithesis of state and society, citizen and individual, rights and obligations, centralization and autonomy, and the like, is overcome, but it is necessary to harmonize personal and public interests, and coordinate the public effort to at-

tain national aims. Socialist democracy, the book shows, is the means to this end (pp. 170, 201).

It is imperative, the book stresses, to make the fullest possible use of the organizational forms and institutions of socialist democracy, continuously aligning the democratic institutions with the public need. This is particularly important in the scientific-technical revolution, which makes social relations more complicated. Democratic centralism, the author says, is a means of moulding the socialist social system under the leadership of the working-class party and the socialist state. Contrasting democracy and centralism is wrong, because they form a dialectical unity. Haney also deals with other aspects of socialist democracy. His interpretation of some of the problems of socialist government is interesting, though, in our view, controversial.

I. Warnawski

P. P. BEZUSHKO, *Konsolidatsiya revoliutsionnykh sil i stroitelstvo sotsializma v Vengrii*. 1956-1958 (Consolidation of Revolutionary Forces and Socialist Construction in Hungary. 1956-1958). Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1971. 288 pp.

The capitalist world churned out more than 4,500 books on the Hungarian 1956 events. Marxists contrast these falsifications of the truth with objective studies of the causes and nature of the counter-revolutionary rebellion. Prominent among these are the books by the Hungarian authors J. Berec, H. Vas, I. Komjat, J. Molnar, and E. Hollos. Marxist

scholars have devoted relatively less attention to the Hungarian people's efforts to eliminate the consequences of the counter-revolutionary mutiny. In this sense, Bezushko's monograph is a welcome contribution. He examines the political and ideological consolidation of Hungary's revolutionary forces, the consolidation of the Socialist Workers' Party ranks and its vanguard role in normalizing life in the country, rehabilitating industry and farming, and completing the building of the foundations of socialism. The book is based on vast factual material from the Hungarian press and unpublished archives. Used extensively are HSWP documents, and speeches analyzing the situation at the time of the rebellion, by Comrades Janos Kadar, D. Kallai and D. Nemes. E.G.

W. PAYNTER, *British Trade Unions and the Problem of Change*. London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1970. 172 pp.

The present-day strategy and structure of the British unions are inadequate for effective economic struggle in the state-monopoly setting. That is the main point made in William Paynter's book. The veteran trade unionist holds that workers cannot wrest economic concessions—win better working conditions and higher wages—unless they also invade the political domain, which means that trade union strategy must be re-oriented. He points to the government's involvement directly in industrial relations, and prices and incomes policy, to the growing government control

of many of the means of production and, last but not least, to the continuing growth of huge international trusts wielding massive economic and political power and operating in several countries. If the unions are to meet the challenge of the centralized power of the state and monopolies, the author holds, they should be restructured towards vertical industrial unions and their power should be concentrated in each industry and centralized nationally in the Trades Union Congress.

The book reflects the deep ideological rifts in the British unions, giving the lie to those unionists and Labor leaders who maintain that 'the interests of workers, employers and Government are identical on major questions.' The labor movement, Paynter maintains, must retain its independence, fight for the progressive change and ultimate overthrow of the capitalist system (p. 160). Despite the fundamental and dramatic changes of the last half century, he says, the determinative issue in modern Britain is still the conflict between labor and capital.

E. Yorgen

RANAJIT DAS GUPTA, *Problems of Economic Transition. Indian Case Study*. Calcutta, National Publishers, 1970. 416 pp.

Gupta's book is a sweeping study of the emergence and evolution of Indian capitalism. It traces the formation of the Indian bourgeoisie and shows its specific features. Capitalist growth in agriculture, it says, followed the 'Prussian' pattern in the specific Indian environ-

ment. The appearance of estates employing hired labor led to the pauperization of a vast proportion of peasants, still subjected to various forms of pre-capitalist exploitation, to stagnation, the emergence of a parasitic trader-usurer group, of middlemen and profiteers, and the like. Fenced off from industry during Britain's colonial rule, the national bourgeoisie grew up in the commercial field and usury. The Indian monopolies and the bureaucracy have become conductors of neo-colonialism. 'Politically the immediate neo-colonialist aim,' Gupta writes, 'is to foster a regime, if not openly dictatorial and terroristic, at least more able to contain with determination and firm hand the forces of national advance and progress' (p. 282).

Slogans of building a society 'along the socialist model' the author shows, are used by the

national bourgeoisie to disguise their aim of developing capitalism. Yet this aim is pursued, among other things, by impeding the growth of the state sector, subordinating it to monopoly interests, frustrating economic planning and preventing radical transformations in industry and farming.

India, the author concludes, suffers, and not only from the development of capitalism, but also from the immature state of bourgeois relations of production. Far-reaching changes, spurred by the sharpening of class contradictions, the growth of the working class and the farmers' mounting political awareness, have occurred in recent years. As the author sees it, the country is at a crossroads, with its further socio-economic development hanging in the balance.

E. Onan

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SZULCZEWSKI, M., *Propaganda polityczna* (Political Propaganda). Its Concept, Functions and Problems. Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1971. 264 pp.

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