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**Crisis in
Middle East**

**'Superpowers'—
a false concept**

**Marxist and
non-Marxist socialism**

**The Party before and
after winning power**

**Communists
in parliament**

**Terror in
the Sudan**



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Features

- 3 The Party before and
after winning power
Z. Komocsin
- 14 The Socialist Unity
Party Congress
P. Verner
- 22 New advance in
building socialism
N. Zhagvaral
- 28 Middle East crisis and
Arab liberation movement
N. Chaoui
- 35 Leaders of fraternal
countries meet for
friendly talks

In communist and workers' parties

- 38 Communists and the
masses
- 54 The Party in the factories
W. Wachs
- 58 Success for the
Spanish working class
S. Aliaga

Communists in parliament

- 61 Battle for democracy,
against reactionary,
authoritative trends
J. Duclos
- 68 Communists in the
National Assembly
R. Ballanger
- 71 Work in the
constituencies
L. Odru

Communists and the youth

- 75 Student movement
in Finland
O. Bjorkbacka
- 79 Party reserve
P. Peonidis

Theoretical work in fraternal parties

- 83 Visit to Thorez Institute
G. Shahnazarov

Socialist world today

- 88 The Fatherland Front
in the system of
socialist democracy
B. Balgaranov

(continued next page)

(cont'd)

Marxism-Leninism today

- 98 Main revolutionary forces
and their interaction

Communications and comment

- 110 Ben Hai ablaze
M. Warnenska
- 114 Semantic transmutations
J. Lafter

Viewpoints

- 119 Marxist and non-Marxist
socialism
R. Ulyanovsky

Political commentary

- 128 'Superpowers': a false
concept
Jan Prazsky

Readers' questions

- 135 Third Congress of the
Communist International

Against persecution of democrats

- 146 Terror in the Sudan
- 148 **In brief**

Books and journals

- 152 Racism and genocide
exposed
C. Bart
- 154 Books in brief
- 157 New books

In memoriam

- 158 Abdel Khalek Mahgoub

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The Party before and after winning power

Zoltan Komocsin

The Hungarian working-class movement has a hundred years' record and our Communist movement originated almost 55 years ago. Our Party's revolutionary activity spans a relatively short but eventful period of struggle for power in conditions of legality and illegality and struggle to retain power and achieve complete victory for the socialist revolution. It has been a period of hard work in which we have laid the foundations of socialism, and a period of sustained effort fully to build socialist society. We believe the lessons of the Hungarian Communist movement are valid not only for our own working class and people.

We Communists who fought for power under the bourgeois system, in the conditions of illegality and in the years of fascist rule dreamed of the time when we would set out to build a new society. Everything seemed simple and clear. But, as usual, reality turned out to be richer in content and more complicated than we had imagined. We had to grapple both with problems of historic magnitude as well as everyday tasks. And we had to go through a series of new, severe, in fact cruel, trials. This, too, was useful experience.

1. The fundamental lessons drawn from the experience of Hungary's Communists are also lessons of historic value to the world Communist movement. The distinctive features of our fight do not disprove this but confirm it. Common views, objectives and history unite the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, a component of the international Communist movement, with brother parties.

Hungarian Communists have, as we have said, experiences dating from both the period when the working class fought for power and the period after winning power.

Unquestionably, there is continuity in a Communist Party's activities and policies. However, being transformed from an opposition party into the leading force of society *imparts an entirely new quality to the Party*. We may say with Lenin that now 'the historical moment has arrived when theory is being transformed into practice' (*How to Organize Competition*, Vol. 26, p. 413). The scope and content of tasks change immensely. The Party begins to rule

the country, or, in other words, to set up a new, intricate system of economic, social, political and organizational relations.

The economy, society and man himself change. Creative effort becomes the Party's main activity. The experience gained by it and its cadres in the past is no longer enough – the Party must learn in its work-a-day activity in building the new society. The experience of the CPSU and the parties of other socialist countries is and will be helpful in many respects to every Party winning power by enabling it to tackle new tasks with greater confidence. But, of course, it cannot exempt them from carrying out these tasks. The change in the standing of a Communist Party to that of the leading force of society has been and will always be a turning point in its activity.

Once in power, a Party gains experience of its own and, furthermore, satisfies itself of the universal validity of the objective laws of building the new society, of the experience of other parties that have gone through a similar stage of development. On the other hand, a number of fundamental characteristics of Communist parties' activity both before and after winning power fully persist in their policy. On the strength of our Party's experience, I would like to make the following points:

- a Communist Party can pursue an effective policy only on a principled, Marxist-Leninist basis;
- it must always take into account the real state of affairs;
- a Party's ideological and organizational unity and unity of action are indispensable if it is to perform its social functions and keep in constant and close touch with the masses;
- internationalism and continuous effort to promote it are requisites of a Party's Communist fidelity to principle and effective participation in the class struggle.

Experience tells us that a Communist Party must follow its policy in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles, without Right or 'Left'-wing deformations or deviations. The most correct policy is one based on principle. Any departure from principle will tell sooner or later.

There were moments in our Party's history when a Right or 'Left'-wing deviation and opportunism injured and undermined the Party. The most difficult ordeal was between 1950 and 1956. The fight against deviations was hampered by the fact that one deformation led to another or that an attempt was made to justify one deformation by committing another.

In the years before 1956, the Party was subverted from within by both revisionism, which operated under the slogan of 'anti-dogmatism' and won imperialist praise as 'national communism,' and dogmatism, which professed to combat revisionism but could not defeat it. It is logical that Right-wing opportunism periodically becomes pseudo-Leftist opportunism and vice versa. Thus, in definite circumstances seemingly opposed varieties of opportunism uphold a common platform. One of the lessons we have learned is that one cannot successfully combat one deviation from the positions of another and that the only correct method is to combat revisionism from positions of undistorted Marxism-Leninism.

The effectiveness of a policy hinges, first and foremost, on how faithfully it reflects social relations, primarily the aspirations and objectives of the working class and other working people. Tasks should be specified with due regard to what the working class can accomplish at the given stage and to who are likely to be its allies. Reality and not subjective wishes is the only basis on which strategic goals can be formulated and appropriate tactics worked out, and it is important that these should be in harmony, one never being substituted for the other.

In the twenties, when the revolutionary movement in Europe headed downwards, it was a mistake to set the task of winning power as the immediate task of the working class. The primary task in those years was, in Hungary as in Europe, to muster forces and prepare for a new offensive. Yet for a long time our Party saw the only appropriate continuation of the glorious traditions of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in striving to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat straightaway. After the Seventh Congress of the Communist International we realized that the same objective – socialism – could be properly sought by establishing a broad united front of the people and by fighting for democratic change. At other stages, such as during World War II, and often in very difficult circumstances, Hungary's Communists evolved a realistic policy enjoying recognition and support, and paved the way for becoming the nation's leading party after liberation.

In the early years of people's democratic rule the Communists were able in a short time to win over the majority of the working class and other working people. Fascism, which had ruled the country for a quarter of a century, had left a strongly negative imprint on people's thinking, and the Party, which had just stepped on the public scene after long years of underground activity, had to solve more and more new problems that cropped up in the course of sharp class struggles, although it virtually lacked adequate experience and competent people. Nevertheless, the Party succeeded in winning support for the policy it shaped in the course of events, not only among class-conscious workers, but among all democratic and progressive forces, as a policy expressing the principal requirement of society and offering solutions for burning problems.

Both negative and positive experience made our Party membership deeply aware of the importance of unity. Factional struggles in the years of underground activity, on the eve and during the offensive of the counter-revolution, and the disruption of ideological unity and then unity of action led to catastrophe. On the other hand, whenever fair and open discussions between Communists produced ideological unity, the Party grew stronger and succeeded in solving very difficult problems in even the most unfavorable conditions. It may be recognized as a rule that party unity makes for inseparable bonds with the masses. By the same token, when unity is lacking, confidence in Communists declines and close co-operation between them and the people is inevitably upset.

Fifty-five years of experience speak of the need for both. Party activity invariably bore fruit when it was fully dedicated to the

interests of the working class and the people. This was the case in 1919, after 1945 and after the 1956 counter-revolution. When, however, the Party paid no heed to the working people's views and ignored incipient discontent among them, as in the early 50s, the result was bad mistakes.

The disruption of Party unity before 1956 tended to disorganize its ranks and to demoralize and paralyze even the more politically conscious and courageous Communists. The counter-revolutionary offensive made headway to the extent that Party unity was destroyed and hence the gap between the Party and the people widened. On the other hand, after 1956, when correct decisions were adopted and carried out, the Party's gains, including the most important of them – winning back the confidence of the masses – increased as inner-Party unity and the Party's links with the masses were restored and strengthened. This is also an earnest of our future gains.

The extent to which the party is loyal to internationalism and meets its internationalist commitments is of decisive importance both before and after winning power. We regard it as one of our main achievements, which all the working people of Hungary are proud of, that our Party has always been faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism. There have been victories and reverses as well as temporary departures from a correct and principled policy, but we have never repudiated our internationalist convictions, not for one moment. This is our most sacred heritage, which all future generations must cherish. Just as the Hungarian Communist movement is a component of the world Communist movement, so we regard the solidarity of brother parties and the the working class of the world in inseparable connection with the past and present of our Party. We have always had the assistance of our class brothers, especially in moments of severe trial, and this is particularly memorable to us. Mutual internationalist obligations are the cornerstone of the Hungarian Communists' policy.

II. We know from life that a Party which comes to power, or may come in the foreseeable future, must prepare for this in every respect beforehand as to program, practical measures and cadres. Today, when the pace of historical and social development is quickening, Communists may have to pay dearly for any delay in using their political and organizational possibilities and any underestimation of available experience. Communists must never stop learning, but it is very bad when they begin after winning power to learn what they could have learned before. The class struggle is never lenient to anyone.

The winning of power affords the Party vast opportunities, but the Party's duties and responsibility grow immensely at the same time, for its policy must take account of the fundamental interests of all working classes and strata. We are constantly faced with new problems for which we must find correct solutions. And we must always remember about our mistakes, shortcomings and contradictions.

In our country, the Party not only leads the process of revolu-

tionary change but criticizes its own activity, being in 'opposition' to itself, so to speak. The absence or under-estimation of the function of Communist criticism and self-criticism may do incalculable harm.

The Party can meet the demands put upon it by the working class and the people only if, in all situations, it sees negative and positive aspects of social development, all the pluses and minuses, as Lenin put it, better and more fully than others; if it can foresee and analyze, draw conclusions and set tasks; more important still, if it always lends ear to the masses, especially the working class; if it sees, in even poorly formulated complaints or questions, what is reasonable or, in other words, the problems agitating people and calling for an early solution; if it teaches and guides the people and, on the other hand, constantly learns from them.

The main objective of the working class in the conditions of exploitation is to fight for power. On winning it, the Party must ensure that power is immediately put in the service of the working class. It must take a stand against those who regard power as an end in itself and not a means. Intimately bound up with this is the struggle to preserve and steadily consolidate power—in the right sense of the word. The sad experience of two counter-revolutions in half a century has convinced us Hungarian Communists that the working class is vitally interested in maintaining power and is prepared to make the very greatest sacrifices to this end.

The working class and other working people of any country can concern themselves with radical social and economic changes, abolish exploitation and oppression and bring complete freedom to every working man or woman only when they are in power. However, this is a long process that may require a whole epoch. To preserve power is, therefore, a task of paramount importance.

The experience of Hungary, and indeed of other countries, shows that the power of the working class finds itself in danger when mistakes are made inside the country concerned, with the result that reaction gets a chance to act. The existence of the Soviet Union and the socialist world system foredooms armed imperialist attack to failure. An indication of this is also the imperialists' forced abandonment of their postwar policy of 'liberating' the people's democracies. (The U.S. imperialists' aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was largely made possible, in our view, by the fact that, objectively, the Chinese leaders' policy became a serious obstacle to a united front against imperialism.) However, the imperialists try to overthrow working-class power when a political crisis develops in the country concerned, as the Hungarian counter-revolution in 1956 revealed.

The forces of home and foreign reaction were able to launch an offensive in our country only because the sectarian and dogmatic mistakes that had been made over a long period and the ensuing wave of Right-wing revisionism weakened and then paralyzed the revolutionary forces, brought disarray into the Party and ideologically disoriented its supporters. Consequently, a Communist Party must lay bare in time mistakes that, in a way, are inevitable, and

must be strong enough to correct and renew its policy, for this is the only way to regain the confidence of the masses and stave off imperialist interference from without and a revival of reactionary activity.

But what if the revolutionary forces are no longer in command of the situation at home because they have been temporarily put out of action and divided while the crisis is becoming so sharp as to endanger the power of the working class? If this question is asked in a general, abstract way, the answer is simple: it is necessary to ask for internationalist help. In practice, however, things are much less 'obvious' and more complicated than it might seem, to judge by our experience. In a case of this nature, the situation is so unclear to the 'world' and what really goes on behind the scenes so veiled that not all of even those who support socialism can immediately and accurately estimate events nor take appropriate decisions.

The Hungarian counter-revolution moved with lightning speed from the slogan 'correcting the mistakes of socialism' to White terror. Nevertheless, it took quite long to convince large sections of our public that we had a counter-revolution and that the situation had necessitated seeking Soviet aid. Many of even those who considered themselves Marxists and were motivated by pure intentions – I mean the various 'revolutionary committees' operating on behalf of writers and intellectuals – claimed weeks and months after the event that even if there had been some elements of a counter-revolution, the process as a whole had not been a counter-revolution and that, moreover, there had been a 'revolutionary' movement of the masses to 'renovate' and build 'genuine' socialism. On these grounds they condemned the formation of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government and its recourse to Soviet aid.

In December 1956 our Party's Central Committee, having analyzed the roots and course of the counter-revolution, came to the conclusion that the misled masses had really not wanted a change in the nature of the system but had sought an end to deformations. It was on this point that there was a divergence between the conclusions drawn with Marxist-Leninist loyalty to principle and from class positions, and those drawn from positions of 'general humanism,' which may complicate matters and paralyze the will for action even though it is prompted by no hostile intent. The revolutionary core of our Party held that the interests of genuine humanism made immediate action imperative to stave off civil war and a possible international conflict. And this explains why seeking Soviet aid was inevitable: a careful analysis of the situation revealed that there was no other way out. Each hour which could hasten the end of the mortal danger posed to Hungary by the offensive of home and foreign reaction meant saving thousands and tens of thousands of lives. We were not deluded by the fact that the attempt to restore the old system was camouflaged as a 'democratic revolution.' However, few believed at the time that the day was not far off when even those who had been misled at home and abroad would be

grateful to the Soviet Union and the new revolutionary, Leninist leadership of our Party for their prompt measures.

The crisis of our society was grave indeed. What pained us Communists above all else was that the masses had lost their bearings and that their faith in the Party was shaken. However, it was not a crisis of the system but a crisis and failure of a particular team of leaders and a particular method of leadership. In the bitterest moments we derived strength from the realization that even in those conditions reaction was compelled to wear a mask and veil its designs, since otherwise the deceived and angered masses would have swept away the advocates of restoration.

Thus our experience showed that the problem cannot be approached in abstract fashion. In a situation in which the enemy contrives through political maneuvers to dupe the masses while Communists and statesmen in leading positions yield to demagoguery and pressure from the right, some of them even becoming traitors, those who can act must do so.

Ruling Marxist-Leninist parties can – due to their standing and the power of the socialist system – give one another necessary help and overcome even the greatest difficulties by joint effort. They are in a position to foil any attempt by the enemy at home or abroad to overthrow the regime and pave the way for restoration processes (our experience in the autumn of 1956 showed this). Hence, in terms of principle and practice, one must not rule out such a measure as a carefully thought out decision and a forced way out when Communists, striving to maintain for the people power won at the cost of enormous sacrifice, resort to internationalist aid. A move of this nature may for a while make the impression of a violation of national sovereignty but in the end people come to realize that it was made precisely in order to safeguard their socialist country against reaction's inroads. The potentialities of internationalism are of historic significance to the world socialist system and are a most important guarantee of the peoples' future.

The task of a Communist Party after winning power is to maintain and consolidate it. In so doing the Party must always remember that power has to serve the people and the working class and that wielding it should never become an end in itself. This task cannot be accomplished without manifold and persevering efforts. The Party's policy as a whole, that is, the socialist transformation of economic and social relations, the organization and democratic development of the state, the implementation of a cultural revolution, and a Marxist-Leninist line on international issues, must serve to strengthen and perfect the power won. The armed forces and the various other organs of state power have a big role to play in this respect. Of late, the mass media have gained considerably in importance. The decisive factor, however, is support from the working class and the people. A policy is effective and right only if it serves their interests and expresses their aspirations, and if it is carried on by proper methods and makes it possible to mobilize the people at any moment, even when difficulties arise, so as to

defend, strengthen and perfect state power. This is the key to retaining power and making it unshakable.

III. Our Party and working people, and with them the international Communist movement, paid dearly for the mistakes made in the first half of the 50s and for the counter-revolutionary action in our country resulting from revisionist betrayal. The Party saw it as its duty to the Hungarian people and the world Communist movement to deliver a devastating blow to the counter-revolutionary forces and correct the mistakes made before 1956. It revealed the distortions of its general line, pointed to the incorrect methods that had gained currency and bound all its members to combat and eliminate them. The Party drew proper conclusions from violations of the principles of the policy of alliances and from the underestimation of work among the masses. Its objective in the process was to sum up the experience gained in the 55 years of the Hungarian Communists' struggle – both before and after winning power – so as to learn its lessons.

The Party settled its relations with its allies and the non-party masses. It was exceedingly important to respect the principle of treating our allies in the popular front, trade unions and other mass organizations, in the sphere of administrative, cultural and economic activity, as equal partners, heeding their opinions irrespective of whether they agreed or disagreed with us or criticized us, and arguing patiently with them if necessary. We share both achievements and cares, bear responsibility in common and solve problems by joint effort.

For almost 15 years now, it has been customary in all Party echelons – from the Central Committee to branch organizations – to enlist the participation of both Communist and non-Communist experts in the investigation of various problems and the preparation of relevant proposals. Before taking the final decision, the Party generally consults the leading bodies of mass organizations, the People's Patriotic Front and research institutions, most of which are made up of non-Communists. This practice helps to extend democracy and use collective wisdom. It brings a large number of people into the preparation of Party and government decisions and into their subsequent implementation. It keeps the possibility of error to a minimum. The Party sets itself similar objectives in applying new methods as it exercises its leading role. Party committees take no decisions in regard to the leading bodies of government, economic, cultural or mass organizations. The Party expects its members in these organizations to put forward appropriate proposals and to seek the adoption of correct decisions by adducing sound arguments, through persuasion, on a democratic basis. This is a more difficult, and occasionally perhaps a lengthier, but unquestionably a more advisable procedure.

The atmosphere in our country today is favorable to all who wish to gain a place for themselves in society through honest work. One can work and create in peace, and strive confidently for a life worthy of man, a life becoming fuller from day to day.

The Party follows the mood of the masses and shares their joys and cares. By widely using scientific methods of analyzing social development, we continuously improve our knowledge of the socio-economic condition of the working people, their cultural and spiritual life. The Party strives to ensure that its organizations and all leading economic and local government bodies bear in mind the needs of the people wherever they may live and work. It holds that the confidence of the masses cannot be won once and for all – any more than the unity and cohesion of the working class and the people – and must be continuously renewed.

In our country everyone, from members of the Party cc and the government to rank-and-file Communists and non-Party executives, maintain constant and close contact with the population, implementing Lenin's advice to both teach the masses and learn from them. It is a strict rule that meetings with working people should not be in the nature of monologues but of fruitful exchanges of views, of a dialogue between leaders and led, between deputies and their electorates. The Party regards this contact and political work among the masses as a touchstone of its general line and an essential guarantee that our policy meets the requirements of society at every stage of its development and is really implemented. A correct policy towards the allies of the working class and effective political work among the masses are objective requirements of socialist development and their successful implementation is a decisive condition of our progress.

All this enabled us, after consolidating working-class power, to tackle big social problems requiring considerable material expenditures, political unity, great circumspection, and a tactful and attentive approach to the people. Of special importance were the socialist changes carried out in agriculture between 1959 and 1962 and the economic management reform effected in 1968. The former resulted in improving the conditions of the peasants, which expressed itself in higher living standards and in bringing them much closer to urban standards. The economic reform is still very 'young' and the results are not as great as in the transformation of the countryside, but our initial gains are encouraging, life shows our solutions to be correct and the reform has proved its worth in practice.

We are faced with a number of other important problems. The reform of the educational system was aimed at raising the ideological standard of instruction and education and the effectiveness of disseminating scientific knowledge, whose volume is growing fast. It became necessary to step up scientific research and improve the methods of managing it. The 10th Party Congress (November 1970), which dealt with important economic problems, also set the task of fostering socialist democracy and improving the educational system. Thus new problems arise as we go on building socialism. A standing task of the Party is to analyze them and work out appropriate solutions.

An important aspect of Party work is constantly to study and utilize the experience of other socialist countries with due regard to the situation at home. Our Party always takes into account the

likely effect of measures planned and implemented by us on the activity of fraternal parties, especially those not yet in power. We strive to ensure that each step we take helps fraternal parties as far as possible. The significance of what goes on in the socialist countries is seen in the fact that nowadays their every internal problem attracts the attention of world opinion, both friendly and hostile. This helps to publicize our achievements and, on the other hand, it puts a great responsibility on every socialist country in regard to the world Communist movement.

Adhering to universally valid objective laws and taking into account national peculiarities in building socialism are prerequisites for accomplishing the tasks facing the Party. These two factors must be in harmony and neither of them can be counterposed to the other, denied or ignored. To balance them correctly is of fundamental importance today. Right-wing revisionists minimize or completely deny the role of universal laws, stressing only national peculiarities. This is one of the starting points and the root of their nationalist and anti-Soviet views. As for those who hold to sectarian, dogmatic and conservative positions, they are incapable of creatively taking account of national peculiarities and hence cannot ensure adherence to universal laws, which is indispensable. They thereby make it impossible for themselves and the Party to analyze comprehensively and in detail problems arising in the course of socialist construction, detect mistakes and contradictions and remove them.

Lenin pointed to the necessity for a concrete analysis of each particular situation taking into careful account historical and social conditions and national traditions. We know from history that the socialist countries, while adhering to the main principles of Marxism-Leninism and to universal laws, solve particular problems differently. This is true, for example, of the system of economic management, which is based on planning as a general law of socialism; of methods of cultural policy; of the development lines of socialist democracy; of questions of Party leadership of mass organizations, first of all the trade unions, as well as of government agencies and local government bodies.

Concrete differences are in themselves no problem, for they involve processes and institutions in constant motion and formation. What does not prove its worth is discarded, and what proves useful and correct is carried forward. Socialism, which is being built in fourteen countries on three continents, must not and cannot follow one pattern as to details. It is only natural that the fraternal parties should come up against new problems at every stage. It is their solution that constitutes the creative aspect of building the new society, the true romance of the revolution.

Bilateral and multilateral exchanges of experience between socialist countries and fraternal parties benefit all concerned. We can multiply our achievements by seeing to it that our contacts become stronger and more meaningful, that there is as little formalism and as much real exchange of views as possible in our meetings and

that, as well as telling about their achievements, those who meet discuss plans, problems, difficulties and contradictions arising in the course of development, and ways and means of overcoming them, ever more frequently. What we mean is principled, comradely discussions precluding interference in the internal affairs of any Party or country and all infringements of the principle of independence. At the same time, we think a Marxist-Leninist approach to a problem is necessary when a principled, comradely opinion can by no means be regarded as interference but as help. This will promote cooperation on a qualitatively new and higher level.

If we tried, by way of summing up, to describe the conditions of the Party's work since it won power and asked ourselves whether these conditions are easier now, the answer would hardly be a simple one. Of course, we are inspired by the fact that we are working for ourselves and that our ideal – socialism and communism – 'is no longer a program, a theory, or a task to be accomplished' and has become 'a matter of actual and practical development' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 372). This is the important thing. On the other hand building a new society is a formidable task requiring tremendous effort, stamina, patience and wisdom. The occasional assessments of our affairs made by outsiders without regard to the objective conditions determining our various moves seem perfectly pointless to us. There are those who try, from the point of view of their own desires or by way of abstract moralizing, to tell us what would be the best thing to do in this or that situation. We are always ready to lend ear to sound advice, but we find it hard to accept advice that disregards our distinctive conditions and, in our view, runs counter to the interests of socialism.

The Central Committee report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU contains what we consider an instructive conclusion. 'The whole socialist world,' it says, 'is in motion and is being continuously perfected. Naturally, it develops through struggle of the new against the old and by resolving internal contradictions. The experience they have gained helps fraternal parties to resolve their contradictions correctly and in time and confidently to follow the path charted by the great teachers of the proletariat, Marx, Engels and Lenin. . . . We stand for cooperation between fraternal countries becoming ever more profound and diversified, involving ever larger sections of the working people, and for these countries studying one another's specific experience more thoroughly at all levels of government, social, economic and cultural activity.' This statement is of fundamental importance, and Hungary's experience of building socialism proves it entirely correct. Putting it into practice fully accords with the national interests of our country and the international objectives of our Party.

The lessons of the more than a half-century old Communist movement of Hungary are also valid for the present generation of our Communists. The world is changing but history teaches us that we must carefully preserve and reckon with the movement's heritage.



Socialist Unity Party Congress

Paul Verner

The Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany came a few weeks after the historic 24th Congress of the CPSU. It found lively response among the working people of the German Democratic Republic and our comrades and friends all over the world.

What are the main Congress results?

Congress made a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation, the alignment of class forces and the worldwide class struggle. On this basis it formulated the strategy and tactics of our Party and state in the fight against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

Congress took stock of the republic's social progress and provided scientific guidelines for the further construction of a developed socialist society. This process is being pressed forward by promoting socialist statehood, building up the productive forces, extending the material and technical base of socialism, raising the people's educational and cultural standards and moulding the new man. It necessitates continuous effort to carry forward socialist social relations and to increase the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party.

Congress was a further indication of the Party's complete unity and close cohesion and the consistency of its policies. This expressed itself in both the estimation of the results of carrying out the decisions of the Seventh Congress (1967) and the delegates' approval of future tasks. Unity manifested itself in a constructive debate during which delegates submitted numerous proposals for the solution of new problems. All Congress documents were approved unanimously. A fact emphasizing unity was the unanimous election of the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Secretariat, and First Secretary, a post entrusted to Erich Honecker.

Attended by delegations of 94 Communist, Workers', national democratic and Left-wing Socialist parties from 83 countries, the Eighth Congress of the SUPG became a forum of proletarian internationalism and contributed to the strength and unity of the revolutionary forces of the world. The substantially greater attendance in comparison with the Seventh Congress, which played host to

67 parties, is evidence of the increased international prestige of our Party and republic.

The presence of so many spokesmen for the three main revolutionary forces of our time – the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement – lent Congress special significance. Speeches by foreign delegates revealed the strong impact of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties on the growth of the main revolutionary forces.

Congress was an impressive proof of the durable fighting alliance and fraternal relations between the SUPG and CPSU and the parties of other socialist countries. The nature of this alliance was aptly defined by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, who said in his Congress speech that 'friendship is the heart and soul of our alliance formed in joint struggle for the triumph of peace and socialism.'

Our foreign policy of peace, Congress stressed, is in harmony with the nature of a developed socialist society and with the desire to continue doing everything to raise the people's material and cultural standards. It is a policy designed to provide favorable external conditions for socialist building and calls for sustained effort to help in strengthening the alliance of socialist countries and internationalist solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom, and in stepping up the fight against aggressive imperialism, for the principles of peaceful coexistence.

In our conditions these principles found expression in the five points of the CC Report describing the contribution of the GDR to European peace. The Report noted that the GDR favors an early conference on European security and, like its allies, advances no preliminary conditions. The republic has signified its readiness to join the UN and its specialized agencies and establish normal diplomatic relations with all countries. It declares for relations with the Federal Republic of Germany conforming to international law and for normal relations with West Berlin, both of which would ease tension in the heart of Europe.

The Congress keynote was the Party's desire to do all in its power for the good of the working class and the people. Congress sittings became a forum for an exhaustive exchange of views reflecting the collective wisdom of Communists and other working people. The exchange was marked by an earnest approach, a realistic assessment of the situation – of our achievements and difficulties – by militant optimism and, last but not least, by a clear intelligent debate. The deliberations of Congress, which were meaningful and to the point, and its decisions serving the people's interests strengthened the faith of the masses in the Party and the bonds linking them together. They enhanced the Party's prestige. All the speculations voiced by our opponents before, during or after Congress were defeated – they proved wrong also often in the past. The rumors and conjectures that were put about burst like a soap-bubble when confronted with the results of Congress and the impact of its decisions on the masses.

The Eighth Party Congress was expected to answer various questions in accordance with the objective laws of socialist building. These questions arise as our republic fulfils the program of carrying forward socialist society. Eschewing all subjectivism and illusions, it realistically specified the Party's main policy lines at the present stage of building developed socialism.

Congress stressed that a developed socialist society, which it is the Party's chief task to build, was defined in the main in the Program adopted by the Sixth Congress (1963) and the decisions of the Seventh Congress (1967). In other words, the Eighth Congress carried on the development initiated in the 60s. At that time we finished laying the foundations for socialism and brought about the triumph of socialist relations of production. The steps taken on August 13, 1961, to safeguard the state frontier created new conditions for the operation of socialist economic laws. It became objectively necessary and possible to move on to building a developed socialist society. The task of using the advantages of socialism to satisfy the material and spiritual requirements of the working class and other working people ever more fully and vigorously to shape a socialist way of life came to the fore.

This entitled Erich Honecker to say in the cc Report to the Eighth Congress: 'Ever since socialist relations of production prevailed in our country, we have been engaged in the comprehensive, all-round construction of a developed socialist society.'

The Eighth Congress charted the continued socialist development of the GDR. The decisions on building communism in the Soviet Union adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU were invaluable to us in this respect.

We know from our own experience that forming developed socialism poses big and complicated problems. The question is, as L. I. Brezhnev said at our Congress, 'how best to combine the advantages of the socialist system with the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution; how to ensure on this basis high effectiveness and planned and proportionate development throughout the national economy and a substantial rise in the people's standard of life; in what forms to extend in breadth and depth the effort towards moulding people's socialist consciousness; by what means to make headway in the creative development of socialist democracy; how to raise the standard of cooperation among fraternal socialist countries.'

Proceeding from the essentially successful implementation of the decisions of the Seventh Congress, the Eighth Congress answered these questions in keeping with our actual conditions and possibilities. It offered the working people a clear and correct perspective and approved a vast working program – directives for the economic development plan for the 1971-75 period – meeting the interests of the working class and people as a whole.

'The main object of the five-year plan,' we read in the relevant Congress resolution and the directives for the five-year plan, 'is to raise the people's material and cultural standards higher still

through rapid development of socialist production, greater effectiveness, progress in science and technology, and growing labor productivity.'

This main task, following from the main economic law of socialism, shows that under socialism the economy is not an end in itself but a means of meeting people's material and spiritual needs more and more fully. The directives are aimed at improving the material and cultural standards of life. They add up to a set of measures - increasing consumer goods output and raising wages; stepping up house-building; appropriating from 140 to 150 billion marks for education and culture; nurseries and kindergartens; extending medical care and old age maintenance. These measures, the cc Report pointed out, put greater demands primarily on the labor, competence and sense of responsibility of everyone, whatever his job. It is common knowledge that society cannot consume more than it produces. Our working class and other working people realize this, as discussion of Congress results revealed.

To improve the standard of life, it is necessary to strengthen the material and technical basis of socialism and steadily increase the national income by raising labor productivity and the effectiveness of social production and by improving quality. Congress gave these matters considerable attention. Among others, it resolved to increase the national income by 30 billion marks over 1970, which means that in 1975 it should range between 136 and 138 billion marks. Formerly it took us ten years - from 1955 to 1965 - to increase the national income as much as that. Industrial production is to go up 34 to 36 per cent, which means that in 1975 it will be worth 60 billion marks more than at the beginning of this five-year plan. This equals the value of the 1955 output. Labor productivity should grow by 35 to 37 per cent.

Further economic progress will be achieved chiefly by intensifying social production and raising its effectiveness. With due regard to present development conditions, the emphasis in economic growth is being shifted to intensification. This is an objective requirement of developed socialism, which the cc Report to Congress presented as follows: 'To intensify production means, in plain terms, increasing output by making better use of available production facilities and modernizing them, and by producing more with the same labor power. We will spend primarily on reconstruction and not on extensive new construction. . . This option corresponds to the fundamental conditions prevailing in our economy.'

Congress decried socialist rationalization as a key political task in every field. This is not a solution for paupers, as some believe, but for judicious people who appreciate the exigencies of the day. Rationalization implies modernizing the facilities in use, mechanization, partial automation, and complete automation of the more important economic units. Science and technology are faced with new and higher demands. They must make a substantial contribution to rationalization and help in accelerating the growth and raising the effectiveness of our economy.

Congress defined raising production effectiveness as one of the main objects of our economic policy and pointed to the need to improve economic management. Since plans are the pivot of socialist management and guide the initiatives and conscious activities of millions in fulfilling social tasks, they must be of a high standard. It is most important that plans be scientifically sound and balanced and that development by industries and regions be coordinated.

Since a developed socialist society can fully bring its advantages to bear only if every opportunity for a socialist international division of labor is used, the Eighth Congress stressed the importance of extending economic integration with the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries and defined accomplishment of this task as an internationalist class duty.

In late years our Party has been trying hard to use, on the basis of the economic system being introduced, ways and means of economic planning and management in line with both the general laws of socialism and the specific conditions obtaining in our country. Congress called for meaningfully continuing the effort to perfect the economic system, whose effectiveness should be gauged by how far it helps millions of working people to attain high proficiency. Another yardstick of economic effectiveness is how the people's working and living conditions are improving, how their desire for better political, economic and professional training is encouraged and how their role in economic management and planning and their sense of responsibility for them are growing.

Closely linked with this is the task of fostering people's socialist-mindedness. New man is formed, first of all, through creative labor, as a member of a work team, due to active participation in socialist emulation, through the study and knowledge of cultural values, through participation in the management and planning of social labor. The aim is to encourage such traits as initiative and creative daring in labor, high educational and cultural standards, awareness of one's responsibility for the collective body and the interests of society, a socialist attitude to one's civic duties and an internationalist way of thinking.

To ensure that the above tasks are accomplished, Congress called on the Party membership to treat ideological work among people as a decisive Party activity and give priority to the task of educating the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism and a socialist attitude to labor and to public property, of building up their Marxist-Leninist world outlook and intensifying the struggle against reactionary bourgeois ideology.

An objective requirement in building a developed socialist society is steadily to promote and perfect the political system in the GDR. Our Party applies universal objective laws to the republic's conditions. It anticipates that the leading role of the working class in state and society will grow and that the alliance of the working class, cooperative peasantry, the intellectuals and other strata will be strengthened.

As the people's moral and political unity grows the positions of other social classes and strata are drawing closer to the positions of the working class. This is a highly differentiated, complicated and long process. It depends in no small degree on the influence of the working class over all other classes and strata, on the ability of its Party to carry on its ideological and political work in such a way as to reach and win over everyone.

For more than two decades now, the working class of the GDR has wielded power. 'The working class has founded our state and rallied all the working people to support it,' the CC Report to the Eighth Congress noted. 'It has imparted its humanism and militancy to the new society.' A developed socialist society can be formed only if the responsibility of the working class grows in step with the objectively growing role of this class. This applies to the subsequent internal development of the GDR, to the task of meeting the material and cultural requirements of the working class and other working people ever more fully, fostering socialist consciousness, and shaping a socialist way of life. The ideology, moral qualities and behavior standards of the working class should be extended to all working men and women and the whole people. Growing working-class responsibility is also a highly important factor for strengthening the socialist commonwealth and for fighting effectively against imperialism.

Large-scale socialist production, a key component of the material and technical basis of the new social system, is a specific battlefield for the working class and plays a big role in building up the material basis of the alliance with the cooperative peasantry. This led the Eighth Congress to devote special attention to the activity of the trade unions, which encompass almost the whole working class. Lenin called the trade unions a school of communism. This means that the unions must take a more active part in the exercise of power by the working class, in advancing production and improving life. It is largely through everyday trade union activity that the working class wields its influence on the economy and the whole of society.

Socialist society, by virtue of objective factors, is led by the working class. This, however, in no way reduces the role or contribution of other laboring classes and strata, Congress stressed. The working class helps them fully to use their creative powers and to contribute their share to socialist building.

The tried and tested alliance of the social and political forces of our society, led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party, will go from strength to strength, for this meets the common fundamental interests of the working class, cooperative peasantry, socialist intelligentsia and other working people. Congress emphasized that, using the vast experience of our policy of alliance, we will continue to make every new step forward together with our partners in the alliance, so that they may take an ever more conscious and active part in building a mature socialist society.

The leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist

Party and the role of the socialist state logically grow as our society develops. This also applies to the effort to perfect socialist democracy, necessitated by the increased scale of the economy, qualitative changes in it, and a stronger interlocking of economic branches and their interaction with other public spheres. Increasing demands are made on scientific, well-balanced and integrated management and planning of social progress.

Furthermore, international cooperation and socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries widen the sphere of government activity in many respects. In view of the mounting and insidious aggressiveness of imperialism, government agencies are bound in increasing measure to detect and foil enemy schemes in time. Consolidation of state power is also closely linked with the GDR's contribution to the strength of the socialist defense coalition.

In accordance with the tested Leninist principle of democratic centralism, we must carry forward socialist democracy by making government activity still clearer to the working people and by constantly encouraging their participation in government. We must also put higher demands on the people's representative bodies and deputies, ensure that the decisions they make are still more specific and effective, and promote close cooperation between these bodies and the enterprises and mass organizations, especially the trade unions. One of the tasks of these bodies is to maintain socialist law and order and steadfastly carry on educational work aimed at making conscious discipline a habit of people.

To continue building developed socialism in our republic, the Party must raise its militancy, step up its theoretical, ideological, political and organizing activity and encourage greater initiative and activity on the part of its members.

Being the vanguard of the working class, the Party sees its chief task in directing social development in the GDR according to a scientifically sound strategy and tactics and in stimulating the initiative of every citizen to further the prosperity of the socialist system. Congress stressed that the strength of our Party, a militant union of like-minded people, lies in voluntary and conscious discipline and in the militancy and devoted labor of its every member. This is why every Party member must work devotedly to bring the Party decisions to reality. And it explains the need to extend inner-Party democracy and respect the Leninist standards of Party life. Special attention should be given to collective leadership as an important principle for all Party committees. Collective leadership connotes personal responsibility and guarantees a realistic and earnest approach, primarily to new problems. It guarantees the adoption of correct decisions and prevents subjectivism.

Branch organizations, which directly link the Party with the working people, will be able to heighten their efficiency and win greater prestige as all Communists master the theoretical wealth provided by the decisions of the Eighth Congress and establish still closer links with the masses, explaining Party policy to them

patiently and in a principled way, and rallying them to carry this policy into practice.

The membership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has set about fulfilling the decisions of the Eighth Congress, feeling certain that each step towards forming a developed socialist society strengthens the German Democratic Republic and helps to change the balance of world forces in favor of socialism and peace.



New advance in building socialism

Nyamyn Zhagvaral

The 16th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) was one of this year's outstanding events in our country.

After hearing and discussing the Central Committee Report presented by Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary, CC MPRP, and Chairman, Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Congress approved the Party's policy and activity. It adopted directives for the fifth five-year plan of economic and cultural development and the declaration 'The Just Cause of the Peoples of Indochina Will Prevail' and 'In Support of the Arab Peoples' Fight.' The Congress elected the central Party bodies.

The Party, which celebrated its 50th anniversary last spring, arrived at its congress solidly united and equipped with new experience in socialist building. The Congress was unanimous in estimating the home and foreign policy of the Party and the state and the results achieved by them. Its approach to the task of drafting the plan for the next five years was principled and business-like.

1. By carrying out the decisions of the 15th Party Congress (1966), the Mongolian people made considerable headway in every economic field and reached a new milestone in building up the material and technical base of socialism, promoting the economy and raising the standard of living. The fulfilment of the fourth five-year plan in regard to the main indices went a considerable way towards accomplishing the tasks set by the new Party Program, intended to complete socialist construction in Mongolia.

The past five years have seen agricultural production go up despite natural calamities. Large investments, approximating to 24 per cent of the national economy's accumulations, enabled us to provide animal husbandry with additional facilities. Over the five-year period we started industrial production of feeds, increased their stocks and organized their transport to the Gobi area. We watered 18 million hectares of pastures, extended construction of cowsheds and improved the veterinary service.

Noteworthy progress was made in strengthening socialist agri-

cultural enterprises – cooperatives and state farms. At present each cooperative has an average of 60.7 thousand head of collectively-owned livestock, fixed assets worth up to five million tugriks and a money income of two million tugriks. The state farms, which specialize in various branches of crop-farming and pedigree stock-breeding, average over 10,000 hectares of cultivated land and 30,000 head of livestock.

Industry has registered further progress. By 1970 total output had increased 60 per cent over 1965, growing at an average annual rate of 9.9 per cent. Per capital output of the main industrial products showed a substantial increase. Power production was up 78 per cent and coal output, 77 per cent.

By carrying forward social production under our fourth five-year plan, we achieved a further improvement in the people's material and cultural standards. Consumption funds grew by 24.6 per cent and the wages fund, 27 per cent.

We also registered notable cultural gains. Specifically, we are introducing universal seven-year education for children, as envisaged by the Party.

The Congress took stock of the economic, political and ideological activities of the Party and the people and decided on the next tasks in building the material and technical base of socialism.

II. According to the Congress directives for the new five-year plan (1971-75), *the main economic task is substantially to increase social production through a steady growth of agriculture and further progress in industry and other economic branches, and to ensure, on this basis, a continuous rise in living and cultural standards.*

The Plan provides for the following increases: total social product, 31-35 per cent, national income 30-33 per cent (gross agricultural output is to grow by 22-25 per cent and industrial output, 53-56 per cent) and transport operations 23-24 per cent.

A special effort will be made to expand agriculture, which is still the mainstay of our economy. The high rate of population growth, rapid industrial progress and an expanding foreign trade, are putting new demands on agriculture. To meet the country's needs, we plan to increase agricultural production as follows: meat 15.3 per cent, milk 25, wool 13, grain (state purchases) 50, potatoes and other vegetables 60 per cent. The livestock population is to grow by 11 per cent.

To ensure steady progress in animal husbandry, we need to supply it with more facilities. Under the new five-year plan, 70 per cent of the investments earmarked for agriculture will be spent on this branch.

A number of important economic steps have been taken in line with the decisions of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, to provide material incentives. We are raising the purchase prices of staple products and introducing a new bonus system for farms fulfilling or exceeding state assignments. There are new personnel

requirements to be met. A number of rural areas are very short of labor power and the Party has resolved to send at least 50,000 school leavers there during the next five years and over 3,000 experts who have had a higher or secondary specialized education.

The fifth five-year plan is an important stage in the effort to transform Mongolia into an industrial-agrarian country as decided by the Party. Power production is to increase 50-55 per cent, coal 25-30, mining industry output 80, building materials 50, light industry output 43-47, and foodstuffs 60-65 per cent.

In framing its economic policy, the Party proceeds from the supreme goal of socialism, which is to raise the people's standard of living and fully meet their material and cultural needs.

The directives adopted by the 16th Congress provide for a substantial increase in the working people's cash earnings. The payroll in agricultural cooperatives will show a 40-45 per cent increase; the wages of certain low-income categories will go up 15-20 per cent; industrial and building workers, as well as workers in some other branches, will gain a 7 per cent basic-wage increase; working people will pay less income tax and mothers of large families will get larger allowances. There is to be a further cut in consumer goods prices. As a result, the population's real income will increase by roughly 22-23 per cent over the five-year period and public consumption funds, 36-40 per cent. The directives call for a 24-26 per cent increase in state and cooperative retail trade, a 19 per cent increase in state and cooperative retail trade, a 19 per cent increase in public catering, 30 per cent in housing and expansion of the service industries.

In carrying out its five-year plan and building up the material and technical base of socialism, Mongolia will draw, as it always has, on the fraternal assistance and cooperation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Our growing economy and the qualitative changes occurring in it put high demands on management. The Congress devoted special attention to the problem of improving economic management and planning and stressed the need to adopt a new system of socialist management in most of the enterprises. This system implies combining centralized management and planning with greater enterprise initiative and autonomy, and increased responsibility for output with greater material and moral incentives.

Party, government and economic bodies will have to update production management and encourage the working people to make fuller use of untapped economic resources.

The Congress decided on preparing scientific forecasts and long-term plans for the key economic branches covering the next ten to fifteen years.

III. The present stage in our country's development is marked by the Party's growing role in every public sphere. The Party became stronger ideologically, politically and organizationally between its 15th and 16th congresses. A considerable numerical growth and

an improvement in the composition of the membership are indicative of the Party's increased role and prestige and its closer unity with the working people. The Congress called on Party organizations to draw the foremost workers, cooperative peasants and intellectuals into their ranks.

The Party strives unremittingly to promote inner-Party democracy by applying the Leninist standards of Party life, raise its members' militancy and sense of responsibility, tighten discipline and improve Party control and inner-party information. With due regard to radical changes in social relations as a result of building the foundations of socialism, and to the increasing scope of activity in leading socialist construction, it was found advisable to draft amendments to the Party Rules and submit them to the next congress.

The Congress called the Party membership's attention to the need to foster principled criticism and self-criticism, which have become reliable methods of removing shortcomings and educating the Party cadre. 'Every Party leader and every rank-and-file member,' the cc Report to the Congress stressed, 'should be well aware that principled, open and fair criticism is necessary and useful to our common cause.'

Marxist-Leninist theory is the scientific foundation of our Party's activity. The Party has carried out much theoretical and educational work since its previous congress. Comparing notes with the CPSU and other fraternal parties and stepping up the struggle for purity and creative application of Marxism-Leninism have always benefited our Party's ideological standard and helped Party organizations to improve political education.

The Party's ideological institutions and our scientific community contributed their share to numerous international conferences and symposiums on the theory and practice of the Communist movement and of socialist and communist building.

Our ideological life benefited considerably from the scientific forum held by the cc MPRP and the Editorial Board of this journal, as well as from the joint session of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and the cc Institute of Party History and the Higher Party School. Both forums attended by Marxist scholars and leaders of fraternal countries and parties, stressed the value of Mongolia's experience in non-capitalist development for the worldwide struggle for socialism and for the national liberation movement.

The Party's theoretical work on important problems of socialist development is reflected in cc decisions and such documents as the new Party Program and the cc theses for the 50th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution. Many of these problems, in particular that of strengthening the material and technical base of socialism, improving economic management and planning, raising the effectiveness of social production, socio-political and cultural development or the education of the new man, require further study. The Party urges raising the standard of scientific research, carrying forward our theory in close connection with current problems of

the country's socialist development and learning from the historic experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties.

To improve the Marxist-Leninist training of Party members and all working people is one of our main ideological tasks. It is essential to publicize the ideas of scientific socialism, foster the political consciousness of the working people, cultivate a socialist attitude to labor and to socialist property, and promote collectivism, comradeship and mutual assistance. We must go on improving the political education of Communists and link the study of theory still more closely with the study of problems of socialist construction, at the same time exposing bourgeois and opportunist ideology.

iv. The Communist movement and the progressive forces of the world followed the 16th Congress of Mongolia's Communists with keen attention. Our Party's activity over 50 years is an example of consistent implementation of the principles of scientific socialism and the great Lenin's theory of the possibility of backward countries making the transition to socialism without having to pass through the capitalist stage. It shows how our Party and people, backed by the alliance of socialist countries and, above all, the experience and support of the world's first socialist state, achieved national rebirth and all-round social progress.

The fact that our Congress was attended by delegations of over 50 Communist, workers' and national-democratic parties was an indication of internationalist solidarity with our Party and people. It meant recognizing the fact that our Party, true to the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, is successfully leading our working people along the road of peace and socialism. The guest parties identified themselves with our Party on the fundamental aspects of the international situation and the world revolutionary movement. They assessed the 50 years' experience of our Party and country as a contribution to the Communist movement having fundamental significance for the peoples of developing countries.

The Congress revealed the close unity of our Party and the CPSU, of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples. It described Mongolian-Soviet relations as a symbol of socialist internationalism. 'Mongolian-Soviet friendship, which came into being at the dawn of the People's Revolution,' Y. Tsedenbal said at the Congress, 'has become a lasting earnest of our advance in every sphere of life, and a most important factor for the rapid progress of the Mongolian People's Republic towards completing socialist construction.'

The 16th Congress of our Party expressed its heartfelt gratitude to the CPSU and the government and people of the Soviet Union for their constant fraternal assistance to our country in socialist building and their internationalist solidarity with the Mongolian people. Our Party sees its duty in continuously strengthening the alliance with the heroic Soviet people, who are building communism.

The Congress showed again that our Party is an inseparable component of the international Communist movement, and our

country a member of the great socialist commonwealth. This determines, the Congress pointed out, the following main lines of the foreign policy of our Party and state:

- strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement on the principles of proletarian internationalism; broadening fraternal links with the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary democratic forces;

- strengthening the bonds of friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; extending economic, scientific and technological contacts with them and taking part in socialist integration;

- supporting the working-class and national liberation movement;
- fighting against imperialism and war, for peace and friendship, for the freedom and social progress of the peoples.

Together with the CPSU and other fraternal parties, our Party works for closer unity and cohesion of the Communist movement. In line with the 1969 Meeting, it carries on a principled fight against Right and 'Left'-wing opportunism, against the divisive policy of China's leaders, who undermine the unity of the socialist commonwealth and the Communist movement.

Our Congress showed that the position of our Party on all the main problems of the world Communist movement is identical with the position of the CPSU and the overwhelming majority of brother parties.

Our 16th Party Congress took place shortly before the 50th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution, which brought the working people national and social liberation. During the past five decades the Mongolian people, led by their Party, have made a historic leap from a medieval condition to modern civilization, from economic backwardness to socialist development, from age-long isolation to an active role in international affairs.

Speaking of the historic significance of our revolution at our 16th Party Congress, W. Weinstone, member of the National Committee, CP USA said America's Communists had tremendous respect for the MPRP because Mongolia was the first to have launched a program of going over from feudalism to socialism, skipping capitalism. Mongolia's historic initiative, he said, has been and will be a source of inspiration and an example to the oppressed peoples of the world, especially the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Mongolia avoided the horrors of capitalism and that was a historic victory.

Each Party congress marks a new stage in the life and progress of the Party and the people and stimulates the political and labor effort of the masses. The 16th Congress was a landmark in the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. In setting out to put its decisions into effect, the Mongolian people are full of creative energy and ready to do their utmost for the further advancement of their country. This is a guarantee of successful fulfilment of the program of completing socialist construction in the Mongolian People's Republic.



Middle East crisis and the Arab liberation movement

Nicolas Chaoui

1. For more than four years now Israel has been holding on to the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war. Its adamant refusal to withdraw from them – and in this, too, it relies on U.S. support – has sharply aggravated the Middle East crisis, making it one of the most volatile issues of our time.

The Israeli-U.S. imperialist plan of quick and complete victory through a surprise attack failed. The policy now is to exploit the results of the temporary Arab defeat in 1967 by holding up the threat of fresh aggression, engineering border incidents and systematic incursions into Arab territory.

The time factor is basic to these plans. The Zionists and imperialists are staking on the economic, political and moral exhaustion of the Arab peoples, trying to inculcate a feeling of hopelessness, split the Arab camp and isolate it from the world workers' and liberation movement and from the socialist countries.

The identity of Israeli and U.S. aims is becoming increasingly clear, providing added evidence of Israel's imperialist nature and expansionist proclivities. Imperialism is exploiting that to defend its long-term interests in this area. Developments over the past 20 years are convincing U.S. imperialism that reactionary regimes cannot withstand the hurricane wind of change in the Middle East. It has no choice but to rely on the armed strength of its outpost, Israel.

When, in the early 1900s, the founders of the reactionary Zionist movement set out to build the state of Israel, they conceived it as an instrument for dividing the Arab people and frustrating their advance to unity. And the facts have shown that from its very inception Israel has been the Middle East gendarme, the main imperialist weapon of aggression, territorial aggrandizement and obstruction of the Arab peoples' advance to freedom and progress. Recent events fully confirm that appraisal of Israel's role. It is helping U.S. imperialism in its attempts to recapture positions lost as a result of the Arab national liberation movement; positions, moreover, essential to its strategy of building a ring of aggressive blocs around the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. U.S. imperialism wants to make the Middle East an operational base against the Afro-Asian anti-imperialist movement.

The Arab movement for national liberation is now passing through a crucial period. The four years since the 1967 defeat have markedly changed things. And the imperialists want to make maximum use of this in shaping their Middle East tactics, under U.S. supervision.

The present crisis is due chiefly to the contradictions between the various national-liberation contingents and to the failure of some elements to appreciate the scale and consequences of the 1967 defeat and to draw the necessary conclusions therefrom. Not all the forces, including some Arab governments, have deeply and critically analyzed the causes of the defeat. This is due primarily to their class nature, to the absence of an ideological base from which correctly to assess developments, but also to the general disarray following the 1967 defeat. More, these forces have no program defining the nature of the struggle now being fought on various fronts and are therefore unable clearly to distinguish between friend and foe, both in the Arab East and the larger world.

II. The close interconnection between national form and social content, which is characteristic of the Arab liberation movement, is the result of the far-reaching socio-economic reforms carried out in a number of Arab countries in the early 60s. But the tempo of reform slowed down in the subsequent period, despite the broadening territorial base of the movement after the overthrow of the monarchy in Libya, expulsion of the British colonialists from Southern Yemen and the May 1969 events in the Sudan.

The Second Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party (July 1968, its materials have been published) carefully analyzed the situation in the Arab national liberation movement. It examined the place of the petty bourgeoisie and its revolutionary-democratic elements, their alliance with the working class, their role in the movement's leadership, emphasizing their class nature, the absence of a scientific ideology, and their indecision, which limits the action potential of revolutionary-democratic regimes. The Party sees these petty-bourgeois revolutionary democrats as an anti-imperialist force interested in socio-economic transformations, but believes that the petty bourgeoisie as a class, and the revolutionary democrats, are incapable of carrying the revolution to the triumph of socialism. That can be accomplished only by the working class, the most progressive and revolutionary class of society.

The movement's class and ideological heterogeneity makes for a wide difference of views. This is an objective factor, one that follows from the very nature of the movement, its depth and scope. However, it cannot justify the disunity that reigns in its different contingents. This leads to conflicts that divert them from the effort to resolve the basic contradiction, between imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, on the one hand, and the Arab national liberation movement, on the other.

Our Party believes that resolving this contradiction is the common strategic aim of the movement's various detachments.

Resolution of other contradictions relating to the class, political and ideological interests of the various contingents should be achieved within the framework of our common task, namely, the fight against the main enemy. This necessitates democratic discussion, recognition of all contingents and definition of their place in the common struggle.

Violation of these principles inevitably leads to a split, and a split undermines the movement's ability to take the offensive. No national contingent has been able to avoid this.

Division manifests itself primarily in the spread of opportunist tendencies and Leftist adventurism. Objectively, Right opportunism merges with imperialism's attempt to rob the movement of its social content. The opportunists call for 'national struggle,' deny that there are any contradictions between the interests of the national liberation movement and Arab reaction. They insist on an end to social transformations and on a return to the old order of things. They want to sever the Arab liberation struggle from the world revolutionary movement.

In line with their class positions, these Rightists seek an excuse for a compromise in Israel's attitude, which is supported by the United States. Such a policy, always dangerous, holds out the threat of fresh conflicts and contradictions within the movement, the threat of its continued weakening. It also serves as justification for Leftist adventurist tendencies.

The Left adventurists, a product of petty-bourgeois anarchism, call for a struggle against the petty bourgeoisie and the progressive regimes it leads, claiming that they are responsible for the defeat of 1967. They make no distinction between Saudi Arabia's feudal regime and the anti-imperialist regime of, say, the United Arab Republic. By setting the movement and its individual contingents unachievable goals they are, objectively, playing into the hands of reaction. For a realistic understanding of the situation and for revolutionary practice they substitute high-sounding pseudo-revolutionary slogans, maintaining that the movement's strategic aims can be achieved quickly and easily, thus prodding it towards adventurism. They encourage illusory hopes among the people, and when these are dispelled by reality there is a feeling of hopelessness and despair.

III. The split in the Arab national liberation movement has already produced a situation in which solution of the main contradiction, with imperialism, is being replaced by more accent on internal differences, culminating in armed conflicts that further aggravate divisions within the various contingents. Objectively, such conflicts benefit imperialism, Zionism and internal reaction and indeed are deliberately provoked by them.

The imperialists are bending every effort to widen the rift in the movement. Their main concern is to set the national democratic forces and Communist parties at loggerheads by spreading the allegation that the Communists are responsible for all the mistakes

and setbacks, and thus prevent the Communist parties from becoming a major political force in the Middle East. It is in this light that one should regard the anti-Communist campaign started in some Arab countries following the attempted coup in Sudan on July 19 and the mass arrests and murder of consistent and staunch Arab patriots. These lines are being written at a time when prominent democratic and progressive leaders are being executed in the Sudan. Our Party has stated that these actions of the Sudanese authorities are a dangerous provocation directed against the Sudanese and other Arab peoples, against the masses in the Arab countries and throughout the world.

In this context, attention should be drawn to the provocative role of the Leftist adventurist groups. They are joining the reactionary forces in attacks on the Communists and in instigating conflicts between the Communist parties and other national forces. And it has to be said that the Chinese leaders support them in instigating anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in the Arab countries. Objectively, this coincides with U.S. imperialist attempts to isolate the national liberation from the world revolutionary movement, notably from its main force, the Soviet Union, in preparation for the decisive blow against the Arab world.

An apt appraisal of anti-Communist tendencies is given in the official communique of talks in the United Arab Republic this July between delegations of the CPSU and the Arab Socialist Union: 'The two sides expressed their conviction that anti-communism does damage to the freedom aspirations and national interests of the peoples and should not be tolerated. It only serves the interests of the international imperialist and reactionary circles. Attempts to disseminate anti-communism are meant to split the ranks of the Arab revolutionary fighters against imperialism, Zionism and Israeli aggression and for the Arab peoples' right to free, independent development. These attempts are also aimed at hampering solidarity and cooperation between the Arab peoples and their friends.'

The split in the Arab liberation movement is further exacerbated by the actions of the reactionary forces now in power in some Arab countries. They are responsible for the terror campaigns designed to destroy the Palestine resistance movement, which since the June war has grown into a strong military force against imperialism and Israel. There is no denying that the Palestine resistance has committed a number of political and tactical errors and has been embroiled in unnecessary conflicts and clashes. It is equally beyond doubt that some Arab political forces have imposed on it tasks alien to it and beyond its capacity. But for all that, it is a militant movement of an anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist orientation and reflects the national aspirations of the Palestine Arabs. It is a major obstacle to imperialist attempts to wrest concessions from the Arab liberation movement and resolutely rejects a compromise at the expense of the Arab people as suggested by the reactionary forces working in collusion with the imperialists and Israel.

Subversion by the rulers of a number of Arab countries can be

seen also in their interference, in the interests of reaction and imperialism, in the Persian Gulf area, and in their support of the monarchists in Northern Yemen, through whom they influence its policy. There has also been outright provocation and the dispatch of armed gangs into the Yemen People's Democratic Republic. Saudi Arabia too is helping the monarchist regime in Jordan, is trying to influence Lebanese policy on a number of issues through economic pressure. It wants to tie Lebanon to the USA and abolish the hard-won political and democratic freedoms and social gains of our working class and people. The idea is to turn Lebanon into a second Jordan, make it an enemy of the Palestine resistance and pave the way for a new bloc linking Saudi Arabia with the Lebanon and Jordan. In short, another attempt to revive the Baghdad or Islamic Pact.

iv. America's isolation in the Arab world, the result of unconditional military, political and economic support of the Israeli invader, has become more pronounced in recent years. U.S. imperialism is maneuvering in an attempt to convince the world that it wants stability and peace in the Middle East. At the same time it wants to give the Rightist faction in the Arab liberation movement arguments in favor of a dialogue with the United States as the prelude to a Middle-East settlement. The U.S. tactic, obviously, is to divide the Arab countries, prepare them for piecemeal pressure and unilateral concessions, culminating in outright capitulation. And all this is accompanied by promises of economic assistance which, in practice, is an additional means of securing American imperialist economic and political domination.

That was the political background to U.S. Secretary of State Rogers' visit. The men who planned it believed that the situation was ripe for American 'mediation' that would force the Arabs to surrender and give Israel political and territorial advantages in any Middle East settlement. Both the U.S. and Israel relied heavily on the contradictions and difficulties besetting the Arab liberation movement and tried, at the same time, to discredit its friendship with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community.

In the Lebanon the American envoy concentrated on inducing the reactionary forces to duplicate the Jordan experiment, abolish the Palestine resistance and ban the Communist Party and other progressive organizations. The Lebanese reactionaries were prepared to do that. The idea was to arrest one of the Communist leaders on a trumped-up charge as the pretext for a campaign against the Party. But the resistance of our people, the unparalleled support our Party enjoys among the masses and the absolute majority of all political groups, foiled these plans. The democratic forces came out of this ordeal stronger than ever.

v. The battle against imperialism and Zionist occupation has now entered a crucial phase, one that demands mobilization of all the

patriotic and progressive forces buttressed by a high degree of organization and consciousness. But though expanding in scope, the popular movement is still in many respects spontaneous, lacking firm organization and a clear political program and strategy.

While noting the movement's weak points, we are confident that it will overcome all its difficulties. But this will require a vigorous Communist effort for unity of the national and progressive forces in our own and all other Arab countries. That can be achieved through united action on a common cooperation platform that takes into account the experience of our joint struggle, and through elaborating a program that would concert the efforts and energy of all elements of the movement.

The working class, the most revolutionary and united class and the one most interested in extending and deepening the liberation movement, must be the center around which all the progressive and patriotic forces are brought together. And objective conditions favor the proletariat playing a much bigger role in the national and social struggle.

The people's road to freedom and progress is difficult, long and tortuous, and this imposes a greater role and responsibility on Communists. That was emphasized at conferences of Arab Communists, including the meeting of representatives of the Communist parties of the Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Jordan. It discussed the central problems now facing the Arab peoples.

It noted the growing influence of socialist ideas, the Communist parties' closer link with the masses, and the growth of anti-imperialist, notably anti-American, sentiments. These processes are evidence of the movement's vast potentialities, now further enhanced by Arab-Soviet friendship, a factor that is changing the balance of forces in the Arab world in favor of progress and socialism.

Our parties have promised the Arab peoples to exert every effort for unity. They are pledged to form closer ties with the masses and work indefatigably to build up a united front against imperialism and neo-colonialism and to raise aloft the banner of socialism and proletarian internationalism in the Arab world. Imperialism, reaction, Israel and the Zionists are doing everything to split the Communist parties, prevent their conversion into the decisive force of the people. But, by virtue of their experience, their scientific world outlook and realistic approach, our parties are in a better position than any other sector of the national liberation movement to bring together the different progressive and patriotic forces and overcome present divisions.

Soberly assessing its capability, the Lebanese Communist Party is following the policy adopted by its Second Congress. Together with fraternal parties of the Arab countries it is on the side of the liberation forces, confident that its activity on a national and all-Arab scale accords with the objective course of historical development and that it is an inseparable part of the Arab movement for national liberation.

We are now preparing for the Third Party Congress. It will enable us to form closer links with the progressive elements in Lebanon and other Arab countries and with world socialism in order to foil imperialist and reactionary attacks on democratic organizations and the Palestine resistance, and prevent isolation of the Lebanese people from the all-Arab national liberation movement.

Our Party is convinced that that movement will successfully cope with its present difficulties and, supported by the forces of freedom, peace and socialism, will achieve its aim and embark on the high road of social progress.



Leaders of fraternal countries meet for friendly talks

Leaders of Communist and Workers' parties from several socialist countries vacationing in the USSR met with Soviet leaders, Party and government functionaries in the Crimea on August 2, 1971.

Participating were T. Zhivkov, First Secretary CC BCP and Chairman of the State Council, People's Republic of Bulgaria; J. Kadar, First Secretary CC HSWP; E. Honecker, First Secretary CC SUPG; Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary CC MPRP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mongolian People's Republic; E. Gierek, First Secretary CC PUWP; G. Husak, General Secretary CC CPC; L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary CC CPSU; N. V. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet, and P. E. Shelest, Politbureau member CC CPSU and First Secretary CC, CP of the Ukraine.

The participants informed each other of socialist and communist construction in their countries. There was unanimous recognition of the growing significance of the great successes attained by the fraternal socialist countries, the close and comprehensive coordination between them based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The participants expressed deep satisfaction over the fact that in accordance with the fundamental tasks and trends of development of socialist economic integration, outlined by the leaders of Communist and Workers' parties and heads of state of the CMEA countries at the 23rd (special) session of CMEA, the 25th CMEA session unanimously adopted a complex program for deepening and improving cooperation and developing socialist economic integration of the CMEA member countries. Realization of this long-term program will be highly instrumental in solving the task of further improving the living standards of the working people and in strengthening the political and economic unity and solidarity of the fraternal socialist countries and will play a historic role in assuring further victories for socialism and communism and will strengthen peace and international security.

The talks touched on timely problems of the development of the world Communist movement and also foreign policy problems of mutual interest. It was stressed that the course of international development substantiates the correctness of the appraisals and conclusions of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and

Workers' Parties, which comprises the unshakable foundation of the policy of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

Experience has confirmed the historic significance of the Meeting for the further enhancement of the unity of the world Communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the struggle against Right and Left opportunism, for the consolidation of all progressive and national liberation forces in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The participants underscored the tremendous significance of the program for peace, advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress and supported by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. The realization of this program is bound to play an important role in bringing about a genuine relaxation of international tension and in assuring peace and security for the peoples.

In the course of the exchange of views, considerable attention was paid to the problems of strengthening European security. Implementing the Leninist foreign policy, the fraternal socialist countries have undertaken a number of significant initiatives aimed at securing a stable peace in Europe and have achieved certain positive shifts in the development of the situation in Europe. The participants expressed the conviction that the basic interests of the peoples of Europe require active steps by all European states to relax tensions. The convening of an all-European conference, ratification of the treaties between the FRG and the USSR and Poland, a settlement of the West Berlin problem, recognition of the invalidity of the Munich agreement from its very inception, and the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Europe can and must become important milestones on the road to establishing a stable peace in Europe.

The participants again voiced their firm determination to give all necessary support to the heroic struggle of the peoples of Indochina against American aggression. They believe that the recent seven-point proposals for a peaceful solution of the Indochinese conflict advanced by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and fully supported by the government of the DRV, accord with the basic interests of all the Indochinese peoples and are a just basis for restoring peace and security in Southeast Asia.

The meeting put on record complete identity of views concerning support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples to restore peace in the Middle East and to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression. Fulfilment of the November 22, 1967 Security Council resolution without delay is an essential requirement of the present day. The meeting expressed its serious concern over the brutal terror against the Communist Party and other democratic organizations in the Sudan. The participants in the meeting emphatically condemn the illegality and arbitrariness of the Sudanese authorities, which are used by imperialist and reactionary forces against the interests of the people of Sudan.

The meeting stressed the extreme importance of the struggle to

further strengthen the unity and solidarity of the socialist community, the international workers' and Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces for the successful advance of socialist and communist upbuilding, for establishing the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between countries with differing social systems, for the further triumphs of the working class and socialism.

The meeting of the leaders of fraternal parties was held in a sincere and friendly atmosphere and was characterized by complete unanimity and mutual understanding on all problems discussed.

The meeting was attended also by CC CPSU Secretaries K. F. Katusev and B. N. Ponomaryov and members of the CC CPSU K. V. Rusakov and G. E. Tsukanov.



Referring to the state of the international Communist movement, Lenin wrote 50 years ago, shortly after the Third Congress of the Communist International: 'We have an army of Communists all over the world. It is still poorly trained and poorly organized. . . . Submitting ourselves to a most careful and rigorous test, and studying the experience of our own movement, we must train this army efficiently; we must organize it properly, and test it in all sorts of maneuvers, all sorts of battles, in attack and in retreat. We cannot win without this long and hard schooling' (**Letter to the German Communists. Coll. Works, Vol. 32, p. 520**).

The Communist movement has come a long way since then. There are Communist and Workers' parties in practically all countries where there is a working class. They are becoming a more mature, experienced and organized force for which Lenin's behest – win over the masses, never shun painstaking work, master all forms of struggle, skillfully devise tactics, and uphold our revolutionary theory – has become a constant guide to action.

On this and the following pages are accounts of the experience and activity of Communist and Workers' parties in different countries. They concern mass work, the Party in the factories, in parliament and parliamentary constituencies, among the youth, the development of Marxist theoretical research. These are various aspects of Party work, but together they produce a comprehensive picture of the rich experience the Communist parties have accumulated over the years of struggle.

Communists and the masses

*'Live among the masses,
Know their sentiments
Know everything.*

Understand the masses,
Know how to approach them.
Win their *absolute* trust.

Leaders should never be separated from the masses, the vanguard from the army of labor' – in these terse words Lenin formulated, with remarkable profundity, a cardinal principle of Communist Party activity, inseparable ties with the masses (Lenin, *Complete Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 44, p. 497). In this he saw the source of Communist strength and influence. Time and again he emphasized that a party receding into its own shell, sealed off from the people, ceases to be leader of the masses. Conversely, the broader and closer its ties with the people, the greater is its strength, the higher its authority and the more effective its vanguard role.

That Lenin formula is of special relevance today. And the more fully it is translated into practice, the greater is the success of the Communist and of all the forces fighting for progress, socialism and peace. That is fully borne out by the advent to power of a popular government in Chile.

The Communist Party played an outstanding part in the victory of the Popular Unity alliance. But as its General Secretary, Luis Corvalan, has stressed, 'this victory is the result not only of the policy and efforts of the Communists or any other party. All the Popular Unity parties contributed in greater or lesser measure to the common cause.' Much of the credit should go to the Socialist Party which, too, has close ties with the working people and enjoys much influence among the middle strata. For many years Chile's Communists and Socialists have been working in close cooperation, jointly tackling and solving the many problems involved in directing the labor movement and the socio-political struggle. Their activity is being followed with keen interest by progressives in Latin America and other parts of the world.

Readers of *World Marxist Review* have shown a lively interest in all aspects of the Chilean Communist Party's activity. And in May, with the assistance of the Party's Central Committee, our representatives arranged a number of interviews with its leading officials in Chile. They discussed mass work, progress to date and the difficulties that still have to be overcome.

MILITANT VANGUARD OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

(Interview with Mario Zamorano, Political Commission Member and CC Secretary, CP Chile)

Question. What are the factors responsible for the Party's growth and its development into a genuine mass proletarian Party?

Answer. First of all, its closer link with the people, notably the working class. The Communist Party was born, grew and developed in the working-class centers from where its influence has spread to the widest sections of the Chilean people.

It has always been active among the working people, especially in the mines and big industrial enterprises of Santiago, Valparaiso, Concepcion and Antofagasta and in Tarapaca, Atacama and Coquimbo provinces. In recent years there has been a considerable influx of new members from rural areas. We now have branches in every part of the country. In fact, there is not a single industrial enterprise with more than 500 workers that does not have one or more Party nuclei, and our long-range plans call for nuclei also in smaller factories.



Mass rally in Santiago.

Party growth has been facilitated by our policy of popular unity, by the militancy of our members, their effective exposure of the ruinous consequences of imperialist misrule and the reactionary role of the financial and landed oligarchy. The Party's growth should be seen against the background of incessant and sharp ideological struggle against hostile trends. In short, central to all Party activity is the effort to win over the masses and weld the unity of all the popular forces.

Question. Could you cite figures on Party growth?

Answer. Our membership increases from year to year. In the opening months of this year average monthly recruitment was 4,500, compared with about 3,200 in the first part of 1970. Party membership has doubled since the 14th Congress (November 1969). It now stands at 117,000 and we have every reason to anticipate a substantially higher figure by the end of the year.

Question. What about the social composition?

Answer. About 65 per cent are workers, and that ratio holds good both for local branches and the Central Committee. Peasants make up 13.6 per cent, white-collar workers 8.9, intellectuals and persons of middle-class background 8.1, and artisans 4.1 per cent. The

proportion of women is fairly high, 30 per cent and we expect it to rise to 40 per cent by the end of the year.

Question. Age-group composition?

Answer. 30.6 per cent are under 30; 29.1 are in the 30-40 age-group and 20.7 in the 40-50 group. There are many veteran Party members, men and women of vast political experience and solid Marxist-Leninist grounding.

Latterly, there has been a marked increase of young people and women, due, in particular, to our increased concern for the needs and aspirations of young workers. For instance, we campaigned for job security after military service, scholarships for workers, and we won the demand for employer assistance to young families and employer cultural subsidies.

Young Chileans are more alert politically. One evidence of that is their part in trade-union work and the larger proportion of young people holding leading trade-union posts. The Young Communist League – its membership has doubled in the last year – plays a very important part in this.

We are also searching and finding new forms of work among women. A very effective one has proved to be the organization of women's Party nuclei to help housewives take a more direct share in Communist activity. These nuclei lean on the mass organizations, notably the Mothers' Centers, which cater to women irrespective of politics. There are now several thousand of these centers and they are not confined to so-called 'women's interests' (knitting circles, dress-making courses, home-made toys, etc.), and are doing much to raise the housewife's cultural and political level. They have launched a nationwide campaign for kindergartens and creches, better housing and medical care, pure drinking water, and so on. In other words, they are helping achieve the aims of Chile's popular government.

Question. Would it be right to conclude that the Communist Party program for a new society is helping to bring the youth and women into active political struggle?

Answer. Certainly. This upsurge of political activity among young people and women is largely due to the acceptance of the ideas set out in Party's program. Its demands for nationalization of the main natural resources, agrarian reform, expropriation of private banks and the organization of a popular anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy government are enthusiastically supported by broad sections of the youth and women.

Question. What is being done to train new Party members?

Answer. We are alive to the fact that membership growth poses new and urgent tasks. First of all, we must increase the number of Party schools and courses and improve the quality of tuition, raise the circulation of the Party press and make fuller use of the

radio and television for political and ideological education of new members. All-round improvement of Party education is a priority task for this year.

Question. Has this rapid membership growth necessitated changes in organizational structure?

Answer. Yes. We have to set up additional Party bodies to help the new branches. Specifically, we have started a number of regional and local committees and we intend to start intermediate links, sector or factory committees, to assure better contact with primary units, the Party branches. The idea is to coordinate the work of Party shop nuclei in one and the same factory or office and provide political and ideological leadership. This will activate all aspects of Party work. Let me cite this example: 18 months ago, there was only one Party nucleus at the large metallurgical plant in Santiago employing 1,400 workers. Now we have 14 nuclei, and this has brought us into closer contact with the workers and with members of other parties.

Question. What are the Party's main objectives, now that a Popular Unity government is in power?

Answer. One of the main tasks is to boost unity of the people and, more especially, strengthen the Popular Unity coalition and the alliance with the Socialists. Our Party is doing everything to assure realization of the Popular Unity government's program, for this will carry our revolution further and free Chile of imperialist oppression and domination of the financial and landed oligarchy. The entire Party, from the Central Committee to local branches, is searching for new forms and methods to meet the new conditions.

As partners in the Popular Unity government, we must pay much more attention to economics and economic management. And this requires a higher level of technical and general knowledge among our cadres, a problem the Socialists and other Popular Unity parties have to solve, too. The United Trade Union Center (CTU) has now arranged for more than 1,000 workers in various industries to attend technical universities and colleges.

UNITY

Interviewed in Santiago, leading CP officials described in detail the Party's work in the trade unions, peasant, women's and youth organizations, and dealt with the complexities and specifics of work among different classes and sections of the population.

Claudio Alemany (Chairman, CC Commission for trade union work).

We are concentrating on organizationally strengthening the unity of Chile's working people. Achieving this unity was a fairly long and complicated process. The bourgeoisie tried to split the labor movement by encouraging the rise of numerous small trade unions.

Our aim, of course, was unity, and we sought to bring these small organizations into the industrial unions. This was much more difficult in the case of civil servants, say, than among industrial workers and miners.

The CUT is doing much to give the movement firmer organizational unity, and we are doing much to strengthen the CUT. Our working class has rich experience, correctly approaches and appraises developments, is consistent and combat-ready. Considering all this, we try to keep the working class in the very center of the revolutionary changes now taking place in Chile. For instance, our discussion meetings on the role of the working class give the worker a higher sense of class consciousness, a better understanding of political events, a clearer appreciation of the socialist society we want to build. This is something quite new for the Chilean worker, and many of the problems have proved much more complicated than we had supposed.



Group of miners from Coronel and Lota.



The Communist press.

The principal trait of Chile's working class is the urge for unity. But there is also a trend towards economism which, of course, impedes broad worker participation in the revolutionary process. Besides, we have to remember that the bourgeoisie still holds strong positions in the economy, in some of our political institutions and the judiciary. That explains the difficulties we encounter in work among some sections of the working people.

We are waging an ideological struggle, often very sharp and tense, to help the proletariat discharge its historic mission. The workers' press plays a big part in this. The Party has several newspapers, the most important of which is *El Siglo*. To borrow Lenin's expression, it is our collective propagandist, agitator and organizer. But it has to be said that *El Siglo's* circulation leaves much to be desired — by far not all the 900,000 CUT members read the paper. This shows that our ideological work needs to be seriously improved.

We are working towards industry newspapers or journals. Our Party printing plant, Horizonte, is trying to interest trade unions

in putting out their own journals. Some have already done so, for instance, the copper miners, railwaymen, government employees, schoolteachers, pensioners, peasants, etc., and the CUT has its own paper. We are not making enough use of radio and television, which, together with all other mass information media, should serve the working people.

Let me cite this example. The truck drivers' union was led by men with distinctly pro-American leanings. We began publishing a newspaper in which we took up the problems of transport workers. We thus won their respect and trust and, in the end, Communists were elected to the union leadership.

Candidates we nominate enjoy authority among the masses. At the last congress of CUT unions, most of the 3,000 delegates were Communist Party members, and many of them were elected to leading positions. The CUT president is a Communist.

Enrique Avendano (President, Ranquil Peasant Confederation).

The Communist Party has always attached much importance to work among the peasants. In our educational work we make use of data supplied by regional Party committees. Much of this work is conducted through our newspaper, *El Surco*, with a monthly circulation of 15,000-20,000. We distribute it free of charge among peasants and in this way promote their social consciousness.

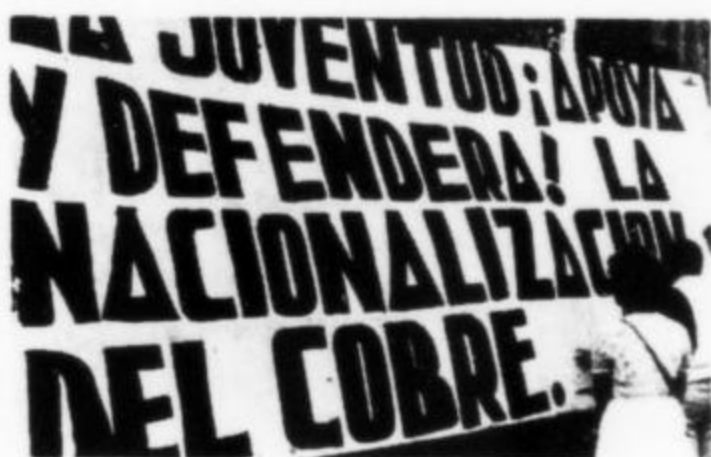
The Cuban revolution, notably its deep-going agrarian reform, has had a tremendous impact on the whole of Latin America. So much so that agrarian reform laws were enacted and peasant trade unions set up at the time of the Frei government. The purpose was to win peasant support for the Christian-Democrats. Before that there were two peasant federations, the pro-American Liberty and our Ranquil.* The State Agriculture and Livestock Development Institute helped the Demochristians set up another confederation, Peasant Victory, under the slogan 'No Yankees and no Communists.' Petitions were composed, meetings were held, there was argument with landowners, but all this without the peasants playing any part at all. Everything was directed by the Confederation's leaders and Demochristian appointees.

The Liberty and Peasant Victory confederations deal mainly with economic problems. In contrast, Ranquil deals not only with a wide range of economic issues, but also with political problems – its members discuss Communist Party and government policy, nationalization of copper mining and banking, etc. Our object is to raise the political understanding of the peasant mass and win it over to Left positions. And we are making headway: several peasants were elected to local government bodies in the last elections, an important indicator of higher political activity.

Our membership is continuously growing. Last August it stood

*Named in honor of the village, the scene of bloody clashes with the police when one of the first peasant unions was started there in 1934.—Ed.

at about 45,000; today we have twice that number. But we are also working to unite the peasant movement. In May of last year, shortly before the Presidential elections, the three confederations called a national strike involving more than 150,000 peasants. There was also a series of joint marches, rallies and meetings. Now, too, we are working in concert with representatives of other organizations in the peasant councils, exchanging experience, etc.



A youth propaganda poster.



Women demonstrating in Santiago.

We can rely on the constant support of the Communist Party which has helped us organize training courses for our cadres, supplied the necessary equipment for our offices, transport facilities, and so on.

The agrarian reform law was enacted at the time of the Frei government, but there was much procrastination in operating it, for the Demochristians were anxious to avoid a conflict with the landowners, who supported Frei in the Presidential campaign. We are no longer in opposition and fully support the government's policy of carrying the agrarian reform deeper. Sometimes landowners provoke the peasants into seizing the land in order to embarrass the popular government and sow distrust in it. We are opposed to all such anarchistic methods.

Foreign comrades often ask about the peasants' attitude to the Popular Unity government's agrarian policy and to cooperative farming. By and large, the peasants support government policy inasmuch as it aims at thorough agrarian reform. In conformity with our laws, expropriated estates are reorganized into peasant farming amalgamations, and after three or five years the land is officially turned over to the peasants, but with the proviso that it will be cultivated collectively.

There are three types of cooperatives: (1) all the land at the disposal of the cooperative; (2) all the land at the disposal of the peasants, but farmed collectively; (3) half the land is turned over to the peasants as their personal property and the other half is farmed collectively. Geographical conditions make this differentiation necessary: in the mountain areas, for instance, there is no avoiding division into small plots, but it would be impractical to follow that system with vineyards or orchards.

Cooperative income is distributed as follows: a certain part is

reinvested and another put aside for next year's expenditure; the remainder goes to cooperative members in accordance with their share in production.

Juan Arriagada (YCL organizational secretary).

The youth is eager for an active part in every aspect of national life. It has already achieved much: equal pay for equal work, university reform, the vote and the right to be elected at 18. This latter victory has brought a large part of our youth into the political struggle. The YCL ran more than 90 candidates in the last municipal elections and won seats in such important centers as Santiago, Concepcion, Vina del Mar, Temuco and several more.

There is a tense ideological struggle. Not so long ago the Demochristians were the dominant influence in the youth movement, which was also influenced by ultra-Left views propagated by the Left Revolutionary Movement and groups within the Socialist and Demochristian youth organizations. With the assistance of the Communist Party, the YCL was able, in the main, to defeat these reformist and ultra-Left trends. This can be seen from the situation in the Chilean University with its 25,000 students. For a long time the Demochristians held sway there, but beginning with 1969 the Popular Unity parties steadily won over the students and a Communist was elected president of the youth federation. Much the same happened at the State Technical University, the country's second biggest. But the ultra-Left are still strong at the private University of Concepcion (8,000 students), though here, too, there is a noticeable trend towards unity with the YCL. We conducted a number of joint campaigns, including elections to the student bodies, but the ideological struggle to overcome erroneous views continues.

United action by all the people to refashion Chilean society – that is the slogan under which we are winning the youth for alliance with the working class. Our youth movement has a good deal of experience in the class and anti-imperialist struggle. Youth representatives of all the parties took part in actions against imperialism and in the big solidarity with Vietnam demonstrations and made a definite contribution to victory in the September 4 elections, resolutely siding with the revolutionary working class.

Now, with popular government, the youth has taken the initiative in major construction projects – about 50,000 are already involved, and they have already built 5,000 units. This is a meaningful contribution to our people's labor effort.

The YCL now has about 40,000 members and directs the activities of the CUT and the Ranquil youth departments. Together with the Socialists and other Popular Unity parties it directs the work of the country's two big university federations. To this might be added that the YCL exerts a strong influence on our sports clubs and residential-area youth centers.

We are seeking new forms of work. And one form that has proved

particularly popular are the Ramona Parra* youth propaganda brigades, widely known for their vivid wall posters. They were vigorous campaigners for Salvador Allende in the Presidential elections and they did a good job in the local elections too. Little surprise, therefore, that the brigades have become the target of angry attacks by the reactionary press.

We are now exploring the possibility of organizing New Chile brigades of young miners to work on crucial jobs and set an example of a conscious attitude to one's job.

The YCL has always been closely associated with the Party, always its faithful helper. And the YCL is well represented in the Party leadership: its General Secretary is a member of the Party's Political Commission, four YCL leaders are on the Party Central Committee, and secretaries of YCL regional committees are members of Party regional committees. The Communist Party gives us every support—for instance every Sunday *El Siglo* has a special youth page. We have no differences with the Party; we unanimously support its policy, are anxious to justify its trust and solicitude.

Ines Cornejo (member, cc Women's Commission).

Women make up 52 per cent of the country's population; 20 per cent of them are blue-collar and 56 per cent white-collar workers. We are contributing to the revolutionary process by drawing women into the political struggle. And they have been very active in it, especially in strike actions of school teachers, health-service and communications personnel. Women's activity is constantly extending and their revolutionary ability has found vivid expression in the seizure of land to build houses. They stood firm against the police, staunchly upholding their right to decent homes.

Winning a dominant influence in the women's movement has proved a difficult task indeed. In the last Presidential elections most women voted for the Rightist parties and the Demochristians, for our enemies have plenty of money with which to manipulate the mass information media. When the Demochristians came to power in 1964 there were 3,000 Mother's Centers, 90 per cent of them Communist controlled. The Frei government organized another 5,000 in an obvious attempt to prevent the growth of women's political understanding and activity and sidetrack their attention and energy to non-political issues. We made it our job to get all Communists to appreciate the need to work in these organizations and to energize Party activity in them.

Dr. Allende's election opened up new opportunities for this. Late last year we sponsored hundreds of meetings between women and representatives of the Popular Unity alliance to explain the new government program. This has paid off, and in the last municipal elections the Party increased its vote among women: they have come to realize that the Communists are looking out for their interests. This has found expression also in many more women

*Named after a young Communist killed in 1946 in a police attack on a mass demonstration in Santiago.—Ed.

joining the Communist Party. I might cite this example: women make up 53 per cent of the Party organization in Las Barrancas (Santiago Province). For many years Party members have been the vitalizing force of the women's movement. Our slogan is: 'Woman cannot win liberation without participating in the revolution!'

IN THE MIDST OF THE PEOPLE

Our representatives met with regional and local Party committee secretaries in Sanitago, Concepcion and Arauco provinces. They discussed their work, the difficulties encountered and problems that are still to be solved.

Jorge Munoz (Regional Committee Secretary, Santiago).

The coming to power of the popular government has extended the scope of Communist activity in our region and throughout the country. The paramount tasks today are intensifying Party work among government employees and bank personnel, and operating the Party's policy with regard to the urban middle strata, small and middle businessmen. Being in power means being accountable to the people for everything.

We often have to cope with formidable problems. There have been instances of the Party apparatus trying to run one or another enterprise and also a tendency to counterpose the tasks of the government to those of the Party. We have also to reckon with the diminishing vote for Party candidates: in 1971 we obtained 13.9 per cent of the vote in Santiago, compared with 14.5 in 1969 and 16 in 1967. This seems paradoxical: the Party's influence is growing, its vote is declining.

The complexity of the situation in our area is that though we have a relatively large working class, it is dispersed over a multitude of small enterprises. Santiago also has many government offices and trade and service enterprises, which means that we have to deal with a huge contingent of office workers, small and medium businessmen.

We are out to shape a new mentality, and that is not easy. I need only cite this example: under the Demochristians, no action was taken on the railwaymen's demand for higher wages and the issue was inherited by the new government. We had to explain that a wage increase depended on higher production and productivity, in other words, on fulfilling the plans of the Popular Government. This painstaking and persevering work brought the railwaymen over to our view. Solution of such problems depends on our ability to convince the working people that their position will improve with the growth of production not only at their own particular factory, but in the country as a whole.

Examples could also be cited of a new attitude to work. For instance, workers of the Chilectra power plant at Ventanas completed a repair job that usually takes two months in 25 days. The

work was done on a voluntary basis with technicians and engineers taking part. This saved the state a large sum of money.

Roberto Rondon (local Party Committee Secretary, District One, Santiago).

A short while ago there were 43 Party nuclei in our area, today the number is more than 100 with an aggregate membership of about 1,400. The Central and regional Party committees give us effective assistance and we are confident that with their help we can cope with all our difficulties. In fact, we have already solved a number of knotty problems. For instance, many bank employees did not appreciate the importance of nationalizing private banks. On this issue we had to wage a sharp ideological struggle with the Christian-Democrat and National Party organizations. We organized a number of meetings to discuss the Communist Party's program and policy and the tasks of Communists employed in the banks. After that we were able to launch a successful offensive against our ideological opponents. At the beginning of the year we had only five very weak bank nuclei, today there are fourteen with 126 members and they have set up their own Party committee. This has made for closer contact with the trade unions and better relations with the Socialists and other allies. Much is being done along these lines also in the communications services.

The state of Party activity on the construction of Santiago's Metro gives cause for anxiety. The Demochristians and the National Party wield much influence, persecute Popular Unity supporters and are impeding construction. I think that the organization of a Party committee here will help set things right.

Consolidating the Popular Unity government is a priority task and it can be accomplished, above all, by securing fulfilment of production plans. That is what the efforts of our Party organizations are now centered on.

Sergio Ovalle (Secretary, South Regional Committee, Santiago Province).

Close contact with the masses paves the way to acceptance of our ideology. That is the purpose of the Saturday and Sunday meetings we arrange to discuss the concrete problems that are agitating people's minds. We also attach much importance to circulating the Party press, and our region holds first place in Santiago Province in sales of *El Siglo*. Every Sunday our circulation teams sell about 4,000 copies. We want to give our propaganda a new slant, make it more vivid and comprehensive. Much can be accomplished, we think, by posters and wall newspapers and in this we are getting valuable help from the youth. Vivid posters and slogans bring home to the masses the basics of Party policy.

On the whole, I think, our Party organization is doing a good job. One indication of that is that a substantial number of ultra-Left supporters are coming over to our side and elect Communists to leading posts in some of their own organizations. However, all this

should not obscure shortcomings in our work. Nearly half of new Party members do not properly understand the political situation and the need, I think, is not only to increase membership, but also to increase educational work among new members.

Oscar Ramos (local Party Committee Secretary, La Granja, South region, Santiago Province).

Eleven years ago we had 20 Party nuclei with an aggregate membership of about 200; today there are 140 nuclei and 3,000 members. A Communist Party candidate was elected to the municipal council long before the Popular Unity government and through him we formed close links with the masses. Now we have three Communists on the council, a majority, and Communists also head more than half of the residential-area committees.

The prestige and influence of the Party is such that no public meeting is held without the Communists taking part. The growth of the Party's influence is attributable to its energetic support of the people's demands for more housing and the solution of other vital problems. With a population of 200,000, our commune has no hospital and we are now campaigning for a small medical unit in every residential area. Our work is bearing fruit and the people are coming to see that the Popular Unity government has given them much more than any of its predecessors.

Victor Cantero (Secretary, San Miguel Regional Committee, Santiago Province).

Unlike other parts of the province, in San Miguel the dominant influence is the Socialist Party. It polled 41 per cent of the vote, compared with our 20 per cent, in the last municipal elections. The Communists are strongest among industrial workers. In the textile industry, for instance, most trade-union organizations are Communist-led. The position is much the same in the big factories in other industries where, under our leadership, the workers are bringing their economic demands into conformity with the aims of the revolution.

We have repeatedly discussed the role of the working class in the new situation created by the election of President Allende. We realize, of course, that we should continue strengthening the Popular Unity alliance, give every support to government measures and explain that demands raised by some workers are unrealistic.

We are devoting special attention to strengthening factory Party branches: Party committees to coordinate the work of shop nuclei are being set up in the bigger enterprises. We are also trying to generate more political activity by the trade unions, and in this respect we have made good headway in the nationalized and co-ownership industries, where the workers participate in management through their trade union or other representatives. In our area this is being done at some enterprises in the metallurgical, electronics, textile and other industries.

A few words about the Popular Unity committees. The last muni-

cipal elections created certain difficulties for them. Under existing legislation each party must run its own candidates, and since each party wants more seats on local government, there was much competition. The reactionary forces exploited this in an attempt to undermine the alliance. They failed: the alliance polled 64 per cent of the vote in the municipal elections, compared with 46 per cent in the Presidential contest.

It has to be emphasized that as the process of revolutionary change gains momentum, the People's Unity committees increasingly take over local leadership. In our area the committee got the Barros Luco hospital to expand medical services and improve sanitary conditions. With the support of residential-area committees and with the assistance of volunteers it organized a consulting center for mothers, started several branch clinics and has seen to proper carrying out of one of the government's first measures, free milk for all children. Party members have been active in all this work.

Omar Cordova (First Secretary, Coastal Regional Party Committee, Santiago Province).

Most of the people here are peasants and we have been fairly successful in winning their support. Many peasants voted Communist in the municipal elections.

But it has not all been smooth sailing. There are about 100 *asentamientos*^{*} in our area. The Communists are in the minority there and Communist influence is still weak. The situation in the *asentamientos* is causing a good deal of anxiety. The big landowners used every conceivable pretext to sabotage the sowing, and some *asentamientos*, pleading lack of credits, tried to boycott the sowing altogether. And since our influence there is weak, we could not effectively counter the boycott.

We have organized *Bascuman Zurita*[°] brigades of young Communists to work in rural areas. Their job is to explain Party policy to the peasants, emphasizing the need for timely and efficient cultivation to raise output.

The ultra-Left, notably members of the Left Revolutionary Movement and the new Revolutionary Peasant Movement, exert a fairly strong influence in our area. The municipal elections showed that the ultra-Left policy has a negative effect and tends to reduce Popular Unity influence.

While devoting much attention to work among the peasants, we are also trying to accomplish more among workers. We still have to gain a firm position among the San Antonio dockers and fishermen, and we do not enjoy sufficient influence in the textile and shoe factories. Our main task is to strengthen Party branches and the worker-peasant alliance.

^{*}Cooperative-type peasant settlements.—Ed.

[°]Zurita, peasant movement leader murdered in 1935.—Ed.

Rodolfo Vivanco (Secretary, Las Barrancas Local Party Committee, Northern Region, Santiago Province).

Ours is one of the poorest areas in the whole of Santiago Province. And though there is no industry to speak of, most of the population is proletarian. With the coming of popular government, mass Party work has vastly increased in scope and has acquired certain specifics. For with a popular government in office, people whose rights were impaired under the old regime now insist on immediate solution of all their vital problems. And at times it is difficult to bring home the fact that the new government came to power at a time of deep economic crisis and cannot solve everything all at once.

Under the Demochristian government we sought to unite the masses to fight soaring prices and unemployment, demand better sanitary conditions, etc. And we organized marches to central government offices, arranged the lobbying of government officials. Obviously, we cannot follow that method now. Today we must direct mass actions to support the popular government and explain to the people that now they have an active share in all revolutionary reforms and that solution of their problems depends on their labor effort.

What are we doing in this respect? First of all, we want to wipe out unemployment and we have already reduced the number of jobless by more than half, from 5,000 to 2,000.

The prestige of our Party organization is growing. In the last municipal elections we increased our vote by 3,000 to more than 10,000. We must work together with the Socialists and other Left forces to consolidate support for the new government, raise the people's vigilance and foil all maneuvers by the reactionary forces and imperialism.

We are fully alive to the need for better trained cadres. They must master the fundamentals of economics and management and use this knowledge in their practical work. So far not enough is being done, though we have plans for permanent evening schools, political and other courses, round-table discussions, question and answer sessions, wall newspapers, etc.

Moises Ceron (Regional Party Committee Secretary, Concepcion city and part of province).

The industrial and agricultural proletariat of our region can look back on a proud record of revolutionary struggle. The students, too, have had an active part in the university reform movement. The first Popular Unity committees were started in our province. Now there are about 900 and through them we translate into practice the new government's program, exercise price control, etc.

Our regional Party organization of 302 nuclei is constantly recruiting new members among industrial and agricultural workers, peasants and office workers. In 1970 membership increased by more than 90 per cent and we anticipate another 35 per cent rise by the end of this year. But we make a point of regulating social composi-

tion: 65 per cent of the members are workers and 15 per cent peasants. This enables us to exert more effective influence on the various mass organizations, control many workers' and peasant trade unions, and successfully counter penetration of opportunist views, both from Right and 'Left.'

We are also working among the students. The YCL enjoys great influence in the Concepcion Technical University, where 80 per cent of the students are from working-class families. There is also a private university financed by the Rockefeller Foundation. No less than 90 per cent of its students come from wealthy families and bourgeois influence, naturally, predominates. The YCL and the small Party branch are still very weak, embracing mainly service personnel and without a single faculty member. Our aim is fundamentally to democratize the university, eliminate bourgeois ideology and Leftist views, and open its doors to workers' children.

Vladimir Aranede Conturas (Carbon Regional Party Committee Secretary, Coronel and Lota communities, Concepcion and Arauco Provinces).

Founded in 1967, our Party committee coordinates the work of branches in the Coronel and Lota mining communities. Their working class is rich in revolutionary tradition – in fact, the Communist movement began here. Today there are more than 100 Party nuclei with 2,500 members and we plan to recruit another 1,500 by the end of the year. Our main influence on the working class is through the trade unions. We control four of the five union branches in Coronel and three of the five in Lota. We are also making good headway among white-collar workers, though they make up only a small proportion of Party members.

Organizational questions, notably lack of trained Party cadres, are causing us some concern. Work in the coal mines is on a round-the-clock basis and our Party branches are therefore territorial rather than industrial, concentrating on work in the mining communities. I think we can say that our Party organization exemplifies the vast authority the Communist Party enjoys among the workers. However, this trust in the Party is intuitive rather than conscious – the masses willingly support the Party but their level of political understanding is still low. Our job is to raise it, and we are doing that through study courses, especially for new Party members, and through the residential-area committees, of which the Party controls 70 per cent in Coronel and 90 per cent in Lota.

We try to tie up all our work with the policy and actions of the Popular Unity government. This determines our demands: state ownership of all industries, nationalization of copper mining and production, continuation and deepening of the agrarian reform, improvement of the people's material and cultural level.

The Party's close contacts with the masses is the earnest of success in the class struggle. No vanguard, Lenin repeatedly emphasized, can single-handedly perform the revolution and carry it to complete

victory, for 'the *only effective* force that compels change is popular revolutionary energy' (Vol. 23, p. 213).

The interviews published here show that the Communist Party of Chile has accumulated a rich fund of experience of mass work. It is firmly entrenched in the chief industrial centers and is working to extend its influence among the peasants, office workers, intellectuals, youth, housewives, small tradespeople and businessmen.

The Party's ability to concentrate on the central problems and demands of the people has helped it win their confidence and become the recognized leader of their struggles. Its clear and concrete program has made for closer understanding among all the members of the Popular Unity alliance and mobilized the masses for active struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy.

The Chilean comrades spoke of shortcomings in their work, of their difficulties and the ways of overcoming them. And they made the point that the key task is to raise class consciousness, teach the masses correctly to combine economic demands with the political aims of the popular movement as a whole.

The struggle to bring the masses into the work of revolutionary reconstruction and to extend the social base of the popular government continues. The victory of the Left forces in the April municipal elections is evidence of that.

The Party in the factories

Walter Wachs

Austria's Socialist government, headed by the Socialist Party Chairman Bruno Kreisky has been in office for over a year now. In March 1970 many workers voted Socialist hoping (and some still do) that the SPA would honor its election pledges and stop the inflationary price rises, raise living standards, reform the army and give the youth a better deal. The SPA has not kept its promises. Its policy is cooperation with Austrian and foreign monopolies, and it favors only reforms that do not affect the capitalist system. The transfer of power from the People's Party (APP), Austria's classical capitalist party, has not substantially changed the conditions of the working people.

From the very re-establishment of the Austrian republic, the SPA has dexterously obscured the class character of Austria's society. Following Austria's liberation by the Soviet Army, the Communists urged the SPA to work to prevent a capitalist come-back; the SPA

reply was that there were no capitalists in Austria. The policy of the coalition governments of the People's and Socialist parties has increased the number of millionaires. There were 293 in 1953, 431 in 1955, 650 in 1961, 1,538 in 1964 and about 2,000 in 1970. To this should be added that official statistics provide no clue to the size of their fortunes – some have an annual income of one million schillings, others of more than 10 million. But statistics show that in 1962-65 their total assets increased by 30 billion schillings and, of course, the figure is even higher today.

All this wealth is created by our working people. According to modest estimates (the capitalists and their Social-Democrats helpers are not, of course, eager to reveal the precise data) the worker spends from one-third to two-fifths of his 8-hour day to earn enough for his family. Everything produced over and above that goes to the capitalist.

Exploitation is not confined to the factory, where the capitalist increases his profits by speed-up. The population is being robbed by constantly rising living costs and inflation, and by higher taxes and rates. What we have, in other words, is a sharp rise in capitalist profits and, on the other hand, wage rises and pensions woefully lagging behind soaring prices. Young people who want to start a family, find a home to live in, buy furniture and all the other things they need, have to do so on credit, and this means long years of indebtedness and saving every schilling to meet installment payments. Behind the high level of business activity is the ominous figure of 700,000 people living on the edge of poverty. In fact, social insurance data show that one pensioner in four is obliged to seek public relief.

No less than 70 per cent of Austria's population are wage and salary earners or pensioners. But their place in society is by no means commensurate with their numbers and role in the economy, for all the levers of power are in the hands of a small minority. That is the result of the SPA policy and ideology of social partnership, which subordinates the workers' interests to those of the capitalists. The SPA has long abandoned its socialist orientation. For many years it has been extolling the so-called welfare state. But events have revealed – as we Communists warned from the very beginning – that this is a misnomer for a state that has all the hallmarks of an exploitive society in which domestic and foreign capitalists are raking in the highest profits ever.

Like the Socialist leadership of the Austrian Trade Union Federation, the SPA has made it its main job to divert the workers from the class struggle. It is using every available means to block worker action, notably strike action, and where strikes do take place, they are denounced as 'Communist inspired' and denied support.

Anti-communism and the rabid radio, television and press campaign against the socialist countries is conducted on a vast scale. And one of the most zealous participants in this slander campaign

against the Communists and the socialist countries is the SPA. It is working to maintain 'social peace' so that the capitalists can strengthen their position, redivide the national product in their favor and maximize profits. The Socialists argue that all this is essential for the continued development of the economy, but are silent on the fact that it is a capitalist economy.

The SPA ideology and policy of social partnership, into which the working class is being drawn, is the main obstacle to the development of class consciousness and class struggle.

With the help of the SPA, the capitalists want to turn Austria into a preserve free of working class militant action. But capitalism's irreconcilable contradictions, primarily between labor and capital, cannot be obscured or discounted by the social partnership policy. In the past year, for instance, there were a number of important strikes. With one exception, where the workers of a nationalized enterprise protested against victimization of a Socialist factory council member, the demand everywhere was for higher wages. And the strikers won, the biggest raises being won in factories where the Communists were strong and played an important role in organizing and conducting the strikes. All actions save one were started despite the resistance of the SPA and the trade-union bureaucracy and helped forge united action between Communist and non-Communist workers.

I will cite three examples out of many.

At the Boehler-Ybbstalwerken (Lower Austria) the workers learned from the factory newspaper published by Trade Union Unity (part of the TU Federation working in close alliance with our Party) that at the main factory, Boehlerwerke, in Kapfenberg (Styria), workers were getting a higher hourly wage for the same job. The relevant figures were cited. The workers demanded pay equality. The Socialist factory council majority accepted the slight increase offered by management. The Communists urged the workers to reject the sop and press their demand. A strike was called and, in the end, management had to agree to double its offer.

At another nationalized enterprise, Vereinigte-Metall-Werke in Ranshofen (Upper Austria), Trade Union Unity published figures on net profits for the last year. Through its newspaper it drew the workers' attention to the fact that all wage demands were being rejected on the plea that the enterprise was operating at a loss. Now the workers knew the truth, and several hundred of them downed tools, went to management and secured a substantial increase in hourly rates.

At still another nationalized enterprise, Alpine-Montan-Betrieb in Donawitz (Styria), Trade Union Unity initiated a demand for higher rates for skilled workers. Here, too, the Socialist majority on the factory council joined management in resisting the demand, but our comrades persuaded the workers to fight to the end and the skilled men got their raise.

Reports of all these strikes were published in the Trade Union Unity papers, of which there are now 114 with a circulation of 78,500.

These and other strike struggles showed that usually passive young workers become very militant and active when the battle is on, but, as a rule, recede into passivity after it is over, unless we are able to bring them into the Party.

In April we held a national conference of Party members in industry to chart out the tasks ahead. The conference resolution contains this passage: 'The priority task of the Party and its members in industry is to reveal the workings of capitalist exploitation, cultivate class consciousness based on the workers' own experience, free them of Social-Democrat influence and win them over to our side. The workers must be convincingly shown that better conditions can be won only through class struggle in the various areas of social life.

'Of especial importance in this context is sustained propaganda and organizational work, correct and timely advance of demands and energetic efforts to win the workers over to militant action for these demands.'

The following are the principal aspects of our struggle:

Against soaring living costs, the wage lag in face of growing prices, a moratorium between trade unions and employers, speed-up, higher taxes.

For higher wages to catch up with prices, a price freeze on essential goods and rents, radical tax reform, substantial reduction of taxes on low and medium incomes and substantial increase of taxes on high incomes and profits, safeguards for an expansion of social gains, equal rights for blue-collar and white-collar workers (service facilities, holidays, sick benefits), higher social insurance benefits, effective worker participation in management at factory and all higher levels.

The foremost task today is the fight against galloping living costs. Prices on such essentials as milk, cheese, butter and other dairy products, flour and bakery products have risen by 5-30 per cent since Jan. 1. Petrol and electricity are to go up 15 per cent, and this will start a chain reaction throughout the whole spectrum of consumer goods. In Vienna and other cities there have been public protest demonstrations and petitions against the planned increase. Many trade union branches and factory meetings have vigorously protested to the government and the TU Federation. The Communists were the initiators of this movement against the 'onslaught on the worker's pockets.'

The Communist Party is fully aware that much depends on work in the factories. But there are Party nuclei only in a small number of factories. Many Communists work in factories where there is no Party organization. It has therefore been decided to attach all Party members to factory or residential-area branches, so that they can take an active part in Party meetings. This will give members

arguments for day-to-day political discussions and enrich their political knowledge and experience. We want every Communist to appreciate that he must, always and everywhere, uphold the interests of the working people, popularize the Party's program and aims and recruit new members. In this dynamic age, Communists must promptly react to local, factory and national developments, show more initiative, make wider use of the press – factory newspapers, placards, leaflets – and also of informal talks at workers' homes, meetings, especially factory-gate meetings.

Our influence in the factories is closely linked with circulation of the Party press. Every week our *Volksstimme* prints items about the factory councils, highlighting topical economic and political issues. This and reports direct from the shop floor are very popular, especially among the workers of the factories concerned. Last October and November we conducted a circulation campaign and won 3,200 new subscribers of whom one-third subscribed to our daily and two-thirds to our weekly. The campaign also did much to promote work in the factories to a much greater extent than ever before. There will be another campaign this autumn.

In the spring we held a two-month Party recruiting campaign aimed primarily at young workers. We won 547 new members, of whom more than 64 per cent were blue-collar and white-collar workers and more than half below the age of 30. Some of the new recruits came through our factory branches – 22 young workers were enrolled at the Alpine-Montan-Betrieb in Donawitz. There will be another recruiting campaign next spring.

Factory council elections were held in a number of plants early this year, and Trade Union Unity candidates made a good showing. Last time we put up candidates at 23 plants with a total of 25,400 workers. This time, too, we won seats, but less than in the last elections, due to lay-offs, which reduced the number of voters. The SPA leadership's slander campaign proved less effective, for there is growing disappointment and resentment in part of the working class and mounting protest against the Kreisky government's policy. Consistent educational work in explaining the policy of our Party, which is guided solely by the workers' interests, is beginning to bear fruit.

Success for Spanish working class

The May-June trade-union delegate elections resulted in important victories of workers' candidates over the nominees of the Falange 'vertical' trade unions and the employers.

As in 1966, when the Workers' Commissions first ran candidates,

the elections were marked by a sharp class struggle. Worker candidates were elected by democratic procedure at legal and illegal meetings. The election results are indicative of the growing influence and strength of the new workers' movement as represented by the Workers' Commissions, which have the full support of the Communist Party. And they are also indicative of the mounting mistrust towards the official trade unions. The Commissions' militant slogans met with a lively response.

Spain's workers had their own election platform. 'The general program of the working class,' said the address of the National Coordinating Commission, 'includes the following demands: *on working conditions* – general wage rise, shorter working hours, etc.; *on trade unions* – genuine workers' trade unions, the right to strike; *on social issues* – solution of the housing and education problems; *on political issues* – guaranteed civil liberties, amnesty for political detainees. . . . Every community, every industry, every factory must draw up its own program of demands. As part of the general program, they will serve as guidelines for our candidates.'

This is how the campaign developed. Candidates were nominated at representative meetings in factories, in residential areas and at industry-wide conferences. They approved the program of demands drawn up by the Workers' Commissions.

The Franco authorities, the 'vertical' trade-union leaders and employers did everything they could to prevent the election of workers' candidates. The elections were held against a background of repression and persecution. A new law on trade unions, which finalized their fascist character and structure, was passed early this year. This was followed in May by a decree on trade-union meetings prescribing restrictions that made the meetings well-nigh impossible. Article 18 of the Fundamental Law ('Charter of Spaniards') which contained minimal guarantees of civil liberties was suspended. Thousands of trade-union officials and activists were arrested or fired. Yet workers' meetings were held, many in the factories.

As in 1966, the Commissions had to combat various groups advocating boycott of the elections and to explain the importance of using legal forms as part of labor's great struggle against the exploiters. Commission activists told the workers: 'In a Spain under a dictatorial regime, we must employ Lenin's tactics of combining legal and illegal forms of struggle, using every opportunity and means at our disposal to strike a blow at the fascist power.'

The Commissions' propaganda campaign, which drew on the experience of the preceding trade union elections, proved effective. In industrial areas, from 80 to 90 per cent took part in the elections, and only in Bilbao and San Sebastian the percentage was somewhat lower, due to the repressive measures following the Burgos trial.

Workers' candidates polled an overwhelming majority at the big iron-and-steel works and textile mills in Catalonia, in the Sallent, Suria and Cardona mining areas, and at the Barcelona SEAT complex which employs 20,000 workers. The biggest success was scored in the Madrid area. The Commissions won 32 of the 34 seats at the

Standard plants, and at the Marconi, Kelvinator, Pegaso, Telefunken, Fiat, IBM, Perkins and other enterprises; all elected delegates had accepted the Commission program, just as did the 200 delegates of Madrid banks. Workers' candidates won a majority in the printing trades.

Rail, building, chemical workers and clerks returned a high percentage of Commission candidates, and good progress was made in the Asturias, Saragossa, Galicia and other areas.

The militancy and political trend of the elections can be seen also in the fact that they were, in a way, a referendum in defense of persecuted labor leaders. Perkins metalworkers in Madrid elected Marcelino Camacho and Julian Ariza, both now in prison. In Barcelona, the SEAT workers cast their votes for four persecuted comrades, two of them serving prison sentences. The victory of workers' candidates is a fitting reply to those who called for a boycott, claiming that participation in the elections would be tantamount to 'cooperation' with Francoism and the fascist trade unions.

This is the second victory in the past five years, and one that has far-reaching consequences. It is a victory of growing class consciousness and revolutionary militancy. Our goal, a recent manifesto of the Basque Workers Commissions declared, is 'to penetrate the enemy positions, fight for the interests of the working people and from within pave the way to elimination of the fascist union structure.' The course of events confirms the correctness of the tactics followed by the Commissions. In terms of scope and intensity of mass struggles, Spain, along with Italy and France, is in the front-line of class battles in Europe.

The election victory has further intensified the struggle. The SEAT workers held one of the most significant strikes of recent times. Their bulletin, *Asamblea obrera*, reported: 'SEAT has not seen such a powerful strike for a long time. We can fight, and that is the only way to win what is ours by right. Strike action combined with action by the working class and the entire people - such is the path of struggle for bread and freedom.' The strikes of Standard workers in Madrid, the miners in Lion and other labor-capital confrontations were permeated with the class spirit, the spirit of revolutionary struggle.

The impressive victory in the May and June elections is an earnest of further advance in the fight of the Spanish working people for their rights, heralding fresh successes in the struggle against the dictatorship, for democracy and social progress.

Serafin Aliaga



Battle for democracy, against reactionary, authoritarian trends

Jacques Duclos

The purpose of this article is to show the great variety of problems confronting Communists in Parliament, more specifically in France's upper Chamber, the Senate.

The institutions of the Fifth Republic, formalized by the 1958 Constitution, serve Big Business as its main mechanism in adapting the political superstructure to the development of state-monopoly capitalism. The salient feature of these institutions, which have undergone only slight change since 1958, is concentration of power in the hands of one man, the head of state. The role of Parliament has been virtually reduced to rubber-stamping executive fiat. In France as in other capitalist countries, even bourgeois democracy is proving an encumbrance to state-monopoly capitalism.

Elected by general and direct ballot, the President is vested with wide powers and is not accountable to Parliament. In fact, he can dissolve a recalcitrant National Assembly, can bypass it in submitting any bill to a national referendum, does not need parliamentary consent even when this is expressly obligatory (e.g., in amending the Constitution; in 1962 de Gaulle submitted to referendum a bill providing for election of the President of the Republic by popular vote). The head of state appoints the Prime Minister and the other members of the cabinet—the government is thus formed without any consultation with Parliament.

And Parliament, the supreme legislative authority, is constantly confronted with faits accomplis. The Chaban-Delmas government was formed in June 1969 but brought its program before the two chambers only in October. By that time, however, it had, by agreement with the President, devalued the franc and launched its so-called 'readjustment' plan. The Senators cannot influence government policy for they cannot pass a censure vote. Parliamentarians can talk, but not decide.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the financial oligarchy does not want a Parliament which, albeit in a distorted form, expresses the will of the people. Even the superstructure de Gaulle created in 1958 no longer corresponds to present-day monopoly policy.

September 1971 61

In April 1969, de Gaulle was defeated in a referendum on the following two issues: new regional divisions governed by government-appointed prefects in conjunction with socio-economic councils composed of elected delegates and representatives of social, business and trade-union organizations. This would be a patently anti-democratic structure: elected bodies would have little or no say in regional affairs. All power would be vested in the prefect. Besides, the proposed reform was directly contrary to de Gaulle's much publicized slogan of 'participation' in the administration of the state. It clearly revealed the point and purpose of decentralization, which, to borrow the words of a nineteenth century Interior Minister, Barrot, was to produce 'the same hammer, but with a shorter handle.'

The second issue was reform of the Senate. It would be shorn of practically all its legislative prerogatives and reduced to a consultative body on economic problems. In short, the idea was to create a uniform national and regional system of a corporative type. The aim of both parts of the referendum draft was to give representatives of the monopolies a direct part in running the country, integrate the working class in the system of state-monopoly capitalism, and impose on the trade unions functions wholly alien to their nature.

On April 27, 1969, the French people gave an emphatic No to de Gaulle. He resigned, and the ruling element had to reconsider the political technology it was using to secure a concentration of power. Now there is much more nebulous phraseology than under de Gaulle. We find President Pompidou and Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas speechifying on such subjects as the citizens' 'participation' in national affairs, 'concord between classes,' the 'new society.' The idea, clearly, is to exploit the mounting urge of the working class and all democratic forces for a share in the affairs of the nation. It is against this background that the Communists in Parliament have to work.

Under the Constitution the two chambers meet twice a year, for the spring session on April 2, and the autumn session on October 2 (the latter taken up mainly by discussion of the budget); each session lasts about three months.

The Communists are fighting all restrictions of Parliament's rights and powers. They expose government policies as serving the monopolies. They use the parliamentary rostrum to defend the democratic freedoms against reactionary attacks, support the demands of all social strata exploited by Big Business and popularize the Communist Party policy of advanced democracy for France and unity of the working class and all democratic forces.

Whatever the vicissitudes of politics, whether shifts to the right, or the left, the Senate has always served as a brake, a 'restraining center' as its supporters describe it. The reason for that should be sought in the system of two-stage elections to the Senate, which

makes its members less amenable to pressure by the main trends of public opinion. The Senate played a negative part at the time of the Popular Front government, when it questioned, even tried to prevent, the social measures approved by the Left majority in the Chamber of Deputies. And the Senate helped to bring down the Popular Front government.

Ever since May 1958 the Senate has been the target of attacks from ruling quarters. And that is understandable, for it has refused to bow to their will—the government does not have a majority and the Senate does not show the same submission to the present regime as the National Assembly majority. And though its opposition, in some respects reactionary, cannot go too far because the final say remains with the National Assembly, it can, in certain circumstances, be an impediment to the government bloc composed of the UDR (Democratic Union for the Republic), Independents and Centrists.

Whenever the Senate took a reactionary stand the Communists fought it. Whenever it shifted to positions favoring the democratic movement and corresponding to the national interests, the Communists supported it. *I might remind the reader that the Communists favor the principle of a one-chamber Parliament elected by universal suffrage and based on proportional representation.*

The present Senate has 283 members, among them 172 mayors (including three from overseas territories), 152 General Councillors (of whom 23 are General Council President)* and 28 municipal councillors.

This is the composition by party affiliation: 18 Communists, including a representative of Guadeloupe, 50 Socialists, 43 Left Democrats, 48 Centrists, 54 Independent Republicans, 15 unaffiliated, 19 peasant representatives and 36 UDR.

Senators are elected for nine years with one-third being elected every three years. The electoral college consists of deputies, General Councillors and delegates appointed by the municipal councils. In other words, the Senate is representative of the municipal councils, and since the elections are indirect the Senate does not reflect the real alignment of forces in the country. There are Communist Senators from only ten of the 95 departments. The proportional system is applied in departments returning five or more Senators, with the remaining vote going to the party with the highest average. That explains why there are 13 Communist Senators from the Paris area, and only 17 for the whole of France. In Nord, Bouches-du-Rhone, Seine Maritime, and Pas-de-Calais, where the proportional system operates, the Communists obtained one seat in each of these departements. In most departements the voting is on a two-round majority basis, and this militates against the Communist Party.

The government has a variety of techniques at its command to hamstring parliamentary initiative. It can, and does, prevent the

*Some Senators hold all three of these posts.

tabling, and of course discussion, of any motion that does not suit its purpose.

Besides, under Article 40 of the Constitution, bills and amendments tabled by deputies are ruled out of order if they entail reduction of national income or increase of national expenditure. This means that only very few amendments can hope for approval. There is still another means of obstructing the will of a parliamentary deputy: the government allows the tabling and discussion of amendments, but does not allow a vote on each, insisting that the bill be voted as a whole. And if it is accepted as proposed by the government, this means *ipso facto* rejection of all amendments. To this should be added that a deputy cannot demand a roll-call vote; that requires the agreement of a minimum of 30 MPs. And since there are only 18 Communists in the Senate, they stand absolutely no chance of getting a roll-call vote.

Nor is that all. If the majority of party leaders in the Senate want to bring a bill up for discussion, the government cannot easily prevent this. But the pliant National Assembly majority will simply refuse to put it on its agenda. For instance, on July 19, 1963 the Communist Senators tabled a bill concerning the position of handicapped children. Ever since then the government bloc, i.e., the UDR, Independents and Centrists, disregarding all our arguments, have consistently refused to bring the matter before the National Assembly.

A bill providing for the right to stand for election to municipal and general councils at the age of 21, was passed by the Senate on June 2, 1970. But only on December 18, when the parliamentary session was about to close, was it finally enacted, largely on the insistence of the Communists. Municipal elections were to be held shortly and the government majority could not very well reject this demand of the youth.

Senate discussion of the budget is limited to 15 days. One can well imagine how 'fundamental' that discussion can be. Members of Parliament have virtually no alternative but to approve or reject the budget as a whole, for Article 40 of the Constitution deprives them of all initiative in the matter. Nevertheless we Communists make maximum use of debating time - Communist Senators spoke 55 times in the last budget debate, fighting for each point and making counter-proposals. Communist Senators tabled 60 bills on various aspects of the tax system and local tax policy, the rights of the working people, the youth and women, and also on administrative divisions, etc. Not one of them has come up for debate.

The Communists take advantage of every opportunity, whether in commissions or at plenary sessions, to make the voice of the blue-collar and white-collar worker heard in Parliament and the country.

The Senate had only two days to debate the Sixth Plan which is

supposed to determine the country's 'future' over the next five years. In the National Assembly and Senate the Communists explained the Party's attitude to the plan. They exposed its main object, which is to use the country's wealth for an industrialization policy that is to the advantage of the big international monopolies and to the disadvantage of national development. The Communists analyzed the plan's main provisions, singling out those that militated against the interests of the nation and the needs of its people. But they also made many constructive proposals, giving voice to the needs of our workers, technicians, school-teachers, scientists, the youth and women. *In this way, even before the plan was put to the vote, the public was aware of its reactionary character and purpose.*

Under a system that gives monopoly capital a free hand to pursue its own aims, economic plans can only be general indicators. And Communist Senators make a point of explaining that the government's main aim is to strengthen the big monopolies by maximum concentration of production in the more profitable industries that whet the avarice of the ruling oligarchy.

Industrial policy is designed to strengthen the competitive position of the giant monopolies on the world market. And to do that the government is assuming a bigger role in organizing exploitation of the masses and as 'banker' of the powerful monopoly concerns. The result has been to accelerate concentration of capital.

In the Senate, the Communists have put forward a constructive program that would assure harmonious and equitable development of all regions, would conform with the economic, technical, social and cultural requirements of our age and, furthermore, guarantee worker participation in the administration of the state.

Communists in Parliament have repeatedly stressed that France has one of the longest work weeks, though hourly productivity is increasing at a much faster pace than in any other developed capitalist country. The Communists are fighting the assault on wages, against soaring prices, more taxes, that is, against all measures that tend to curtail consumption and maximize the profits of the big industrial and banking interests.

These were some of the Communist proposals in the budget debate:

- tax-free minimum income of 7,500 francs per worker with a progressive tax on the assets of capitalist concerns and the repeal of all company and share-holder tax privileges;
- repeal of the added-value tax* on essential foods and consumer goods;
- 10-15 per cent higher tax exemptions on part of the income of wage and salary earners (with the exception of company directors) spent on professional needs, this provision to be applied also to pensioners and certain other categories.

*Now being introduced in all Common Market countries, with resultant heightening of living costs.—Ed.

Another proposal was for tax exemption of child-care expenditure by working mothers and a higher tax-free minimum for unmarried mothers and widows.

The social insurance system is one of the major democratic gains of 1945-46, when the Communists were in the government. And in the Senate we have vigorously opposed all reactionary measures, notably government attempts to cut or restrict the right to welfare payments.

More than eight million of the French population are in the 12-25 age group and are coming to play a much more important role in national life. The present government, however, has proved incapable of meeting the needs of the young generation. That explains why youth is so active in the socio-economic and political struggle in factories, on building sites, in offices, universities and secondary schools. The young worker knows only too well what it means to live on a low wage or be thrown out of one's job. The student is concerned for the future: secondary and higher education is not getting adequate financial support.

In both Chambers the Communists speak for the youth, its interests and aspirations. They actively support its demands: equal pay for equal work, occupational training, subsidized education, the vote at 18 and the right to be elected at 21.

Many questions require careful study and discussion, for Communist deputies cannot remain indifferent to the many things that worry the masses. When bills to improve the position of women came up for debate, we had to analyze thoroughly every aspect of the question. For Communists must not merely criticize, but propose constructive amendments. And there need be no doubt that our amendments on mother and child welfare, housing, more household appliances, and so on, would have considerably improved woman's lot, both in the home and at work. Much the same can be said of our proposals on the health services and on democratic reform of the national and local tax system.

For a long time the small tradesmen and artisans were told that the Communists were out to ruin them. Now they can see that they are being ruined by a policy that favors the big industrial and commercial interests. And they are more responsive to Communist proposals designed to defend them against those who threaten their ruin.

The same goes for the mass of small and middle peasants gradually being pushed off the land. We are campaigning for various forms of agricultural cooperatives that would allow the small and middle farmer a share in a modernized agricultural structure.

In short, the Communists in Parliament are attuned to every problem that is agitating the minds of our people. That is why various professional and other groups seek advice and assistance from Communist members of the National Assembly and Senate and of general and municipal councils.

Gambetta once described the Senate as the 'great forum of France's municipalities.' It has retained that reputation and jealously safeguards the interests of the municipalities and the départements. The monopoly-serving government, however, wants to shift much of its financial burden to the municipalities and départements, which will mean higher local taxes. The government rejected the Communist proposal to compensate the municipalities for what they spend on the added-value tax, which is impeding municipal development. The government, which bears full responsibility for the situation that has arisen, wants to put all the blame on members of the general and municipal councils. The politics behind this move is gradually to replace popularly elected local government by appointed officials of the monopoly state. This would benefit only the big industrial, commercial and banking concerns. The government is aware, of course, that France has an excessive number of municipalities, many of them too small to undertake needed projects.

We Communists maintain that the situation can be changed by encouraging the smaller municipalities to pool their resources or by merging them, with the consent of their populations. The Communist Party is opposed to the government's regional decentralizing plan, its underlying concept and forms of implementation. And we have proposed setting up larger territorial units which, while not interfering in the internal affairs of the départements and municipalities, would handle government municipal development allocations. We believe that every region must be governed not by a prefect but by the bureau of the regional council elected by popular vote and with proportional representation. The function of government officials is to see to the legality of the council's decisions.

All these facts indicate that, in present-day France, though Parliament has lost much of its importance and much of its authority among the people, the role of the Communist deputies has in no way diminished.

The multiform problems Communists have to cope with in Parliament are a reflection of the complexities of modern life. Our criticism helps the working people appreciate the urgent need for the fundamental social transformations advocated by the Party, to appreciate its policy of uniting the working class and the democratic forces in the fight for an advanced democracy, which would undermine the power of the capitalist monopolies and open to the French people the road to solution of all the problems of our age, the road to socialism in France.

Communists in the National Assembly

Robert Ballanger

Ours is one of the Communist parties of the capitalist world that has built up a rich fund of experience in parliamentary activity. Ever since their inaugural congress at Tours in 1920, the Communists have been working to draw the broad masses into the fight to refashion society along socialist lines. And we have never hesitated to use Parliament to uphold the interests of the working people and show them how correctly to combine patriotism with proletarian internationalism. We have always been guided by Lenin's postulate, set out in his *State and Revolution*: 'The way out of parliamentarism is not, of course, the abolition of representative institutions and the elective principle, but the conversion of the representative institutions from talking shops into "working" bodies' (Vol. 25, p. 423). That is what Communist deputies are fighting for.

Monopoly power has condemned the National Assembly to impotence. The French bourgeoisie has always sought to utilize Parliament to direct the development of the productive forces and obscure the contradiction between increasing socialization of the productive forces and their concentration by the monopolies, which progressively reduces the number of owners of the means of production. And to maintain its domination over society, the bourgeoisie had to give the state a more authoritarian character.

Using the manifestly unfair electoral law, the ruling element has obtained a much less representative National Assembly, but one in which it has a comfortable majority. It has skillfully re-carved constituencies to provide safe seats for its leading spokesmen.

Under the present law, the Assembly is elected in a two-round vote on the majority system. This means that a Communist deputy represents, on an average, 135,000 voters, whereas a UDR deputy represents only 27,000. If there were proportional representation, the Communists would have obtained 94 seats in the June 1968 elections instead of the present 33, other Left parties would have had 40 seats more and the UDR 150 less. The figures speak for themselves. In demanding proportional representation, the Com-

munists are not motivated by narrow Party interests, for proportional representation would be in the interests of the working class and all the democratic forces and would make for a more democratic National Assembly.

At present it does not reflect the alignment of forces in the country. This has produced a distorted pattern of relations between the government and the Assembly and its majority, whose role is constantly diminishing. It might be said that the majority, paradoxically enough, is the victim of its own inflated representation and plays a much smaller role than in the previous Parliament. There it had fewer deputies, but among them were men who stood up to the government, which was obliged to reckon with the Assembly and seek compromise solutions. The present majority is, by its passivity, discrediting the democratic institutions. That is why the government is at such pains, with the help of ideological camouflage, to conceal the absence of genuine democracy and the fact that the National Assembly has been reduced to a rubber-stamping body.

Indeed, it is no longer an effective instrument for directing French policy, a function it has ceded to the President and the government. The head of state has extensive powers in all spheres of political, economic and social life and is not directly accountable to anyone. Article 16 of the Constitution gives him dictatorial powers to suspend civil liberties under definite conditions, and moreover he alone determines where and when such conditions arise. Nor can the National Assembly decide on war and peace. A decree promulgated in January 1964, on the plea that thermo-nuclear war was a possibility, gives the President the right to decide on the use of France's nuclear forces.

The 1958 Constitution created a Parliament without power. And now that they are free of parliamentary control, the Prime Minister and Cabinet can do very much as they like. More than 90 per cent of all the laws enacted under the Fifth Republic originated with the government. This should not be taken to mean that the parliamentary groups are incapable of formulating the legislation the country needs. On the contrary, they table three times more bills than the government. However, no legislative proposals of the Communist group can hope to come up for discussion. At best they will be relegated to a committee, and even then only if the rapporteur (nearly always chosen from the parliamentary majority) consents to compile a report; he is under no obligation to do so.

However, notwithstanding the diminution of Parliament's role, our Party believes that it must continue to work in it. The reactionary onslaught on democracy and widespread absenteeism among MPs have not destroyed the people's belief that the Assembly should play an important part in French political life.

We Communist deputies work in close cooperation with the Communist Party and its special-problem groups, the trade unions

and other mass organizations fighting for a social program that has Communist support.

Communist deputies have introduced more than 140 legislative drafts and tabled some 3,000 questions in the present Assembly. In the last budget debate, in which Left deputies were allowed little time, the Communists spoke 75 times. They proposed nationalization of the big monopolies in aviation, automobiles, pharmaceuticals and armaments. Other Communist-sponsored bills were in support of trade union demands for lowering the pension age to 60 for men and 55 for women, better conditions for the aged, and occupational training. And the Communists were able to win a long-standing demand, equal rights for husband and wife as family heads, and another demand on grants to orphans.

Parliamentary activity is a back-up factor in the mass campaigns conducted by the Party and, at the same time, stimulates the movement outside Parliament. At present the Party Central Committee is conducting seven mass campaigns on the following issues: housing, transport, employment, disarmament, social insurance, tax reform and the right to information. The struggle around these issues is reflected in our parliamentary activity.

We French Communists believe that objective conditions allow for a peaceful transition to socialism. However, this will require more than a parliamentary majority. The guarantee of success lies in achieving, in practice, unity of the labor and democratic forces through a united trade union front and alliance of the working class and the non-monopoly sections of the people (intellectuals, small farmers, independent artisans and tradesmen). It lies also in alliance of the Left parties around a common government program, for such an alliance alone can offer a democratic alternative to monopoly power. And Communist MPs are destined to play an important part in forging such united action, particularly with the Socialists.

From the parliamentary rostrum the Communists bring to the masses the ideas of proletarian internationalism. From the famous pronouncements of Marcel Cachin against imperialist intervention in the young Soviet Republic, and from his demand for the return of the French intervention forces, to the recent Communist pronouncements in Parliament for freedom of the Basque patriots tried in Burgos—through all these years and events there is a staunch tradition of solidarity with peoples fighting for independence and peace. The Communists have condemned the U.S. aggression in Indochina; they demand fulfilment of the Security Council resolution on the Middle East; insist on French recognition of the German Democratic Republic. And just as in past years Communist MPs combated French colonialism, today they expose the government's intention to keep these ex-colonies 'in trust' and demand self-determination for Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion, etc. Our Party has come out in defense of Algeria's sovereignty, against encroachments by the big oil companies on its right to dispose

of its land and mineral wealth. Communist deputies are vigorously campaigning against the American and West German monopolies working through the Common Market to gain control of our economic commanding heights.

A fundamental restructuring of the French political system is essential if we are to have an advanced democracy as a stage on the road to socialism. Consistent satisfaction of the workers' principal demands is inseparably linked with restoration of the French people's sovereignty. That is why we are fighting for repeal of the personal-rule provisions in the Constitution. A National Assembly elected by popular vote on the basis of proportional representation must have the right to promulgate laws, control the government and direct foreign policy.

The working class needs genuine political democracy as a basis and lever in its efforts to reconstruct society. That is why the French Communist Party has always used the opportunities presented by Parliament to defend the people's interests.

Work in the constituencies

Louis Odru

It is hard to describe in a single article the deputy's manifold activities in his constituency. Of course, we all have a common duty to our country and our Party, but it is fulfilled in widely differing political, social and geographic conditions.

For our constituencies vary: some are in the industrial north, in the Paris and Marseilles areas, others are in the predominantly rural and sparsely populated areas, often with poor transport facilities, of central and south France.

Communists elected from the Paris area usually represent constituencies with 100,000-150,000 inhabitants concentrated in a few large cities. In the Allier departement, on the other hand, the Communist deputy represents a constituency of 92,000 inhabitants spread over 130 communities, varying both in size and population.

Each constituency has its political specificities, determined by the state of the Party organizations, the number and activity of nuclei and branches, and the influence they exert on the population. In some places we poll an appreciable vote, but have few or no Party members. Some constituencies have Communist-led municipal councils, others do not; the Party is represented in some

general councils while in others there is not a single Communist. Some deputies are mayors or general councillors, or hold both positions. All this has to be taken into account.

These notes deal with the work of a Communist deputy from one of the Paris suburbs.

Communist candidates are nominated by local Party organizations with the approval of the regional and national leadership. To win the confidence of his comrades and of the population, a deputy must be known to the voters as a devoted Party militant. And he must have a constant and active share in the work of local Party organizations, the branch or regional committee. This is essential to his functions as an envoy of the people. In working together with his comrades to promote the interests of the working people, sharing in the shaping and implementation of Party policy, he acquires a deeper understanding of the problems of his constituents and can work effectively on their behalf.

As spokesman for the Party, he organizes meetings, conferences and residential-block discussions, reports to his electors at special meetings or through the local Party press, popularizes the work of the Communists in the National Assembly, sees to the circulation of their statements and speeches.

He supports Communist candidates in municipal, departement, parliamentary and Presidential elections, for strengthening the Party and enhancing its influence is a major part of his work. He must have thorough knowledge of Party policy, be able to explain it to his fellow citizens, whose interests he upholds, and convince them that they can have full confidence in the Communist Party.

The local and regional Party organizations are politically responsible for the deputy's work in his constituency. The Party sets the political guidelines for his work and helps him solve the numerous problems that crop up. We have in our ranks and among our close friends political leaders, trade-union officials, leaders of various associations, municipal and departement administrators, lawyers, architects, specialists in various other fields upon whom the Communist deputy can draw for expert advice. Mass work by the Party and democratic organizations creates optimal conditions for parliamentary activity as a component of the popular movement.

The Communist deputy has close and strong links with the masses, maintains contact with all the democratic associations and organizations in his constituency. And here the list includes local branches of Left parties, workers' and teachers' trade unions, parents' associations, youth and women's groups, tenants (especially those in substandard housing), tradesmen's committees, associations of veterans and war victims, block committees, the peace movement, etc. And the deputy responds to invitations from any

of these groups to address their meetings and answer questions. At all such gatherings he makes a point of contrasting Communist policy on various issues to the regime's anti-social policies.

At these meetings the deputy will often receive concrete proposals, which he puts before the Communist group in the Assembly, and not infrequently they are the basis for interpellations or legislative amendments.

The deputy has to deal with a multitude of problems involving the interests of diverse social strata. He is concerned with everything—trade-union freedoms, factory closures and mass layoffs, social and economic demands, municipal housing, better transport facilities, education, the position of the youth, small tradespeople and artisans, the aged, migrant workers—and this is by no means a complete list. Needless to say, this is no substitute for the mass struggle; on the contrary, it helps the mass movement which, considering the anti-democratic nature of the regime, is the main weapon against the capitalists and their power structure.

The Communist deputy is always accessible to the population. His office is open to all. He receives delegations of workers and technical intellectuals belonging to different trade unions, who seek his assistance to make the prefect, the department employment director, factory inspector or the ministry, look into grievances at one or another factory. When a strike is on, he goes to the factory to explain the Party's policy and give the strikers every support, on his own behalf and on behalf of his constituents.

The deputy has to deal with a huge correspondence. Before answering some letters, especially when they concern major social issues, he consults the municipality, the low-rent housing authorities, the Prefecture, social insurance agencies, even the government. This correspondence can run to as much as 3,000 letters a year.

The Communist deputy speaks for the entire population of his constituency, and this means that he is always ready to help not only his comrades in the Communist and Socialist parties, but also UDR supporters, Church-goers and atheists, prominent citizens and housewives, students, soldiers and taxpayers, whenever they find themselves in some difficulties.

The role the municipality plays in France needs hardly be explained here. Now the municipalities are being attacked by the government, anxious to curtail their rights in favor of technocratic agencies that can be more easily controlled by the central authority.

The Communist deputy supports the municipalities in the fight to defend and expand their rights. He is closely associated with the mayors and municipal councils and does everything to help them wrest from the government the funds needed for municipal needs. The deputy must be in touch with various aspects of municipal work: town planning, communications, education, welfare, industrial development, taxation problems, etc.

The difficulties the municipalities and the population now have to contend with are the result of the government's anti-social and anti-democratic policy. It is spending billions on its celebrated 'force de frappe' and on assistance to the big monopolies, while the municipalities are denied the money needed to build new schools, hospitals and sports facilities. In opposing this ruinous policy, the deputy helps to raise the democratic consciousness of the people and thereby contributes to their struggle for a better life.

With Communist or Left-alliance mayors in office, things are easier for the deputy. The situation is more complicated where the mayor belongs to the government majority and will have nothing to do with a Communist deputy. In coordinating his activity with the local branch of the Communist Party or with democratic organizations, the deputy exposes the municipality's collusion with the government, showing that this is inimical to the people's interests and needs, and that to uphold these interests they must oppose the reactionary mayor, prefect and government. In these constituencies the Party organization has an active part in municipal affairs and works out a democratic municipal policy. This helps it expand its activity and increases its influence. Experience has shown that this can lead to the defeat of the reactionary municipal council and its replacement by a Left council with a Communist mayor.

The deputy shares in all public functions in his constituency. He attends openings of public buildings, exhibitions, jubilee festivals, takes part in public discussions. He must also be involved in various forms of the struggle for the people's socio-economic and political demands by taking part in public rallies, demonstrations, protest and solidarity actions, etc. He also attends functions arranged by parents' associations, fairs, sports and cultural events. In short, he must not be indifferent to public events in his constituency.

From this brief description the reader can rightly conclude that the Communist deputy is a devoted and faithful fighter of the Party, a staunch champion of the working people, able to carry out the local demands and the national program on the basis of which he was elected, always prepared to learn and always prepared to work to strengthen the alliance of the workers and democratic forces of France.



Student movement in Finland

Oiva Bjorkbacka

The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties paid special attention to the growing political activity of young people. As in numerous other capitalist countries, open mass actions in Finland were accompanied by an upward trend in the youth movement. In March and February there was a strike of metalworkers and builders, the most powerful since the 1956 general strike. During that period a daily average of 200 people joined the metalworkers' union alone. And it should be noted that the unions of metalworkers and builders are the country's largest – with their 200,000 members, over half of whom are below 30 years of age, they account for one-third of the membership of the Central Organization of Trade Unions.

Numerous young workers and students have joined in the struggle of the masses for democracy and social progress. Young workers may be said to engage in political activity – thanks to the trade unions and other traditional forms of class struggle – more naturally than students, who have other forms of association and political organization and evolve their views in a different set of conditions. In taking stock of the student movement, it is essential to bear in mind certain peculiarities, although this movement, too, should be seen as a reflection of social development trends, above all of the deep crisis of the capitalist system.

The student movement in Finland is developing against a distinctive political background. It is influenced by dominant moods in academic circles. The point is that Left-radical concepts are typical of a relatively limited section of our scientific community. The university is by tradition one of the strongholds of reaction and chauvinism. The absolute majority of faculty members still hold Rightist views. This cannot but tell on the students' basic ideological orientation. It is difficult for them fully to cast off social, ideological and psychological dependence on bourgeois society and get rid of professorial routine. True, liberal bourgeois leanings have lately gained ground among young teachers. A few university posts have gone to progressives.

The proportion of politically active students is increasing, due largely to changes in the social standing of students and to their

mounting dissatisfaction with the outdated system of both secondary and higher education. The number of students has grown four-fold over the past 20 years due to the increasing demand for professional personnel. But this growth also means an ever larger proportion of representatives of the working people among students, with the result that radical sentiments are spreading in colleges and universities. On the other hand, students see that the scientific and technological revolution will admit only a few of them into 'high society,' enabling them to enjoy the privileges granted to bourgeois intellectuals, whereas the majority will become wage earners to be exploited like the rest of the workers. Besides, not every student can be certain that he will find a job upon graduation – far from it.

Students who are unhappy about existing conditions want the state to help them more in the way of allowances, loans on easy terms, inexpensive lodgings, and so on. They advocate a radical change in higher education and insist, in particular on reorganizing university administration. This means, as they see it, introducing elections on the principle of equal participation in voting by students, professors and other staff members. Young people also demand that all colleges and universities be transferred to the state. Right-wing student organizations are compelled to back some of these demands although they actually obstruct reform.

Lenin stressed that students are not isolated from the rest of society and reflect the evolution of class interests and political groups. The political activity of students is inseparable from the struggle of parties, he said, and makes it necessary to choose a definite party and a definite ideology.

Finnish students are no exception in this respect and most of their political groups are closely linked with various parties, although in our country, too, certain groups of students try to organize outside parties. Elections to student bodies in the autumn of 1970 showed that university students associate according to party allegiance, so to speak, that is, support definite party slogans. Formerly the most numerous group that came forward in these elections was that of various 'politically autonomous' faculty organizations, which were actually under bourgeois patronage. In 1970, however, they only polled about 10 per cent of the votes, while Social-Democratic and People's Democratic student organizations collected almost 35 per cent. In the universities of Helsinki and Jyväskylä young Social-Democrats were for the first time defeated by the united student organization of Communists and People's Democrats. At Helsinki University, the country's biggest, People's Democrats achieved better results for the first time than in the general election.

Thus a fairly rapid swing to the Left is coming about. Whereas in 1967 the People's Democrats polled 245 votes (2.3 per cent) in the elections to the student bodies at Helsinki University, in 1970 the figures were 2,334 and 19.7 respectively. The situation is much the same in other universities.

Growing political activity had a radicalizing effect on the student organizations that adhered to liberal bourgeois parties. The result

was the rise of a united general democratic front of People's Democrats, Social Democrats and Centrists (as well as, in some cases, Liberals) against the Right-wing student movement associated with the Coalition Party. In five universities the Right is backed by less than one-third of the electorate.

The bloc of the Left and Center comprises mostly student organizations adhering to the government coalition parties, as well as to the Democratic Alliance of the Finnish People, which has been outside the government ever since March 1971. It is worthy of note that the student organizations of the Social-Democratic, Liberal and Center parties hold more radical views compared with the official policy of their parties and join more readily in united action for democratic change.

Contact with parties makes for closer cooperation between progressive student organizations and the workers. Revolutionary-minded students know from experience that their struggle will be successful only if backed by the working class, and that to win this backing they must champion radical social change in the interest of the whole people and not withdraw into the narrow shell of their academic problems.

Students increasingly join in the struggle of the working class, acting ever more meaningfully. Their participation in May Day demonstrations was greater than ever. Their aid to striking workers was revealing, too. Student solidarity committees collected funds for the strikers, held meetings, arranged concerts and organized free medical service for the strikers and their families.

The workers, in turn, are very sympathetic to the student movement. Last winter the Communist Party, the Democratic Alliance of the Finnish People and trade unions vigorously supported the students in their fight for a democratic reform of university administration. The students' demands linked up with the mass movement for greater democracy in industry and throughout society. Radical students, who make common cause with the workers in seeking a reform of the Constitution, more democratic universities and courts and other changes, are coming to realize that greater democracy in the country hinges directly on the struggle to organize life on socialist principles. This explains young people's growing interest in theory and their search for a spiritual guide and an effective program.

Not always do these quests lead straight to the goal. The theories of Herbert Marcuse, David Cohn-Bendit and their like were fashionable for a time. However, life and their own political experience revealed to students the untenability of all petty-bourgeois and anarchist slogans. It was not long before they saw that idolized 'theoreticians' offer no revolutionary perspective. Marxist criticism of pseudo-revolutionary ideas helped progressive students to turn from Marcuse to Marx and Lenin. This expressed itself in articles appearing in student newspapers and was particularly evident last year, a memorable year for scientific socialism, when the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin and the 150th anniversary of the birth of

Engels were celebrated. It is safe to speak of a genuine revival of interest in Marxist classics. Hundreds of lectures, seminars, talks, scientific conferences, book exhibitions, film festivals were held involving thousands of people. Sales of Marxist literature reached a record high as in the early post-war years.

A look at student newspapers reveals the students' changed attitude to the scientific theory of the working class. One of them wrote that a present 'a whole generation of Left-wing students is going over from idealist socialism to Marxist analysis.' Characteristically, students have become more critical of the positivist philosophy prevailing in our universities. Last year the debate on problems of scientific methodology in student newspapers and periodicals, at forums and scientific sessions, was accompanied by the demand that Marxist studies be introduced in universities. In searching for an effective fighting slogan based on a genuinely revolutionary theory, students turn to the well-known Marxist thesis that the task is not only to explain the world but to change it by revolutionary means, a thesis that undermines the whole structure of positivist philosophy.

The responsibility of the Communist Party for the education of revolutionary successors is greater than ever. Growing demands are also put on the Marxist science of society, which must provide solutions for new problems. Of tremendous importance in this respect were the documents of the 1969 Meeting, which help young people to find their proper place in the working people's common struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, by guiding their revolutionary quests and furnishing them with correct slogans. An imperative of today is continuously to carry forward Marxist-Leninist theory in a creative spirit.

Progressive researchers, including young people, need sound methodological aids. We have regrettably been unable to meet their needs in adequate measure. There is a particularly noticeable shortage of Marxist manuals of the theory of the state, of law and sociology, and of books on the methodology of the social sciences. What we offer does not always produce proper results, partly because Marxist terminology is difficult for people educated in bourgeois schools.

The Party is aware of these difficulties and is trying to make headway in the ideological battlefield, one of the most important. We regard it as one of our tasks to help students in assimilating Marxist-Leninist theory and the history of the working-class and national liberation movement. In all university towns we have organized groups studying Marxism-Leninism, and we hold seminars and offer series of lectures. Classes involve both Communist students and a wide range of politically active non-Communist students. Marxist-Leninist propaganda helps the Party to extend its influence over young intellectuals. Many students have lately joined the Party. Some of them, who seek a more pronounced socialist policy, have come from the Social-Democratic Party.

Of course, our whole work among students goes hand in hand with continuous struggle against various bourgeois influences,

fashionable trends, Right and Left-wing opportunist distortions of the scientific theory and the policy of the working class. We know from experience that the moment the struggle is slackened, bourgeois ideology steps up its pressure on the student movement. Young people want an outlet for their revolutionary energy and when they do not find a Marxist channel they take the wrong direction.

The sharp structural changes occurring in our country generate movements of large groups of people. These people are easily taken in by petty-bourgeois demagoguery. We see a reflection of alien influence in a certain intensification of anti-intellectual trends among ultra-Leftist youth, which leads, in particular, to primitivism in revolutionary theory and to a revival of a dogmatic approach to social phenomena.

However, what now prevents the spread of Marxism in universities is primarily the domination of reactionary professors, the bourgeois press and Right-wing political parties. In exposing reaction and anti-communism, the Communist Party of Finland seeks to demonstrate the validity of Marxism-Leninism and its close connection with social practice. Permanent contacts and constructive cooperation between Marxists of various countries should greatly promote this effort.

Party reserve

Panikos Peonidis

'The younger generation, with its patriotism and militancy, plays an important role in our people's fight for the complete independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, for its deliverance from all imperialist "presence." Young people make up the backbone of the National Guard, firmly supporting the people in the struggle against the threat of aggression and imperialist intrigues designed to partition Cyprus and bring it under the sway of the aggressive NATO bloc.'

This was how the 12th Congress of AKEL (Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus) assessed the role of youth in the fight against imperialism. Hence the daily attention which AKEL gives to work among youth.

The Party's influence over the younger generation is growing from year to year. This expressed itself at recent youth meetings in Nicosia, Limasol and elsewhere. Young men and women applauded Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary of AKEL, who spoke of the 45th anniversary of the Party, of its unrelenting fight for freedom and progress. The maturity of the ideas voiced by young people, the accuracy of their political estimations, their readiness to contribute even more actively to the struggle of the Left-wing, democratic forces, their profound appreciation of the Party's consistent and

principled policy were most encouraging. At the Nicosia meeting scores of young men and women announced their wish to join the Party. The same thing happened in other cities.

There has lately been a powerful influx of young people into the Party. AKEL owes this primarily to its deep roots among the people, its strong influence in every sphere of social life and the fact that its policy, ideology and moral principles meet the requirements of the masses.

The Party's prestige is on the rise everywhere, in particular among young people, including those living in the smallest and remotest villages, thanks to the variety of its activities among youth. Take, for example, rural clubs. They are social centers in which people discuss all topical problems ranging from water supply and road repairs to such political problems as that of establishing a united front against extremist, terrorist groups or of backing by their actions President Makarios' policy of unifying the people against foreign conspiracies.

Rural clubs, like their city counterparts, carry on cultural and educational propaganda and promote sports among youth. They organize hobby groups, offer lectures, hold forums and take various progressive initiatives that are backed by the whole community. In them young men and women decide, say, to hold a local festival of peace and friendship with the youth of other countries, build a home for a poor family or carry out a project that will benefit the community. Their active attitude to life helps in decisive measure to educate the rising generation.

Working youth see that the AKEL members working alongside them are the most courageous and selfless people, that the Party, the organized Left-wing movement and its trade unions, firmly uphold the interests of the working people, including young workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, office employees and students. Young men and women know that the working people owe important gains, such as higher wages, mutual insurance funds, paid holidays, and so on, above all to the sustained struggle of the progressive forces. All this prompts them to join Left-wing democratic organizations and inspires in them respect and trust of AKEL's patriotic policy and internationalist ideals.

The finest of the politically active young people constitute the reserve on which the Party draws to reinforce its organizations. AKEL's political and educational activities help to draw young people into the working-class Party in large numbers. This is not to say that individual work with every new applicant is underrated. We want every young person linking his life with the Party to commit himself to the people, as it were. Of course, the overwhelming majority of new members are the sons and daughters of working people.

The issue of a Party card to a young member does not mean the end of his political education. In fact, we strive to improve this work by using more interesting and varied forms. Young people's Party groups are a new form that has proved its worth. Experience has

shown that some people between 18 and 22 years of age who join the Party find it difficult to adapt themselves to their new environment if most of the people in it are much older than themselves. Such an environment turns out to be somewhat foreign to these young people psychologically, it inhibits their youthful imagination and fetters their initiative. They feel that the organization they joined lacks vigor. Besides, some organizations unfortunately tend to follow a set pattern. As a result, young people once known as energetic and enthusiastic workers become less active, as if losing their taste for social work.

We think the experience of forming Party groups of young people and led by young secretaries is valuable. Activity in these groups has a distinctively attractive quality and they discuss the most diverse problems, generally in a form that strongly appeals to young people. Party studies have become livelier. This year all groups will hold five lecture classes that will deal, in particular, with the historic mission of the proletariat, the working-class movement and the Marxist-Leninist party as a new type of party.

AKEL is striving to win over young people in exceedingly difficult conditions. Various reactionary groups and imperialist centers do their utmost to reach the youth of Cyprus, whose minds they poison with anti-communism. Brainwashing begins at school. Furthermore, various shady elements are busy, as the press has repeatedly pointed out, recruiting young people for fascist-type, terroristic organizations demagogically described as super-patriotic but actually intended to subvert progressive organizations, divide the people and undermine the anti-imperialist front.

Anti-communism in Cyprus is advocated above all under the catchword of *Enosis*, which also constitutes its weak point. Reality tells people that in today's conditions this catchword objectively serves to disguise imperialist plans of partitioning Cyprus through a double *Enosis* – with Greece and Turkey. Every fair-minded and sensible person who is aware of the danger of external conspiracies must work to maintain the country's independence. A patriot today is he who fully backs President Makarios' patriotic policy of consolidating the independence and unity of the state, which guarantees the rights of both Greeks and Turks, he who seeks the dismantling of foreign bases in Cyprus, the demilitarization of the island and its transformation into a bridge of friendship and peace, he who sees through the tactics of imperialist conspirators and realizes that it is the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that are Cyprus' real friends.

AKEL is the vanguard of the patriotic forces. The masses vigorously support its policies despite anti-communist propaganda. How very fruitful this policy is was shown, in particular, by the general election on July 5, 1970, which brought the Left over 40 per cent of the votes. This victory heightened the political militancy of young people, prompting more of them to join in social battles.

To be sure, the anti-communist campaign, on which foreign

centers spend a lot of money, makes AKEL's work among youth difficult. Rabid anti-Soviet propaganda affects young people, especially those of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois origin. The atmosphere of spiritual stagnation prevailing in Cyprus tends, for its part, to divert young men and women from politics into the stuffy world of narrow personal problems. The country is swamped with trashy Western fiction and films, and its stage is mostly taken up with cheap shows. Cyprus has no national theatre, picture gallery, nor a musical life worth the name, the state does nothing to promote literature or help writers. All this plays into the hands of those who are out to prevent our people's normal progress. It is particularly harmful to young people because they are not immune to the destructive impact of decaying bourgeois culture and, indeed, succumb easily to it.

AKEL warns against the dangers of the present situation. Using its publications and its literary forces, it strives to raise young people's political consciousness and cultural standard, preserve the nation's finest traditions, foster the people's wonderful art and build up the spiritual wealth created by the people in the course of their long history and attesting to their spiritual beauty and health.

While steadily improving work among young people by using new forms and methods, we must take into account the rising standard of their education. About 80 per cent of our children go to school today. Hundreds of young Cypriots graduate from institutions of higher learning, a reality which would have been unthinkable a few years ago. Our Party analyzes these developments, the changing character of problems and the new requirements of youth, and plans its work accordingly to build up its relations with young people.

Specifically, we have found it advisable to form Party groups of young intellectuals. Cyprus' intellectuals show a certain Rightist trend and an inclination for abstract 'liberalism.' However, patient elucidation of our stand on important political problems and the very situation on the island help them to see clearly social contradictions and convince them of the correctness of AKEL's strategy and tactics. The atmosphere inside the Party, while leaving no room for violations of the principles of democratic centralism or of discipline, enables members to voice and uphold the most diverse opinions. This benefits the ideological growth of young Party members, including intellectuals.

The young people of Cyprus are willing to assume their share of responsibility. The task is to help them take the right road, to show them that no other ideology or party can be as close to them as the party of the working class with its scientific, Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and that our goal – building a society of justice, peace and brotherhood – holds the promise of free and harmonious development for the younger generation.

AKEL has faith in youth, and young people reciprocate its faith. This is why more and more young fighters join the Party.



Visit to the Thorez Institute

Boulevard Auguste Blanqui is like any other famous Paris boulevard – tree-lined, wide and busy. Not far from Place d'Italie rises a fine two-storied building stylized as a castle. It houses the Maurice Thorez Institute, a research and propaganda center of the French Communist Party.

'This Institute,' Victor Joannes, member of the Party's Central Committee and director of the Institute, told me, 'was founded in October 1964 by decision of the Central Committee. Its activity got off to a real start in 1965. Its main purpose is research into the history of the working-class movement and social thought. I wish to make it clear from the outset that we have never confined our task to studying history as such but have always done our best to establish a link between the past and the present. In other words, the motto of the Institute might well be

'History and Politics'

The best way of familiarizing oneself with the activity of a research institution is to read its output. A key aspect of the Thorez Institute's activity is its quarterly journal *Cahiers de l'Institut Maurice Thorez*, displaying on its cover a portrait of the outstanding French Communist leader engraved by Pablo Picasso. Even a cursory reading of the quarterly reveals that its contents are in keeping with the motto mentioned by V. Joannes. First and foremost, the journal concerns itself with pages of Party history that help one through the maze of present-day politics. Its No. 22 carried a series of politico-historical studies of the united front. It dealt with the problem in terms of its solution by the Third Congress of the Comintern, the experience of class struggles in France in 1922-24, and lastly, Left-wing unity in today's France, a subject treated in an article by Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the Party.

Political history is a permanent and impressive though by no means the only theme of the quarterly. The Institute collects and prints memoirs in an effort 'to prevent the disappearance of the invaluable experience of veterans,' as V. Joannes put it. It does so to

give them due credit and enable the young generation to draw on recollection of the past in its life and struggles.

This work is anything but simple. Every publisher knows that memoirs must be carefully checked and rechecked. Human memory, however good, may fail. The Institute therefore asks its foremost historians to verify this or that fact, compare recollections with records or other memoirs and so on.

Book reviews hold a notable place in the quarterly. V. Joannes called my attention to a review of Anni Krigel's book dealing with the rise of the Communist Party and questioning the Party's necessity for the working-class movement. Our authors, he said, do more than just expose hostile or erroneous concepts. They also see it as their duty to popularize the more noteworthy Marxist studies published in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

Another section of the quarterly is devoted to little-known or newly-discovered texts by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Thorez.

Now for the Institute's plans. It already has material for the next issue of its quarterly – a survey of the scientific colloquium on the Paris Commune sponsored by the Institute, an event I will tell about later. And there is more material ready for publication. The Marseilles Congress of the FCP (December 1921) adopted theses on the agrarian question which became the Party's program in the countryside. Lenin welcomed this program while criticizing some of its provisions. The FCP has decided to publish material on the peasant question that will take up considerable space. The Party approach to this question in the past, the changes that have occurred and the new aspects of Party policy will be set out in detail with help from the Central Committee's Agrarian Commission. A further topic for the quarterly is changes in the condition of the French working class. Historical and sociological investigations are being carried out preparatory to its treatment.

I have said that the Institute does not confine itself to research. It conducts extensive propaganda especially among young workers, students, teachers and researchers, using the most diverse methods. Its most effective method is probably lectures followed by discussion. They are delivered by prominent members of the Party cadre and noted scholars. This method is in accordance with the Institute's motto and may be called 'historico-political.' For example, the series of meetings dedicated to the Lenin Centenary was used for showing how Lenin's ideas help the working-class movement today. Meetings of this kind also help to make a thorough study of theory and to expose hostile views, refuting, among others, the slogans of a 'new society' advanced by Pompidou and Chaban-Delmas and countering them with the demand for a new socialist society.

These meetings normally take place at the Institute, in the large auditorium dominated by Fernand Léger's huge stained glass 'Builders.'

Main instrument

The Institute is doing much to organize international scientific colloquiums. Its President, Georges Cogniot, describes this as the

best way of improving theoretical knowledge, as the 'main instrument of our activity.' The Institute has already held a number of colloquiums of this kind: on 'The 1936 Popular Front,' in 1966, 'The October Revolution and France,' 1967, 'The Causes and Results of World War II,' 1969, 'The Fiftieth Anniversary of the FCP,' 1970. Their records have been published in book form, and each of these books is an impressive piece of research.

This writer had an opportunity to satisfy himself of the effectiveness of international discussions. Interviews at the Institute were given between the sittings of a colloquium on the Paris Commune that brought together leading spokesmen of the FCP, a large group of noted French scholars and representative delegations from the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, as well as from capitalist countries. One of the participants was Guy Mollet, the French Socialist leader, who attended as Chairman of the Socialist Research Institute.

I must admit that I did not expect to hear so many new things before going to the colloquium. After all, the Commune has been spoken and written about so much. It is dealt with in brilliant works by the founders of Marxism which add up to a storehouse of fundamental knowledge indispensable to every Communist. The 72 days of 'storming the heavens' have for 100 years now been an object of careful research. Many new studies were published on the centenary of the Commune. The reader will recall that the February issue of this journal carried a survey of the Prague forum on the Commune centenary, whose success was largely due to the brilliant contribution made by Jacques Duclos, one of the best experts on this subject and the author of numerous studies. Representative and scientifically fruitful forums were held in Moscow and the capitals of other socialist countries. Lastly, the Central Committee of the French Communist Party organized a large international conference in Paris on the 100th anniversary of the Commune.

The colloquium sponsored by the Thorez Institute was a fitting sequel to all this creative activity. After a general introduction by Georges Cogniot, who spoke of the historic significance of the Commune, the participants heard a paper by Jean Gacon, Victor Joannes and Maurice Moissonnier entitled 'The Commune, the State and Democracy.' Then came the papers 'The Commune and Culture' by Guy Besse and Jean Bruhat and 'The Commune and Internationalism' by Jean Ellenstein and Roland Leroy. All reports and contributions were based on sound arguments, and the experience of the Commune was assessed in the light of tasks of the working-class movement today. The foreign guests' interesting contributions were in the same militant spirit. The colloquium revealed the powerful international impact of the Commune and re-emphasized the thesis that the Commune lives on. The vivid closing remarks offered by Jacques Duclos brought it to a fitting culmination.

In short, the colloquium not only furnished material for the next issue of the Institute's quarterly or for a special publication, but

will undoubtedly help to improve our knowledge of the Commune.

A detail worthy of note was that the colloquium took place in Palais Luxembourg, where the Senate of the French Republic normally sits. At the request of participants, Communist Senators showed them around during an interval. A fairly large group, led by a young Palace attendant, went through the Palace halls as he told them about how the building was erected, what historic personalities it had seen, what Napoleon Bonaparte had done there, and so on. What struck us most was perhaps the fact that as the group walked down one of the main passages it found itself face to face with two busts set on heavy marble bases. One of the busts was Gambetta's and the other, Thiers'. The 'Vicious Dwarf,' as Thiers was nicknamed by the Communards, had resided in the building in which people now paid tribute to the heroic days of the Commune while denouncing its butcher. Thiers and his followers would probably have gnashed their teeth in impotent rage on hearing the ovation which greeted Duclos' closing words in Palais Luxembourg: 'The Commune has fallen, long live the Commune!'

Institute without a staff

One could tell much more about the Institute, specifically about the books it publishes, which include the works of Maurice Thorez. It is now bringing out his works dating from October 1923 – they are part of the *Complete Works*. And its output includes Thorez' selected works and various collections.

One of the Institute's important productions is the book *The French Road to Socialism: Twenty Years Since Maurice Thorez' Interview with 'The Times' (November 17, 1946)*. The authors have systematized the FCP's main concepts of the transition to socialism in France. The book has gone a long way to elucidate the Communist position and helped to hold dialogues and discussions between Communists and Socialists. It has also encouraged a number of new theoretical investigations.

Another interesting publication of the Institute is *The French Communist Party in the Resistance*. This is, in effect, the first French monograph describing in detail the Communist Party's role in organizing the Resistance. Among its twenty authors are many prominent French historians and renowned Resistance leaders.

The Institute's library of some 50,000 volumes is worth mentioning. It includes numerous publications on the history of the French Communist Party and working-class movement and such valuable records as the minutes of Party congresses. This is why many members of the Sorbonne's academic staff recommend the library to their students. Among those who have used the library are scholars from the Soviet Union, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Czechoslovakia, faculty members of some U.S. universities and researchers from Oxford and Cambridge.

'I was certain that you would ask me how many people we have on our staff,' V. Joannes said, anticipating my question. 'My answer

is that we have none, or hardly any, unless we consider our technical staff as such.'

He told me that most of those cooperating with the Institute work on a voluntary basis. They are either Communists or sympathizing scholars who lecture in a higher educational institution and do research at the Institute's request. Nor are they necessarily professional historians. At the conference on the Paris Commune a most interesting paper was presented by Colonel Rol-Tanguy. The Institute had asked this well-known Resistance leader to read a paper on the military aspect of the Commune. Colonel Rol-Tanguy was attracted by the subject and prepared the paper. What is more, he has been doing research into this subject ever since.

Occasionally the Institute's work on a theme fosters the growth of future researchers. Germaine Villard was a secondary school teacher lacking special training. She was asked to study the period of history between 1939 and 1942. She set to work with a will and was so gripped by the theme that she eventually became an expert on this period. Needless to say, she considers it her duty to give the Institute all that she has done. Her book *From Munich to Vichy* was brought out under the heading 'Institute Proceedings.' It shows why 'Munich foreshadowed the defeat of France' and why the policy of the country's rulers, which Georges Bonnet, then Foreign Minister, described as being designed 'to enable Germany to get stuck in the sands of the Danube, where she will find a war with Russia,' led to national catastrophe. There are many more people like Germaine Villard. Among those trained by the Institute are workers becoming researchers. In short, V. Joannes said, the Institute draws a wide range of people into its work and makes them its allies.

Like any other scientific institution, especially a Marxist one, the Thorez Institute cannot do without close and manifold relations with foreign research centers. A long-standing practice of the Institute is to study various problems in collaboration with the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC, CPSU, research institutions of the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, the Gramsci Institute in Italy, the Jacquemotte Institute in Belgium, the London monthly *Marxism Today*, and institutions of Socialist parties like the Socialist Research Institute I have mentioned earlier, the Labor Movement Institute in Amsterdam, and, needless to say, the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, V. Joannes added.

Yes, this journal has long maintained useful contacts with the Maurice Thorez Institute. That is why we follow the Institute's fruitful work with keen interest and why we wish that energetic team of French Marxists further successes. G. Shahnazarov
Paris-Prague.



Fatherland Front in the system of socialist democracy

Boyan Balgaranov

Socialist democracy follows from the very nature of the proletarian revolution and the new society it brings into being. This is only logical, for the working class, freeing itself from economic, social and political oppression, frees from it the broad masses of people. The working class and its party can fulfil their historic mission—destroy capitalism, build socialism and move on to communist self-government—only by having all working people actively participate in government.

'Socialism,' Lenin wrote, 'can be implemented only *through* the dictatorship of the proletariat, which combines violence against the bourgeoisie, i.e., the minority of the population, with *full* development of democracy, i.e., the genuinely equal and genuinely universal participation of the *entire* mass of the population in all *state* affairs and in all the complex problems of abolishing capitalism.' (Coll. Works, Vol. 23, p. 25).

Improving government on the principles of socialist democracy and skillful guidance of the creative effort of millions solve the cardinal political problem of ensuring steady socialist progress. Every deviation from socialist democracy to the right or 'left' weakens the links between the Communist vanguard and the masses, breeds difficulties, slows down social progress and may even jeopardize socialist development. Bulgaria's experience, too, shows that violation of the principles of socialist democracy discourages the activity of the masses and that a subjective approach to economic and social problems is harmful to socialist building. This is why the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in April 1956 decided on effective steps to do away with subjectivism and the personality cult, restore Leninist standards in Party and government and extend socialist democracy.

The political organization of our society today is characterized by the fact that the Communist Party plays the leading role, that government activity is combined with the activity of the Fatherland Front, trade unions, Young Communist League, cooperatives and other mass organizations, and that the rights and freedoms of the individual are expanding.

The Party strives for the harmonious development of every component of the socialist system. This is seen in its work since 1956 and, above all, in the documents of its latest congress, the Tenth. 'The main line of development of the socialist state,' says the new Party Program adopted by the Congress, 'is steadfast extension and perfection of democracy and active participation of the working people in government and in economic and cultural construction, as well as in efforts to improve the functioning of the state apparatus, and intensify popular control over it.' This means that our state – a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat – will steadily expand its social basis and increasingly transform itself into a state of the whole people.

The mass organizations, which unite the overwhelming majority of the people, have a most important share in this process. They must draw diverse sections of the population into socialist building, mobilizing them to implement the Party's policies, upholding their particular interests and heightening their socialist awareness. Cooperation between government agencies and mass organizations has become a constitutional principle in our country. The Party guides these relations in such a way as to ensure that at every stage of the advance to a mature socialist society democracy is carried forward and its forms perfected and that government activity is coupled with maximum initiative on the part of the masses and their organizations.

The Fatherland Front, a comprehensive socio-political organization, holds a special place in Bulgaria's political structure and in the system of socialist democracy.

1. Lenin predicted that in going over from capitalism to socialism every nation would impart a distinctive quality to the forms of democracy and the varieties of proletarian dictatorship.

The socialist revolution in Bulgaria produced a people's democracy as in a number of other countries after World War II. This form of people's rule in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism develops according to the principal laws typical of Soviet democracy but shows a number of peculiarities.

A distinctive feature of people's democracy in Bulgaria is the existence of the Fatherland Front, which helped to achieve popular unity in the fight for political power and strongly influences the functioning of the state and the development of socialist democracy now that we are building socialism.

The Fatherland Front was established by the Communist Party on Georgi Dimitrov's initiative during World War II. To accomplish this task, the Party drew on the ideological and political experience of previous years, when it had worked to bring about a broad popular front as an anti-fascist mass movement, a policy formulated by Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. The coinciding interests of the workers, peasants,

urban petty bourgeoisie, patriotic intellectuals and part of the middle bourgeoisie in the fight against German fascist domination and monarcho-fascist rule paved the way for extending the social base of the revolution. The Party took stock of the changed situation and reshaped its strategy and tactics. The struggle of the working class and other working people against capitalism, for socialism, merged with the struggle of the entire population against fascism and war, for democracy and national liberation.

The Fatherland Front became the political form of the alliance of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. Its program, drawn up by the Communist Party and announced on July 17, 1942, called on the people to keep Bulgaria out of Hitler's criminal and disastrous war, expel the invaders from the country, re-establish civil rights and freedoms, overthrow the fascist monarchy and set up people's rule.

It was a democratic program for the whole nation and it rallied together all patriots and the overwhelming majority of the people. It was supported by the sound forces of the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union and the Social-Democratic Party, the political Link group and leaders of the Radical Party.

The formation of the Fatherland Front and the rise of a broad anti-fascist national liberation movement were an example of successful application in our conditions of Lenin's idea that the proletariat needs to accomplish the revolution, an example of linking the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism.

Under the banner of the Front, the Communist Party roused the working people to revolutionary action, which with decisive help from the liberating Soviet Army resulted in overthrowing the hated fascist regime and in establishing genuinely democratic rule.

The socialist revolution in Bulgaria took place under the slogan of people's democracy and not Soviet power. In our conditions this made it easier to establish the worker-peasant alliance and neutralized a section of the bourgeoisie, some spokesmen for the bourgeoisie joining in the struggle on the people's side. Through Front tactics an extensive political groundwork was laid for people's democracy as a form of proletarian dictatorship.

The victory on September 9, 1944, did not exhaust the objectives of the Fatherland Front. A big problem that faced the Communist Party after winning political power was how to lead the working people, how to educate them and draw them into organized socialist building. Our Party remembered how Lenin formulated this task in December 1920. 'What matters now,' he wrote, 'is how to approach the mass, to establish contact with it and win it over, and how to get the intricate transmission system working (how to run the dictatorship of the proletariat)' (Vol. 32, p. 23).

The period after September 9, 1944 was one of rapid progress. It saw the Front stand the test of history as a mass movement of patriots building socialism.

Under the banner of the Front the Bulgarian Army went to war

against Hitler Germany and fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army to the complete defeat of fascism. Fascist organizations were abolished in accordance with the program of 1942. The framers of disastrous anti-national policies and the hangmen of the people were brought to trial. The monarchy gave way to a people's republic and a new Constitution was adopted. Industry and the banks were nationalized. We effected an agrarian reform and set out to rehabilitate and advance the economy. The result was deep changes in the economic and class pattern of society and further progress in the socialist revolution. We began to build socialism.

At a time of deep social change the Fatherland Front remained a militant movement of the people's progressive and democratic forces. Building socialism, on which the Party oriented the people, made it necessary for the Front to adopt a new, socialist program and master new forms and methods of work. It was essential to meet the exigencies of life, organize the masses in the fight for socialism and prevent or foil all attempts by home and international reaction to disrupt the people's unity and force Bulgaria off the socialist road.

Accordingly, Dimitrov proposed at the Front's Second Congress (1948) to transform the Front into a socio-political organization having its own Program and Rules and its local branches constituted on the territorial principle, elected leading bodies and a discipline binding on all the parties and mass organizations in it. From a political alliance of diverse parties and mass organizations the Front became the largest socio-political organization. This reorganization was one of the specific and distinguishing features of the Front.

The Front became a broad political platform linking the Party with the vast majority of the working people. It helped to mobilize the masses and lead them in the fight for people's democratic rule and in solving difficult problems of socialist building.

The Front's political activity made for closer links between the working class and economically, politically and socially heterogeneous popular forces. As a result, it was not long before even non-socialist political parties and organizations realized that only socialism could solve the country's problems.

'The Fatherland Front,' wrote Kimon Georgiev, head of the first Fatherland Front government and leader of the Link group, 'played the role of a genuine ideological and political school which, being led by the Communist Party, convinced the overwhelming majority of our people and our intellectuals that socialism was the only way to transform our country.'

It was then that the Social-Democratic Party resolved to merge with the Communist Party. The Link group and the Radical Party dissolved themselves. Their members joined the Fatherland Front, which offered them a vast field of activity. The Agricultural Union, a party with rich revolutionary and democratic traditions,

is helping to build socialism shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party.

At each stage of the country's socialist development the Party's Central Committee determined the Front's political role and tasks. The decisions it adopted in April 1956 were particularly important in this respect. They helped to defeat the concept that the Fatherland Front should become an appendage of the People's Councils and operate as an educational organization. After that meeting the CC passed a resolution specifying the Front's tasks in socialist construction.

In the period following the April 1956 meeting of the CC BCP, Bulgaria made rapid economic progress and laid the material and technical foundations of socialism. The Front gained ample experience and became an organization of the whole people uniting 3,800,000 members. It played a notable part in educating the working people and in bringing them into socio-political activity.

To set about building developed socialism, it was necessary to evolve a scientific concept of the ways and means of perfecting the management of public affairs. The July 1968 meeting of the CC BCP concentrated on this task, stressing the role and prospects of mass organizations as important media of socialist democracy. It pointed out that the Fatherland Front had yet to complete its mission. The Front remains a socio-political organization ensuring joint effort by Communists, Agricultural Union members and non-party people, the social mainstay of people's power and a school of patriotic and communist education of the masses.

The Front must unite the working people in support of the Party's general line, direct their effort in building socialism, help in fostering the people's ideological, moral and political unity, promote the education of the new man building socialism and contribute to the advancement of socialist democracy.

The July meeting also decided on allowing the Fatherland Front legislative initiative and on extending its control functions and its right to discuss important draft laws and decrees. The Front was recommended to revise the content, forms and methods of its work so as to bring them into greater harmony with its character and tasks. This reorganization took account of the immense socio-political changes brought about in the country over the decades of socialist development. It was found necessary for the Front to operate as a broad social movement while retaining the advantages of a political organization.

Acting on the recommendations of the Central Committee's July meeting, the National Council of the Fatherland Front critically analyzed its entire activity with the help of its regional committees and numerous activists. In May 1969 it used the results of its analysis to decide on reorganizing the Front's activity in line with Central Committee decisions.

Much was done to extend the Front's basis by adopting new forms and methods suitable for an organization of the whole

people. Excessive regulation of the work of Front committees and organizations was ended, which enabled them to show initiative. The people's participation in Front activities should not be prompted by statutory requirements alone but by interest in the measures carried out by the Front. The boundary separating the organized Front membership from the rest of the population is disappearing. The significance of this development derives from the new conception of the Front's place in government, from its increasing role, and the growing democratization of Front committees and organizations. In accordance with the Marxist thesis that the masses are the makers and motors of history, the object of the Front's influence should be the whole people and not only its own membership.

II. The fact that the main purpose of production under socialism is to meet the requirements of the working people more and more fully necessitates active and intelligent participation of the masses in government and in public life generally. The structure of socialist society affords an ample basis for this. Perfection of socialist democracy and strengthening the links between government agencies and the masses and their organizations are an objective development law of the new system. The activity of the Fatherland Front, whose political foundation is the alliance of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, makes for the working people's growing participation in social and political affairs, in government.

An important function of the Front is to organize elections to central and local government bodies. The Front, through which the people express their political will, proposes candidates for election to the People's Assembly and People's Councils and to the office of people's judge or people's assessor. It enables citizens fully to exercise their constitutional rights by discussing nominations and taking part in the election campaign.

The Front controls the activity of the people's deputies. It helps them and connects them with the masses, and when any of them fail in their duties it proposes recalling them. The right to recall deputies contradicting the people's will is a profoundly democratic principle first introduced by the Paris Communards to safeguard their revolutionary gains against possible abuses of power.

People's Councils or local state and popular self-government bodies, hold an important place in the system of socialist democracy. They implement the economic, social and cultural policies of the state at local level. Hence the importance of cooperation between People's Councils and the Fatherland Front, a cooperation which has taken shape in the course of history due to common political tasks. This cooperation, steadily being improved, fosters the development of People's Councils as democratic bodies. It helps to eliminate bureaucratic practices and administrative fiat, adds to the social significance of their work and helps to draw the people into the discussion and solution of social problems.

Relations and cooperation between the representative bodies and the Fatherland Front take numerous forms. Joint meetings of

local Front bodies and the People's Councils discuss and settle a wide range of questions of interest to the population. The Front systematically calls working people's meetings at which deputies report back and receive instructions for further activity. Polling the population on important problems facing the People's Councils is a particularly effective form of drawing the masses into government. It enables the people to take part with their proposals in the activity of People's Councils, in their policy-making, in the discussion and actual solution of problems agitating the people.

The working people also take part in the solution of problems concerning the whole country by discussing the drafts of important laws and decrees in mass organizations and the Fatherland Front. The theses of Todor Zhivkov's report on the proposed reorganization of government and economic management were discussed at 68,000 meetings and conferences that drew 3,200,000 people and produced 138,000 proposals. The draft reform of the educational system brought 85,000 proposals, thousands of people expressed their opinion before the new Family Code was adopted, and so on. The preliminary discussion of the draft of the new Constitution involved over three million people, who submitted 14,000 proposals. Thus the Front and other mass organizations are really becoming a powerful social base of people's power helping to combine representative with direct democracy and the state principle with the social principle. In this way it becomes possible to spot and analyze in good time every change in the sentiments of the masses and to discuss important political, economic and cultural problems before Party and government agencies decide on them.

Public control functions are highly important to the people's active participation in government. They are expressive of the democratic nature of our system. In the early years of people's rule the Fatherland Front and trade unions took part in exercising control over production and distribution. This made it possible to overcome postwar difficulties and exert revolutionary pressure on the capitalist sector with a view to curbing and eliminating it while hastening socialist changes.

In the period of socialist development, when the system of Party and government control was established, the Fatherland Front took charge of territorial people's control commissions on which tens of thousands of people elected by Front organizations are active. These public controllers help to reveal and remove shortcomings in various spheres. At the new stage of democratic development the Front's control functions have increased in accordance with the July decisions of the CC BCP. The Front now controls the operation of enterprises, public institutions and organizations in charge of public utilities, social maintenance and retail trade.

If necessary, Front committees set up special groups of experts and representatives of the public, many of whom are elected at mass meetings. These groups check on the operation of enterprises and submit their proposals to the managements concerned, to the

People's Councils and, if necessary, to the relevant ministries or the Council of Ministers. These check-ups and their results are widely publicized. By assuming these control functions the Fatherland Front has gained greater opportunities of helping, through public influence, enterprises whose operation has a direct bearing on the interests and requirements of the masses.

The Front also enables the working people to supervise the expenditure of funds raised through local taxation, which is a distinctive form of communal self-government. The working people themselves decide what should be done, where and how. The Front calls meetings which adopt decisions while the Executive Committees of People's Councils and the local Front bodies draw up and approve at joint meetings construction programs to be carried out.

The public control exercised by the Front in an effective method of encouraging criticism by the masses and their participation in the effort to improve the functioning of government agencies and the operation of enterprises. It helps to create an atmosphere of intolerance to shortcomings.

There are 5,993 comrades' courts functioning under the guidance of the Front in town and country. These courts do not pass sentences, the accent is on public reproof and education. This exerts a positive influence and helps educate those who take part in discussing various misdemeanors. Another form in which the public takes part in administering justice is the institution of social prosecutors and social counsel for the defense in state courts. Front committees and organizations also do much to combat anti-social phenomena, such as violations of law and order by juveniles.

The very nature and mission of the Fatherland Front have made it a school of communist education of the masses. As far as its composition and the forms and methods of its work are concerned, the Front is an organization of the whole people which influences every family and every citizen in the spirit of Party policy. Communists and non-Communists alike work in the Front, drawing ever closer together as they actively participate in social and political life. The Front's various initiatives educate people and may be said to enable both individuals and various sections of the people fully to contribute their share to social life. The Front has become the best socio-political form in which the Communist Party unites the efforts of all citizens in building socialism.

The Front's vast and diversified activities, which also extend to citizens outside it, make for the formation of communist-minded people devoted to the socialist cause. They mobilize the working people to implement the Party's policies and to establish and foster new social relations.

Prominent in this work is political education in the most varied forms, such as meetings, lectures and talks in residential neighborhoods and blocks of flats, as well as in the fields of cooperative and state farms; lecturing bureaus and people's universities; cinema lecturing bureaus; listening to the radio and watching telecasts by

groups, which afterwards discuss what they have heard or seen, and so on. The working people acquaint themselves with the history of Bulgaria, problems of socialist development, the Party's policy and tasks to be accomplished. They improve their knowledge of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and familiarize themselves with the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and the peoples who have cast off colonial oppression.

The Front's ideological work is also aimed at overcoming survivals of capitalism in people's minds and religious prejudices, combating bourgeois ideology and the imperialists' ideological subversion and fostering socialist patriotism and internationalism.

The Fatherland Front has among its collective members, as recommended by the CC BCP, the Committee of Bulgarian Women, National Peace Committee, Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam, Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and Temperance Committee, all of which retain their names and their organizational autonomy. Collective members of the Front are, in addition to the trade unions and Young Communist League, the Central Cooperative Union, Union of Production Artels and almost all mass organizations and creative workers' unions. Thus the Front encompasses the whole people, whose unity it embodies, and its manifold activities have assumed a greater scale than ever.

Front membership by committees and movements lacking local organizations makes it possible the better to coordinate work and avoid duplication. On the other hand, the fact that these committees and movements are backed by the organizational basis of the Front and by its activists and vast experience imparts a truly national character to their work.

Cooperation with these committees, movements and organizations has led to changes in the Front's methods. While retaining the character of a socio-political organization, the Front is at the same time becoming an organizer of movements involving the whole people, of political campaigns and actions of national and local significance. This is exemplified by the development of the movement of Bulgarian women, the nationwide peace movement, the movement for Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, and by the organization of national campaigns of solidarity with and aid to the peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism, for national and social liberation.

The Front's fruitful effort also extends to nationwide movements to help municipal development, aid to agricultural cooperatives at harvest time, environmental protection, and encouraging stock raising on household plots.

The 10th Party Congress spoke highly of the activity of the Fatherland Front. The new Party Program adopted by it states: 'The Fatherland Front, which holds an important place in our political system and has made an immense contribution to the unification of diverse sections of the people in support of the Party's policies, will develop as the broadest socio-political organi-

zation and as a nationwide movement. It will increasingly become the embodiment of the people's unity, of the alliance of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and a vivid expression of the joint effort of the Communists, the membership of the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union and non-party people, the broadest mass base of the Party and the people's power and a school of communist, patriotic and internationalist education of the people, a school helping to draw the masses into the management of public affairs. The Front should use forms of activity appropriate to a movement of the whole people.'

Building a developed socialist society makes it necessary to draw the working people into government on a growing scale. The important task facing the Fatherland Front today is to complete the reorganization of its work and remove the dividing line between Front members and the population at large. The greater the opportunities for public activity which the Front offers to every segment of the population, to all citizens, the more effectively it fulfils its role at this stage.

Socialist democracy is unthinkable without the hegemony of the working class and the leading role of its Party. The Bulgarian Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class and the people as a whole, has won its leading role through devoted struggle over a long period for the proletariat's cause, for the aspirations of the oppressed and exploited, for the interests of the whole people. The Party's policy, which correctly reflects the objective trends of the country's social development, has united the whole people, who are advancing along the socialist and communist path under its leadership. At every stage of its existence the Fatherland Front has helped to promote the leading role of the Bulgarian Communist Party, upheld and fostered the people's love for the Party and built up the unity and cohesion of the people behind the Party's policies. This is what prompted Todor Zhivkov to say that the Fatherland Front is our national achievement and asset.



Main revolutionary forces and their interaction

The concept of the three main revolutionary forces of our time – the socialist world system, the workers' movement in capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement – is firmly established in political usage.

Why 'main'? First, because they deal the main blows at imperialism and, in the final analysis, upon them depends solution of the pressing problems of our age and the refashioning and renewal of the world. That is not the only factor. There are also mass movements and political trends – anti-fascist, anti-racist, and peace-supporters, for instance, with a considerable revolutionary potential. But their success, in the final count, is tied to the victories of these three decisive forces of the world revolutionary process.

This article examines the modes and forms of their interaction in the fight for their own aims and against the common foe, imperialism.

But first, a few general methodological points.

Each of these forces has its own, specific aims, but working in concert they pursue common aims. Naturally, when one detachment of the army achieves its goal it thereby helps the advance of the others. The above division is, therefore, somewhat arbitrary. But for the purposes of our theoretical examination we differentiate between these two aims.

When we speak of the main revolutionary forces, we of course treat each as an integral whole, abstracting ourselves from its internal structure, though each is a highly complex social phenomenon. Thus, the socialist world system consists of states at differing development levels and at differing stages in building the new society. Much the same applies to the workers' movement in capitalist countries – a considerable part is influenced by Social-Democratic reformism. Furthermore, the parties that make up the international Communist movement differ in social composition, size, political influence, experience, etc. As for the national liberation movement, it is especially complex in structure, for it is composed of widely heterogeneous political trends.

Second in a series of popular articles for students of Marxist-Leninist theory; the first appeared in our July, No. 7, issue.

This inner differentiation, complexity and diversity should always be borne in mind if we are to avoid mistakes in theory and practice. For instance, when we say that the national liberation struggle has entered a new stage, this does not apply to every country of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It only denotes the direction of the movement's development, its historic trend as a whole.

And there is this to be kept in mind: the differentiation between the main revolutionary forces or, to use another term, streams, does not mean that they are separated by an insurmountable wall – if that were so, their interaction would be altogether impossible. Notwithstanding the qualitative specifics of the various revolutionary detachments, they do make up three streams which, in the final analysis, merge into one powerful force destined to demolish the old world and build a new, just society in its place.

For all the diversity and multiformity of the world revolutionary process, it has one ultimate aim. One or another revolutionary detachment can, today or tomorrow, attain goals differing in content and scope. But in the historical perspective all detachments contribute to achievement of mankind's overall goal, objectively prepared by the entire course of social development, namely, the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The revolutionary process is not merely the sum-total of actions of diverse forces. It is a law-governed process of history, and this is basic to the Marxist-Leninist approach to all the problems of the process. It provides a scientific criterion for understanding the *co-relation* of the main revolutionary streams, without which it would be difficult, if not altogether impossible, to speak of the concrete direction and forms of their interaction.

1. The place of each revolutionary contingent depends directly on its goals, on its social base, i.e., the classes and social strata aspiring to these goals.

Seen in this light, the socialist world system and the revolutionary workers' movement in capitalist countries are of one and the same nature: they share the same class origin, have the same protagonist, the working class, the same ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and the same end goal, socialism, communism. This is organizationally consolidated in the fact that the Communist and Workers' parties, whether directing the building of the new world in the socialist countries, or leading the workers' struggle in the capitalist countries, actively cooperate within the framework of a single international Communist movement.

This should not be taken to mean that the two are fully identical, for there are essential differences in their revolutionary struggle reflecting varying stages in the labor movement's development – before and after victory of the socialist revolution. And from this follow important specific features in the content, conditions and forms of activity of the two revolutionary forces.

Collective documents of the fraternal parties define the socialist world system as the main gain and creation of the international

working class. This accurately reflects the nature of relations between the two revolutionary forces. World socialism has its origins in the workers' movement and is its vanguard and most powerful detachment. As the revolution triumphs in one country after another, the framework of the socialist system expands and one revolutionary force evolves, as it were, into another, acquires a new quality, a new state. The proletariat's conversion from an oppressed and exploited class under capitalism into the directing force of a socialist country results, among other things, in a vast accretion of strength.

In other words, the socialist world system's vanguard role naturally stems from the objective fact that history has thrust forward this militant detachment of the revolutionary workers' movement to blaze the trail to the common goal. It possesses the greatest potential and makes the weightiest contribution to socialism's world victory. And the same objective factors determine the Soviet Union's role as the bulwark of the revolutionary movement.

The people of the Soviet Union, the first and mightiest land of socialism, have advanced to the foremost frontiers in building the new world: they have built a developed socialist society and are now laying the material and technical basis of communism. The fraternal parties also stress the immense authority of the Party of Lenin, the CPSU, with its vast experience in directing the mass revolutionary struggle and in creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory, a Party that is consistently fulfilling its internationalist duty.

There is the proof of life itself, of the anti-imperialist struggle, that, contrary to anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda, the Soviet Union's role in the world revolutionary process continues to grow.

This stress on the role of world socialism does not in any way imply underestimation of the other detachment of the international workers' movement. On the contrary, the sharper the confrontation between the two mutually-opposed socio-economic systems, the more important it becomes for mankind's future to develop the revolutionary workers' movement in capitalist countries. By perseveringly upholding labor's interests against capital, by intensifying its struggle and organization and by rallying other laboring classes and strata, the working class deals telling blows to the capitalist system from within, brings nearer the time of fundamental socio-economic change which, naturally, will result in major shifts in the international alignment. To this should be added that the mass democratic movement, of which the working class is the vanguard, plays an increasing part in preventing another world war and repelling imperialist aggression and in radically improving the international climate.

The socialist world system and the revolutionary working class are two parts of the same movement, sharing the same class nature and aims.

That, however, cannot be said of the national liberation struggle.

True, in the final analysis, it was brought into being by the same causes as the workers' movement, namely, capitalist oppression, which affects not only the laboring classes in developed bourgeois countries, but also imposes its colonial, semi-colonial or neo-colonial rule on the populations of whole continents.

The existence of a common enemy makes the workers' and national liberation movement natural allies. The former has a vital interest in abolishing all forms of imperialist expansion, for this not only accords with the socialist demand for freedom and equality of nations, but also weakens capital, limits its exploitation area, prevents it from prolonging its existence through plunder of economically backward countries. In much the same way, undermining monopoly omnipotence in the big capitalist countries – and even more so its revolutionary overthrow – facilitates rapid and relatively easier achievement of the national liberation movement's aims.

But for all that, there are substantial differences stemming from the social nature of the revolutionary forces. The working class always has a part in the national liberation revolution, is often one of its chief motive forces, but not the only force. By its very nature, this revolution, from the very start, involves the widest social strata, including the national bourgeoisie. It is more outward than inward, that is, has international connotations,* and, at any rate, in the initial stage, does not encroach on the existing form of property, production relations or distribution of material wealth.

And so allies, but only up to a certain point?

Seventy years ago, when the division of the world was completed and its imperialist re-division started, when the world had not yet felt the cleansing storm of October, when the gentry of the City of London had not the slightest doubt that their rule in India was safe and eternal and the Wall Street bankers planned expansion in prostrate China – in those days an affirmative answer seemed natural, even encouraging. Indeed, many Marxists looked at it that way. But not Lenin; he maintained that the alliance would not end at some preordained juncture. He regarded the national liberation struggle of imperialist-oppressed nations as the *ally of the proletarian revolution*, declaring that 'in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism. . . .' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482).

The fact of the matter is that, in joining the anti-imperialist movement, the 'lower' social strata of colonial and dependent countries are inspired not by some abstract ideas of national pride and prestige. They ardently hope that an end to imperialist oppression and the acquisition of national independence will fundamentally transform their position and will wipe out poverty, oppression and dis-

*Needless to say, the struggle for national independence presupposes routing the compradore, i.e., top local entrepreneurs, merchants, the feudal aristocracy and other groups who have thrown in their lot with imperialism and have betrayed the national interest. But though the struggle against them may be harsh, it does not constitute the main content of the national-liberation revolution, at least not at its initial stage.

franchisement. And that hope gives the national movement a profound social significance and an anti-capitalist orientation.

The record shows that Lenin's words have not only been confirmed, but have a much greater social impact. The changes that have swept the world have made development of the liberation revolution into social revolution not only possible, but inevitable. More, solution of a number of cardinal social problems is today intimately linked with the battle against economic and political dependence on imperialism. In most countries of Latin America, for instance, the anti-imperialist revolution is, at one and the same time, agrarian or anti-feudal.

Political independence signifies an abrupt turn in a nation's life. But it does not automatically resolve such vital problems as bridging the widening gap – in this age of the technological revolution – between the economically developed and under-developed nations. The latter can solve these problems only if they choose the socialist path, directly or through some intermediate stages. That this truth is gaining increasing realization and acceptance among liberation fighters is evidenced by the rise of a powerful socialist trend within the national liberation movement. For the existence of the socialist world system makes transition to a non-capitalist path of development an achievable reality. In the early stages the socialist system compensates, so to say, for the absence or immaturity of the proletariat in some of the newly independent countries. All this convincingly shows the political harm of attempts to contrast the liberation movement to world socialism by propounding theories about the center of the revolutionary struggle 'shifting to the national liberation zone,' 'revolutionary initiative passing to the peasantry,' etc.

Without essaying an in-depth characterization of the present stage of the national liberation movement, we can safely say that its dominant trend is rapprochement with the socialist world system and the revolutionary struggle of the international working class. And from this follows the constantly growing possibility of their interaction.

Marxist-Leninists, however, are alive to the fact that the national liberation movement is by no means homogeneous. There is a revolutionary wing committed to socialist demands, but also a fairly strong trend which, while opposed to imperialist domination, has not yet made its final choice in favor of one or another socio-economic system. With the sharpening of class contradictions and under the influence of foreign and domestic reactionary maneuvers, some developing countries gravitate towards the imperialist powers, not only economically but also politically, and the ruling local bourgeoisie becomes a variety of the international bourgeoisie opposed to the main revolutionary forces of our time.

There is also this to be considered: imperialism employs every means at its command – and this includes pressure, blackmail and political intrigue – to sever one or another contingent of the movement from the socialist world system and sow division between these

two revolutionary forces. These, too, are the tactics of local reaction which, in particular, exploits nationalist or religious prejudices to incite anti-Communism and provoke persecution of the Communists, the most consistent fighters for national liberation.

But all this, understandably, does not vitiate the movement's objective overall progressive trend; it only shows that it has to hew a road through difficulties and obstacles.

To sum up:

- Ours is the era of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, with the international working class and its Communist vanguard the main organized and motive force of this transition;

- The socialist world system is the most powerful and most advanced contingent of the revolutionary workers' movement, the natural bulwark for unfolding the struggle for national and social liberation wherever capital still holds sway;

- The future of mankind, the triumph of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism are being decided in the confrontation of the two world social systems, socialism and imperialism. And in this confrontation the socialist system, the revolutionary working class in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement act as natural allies.

II. These are general theoretical conclusions. What is their practical expression in relations between the main revolutionary forces?

The victorious socialist revolution, Lenin said, will exert its influence on international development largely by the *example* the new social system sets in economic and social achievement.

Having abolished social oppression and national inequality, having attained a high rate of economic growth, a steady rise in living standards, worker participation in the administration of public and state affairs, having achieved a flourishing culture - in short, having evolved a new social pattern, the peoples of the socialist countries inspire the masses throughout the world to fight the system of capitalist bondage. And it need hardly be proved that this example is in itself a very effective form of assistance to the revolutionary proletariat, for real socialism, now being built or already built, is the best corroboration of the truth of Marxism-Leninism and the achievability of its socialist ideals.

But, then, revolution is not performed by emulating an example. It comes when social antagonisms reach explosion point; it is the result of the exploited classes fighting their exploiters, that is, the result, chiefly, of internal factors.

But history furnishes ample proof that an example can greatly add to the momentum of a revolutionary movement. It would be hard to overestimate the impact on the rise and development of the liberation struggle of the Soviet Union's successful solution of the national problem. The fact is that in the lifetime of a single generation the former national outlands of the Russian empire, steeped in abysmal backwardness and poverty, have become flourishing republics with a high level of economic and cultural development and are in many respects away ahead of leading capi-

talist countries. These Soviet republics attract many from all parts of the world eager to understand the sources of this miraculous national resurrection and draw the necessary lessons.

It should be emphasized in this context that the influence of example is not confined to its emotional, in other words propaganda, impact. There is also the value of *experience*, which enables a nation to choose the correct path and avoid repeating the mistakes of others.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries place at the service of the revolutionary working class and all laboring mankind not only this invaluable experience of the discoverers of the new world, but also the *material and spiritual might* created by their heroic labor. This has made it possible now, when imperialism still disposes of large manpower and material resources, to solve such vital problems as countering attempts to unleash another world war, containing imperialist expansion, evolving favorable international conditions for the attainment and consolidation of national independence, etc. The Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries have a high concentration of intellectual forces, a cadre of competent intellectuals stemming from the people and dedicated to the socialist cause. And these parties bear the main burden in the ideological battle against reaction and make the biggest contribution to the creative development of the science of communism.

The continued growth of the socialist world system's strength, both by expansion of its own resources and by the affiliation of more countries and peoples, is, in the final analysis, the main direction of the entire revolutionary process. Closely linked with this is such an effective form of the interaction of the revolutionary forces as *direct economic, political and military assistance in the fight against imperialism*.

From the very early Soviet years, Lenin's Communist Party has considered it its sacred duty to give every possible support to the workers and laboring people of the capitalist world and to imperialist-oppressed nations.

In the socialist world this has become a tradition, and its support of the revolutionary movement has grown in scope and become more multiform. It finds expression in a consistent political defense of the revolutionary cause, in supplies of weapons to peoples battling imperialist aggression and of industrial equipment to help developing countries build up their own industry, in the training of skilled personnel and in many other things.

The value and significance of internationalist support can be clearly seen and palpably felt in Vietnam, whose heroic people are successfully repelling U.S. imperialist aggression with considerable political and material aid from the socialist countries and the entire Communist and national liberation movement. More than 150 major industrial units, some of them defense-related, have been built in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the past 16 years with Soviet technical assistance. About 10,000 Vietnamese are studying in universities or specialized secondary schools in more

than 50 Soviet cities. The leaders of the Vietnam Party of Working People have repeatedly stressed that the country's achievements in building socialism and beating back imperialist aggression are inseparable from Soviet fraternal assistance.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties drew this conclusion, among others, from its analysis of social development over the past decade: 'The successes of the heroic Vietnamese people are convincing proof that in our day it is becoming increasingly possible for peoples resolutely using all means to defend their independence, sovereignty and freedom and enjoying broad international support, to defeat imperialist aggression.' This is indicative of the new world balance of forces and of what the socialist world system means for the revolutionary movement. It gives considerable and varied assistance to other revolutionary forces, but it also receives valuable support from them.

The proletariat of the capitalist countries set a sterling example of internationalism in defending the young Soviet republic. Its actions are too many to be enumerated here. What has to be emphasized, however, is that internationalist working-class assistance is constantly increasing. And that is understandable: the working class is growing in numbers, exerts greater influence on other sections of the population, is much better organized, has attained a high degree of political consciousness, its revolutionary movement is led by experienced and battle-tempered Communist parties. All this has made the working class a much greater factor, with which public opinion and the ruling element have to reckon.

Of course, today, too, taking a principled internationalist position often calls for political and personal courage. Suffice it to recall how the French bourgeoisie hounded the Communists for going against the chauvinist hysteria and vigorously campaigning for an end to the war in Algeria. Or this example: a large segment of American opinion is now demanding an end to the war in Vietnam, but among the present doves, who needed years to see the light, are many who together with the hawks witch-hunted the Communists as 'traitors,' demanding that they be prosecuted for urging an end to this criminal imperialist aggression.

The national liberation movement, too, wields much greater influence. In the past, when it was only finding its bearings, it had little opportunity to influence the course of international events. The situation is different now. Dozens of Afro-Asian countries have broken out of imperialist tutelage, are consolidating their political independence and making a progressively bigger contribution to world peace and security and to collective efforts to curb the imperialist aggressors. It is also dealing more powerful blows at the rapacious imperialist system, thereby restricting the influence of the international monopolies. The past few years have seen a swelling wave of nationalization of oil, mining, industry and banking, all of which are being wrested from foreign-capital control. And now that they have more confidence in their forces, the developing countries are working actively in the United Nations and

other international organizations, where they meet with understanding and support from the socialist countries.

III. Central to the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was the question of united action of all the revolutionary forces against imperialism. Why was it found necessary to discuss this problem?

The growth of the world revolutionary movement has opened new vistas for cooperation by its component detachments. That was one of the reasons, an important one, why this international Communist forum analyzed these new opportunities and the means of bringing them to bear.

Another reason was the far-reaching changes in imperialism's counter-revolutionary strategy. In present-day conditions, imperialism's policy (notably foreign policy) is defined, to a larger degree than before, by its class struggle against world socialism, national liberation revolutions and the workers' movement. Events fully confirm Lenin's thought that 'the more victorious we are, the more the capitalist exploiters learn to unite' (Vol. 30, p. 450).

Lastly, the unity problem was discussed in order to find ways and forms of resolving the contradictions and difficulties that arise within the movement and tend to weaken the anti-imperialist front.

Cooperation of the revolutionary forces, their militant anti-imperialist alliance, does not presuppose mechanical identity of views on all questions, or blind duplication of actions. In certain circumstances contradictions and differences on one or another issue are not only possible, but indeed inevitable, for the anti-imperialist movement is made up of forces and political trends differing in social nature. Experience has shown that, given a correct approach, such differences are no impediment to close contacts between the main revolutionary forces and to united action on cardinal aspects of the struggle against imperialism and its policy of aggression.

While recognizing and emphasizing the need to reckon with the specific national conditions in which the various detachments of the world liberation movement operate, and while respecting their independence, Marxist-Leninists categorically reject all theories of national exceptionalism and all attempts to counterpose partial to general, short-range to long-range, and national to international interests.

We are living at a time when the principles of international solidarity acquire increasing importance and are becoming the recognized basis of unity of the revolutionary forces.

Unity never comes of itself. It always emerges around clearly formulated common tasks and is strengthened in joint action for their accomplishment. Today the anti-imperialist forces have a concrete program for an offensive against imperialism. The documents of the International Meeting analyze the role and prospects of the main revolutionary forces and define the main directions of their joint international action. And such action includes the

fight for peace, against the menace of a world thermonuclear war, for prohibition of nuclear weapons, with nuclear energy used exclusively for peaceful purposes; active solidarity with countries that have become the targets of imperialist aggression, and primarily with Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples upholding their independence; a stronger rebuff to the neo-fascist menace, exposure of man-hating racialism in all its forms and manifestations; the fight for democratization of public life in all capitalist countries, etc.

The International Meeting's far-seeing and realistic program of strengthening the united anti-imperialist front reaffirms anew that *in present-day circumstances only the Communist movement can be the core of this front, its organizer and inspiration.*

The Communists' vanguard role stems from objective factors. The Communist movement expresses the will of the working class, the most consistent fighter against imperialism. It represents the most influential political force of our time, uniting in its ranks more than 50 million people in virtually every country in the world. Last but not least, the Communist and Workers' parties are equipped with Marxism-Leninism, the only scientific theory of social development, which enables them to see the prospect of the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle and work out a correct strategy and tactics.

Their vanguard role imposes on the Communists a special responsibility for the common cause of the revolutionary forces. It should therefore be perfectly clear that united action against imperialism depends, above all, on strengthening the cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties and of the socialist world system. This calls for sustained struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunism, against all departure from the movement's revolutionary theory and internationalist traditions.

The 24th CPSU Congress and the recent forums of other fraternal parties have shown that the trend towards closer unity on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism is gaining in strength and scope. The presence of representatives of 102 Communist and Workers' parties, revolutionary-democratic and Left-Socialist parties at the CPSU Congress and of many delegations at the congresses of other parties was evidence of the revolutionary forces' will to unite in the battle for their common aims.

G. Khias

FACTS AND FIGURES

Socialist Countries' Share of World Industrial Output

1917	less than 3 per cent	1955	about 27 per cent
1937	less than 10 per cent	1969	about 39 per cent
1950	about 20 per cent		

With 18 per cent of the world's area and 10 per cent of its population, the eight CMEA countries account for approximately 33 per

cent of world industrial output, compared with 17.8 in 1950 and 28.4 in 1960.

The socialist states are helping developing countries build 2,424 economic units, including 45 in ferrous and non-ferrous metals, 584 in power and coal-mining, 136 in oil-refining and petrochemicals, 112 in building materials, and 209 in transport and communications.

The world proletariat numbered about 9 million in the mid-19th century, 30 million in the early 1900s and more than 540 million in the 1960s. Of the latter figure about 220 million are in industrially developed capitalist countries, where wage and salary workers make up 79 per cent of the active population.

Trade-union membership before World War I stood at approximately 15 million; the present figure is 250 million, of which more than 70 million are in developed capitalist countries. The World Federation of Trade Unions, which stands for proletarian internationalism, has an aggregate membership of over 150 million in more than 100 countries.

Number of Strikers, All Capitalist Countries

1965	36 million
1968	57 "
1970	64 "

World Communist membership is now about 50 million, of which 6 million are in non-socialist countries and over 3 million in developed capitalist countries, in which aggregate Social-Democrat membership stands at 15 million.

The Latin American proletariat, including agricultural workers and persons employed in the service industries, now numbers 48 million and plays a growing part in revolutionary processes. The proletarian vanguard, the Communist and Workers' parties of Latin America, now have a membership of 350,000.

Not a single resolution on Africa was adopted at the first UN General Assembly in 1946, and the Secretary-General's annual report contained only two lines on Africa. At the 16th General Assembly in 1962, 42 per cent of the report was devoted to Africa's problems, 20 per cent of the adopted resolutions directly concerned Africa, and another 12 per cent were in one way or another related to Africa's interests.

The 15th Assembly (1960) adopted, on USSR initiative, the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.



Ben Hai ablaze

Washington's propaganda line is that the U.S. was forced into the war in Indochina by 'Hanoi's aggression,' and its sole purpose is to safeguard democracy in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and consolidate their independence.

The secret Pentagon papers now published give the lie to that. They show that the men who run the U.S. unleashed this criminal war through provocation and intrigue and in total deception of the American people. That they are now trying to put the blame on each other is one more evidence of failure. Washington has spent about \$200 billion on the war, in which about 350,000 U.S. soldiers have been killed or wounded. But the imperialists have not achieved their purpose of imposing their will on the freedom-loving peoples of the three Indochina countries.

Washington has only one option: complete cessation of the aggression. The peace proposals the South Vietnam Provisional Revolutionary Government put forward on July 1, and which are supported by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, open the way to an early peace in Indochina. They spell out concrete steps to a political settlement: withdrawal of all U.S. forces by the end of the year, no more support for the Thieu puppet regime, a broad coalition government of national concord in South Vietnam, and general elections.

The PRG proposals are supported by the socialist countries, progressive public opinion and ruling circles in some capitalist countries. Many U.S. Congressmen consider them constructive. But the Nixon government has taken a negative stand. Its representatives in the Paris talks have put out counter-proposals which, in effect, cancel out the basic provisions of the July 1 program.

That the heroic Vietnamese people will prevail over the forces of imperialism and its servitors is beyond doubt. In the words of the Hanoi **Nhan Dan**: 'Our entire Party, army and people, closely united around the Party's Central Committee, are determined to fight and defeat the American aggressors and their helpers. We have full confidence in the correct, creative, independent and sovereign policy of our Party, the main factor in our people's victory. The destiny of Vietnam will be decided by the Vietnamese.' Referring to Washing-

ton's 'stepped up diplomatic perfidy in an attempt to impose its terms on Vietnam,' **Diaï Phong**, the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front paper, emphatically declared: 'Nothing will shake the iron will of the Vietnamese and other Indochina peoples.'

Indochina's fight against imperialist aggression, for freedom and independence, has been regularly reported in this journal. There have been several articles by the Polish writer Monika Warnenska: 'The War Comes to Cambodia' (No. 12, 1970), 'People's Will Stronger Than Bombs' (No. 3, 1971). In this issue Monika Warnenska describes her trips to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and South Vietnam.

I have been to Vietnam, a land ploughed by bombs and shells, and scorched by napalm, several times, and always I came back deeply impressed by the fortitude and bravery of its people.

I recall my trip to the Democratic Republic in 1968, four months after President Johnson announced 'curtailment' of the bombing. U.S. propaganda followed this up with the statement that North Vietnam would now enjoy the 'blessings of peace.'

True, there were practically no more alerts in Hanoi. There were children in the streets, still not very many, returned from evacuation. I saw girls in red blouses. This was something now, for there had been a strict ban on bright-colored clothes. The ban was still in force in the southern area where the bombings continued.

Johnson was succeeded by Nixon, who likewise promised early settlement of the conflict. That promise has not been kept.



Wreckage of U.S. plane.

In late autumn 1969, I was back in the DRV to find a new situation, witness a new chapter in the long history of the war. And in this just war for the country's future the North is the 'great hinterland' for the 'great front' in the South.

So far, there could be no question of rebuilding such North Vietnamese towns as Thanh Hoa, Vinh or Dong Hoi destroyed by U.S. air attacks. All the efforts of the local authorities and the population were centered on increasing agricultural and industrial output, on growing a big harvest.

We spent the night in a peasant cabin near the demarcation line between the DRV and South Vietnam, which runs along the Ben Hai River. We were given precise instructions about the nearest bomb shelters. This was not superfluous, for next day the South Vietnam strip along the river was attacked by Flying Fortresses. For three days the Americans kept both shores under a constant shower of poison gas and fluids that cause headache, spasms and blood vomiting.

A few lines from my notebook:

'... Constant drone of aircraft. Columns of smoke obscuring the clear sky. AA guns again in action. More enemy planes appear ...'

Also these notes on a talk I had with local officials in Vinh Linh province:

'Not a single tree more than two meters high remains in the demilitarized zone. Treetops have been clipped off by shell fragments. The birds, of which there used to be so many, have disappeared.

'Bombings continue in spite of all the U.S. promises to stop them. People are being killed. American defoliants are destroying our fields.



Bumper harvests help victory.

'The enemy wants to turn a ten-kilometre strip along the demarcation line into a zone of death. But we "cling to the earth" and even in the most difficult times evacuated only children and old people.'

I learned that U.S. planes were regularly dropping mines on Vinh Linh and neighboring Quang Binh province. Some of them are

disguised as matchboxes, others as plates, still others as leaves the size of a man's hand. These 'leaf mines' are painted green or the color of the earth, and are not easily detected in the rice paddies, the grass or the low shrubbery.

U.S. air pirates also use light-weight mines, which explode on contact with anything weighing more than two kilograms: it is enough for a child to step on one . . .

I was in Saigon in the spring of 1970. It was all too obvious that the reactionary Thieu clique was being maintained in power by American bayonets. The city was like a fortified camp. Speculation, inflation, black-market traffic in foreign currency and drugs, widespread prostitution – these were the main characteristics of life in Saigon. Military posts and barbed wire were frequent sights on the streets. All buildings occupied by the Americans had high steel netting, even the windows, against grenade attacks. The U.S. Embassy had all the hallmarks of a fortress and the people named it 'Bunker's bunker.'

There were no major Liberation operations in Saigon in 1970. But not a week passed without attacks on the Americans and their hirelings. There were rocket raids on military installations. The reactionary government is virtually under siege. 'President' Thieu's palace is ringed by armed patrols and tanks. Nevertheless, mass demonstrations approached the palace on several occasions.

There were several strikes in Saigon when I was there – municipal workers, civil servants, even U.S.-employed personnel. This was indicative of public discontent with the economic chaos and Thieu's policy of obediently following the instructions of his American paymasters.

And there was this significant detail: many demobilized servicemen, among them invalids, marched in the protest demonstrations. Rather unusual, I thought, for ex-soldiers to oppose the government they had fought for. But I was soon to learn that there was nothing unusual about it. The government they had fought for wanted to pack them off to the villages. They refused, because there was fighting in the villages, where the peasants support the Liberation forces. Besides, in Saigon there was a better chance of finding work and a place to live in. Thieu ordered the police to demolish their make-shift houses. There were clashes with the police. I saw policemen using their clubs and tear gas against war invalids. They resisted fiercely, with stones, poles, even using their crutches.

The Saigon youth – students and senior class schoolboys – have an active part in the fight against the U.S. invader and his servitors. Young Buddhist monks and people from all walks of life can be seen in the protest demonstrations.

One day I decided to visit the Cambodian Embassy, occupied by students in protest against Thieu's alliance with General Lon Nol's reactionary regime in Cambodia. The students fought back one police assault after another. But I did manage to visit the

university medical school where I talked to many students released from prison 'on probation.' They told me they had been tortured by the police.

When I left Saigon for the DRV, all the schools in the city were closed. The police were using poison gas against student demonstrations. Just before I left I was told that National Liberation Front leaflets and Ho Chi Minh's last testament had found their way into the main Saigon prison. This, too, was clear evidence of the vast influence of revolutionary and liberation ideas in South Vietnam.

June 1970. A short visit to Hanoi and then to the shores of the Ben Hai, a river ablaze.

Entries in my notebook:

'The Kuet Tien (Forward) hamlet, part of the Li Ninh state farm, was severely bombed. It used to house rubber plantation workers. Only one cabin remains. U.S. aircraft dropped fragmentation bombs, some fused for delayed action, and napalm, also used 20 mm cannon and rockets, killing 12 adults and 20 children, ages 2 to 7 – one of the bombs hit a kindergarten.

'In Quang Binh and Vinh Linh I collected samples of America's latest mass-destruction weapons – fragmentation bombs, about the size of an orange, now have a plastic mechanism to make them more deadly. I also inspected the type of artillery shells used in day and night attacks on Quang Binh and Vinh Linh provinces. The Americans have adapted the shells for use against civilian populations: their cone-like segments are filled with steel darts. I met wounded fishermen, victims of this devilish invention. Then there is the "tropical tree": a cigar-shaped bomb the upper part resembling a bush. Dropped from a plane, the "tree" sings into the rice paddies and footpaths, while the brown-colored plastic leaves seem to grow out of the earth. A transistor mechanism reveals the presence of people and directs the plane to its target.'

Aren't the Vietnamese tired of fighting?

I was asked that several times. Of course, they are tired, very tired, after years of facing death, years of superhuman nervous strain. But the Vietnamese patriots are determined to win through and eject the aggressor from their land. When I first visited Vietnam ten years ago, I watched children enjoying their New Year toys. In 1970 these boys were now in uniform, fighting the enemy. New generations are joining the struggle against the neo-colonialist invaders, and there can be no doubt that victory will be theirs.

Monika Warnenska

Semantic transmutations

Specialists have long since noted the transmutations in the language of the chiefs of that small yet influential tribe inhabiting the banks of the Potomac. In their utterances simple and clear concepts, such as 'peace,' 'freedom,' 'public interest,' and the like, acquire shades of meaning undetectable to less distinguished fellow-countrymen (whom we shall henceforth refer to as Americans), and even to linguists. In fact, their language has become more a riddle than that of the ancient Mayas.

Specialists have also noted that the most drastic transmutations occur after a tribesman becomes the High Chief (whom we shall henceforth refer to as President). Take Harry Truman. When he was a mere Senator, his language was utterly clear. When Germany attacked the Soviet Union, he urged aid to Hitler if Russia should be winning and aid to the Red Army if the Germans should gain the advantage. 'And that way,' he said, 'let them kill as many as possible.'

On moving from the Capitol to the White House, his language changed. Hundreds of thousands of civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki were wiped out by the atomic holocaust loosened, ostensibly 'to save American lives,' though at that point the days of the Japanese military machine were obviously numbered. And in the case of People's Korea, too, Truman mounted the aggression under the skyblue UN flag, never publicly admitting his purpose of fighting communism.

Similar linguistic transmutations may be observed in all the other U.S. Presidents. Yet for years there had been no one on either side of the ocean to uncoil the convolutions of presidential semantics. Then, at least, someone appeared: Professor Daniel Ellsberg dug up and decoded the Pentagon archives. Reading his findings, Americans discovered with a shock, for example, that coming from the White House the word 'peace' did not connote absence of war between states, but the very opposite. They learned, too, that when the President referred to 'provocations against U.S. armed forces in the Gulf of Tonkin,' he really meant that the said armed forces were poised to commit an unprovoked aggression against a sovereign Asia state.

Americans learned volumes from Professor Ellsberg's invaluable study, but certainly far less than everything. His scholarly research was terminated by the country's judiciary. And, besides, the purportedly free capitalist press, touted for extreme modesty, shied from drawing attention to the disparity between the words and deeds of the President in office. That is why this journal set out to fill in the blanks and decode some of President Nixon's recent utterances. The results are presented below.

**UTTERED BY THE PRESIDENT,
BROADCAST OVER THE RADIO,
TV, AND/OR REPORTED IN
THE PAPERS.**

WHAT THIS REALLY MEANS

Apropos 'positions of strength'

If all the world were free, we might have no need for arms. If all the world were just, we would have no need of valor. But as we see that the values we cherish are not cherished universally, and that there are those who feel threatened by the prospects of freedom and justice, then we must keep the strength we need to keep the values that we cherish.

If all the world were in capitalist chains, we might have no need for arms. If all the world accepted our diktat, we might have no need for fighting. But as we see that the dollar we cherish is not cherished universally, and that there are those who feel that American diktat threatens their freedom and independence, then we need to maintain our policy of aggression and hem in the freedom of the peoples.

Apropos the Vietnam war

The long and agonizing ten-year-old armed conflict in which American participation is now winding up, is part of our national tradition to stand by free countries threatened by aggression.

The dirty ten-year-old war in Vietnam which we cannot win, is part of our imperialist tradition of meddling in other people's affairs in order to protect corrupt regimes from popular wrath.

Apropos withdrawal of U.S. troops

It will be necessary for us to maintain forces in South Vietnam until two important objectives are achieved: one – the release of the prisoners of war held by North Vietnam in North Vietnam and other parts of Southeast Asia, and two – the ability of the South Vietnamese to develop the capacity to defend themselves against a communist takeover.

Once these two objectives are achieved, then the total American withdrawal can be undertaken and will be undertaken.

It will be necessary for us to maintain forces in South Vietnam until two important objectives are achieved: one – the release of our beaten soldiers, held as prisoners of war, and two – the ability of the Saigon regime to develop the capacity to suppress the wish of the people yearning for a democratic system.

The first objective is attainable, but not the second one. That is why the total American withdrawal in the foreseeable future is but a formula to pacify the public.

Apropos the Middle East conflict

In this area the question is whether or not the United States will

In this area the question is whether or not the United States will

impose a settlement in the Mid-East. And the answer is no. We will do everything that we can to urge the parties to talk. We of course will be there to see that the balance of power is maintained in the Mid-East.

prevail on Israel to abide by the UN resolution and withdraw her troops from occupied territories. And the answer is no. We will do everything that we can to prevail on the Arabs to give up their land. We of course will be there to see that the aggressor should have a military advantage.

Apropos relations with capitalist countries

In the era of American predominance we resorted to American prescriptions as well as resources. In the new era, our friends are revitalized and increasingly self-reliant while the American domestic consensus has been strained by 25 years of global responsibilities. Failure to draw upon the growth of others would have stifled them and exhausted ourselves.

In the era of our sway over the capitalist world we handed out 'aid' and spelled out our terms. At present, our rivals are revitalized and increasingly self-reliant while American domestic consensus has been strained by our endless interference in other nations' affairs. If our capital does not gain a hold on other nations' economies, our rivals will oust us from world markets.

Apropos the balance of world strength

In the era of overwhelming U.S. military strength we and our allies could rely on the doctrine of mass retaliation. In the new era growing Soviet power has altered the military equation. Failure to adapt to this change could lead to confrontations which pose an agonizing choice between paralysis and holocaust. Strength that served the cause of peace during a period of relative superiority needs new definitions to keep the peace during the period of relative equality.

In the era of our atomic arms monopoly we could rely on the doctrine of deterrence and on atomic blackmail. The grown military power of the Soviet Union has altered the military equation. Failure to adapt to this change could lead to nuclear retaliation, which would be the end of us. No longer are we as all-powerful as we were, which makes it harder to follow our aggressive, imperialist course. We must therefore expand our military strength.

Apropos relations with socialist countries

In the new era we see a multi-polar communism marked by a variety of attitudes towards the rest of the world. Failure to react to this diversity is to ignore new opportunities for improving relations.

We go out of our way to exploit each crack in the communist wall and drive in a wedge. In so doing, we prefer presidential courtesy visits, ping-pong diplomacy and similar political soundings to more direct methods.

Apropos the U.S. scene

When we look at government performance in this country today, when we listen to the discouragement and disgust which so many Americans have come to feel about all governments, we can sense the urgent need for government renewal on a revolutionary scale.

In short, the times demand decisive action. They demand a new American revolution to move us by giant steps towards Lincoln's ideal that America should have a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

You know that the Declaration of Independence remains a living force in this nation.

Apropos inflation

Because there are times when economic freedom must be protected from its own excesses, I will continue to use the power of my office to persuade business and labor to act responsibly in making further progress against inflation. Fighting inflation is not just government business, it's everybody's business.

Apropos the FBI chief

I can only say this, that with regard to Mr. Hoover, I would ask the editors of the nation's papers to be fair about the situation. He, like any man, who is a strong man, an able man, who has led this Bureau for so many years, has made many enemies. But we can also be thankful that in the Federal Bureau of Investigation he has developed an organization which is recognized throughout the world as the best

When we look at my government's performance, when we listen to the discouragement and disgust which the vast majority of Americans has come to feel about the alternating Democratic and Republican governments, we can sense the urgent need for drastic measures against malcontents.

In short, the times demand decisive action. They demand eliminating the remnants of bourgeois-democratic freedoms and moving away from Lincoln's ideal that America should have a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

You know that the Declaration of Independence remains a dead letter in this nation.

Because there are times when unrestricted freedom of capitalist exploitation must be protected from the people's wrath, I will continue to use the power of my office to compel labor to abandon its just demands for higher wages. Fighting inflation is not government business or the business of businessmen; it must be done at labor's expense.

I can only say this, that with regard to Mr. Hoover, I would ask the editors of the nation's papers not to badger that strong and revengeful individual. Having led the FBI for nearly 50 years, he has developed a magnificent organization for intimidating and suppressing dissidents, to say nothing of the exhaustive briefs compiled on every political figure in America. We can also be thankful that the FBI functions

law-enforcement agency in the world.

He has been non-political. He has been non-partisan.

uninterruptedly and is recognized as the best law-breaking agency in the world.

Hoover could not care less who happens to be in the White House – for he is feared by all.

Apropos the President's fondest wish

Often I am asked what single thing above all others I would rather accomplish as President. I always give the same answer – the answer I give you tonight: I want peace for America. Not just in Vietnam, but in the Middle East, in Europe, in the world, and not just peace for our time, but peace for a generation, a full generation of peace, something Americans have not known in this century.

Often I am asked what single thing above all others I would rather accomplish as President. The answer is evident from my deeds: I want complete and uncontrolled American mastery everywhere. Not just in Vietnam, but in the Middle East, in Europe, in the world, and not just in our time, but for all time, which is something Americans have not yet known.

A Summing Up: President Nixon is a known admirer of Harry Truman's oratory. Recently, he recalled one of the ex-President's most edifying aphorisms – 'If you cannot stand the heat, get out of the kitchen' – and added: 'I have always been in the kitchen, and I am there now.'

May the reader be the judge of the political hash that comes from the presidential kitchen. All we did was pepper it. And a bit of pepper never harmed a dish, though bringing out its specific flavor.

Johnny Lafter

WANTED -- BACK ISSUES

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Marxist and non-Marxist socialism

Rostislav Ulyanovsky

Surveys of non-Marxist socialist trends published in this journal arouse legitimate interest. A scientifically and politically sound approach to them is a prerequisite for solving the highly important problem of the attitude of the working people's vanguard, which is guided by a scientific socialist ideology, to large sections of the population still largely influenced by non-Marxist political programs and theories.

It was only natural that the issue of the journal introducing critical comments on non-Marxist socialism should carry an article on socialist trends in Asian and African countries. These trends are widespread there and play a decisive role in the politics of some countries. As a general rule, they play a progressive, anti-imperialist and revolutionizing part, which sets petty - bourgeois democracy in Asia and Africa apart from that prevailing in the Old and New World.

As far as the developing countries are concerned - and in this, too, they differ from the capitalist countries of Europe and America - the strong influ-

ence of non-Marxist socialist trends, which are mainly anti-imperialist and democratic but tend in varying degrees to accept petty-bourgeois or consistently socialist ideas, is an objective phenomenon inevitable at this stage.

Economically, politically, socially and ideologically, the Afro-Asian countries, including the more developed of them, are an ocean of petty-bourgeois trends. This is due to the immense numerical predominance of the peasantry, among whom a process of class differentiation is going on, and the urban petty - bourgeoisie, the two classes making up from 80 to 90 per cent of the population. Petty - bourgeois spontaneity there manifests itself all but unchecked. Petty-bourgeois ideology, which usually has a nationalist and anti-imperialist spearhead and religious overtones, dominates the thinking of the masses in one form or another and will evidently do so for a long time to come. The peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie have a vast field of activity. Many Afro-Asian countries still lack forces mature

enough to lead these social strata, the bourgeoisie and the working class have yet to dissociate fully from the petty-bourgeois environment and are generally weak and unprepared to lead. This is the distinctive social characteristic of the countries that have not yet become capitalist. They already include a group of countries in which the petty bourgeoisie in power attacks capital and rejects capitalism.

1. For Marxists there is no question of what is better – Marxist or non-Marxist socialism, what is based on illusions and what is the future of mankind. The authors of 'Afro-Asian Concepts of Socialism' (see this journal, June 1971) are basically correct on this point. We do not think, however, that the argument should stop there.

What is the role of diverse – often thoroughly different – trends of non-Marxist socialism in the revolutionary process of today? How should Marxist-Leninists treat them? We believe this is a challenging problem which is all the more relevant because an enormous variety of trends of socialist thought have spread through the developing countries. To tackle this problem, it is important to ascertain the socio-political substance of the stage through which the countries that have freed themselves from colonial dependence are passing, as well as the outlook for their subsequent progress.

Unfortunately, the article mentioned above failed to give adequate attention to this question and left out the issue

of non-capitalist development in Afro-Asian countries. We realize that its authors did not propose to deal with every aspect of the vast theme broached in their article. Nevertheless, trying to analyze the problem of non-Marxist socialism on these continents in isolation from the prospects of non-capitalist development is hardly justified and we would like to contribute our share to its discussion.

The authors believe that 'national liberation revolutions have become part and parcel of the world proletarian revolution.' Strictly speaking, this is inaccurate and hence wrong. Lenin spoke in this connection of social and not *proletarian* revolution, for he drew a sharp distinction between the two. Every *proletarian* revolution is a social revolution, but not every social revolution is *proletarian*. The statements quoted by the authors show that, for Lenin, the colonial peoples' fight for national independence was part of the world revolutionary process, an important factor in the social transformation of the world, but not part of the world *proletarian* revolution. The socialist revolution and the national liberation movement are two revolutionary streams objectively destined to be allies and having a common enemy, imperialism, and common interests. They have inexhaustible possibilities of cooperation and new prospects, for as Lenin predicted, the national liberation movement, having begun to fight for political independence, inevitably turns, if it is consistent and revolutionary, against imperialism in general,

and in the final analysis against capitalism as well. This prompted Lenin to call for 'combining' the two revolutionary streams, as the authors rightly stress. However, to describe the national liberation movement as part of the proletarian revolution does not mean combining but identifying the two streams, overlooking the qualitative determinacy of the components of the world revolutionary process and, consequently, of the tasks facing each of them.

The attitude to non-Marxist socialism in Asia and Africa is largely determined by realization of this connection between the national liberation movement and proletarian revolution. If the former is part of the latter then non-Marxist socialism is unacceptable in principle and must be rejected, for in that case it amounts to infiltration of the proletarian socialist movement by notions foreign to genuine, or scientific, socialism. If, on the other hand, the national liberation movement as one of the streams of the social revolution has a general democratic character and is a movement of the masses against imperialism, feudalism, monopoly and reaction, then the existence of non-Marxist socialist trends is perfectly logical. Some of them – the revolutionary democratic ones inspired by the subjectively socialist aspirations of the proletarian and non-proletarian masses and their foremost leaders – influence and will influence, occasionally in decisive measure, the adherents of social progress and revolution.

Thus every estimation of non-Marxist socialist trends in de-

veloping countries should proceed from a qualitative assessment of the moment of historical development and, accordingly, of the strategic objective of the movement. This is the basis for all likely theoretical divergences in approaching both the problem of non-Marxist socialism and the national liberation movement as a whole. It is the watershed between the Leninist forces and the line which objectively leads to isolation of the proletarian vanguard, as practice shows.

This is the problem solved in Leninist terms by the modern Marxist concept of the non-capitalist way. It implies that the political forces and countries that have chosen the non-capitalist way are oriented on socialism and are headed for socialism but are not building it as yet because the objective and subjective social, economic, cultural and political prerequisites are still lacking. The non-capitalist way at this stage means carrying out far-reaching general democratic changes in a consistently revolutionary manner, with socialism as the long-range goal. Development on these lines, far from raising more obstacles to the subsequent transition to the socialist stage, paves the way for it. Leadership in effecting non-capitalist changes is provided by national-revolutionary democrats, who generally have a radical petty-bourgeois origin. They do not follow Marxist-Leninist ideology in its entirety even though they have borrowed much from it and have learned much. Most important of all, many of them show, under the impact of his-

torical development, a willingness to learn, to continue drawing nearer to scientific socialism.

Non-capitalist development is neither universal nor obligatory for *all* Afro-Asian countries. But insofar as this transitional stage has become a historical reality in some of them and is the main prospect of social progress for them, it is historically inevitable that revolutionary national-democratic ideology in one form or another should play a decisive and, moreover, progressive role there for a long time to come.

The authors of the article proceed from the assumption that non-Marxist socialism is a product of real self-delusion or deliberate deceit. They therefore consider that it has to be overcome and speedily at that, in accordance with the general acceleration of historical development. They assign a decisive role in defeating unscientific notions of socialism, and of the fortunes of Asia and Africa generally, to combining the working-class movement with socialism. There is no question that socialism on these continents will be built on the basis of combining scientific theory with the working-class movement. But anyone who stops to think of the steps that Afro-Asian countries can take towards socialism today will see the need to go beyond the postulate of combining scientific socialism with the working-class movement, though this is a task of tremendous, indeed decisive importance. The working-class movement in most Afro-Asian countries is too weak, too poorly organized and too closely connected with its petty-bourgeois environment, while the

positions of scientific socialism are not strong enough to warrant counting on them alone.

A realistic, revolutionary approach to the matter reveals that socialism must very often be built, not out of the ideal material that an advanced working class alone can be, but of poor material that objective reality puts at the revolutionaries' disposal. In regard to most Afro-Asian countries this means that the first concrete steps towards socialism can be taken with the support of the non-proletarian masses, the peasantry, proletariat and semi-proletariat. These masses objectively cannot, for the time being, master scientific socialism as a complete ideology. But since they are spontaneously drawn to socialism and actually oppose capitalism, they can be gradually led to an understanding of scientific socialism. Marxists bring out and foster the shoots of genuine socialism in petty-bourgeois concepts that will probably persist in Afro-Asian countries for years (we feel that the article in question minimizes their influence over the population). We believe this is the right line to follow. It proceeds from the idea that national democratic parties, above all their Left-wing groups, can, after starting from non-Marxist national socialism, advance towards scientific socialism and, in the course of struggle and of overcoming contradictions, finally adopt it.

It is this possibility of moving from Left-wing national socialist trends to scientific socialism that should never be underestimated, as is done when non-proletarian socialist trends in

Afro-Asian countries are described as quests for a 'third' or 'middle' course between socialism and capitalism.

II. To get a clear picture of the numerous ideological and political trends in Afro-Asian countries that subscribe to socialist slogans, it is necessary to classify them scientifically. The article under review gives some interesting facts, such as the transformation of a revolutionary nationalist platform into a revolutionary democratic or reactionary bureaucratic one. It furnishes a satisfactory explanation of the political evolution in a number of countries, specifically Indonesia. However, we regard the classification offered in the article as too fragmented, somewhat imprecise and not always consistent in taking account of the class meaning of the phenomenon. Thus, for example, the authors for some reason class the 'reactionary bureaucratic' trend as a petty-bourgeois socialist theory and not a bourgeois one. The geographically and chronologically wide range of ideological and political trends examined in the article and the inclusion, along with modern trends, of trends that were their pre-history and groundwork, but now are a thing of the past, made difficult their systematization. We have the impression that this attempt at classification does not take into proper account what has already been done by Marxist authors.

The criterion of scientific classification of socialist theories is, needless to say, their class meaning. Now that numerous countries have a real opportu-

nity to choose their development path, the class meaning of ideological and political trends stands out in the key question: which of the two dominant world systems, socialism or capitalism, does the political platform concerned lead to?

Taking this criterion as a starting point, we believe we may list the following, three main trends in the non-proletarian socialist theories current in Asia and Africa:

1. National reformism, which resorts to 'socialist' concepts and slogans to disguise bourgeois trends and uses apologetic theories of the West European and American bourgeoisie, occasionally in combination with Right-wing, so-called 'democratic socialist' concepts. What national reformism opposes is not capitalism as such but nineteenth-century capitalism only. It conceives of socialism mainly as achieving economic progress through government control. Furthermore, it frankly sets itself against scientific socialism. Representative of this trend is, in our view, the ideology of a number of ruling parties, such as those of Senegal, Kenya and certain other African countries.

2. Modern petty-bourgeois utopian socialism, which sees social justice as application of the principles of primitive communal communism to contemporary society. What distinguishes peasant utopian socialism from national reformism is loyalty to the people's ideals and the principle of 'universal equality,' intolerance of manifestations of social injustice, sharp criticism of modern capitalism from subjectively socialist positions, and

rejection of bourgeois reformist illusions. On the other hand, it is far from seeing the real ways of establishing social justice or from appreciating the role of scientific concepts. It rejects scientific socialism, alleging that its theory and practice of class struggle and of the proletariat's leading role do not fit into the distinctive conditions of Afro-Asian countries. The spirit of class struggle is said to be alien to their peoples, who can, therefore, build socialism on the basis of 'national unity' and the tradition of communal life.

Petty-bourgeois utopian socialism is intrinsically contradictory. Allegiance to the ideals of social justice and hatred for capitalism urge it towards scientific ideas of the revolution. On the other hand, a distrustful, and occasionally a semi-hostile, attitude to Marxism-Leninism makes for close links with national reformism. One of these trends invariably gains the upper hand, with the result that petty-bourgeois utopian socialism loses its qualitative identity, and fuses with other ideological and political trends. Marxist-Leninists have an interest in its spokesmen evolving towards scientific socialism.

A model of this evolution is supplied by the ideology of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). The Arusha Declaration, adopted early in 1967, acknowledges the existence of class struggle in Africa and the class character of political power under socialism. It marked TANU's shift towards national revolutionary democracy.

3. The ideology of national or revolutionary democracy is the

most progressive Left wing of national socialist trends in Afro-Asian countries. Strictly speaking, it is rather inaccurate to describe revolutionary democratic ideology as national socialism, for it is a trend for which the framework of fetish-like notions of the exclusiveness and distinctive quality of the ways of national historical development is becoming too narrow. National democracy accepts some postulates of scientific socialism. It recognizes the universal character of class struggle and identifies socialism with working people's power. National democrats are consistently anti-imperialist and call for struggle against both foreign and home reaction.

The above classification makes it possible, in our opinion, to define the position of diverse non-Marxist socialist trends in Afro-Asian countries on the fundamental issue of development paths. National democracy declares for non-capitalist development. National reformism prefers capitalism. Petty-bourgeois utopian socialism is an intermediate trend typical of the political forces that have yet to make their choice and specify their program.

This classification is not an absolute, of course, nor should the trends in question be regarded as separated by an impenetrable wall. Actually they have much in common, which means that fairly rapid changes of policy from one trend to another are likely. They are united by certain common anti-imperialist goals and by traditions of national history, in particular the tradition of the liberation

movement. All of them are strongly influenced by petty-bourgeois notions constituting to a degree their common ideological basis, that will probably dominate every search for ideological and political solution in Asia and Africa for many years to come.

For all that, revolutionary democratic ideology holds a special place in the politics of developing countries. To be sure, borrowing various Marxist propositions and interpreting them in a peculiar way are nothing novel in the history of ideas. But never before has this process gone as far as today, never has it had so beneficial and revolutionizing an effect on the national liberation movement nor determined its main trends as now.

The revolutionary democrats' views are not quests for a 'third way.' National democracy embodies those forces in Afro-Asian countries whose finest spokesmen champion non-capitalist development and a socialist orientation. These forces are the ruling parties in the UAR, Syria, Somalia, Guinea, Burma, the People's Republic of the Congo and some other ruling or opposition parties. The national democrats are a revolutionary force which is aware that in our time progress is impossible without definite steps towards socialism, which boldly takes these steps, is capable of resolute action of not only an anti-imperialist but an anti-capitalist nature, combats bourgeois conciliating trends and comes close to the positions of scientific socialism on a number of fundamental issues.

In terms of present and future interests, the important thing is not so much the fact that national democracy is still a non-Marxist trend as its actual fight against imperialism, against capitalism as a social system, and the revolutionary democrats' constructive effort to build a new society. This is what determines the Marxist attitude to revolutionary democratic programs and parties.

The vista of non-capitalist development brings to the fore the problem of unity and militant alliance of Communist and the national democratic parties.

Of course, every alliance implies reciprocity. Political struggle leads and will continue to lead national democrats to the conclusion that, as far as their progressive aspirations are concerned, the Marxist-Leninists are their only reliable ally. To weaken this alliance means weakening the whole front of progressive anti-imperialist forces. Hence it would be logical to expect that those leaders of the national democratic movement who want to preserve and promote its revolutionary content will go back on their distrustful and suspicious attitude to the Communist parties of their countries and recognize the legitimacy of their existence and development as an ideologically and organizationally independent political force which, however, is their ally and friend. One can hardly remain loyal to the ideals of revolutionary democracy and yet oppose the class-conscious proletariat and its party.

Anti-Communist measures carried out in a number of coun-

tries, unquestionably make it difficult to achieve mutual understanding between Marxist-Leninists and national democrats, between progressive forces generally. Even when they are temporary, these measures affect both the substance of national democracy and the course of the national liberation revolution. However, proletarian parties do not yield to emotion but proceed from objective class analysis.

'It would be a profound error,' Lenin wrote in July 1917, 'to think that the revolutionary proletariat is capable of "refusing" to support the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks against the counter-revolution by way of "revenge," so to speak, for the support they gave in smashing the Bolsheviks, in shooting down soldiers at the front and in disarming the workers. First, this would be applying philistine conceptions of morality to the proletariat (since, *for the good of the cause*, the proletariat will always support not only the vacillating petty bourgeoisie but even the big bourgeoisie); secondly – and that is the important thing – it would be a philistine attempt to obscure the political substance of the situation by "moralizing" ' ('On Slogans,' *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 186).

A militant alliance with the national democratic movement necessitates flexibility on the part of Marxists and an ability to assess national democratic parties without bias, according to their actual deeds and in terms of the future, not of the past, and ability to distinguish between the diverse trends and currents

manifest in them and establish contacts and mutual understanding with them on various levels.

In a number of countries, national democratic parties are ruling parties playing the leading role in the national liberation movement and in non-capitalist development. The problem of leadership is not solved – and this applies to Communist and national democratic parties alike – by declarations about who plays or should play the leading role but by the actual position of the parties concerned, by their ability to gain support among the masses, to win their confidence.

Obviously, the Communists' alliance with national democrats is not a fusion, it does not mean their losing their independence, nor is it unconditional. It is an alliance against imperialism and reaction, against bourgeois national reformism and petty-bourgeois opportunism – on which neo-colonialism draws for support – an alliance aimed at promoting genuinely socialist trends within the framework of national democracy. While remaining entirely loyal to the scientific theory of socialism, Communists help to rid the masses of the elements of utopian, supra-class notions that still characterize national democracy. They combat the national democrats' inconsistency and their tendency to compromise.

This alliance does not imply that there are no contradictions between Communists and national democrats. However, the fight against imperialism, for democracy, demands that existing contradictions should not be pushed into the forefront at this

stage. As for the future, it may well be that these contradictions will go without having reached a critical point nor become antagonistic. This will depend on both sides, on correct united front tactics and a principled and yet flexible line on the part of the Communists. This alliance is not a passing development but a long-range and lasting perspective. It came into being at the

general democratic stage of the national liberation revolution. To continue and consolidate it at the socialist stage would fully meet the objective requirements of social progress. This is, to our mind, one of the most important theoretical and practical aspects of the problem of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the revolutionary democrats' non-Marxist socialism today.

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'Superpowers': a false concept

1. They say Winston Churchill was asked by newsmen shortly before his death what he thought the world would be like in ten to fifteen years. The patriarch of British imperialism replied, or so one hears, that it would be like a circus ring with two elephants moving about, shaking their tusks, while the other performers were at pains to avoid being trampled down by the giants.

The story may have been invented by bourgeois press wits. The fact is, however, that quite a few politicians and ideologues today see world politics as a circus ring intended for the battle of giants, except that the metaphor ascribed to Churchill has become a political quasi-doctrine. We mean the fashionable concept of 'superpowers' based on the idea of a 'bipolar world' bossed by two 'superpowers.' It belongs to the vocabulary of imperialist, and not only imperialist, propaganda.

The concept of 'superpowers' is used above all by bourgeois politicians and ideologues. Small wonder, since it has the birthmarks of the system whose spokesmen fathered it. It squares perfectly with the ideology of

the exploiter society governed by the principle of domination and subordination and, in politics as in other fields, by jungle law, or the law of force. The concept of rivalry between the two 'superpowers' is particularly convenient for imperialist politicians also because it enables them to camouflage the aggressive nature of their policy. 'Confrontation' of the two giants is described as a cause of the present international tension and war menace. Speaking in Birmingham, Alabama, on May 25 last, President Nixon called the Soviet Union and the United States rival countries whose rivalry was fraught with the potential danger of conflict.

From the thesis of rivalry between the 'superpowers' bourgeois politologists deduce the theory of the 'balance of fear,' which supposedly serves to preserve peace and justifies the arms race. They represent the U.S. policy of stockpiling arms as the natural reaction of a 'superpower' which wants to prevent its rival from striking a fatal blow.

However, the concept of 'superpowers' is not part of the political vocabulary of imperial-

ist forces alone. We have already said in this journal (November 1970) that it was echoed, for example, at the conference of non-aligned countries in Lusaka, Zambia, which might have been expected to make a deeper social analysis of the balance, nature and political objectives of world forces. These objectives are entirely different and, indeed, opposed. Yet from some statements made at Lusaka one might think that the world outside the non-aligned countries has one color.

The balance of fear between the superpowers brings no peace or security to the rest of the world, said the Lusaka Declaration, whose authors must have known that in reality the Soviet Union and other socialist countries condemn and reject the imperialist 'balance of fear' theory and have never based their policy on it but sought international security through greater co-operation between states, big and small alike. The same indifference to the substance of phenomena must have prompted the Lusaka conference to call for a resistance fight against all military alliances and pacts of the great powers in general. Yet today even those who know little about politics realize that there are alliances and alliances, that there is a world of difference between, say, the aggressive NATO alliance and the defensive Warsaw Treaty, and that treaties between great powers can be useful provided they are aimed at promoting peace and stopping the arms race and take into account the interests of all nations.

As it occasionally happens, an

attempt was made to couch the new-fangled bourgeois concept in pseudo-Marxist terms. Thus the formula of 'two superpowers' was supplemented by the theory that there now exist two imperialisms and not one and that they try to establish their supremacy over other nations through either 'collusion' or mutual struggle. This fantastic allegation was carried by the Peking newspapers *Jenminjihpao* and *Chiehfangchunpao* and the journal *Hungchi*, in a long article last June. 'Today,' the article said, 'U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism (sic) — those two superpowers — wrangle between themselves, but at the same time they make deals and pursue a hegemonist policy in a vain attempt to partition the world.'

It follows that the idea of 'superpowers' is interpreted in different ways depending on its advocates' interests. However, all interpretations disregard the difference between the two great powers and equate their political objectives.

II. Bourgeois politologists use the term 'superpower' at every turn, but none of them has ever taken the trouble to spell it out with reasonable accuracy. Indeed, the concept is deduced from the mere existence of powers commanding immense military and economic might. All social, political and other factors are ignored. This looseness and vagueness makes it easier for the imperialists to mislead people by suggesting the entirely false idea that U.S. and Soviet policy have a common denominator.

When we think of the real meaning of the term 'superpow-

er,' we cannot help supposing that bourgeois politicians have coined it by analogy with Superman, that hero of American comics who has extraordinary strength and just as extraordinary contempt for everyone and readily uses force and arbitrary methods. These are qualities of U.S. imperialist policy. The cult of force, a recklessly aggressive attitude to small and weaker countries, an insatiable desire for dollar expansion and attempts to settle international affairs by diktat and pressure are attributes of Washington's foreign policy.

Post-war history abounds in outbreaks of this 'superpower' frenzy of U.S. imperialism: the war in Korea, the rape of little Guatemala, the intervention in the Dominican Republic, the attempts to strangle revolutionary Cuba. The existence of aggressive blocs formed by the United States and of U.S. military bases in every part of the globe, total air espionage and flights over foreign territory by U.S. bombers carrying atomic weapons, are self-explanatory. In recent years, the hand of U.S. imperialism has been felt wherever acts of aggression were committed against freedom-loving peoples and reactionary coups took place. The greatest crime of the United States is undoubtedly the continuing aggression against the Vietnamese people and other peoples of Indochina which has resulted in laying waste large areas of a flourishing region and in killing hundreds of thousands of people. U.S. imperialism is also responsible for the suffering of Arab peoples because it gives its unqualified support to the

Israeli aggressors' annexationist policy.

To return to Churchill's statement, it is probably fair to say that the role which the United States plays, or tries to play, in the world arena has something of the behavior of an elephant ready to trample down anyone who gets in its way.

But if the United States is a 'superpower' and this term is a mere alias of the most rapacious imperialist state, where does the Soviet Union come in? True, the world's first socialist country, like the United States, has an extraordinary economic and military potential, but all similarity between the two powers ends there. The enormous might brought into being by the Soviet people in building socialism serves entirely different ideals and objectives. It furthers the cause of socialism, democracy and peace and is the main barrier to U.S. expansion.

Post-war history is punctuated with constructive political moves by the Soviet Union. Soviet might and technological achievement struck the U.S. policy of nuclear blackmail a crippling blow. The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties described the growing economic, political and military power and peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as a decisive factor in heading off a new world war. The existence of the socialist commonwealth created favorable external conditions for dozens of countries to throw off colonial regimes. But for this, the disintegration of colonial empires would have taken much longer and exacted much greater sacrifice.

No one has a right to forget that the Soviet Union has borne the brunt of resisting U.S. imperialist claims and helping peoples under attack. How could the heroic people of Vietnam have held out against the strongest imperialist power so successfully had the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, not helped them in every way? And surely revolutionary Cuba would have been unable to weather the U.S. blockade without Soviet support. What about the Arab nations? What would *their* fate have been had the great country of victorious socialism failed to come to their aid?

Every aspect of Soviet foreign policy fully meets the interests of peace- and freedom-loving nations. It is a policy in line with the UN Charter and international law and has nothing to do with a 'positions of strength' approach, hegemonism or great-power chauvinism. The Soviet Union advocates strict observance of the principles of equality and sovereignty of states. It always proceeds in close contact and complete agreement with its allies of the socialist community and invariably maintains that all countries of the world, big and small alike, have rights and interests that must be respected.

Even this necessarily fleeting comparison of the international role of the Soviet Union with that of the United States shows up the bourgeois concept of 'two superpowers' as spurious, as a concept intended to veil rather than elucidate the meaning of world political processes.

The Soviet Union, one of the great powers of our time, is a

living negation of the 'super-power' idea, in both theory and practice. The Land of Soviets counters imperialist adventurism and irresponsibility with constant efforts to maintain peace among nations, foster international cooperation, eliminate seats of war and stave off new armed conflicts. This will be admitted by anyone who has carefully read the program for peace and security put forward by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

III. Is there, however, a real problem of a special role of the Soviet Union and United States in international affairs? If so, what is it?

Contrary to what proponents of the false concept of 'two superpowers' affirm, this role is not determined by the 'similarity,' let alone 'community,' of the Soviet and U.S. positions, but by a *fundamental difference* between them. One has to know nothing about the *class approach* to social phenomena or renounce it to ignore the key fact of today, namely, that the two great powers belong to opposite social systems, the United States being the main country of the capitalist world while the Soviet Union is the leading state in the socialist world. To ignore this difference means misrepresenting today's world and its contradictions beyond recognition.

The main contradiction of our epoch is that between socialism and imperialism and not at all the clash of particular interests of the Soviet state with the interests of another mighty power. This fundamental contradiction extends to international relations. The contest is not between

'superpowers' but between two opposite social systems embodied by the United States and the Soviet Union. No Marxist worth the name will deny the class division of the present-day world nor substitute the issue of rivalry between two giants – said to be equally indifferent to the destiny of the rest of the world – for the problem of the historical contest between the two systems.

It is interesting to note that where the anti-imperialist movement is particularly strong and has one of its main fronts, the class character of the overseas monopolies' 'superpower' leaves no room for illusions. *Nhan Dan*, the central newspaper of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, wrote on July 22 last that U.S. policy 'demonstrates the absolutely reactionary and bellicose nature of U.S. imperialism, that international policeman, the most dangerous enemy of the peoples of the world.'

But whereas the United States in today's world performs the function of a policeman trying to stamp out the struggle for freedom and to safeguard the capitalist system, the historic function of the Soviet Union is entirely different. Soviet power is the backbone of the socialist commonwealth, a bulwark of the freedom and independence of all peoples and, first of all, the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries. Every liberation struggle, the 1969 Meeting noted, has irreplaceable support from the world socialist system, primarily the Soviet Union. No one knows this better than the U.S. imperialists who, ever since the October Revolution, have regarded the

Soviet state as their main enemy.

Those who speak of 'two superpowers' seem to shut their eyes to this. They are generally very inconsistent and switch with striking facility from panicky cries about the danger of a clash between the 'superpowers' to equally panicky warning against 'collusion' between the Soviet Union and United States. The latter bugaboo is dragged out whenever the Soviet Union starts talks with the United States and other capitalist countries to find peaceful solutions for pressing international problems.

Yet the Soviet Union abides by the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of countries irrespective of their social systems. These principles provide for combining active anti-imperialist struggle with a constructive policy of strengthening international cooperation and averting a thermonuclear world conflict. This policy has already borne tangible fruit in the form of a certain international detente, of important international agreements, such as the partial nuclear ban treaty, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons or the demilitarization of outer space. The Soviet government negotiates openly with the United States before world opinion and promptly supplies information on the purpose of the talks, without ever creating an atmosphere of secrecy or sensation around them.

Needless to say, the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence implies neither 'reconciliation' nor 'collusion,' to say nothing of a 'convergence' of the two systems. Nor does it militate

against the further growth of the revolutionary liberation movement, as post-war developments have shown.

iv. When probing into the underlying reasons for an action, people usually ask themselves who profits by it. We, for our part, may ask this question in view of continuous attempts to equate U.S. and Soviet foreign policy.

To lump together U.S. and Soviet policy is undoubtedly profitable to aggressive imperialist quarters in the United States, to those who bear full responsibility for world tensions. By describing the Soviet Union as the same type of 'superpower,' a state pursuing the same kind of selfish aims, these quarters try to 'pass the buck,' at least partly. This is also profitable to the reactionary forces outside the United States opposed to the idea of a collective security system in Europe and a peace zone in Asia. They suggest to the masses that everything depends on the 'superpowers,' the United States and the Soviet Union, and there is no point in trying to resist them.

Lastly, the concept of 'two superpowers' is a godsend for anti-Communist propaganda, which uses it to allege that, contrary to Marxist theory, the socialist revolution cannot alter the nature of the state nor its great-power ambitions.

Everything is clear as far as spokesmen for the imperialist, reactionary camp are concerned—their political calculations are obvious. It is not so easy, however, to understand why people calling themselves opponents of

imperialism and supporters of socialism, or even the 'most consistent revolutionaries,' join in the chorus of bourgeois propaganda on the issue of 'superpowers.' After all, the anti-Soviet object of peddling this concept is, plainly, to sow distrust inside the socialist commonwealth and divide it, as well as to poison its relations with newly-established states. This is the purpose, in particular, of the attempts to make small and medium countries as suspicious of Soviet policy as they are, and rightly so, of the imperialist intentions of the United States. This subversion is designed to split the anti-imperialist front, distract its attention from the real danger and lead it onto the wrong track.

We need hardly say how dangerous it is to yield to this kind of sentiment whatever the motives or the temporary advantages it may afford. The reactionary bourgeoisie readily welcomes those who would like to take a stand somewhere between the contending forces, far from the worldwide class conflict, and promises them every manner of benefit. But this is a perfectly hopeless policy today. 'No progressive class force can be equidistant from either camp,' Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, told *Rinascita* last May. The concept of 'superpowers,' which blunts anti-imperialist sentiment and misleads people, was firmly opposed by General Secretary Gus Hall of the CP USA. He wrote in the *Daily World* that 'to compare a socialist country to U.S. imperialism, in any sense, is a service to U.S. imperialism' and

that American Communists were against 'any concept that in any way blurs over the class approach to all problems.'

Seamen have an old legend about a huge graveyard of wrecked ships thrown together by waves and currents in the Sargasso

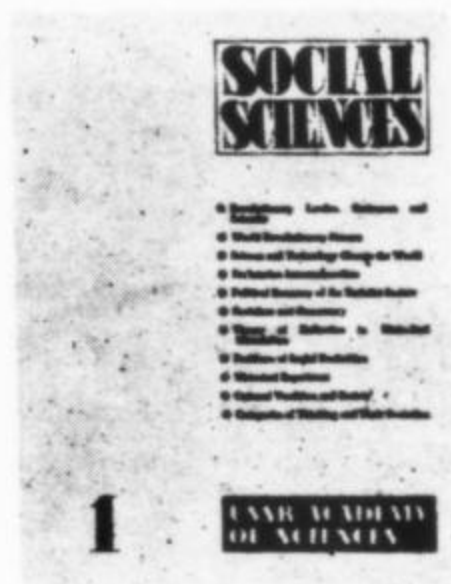
Sea. There is probably a no smaller dump of false concepts wrecked by reality, of bankrupt political ideas and reactionary doctrines defeated by the facts.

It is to be hoped that the 'superpowers' concept, too, will soon be consigned to the scrap heap.

Jan Prazsky

new from the ussr

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The following article by a noted British historian is in reply to a request from reader Charles Forman in Michigan, USA, for an account of the Third Congress of the Communist International, held 50 years ago, in the summer of 1921.

Third Congress of the Communist International

Andrew Rothstein

The Third Congress of the Communist International (22 June-13 July, 1921) occupies a quite exceptional place in the history, not only of the Communist International, but also of the Communist Parties which made up the International.

At the First Congress (Lenin wrote to the German Communists in August 1921) the Communists proclaimed their principles to the whole world. At the Second Congress they had created the organizational structure of the Communist International and decided on the conditions of membership—separation in practice from the centrists, direct and indirect

agents of the bourgeoisie inside the working-class movement. Now at the Third Congress, on the basis of hard practical experience, fearlessly recognizing that it had shown the army of Communists throughout the world to be still 'poorly trained, poorly organized,' they discussed and decided how to prepare more carefully and more thoroughly for every kind of struggle, offensive and defensive, on the road to their principal aim—winning over to their side the majority of the proletariat.*

*Lenin, *Letter to the German Communists* (Collected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. 32, pp. 520, 521). Where not otherwise stated, all quotations are taken from the daily *Bulletin of the Third Congress of the Communist International* (June-July, 1921).

By the middle of 1921 the forces of revolution, which seemed to be steadily challenging the old order in Europe a year before, had been halted by a series of defeats for the working class in a number of countries. When the Third Congress assembled it was clear that these defeats had become part of a worldwide bourgeois counter-offensive.

The turning point had been the reverse suffered by the Red Army in its advance on Warsaw (August 1920). In September the vast Italian workers' movement occupying the factories was broken by the reformist trade union leadership – after which, with weapons supplied by the army leaders and the cooperation of the police, Fascist gangs began systematically destroying the buildings of trade union, cooperative and Socialist organizations and murdering their activists. In Britain a strike of over a million miners failed to gain support from the other unions in the 'Triple Alliance' (railwaymen, miners and transport workers), which not only limited the wage improvements gained, but emboldened the Lloyd George Government to introduce, for the first time in peacetime, an Emergency Powers Act granting it unlimited dictatorial powers (October 1920). The great strike movements in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia had been broken by government repressions – including the suppression of the Yugoslav Communist Party and progressive trade unions (December 1920). In Germany, in March 1921, the bourgeoisie with the approval of the Social-Democratic leaders had deliber-

ately provoked a proletarian rising in Central Germany, which had been bloodily suppressed with direct Social-Democratic cooperation. That same month rebellion against the Soviet power, raised at Kronstadt by the declassed elements in Baltic warships and local factories, was supported by Menshevik and Anarchist emigrants as well as by the White politicians abroad. In April the locked-out British miners were again on 'Black Friday' betrayed by the leaders of the other unions in the 'Triple Alliance,' which encouraged employers in other industries to widen the offensive, while the government used the opportunity to attack the Communist Party. Everywhere in the capitalist world unemployment was rising.

The capitalist counter-offensive could not however overstep the frontiers of the country where the proletariat, in the words of the *Communist Manifesto*, had now for over three years been 'organized as the ruling class.' The insurrection of November, 1920, which established Soviet Armenia, and that of February, 1921, which established Soviet power in Georgia, the signature of treaties of friendship with Afghanistan (February 25, 1921), Iran (February 26) and Turkey (March 16) were as much defeats for world imperialism as the crushing of the Kronstadt rebellion in March. And tacit acknowledgment of this – as well as of the strength of Soviet power which enabled the Russian Communist Party, at its 10th Congress (March 1921), to carry out un-

der Lenin's guidance the historic turn to the New Economic Policy – was embodied in the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement signed that month, the first of its kind in peacetime since the October Revolution.

Nevertheless, it was the temporary subsiding of the revolutionary tide, the more aggressive and more experienced offensive of world capitalism, and the conclusions which the Communist Parties had to draw for themselves from these facts and from their own experiences, which were the dominant theme for the 605 delegates from 103 organizations in 52 countries (48 of them Communist Parties) who gathered in Moscow for the opening of the Third Congress. And foremost in their discussions even before the Congress began was the question of the change in outlook and methods of working dictated by the stern fact that the proletariat was now fighting in essence defensive battles. In this situation it would only lead to bloody defeats to imagine that proletarian revolution was knocking at the door, merely waiting for a bold summons from the Communists, and that that summons could only take the form of preparation for insurrection.

The Communist Parties would have willy-nilly to take account of the fact that, after all the vast upheavals since the war, they had, taken together, roughly 760,000 members (not counting the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) while the Social-Democratic parties of various types had eight million members between them, and their

leaders were closely linked with the reformist leadership of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) which had a membership of 22 millions. It was above all a question now of Communists learning from their reverses as well as from their successes, how to carry on mass work – particularly and first of all in the trade unions – in defense of the economic interests of the workers, in defense of the social and political achievements gained since the war and now under attack – and thus to prepare the working class for the greater battles essential for the overthrow of capitalism.

Events during the struggles of the previous twelve months had shown that there existed, in and around the Communist movement in a number of countries, very marked resistance to any such turn of policy and tactics. To some extent it sprang from a deep-rooted sectarian 'leftism,' which despised – and at bottom feared – the humdrum work of leading the masses in struggle for the everyday demands which they, the masses, were making. In the main, however, such resistance came from large numbers of workers with revolutionary instincts who had awakened to political life after the October Revolution and in the first months after the end of the war, when it seemed that only an energetic and fearless push would be sufficient to overthrow the tottering capitalist regime.

Lenin had warned against this trend a year before, in his famous work *'Left-wing' Communism – an Infantile Disorder*,

published at the time of the Second Congress of the Communist International. But at that Congress it had been necessary to direct the main fire against the opportunists who were trying to establish a foothold in the International—and although a good deal of argument with the ‘lefts’ took place there (notably the Communist Labor Party of Germany),* they were nevertheless able to continue to propagate their views under cover of fire against right and ‘centrist’ elements. In this they had received indirect support from some members of the Executive Committee of the International, notably Zinoviev, Bukharin and Radek, who had continued to see the main danger as coming from the right, and in particular had strongly criticized from this standpoint an *Open Letter* of the German Party leadership to other working-class organizations in their country, offering joint struggle for the workers’ everyday needs, for the disarmament of counter-revolutionary organizations, the setting up of workers’ self-defense, etc. (January 1921). This letter had aroused widespread support, not only among German workers but in other parties (the British party, for example, gave many pages in its theoretical and political monthly to the Letter and to the controversy which it aroused). Lenin, for his part, had written with strong approval to the main defenders of the letter, Clara Zetkin and Paul Levi, and

*An ultra-left party, joined the Comintern in November 1920 with associate status.—Ed.

had condemned the attitude of ‘our “lefts”’.*

However, the question of the ‘lefts’ became particularly acute on account of the March rising of the miners in Central Germany, into which the Communist Party had courageously thrown itself even though far from adequately prepared. Hundreds of Communists had paid with their lives or their freedom for their part in the struggle. But sectarian elements dominant in the leadership of the Party had seen the rising as the signal for general insurrection by the German proletariat; and the defeat of the rising brought out, in the inevitable discussions, the existence of right wing tendencies in the leadership of the Party as well.

Nine meetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held between June 10 and 20 (with participation of many delegates who had arrived for the Congress), discussed questions of right wing opportunism, and of centrists who did not want to break with it, still existing in several parties—all the time with the problem of ‘left’ sectarian reactions against these trends not far in the background.

Thus on the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a prolonged debate took place on mistaken views voiced by its veteran leader Bohumil Smeral, (while putting forward the idea that the Czechoslovak party was already strong enough to seize power, at the same time he considered that the Czechoslovak

*Which subsequently did not prevent Lenin insisting on Levi’s expulsion from the Party for gross violation of Party discipline.—Ed.

proletariat would be isolated if it did so, and should wait until revolution had taken place elsewhere*). In this debate 'left' critics took the opportunity to denounce the Czechoslovak party, and Smeral personally, because they did not advocate immediate preparations for armed struggle. Lenin in a short intervention said that opportunist mistakes should not be the excuse for proposing 'left' stupidities. 'There is only one way to hinder the victory of Communism in France, Britain and Germany: it is to commit leftist stupidities.'

This was the guiding thought that dominated the debates at the Congress.

The agenda of the Congress, adopted at its second working session, was as follows: (1) the world economic crisis and the new tasks of the Communist International; (2) the report of its Executive Committee; (3) tactics of the Comintern; (4) tactics of the Russian Communist Party; (5) the trade union movement, the cooperatives, the women's movement, etc.

Almost on every question there came up the issue of the strategy and tactics of the Communist Parties – and particularly of the struggle against 'left' errors as well as right wing opportunism.

In the debate on the world economic crisis (9 speakers) the 'lefts' soon showed their trend. A Polish delegate (Brand) discerned in the report an indica-

tion that 'the Communist International intends to fight our enemies not only with statistics, but also with the sword.' A delegate from the German Communist Labor Party (Ziman) said it was not necessary to demonstrate that capitalism was doomed, only to discuss 'decisively' how to overthrow it. He declared that the plans of the 'united capitalists,' British and German, to find an outlet for their goods in Russia, and Russian needs for reconstruction, might 'injure the interests of the revolution and of progress.' A third (Pogany, Hungary) said that the 'Keynote' (leit motiv) of the Congress resolution on this question 'should be civil war and crisis.' This found support in a speech by Thalheimer (United German CP),* drawing the conclusion from the report's insistence on taking advantage of every opportunity for defensive struggles that the prospect it opened up was one of 'tranquil decline of capitalism.'

In spite of these criticisms, the Congress delegates by an overwhelming majority accepted the report in principle.

There followed two main reports, the discussion of which turned in the main on the same essential principles – the report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the report on tactics. No less than 40 took part in the debate on the first, and over 30 on the second. The problems of the movement in Italy, Germany, France and Czecho-

*Lenin criticized this suggestion at a meeting of German, Polish, Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Italian delegates on 11 July, 1921. (*Complete Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 44, pp. 60-61).

*Founded in December 1920 by merger of the CPG and the left 'Independents,' who accepted the 21 conditions of CI membership.—Ed.

slovakia occupied the principal place.

The Italian question revolved around the refusal of the most prominent leader of the Italian Socialist Party, Serrati, to carry out the decision of the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920—to which the party had affiliated in 1919—that there must be a break with the open reformist wing, led by Turati. As a consequence, the center at the Livorno Congress of the Italian Socialists (January 1921), led by Serrati, with 98,000 votes, had refused to support the Communists, which cast 58,000 votes for a break with the reformists; the latter had only 14,000 votes. The Communist wing therefore withdrew, to found the Italian Communist Party. On the basis of this experience, the rapporteur declared that 'our most dangerous enemies are right and centrist elements, and with them we must wage a merciless war.'

This encouraged a number of leading participants in the discussion who, repeating the criticism of Serrati and of Smeral, went on to demand a more energetic fight against right wing influences in the Communist Parties—the heritage of Social-Democratic traditions—in such terms that systematic effort to win the masses for the Communist Party, by patient everyday work, tended to fall into the background. Thus Genari (Italy) proposed that the International should strengthen the struggle against all kinds of centrists and opportunists 'who have built their nests in

our parties'—without any notice of the new danger of 'leftism' in the new situation. He was supported in this by Heckert (Germany), who took Smeral as the example of 'a new Serrati.' The same attitude was taken up by Rakosi (Hungary). On the opposite side, Lazzari, the spokesman of a delegation from the Italian Socialist Party—which had been specially invited to the Congress to explain why it had refused, and was still refusing, to break with the right wing—used the Congress platform to defend their attitude.

It was this speech which brought Lenin to the rostrum with a crushing reply (28 June), in which he pointed not only to experiences of Italy for the need to break with Italian Menshevism, but also to the disasters which had overtaken the German workers through not having broken with the right wing and the centrists even before 1914. 'The first condition for true Communism is a break with opportunism,' said Lenin—as the Bolsheviks had done in 1903.

In fact, after considerable further discussion, the Congress unanimously adopted a resolution approving the policy of the Executive on the Italian, the French and the Czechoslovak parties (each section being voted on separately).

This end to the discussion on the Executive Committee's report prepared the Congress for a sharp debate on the leftist theory of 'the offensive,' in connection with the report on the

tactics of the Communist International (30 June). How Lenin viewed the essential point of this discussion, long before it took place, is very clear from the first points in the notes he made, some three weeks before, when the draft theses of the report were sent him:

1. Winning a majority of the workers

2. Straightforwardly for the "Open Letter"

3. Particularly to put forward winning a majority in the trade unions (against the leftists).*

In his 'Remarks on the Third Communist International Congress Draft Theses on Tactics' first published in 1965, in Vol. 52 of the Complete Works, Lenin wrote: 'Communist International tactics should be based on sustained and systematic effort to win over the *majority of the working class*, above all in the *old trade unions*. Then victory will be ours whatever turn events take.*

In fact, these questions – the heart of the proposed theses – proved to be the central points of the discussion.

The very first speaker, Hempel (German CLP), denounced work in parliament, called the existing trade unions 'only auxiliary bodies for the preservation of the capitalist order,' demanded the formation of new revolutionary unions and Soviets, and declared that when going into partial struggles, it was necessary (as in March in Central Germany) 'to advance the slogan of the overthrow of capitalism and the existing

state.' He was followed by Terracini (Italy) who said that insistence on the necessity to win the majority of the working class for Communist principles 'might lead to misunderstandings in the parties and in other workers' organizations.' It was the reformists, said Terracini, who always put forward this idea. The Russians had won power without having the majority of workers in their party. He stood for the 'theory of the offensive,' which meant proceeding 'from a passive period to an active one.'

That morning the German, Austrian and Italian delegations had published, in the Congress daily newspaper *Moscow*, which appeared in German, French and English, amendments to the draft theses on tactics. These deprecated any sharp criticism of the leftists, proposed deletion of any reference to winning a majority of the working class, and of any reference to the 'Open Letter' of the German Communists, approved the 'theory of the offensive' and were silent about the leftist mistakes made during the March action in Central Germany. Thus Terracini was not only *objectively* helping the CLP, but was *expressly* speaking for a substantial block in the Congress.

This brought Lenin to the rostrum as the very next speaker. In a brilliant address – still a major statement of Communist principle and tactics, with the most direct and trenchant lessons for the present day – Lenin tore the amendments and Terracini's arguments to shreds. The Communist International would perish unless it launched

*Complete Works, Russ. ed., Vol. 44, p. 435.

*Complete Works, Russ. ed., Vol. 52, p. 268.

a resolute offensive 'against such "left" stupidities.' The 'Open Letter' had been a model act of policy: it was a first step in the practical method of winning a majority of the working class. Those who didn't understand that in Europe, where most of the industrial workers were organized, this was essential, were 'lost for the Communist movement,' Terracini hadn't understood much about the Russian Revolution. The small Bolshevik Party had a majority of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets behind it: it had nearly half of the 10-million-strong army behind it – did that exist in Italy or in Czechoslovakia? As for the 'theory of the offensive,' 'going over from passivity to activity' – the Bolsheviks had heard all that years ago from the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. If they hadn't fought these phrases, 'we should not have been able to hold power for three-and-a-half weeks, let alone three-and-a-half years, and we could not have organized a Communist Congress here.' 'Down with the Centrists!' as a slogan was a past stage. Lenin explained that to win the masses meant different things at different stages of the struggle, but always it meant getting non-party people to act with the Party. Victory, and still more holding power after victory, required winning over not only a majority of the working class, but 'the majority of the exploited and toiling rural population.'

Lenin's speech had a profound effect on most delegates. Tremendous cheering broke out when Clara Zetkin declared, at

the end of her speech on the events in Central Germany: 'We thank our Russian brothers, we thank still more the Russian proletariat, not only for teaching methods and means of struggle . . . but first of all for showing us by their example what immense strength lies in the will to revolutionary struggle, which takes account of the practical possibilities, yet aims unswervingly at the immediate stage of this struggle.'

Ballister (Bob Minor), speaking for the Communist Party of America, said they would vote for accepting the report; so did Vaillant - Couturier (France). Terracini in after years wrote of his gratitude at being 'saved from fatal errors' by Lenin's speech. At the end of the debate, the Congress came down decisively on the side of participation in the struggle for vital everyday needs of the working class in order to bring the workers step by step nearer to understanding the need for widening the struggle, organizing to widen it, and for carrying it to the point of the conquest of power. This involved, in Western Europe and America, 'active participation in the trade unions and strengthening the pressure on other parties based on the proletariat, in order to promote joint struggle for the immediate interests of the proletariat.'

In this way the Congress in essence began the struggle for the united working class front.

The consequences of its debates on this question appeared very clearly when the next item on the agenda came up – the question of relations between

the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International, which became in fact a discussion on the Communist attitude to trade union work. After the main reports on this subject on 3 July, only one speaker (Bergman) from the German Communist Labor Party openly opposed the idea of Communists working in the established trade unions. He called them 'a tool in the hands of the Capitalist State . . . counter - revolutionary unions,' which should be 'completely destroyed,' suggesting the establishment of 'revolutionary factory committees' instead. In the upshot, however, the resolution moved by the Russian delegation on this subject, amended in commission, was adopted with one abstention.

There had been a searching discussion on organization in a commission at two long sessions, in which representatives of most delegations took part. Its outcome was a very detailed resolution, outlining the principles of organization both of individual parties and of the International. The resolution dwelt on the principle of democratic centralism, underlining the need for constant close touch of Party organization with the mass movements, for every party member to undertake work for the party, and for the centralized leadership of these activities based on constant 'live connection between the Party center and all party organizations - the most certain means of preventing the growth of bureaucracy.' In addition to Party groups in factories, the

resolution recognized the need for other forms of basic organization including local (territorial) branches, the membership of which should all be active in some smaller working group or committee.

The resolution was adopted at the end of the Congress. It was this resolution, which drew to a considerable extent on the experience of the Russian Party, particularly in the very great detail as to forms of work into which it went, which Lenin a year later, at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, said was 'too Russian' - although it was an excellent resolution, and he agreed with every one of its 50-odd paragraphs.

Another debate for which the Third Congress is memorable was that on the tactics of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), on which Lenin reported (5 July).

Lenin's speech has already been well known in most countries for half a century, and here one can reproduce only its main points. In his analysis of the world situation, characterizing the condition of 'unstable relative equilibrium' prevailing, as a result of the successful self-defense of the Soviet Republic and the conditions which prevented the still far more powerful international bourgeoisie from renewing its attack, Lenin drew special attention to the coming great revolutionary role of the majority of the world's population now fighting actively for liberation from colonial slavery. Explaining the New Economic Policy

as a means of creating the economic basis on which Socialism could later be built, he underlined as always that its purpose was to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. While there were particularly complex conditions in Soviet Russia, nevertheless the essential problem – of gradually transforming the economy inherited from capitalism into a Socialist economy – was one which would arise in all countries. It was thanks to the role of the working class that the Soviet Republic could practice State capitalism, i.e., granting foreign capitalists a part in developing Soviet national resources, paying for the privilege with machinery, and thus helping to restore Soviet industry. Lenin concluded that the entire counter-revolutionary camp, from feudal reactionaries and capitalists to the Mensheviks and other 'Socialists,' were attacking the Soviet Republic now in the name of 'pure democracy,' which they were demanding should be established as part of the New Economic Policy. Their real aim was behind this cloak to restore capitalism – and Lenin quoted some striking remarks by Engels on this subject, in a letter to Bebel (11 December, 1884).

Lenin's speech ended amidst prolonged applause. But at once there began a series of attacks on Soviet policy, which deserve to be quoted because of their familiar ring – not only in bourgeois propaganda, then and now, but in propaganda from other quarters.

Sachs (CLPG) said that econo-

mic and political relations with the capitalist states 'will inevitably lead to the strengthening of capitalism in the corresponding capitalist states,' and that there was 'noticeable a certain contradiction between the interests of the revolutionary workers of western countries and the interests of the Soviet Power.'^{*}

Alexandra Kollontai – speaking as she said 'on behalf of a small minority in the Russian Communist Party' – said that the New Economic Policy was 'making it possible for capitalism to get on its feet again'; it was not the working class which was demanding 'the restoration, by and large, of the old system of capitalist production'; was it not the power of the peasantry, and of foreign capital, 'which has its ideological agents, so to speak, here in Russia'? The greatest danger threatened Russia from these concessions: they were depriving the working class of its confidence in Communism and 'more and more paralyzing their initiative.'

Anyone who has followed the attacks on Soviet home and foreign policy, from then and up to the present day – whether they have come from the right or the self-styled 'left' – will recognize these accusations as old acquaintances.

They remained quite isolated in the Congress. After several speakers had replied to them, a group of Communist Parties –

^{*}Even in 1971 it was possible to hear attacks on the Soviet Union in a workers' meeting in London for 'betraying' the western workers by extending its trade with certain capitalist countries.

German, Polish, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Italian, Belgian and French—moved a resolution expressing admiration and approval for the policy of the Russian Communist Party, and condemning the treachery of the Menshevik parties which in all countries were carrying on a campaign against Soviet Russian and the RCP. The resolution was adopted unanimously, amid great applause.

The world situation has changed vastly in the last 50 years. The camp of Socialism has been immensely strengthened and has become the decisive new factor in world policy. Many colonial peoples today are no longer merely the *objects* of history (as Lenin said at the Congress) but are increasingly becoming its *subjects*. The Communist Parties have grown greatly in numbers, strength and experience. World imperialism has been correspondingly weakened.

Nevertheless, the main lessons of the Third Congress still hold good, for the very reason that capitalism with all its

varied economic, political, military and ideological resources still holds important positions in the world. Paramount is the need for cooperation between the two trends in the working-class movement, Communist and Social-Democrat, in daily struggle against the capitalist monopolies and all forms of capitalist exploitation, against the imperialist wars still raging, and against the intolerable burden of armaments, armies and chauvinist propaganda. In the trade unions particularly, a mass of experience has demonstrated the value of cooperation between the two trends for the working class. At the same time, ultra-'left' activities which weaken these efforts at united action and benefit only the bourgeoisie are a world problem. All these aspects make the Communist struggle for ideological clarity, too, no less essential than in 1921.

It is this continuing force of its lessons that makes the debates and decisions of the Third Congress a most inspiring and fruitful subject of study today.



Terror in Sudan

These lines are being written at a time when the Sudan has become the scene of tragic events. Many champions of freedom and democracy have been executed. The list includes Abdul Khalek Mahgoub, General Secretary of the Sudanese Communist Party, and Shafie Ahmed el-Sheikh, General Secretary of the Sudanese Trade Union Federation, Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions and holder of an International Lenin Peace Prize.

The government has proclaimed a manhunt for Communists and other patriots. Military tribunals meeting behind closed doors rubber-stamp savage sentences which are immediately carried out. All this is in crying contradiction to the regime's assurances that legality is being observed.

The facts show that the terror is directed against all patriotic and democratic elements, whether or not they were involved in the July 19 movement, to which the Sudanese authorities refer in justification of the unparalleled brutality. All this brings back to mind the provocative activity of the imperialist secret services

which, from the very first days of the Numeiri regime, tried to set it against the Communists, induce it to destroy the Communist Party and other progressive organizations. No wonder the terror instituted after the July 19-22 events has met with such unanimous approval in imperialist and reactionary circles everywhere, and no wonder the Right-wing press in Arab and other countries is so jubilant. A regime that calls itself anti-imperialist should reflect on why the enemy, whose main aim is to split the anti-imperialist forces in the Arab and other countries, has such lavish praise for its actions.

This journal has always followed the Sudanese people's battle against imperialism, for democracy and social progress with understanding and sympathy. In this struggle the Communists have always been in the front ranks, actively cooperating with the country's national-revolutionary and patriotic forces. That was so, for instance, in 1965-69, when the Sudan was under a reactionary regime. Following its overthrow in May 1969, the Sudanese Communist Party supported the Numeiri

government's proclaimed program of progressive socio-economic and political reforms.

Abdel Khalek Mahgoub wrote at the time, in an article for this journal: 'The future of the Sudan revolution, now in its national-democratic stage and about to embark on the next stage, depends on the sustained revolutionary activity of the Communist Party and all revolutionary forces in consolidating a national - democratic front' (WMR, No. 10, 1969).

Presumably, this objective approach to the tasks of the revolution was shared by the regime. This is what General Numeiri said in October 1969: 'We declare that unity of the revolutionary forces is becoming a historic necessity. . . . It is the mission of the revolution to counter imperialist and reactionary attacks and intrigue aimed at splitting the revolutionary front and, after that, liquidating the revolution and its gains.' Later, too, spokesmen of the Sudanese leadership repeatedly stressed the importance of cooperating with the Communists who were devoted to the revolution and were making a major contribution to building the new life.

Subsequently, however, the regime retreated from its proclaimed policy. Early this year it banned all mass democratic organizations - women's, youth, the trade unions. High-ranking officials were openly calling for struggle against the Communists, and the Communist Party was classed with the reaction-

ary parties and organizations dissolved after the May 1969 events. Abdel Khalek Mahgoub and other leaders were arrested.

This coincided with stepped-up imperialist subversion against the Arab liberation movement.

It was against this background that the Sudanese authorities launched their terror against the progressive forces, the end aim being complete liquidation of the Sudanese Communist Party. Let no one be deceived by the statements of some Sudanese officials that only individuals, 'plotters,' are being persecuted and not ideas. Nor is it accidental that the reactionary press in imperialist and some Arab countries has been playing up statements emanating from the Sudan and a number of other Arab countries about the Communists being 'enemies of the Arab nation.' And it should not be difficult to see their purpose, which is to provoke anti-Communist repression in countries other than the Sudan.

There is the clear proof of history that no amount of repression can destroy the great revolutionary ideas or the movements they inspire. Sharp political crises have always been resolved by reason and wisdom, not by blood and terror. And the present terror in the Sudan will only damage its prestige in the eyes of world democratic opinion.

World Marxist Review joins in the worldwide condemnation of and protest against the criminal actions of the Sudanese authorities.



VENEZUELA

A Marxist-Leninist book exhibition by the CP branch of Caracas drew more than five thousand visitors every day. There were especially large sales of Lenin's *What Is to Be Done?* and a collection of his selected works.

Among the books by Venezuelan revolutionaries, visitors were especially attracted by Teodoro Petkoff's *Anti-Socialist Ideas*, written jointly by Communist Party Political Bureau members Pedro Ortega Diaz and Antonio Garcia Ponce. It contains criticism of the Petkoff group, recently denounced by Venezuelan Communists for activities hostile to the revolutionary movement and expelled from the Communist Party.

Similar exhibitions are being held also in other towns.

A Communist Party branch in Caracas has been named after Cosmonaut Georgi Dobrovolsky, commander of the Soyuz-11 crew who died tragically when completing their mission.

INDIA

The Communist Party of India now has 226,431 members, the

Party's Central Executive Committee announced in the weekly *New Age*.

Since the Eighth Congress in 1968, membership has grown by more than 53,000, with the Bihar branch registering a twofold increase to become, with its 51,363 members, the country's biggest. There have been substantial increases also in Kerala and Tamilnadu.

IRELAND

Our main goal is to win young people for socialist ideas through consistent struggle to solve their vital problems, says the political resolution of the second national conference of the James Connolly youth organization.

The conference decisions stress that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the Irish working class in the fight to abolish the capitalist system, and that progressive youth should give the Party all possible assistance in achieving this aim.

The Connolly movement arose in 1965. Last year the youth section of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland joined the movement to form a single mass organization adhering to scientific socialism.

CUBA

Fidel Castro, Communist Party First Secretary and Premier of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, addressed a mass meeting in honor of the first group of volunteers from 'The Youth Column of the Century.' This contingent of 24,000 young men and women worked for three years on a people's farm in Ca-

maguay province. Castro noted their contribution to sugar cane harvesting; they cut over 500 million arrobas of sugar cane in last year's safra and about 500 million this year. He said that in the volunteers, now returning home, many provinces will get staunch fighters and well-trained specialists. Six thousand members of the column have joined the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. Fidel Castro wished them further successes in their work.

POLAND

The Socialist Youth League Executive met to review membership recruitment. The League now numbers 1,287,585 young men and women.

SOVIET UNION

An International Institute of Economic Problems of the Socialist System is to open soon in Moscow. This new research center will study the theoretical and practical problems of the economic integration of the socialist countries. Its scientific council, consisting of economists of the CMEA countries, recently met for its first session in Moscow to draw up the main lines of research.

FRANCE

The French Communist Party Political Bureau published a statement in *L'Humanité* strongly condemning the government of the People's Republic of China for refusing to allow a group of Communist National Assembly deputies to visit the PRC as part of a French parliamentary delegation.

The statement points out that the National Assembly commissions included in their 1971 programs a visit to the People's Republic of China. The Communist group appointed Maurice Andrieux and Emile Roger. M. Peyrefitte, chairman of the social commission, informed the Communist group that the Chinese mission in Paris had intimated that the presence of Communists on the delegation was undesirable. M. Lemaire, chairman of another commission, told Emile Roger that 'the Communist deputies are being discriminated at the wishes of China's authorities.'

Thus, the statement says, it is absolutely clear that:

- the government of Mao Tse-tung, which professes its intention to destroy imperialism, refuses to receive Communist deputies, consistent fighters against imperialism;

- the Chinese government is grossly interfering in the internal affairs of France and, in particular, of the National Assembly, by demanding that Communist deputies be excluded from the delegation;

- the French government not only tolerates such interference by a foreign government, but does everything to get the parliamentary majority to agree with outright discrimination dictated by the above government.

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party condemns the impermissible stand of the Maoist government, which shows its true colors of splitter of the anti-imperialist forces.

The Political Bureau protested to the French government, which is not only tolerating foreign interference but, with the com-

plicity of the Chinese government, is discriminating against Communist deputies.

CHILE

Raising agricultural production was the main topic discussed at a meeting of representatives of Communist Party branches in peasant cooperatives. Communists of several agrarian provinces attended the meeting, which also discussed problems of working-class support for the farms and ways of strengthening Party organizations in the cooperatives.

With a view to strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, the

Communist Party decided to send one thousand worker activists for temporary work in the cooperatives, they will organize the peasants for fulfilment of the Popular Unity government's agrarian program and conduct political education. The Communist Party is energetically exposing the provocative activities of 'ultra-Left' groups, which call for land seizures and tell the peasants that armed clashes are inevitable. The recent Party Central Committee plenum noted that the Leftists are encouraged by the reactionary forces which are seeking to undermine the government's prestige.

DIARY

F. Muhri, Chairman of the Austrian Communist Party, Central Committee Secretaries E. Scharf and W. Wachs and other members of the Political Bureau and Party functionaries met at the Party Central Committee with K. I. Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of *World Marxist Review*, who spoke about the work of the journal. The Austrian comrades stressed the role of the journal in the struggle for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement and spoke of improving its contents.

Visiting this journal, P. Auersperg, head of the international department of the Central Committee, Czechoslovak CP, informed the Editorial Council about the results of the 14th Congress

of the CPC, its program of consolidating and developing socialism and the work of Party branches in fulfilling the decisions of the Congress. Comrade Auersperg replied to questions by members of the Editorial Council.

The July meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party USA was briefed by Philip Bart, the Party's representative on this journal, on its work and circulation. Comrade Bart noted the importance of the journal as an international organ popularizing and developing Marxist-Leninist theory and facilitating the exchange of experience by Communist parties.

The journal's role and circulation also came up for discussion at the Political Committee of the Party, which pointed to

the need for giving more coverage to pressing problems of the international Communist movement. A resolution on the question envisages concrete steps to improve the circulation of the journal in the USA both among

the Party cadre and all those who take an interest in Marxist-Leninist theory.

Comrade Bart also spoke at readers' conferences in New York, Cleveland and Chicago.

Our contributors

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<i>Paul Verner</i>	Member Political Bureau, Secretary CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany
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<i>Louis Odru</i>	Deputy National Assembly of France
<i>Rostislav Ulyanovsky</i>	Soviet scholar



RACISM AND GENOCIDE EXPOSED

*The Man Who Cried Genocide** is the autobiography of William Patterson, a leader of the U.S. Communist Party and honored internationally for his life-long struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism. It is a chronicle of struggle against racism.

In his childhood and early years he was subjected to discrimination, insult and indignities. In the face of numerous difficulties he graduated as a lawyer. In Harlem the young lawyer constantly came up against the injustice of the American court and arbitrariness against his people. He was inclined to believe at first that the Black Americans' white compatriots were their main enemy. The turning point of William Patterson's life came with his involvement in the struggle to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti, two Italian-born workers who were executed on August 22, 1927 on a framed-up murder charge, despite the worldwide campaign to win their freedom. His new friends, American Communists,

*William L. Patterson, *The Man Who Cried Genocide*. New York, International Publishers, 1971. 224 pp.

helped him to see that racial discrimination and class oppression were aspects of imperialist policy: racism is pervasive and serves as one of the main instruments of oppression and divisiveness used by imperialism. 'It became crystal-clear to me,' Patterson writes, 'that the horrors of color persecution and poverty could only be fully grappled with in a struggle against the economic and social forces that had spawned them.' William Patterson joined the Communist Party, seeing this party as the only force that by its science of Marxism-Leninism worked for a united struggle for the liberation of all peoples.

The study of the science of Marxism-Leninism and his trip to the Soviet Union gave him a deeper insight into the nature of the class struggle and fortified his belief that only socialism could deliver society from exploitation and racial injustice. The example of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, where illiteracy and poverty, chauvinism and national oppression have been overcome, Patterson writes, inspires hopes in millions of fighters for full equality of the Negro people and gives confidence in victory.

His own experience and his understanding of the nature of the oppression of the Black people enabled him to give outstanding leadership in the struggles for the economic, political and social equality of the Black population in America. An important stage of these struggles was the fight against the arbitrariness of the

courts. It showed for all the world to see that in the U.S. the 'law and order' of the ruling classes meant terror and oppression for the millions of Black and White men of labor.

In 1931, as Executive Secretary of the International Labor Defense, William Patterson gave leadership in the struggle to save the lives of the "Scottsboro Boys" — nine young Black boys who were arrested on a framed-up charge of rape, and convicted and sentenced to death after a trial that lasted only a day in a racist Alabama court. This case too became one in which the progressive forces in the United States and around the world rallied to demand their freedom, which was finally won seventeen years later. It was a landmark case, not only in securing their freedom, but in exposing the whole system of lynch terror and the special oppression and persecution of the Negro people.

This was but the first of many campaigns that William Patterson led against frame-ups of the Black people of the United States. Not all were so successful, e.g., the case known as the 'Martinsville Seven.' Again seven Black men were charged with rape — the time-worn method used to lynch Black men. This was in 1951, at the height of the McCarthy witch-hunt period. All of these men were executed despite the fight for their freedom and despite their innocence.

One campaign succeeds another. And William Patterson has continued in his unrelenting struggle. He is today an active

leader nationally and internationally in the struggle for the freedom of Angela Davis, the young Black woman Communist, who is on trial on a frame-up charge of murder, which could result in the death penalty.

The frame-up of Angela Davis has caused indignation throughout the world. This trial, which is a disgrace for the U.S. rulers, shows once again that justice in the United States is an instrument of class oppression and racial discrimination.

Cases such as the Scottsboro Boys, the Martinsville Seven and others were the most extreme expressions of the destruction practised against the Black people in the United States. Being Black alone was sufficient to be victimized and framed. This destruction took many forms, not confined to outright legal and extra-legal murder, but was visible in discrimination in employment, in no or poor medical care resulting in higher death rates of Blacks; in unequal justice in the courts, in denial of educational opportunities and indignities met in every phase of daily life. And Patterson notes: 'Millions of Black Americans are aware that when they leave home in the morning they may not return at night, if by chance their general demeanor or manner of response to a question rubbed a white person the wrong way. This offence could, and often did, mean death or imprisonment for a period of years.'

Racial oppression in the United States, Patterson stresses, leads to genocide. The definition of genocide given by the

UN Human Rights Commission directly applied, in his view, not only to the Hitler policy of mass extermination in the death camps, but also to the numerous crimes perpetrated by the U.S. racialists. Patterson determined that it was necessary to present this conclusion for the world to see. He took counsel with comrades in the Party and got their approval and support. The conclusions were translated into the petition 'We Charge Genocide: The Crime of Government Against the Negro People' for presentation to the UN. In pressing the petition to the UN, in December 1951, Patterson recognized that the genocide practised against the Black people of the U.S. was the domestic side of U.S. imperialism's drive for world domination practised against the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and as such was a threat to the peace and security of the world. This was the first

time that the U.S. government was publicly charged with genocide against the Negro population.

The author, who along with other comrades organized and led the movement, tells how it helped to involve the oppressed downtrodden masses of Black Americans into active political action, how people formerly remote from politics gained confidence in their strength, learned to act in common and grow more mature ideologically. As Patterson writes in his foreword: 'An ideological struggle is being waged throughout the world for the minds of men; the fight against racism becomes an integral part of the fight for peace and freedom through the world.' The book focusses on one of the important forms of the national liberation movement – the offensive against U.S. imperialism in the United States itself.

Constance Bart

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Gaagsky Kongress Pervogo Internationala, 2 - 7 sentyabrya 1872g. (The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872). Minutes and Documents. Moscow, Politizdat, 1970, 676 pp.

Prepared by the Soviet Communist Party's Marxism-Leninism Institute, this is the first full collection of the documents of the Hague Congress and its commissions. Many of them are

published for the first time, including minutes, notes and statements from Marx's personal archive, and some bear notes in his hand. The collection also includes other items from the archives of Marx and Engels, testifying to the role they played in organizing the Congress.

The book shows how representatives of the proletariat, assimilating the lessons of the Paris Commune, came to the

conclusion that the working class must have its own party, organizationally and ideologically independent and capable of leading the struggle for political power and socialism. The Congress added to the International's General Rules an article on the proletarian party and proletarian dictatorship – a decisive victory for Marxism. Of topical interest, too, are the documents relating to the struggle at the Congress against petty-bourgeois laxity, sectarianism and reformist tendencies, for international proletarian unity

T. Vasilieva

KPD-Verbot. Ursachen und Folgen. 1956-1971 (Prohibition of the Communist Party of Germany. Causes and Effects, 1956-1971, 81 pp.

There has been a strong demand in the Federal Republic for legalization of the Communist Party of Germany (CPG), and several books have been published on the subject. This one is a collection of contributions by West German Communists Max Reimann, Ludwig Landwehr, Willi Mohn and Otto Niebergall. It lays bare the real causes for the ban of the Communist Party 15 years ago and shows the negative effect this has had on the Federal Republic's economic, political and public life. It also shows why the ban is still operating, and why its repeal is essential to the interests of peace and progress.

The official pretext for the ban was that the Communist Party pursued 'undemocratic

aims.' That piece of slander is effectively refuted by the facts. And the facts, set out in this book, are that the CPG, a Marxist-Leninist Party, has 'consistently acted as a democratic force, its policy being based on promotion of peace and defense of national and social interests.' There was absolutely no legal warrant for its prohibition. It was banned for political reasons, for the CPG alone resolutely opposed the anti-national plans of Big Business and the Adenauer policy. 'Remilitarization, revanche and prohibition of the CPG are part of one and the same policy,' the authors write, adding that repeal of the ban is now a key issue of the class struggle in West Germany.

But the ban is still in force despite mounting protests. It is operated by the present Social-Democratic government, and the authors point out that this is due to the Right-wing Social-Democrat leaders' 'fundamental agreement with the social system of capitalism.' They draw this conclusion: 'Prohibition of the CPG with a Social-Democratic government in office is meant to achieve the same purpose as under the previous Christian-Democrat governments, namely, continued instigation of anti-communism. The aim is to hamper, if possible prevent, united action of the working class and all democratic forces and thereby hamstring the mass democratic movement against the omnipotence of the monopolies and banks, of all those who batten on the arms drive . . .'

The ban on the Communist

Party was followed by mass repressions, and not only against Communists, but against all supporters of peace and democracy. It helped strengthen the monopolies, accelerate militarization, the rise of avowed neo-fascist associations and, last but not least, the enactment of emergency legislation to 'pave the way for reactionary, militarist and dictatorial trends.'

Prohibition of the CPG is like a Sword of Damocles suspended over the German Communist Party. Developments in the last few months show that the authorities want to accuse it of 'punishable activities.' The secret meeting of the Bundestag Internal Affairs Commission and similar developments suggest that there are plans to ban the GCP on the same grounds as the CPG. However, the law prohibiting the latter is a clear danger not only to Communists, but to all democratic forces, and its repeal, the authors emphasize, would be in the interests of the working class and all working people, 'for the democratic and peaceful development of the Federal Republic largely depends on this.'

The book has been put out in Russian, English, Spanish and French language editions.

R.K.

M. C. STANESCU, *Miscarea muncitoreasca din Romania in anii 1921-1924* (Rumanian Labor Movement, 1921-1924). Bucharest, Editura politica, 1971. 295 pp.

This richly documented study – and many of the documents are published for the first time –

traces the path of the Rumanian Communist Party and the workers' movement in the difficult period between the Party's first and third congresses. Stanescu's book is a contribution to the historiography of the Rumanian labor movement.

It deals chiefly with the role of the Communist Party and its manifold activities from its inception up to 1924. From its early days the Party led the workers' struggle against the capitalists and their regime. The author discusses its organizational consolidation in context with its leadership of the workers' struggle in defense of their political and economic rights and for better conditions. The Party pursued a consistent policy on all political, economic and social issues.

The author deals with other problems hitherto not reflected in Rumanian historiography. This applies to the Second Party Congress, the attitude of diverse classes and social strata in Rumania and abroad to the organization of the Communist Party, the Dealul Spirii trial, the anti-Communist terror and prohibition of the Party. The book also shows the internationalist stand of the Party and the workers' movement, the Party's share in international Communist organizations, the work of youth, trade union and other democratic organizations in which the Party had a strong influence. Lastly, the reader will be interested in the documents, published for the first time, relating to the Federation of Socialist Parties, its program, activity and organizational evolution, and the role of its constituent parties. M. Mitu

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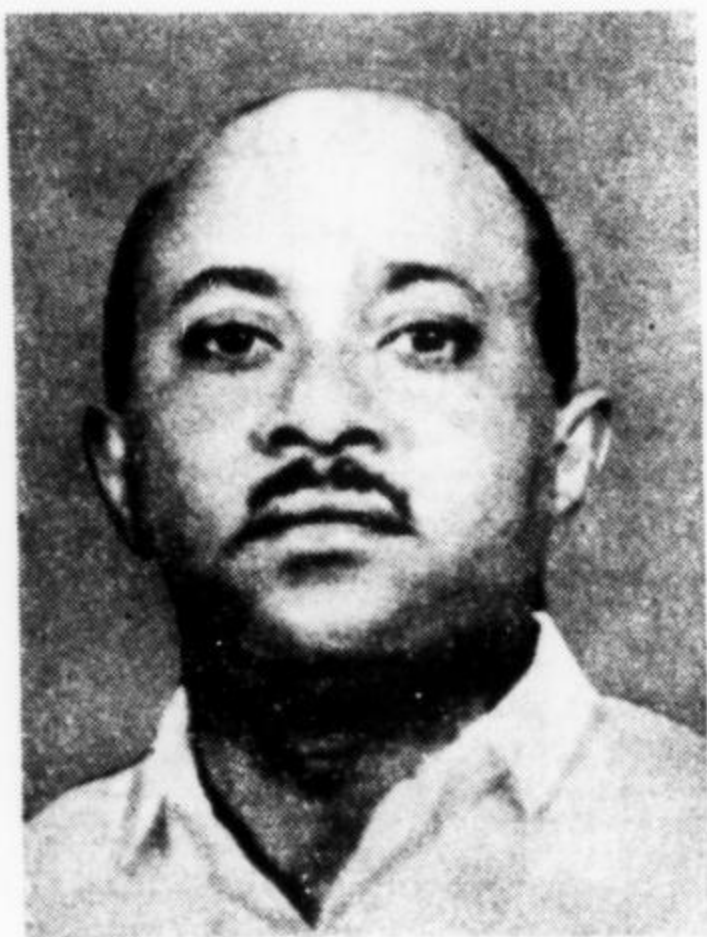
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With the death on July 28, 1971, of Abdel Khalek Mahgoub, General Secretary of the Sudanese Communist Party, hanged on charges of complicity in the July 19 movement, the international Communist, workers' and national liberation movement has lost a prominent personality and Sudan a fervent patriot.

Born in the Sudan in 1927, from his student days Mahgoub took an active part in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and foreign domination, for the national emancipation of his country, for democracy and social progress for his people. He was General Secretary of the

Following the revolutionary changes of May 1969, he called on all progressives to support the new regime. Addressing the June 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties he said that the new regime, which declared that it would continue the revolution of October 1964 . . . 'has opened before the national-democratic

front the road to deep-going changes designed to strengthen its unity and implement the tasks of the democratic revolution.'

But Mahgoub was alive to the danger of anti-Communist tendencies, of the new regime's desire to achieve an alleged 'balance of strength' by combating both the Right and the progressive organizations. He wrote in this journal: 'Clearly, obstacles to the activities of the Communist Party and its organizations, obstacles to direct contact between Communists and the people, will tilt the scales

in favor of the organized reactionary forces.' His apprehensions were fully justified.

Comrade Mahgoub lived the difficult but inspiring life of a champion of freedom, democracy and socialism. He was not broken by persecution and by repeated arrests for his patriotic activities.

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