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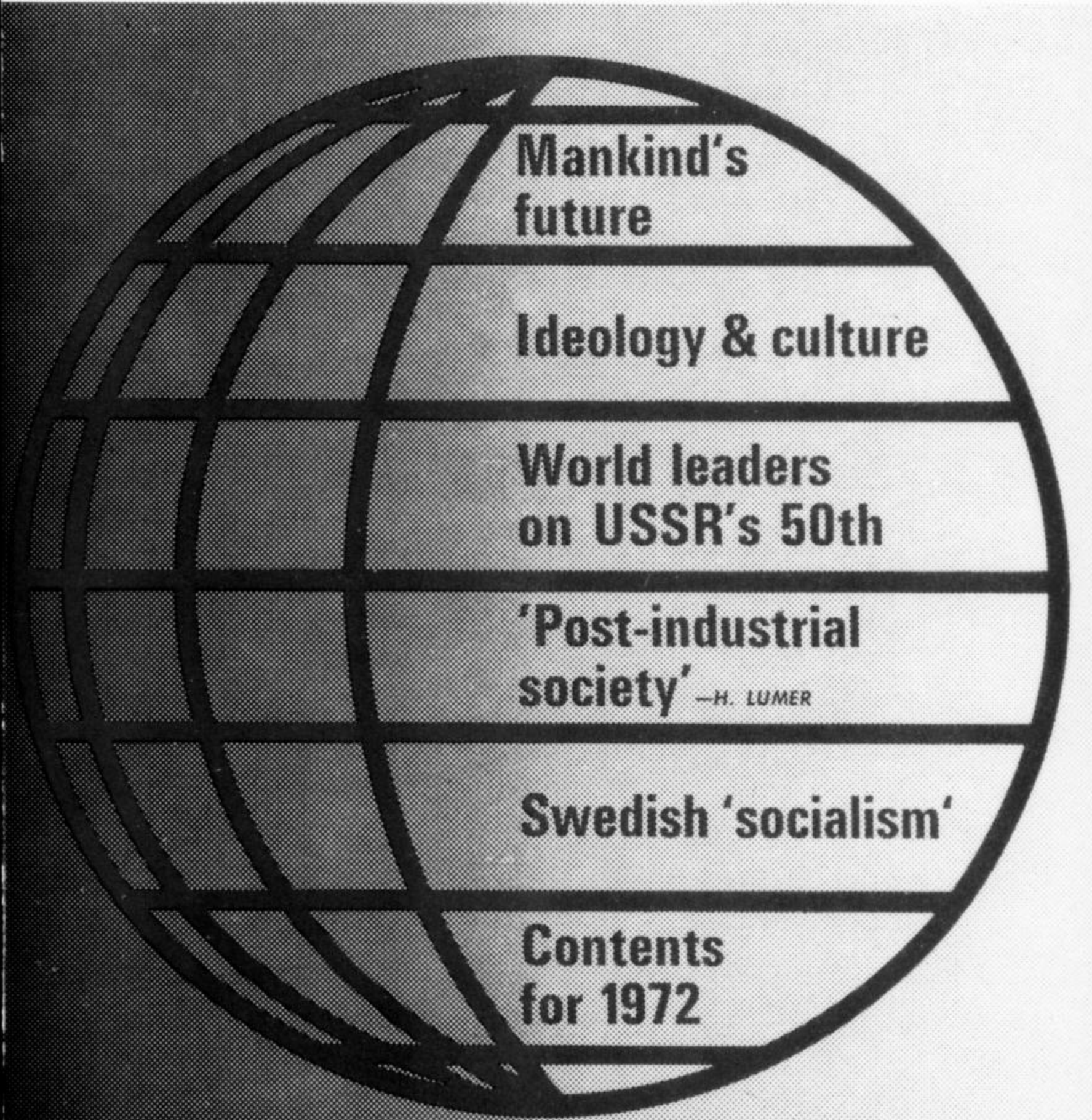
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

Dec. 1972, Vol. 15, No. 12 50¢



**Mankind's
future**

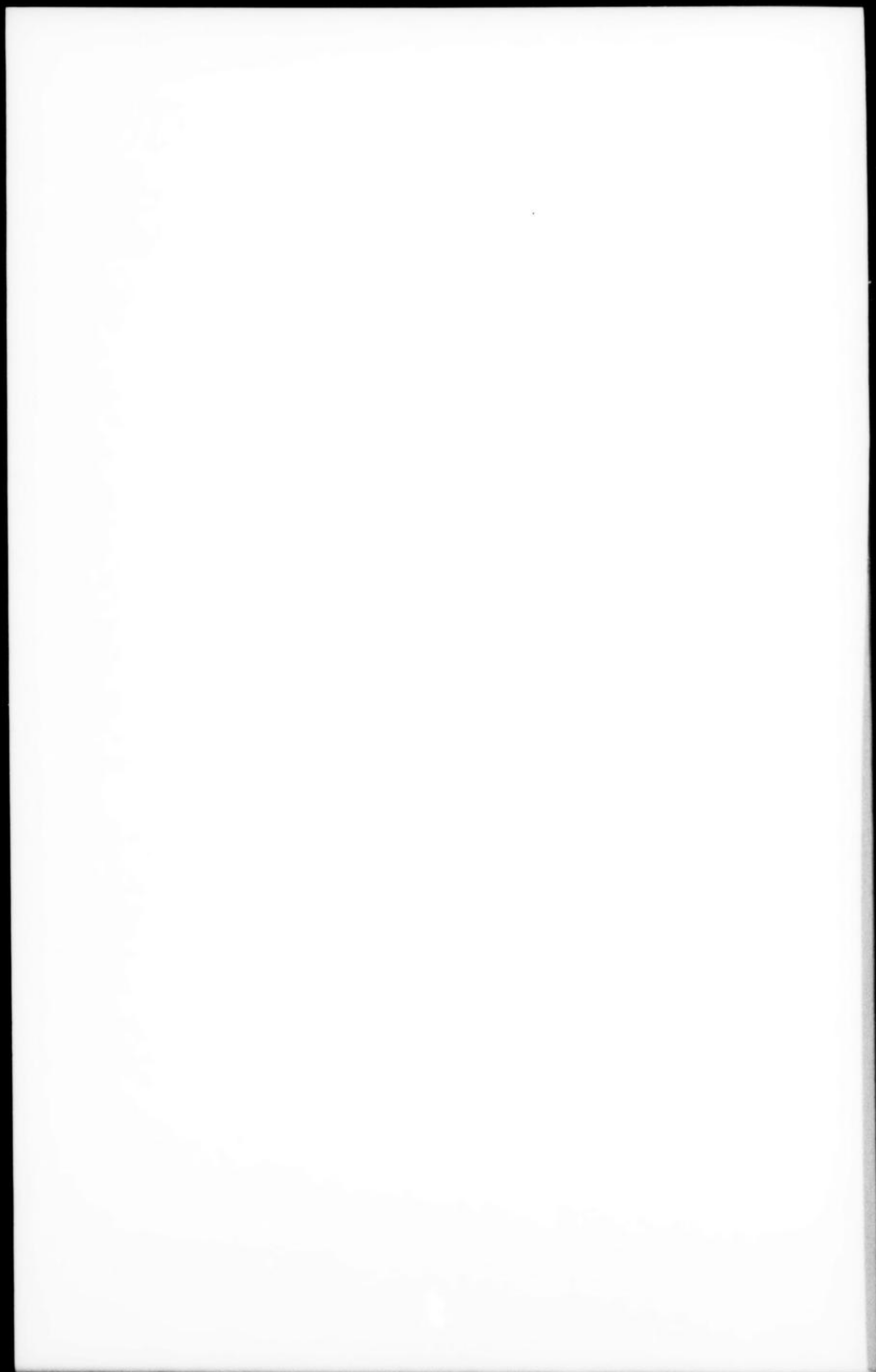
Ideology & culture

**World leaders
on USSR's 50th**

**'Post-industrial
society' —H. LUMER**

Swedish 'socialism'

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for 1972**





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Peace and Socialism

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WISHING YOU A VERY HAPPY NEW YEAR

*May the coming year
see still closer unity of
the world communist
movement, joint action
by all revolutionary
forces, new victories in
the battle for peace,
democracy, national
independence and
socialism.*

Constituted 50 Years Ago—
The Union Of Soviet Socialist Republics



Soviet poster of the early 1920s: 'Forward to the Attainment of the Aims of the October.'



Bulwark of socialism, peace and freedom

In connection with the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, WMR addressed the following questions to leaders, prominent members and veterans of Communist and Workers' Parties:

1. *Your first visit to the Soviet Union, when and on what occasion?*
2. *What events relating to the Soviet Union created the biggest impression, made a vivid mark on your memory, left an imprint on all your subsequent life?*
3. *What, in your opinion, is the international significance of the constitution of a voluntary federative union of free peoples guaranteeing nations the right to self-determination, and in what measure does the experience of the national and state development of the USSR influence the struggle and work of the Communists of your country?*

Following are the replies we have received.

LUDVIK SVOBODA
President, Czechoslovak
Socialist Republic

Love and fraternal affection for the USSR, friendship with it for all time, have become an inseparable part of my life and work, of my mind and soul.

1. I first set foot on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in September 1939 together with a Czechoslovak army unit being formed on Polish territory to fight the Hitler invaders. The events arising from the Munich deal were still fresh in my mind. The Western allies had betrayed Czechoslovakia, putting our people at the mercy of the enemy. Only the Soviet Union declared its readiness to come to our assistance in the fight against fascist aggression. That is why I led the unit to the USSR, to our friends. I was confident that the first country of socialism would defeat German fascism and play a decisive part in the liberation of my country.

Taken as a whole, my impressions of the Soviet Union fall into

three periods, all of them brimming with events. These periods are so different that anywhere else but in a socialist country they would probably have had to span centuries.

I saw the collapse of the old, moribund bourgeois-landowner regime of tsarist Russia; I saw the new revolutionary Russia, which the October Socialist Revolution turned into a beacon for mankind, emerge and gather strength under the impact of the creative ideas of Lenin.

Almost a quarter of a century later I shared with the Soviet people the bitterness of defeat and the joy of victory in the Great Patriotic War. It took heavy fighting, very heavy fighting, to halt the seemingly invincible armies of German fascism and, after Stalingrad, to cover the victorious road to Berlin. It was a feat unparalleled in history. The whole of the great Soviet land, the multimillion masses of Soviet people, were gripped by the single desire to crush fascism. And they rallied under the leadership of their nerve center—the Communist Party—to the heroic struggle for the motherland, for the liberation of other peoples.

Today every new visit to the Soviet Union fills me with renewed joy. I can see the vast, triumphant scope of communist construction, the country's great economic, scientific and technological advances, the people's resolve to implement the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. Every visit to the Soviet Union provides an opportunity for gaining new insight into a country with which we share common goals expressive of the hopes and aspirations of all mankind.

2. Understandably, it was the Great Patriotic War that left the deepest imprint on my life. It was during the fight with the Hitlerites that I really got to know the Soviet Union, the heart and soul of the Soviet man. Then it was that I linked my life with the fate of the Soviet Union, for on its victory hinged the freedom and future of my own country. Those years determined the whole of my subsequent life. I saw the great fortitude and modesty of the Soviet people, their dedication, self-sacrifice, and lofty idealism. I got to know the sincerity and strength of the Soviet peoples' friendship, their profound love for their socialist motherland and, at the same time, a boundless devotion to proletarian internationalism. That is why love and fraternal affection for the USSR, friendship with it for all time, have become an inseparable part of my life and work, of my mind and soul.

3. The creation of the USSR opened up a new stage in human history, marking the beginning of a reconstruction of relations between peoples. It took a socialist revolution to overcome the heritage of past national discord and oppression and ensure the unfettered development of peoples and the establishment of new relations based on the friendship and fraternal cooperation of all the nationalities of this great land.

The approach of the Party of Lenin to the national question was based on ideas which, 54 years ago, inspired my compatriots in the struggle for an independent nation of Czechs and Slovaks.

Today the Soviet experience of national and state construction remains an inspiration for the development of socialist Czechoslovakia. This experience helped us in establishing relations of complete equality and fraternal cooperation between Czechs, Slovaks and other nationalities. It enabled us to overcome difficulties and obstacles, repulse the sallies of hostile counter-revolutionary forces and make Czechoslovakia a strong, developed socialist state, a firm link in the socialist world community.

Our people support the new forms of international cooperation between socialist countries based on socialist international integration and the close coordination of their common efforts in socialist and communist construction. Together with the Soviet people we are waging a struggle against imperialism, for progress and democracy, for the peace and freedom of all peoples.

Close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states is the source of our strength and confidence. It throws open to the Czechoslovak people bright vistas of all-round development and a happy future.

YUMZHAGIIN TSEDENBAL

First Secretary, CC
Mongolian People's
Revolutionary Party

The beauty and nobleness of Soviet people, trailblazers of socialism, has had a profound impact on the whole of my conscious life.

1. In October 1929 I was sent with a group of young Mongolians to study in the Soviet Union, which was helping to train the specialists needed to build up the new Mongolia. This happy event in my life was preceded by others which affected the fate of many Mongols of my generation.

The Mongolian People's Revolution, carried out under the powerful impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, started our people's liberation from medieval hibernation, poverty and backwardness. Following the teaching of Lenin, relying on alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union, and on its fraternal help, our Party and the people's government launched an all-out drive to overcome the grave consequences of foreign colonial domination. The task was to wipe out the age-old economic and cultural backwardness of Mongolia, where only one per cent of the population could read and write and almost half the male population were Buddhist monks who lived in monasteries and took no part in productive labor. One of the popular government's first tasks was to open schools in various parts of the country. Owing to the stranglehold of religion and age-old superstitions and fierce resistance of the feudals overthrown by the revolution, this progressive undertaking ran into serious difficulties. As a consequence, initially school enrolment was promoted mainly through a system of recruitment, especially of children from large families. In 1925, I, the son of a poor herdsman, was thus recruited for schooling.

Like my parents, I had had no use for school or literacy and had dreamed only of becoming a monk.

The school awakened and fostered my interest in learning. Thanks to the active work of the Young Pioneer organization and the Revolutionary Youth League, we children were gradually drawn into political life and began to grasp the meaning of the fierce class struggle going on in Mongolia. We also were told of the popular liberation movements in other countries and with bated breath listened to stories about Lenin, the great leader of the world proletariat, and life in the Soviet Union.

I wanted to continue my studies in the USSR, and my dream came true: in the twelfth year of Soviet power, with a scholarship of the Ministry of Education, I came to the USSR, which to me embodied everything fine and noble, good and just.

Soviet life created a tremendous impression on me, then a thirteen-year-old with four grades of schooling. I was especially impressed by the remarkably friendly, truly brotherly attitude towards us representatives of the youth of revolutionary Mongolia who had come to study in the land building socialism.

Always we felt ourselves as members of a single family. Soviet people, brought up in the spirit of proletarian solidarity, shared their thoughts and concerns, their joys and worries with us, generously giving us help and support. In short, my years of study in the USSR, where I received a secondary and higher education were a school of Leninist friendship. Consistent implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism is characteristic of the whole existence of the USSR. The development of Soviet socialist society resulted simultaneously in the deepening of its internationalism.

I am proud to have learned, and to continue learning, from my Soviet brothers and sisters devotion to the principles of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of friendship and brotherhood of peoples and its invincible citadel—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. My years of study in the USSR coincided with the Soviet people's effort to lay the foundation of socialism against a background of fierce clashes with class enemies within the country, in the hostile encirclement of capitalist states where the imperialists, in their blind hatred, were preparing an armed attack against the birthplace of socialism in the hope of overthrowing the Soviet government and restoring the capitalist way of life. We were fortunate to live and work alongside Soviet people in that hard and uneasy time, in the ranks of the builders of the new society.

The Soviet people worked heroically in those hard times, in a country virtually besieged. Against tremendous odds they fought with selfless devotion and won outstanding victories in building a socialist society. Within a historically brief period the country created an invincible economic and military potential, and achieved the moral and political unity that proved crucial in the victory over the fascist aggressors.

We were amazed and carried away by the boundless elan and

unswerving faith of the Soviet working people in the ideals of communism, their ardent love of their socialist motherland, their infinite devotion to the principles of proletarian internationalism, their resolves and readiness to defend the great achievements of the October Revolution and the cause of socialism. These noble traits of the socialist state's citizens, fostered by the Communist Party, manifested themselves with unheard-of forcefulness during the Great Patriotic War against the Hitlerite aggressors. By their immortal, unparalleled exploits the heroic Soviet people and their stalwart army upheld the gains of socialism and saved mankind from the threat of fascist slavery.

Time and again, in our joint struggles for the triumph of socialism, in the battles against imperialist invaders and in conditions of peace, we witnessed the gallantry, courage, heroism, selfless devotion and other lofty moral qualities of the Soviet people.

For us Mongolians all this was a priceless example that had a tremendous impact on the moulding of our world outlook, our education in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. I should like to note with feelings of profound gratitude that the beauty and nobleness of the Soviet people, trail-blazers of socialism, has had a profound impact on the whole of my conscious life.

3. The creation, development and strengthening of the USSR is of the greatest world-historic importance. It derives from the very nature of the new society, born of the Great October Revolution, which precludes any form of oppression or exploitation and is based on the complete dominance of public, socialist ownership. The formation of a voluntary federative union of free peoples ushered in a new era of relations based on equality, brotherly cooperation and mutual help. The principled class approach to the national question in the USSR—the only correct way of organizing relations between nationalities on the basis of the teachings of the great Lenin—is of tremendous international importance. It is an example and a tremendous aid to all fighters for freedom, national and social liberation.

To the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, to the Communists and all working people of Mongolia, the Soviet Union has been, is, and will always be a bright and cherished example, an inextinguishable beacon in the struggle for building the new life. Lenin's teaching on the national-colonial question, in particular on the possibility of transition to socialism by-passing the capitalist stage in countries with pre-bourgeois relations, has been our Party's guide in the revolutionary renovation of Mongolia.

The power and viability of Lenin's theory finds confirmation in the radical changes that have taken place in our country's socio-economic life, in the historic successes achieved in its transition from feudalism to socialism. It has been irrefutably demonstrated that the Mongolian people's outstanding achievements were possible only because our national-liberation, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution was, from the outset closely allied with the forces of world socialism as personified by the USSR, because in

building up the new society our people relied, and continue to rely, on the brotherly help and all-round support of that bastion of the world's revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. Years of experience have convinced Mongolian Communists and people that close alliance and friendship of the peoples of the socialist countries, unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, are the motive force of our time, a vital prerequisite of new victories in the advance to socialism and communism, in the struggle for social progress.

Today, when imperialism is doing all it can to divide the peoples of socialist countries, using nationalism and chauvinism, and the betrayal of the Chinese leaders, we must spare no effort in strengthening the bonds of brotherhood uniting the nations of the socialist community, resolutely oppose the encroachments of imperialist reaction and wage an implacable struggle against opportunism of every shade and color. The decisive contribution in the sacred struggle for the defense and strengthening of the socialist world system, for the cohesion of the world revolutionary forces, comes from the CPSU, the glorious party of Lenin, from the great Soviet Union, stronghold of the friendship of the peoples, invincible bulwark of all the progressive forces of our time. This is vividly seen in the Soviet Union's world-historic achievements in building communism, in its growing help to the fraternal countries of socialism, in its resolute support of fighters for freedom and independence, social and national liberation, in its purposive, active fight for the peace and security of the peoples, a vivid expression of which is the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress.

In marking the 50th anniversary of the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that prototype of the future world cooperative of free peoples, we extend, together with heartfelt gratitude, our most sincere best wishes to all the working people of the country building communism.

TSOLA DRAGOICHEVA

Political Bureau Member,
Bulgarian Communist Party

Friendship between the BCP and CPSU, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, has entered its golden age; it has become a cardinal factor of our people's victorious advance to socialism.

1. I came to the Soviet Union late in 1932, by decision of our Party Central Committee, to restore my health, undermined in prison (I had been sentenced to death), and to study at the International Lenin School. I decided to combine both and in this I was supported by Georgi Dimitrov, whom I met in Berlin on my way to the USSR.

Leningrad, which I have always considered the world's most beautiful city, was my introduction to the Soviet Union. I visited buildings associated with Lenin, the cruiser *Aurora* and the Smolny

Institute. Then came Moscow and the Lenin School. My teachers and classmates and the Soviet comrades I met showed me the greatest concern. Everyone was anxious to help me regain my health, knowing that as a fighter for socialism I would have to go through much hardship.

Things were difficult for the Soviet Union in those days. The country had to tighten its belt to speed up industrialization. The people accepted the shortages of food, clothing, housing, for they knew that everything had to go into building up industry and modernizing agriculture. Their political understanding, vision and culture were remarkable.

Their historic achievements under Communist Party leadership have vast international implications. The Soviet Union has demonstrated the superiority of a planned socialist economy, has greatly strengthened its economic and defense capacity and enjoys high authority in international affairs. And this has contributed to the growth of mass revolutionary activity in the capitalist countries, notably among the workers, strengthening their confidence in victory.

It is nearly 35 years since my first visit to the USSR. There have been other visits since then and each time I was struck by the great changes that had taken place. Rapidly and confidently the people advanced to new victories along the road indicated by the genius of Lenin, and every fresh advance brought out with new force the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party.

With a feeling of joy and pride I followed the growth of the world's first socialist power. And now, led by the CPSU, it is approaching the great goal set by Lenin, Communist society. Last year's 24th CPSU Congress reviewed progress towards that goal: uninterrupted economic growth, strengthening of the country's defenses, marked improvement in living standards in town and country, continued development of socialist relations and Soviet democracy, strengthening of the moral and political unity of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, closer friendship of the Soviet peoples, and the USSR's enhanced influence in world affairs.

The Congress approved the directives for the ninth five-year plan, an important stage in the advance to communism and in laying its material and technical foundations.

2. Throughout all these years I have been strongly influenced by my close contact and friendship with Soviet Communists, members of Lenin's Party. I became convinced that the Soviet Communist, the Bolshevik, is made of a special alloy. He is always ahead, always on the most difficult job, always daring and optimistic, and always utterly devoted to principle.

And it was from the Bolsheviks that I learned how I could best serve the Bulgarian Communist Party. They fortified my devotion to the international Communist movement, proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism. From the Soviet Communists and people I learned fully to appreciate the achievements of our Party and the leadership of men like Dimitr Blagoyev, Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov.

The attitude of the Soviet Communists and people to Dimitrov left me with an indelible impression. He was welcomed as a true disciple of Marx, Engels and Lenin and afforded every opportunity to continue his work. I recall Dimitrov's arrival after his release from fascist prison – he was greeted by a jubilant Moscow, he was welcomed by the entire country.

In addition to my studies in the International Lenin School, I made a point of studying the experience of the CPSU and its fight against all manner of opportunists – the Liquidators, Trotskyists, Mensheviks – who tried to distort and discredit Marxism-Leninism. It became clear to me that this had an important bearing on world socialism and the revolutionary process. I drew on the experience of the CPSU in my own revolutionary work in Bulgaria.

Ever since my first return to Bulgaria in 1936, and particularly after the victory of the Bulgarian socialist revolution on September 9, 1944, I have tried to assimilate, to the best of my ability, everything born of the experience of the Soviet Union. The USSR played a decisive part in defeating the Nazi invader and liberating Bulgaria from monarchic and fascist oppression and capitalist domination. CPSU experience helped the Bulgarian Communists defeat the class enemy and, after victory, consolidate popular rule, guide the country's development and launch out on the building of socialism.

3. The formation of the USSR, that vast Euro-Asian multinational socialist state, was of truly epochal significance. It powerfully influenced social progress throughout the world.

Much of the credit for the emergence of this voluntary federal union of free nations must go to Lenin. He carried further the ideas of Marx and Engels and formulated the scientific principles of the Communist Party's national policy, emphasizing that national and every other oppression could be eliminated only by overthrowing capitalist domination. And he showed that the national question could be solved only from positions of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet state is a gigantic laboratory in which there are tested the advantages of the socialist system, its ability not only to eliminate oppression, but also to bring the peoples together for socialism and communism; its ability to carry out a deep-going cultural revolution and instil a profound feeling of internationalism. And it is in the successful solution of these problems that I see, primarily, the international implications of the Soviet Union's first half-century.

Soviet experience and CPSU policy have clearly demonstrated the vitality of Leninism. For the Soviet record of achievement and the USSR's consistent internationalist policy are having a powerful impact on the global revolutionary process and its main streams, the socialist world system, the international working class, and the national liberation movement.

The new type of international relations is gaining ground in step with the socialist world system. Led by their Communist and Workers' parties, the members of the socialist community are patterning their relations on socialist internationalism, which has

found practical expression in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty defense organization. Realization of the long-term socialist integration program will even out or bring closer together economic levels in CMEA countries, enabling the community to achieve maximum productivity and enhance its influence in international affairs.

The socialist revolution and socialist progress in Bulgaria provide irrefutable proof of the relevance and value of Leninism and the Soviet Union's experience in building socialism. True to the principles of Leninism, the Bulgarian Communist Party has always sought correctly to combine the national and international in its activities. Friendship between the BCP and CPSU, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, has entered its golden age; it has become a cardinal factor of our people's victorious advance to socialism. This friendship, and the Soviet Union's disinterested and all-round support exert a deep and beneficial influence on every facet of socialist construction in Bulgaria. And grateful generations of Bulgarians fully appreciate that only Soviet assistance made it possible, in so short a historical span, to build a modern industry and large-scale mechanized agriculture. Relying on the economic strength of the USSR, the new Bulgaria is making great strides also in science and technology.

Close cooperation between our two countries is an objective necessity, flowing from the very nature of socialism and communism. They share a common socio-economic system, have common interests and aims. They are confidently marching ahead under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The Bulgarian Communist Party's Marxist-Leninist policy of strengthening the social, economic, ideological and political unity of the people is the earnest of their happiness and prosperity. The Party approaches the problems involved in building socialism and developing our socialist society in their interconnection. At this stage, our aim is mature socialism.

To this end we want to bring closer together all the nationality groups inhabiting the country, all the component parts of the Bulgarian people, into a single communist nation. We are working towards the social and ideological consolidation of the people, the builders of socialism. We are following a correct and tested road in creating the material and spiritual conditions for training the new man of communist society.

DEZSO NEMES

PB Member, Hungarian
Socialist Workers' Party

The existence of the USSR is the chief international guarantee of the development of the socialist countries.

1. In September 1931 I went to Moscow by decision of our Party Central Committee to study at the International Lenin School, the Comintern's political school.

As soon as I crossed the border I felt that I was among class brothers. My treatment at the border was in sharp contrast to what I had to go through at the hands of the fascist frontier authorities when I left Hungary with a false passport – that was the only way I could get out of the country.

This was a time when capitalism was in the throes of a world crisis. And it was against this background that the USSR was working on its magnificent program of socialist industrialization which also greatly contributed to the collective farm movement, then on the upgrade.

I was doubly happy to be in Moscow. As a Lenin School student I would get a thorough political training in a relatively short time. In addition I could follow the labor effort of the Soviet people, which was of such great importance for the whole of mankind. For we students visited Soviet factories, studied the work of trade union, Party and administrative organizations. And we saw how peasants from the still backward village became the skilled workers needed for an industry developing at a fantastic pace.

Many of our students were skilled workers themselves and they welcomed every opportunity to pass on their know-how to their Soviet brothers.

To this day I remember with what enthusiasm we read the dispatches from the production front – the growing daily output of the new Stalingrad Tractor Plant, construction of the Dnieper Hydropower Plant, expansion in steel, engineering, and so on. I remember, too, the concerted offensive on old ingrained customs that were impeding progress, and how they were being replaced by a socialist code of conduct. The rapid growth of production, volunteer labor days, the spread of shockwork methods, all testified to the growth of socialist consciousness.

2. For all of us the remarkable development of Soviet society in 1931-32 was a source of inspiration. True, things were by no means easy; many goods were in short supply, but I understood the reasons for this. The Soviet people understood them even better when they set out quickly to eliminate the backwardness inherited from the old system. Their remarkable enthusiasm was expressive of a vast creative potential, and it was applied in the battle against difficulties, in achieving and surpassing the five-year targets. This dedicated effort was the earnest of steady and rapid progress.

I returned to the Soviet Union in 1936 and stayed until 1945. For a time I worked in a Moscow furniture factory and became part of an enthusiastic and dedicated collective.

The cultural revolution made education available to all. I could not finish secondary school in Horthy Hungary. I did so in Moscow by attending evening courses at the factory. After that I enrolled in the History Department of Moscow University. I was no youngster, but I studied and lived together with Soviet boys and girls and, just as at the factory, I was given every consideration by the students and instructors. There was always a feeling of warmth for a Communist emigré.

Together with the Soviet people I lived through the Great Patriotic War, shared in their Herculean labor effort, saw the organization of volunteer regiments to defend Moscow, the muster of anti-aircraft and anti-tank detachments, the constant flow of supplies to the front. And I would like to stress that, notwithstanding the tragic losses, which affected nearly every family, the people's faith in the Party and in victory never faltered.

During a much later visit, in 1958, I went to the factory where I had worked in 1936-38. I looked for old acquaintances, and I found some, but no men among them – they had all been killed in the war. And I shall never forget the tragically laconic replies of the women workers when asked about their husbands: 'killed at the front,' 'killed in the war.' But these sad words also carried deep awareness of the fact that the men had done their duty to their country, and their memory will live forever.

Since then I have had occasion to visit various parts of the USSR including many of the union republics. The picture I saw everywhere was one of change and growth. A while ago I travelled in Siberia. I was amazed by the scale of construction and the high technical standards. In the tsarist days Siberia was a place of exile, a land of suffering, but today the very name Siberia, Soviet Siberia, has a proud ring.

3. Voluntary union of Soviet Republics – such a multinational state could be established only by nations that had carried out the socialist revolution under the leadership of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party. By joining forces, the Soviet republics became invincible and assured the sustained progress of all the peoples belonging to this united socialist state. The abolition of political boundaries between the union republics created boundless opportunities for new, socialist relations. And these opportunities became realities in an exceedingly short span of history.

Formation of the Soviet Union enhanced the international influence of the world's first socialist state. And this, in turn, helped the class struggle of the international working class, the liberation struggle of peoples subjected by imperialism and strengthened the peace movement. In short, the Soviet Union is the *main bulwark of world revolution* and as such has a great political and moral impact on the world revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement.

The positions won by the USSR fully prove the correctness of creating a close-knit union of Soviet republics.

- The USSR successfully resisted the concerted pressure of imperialism and consolidated popular rule.

- The USSR laid the foundations of socialism and then built a socialist society.

- The USSR successfully withstood the incredible trials of World War II and played the decisive role in crushing the fascist bloc.

- The USSR discharged its historic liberation mission in Europe and Asia. It helped the peoples of the European and Asian socialist countries organize popular rule and build the new society.

The Soviet Union's historic role lies in the fact that socialism,

built in one country, developed into a world system that is rapidly advancing, and Soviet society has entered the stage of building communism. These majestic victories were won in hard and persevering struggle powered by the revolutionary energy of the Soviet people. That truth cannot be obscured either by the splitting activities of the Maoist leadership or by other enemies of socialism that are trying to sow confusion in our ranks. And no machinations by moribund capitalism, its speculation on differences within the socialist camp, can hold back the continued advance of socialism, of which the Union of Soviet Republics is the main force.

The existence of the USSR is the chief international guarantee of the development of the socialist countries. This is fully appreciated by our people who owe their liberation to the Soviet Union. We Hungarians are linked with the friendly Soviet people by thousands of political, economic, scientific and cultural ties. They make it possible for the Hungarian people to study the experience of socialist construction in the USSR, which is of tremendous importance to our country.

HERBERT WARNKE

PB Member, Socialist
Unity Party of Germany

*The attitude to the Soviet Union
and its Communist Party is the
touchstone of fidelity to Marx-
ism-Leninism.*

1. I came to Moscow at the close of 1933 for a conference of the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern). This was my first and relatively short visit to the Land of Soviets.

The country was engrossed in a vast construction effort. Industrialization and socialist reorganization of agriculture demanded of the Soviet people the exertion of every ounce of energy. But they showed a lively interest in the struggle of the working class in the capitalist world. As a German anti-fascist I was keenly aware of their fraternal solidarity.

That was nearly 40 years ago. Moscow and the Soviet Union have changed beyond recognition thanks to the far-seeing policy of the CPSU and the development of the socialist state. But the consistent internationalism and class solidarity of the Soviet people remain unchanged.

This was convincingly reaffirmed by the 15th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions in March 1972 which I attended as head of the delegation of the Free German Trade Unions. Representatives of 98 million Soviet trade unionists discussed how their organizations could best carry out the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress and the trade unions' role in the further development of Soviet society. But the Congress was also expressive of the people's devotion to proletarian internationalism, their solidarity with the patriots of Vietnam and with all peoples battling for freedom and independence. For the Soviet people support of the world revolutionary movement is inseparable from their love of their socialist home-

land. They are the best and most devoted champions of peace and social progress.

2. November 7, 1917 – the day that ushered in a new era in human history, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism – had a powerful impact on my life and work. Led by the Bolsheviks, the Russian workers and peasants took over political power. The first decree of the young Soviet Republic, the Decree on Peace drawn up by Lenin, urging an end to imperialist war, had reverberations in Germany as in other countries. It showed me, and many others, that the victory of the Russian working class had brought into being a state resolutely opposed to war.

I joined the German Communist Party when I was 21. For all of us German Communists the Soviet Union and its Leninist Party served as a shining example, especially in the dark years of fascism. Driven into clandestinity or emigration, we continued to fight for the working-class cause, drawing strength and inspiration from the achievements of socialism in the Land of Soviets.

With a feeling of hope and admiration I followed the Soviet Union's titanic struggle against the Hitlerite aggression to free Europe from the yoke of German fascism. Nazi propaganda did everything it could to instill the idea that the multi-national Soviet Union would crumble. But, guided by their class consciousness, the German Communists never for a moment doubted that the Soviet people's moral and political unity, the strength of the fraternal union based on Lenin's national policy, would assure victory. And the victory over fascism in the Great Patriotic War convincingly demonstrated the superiority of the Soviet Union's social and political system.

3. In the Communist Manifesto, that birth certificate of scientific communism, Marx and Engels foresaw the path mankind would follow and drew this important conclusion: 'In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.'

This prediction has come true in the Soviet Union which in the past 50 years has demonstrated the strength and durability of its multinational state. It has demonstrated, too, that only under socialism can nations truly flourish.

The formation of the USSR, that fraternal union of more than 100 nations and nationalities, was the beginning of sustained and comprehensive progress. The Soviet Union has set a sterling example of consistent application of Lenin's national policy and of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

For our Party and people the USSR is the pioneer of human progress. And we believe that, with due account to the lessons of our own history, the attitude to the Soviet Union and its Communist Party is the touchstone of fidelity to Marxism-Leninism.

Led by the SUPG, the working people of the GDR have always drawn on the rich experience of the Soviet Union. 'To learn from

the Soviet Union is to learn the art of victory,' that slogan has become a guiding one for our Party members, and today this is more important than ever before.

The Eighth SUPG Congress, which discussed the building of developed socialism in the GDR and approved directives for the 1971-75 five-year plan, set the immediate goal of higher material and cultural standards for the people. That can be attained through a high growth rate in production, scientific and technological progress, higher effectiveness and higher labor productivity. In all this we can draw on Soviet experience. The high level of scientific research, the vast scope of the emulation movement, the joint work of Soviet workers and technical intellectuals, the rich fruits of Soviet cultural life—we want to draw on all this to attain the aim set by the 8th SUPG Congress, for the benefit of the people, for their happiness!

GHEORGHE STOICA
Member Executive Committee,
Rumanian Communist Party

*The Soviet success is a triumph
for Marxism-Leninism.*

1. I came to the Soviet Union for the first time to take part in the Seventh Extended Plenary Meeting of the Comintern Executive at the end of 1926. On our delegation, headed by Elek Koblos, Secretary of the RCP, I represented the Young Communist League, and naturally, as a young Communist raised in the international tradition of the Rumanian labor movement was eager to see the world's first socialist country. Our movement had hailed the victory of the October Revolution and mobilized the masses to help defend its gains, sponsoring many solidarity actions.

After numerous adventures, evading the secret police of several capitalist countries, we finally stepped on Soviet soil. It was a different world. And my most vivid recollection is of the revolutionary spirit that one felt everywhere, which was the earnest of the great achievements to come.

It was symbolic that the Comintern Executive convened in the Kremlin, that representatives of so many Communist and Workers' parties gathered in the vast Georgievsky Hall, from which the tsar's throne had not yet been removed, to discuss matters concerning the revolutionary struggle.

I spent several weeks in Moscow, and each day left indelible impressions. The fruits of the constructive labor of the worker-peasant power were to be seen everywhere. The enthusiasm in the factories was inspiring. The plants were headed by people of working-class origin.

The revolutionary élan filled us with confidence that the traces of the old world still visible in those days, would soon vanish and that the Soviet people, led by their Communist Party, would surely attain their aims.

I have been in Moscow many times since. And on each visit I saw new advances.

2. I was in the USSR during the Second World War, a time of grim trials for the Soviet people. I had come in 1940, after having fought with the international brigades defending the Spanish Republic against fascist aggression, and was a lathe operator in the railway-car works in Kalinin. Then came the war, and I went through those days of tension with the Soviet people. The Rumanian political emigrés volunteered to help in the war effort. Undergoing military training, I came to Moscow in October 1941: it was a battle zone, an invincible fortress in the life-and-death struggle against the Nazi invaders.

I remember clearly the deep impression made on everybody by the traditional military parade in Moscow's Red Square on November 7, 1941, when the Nazis were at the door of the city. From the parade, the Red Army units went directly to the battlelines. For me this was a sign of Soviet might and the people's confidence. Having performed a revolution and tackled the building of the new society, the people had risen as one man to defend their revolutionary gains and their dearly beloved country. At the approaches to Moscow the Nazis were given the first taste of defeat. It was the beginning of the end for fascist Germany and facilitated the creation of the anti-Hitler coalition.

3. The Soviet Union – the world's first multinational socialist state – was erected in line with Lenin's principles of the self-determination of nations and voluntary federation of free peoples. Their effectiveness is borne out by the 50 years of the Soviet Union. The Soviet peoples had to cope with tremendous difficulties and face grim trials, but never failed to emerge victorious. The USSR grew into a mighty state. The Soviet success is a triumph for Marxism-Leninism.

The workers and progressives in Rumania, as I have said, welcomed the October Revolution and came out in its defense. Many Rumanian revolutionaries defended the young Soviet state with arms in hand. Our Communist Party opposed the reactionary anti-Soviet policy of the exploiting classes, and worked for friendship and cooperation with the USSR.

The RCP always learned from Soviet experience and that of the other socialist countries. It applies the Marxist-Leninist teaching creatively to concrete conditions, and faithfully follows Lenin's policy in the national question, stressing the role and significance of consolidating the socialist nation in the struggle for socialism, progress and world peace.

BLAS ROCA

Member CC Secretariat,
Communist Party of Cuba

Lenin's genius determined the basis for the union of the free soviet peoples in a voluntary federation.

1. It was in the autumn of 1934 that I first stepped on Soviet soil, so dear to all of us. I had been delegated by my Party to a session of the Comintern, attended by Latin American Communists to dis-

cuss the preparations for the Seventh Comintern Congress, which took place in the summer of 1935.

The impressions from my first visit to the country where the proletariat had carried out a victorious revolution resemble those of my subsequent visits mainly in one point: all of them are imbued with everlasting affection for the Soviet people. My trips to the Soviet Union have convinced me that it never fails in its internationalist duty and is the mainstay in the struggle for socialism, national liberation and peace.

I treasure my collections of Moscow, of its old wooden houses that later gave place to tall modern buildings. But my fondest recollections are of the fraternal affection, understanding and friendship that I encountered everywhere.

Take the following episode. Moscow had just begun building its famous subway. Thousands of Muscovites gave generously of their free time to help in the digging. One Sunday, I too, took up a spade. During the short break I told the men around me through an interpreter about our struggle against the Machado dictatorship – the general strike, the Soviets we had formed in Mabay and the Yankee warships that had steamed to the island to intimidate us, and the brutal repressions that followed. And I was deeply moved by the tears in the eyes of the workers at my story of slain and tortured comrades. These elderly men regretted that they could not take part in our struggle, and were not satisfied with my explanation that the very existence of the Soviet Union, the socialist revolutionary achievements of the worker-peasant power and the Soviet economic and cultural successes, were for us of invaluable help.

During my later visits I saw the impressive changes in all spheres and was deeply conscious of the friendship and lofty internationalist spirit of the Soviet people.

In 1934, the USSR was occupied with its second five-year development plan. Meanwhile, fascism was priming for war, which a decade later, amid appalling destruction and unheard-of crimes against humanity – like those now committed by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam – ended in total defeat for the Hitler aggressors. I had seen the Soviet people working with dedication, in difficult conditions, to industrialize their vast country and equip their economy with machines that would lighten their labor and also forging the weapons later used against the Nazis.

On my first postwar visit I saw the terrible wounds of war and the strenuous rehabilitation and development of the economy. Factories, housing developments, sanatoria and schools were being built, and mechanization introduced everywhere, lightening labor and increasing output. I admired the man-made lakes, the automated hydropower stations, the navigation canals and irrigation systems. I visited new schools, universities, libraries, workers' clubs, and splendid children's institutions. Everywhere people were working to improve their life. I saw the newly opened shops with their large variety of merchandize, and gardens and parks laid in the open spaces. I visited the Exhibition of Soviet Space Achievement and the museums honoring the exploits, heroism and labor

of the Soviet people, their great revolutionaries and, first and foremost, the great Lenin.

From my visits to the Soviet Union I gained an insight into the source of its greatness – the successful development of all the Soviet republics as they build socialism and communism, and the outstanding role of the USSR as the mighty citadel of the world proletariat and the peoples fighting against imperialism and capitalism.

2. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern in Moscow influenced my whole life. Georgi Dimitrov's speech and my meetings with Wang Ming and Manuilsky made the deepest impression.

Like all Communists, I was stunned by the perfidious Nazi attack on the Soviet Union and pained by the grim days of 1941 and 1942. Yet my comrades and I were never assailed by doubt. We knew that the socialist country would win. And we knew that our main objective was to build up solidarity with the Soviet people, who were laying down their lives for their country, their future, and the future of all mankind.

The Moscow celebrations of the centenary of the birth of our Marti were an event of a different kind. Here I was impressed by its internationalist content.

Also impregnated in my memory are the CPSU congresses I was privileged to attend.

3. As I see it, the worldwide relevance of the formation and successful growth of the USSR – a voluntary union of free peoples – derives from the proof it provides that under socialism different nations and nationalities can and do live together in friendship and fraternity. It is the foundation upon which an ever-expanding community can be built, and ultimately the great commune of all nations.

Lenin's genius determined the basis for the union of the free Soviet peoples in a voluntary federation – the equality of all nations and nationalities, fraternal cooperation and guaranteed national development. Backward regions of the former Russian empire have quickly grown into prosperous republics with an advanced industry and agriculture, marching along the socialist way in a united federative state. That is the experience Comrade Fidel Castro, First Secretary of our Party and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, had in mind when he said that with the growth of the Latin American anti-imperialist and social revolution we shall come together economically and politically in a great community of Latin American peoples.

FRANCISZEK LECZYCKI
Polish United Workers' Party

*Friendship with the Soviet Union
is the cornerstone of the policy
of People's Poland.*

1. Years before the formation of the Soviet Union other members of the Polish movement and I had been working hand in hand with Russian revolutionaries. We fought together against tsarism, and

took the consequences together too. Transported east of the Volga, I got to know the two opposite images of the Russia of those times – autocratic tsarist rule, and the plain people.

Among the 'exiles were men and women of different nations and nationalities. As we got to know each other we became close friends. This friendship tempered our political outlook, fortifying the spirit of internationalism as the foundation of our unity. Those were seeds that yielded the harvest of the October Revolution. The Soviet Union was founded on the principles of internationalism.

The changes in the USSR in these 50 years have been tremendous. It has grown into a powerful socialist land. But one thing has not changed and is only more pronounced – the Soviet people's profound solidarity with all nations fighting for freedom, for socialism. The successful growth of the Soviet state has only accentuated the significance of this solidarity.

2. The Soviet Union's war against the Nazi aggression was decisive for the Polish people and my own life. We worked underground in Hitler-occupied Poland and linked our hope of liberating the country with the heroic stand of the Soviet people.

When fascist Germany attacked our country in September 1939, starting the Second World War, the Polish Communists took the correct, patriotic and class position, and lost no time in organizing resistance. They broke down the gates of prisons and joined the fighting ranks. Underground anti-fascist organizations sprang up at once, such as the Hammer and Sickle, Union of Friends of the USSR, and Proletarian. I joined the League of Liberation.

As the Nazi hordes moved East along all roads in June 1941, my heart contracted from the thought that this avalanche was rolling into the Soviet land. We were stunned by reports of towns and villages in flames. And we knew that Poland's national and social deliverance would come only through struggle jointly with the Soviet people. Our aim was to strike enemy communication lines crossing Poland to the East.

Resistance to the occupation and construction of the new People's Poland was headed by the Polish Workers' Party founded in 1942. I had the good fortune of attending the first meeting of its members.

As a staff officer of the People's Guard and, later, the People's Army, I knew that by expanding operations against the Nazis, the Polish partisans and underground resistance fighters were helping the fraternal Soviet Union in its titanic struggle as well as defending their own people against the threat of extermination.

We followed the situation on the Eastern front very closely, were agitated by the first dramatic battles of the Soviet Army and rejoiced over its victories, which were bringing closer the day of our liberation. The victory over Hitler Germany was won at the price of great suffering and incalculable sacrifice.

The war changed not only my own life, but was also decisive for the future of my country. It paved the way for the materialization of the Polish Workers' Party program and brought about the birth of People's Poland.

3. Before replying to the third question, I should like to recall one or two things. I had the rare good fortune of meeting V. I. Lenin in person in Krakow 60 years ago, when working on behalf of the Polish Left Socialist Party for *Political Prisoner*, a newspaper of the Krakow League of Aid to Political Prisoners. Materials brought to our office, mainly by Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, came to me to be translated. The Russian revolutionaries and the Soviet state always followed the principles of internationalism in the question of Poland's independence. The Polish Communists and other progressives also followed these principles.

For the Polish Communists fidelity to internationalism and fraternal feeling for the Soviet Union have always been the main criteria of a true revolutionary. The example of the USSR, its struggle against home and foreign enemies, the heroism of the Soviet people in building socialism — this has always inspired the Polish Communists in our common battle. Every success of the Soviet people the Polish Communists regard as part of their own success in fighting for a socialist Poland.

The rich Soviet experience is highly relevant for the consolidation and prosperity of our own country. Friendship and alliance with the USSR is the cornerstone of the policy of People's Poland and a key factor in the socio-economic program, the foundation of our socialist construction, adopted last year by the Sixth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Acting on the Leninist principles of internationalism, the cornerstone of the Soviet Union, our Party works for the unity of the socialist states, the world Communist and working-class movement.

WILLIAM KASHTAN

General Secretary,
Communist Party of Canada

We have learned and continue to learn from the rich experience of the Soviet Union.

1-2. I first visited the Soviet Union in 1933. I was then Secretary of the Young Communist League of Canada and was participating in a Plenum of the Young Communist International in Moscow.

I recall the crowded streets of the Soviet capital, young fellows with their girl-friends sitting in the parks. People then were not too well-dressed. Housing was both poor and inadequate. Cars were few and far between.

These surface manifestations, however, could not hide the hustle and bustle of the Five-Year Plan which was laying the groundwork for socialist construction in the country. Wherever one went one noticed the enormous enthusiasm and energy of the people, who had undertaken to transform the country into a powerful socialist state.

What a transformation has taken place over these decades!

I have visited the Soviet Union often in the postwar period. Moscow continues to change with each passing year, something which is true all over the Soviet Union. New buildings and apartments

cover the city. People are well-dressed. Now one has to watch one's step in crossing the street because of the multiplicity of cars. More and more public amenities, catering establishments, clubs, movies are making their appearance.

These surface manifestations mirror the vast changes which have taken place in the economy as a whole, the purposeful advance of the Soviet Union in all fields, the great breakthroughs in science, space and technology, the continuing development and extension of culture and socialist democracy, the great optimism and confidence of the people in the achievements of the Soviet Union.

From a 'prison of nations' of the past, the Soviet Union has emerged as a union of free and equal nations. In its 50 years the Soviet Union has become a mighty force for peace, democracy, independence and socialism.

The Five-Year Plans of the Soviet Union created a big impression on me. The capitalist world was ridden by economic crisis and mass unemployment. This was the situation in Canada which brought with it close to a million unemployed, mass evictions from homes and farms, the uprooting of families.

In contrast to this situation the Five-Year plans of the Soviet Union gave a vivid example of the benefits of planning and of the ability of socialism to undertake vast economic development projects on that basis, geared to the industrialization of the country, the raising of standards, the creation of skills, the development of culture. They not only developed the economy in an all-sided way, but, not least, strengthened the defense capacity of the Soviet Union for the heavy trials which would face it in the coming years.

What further made a powerful impression on me was a difficult period of the war, when fascist Germany attacked the Soviet Union as part of its drive for world domination. Our Party was illegal at that time and special steps were taken to rally public support for the building of the anti-fascist alliance in Canada as an integral part of the worldwide anti-fascist front.

These were difficult days. The fascist juggernaut had been able to make some temporary advances against the Soviet Union. The capitalist press speculated about the possible collapse of socialism. But it was not socialism but fascism that collapsed. By the tremendous exertion and heroism of its people socialism helped to save mankind from fascist slavery and opened a path of advance for national and social independence for many peoples and countries.

This titanic struggle against fascism, in which the Soviet Union was the decisive force, brought home to me again the power and might of socialism, the tremendous heroism of the peoples of the Soviet Union determined to defend and build their new system of society no matter at what sacrifice.

In the same way as the Soviet Union had pioneered in building a new system of society free of exploitation of man by man, so it pioneered in the conquest of space, underscoring the great opportunities inherent in socialism.

An unforgettable impression was the 24th Congress of the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union with its grandiose plan for creating the material and technical basis of communism, coupled with the launching of a truly historic worldwide peace offensive. This peace offensive has already made a significant impact on the course of international events and further narrowed down the freedom of movement of imperialism while extending and widening the front of struggle for peace and socialism on a worldwide scale.

3. In the half-century since it was constituted, the Soviet Union has shown that only socialism can solve the age-old and complex national question in a truly consistent and fundamental way. This has been the historic contribution of the 50 years existence of the USSR as a multinational state. The existence of the world's first multinational socialist state was and remains a stimulus for the colonial peoples striving for their freedom and independence, no less than it is an example for all countries which have rid themselves of colonialism.

Nowhere has capitalism been able to solve this question, based as it is on a system of exploitation of man by man and on oppression and inequality. The evidence of this is all around us. Racism and apartheid in South Africa and Rhodesia, the discrimination of the races in the USA, bloodshed in Northern Ireland, these are part of the evidence of our time. As for socialism, the Soviet Union is living proof of the ability of nations to live together as brothers working for common aims. Socialism alone creates the conditions where a more advanced nation renders fraternal assistance to a less developed nation.

Canadian Communists have seen in the multinational voluntary federative union of free peoples an example of Leninism in practice and have applied Lenin's teaching on the national question to Canadian conditions. Lenin showed us the dialectical relationship between the struggle for the right of nations to self-determination, including secession and the formation of an independent state, and the struggle against separatism and for common struggle for a better life and for socialism.

We have learned and continue to learn from the rich experience of the Soviet Union. Canadian Communists have fought through the years for the national right of the French Canadian people. The Communist Party has fought and fights for the adoption of a new Canadian Constitution based on the equal, voluntary partnership of the two nations in Canada and on their right to self-determination and political sovereignty. Canadian Communists have opposed and continue to oppose the slogan of separatism as a reactionary slogan which weakens the unity of the working class in its struggle against monopoly and for fundamental social change and plays into the hands of U.S. imperialism. It is precisely the democratic solution of the national question which creates the necessary conditions for strengthening the unity of the working people enabling the working class to carry out its historic mission.

JORGE DEL PRADO

General Secretary,
Peruvian Communist Party

We cannot conceive of Marxism-Leninism without drawing on USSR experience, without solidarity with its internationalist policy.

1-2. I first came to the USSR in 1959 for the 21st (Special) CPSU Congress. What impressed me most on this first visit was the Congress program for all-round economic development to provide the material and technical basis of communism. Need I say how gratified I was to see the ideals for which I had fought so many years being brought to reality? I felt that the program was of vast importance for the world's future.

I spent all my time in Moscow, some of it acquainting myself with its architecture, the contrast between the old and the new, postwar buildings. But my strongest impression was of the people: their modesty and remarkable hospitality, their revolutionary solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

Contacts with the Soviet Communist Party opened a new world to me and fortified my revolutionary ideals. I regarded reality more objectively, and precisely because of that I admire the CPSU's serious approach to all problems and its great sense of historic responsibility. This has enabled it to advance with firm step in building communist society, at the same time following an international policy of world peace and support for oppressed peoples.

3. The formation of the USSR, that voluntary union of free nations, demonstrated above all the strength and vitality of scientific socialism, of Marxism-Leninism as a whole. This strengthened and enriched our revolutionary theory. The existence of the Soviet Union is an inspiring example to all peoples fighting for freedom in colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries. But it is also a factor of powerful and effective assistance to us Peruvian Communists. For in our battle for national independence, socialism and communism we have to cope with the problem of oppressed nationalities. And in this respect Soviet experience, the history and development of the USSR, are of inestimable help. We cannot conceive of Marxism-Leninism without drawing on USSR experience, without solidarity with its internationalist policy which strengthens the socialist camp and the world Communist movement.

JACQUES DUCLOS

Member PB, French CP

The proletarian state – a state of a new type – is one of Lenin's most impressive scientific discoveries.

1. I first visited the USSR in 1928. In comparing today's Soviet Union with what it was 44 years ago, I wish, first of all, to point out its vast progress in every field. This progress has also changed the face of Moscow, which was once something of a big village

but has since been transformed into a beautiful modern city without losing its unique historical color.

Also worthy of note is the headway made in the standard of life, in culture, and in fostering the spirit of collectivism and common responsibility.

2. Numerous events associated with the Soviet Union have stamped my own life. First among them was, needless to say, the October Revolution. I was a war prisoner in Germany at the time and I regarded the Russian revolution as a beacon for mankind, the first revolution to avenge the Paris Commune and the harbinger of worldwide victory for socialism. During the Soviet people's Great Patriotic War against Hitlerism I was a member of the leadership of the French Communist Party, which was fighting against the Nazi invaders. I fully appreciated the significance of the heroic battles being fought by the Soviet Army and realized that all nations owed everlasting gratitude to the Soviet Union, without which fascism could not have been beaten.

3. Old Russia, which Lenin's Party led to the October Socialist Revolution, was a far-flung chauvinistic power whose rule meant colonial oppression for numerous peoples.

The Soviet state born of the October Revolution made a special effort to end oppression and inequality. The government led by Lenin included a People's Commissariat for Nationality Affairs. The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia established the free development and complete equality of all the country's peoples, whom it granted the right to self-determination, including secession and the formation of an independent state.

In December 1917 the Soviet government recognized Finland's political independence and renounced all unequal treaties concluded by the tsarist regime. Its appeal 'To All the Working Moslems of Russia and the East' proclaimed the freedom and inviolability of their national and cultural institutions, customs and beliefs, and guaranteed their right to shape their life in freedom, without let or hindrance.

Tsarism sought to keep the peoples of Kazakhstan, Central Asia and the Caucasus in a backward state. Soviet Communists set out to lead the peoples of one-time tsarist colonies to socialism, skipping the capitalist stage of development. Juridical inequality was abolished but the task was to end factual inequality as well. This necessitated disinterested material aid from the developed Soviet peoples to brother peoples lagging behind. In those underdeveloped regions, the task was to set up industries close to raw material resources, develop Soviet statehood, strengthen government and economic bodies, bring into being a press, schools and theatres using the language of the region concerned. A further task was to organize the training of indigenous specialists.

On December 30, 1922 the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, meeting in Moscow, adopted the Declaration on the formation of the USSR and elected its highest legislative body – the Central Exe-

cutive Committee of the USSR – which appointed V. I. Lenin Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.*

That was how the multinational Soviet socialist state was founded under the leadership of Lenin's Communist Party. The new state was formed on the principle of voluntary membership and of retention of national sovereignty by every Soviet republic. It was a proletarian federative state, a state of a new type, one of Lenin's most impressive scientific discoveries.

In his notes dated December 31, 1922, Lenin, speaking of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, stressed that this important political development would be marked in world history by the final awakening of the peoples oppressed by imperialism and that a 'resolute, long and strenuous struggle for their emancipation' would begin. Seeing now, half a century later, what has become of the colonial system, we realize the great significance of Lenin's prediction. The colonial system has collapsed and the Land of Soviets has played an outstanding role in that collapse, which enabled numerous peoples to win independence.

As for the progress achieved by the Soviet Union, one has only to have eyes to see that the 50th anniversary of the rise of the great union of peoples is a political event of international magnitude.

Soviet experience shows how countries vastly differing in economic development, cultural standard and population can build a multinational union on the principle of complete equality, with all citizens enjoying equal opportunities. We are undoubtedly in the presence of a most exhaustive and most successful experiment.

Through the very formation of the USSR, established in the spirit of socialism and under the aegis of socialist power, Lenin showed how to solve the problems of nationalities, do away with juridical and factual inequality between nations and unite them in one family advancing to communism.

*After the victory of the October Revolution Lenin had been Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. – Ed.

LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

General Secretary,
Brazilian Communist Party

The formation of the Soviet Union was an epochal event in the struggle of the peoples for social progress, peace and fraternity.

1. I was a political emigre in Montevideo when I was offered a job as engineer in the Soviet Union.

I came there in November 1931. Some visitors were blind to the real meaning of the great battle to build the material and technical basis of socialism. All they saw were the things on the surface, and – having expected a fully-built social paradise – experienced disappointment. Later developments showed that the sacrifices of those heroic years were not in vain. The Soviet people built

a powerful material and technical base, which enabled them to crush Hitler's war machine and restore the war-ravaged economy in a relatively short space of time, turning the Soviet Union into an industrial giant.

Architecturally, Moscow is now one of the world's most beautiful cities, with many comforts for its large population. In a way, it is the symbol of the titanic works that converted the Soviet Union into a great socialist power, whose might and international prestige are the main guarantees of world peace.

2. During my three years in the Soviet Union I witnessed many important events. They left an indelible mark on my whole life. The way Communists at all levels worked in the difficult conditions of those days evoked my deepest admiration. I was impressed by their rapport with the people, and the manner in which they explained the unavoidable shortages and hardships, which they showed to be but temporary. The Communists and the politically conscious workers discharged the tasks set by the Communist Party and the government of the USSR with unfailing devotion. And at the factory meetings, which were held at the more difficult moments, I was impressed by the freedom and sincerity of the speakers. But more impressive still was the calm and firmness with which the Communists faced criticism, and their ability in proving their point and defending the Party line. By their persuasion the masses were drawn into the great battle for socialism.

The meetings helped me to see the roots of the moral and political unity of the Soviet people. And when Nazi Germany attacked the USSR in 1941 I never doubted the ultimate victory. I had faith in Lenin's great Party, I believed in its leading role, and knew that it could forge the socialist patriotism of the Soviet peoples into an invincible force.

3. The formation of the Soviet Union was an epochal event in the struggle of the peoples for social progress, peace and fraternity. Before the Soviet state came into existence, the history of the human race, of society divided into classes, was one of class contradictions and national conflicts. Not until the October Revolution abolished class oppression and exploitation of man by man, was it possible to form a voluntary fraternal union of nations in one multinational state. The 50 years of the Soviet Union have confirmed the Leninist principles of resolving the national question, based on the dialectical unity of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, which delivered a staggering blow at bourgeois nationalism. Therein lies the immense significance for the Communists of Brazil of the Soviet experience of national and state development.

The terrorist military dictatorship in our country is serving U.S. imperialism and cultivating in our people a spirit of national exclusiveness, egoism and narrowness. It is importing to Brazil imperialist mores and customs, and thus gradually obliterating the progressive trends in our national culture. This makes it doubly important for our people to learn about the flourishing national

cultures of the Soviet republics. The rapid economic and cultural growth of these completely equal republics contrasts sharply with what we have in our country, where the uneven development of capitalism is only adding to regional inequality and imperilling the unity of our nation, to say nothing of the exceedingly lamentable condition of the indigenous population, which is doomed to extinction.

The imposing Soviet experience is helping us to bring home to our people that only by abolishing the exploitation of man by man and introducing socialist relations can we have real national unity, eliminate regional differences, assure a uniform development of all our provinces, save the native population from extinction, and guarantee the flowering of our national culture on the basis of our traditions.

MAX REIMANN

Honorary President,
German Communist Party

Under the leadership of the CPSU, the Soviet Union has become a mighty bulwark of world peace.

1. No event has influenced my life more than Lenin's Decree on Peace, which is part of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The moment the workers and peasants of Russia took their country's destiny into their own hands, they showed that Soviet power and peace are synonymous. This was clear evidence of the truly humane nature of socialism.

The young Soviet Republic's call for peace spread quickly to the Western Front—the German and French trenches. I was then 19, and stationed with my unit at Winterberg. The toll in lives claimed by the war on both sides was tremendous. And the survivors had had enough of the war. All they wanted was to go home. Lenin's Decree on Peace expressed the cherished wish of the workers and peasants in soldiers' uniform.

While the Social-Democratic parties of the Second International portrayed the predatory imperialist war as 'defense' of the Fatherland, Lenin's Party acting in the interests of the international working class, firmly opposed all bellicose chauvinism. And it has been true to proletarian internationalism at all times. Under the leadership of the CPSU, the Soviet Union has become a mighty bulwark of world peace.

2. My Party sent me to the Soviet Union in 1929 with Anton Saefkow to see the coalmines in the Donets Basin. The people we met there displayed tremendous enthusiasm. Their eyes were fixed on the future. They followed the Communist Party, which was doing its utmost to step up the output of coal and steel, and to raise the standard of living.

The Soviet people had but one goal—to build upon the socialist foundation a mighty industry, to develop transport and agriculture. The shortage of skilled labor had spread to mining, hinder-

ing higher output. So the Party arranged for the training of workers. The difficulties receded one by one. Socialist industrialization made great progress. By completing the first five-year plan well before schedule, the people demonstrated the advantages of socialism over capitalism. The capitalist world was in the grip of an appalling economic crisis. Germany alone had 5-6 million unemployed. The German and Soviet governments concluded an agreement, allowing the stricken German miners to accept jobs in the USSR. Some 2,000 responded. They went from an industrially developed capitalist country, which, however, had failed to provide them with a more or less bearable existence, to a young socialist state, where the people had set out to end the inherited age-old backwardness, and by their labor tried to show their sympathy.

It is more than 40 years since my first visit to the Soviet Union. In this short time the USSR has grown into a great industrial power.

3. The 50 years of the Soviet Union have shown that socialist society can and does resolve the national question. The socialization of the means of production and abolition of exploiting classes has removed the causes of economic expansionism and national oppression. Nationalism—an ideology sustained by capitalist interests—has been torn out by the roots. Yet to overcome national and racial antagonisms cultivated over the centuries by landowners and capitalists is a very difficult thing. The Soviet union succeeded, because the Communist Party's educational work accentuated the profoundly humane principle of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet Union's Leninist national policy has had a revolutionizing influence on the liberation struggle in the colonial and dependent countries, and has created a reliable basis for the anti-imperialist alliance of world socialism, the international working class, and the national liberation movement. The imposing changes in the formerly backward republics of the Soviet Union are a convincing example for all peoples oppressed by imperialism, inspiring them to fight for independence, democracy and progress. After attacking the Soviet Union, Hitler tried in vain to ignite national strife in the nazi occupied territory, but the unity of the Soviet peoples inspired one and all to fight back.

The influence of Soviet foreign policy on international affairs is tremendous. In relations with the capitalist states, including the FRG, the Soviet Union follows the principle of the peaceful co-existence of state with different social systems. And if its relations with the FRG had been strained in the past, this was due to the anti-communism of the West German reactionaries. The theory which the Soviet Union concluded with the FRG conforms with the Leninist policy of peace reaffirmed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. It is helping the progressive forces in our country to promote peace. In view of past experience, the prime task of the German Communist Party is to combat every type of nationalism and anti-Sovietism and thereby assure the implementation of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties.

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU

General Secretary,
Progressive Party of
Working People (AKEL) Cyprus

The Soviet peoples are successfully building the most prosperous and advanced society of all – communist society.

1. Due to the oppressive British colonial regime existing in Cyprus until 1960 and some other factors beyond our will, our Party had its first contact with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1957. The Communist Party of Cyprus, which was declared illegal in 1931, maintained contact with the Comintern, but following illegality this contact was severed.

Unfortunately, it was not until 1957 that I could come to the Soviet Union, and this to receive medical treatment. The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was in session then, but I was too ill to attend it.

My first impressions from this visit were that the dynamic Soviet people had, with the utmost speed, made good the tremendous damage and devastation caused by the Hitlerite hordes that invaded the Soviet Union. The wounds were still healing, but I had the impression that the steeled Soviet people under Leninist leadership were capable of unheard-of feats and accomplishments.

Only 15 years have elapsed since my first visit to the Soviet Union and from what I have seen progress made in all spheres of social activity is really tremendous. My impression after attending the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March-April 1971 is of a truly breathtaking-rate and pace of progress. The Soviet people has everything needed to create the material basis of communism. Hence the excellent results of the socialist economy and the promise of even greater results in the next few years. Under CPSU leadership the Soviet peoples are successfully building the most prosperous and advanced society of all – communist society.

2. The events of the Second World War and the decisive contribution made by the Soviet Union in smashing the Hitlerite war machine and liberating all countries that came under Nazi occupation are forever engraved on my memory.

No other country in the world could have sustained the terrific onslaught of the mechanized Attila who, having conquered practically the whole of Europe, used all its resources against the Soviet Union. No other country in the world could have beaten back and finally routed the Nazi hordes who, having plundered the whole of Europe, launched their offensive for world conquest. No other people in the world had performed such feats of heroism and sacrifice and rendered humanity such priceless services. Nothing can pay the debt owed to the selfless sacrifice and heroism of the Soviet peoples, which saved the world from Nazi slavery.

My memory takes me back to those critical years of the Second World War when the fiercest battles in all history were raging on a front extending from Karelia to the Black Sea and the approaches to the Caucasus. I recall the terrible plight of the inhabitants of

Leningrad who fought to the death rather than surrender to the Nazis, the undaunted, invincible defenders of Moscow and so many other Soviet towns. And I shared the anguish and pride of millions of working people the world over during the great battle of Stalingrad. I was confident in Soviet victory because of my implicit faith in the Soviet people led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party of Lenin.

3. The international significance of the constitution of the USSR is tremendous. The first socialist state of workers and peasants has given the world an example of what a multinational state can be once capitalism and all that goes with it are abolished.

The young capitalist state, under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Lenin, was the first state in the world to extend the right of self-determination to all nations under tsarist imperial rule. And the outcome of the application of this principle is the voluntary union of 15 equal Soviet Socialist Republics that make the magnificent edifice of the USSR.

For the Communists of a small country like Cyprus, whose people still fighting to rid themselves of all the vestiges of imperialism and colonial rule and to determine freely their future, the example of the USSR is of tremendous importance. Because it teaches them that as long as the imperialist presence and influence remain, there can be no full independence, allowing the people of Cyprus to determine their future and be masters of their own destiny. Hence, the struggle of the people of Cyprus is still basically anti-imperialist, national-liberation in character. Into this struggle are drawn all patriotic elements that want an independent, sovereign, unified, non-aligned, democratic and demilitarized Cyprus. The successful outcome of this struggle will clear the road to full economic and national freedom.

APOSTOLOS GROZOS

CC Chairman, CP Greece

The Greek people deeply appreciate the solidarity of the Soviet people in our fight to rid the country of the military-fascist dictatorship.

1. My first visit to the USSR was in 1932 as a member of a Greek workers' delegation (tobacco and farm workers, shoemakers and others). We were in Moscow, Dnepropetrovsk, Lugansk, Kharkov and other parts of the vast country, met and talked with government and public leaders, workers and peasants.

Together with the late comrades Valianatos and Porfirogenis, I attended the World Congress of the International Labor Defense in Moscow. There I met leaders of the international Communist movement, among them Dmitri Manuilsky, Wilhelm Pieck and Sen Katayama.

At that time the Soviet people were successfully completing their first five-year plan, while the capitalist world was staggering

under the blows of the 1929-31 economic crisis. And the Soviet Union, the first and only worker-peasant socialist state, stood out as a beacon against this sombre background of economic chaos, poverty and unemployment, further aggravated by the crisis. The USSR illuminated the path to a brighter future for the working people of capitalist countries.

Life in the Soviet Union was dominated by the great construction effort. In close alliance with the laboring peasantry, the workers were enthusiastically building the new, socialist society, undaunted by difficulties which today it is even hard to imagine.

Revisiting the USSR in 1934, I could measure the progress made by its people. The workers were proud of their country's achievements, and pointing to some new machine would say: 'We make it ourselves.'

2. My overall impression of those years is of the boundless heroism of the Soviet people in building socialism—the way they overcame all the formidable difficulties, their fidelity to the ideas of Lenin and the October Revolution, their selfless labor for the good of their country and, as events were to show, for the good of the peoples of the world. It is not without emotion that I recall those brave years and reflect on what difficulties had to be surmounted in building the new life. It is gratifying to know that, closely rallied around the Party of Lenin, the Soviet people have transformed their country, made it powerful and prosperous. That is conceded even by our enemies. These magnificent achievements testify to the greatness of the people and their Party.

Founded by Lenin, that Party brought many nations and nationalities into a monolithic union. And under the Party's leadership they crushed the Nazi aggressors, and are now building communism on the firm basis of socialism. True to the principles of internationalism, the Soviet Union helped other nations cast off the fetters of capitalism, contributed tremendously to the emergence of the socialist world community and gave valuable aid to many ex-colonial nations. The USSR, the bulwark of the socialist world system, is working unremittingly for world peace to prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe. It is actively helping the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, the Arab East and other areas. That is why all progressive mankind celebrates the 50th anniversary of the USSR.

3. The victorious path traversed by the USSR over the past half-century has worldwide implications. The 'Soviet miracle' has strengthened the influence of Marxism-Leninism, the only revolutionary world outlook capable of ridding mankind of exploitation and setting it on the road of freedom and progress.

The voluntary union of Soviet peoples has proved successful because it rests on a socialist and internationalist foundation. That is a powerful stimulator of the progress of each people and the guarantee of its equality. The USSR has effectively solved, on the basis of Leninism, one of the most sensitive questions of our time, the national question inherited from the bourgeois-landlord system.

Hatred has given way to friendship, chauvinism to fraternity, and estrangement to closer ties between the nations. All these achievements are of vast importance for the progress of mankind. They serve to strengthen the positions of socialism and to develop the workers' and anti-imperialist movements.

Our class enemies are aware of that. That is why they are at such pains to slander socialism and Soviet policy.

I should emphasize that the vast majority of our people do not succumb to the propaganda conducted on orders of the imperialist invaders. Their fleet pollutes both the waters and political atmosphere in the Mediterranean. The Greek people want to be masters in their own house. They want enduring peace in Europe and support the all-European security and cooperation conference proposed by the USSR and other socialist countries. They have every faith in Soviet policy, for from its very inception the USSR has consistently worked for peace and has supported our people's fight for independence, freedom and social progress.

Our Party is combatting imperialist incitement of national discord in the Balkans. True to the idea of Balkan brotherhood, and in full accord with Marxism-Leninism and internationalism, it calls for the removal of all artificial impediments to normal relations between the countries of our region and continues to work for peace, progress and socialism.

The Greek people deeply appreciate the solidarity of the Soviet people with our fight to rid the country of the military-fascist dictatorship, that instrument of the Pentagon and NATO and of Greek and foreign monopolies. Our people feel that given closer militant unity and the support of other peoples, they can win back their democratic rights and will be free to shape their future.

RUTH LUBICH

Member of PB, CP Israel

The formation and progress of the USSR played a historic role in the revolutionary renovation of the world.

1. It was a happy day in my life when, in December 1949, I set out on my first trip to Moscow as a representative of the progressive Arab and Jewish women of Israel. I arrived late at night. On my way to the hotel I asked to be taken across the historic Red Square, then covered with snow. The moonlight set off the unique beauty of the domes of St. Basil's Cathedral, the Spassky Tower, the crenellated Kremlin wall. I stood reverently in front of the Lenin Mausoleum.

My meditation was broken off by chimes - I was standing close to the Kremlin clock marking the minutes and hours of the Soviet people's advance to socialism and communism. It was a great moment in my life.

Since then I have been to the Soviet Union several times and have

learnt much about its people and their life. Far-reaching changes have occurred in these twenty-odd years. The Soviet people have made immense progress in the economy, in science and technology, in building communism. The only thing about them that has not changed is their modesty. They are ready as ever to make sacrifices for their lofty ideals, and as always they want genuine friendship with all nations and lasting peace on earth.

2. What left a particularly strong imprint on my life was the Soviet people's victory over fascism in the Great Patriotic War. With the war still on, I felt certain that the great Soviet Army would rescue the world from the horrors of Nazism. A Jewish Communist then living in Palestine, I realized like most of my countrymen that if Hitler's armies ever reached our region they would launch a terror campaign against the Communists, wipe out the Jewish population and bring misfortune and sorrow on the Arabs.

The Nazi armies stood at Tobruk and the road to Palestine lay open. Jewish capitalists were packing up and had booked all outgoing flights. But the Jewish and Arab working people had no way of escaping and it was the Soviet Union that headed off the looming disaster.

Millions of sons of the great Land of Soviets gave their lives to deliver mankind from fascist bondage. Everybody should remember this – no one has a right to forget it.

3. Comrade Kalinin, speaking at the First All-Union Congress of Soviets (December 1922), which proclaimed the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, said that this date would go down in history. Fifty years have passed since then and reality has proved Comrade Kalinin correct. The formation and progress of the USSR played a historic role in the revolutionary renovation of the world.

There are two worlds today: the imperialist camp with its exploitation of the working people and its national and colonial oppression, its chauvinism and militarism, and the socialist camp, which precludes exploitation and oppression and in which all peoples cooperate on an equal footing and are dedicated to peace. The growing strength of the socialist community of nations benefits the fight of all peoples for national independence, freedom and peace.

Imperialism and Zionism are still strong in Israel. They use all economic, political and military means at their disposal to foment national hatred between Jewish and Arab working people and aggravate the antagonism between Israel and the Arab countries. The Middle East has for years been a sphere of imperialist 'divide and rule' policy, which nowadays breeds armed conflicts and wars.

In line with the Leninist principles of settling the nationality question and with due regard to half a century of Soviet experience, we Israeli Communists tell our compatriots that our people's well-being and happiness cannot be built on the sorrow and suffering of another people nor on robbing it of its national rights. Those who justly insist on recognizing the legitimate rights of the Israeli

people should respect the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Our Party, which is loyal to proletarian internationalism and expresses the interests of the Israeli people, demands an end to the occupation of Arab lands, the withdrawal of Israeli forces to the positions they held before June 4, 1967, and the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution. Execution of every provision of the resolution would lead to a just and durable peace in our region.

In 1919, when the USSR had not yet been formed, Lenin called for a union of free peoples based on mutual trust and brotherhood, and ruling out the use of force by one country against another. These principles are applicable to our conditions as well. The Communist Party of Israel urges the people to establish peace and co-operate with the Arab nations. Our watchword is, 'With the Arab peoples against imperialism and not with imperialism against the Arab peoples.'

TIGANI BABIKER

CC Secretary,
Sudanese Communist Party

The Marxist-Leninist teaching on the national question and the experience of the USSR have helped us to see how this question can be resolved in our own country.

1-2. I was privileged to attend in Moscow the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution, a jubilee festively marked throughout the world. This was in 1957, and it was my first visit to the Soviet Union. Even the foes of socialism spoke of the Soviet scientific and technological achievements that rang in the era of space exploration.

The USSR exercises a distinct influence on the rapid progressive changes throughout the world. The thoroughly decayed colonial system is crumbling on the African continent. The national liberation movement is on the march in the Arab countries. National revolutions are creating the premises for social revolution and close unity with the progressive forces headed by the Soviet Union.

Sudan won her independence in January 1956 and established diplomatic relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. All the big political parties were represented on the Sudanese delegation to the anniversary celebrations.

Due to bad weather in Europe we landed in Moscow only in the evening of November 7. The mass demonstration was over. But the atmosphere was festive and we joined Soviet people in the street celebrations. Moscow University, the new huge hotels, the Metro and the USSR Exhibition of Economic Achievement evoked our admiration.

Then we spent three days in Leningrad, where we saw the landmarks associated with the history of the revolution—the famous

Smolny, and the cruiser *Aurora*, whose salvo on that historic day of the October uprising echoed and re-echoed in the hearts of workers everywhere. We also visited the little place called Razliv, where Lenin took refuge from the counter-revolutionaries and charted the victory of the socialist revolution.

My impressions from that first visit were impregnated with heartfelt sympathy for the great Soviet people and Lenin's Party with its heroic history. At the same time, I was able to cast off some illusions. The land of Soviets, I had thought before, was something like a 'paradise' where difficulties were unknown. Yet it was a mere 12 years then since a destructive war had claimed millions of lives and reduced to ruins thousands of towns, factories, mills, and power stations. Furthermore, the Soviet Union bore the immense burden of aiding the peoples of China and of many European and Asian countries in their passage to socialism. It was also helping the national liberation movement in various countries. Last but not least, it had to face up to the very real military danger emanating from the imperialist states, and to allot colossal resources for its armed forces guarding the socialist gains, peace and security. Upon learning all this, I saw the USSR in a different light. I became aware of the Soviet people's unexampled heroism, for while continuously straining to improve their own life, they were also performing their international duty and serving the interests of all mankind with deep sincerity and lofty purpose.

I have visited the Soviet Union many times since, and my every visit showed steady improvements in the life of the people. Today, the Soviet people are preoccupied with the imposing program of the 24th CPSU Congress for building the material and technical basis of communism, which will bring the country closer to its radiant future.

Among other events related to the growth of the Soviet Union, I was deeply impressed by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which played an important part in restoring the Leninist principles of Party life and condemning the cult of the individual.

The CPSU exercises a strong influence on the international revolutionary movement. The laugh is on those who had maintained that the world Communist and working-class movement is on the verge of collapse. Their hopes that the masses would turn their backs on Marxism are dashed. Leaders who succumbed to dogmatism and subjectivism are also consigned to oblivion. Despite imperialist intrigues and the disruptive activity of Maoists and other 'Left' and Right opportunists, Marxism-Leninism is winning the hearts and minds of ever new millions and showing the peoples the way to socialism, democracy, national and social liberation.

3. For us Sudanese Communists the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR is an exceedingly important event. Sudan has many nationalities and tribes. And the bourgeoisie has proved incapable – theoretically as well as practically – of resolving our national question.

That question can be resolved only on the basis of the Marxist-

Leninist principles, and this the vast majority of the founders of our Party knew perfectly well. The formation and successful 50-year development of the USSR – a voluntary union of free peoples – is important for all countries, as well as Sudan. Soviet reality proves that the Marxist-Leninist approach to the national question is the only correct conception, showing the way to fruitful fraternal cooperation of nations and nationalities in the framework of one state.

The Marxist-Leninist teaching on the national question and the experience of the USSR have helped us to see how this question can be resolved in our own country. Since 1953, the Sudanese Communist Party has been advocating regional autonomy for South Sudan. It is firmly opposed to the standpoint of the ruling classes, who would impose Northern rule on the South, thus facilitating imperialist plots of splitting the country. The policy of the ruling classes provoked an armed struggle that lasted for over 16 years and cost the lives of tens of thousands of citizens.

The national question in Sudan will not be solved until we have genuine socio-economic and political equality between the tribes of the North and South. This is not the case now; solution of the national question depends entirely on victory in our people's struggle for progress and democracy.

JOAQUIM PIRES JORGE

CC Member,
Portuguese Communist Party

Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of the USSR yield a correct understanding of the national question, help to find the right solution, to consolidate proletarian internationalism, and to expand the powerful anti-imperialist front.

1. My first visit to the Soviet Union was in 1958; I saw the heroic people who had performed the Great October Revolution under the guidance of Lenin's Party and then inscribed so many glorious chapters in history, exercising a decisive influence on the development of all human society over the past half century.

Hardly 13 years had passed then since the Great Patriotic War. But in this short time the economy in areas that had been overrun by the Nazis was in full growth and the country's industrial output greatly surpassed prewar.

Here and there traces could still be seen of wounds inflicted by the invaders on the world's first workers' state. But what impressed us most was the remarkable creative capacity of the Soviet system, the tremendous energy of the people. The Soviet Union was a scene of constructive labor impelled by wise planning under the guidance of the CPSU and whole-heartedly supported by the working class, the whole people.

I have come again 14 years later, and see how greatly Soviet

economic power has grown, how the standard of living has risen as the people build up the material and technical basis of communism. The figures speak for themselves. But seeing it all at first hand is far more impressive.

Once dormant Siberia was awakened by Soviet power and has proved fabulously generous, a land of incalculable riches and great opportunities. The Bratsk and Krasnoyarsk hydropower stations rank among the biggest in the world. Large deposits of valuable raw materials have been found and are now being developed.

Briefly, Siberia has changed beyond recognition. We met men and women of different nationalities, Soviet citizens with equal rights and duties, working hand in hand for the common good, for communism.

Fourteen years ago, during my first visit to Volzhsky, on the left bank of the Volga near historic Stalingrad, it was a town for the builders of the Volga Hydropower Project. Now it is an attractive city with wide streets, imposing community buildings, and new blocks of houses.

The examples I have given here apply to all the Soviet republics. The significant progress is the result of heroic labor and unshakable fidelity to Lenin's principles, of the fine work by administrators and all other members of society building the economic foundations of communism. Knowledge of Soviet achievements, a fruitful example for all, helps in the revolutionary education of Communists and the toiling masses, showing shining perspectives for people of good will across the world.

2. Many of my Soviet impressions will be with me forever. But for me, a Communist and a Portuguese, one impression was especially strong: the profound respect which the Soviet people have for other nations, their deep internationalist spirit. I told them about the fascist dictatorship oppressing our people, about the economic plight of our working people, stripped of rights and freedoms, about repressions, the economic and political struggle for a better life. And the tokens of sincere solidarity with the struggle for democracy and socialism in my country – that is something I shall never forget. Wherever I went I was always conscious of the warmest friendship.

3. The international significance of the formation of the USSR, embodying the scientifically grounded national policy of the Communist Party and harmonizing the interests of all the fifteen republics, is exceedingly great. Soviet policy makes a tremendous impact on the struggle of the peoples against all forms of oppression, colonialism and neo-colonialism, opening up the prospect of independence and the socialist way. This is why the 50th anniversary of the USSR will be celebrated everywhere and is relevant for the entire world.

The fascist dictatorship in Portugal is a tool of national and foreign finance capital, and therefore deeply alien to the interests and feelings of our people. The nation thirsts for freedom and denounces oppression of other peoples, speaking out and fighting

against the fascist regime's criminal colonial war in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, where patriots are battling courageously for their independence.

The Soviet experience of national and state development is highly valuable. All Communist parties and revolutionary forces should draw on it. Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of the USSR yield a correct understanding of the national question, help to find the right solution, to consolidate proletarian internationalism, and to expand the powerful anti-imperialist front. Communists, workers and the people of Portugal study it, because, adapted to our own conditions, it can be highly beneficial.

RODOLFO QUINTERO
CC Member, CP Venezuela

We are celebrating half a century of steady progress by a socio-political organization unprecedented in world history.

1. In 1965 Moscow played host to the World Congress of Anthropologists, which I attended as a delegate of the Central University of Venezuela. My trip to the Soviet Union on that occasion enabled me to acquaint myself with the greatest creation of modern mankind—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—and to appreciate the society heralded by Marx and built under Lenin's leadership after the first socialist revolution.

I gave all my free time to meetings with Soviet people. As I studied their way of life and their labor I discovered many interesting and impressive things. I saw them working to provide the well-being of every member of socialist society. Already they had substantial gains to their credit, even though much work still lay ahead.

A few years later I revisited the Soviet Union and saw new great achievements. The country's development is unintermittent. My own observations and the evidence at my disposal speak of the Soviet Union's advance to an optimum relationship between man and the environment, which the finest minds of mankind have always sought.

2. One is struck by the Soviet citizens' deep patriotism and consistent internationalism. They will not hesitate to give their lives in repulsing an aggressor or to help peoples fighting for liberation in any part of the globe. This sterling devotion was salient during Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, in World War II, and it finds expression today in the Soviet Union's internationalist support of the peoples of small and oppressed countries. All this deeply impresses me and has made me a true friend of the Soviet Union wholeheartedly admiring its achievements.

Creating an environment that would ensure man's social well-being largely depends on the proper application of the Leninist nationality policy. An embodiment of this policy is the USSR, a voluntary union of free peoples which will complete 50 years of

development this year. We are celebrating half a century of steady progress by a socio-political organization unprecedented in world history. The Soviet Union was built up through collective effort, in the course of the people's fight for socialism. It unites men and women closely linked by a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and a lofty goal, communist society.

3. The existence and experiences of the Soviet Union unquestionably influence the revolutionary activity of the Communists and all working people of Venezuela, who want progress and friendship among nations. Soviet experience reveals the difference in relations between nations in capitalist society, marked by national and class contradictions, and in socialist society, which brings nations close together. Socialism solves this problem by peacefully and gradually overcoming traditional distrust, eliminating the exploiter classes and establishing genuine equality for all nations on internationalist principles. The process culminates in imparting common communist features to the way of life, in particular to morality and culture.

Soviet achievements add to the impact of scientific socialism on the workers and disinherited of our country. They win the Soviet Union a growing number of friends, including noted men of science and culture. Venezuela's progressives are celebrating the jubilee of the big family of nations united by socialism.

VICTOR J. MERCHAN
CC Member, CP Colombia

The USSR has become a leading world power whose people are making rapid headway in building their new life.

1. Our Party's Executive Committee sent me to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1936. My first trip to the homeland of socialism had a twofold object: I needed a rest and medical treatment after more than a year in jail as a Communist advocating the interests of the Tequendama peasants, and I wanted to acquaint myself with socialist development in the Soviet Union and with Soviet realities in general. Notably I wanted to see how Soviet workers and peasants took part in running the country and what it was that helped to change their economic, political, social and cultural life.

A trip to the USSR from Latin America involved many difficulties at the time and took weeks: first by boat and then by train across Europe. Fascism was in power in Germany and the sight of Gestapo men at every railway station was an unpleasant experience.

I remember our arrival at the Soviet frontier early in the morning and the brotherly welcome we were given there by Soviet civilians and Red Army men. I would like to mention a small detail which meant much to me as a revolutionary. A frontier guard stepped into our compartment and greeted us. He noticed that there were buttons missing on my coat. He got a needle, thread and buttons and helped me put things right. I realized then that

the Soviet people's friendliness towards foreign working people was anything but affected. It had become second nature, a standard of behavior for every member of the new, socialist society.

2-3. I visited several factories with a group of other foreign guests. We talked to workers and attended a trade union meeting which discussed the factory's operation. Workers discussed how the factory's profits of the past year should be distributed. They discussed questions of expansion, replacing obsolete plant, paying off credits granted for housing and medical care, and raising the employees' living and cultural standards. Many of their suggestions were accepted and the factory manager was instructed to take the necessary action.

Numerous facts told us that the working class really played the leading role in the state and that government bodies, trade unions and enterprise managements took steps to improve the people's living and working conditions. That is why the standard of life is steadily improving in the Soviet Union. It is a policy framed and pursued by the Communist Party.

We also visited Soviet Tajikistan. Before the October Revolution its people were oppressed like other national minorities. The Tajiks told us of the two periods in the history of their land. Before October 1917, the majority of the population were nomad herdsmen. The land was owned by big proprietors while the vast landless majority of the population lived on the edge of starvation. Tajik women and girls had to wear veils over their faces and were subject to discrimination and prejudice.

During our visit we saw an entirely new life in Tajikistan. Agriculture was on the rise and the republic was setting up its own industries. There were neat canteens in which workers were served excellent meals. Women took part in every aspect of public life and received an education on an equal footing with men.

Since then the Soviet Union has made further immense progress – a result of the policy of the CPSU and the government which has turned the USSR into a leading world power whose people are making rapid headway in building their new life.

RANJI CHANDISINGH

Member Central Council,
People's Progressive Party
of Guyana

The experience of the Soviet Union – a voluntary union of free peoples together building their happy future in harmony – is an object lesson to toiling humanity.

1-2. In my second year at Harvard College, USA – at the age of 17 or 18 – I sat in on a course on Government. I secured a copy of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, sat down in my room to read it – and could not sleep that night. But I had not at that early age been able to grasp the

real essence of Soviet power. I was becoming enmeshed in the fine intricacies of bourgeois democracy. Then, as I read the articles of the Soviet Constitution – simple, direct, concrete, straightforward – it was a revelation to me. Like a flash, many things that were clouded and confused became clear. The cobwebs of bourgeois-democratic, liberal conceptions that hindered my vision of the truth were suddenly dispelled.

I now knew why official quarters and the press in the United States heaped so much slander on the Soviet Union and communism. And it was not because – as they alleged – there was no democracy, no freedom in the Soviet Union; rather, their hatred sprang from the fact that there was too much democracy, too much freedom and equality for their liking, and that exploitation of man by man was abolished. I decided that very night that the Soviet socialist system was the most just in the world, and my place was beside such a people and such a social system.

I set out to find and read as much as I could about the Soviet Union, relished the rare occasions when Soviet films were shown, and eventually found my way to the Communist Party.

My first visit to the Soviet Union was in 1957, to attend the World Youth Festival in Moscow. To the accompaniment of the lilting strains of the melody, 'Moscow Nights,' our train approached Moscow. My excitement was intense, for although this was my first visit, I felt as if I had been travelling through the Soviet Union before – through the media of books, magazines, films, public lectures, and such classes as the 'History of the CSU.' I was thus prepared for what I saw – but reality was even much more impressive. The warmth of the welcome accorded us by the Soviet youth and by the people as a whole left a favorable and lasting impression.

I again visited the Soviet Union as a fraternal delegate from the People's Progressive Party of Guyana to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

Visiting the USSR gives one the feeling of being an explorer. For me each visit has revealed something new and significant, and this refers not only to the marked physical changes and improvements that are taking place all the time.

For example, after attending the 23rd CPSU Congress I was able to visit Tashkent. The Chief Architect took us on a tour of the city, pointing out the new apartment buildings constructed after the recent earthquake. 'These apartments were built as a gift for the people of Tashkent by the Muscovites, those over there were constructed by Ukrainians . . .' he told us, and as we drove along we saw that the builders of the new houses came from all parts of the multinational Soviet Union. Here, before our eyes, was a vivid, concrete expression of the internationalism of the Soviet peoples.

3. The experience of the Soviet Union – a voluntary union of free peoples together building their happy future in harmony – is an object lesson to toiling humanity. It has shown the way that

the nations of mankind must eventually travel. Lenin and the Communist Party found the form of state structure which inspired confidence on the part of the formerly oppressed peoples and nationalities, and at the same time united the working people for struggle toward the common goal of communism.

This was the first time a state was led by the working class and its vanguard – the Communist Party – which put into practice the historic mission of the proletariat – not only its own liberation but the liberation of all the other oppressed classes, peoples and social groups. On the basis of Lenin's national policy there was forged on one-sixth of the earth a big socialist country with big-hearted people. Eliminating discrimination and special privileges based on race or nationality, and providing for the full development of all the peoples of the multinational state was a most important achievement of the USSR.

The rapid development of the formerly backward areas within the framework of the new Soviet state system, encompassing proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, the development and flowering of culture encouraged and attracted countless persons who joined in the struggle for liberation.

In the course of the transformation of our Party into a Marxist-Leninist party, the experience of the Soviet Union, guided by the CPSU, is a very positive factor in the development of Communist cadres. We have the task of raising Communist cadres imbued with the values of proletarian internationalism and the rich traditions of the international Communist movement. As such, we see it as part of our duty to inculcate in the rising generation of Guyanese Communists a proper understanding not only of the past experience and traditions but also of the present-day reality of the role of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is the true champion of the oppressed peoples, it is giving the greatest aid – in different forms – to the liberation movements everywhere, and all in all, is the staunchest bastion of the anti-imperialist front, of the world socialist system and world communism.

MOHMOUD el ATRACHE

Socialist Vanguard Party
of Algeria

To all people on earth the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries extend a hand of friendship.

1. In August 1927 I came to the Soviet Union to join the Communist University of Eastern Peoples. Like many other Algerian revolutionaries, I had dreamt of seeing the Bolshevik country, the worker-peasant state.

The first thing that struck me when I disembarked in Odessa was the outer appearance of Soviet citizens. None were in rags, and none in fine apparel – a contrast to which I was accustomed in my own country. For the first time I saw women working alongside men. One day, another comrade and I wandered into a Moscow

courtroom, and saw a waitress from our university restaurant sitting at the judge's desk. I learned that Soviet courts are composed of elected representatives of the people.

2. With my university mates I took part in the struggle against the Trotskyite opposition. This was an important event in my life. Lenin's Party mobilized all organizations to combat the Trotskyites' intrigues and disruptive activity, to smash their counter-revolutionary positions. Looking back today, one cannot help regretting that the present Chinese leaders borrow their ammunition from the long since bankrupt Trotskyism which experience proves hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

Participation in the discussion of the first Soviet five-year plan, drawn up on the instructions of the 15th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, has also left an indelible impression. It set important targets for rapid industrial growth, especially of heavy industry, for farming, trade and culture. And the people tackled it with an enthusiasm simply beyond description, with the result that it was fulfilled in four instead of five years. This made me realize how great the vanguard role of the Communist Party is in rallying the masses for socialist construction.

The heroism and endurance of the Soviet people in repulsing the Nazi aggression made a tremendous impression. They crushed the aggressor—chiefly due to the superiority of the socialist system over the decayed system of capitalist exploitation, and to the unity and single-mindedness of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people delivered the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world from the threat of Nazi slavery. Their victory helped the workers and peasants in a number of countries to shake off capitalist and landowner rule, and to embark on the socialist way under the leadership of their Communist parties.

3. The great significance of the existence of the Soviet Union, a mighty power, transcends the outstanding role it played in building and consolidating the socialist world system. Soviet policy has delivered crushing blows to colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Soviet Union is loyal to proletarian internationalism and never fails to aid the forces of national liberation, the peoples fighting for their rights and independence.

The Soviet Union takes a firm stand against imperialist aggression wherever it occurs. Generous and selfless aid flows to the heroic people of Vietnam, all the peoples of Indochina, in their battle against the U.S. intervention. No better friends exist for our Arab peoples than the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They supported us during the perfidious Israeli aggression and are helping to eliminate its consequences.

To all people on earth the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries extend a hand of friendship. The forces of social and national liberation are steadily consolidating throughout the world in step with the growing might of the socialist countries. Only yesterday any attempt to go against 'his majesty' the oil cartel, plundering the natural wealth of the Arab countries, seemed hope-

less. Today, measures have been taken to contain the foreign monopolies. Last year Algeria nationalized her oil, delivering the country from the domination and plunder of the French trusts, which had no choice but to submit to the will of our people. The people of Iraq, too, have nationalized their oil, striking at the power of the Iraq Petroleum Co., a British monopoly.

Using their oil in the interest of their own people, the Arab countries could make great strides in industrialization and the battle against the colonial heritage of backwardness and poverty, advancing along the non-capitalist way in order finally to go over to building socialism. This will also come about when the Arab national liberation forces intensify the struggle against imperialism, Zionism, the local reactionaries and their henchmen, and form united national democratic fronts, like those now being built in Syria and Iraq. It will come about if Arab countries consolidate and expand cooperation with their natural allies, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the democratic forces and the forces of peace all over the world.

Like the other Communist and progressive parties and organizations in Arab countries, the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria is doing its utmost to further these important tasks.

GEORGES van den BOOM
Communist Party of Belgium

The USSR has torn out national oppression by the roots and blazed the way for other countries.

1. In 1928 I was delegated to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow. The Soviet Communist Party took us on a tour of several cities, where we visited various institutions.

What impressed us most was the labor élan and confidence of the Soviet people. Life was still fairly hard. There were shortages of many things, and a housing problem. The counter-revolution had not yet laid down its arms and was trying with imperialist support to sabotage production and malign Soviet power. It exploited survivals from the tsarist regime to incite sections of the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry against the new system. But the overwhelming majority stood firmly for the revolutionary cause and were confident that socialist society would be built.

I was also impressed by the immense prestige of the Communist Party. Workers and peasants trusted the Party and fully accepted its leading role in the great battle just mounted for a brighter future. The Soviet Communists were doing their utmost to extirpate nationalism, bring the Soviet peoples closer to each other, and to organize mutual aid in both the economic and cultural spheres.

It is simply impossible to compare the Soviet Union of those days with what it is now. The strength of the USSR, one might have said then, stemmed partly from the weakness of its enemies. Now, the Soviet Union is a great power, the center of world social-

ism, an indestructible bastion of peace, a reliable support of peoples fighting for social and national emancipation against aggression and imperialist interference.

2. It may seem strange but (apart from what I have mentioned before) one of my greatest impressions was that of the Moscow Metro. For it banished all my remaining doubts – sown when I was still in the Socialist Young Guard of Belgium – about the ability of workers free from capitalist exploitation to build a socialist society. And it also helped me to appreciate the meaning of the Party's leading role.

Responding to the call of the Party, guided by experienced engineers and foremen, thousands of men and women, many of whom had come from neighboring villages and had never before handled modern machines, were building the Metro with truly inspiring enthusiasm. They did not falter in face of the difficulties. They acquired know-how, learned to operate the machines – and the difficulties receded. The building of the Metro gave Soviet workers added confidence in the country's future, and also inspired many Communists in capitalist countries.

3. The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics played, and still continues to play, an important part in the peoples' struggle against class, national and colonial oppression. Its impact is constantly felt in the capitalist world.

True, the Soviet experience is not universal, for national and colonial oppression takes different forms, depending on the historical, politico-economic and cultural background of every nation. But it is an especially valuable experience – not only because the USSR has torn out national oppression by the roots and blazed the way for other countries. It yields certain general lessons to be followed in combating national and colonial oppression. It shows to Communists and working people the importance of dealing with the problem when battling for socialism.

For Belgian Communists the formation of the USSR was a great stimulus. But we did not make the most of it. The national problem in Belgium is unquestionably peculiar. When the Flemings and Walloons were brought together in one state, the bourgeoisie established its dominion through the state machinery. Both Flemish and Walloon working men were, in effect, the victims of exploitation by one and the same bourgeoisie. But conditions in the Flemish towns and villages were worse, because the Belgian bourgeoisie used them as a reserve of manpower for the industrially developed Walloon areas, subjecting them to intensive exploitation. The living standard of the Flemings was much lower. Besides, the bourgeoisie tried (often successfully) to fan national strife. From the outset the Belgian Communist Party gave high priority to the national question, though with much vacillation. It was still sensitive to the traditional concepts of the Belgian socialist working-class movement.

Our Party did not succeed in making the national question, the oppression of the Fleming masses, an issue in the struggle against the Belgian bourgeoisie. In the meantime, the bourgeoisie succeeded in rousing the Walloons and Flemings against each other.

The influence on Belgium of the existence of the Soviet Union, a multi-national state of free nations, is quite strong. The Flemish Communists point to Soviet achievements in their agitation against the nationalists, and tell the masses how national oppression was ended in the Soviet Union.

FRIEDRICH HEXMANN
Communist Party of Austria

Soviet reality shows the people in the capitalist world again and again that they must take their destiny into their own hands and end exploitation and oppression by capitalists and land-owners.

1. In 1921 I was chosen to be a delegate at the Third Congress of the Communist International and Second Congress of the Young Communist International, and set out for Moscow. Crossing the border, we got our first glimpse of a Red Army man in his peaked helmet. Most of the delegates were in a festive state of mind, and we suddenly burst out singing the Internationale.

In Moscow we attended a military parade in honor of the Comintern Congress. The soldiers looked tired and exhausted by battles and hardships. Yet it was these simple workers and peasants in military uniform who crushed the well-armed Whites and interventionists. As the units marched past, a wave of admiration swept the Red Square. These revolutionary regiments were the nucleus of the Soviet Army, the world's best, which crushed the Nazi invader and now stands guard over the gains of socialism and the security of the peoples.

At the Congress I saw and heard Lenin. To my delight, he addressed us in German. He spoke calmly but his telling arguments and persuasive logic captivated us completely. No other man could have examined such difficult questions so profoundly and comprehensively. I remember his account of Soviet Russia's economic recovery. Speaking of the first power stations, he said: 'Twelve thousand kilowatts is a very modest beginning. It may even sound funny to the foreigner familiar with electrification in America, Germany or Sweden. But he laughs best who laughs last.' He did not mean us, of course, but other foreigners—men of the bourgeois world. For we were there to learn from him how to see the great in the small, and grasp the fundamentally new principles of socialist production. These days, with the GOELRO Plan exceeded many times over, the Soviet Union has some of the greatest power stations in the world. And as I think about it, Lenin's words rise up in my mind.

2. The October Revolution attuned me to politics. It made a Communist of me, and shaped all my life.

In 1918, during the peace talks in Brest-Litovsk, a mighty general strike organized by the Left Social-Democrats erupted in Austria-Hungary. It developed into a stubborn struggle for an immediate

ceasefire. This was when I addressed my first strikers' meeting. My speech, I recall, consisted mainly of slogans of the October Revolution, reproduced without a really serious knowledge of politics. Yet it roused the strikers, and they held a demonstration. It was dispersed by the mounted police, and I was arrested. I was kept in prison together with the organizers of the strike until the revolution in Austria-Hungary set us free, and there I obtained my first knowledge of Marxism, of class struggle. There I learned to sing the Internationale. We got meagre and sporadic information about the civil war in Russia, and trembled for the fate of the revolution. After the Austro-Hungarian monarchy fell, the Left Radicals, to whom I belonged, founded the Communist Party.

Once, I stayed a fairly long time in Moscow, attending the International Lenin School. It was the time of collectivization in agriculture, and a difficult time it was. Terrorism and sabotage by the kulaks were deliberately aimed at aggravating the food shortages. But the collective farms multiplied steadily. In the first kolkhozes in the Ukraine we saw peasants looking with wonder at tractors and other machines, and weighing the pros and cons of joining the cooperatives. It was like a second revolution, directing millions of small peasant farms on to the socialist path.

I also happened to be in the Soviet Union during the Great Patriotic War against the Nazis. At first, the Soviet Army had to fight hard defensive battles. We of the Comintern staff saw trains loaded with factory equipment going east, while military trains headed west for the battle lines. The indescribable heroism of the Soviet people hardened our confidence in victory over the fascist aggressors. We rejoiced at the first successes near Moscow. Then came the great turning-point—Paulus's army was surrounded, smashed and taken prisoner at Stalingrad. Our joy knew no bounds.

3. In its early years the Soviet Republic performed a 'miracle' proving to the international working class that the proletariat was capable not only of taking power, but also of keeping and consolidating it. Subsequently, the USSR showed the world that workers and peasants could build socialism and run their state, that nations liberated from oppression could live as equals in a flourishing socialist community of peoples. The biggest impression which all foreigners visiting the Soviet Union carry away is that of the imposing industrial, economic and cultural growth of the formerly backward regions of Russia.

Soviet reality shows the people in the capitalist world again and again that they must take their destiny into their own hands and end exploitation and oppression by capitalists and landowners.

Once upon a time Social-Democratic would-be theorists predicted the 'swift collapse of Lenin's experiment.' Now they are forced to admit they were wrong. Their anti-Soviet cackling is proof of their impotence: hens cannot fly high. Nothing can detract from the historical victories of the working class, of all the peoples of the USSR, contributing so greatly to the transformation of the world.

MILITON ZURITA

Communist Party of Bolivia

*The Communists of our country
take inspiration from the experi-
ence of the Soviet Union.*

1. For years I had dreamed of going to the Soviet Union, but my ambition did not come true until 1965. I was very sick, and our doctors lost hope of my ever getting well. In Moscow I was at once taken to a hospital.

From the window of my ward I saw the coming of spring. The night before May Day the tall buildings in the distance were bathed in lights. Over the TV I watched the Red Square parade on the 20th anniversary of the victory over German fascism. The doctors and nurses were very friendly. I passed my time reading Lenin, *World Marxist Review*, *L'Humanité*, *L'Unita*.

Then came the day of the operation. On my way to the operation theatre, other patients, my new friends, tried to cheer me up. Two days later it occurred to me that Moscow had become my second birthplace. Soviet medicine had given me a new lease of life.

When finally released from hospital, I visited the Lenin Mausoleum and saw the sights of Moscow. It was like a dream to be in the biggest city of the socialist community, in the heart of the international and working-class movement. I did not want the slightest detail to escape me as I wandered through the old quarters and along the modern avenues. I tried to grasp the various facets of life under socialism, the future of all mankind.

Seven years have passed. Moscow, which I love dearly, has changed. I can barely recognize it from the latest magazine photographs. It appears that a real architectural revolution has taken place. In 1971 the 24th Congress of the CPSU opened up grand vistas for the building of communist society in the USSR and charted an effective way for attaining enduring peace and international cooperation. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are making giant strides and winning ever greater affection and respect among the peoples of the world.

2. I was deeply angered by the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. It changed me. I made up my mind to join the Communist Party, because I understood that struggle for socialism is struggle for the future of mankind. During the war our main objective was to unite the country's democratic forces. There were fascists in Bolivia, too, but the working people managed to keep them in check.

While I was in the Moscow hospital, a number of Latin Americans attending the Kremlin celebration of the 20th anniversary of victory received medals. On leaving the hospital, I learned that I, too, had been decorated. With the Latin American delegation I had the good fortune of visiting Lenin's home in the Kremlin, now a museum. I took my time looking over Lenin's study after my comrades had followed the guides to the other rooms. And in the study I experienced the most solemn minute of my life.

3. The founding of the Soviet Union in line with Lenin's national policy, its impressive growth in the past 50 years, showed clearly

that a free union of nations and nationalities is, indeed, quite possible once the working people assume power and society is reconstructed along socialist lines. I am firmly convinced that the tremendous experience of the USSR is of everlasting benefit for Communists and workingmen throughout the world, that Lenin's national theory shows the way for solving the most sensitive problems in any community of nations, nationalities, tribes or other ethnic groups.

For many years I have studied the national question in Latin America, particularly Bolivia, and not only from the standpoint of the dependence imposed upon it by North American imperialism, but also its complex ethnic composition. Bolivia has nearly 50 oppressed nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups; they comprise 70 per cent of the population.

Our Communist Party has always followed Lenin's national theory in organizational and political work. The Soviet experience is our beacon.

The program theses of the Communist Party of Bolivia, adopted by its Third Congress in 1971, examine problems related to the national question. The Communists of our country take inspiration from the experience of the Soviet Union. We do our best to apply correctly Lenin's national principles to the concrete historical conditions and special features of our country. We do our best to be real proletarian internationalists.

The triumphs of the Cuban revolution, the success of the Popular Unity government in Chile, the anti-monopoly measures of the revolutionary government in Peru, and the struggles of the Latin American peoples against imperialism—all this, as I see it, is paving the way for the birth of a voluntary union of republics in our part of the world. The nations, nationalities, tribes and other ethnic groups of Latin America will, I am sure, build a new life on the foundation of socialism.

The Communist Party of Bolivia is not yet a big party. It is multi-national, reflecting the ethnic complexity of our country. For Yankee imperialism it is an object of hate and brutal repressions. We still have a lot to learn. And for us the fifty years of the Soviet Union are an inexhaustible source of experience.

PETER KERRIGAN

CP of Great Britain

I have seen in practice the voluntary union of free peoples . . .

1. My first visit to the Soviet Union was in June 1924 to attend the Third Congress of the RILU. I was 24 years old and came direct from my job as a turner in M. Shop, Parkhead Forge, where I was AEU Convenor of Shop Stewards.

There were so many impressions, from the first thrill as our train crossed the frontier. One of the most vivid was watching the men working at the wooden structure which was then the tomb of Lenin whose death in January that year had been such a tremendous blow to us all.

2. The other outstanding memory of that first visit was seeing Leningrad. In July 1924 I went back home by rail, via Leningrad. The couple of days I spent there, seeing something of the city where the revolution started are indelibly imprinted on my memory. Since then I've visited it a number of times. In 1929 it was my base when I visited Volhovstroi, the first electric power station constructed in connection with Lenin's electrification plan.

My last visit to the Hero City of the Second World War was in October 1971 when, with our General Secretary, John Gollan, and Brian Pollitt, the son of Harry Pollitt, I had the proud privilege of sailing in the modern Soviet cargo ship named *Harry Pollitt* on its maiden voyage from Leningrad to the Port of London where more than 50 years ago Harry had played such an outstanding part in the campaign which resulted in the London dockers refusing to load munitions to be used against the young Soviet Republic.

In 1917 I was serving my apprenticeship in a marine engineering shop in Glasgow. I remember a shop steward coming up to me in February and saying, 'There is a revolution in Russia, Peter. The Czar has been overthrown.' Well, it had a big effect on me, although we learned gradually that it had not completed the job. Then, in November, when the real thing came, all of us rejoiced, and I will never forget how it affected me.

Some months later in 1918 I was called up along with thousands of other 18-year-old youngsters. Our training was in Ireland and drafts were sent off to the front regularly. The draft before mine was sent, not to France, but to Murmansk. Some time later we learned they had mutinied and were brought home. These events remain vivid memories and I have no doubt at all that the imprint they made has affected all my subsequent life. I remember that when I was playing football in 1923 and we learned about the famine in part of Soviet Russia it meant that the gold medals I had won went to the Famine Relief Fund. It remained on my conscience that I had kept one back. This was a period of mass unemployment in Britain and I was one of the unemployed, but the response from workers was generous indeed.

Three years later the Soviet workers were to repay the help many times over when they sent over one million pounds to help support the miners during their grim seven months strike.

3. It has been my good fortune to have visited a number of the Soviet Republics. Some, it is true, for only brief periods. However I have seen in practice the voluntary union of free peoples and the changes which have come about.

Having been privileged to occupy a leading position in our Party for many years I've also had personal contact with many comrades from countries that were then part of the British Empire. Those who know the facts can testify that our British Party has striven continuously, sometimes under great difficulties, to discharge its international duty to those people and to our brother Parties. We are continuing to help them, whether against racist governments like South Africa and Rhodesia or our own reactionary Tory Government's policy nearer home in Ireland, as well as the neo-

colonialist endeavors which are particularly evident in the African continent.

There can be no doubt that the existence of the Soviet Union and the way in which it has been successful all through these 50 years in resolving the national question, and the gigantic progress made in all of the Republics, has been, and continues to be, a positive and decisive influence in the work of our Party in this sphere.

BOOKS ON 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE USSR

Marking the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, and Communist and progressive publishers in many countries are issuing books about the achievements of the Soviet people, the solution of the national question in the USSR, and its world-historic significance.

In Moscow, the Political Literature Publishers have put out a collection of documents, 'The Soviet Community of Peoples,' which includes many papers that are being published for the first time. They have also released a monograph entitled 'The Multinational Soviet State.' Other books include 'The Soviet People—a New Historical Community' by Corresponding Member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences M. P. Kim, and 'V. I. Lenin—Organizer of the Soviet Multinational State' by S. S. Gililov. An illustrated politico-economic handbook, 'A Union of Equals,' contains portraits of each of the fraternal Soviet Republics. Mysl Publishers (Moscow) have released a monograph by M. I. Kulichenko, 'National Relations in the USSR and Their Trends.'

The Czechoslovak-Soviet Institute in Prague (Prace Publishers) has published a 'Small Encyclopaedia of the Soviet Union,' Kossuth Publishers of Budapest have issued a manual by C. Kiss and J. Nemes, 'What One Should Know About the Soviet Union,' which acquaints readers with the Soviet social and political system and the historical achievements of the USSR. Soviet-Hungarian friendship, the political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation of the two countries and the Soviet Union's selfless aid to the people of Hungary are the subject of a book by J. Berecz, 'The Touchstone.' And 'The Fruits of Mongolian-Soviet Friendship' has appeared in Ulan Bator. Publishers in Warsaw have put out books recapitulating different stages of the relations between Poland and the Soviet Union: 'Polish-Soviet Relations. 1944-1968' by E. Basinski, 'From the History of Polish-Soviet Relations,' etc.

The Communist Party of Argentina is marking the jubilee with a book by Paulino Gonzales Alberdi, 'The Socialist Countries in the Present Historical Stage' (Buenos Aires). The first part of the book reviews the history of the Soviet state from the October Revolution to the Great Patriotic War, while the second half deals with the part played by the USSR and the CPSU in consolidating and developing the socialist world system. A pamphlet, 'The 50th Anniversary of the USSR,' has also been released.

The Uprising Publishers in Israel have released a book by the Communist poet T. Zayad, 'Nazarite in the Red Square.' The author, who spent over two years in the Soviet Union, registers some of the deep impressions of his meetings with Soviet people and life.

The newspapers of Communist parties in Great Britain, Canada, the United States, India and other countries are recommending to their readers the book, 'A Short History of Soviet Society,' released in several languages by Progress Publishers of Moscow.



The peoples demand immediate peace in Vietnam

At this writing, world attention is riveted on the extremely important initiative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In full agreement with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam held private talks with the U.S. government and put forward a draft 'Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam.' These are its basic provisions:

- The United States recognizes the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the DRV.
- A cease fire on the entire territory of South Vietnam within 24 hours of the signing of the agreement.
- An end to U.S. bombing and mining of North Vietnam and all other military action.
- Withdrawal of U.S. troops and military advisers from South Vietnam within 60 days.
- The people of South Vietnam shall themselves decide their political future through genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision.
- The U.S. shall not seek to impose a pro-American government in Saigon; reconciliation and national concord, with guarantees for the people's democratic rights and freedoms.
- A National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord shall be established to assist the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the government of the Republic of Vietnam* in implementing the agreement and organizing general elections.
- The sides in South Vietnam shall resolve the question of Vietnam armed forces in South Vietnam without foreign interference, in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, equality and mutual respect.
- The unification of Vietnam shall be carried out stage by stage by peaceful methods.
- The government of the DRV, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the U.S. govern-

*This refers to the Saigon authorities. - Ed.

ment and the government of the Republic of Vietnam shall fully respect the basic national rights of the peoples of Cambodia and Laos: independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

– Foreign states shall cease all military actions in Laos and Cambodia, withdraw all their troops and not re-introduce them into the two countries.

It would be hard to overestimate the importance of this DRV initiative for détente in South-East Asia and a healthier world climate. For it presents a real possibility of ending *immediately* the genocide perpetrated by the aggressor and the war in Indochina, which several times in the past ten years threatened to spark a full-scale conflict in Asia. It is only natural that the DRV initiative should have met with such warm support from the socialist community, the Communist and workers' movement, the whole of progressive and peace-loving mankind.

Many U.S. spokesmen emphasize that the terms of the agreement are just and give the U.S. an honorable way out of the stalemate caused by its imperialist aggression. More, the U.S. negotiators agreed to the initial signing date, October 31, 1972. But Washington has now rejected that date and, before the eyes of the whole world, is holding up peace in Vietnam.

By way of explaining its negative attitude, the U.S. referred to 'complications' in Saigon requiring more negotiations to clear up some new points. The Thieu authorities have sharply attacked the draft agreement, brazenly announcing that they will not abide by it. They have put forth absurd claims that have absolutely nothing in common with a peace settlement. But even the American press admits that the Thieu administration is a hundred-percent puppet regime. News commentators are even asking: was this puppet 'rebellion' planned beforehand in Washington as a maneuver enabling it to continue talking of peace while holding up a settlement?

It is hard to say whether the agreement will be in force when this issue reaches the reader. But this much is beyond doubt: the United States bears full responsibility for every day the war is prolonged. The heroic Vietnamese, who have scored such brilliant victories over the intervention forces, have displayed maximum good will and a sincere desire for peace. True to their slogan, 'Nothing is dearer than independence and freedom,' they will firmly uphold their fundamental national rights. And in this just cause they will continue to have the all-round support of the USSR, other socialist countries and the international Communist and workers' movement.

A.B.



Fundamental problems of ideology and culture

Kurt Hager
Member PB, CC Secretary, SUPG

The central objective in building a developed socialist society in the GDR is to assure further improvement of living and cultural standards. Set by the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, it determines Party policy. It flows from the very nature of socialism and is prompted by socialism's main goal – 'doing everything for the good of man, for the people's happiness, in the interest of the working class and other working people,' as Erich Honecker said in the Central Committee Report to the Eighth Party Congress.

Unity of living and cultural standards

Under socialism there is unity of living and cultural standards and the general well-being of the people depends on their interaction. Party policy is not confined to steadily raising pay and pensions or improving housing conditions. Our social system also implies that all achievements of culture and science shall be within the working people's reach and that everyone shall be in a position to receive an education, develop his abilities and individuality. Progress in education, culture and art is as indisputable an objective of socialism as social security and better living.

In speaking of the culture of developed socialism, we mean the totality of living conditions, material and spiritual values, ideas and knowledge that an individual must acquire, in common with other people, to be a convinced builder of the new society, a genuinely socialist individual. This is one of the fundamental characteristics of cultural progress under socialism. We never reduce the concept of culture to art and literature because these, while highly important, are only one aspect of culture. Socialist culture encompasses conditions at work, at home, school and family, man's spiritual world, sentiments, aesthetic views, education and outlook.

Accordingly, the Party's Central Committee at its Sixth Plenum in July 1972 called on Party members to realize and effectively

manifest their responsibility for the advancement of culture in every field, including education, the culture of labor, the formation and protection of the environment, the culture of private life, development of art and literature, and encouragement of the people's creative talents. No less important are adherence to the scientific world outlook, preservation and popularization of the legacy of humanistic culture.

The Party's cultural policy also draws on the experience of fraternal socialist countries. The progress made by the Soviet Union in 50 years of socialist cultural development is, needless to say, of special value. The decisions of the Eighth SUPG Congress and Sixth CC Plenum are entirely in line with the following passage in the CC CPSU Report to the 24th Congress presented by L. I. Brezhnev: 'Communism is inconceivable without a high level of culture, education, sense of civil duty and inner maturity of people, just as it is inconceivable without the appropriate material and technical basis.'

Science and culture

Developed socialism provides more opportunities for a healthy, meaningful and creative life. It imparts a genuinely human content to labor and everyday life, enabling people to develop their faculties to the best advantage. This is achieved by using science as a powerful means of transforming and perfecting nature and society. In developed socialist society, conditions of life cannot be correctly forecast nor planned if scientific and technological progress is made the only criterion. Account must also be taken of interrelated political, social, economic, cultural and other factors. Hence the need to join together the efforts of the natural, technological and social sciences and also of culture and the arts.

Only by fostering progress in all sciences as a totality of interacting components can we solve the difficult problems of developing the productive forces and, on a plan basis, of raising labor productivity and continuously improving living standards. This is the only way in which the conditions of life under socialism, to quote Engels, 'come under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization' (*Anti-Duehring*).

Engels foresaw that building socialism would require definite social conditions and growing material wealth. But it is no less necessary increasingly to master and realistically plan social processes and promote the creative activity of the masses. The natural, technological and social sciences are a decisive foundation and component of spiritual activity and greatly influence the socialist way of life.

The function of creative mental labor grows in step with the scientific and technological revolution. Manual labor is disappearing as working conditions improve. This gives rise to new spiritual and cultural needs and creates new possibilities of meeting them.

To keep pace with these processes, we need widespread general education drawing more and more on the philosophical, economic, social, political, ethical and aesthetic tenets of Marxism-Leninism. Professional knowledge should grow just as fast.

The individual and the collective

For us, a free, well-educated and well-developed people is not philanthropic wishful thinking, but an ever more pressing condition for building mature socialism. Erich Honecker, speaking at the Eighth Party Congress, said that this is not a distant goal. What we mean by 'individual' is a spiritual and moral personality. Marx and Engels wrote that 'the real intellectual wealth of the individual depends entirely on the wealth of his real connections' (*The German Ideology*). A full spiritual life is a pillar and not merely an ornament of our society.

Collective labor has been, and remains, a decisive sphere of formation of the socialist individual. It stimulates awareness of community and is a source of satisfying creative effort. It brings out in tangible form the connection between the individual's interests and those of socialist society. The better this inter-connection is grasped, the more intelligently people join in directing social processes and the more clearly they realize their responsibility to their job and society and act accordingly. The relationship between the individual and society is, of course, dialectical. The individual can develop his creative gifts only as part of a collective, and as he develops them, he helps the team become stronger and more active and more socially effective.

It follows that the function of socialist culture is to give full scope to creative abilities and stimulate the harmonious development of the individual in and through the collective. As a matter of fact, our cultural policy is shaped to bring out the best in man. It imparts socialist convictions and ethical values. It is directed to people's intellect and sentiments, their reason and imagination, their ability to perceive and enjoy the beautiful. And since under socialism creative work is the main consideration, this cannot be left to a narrow circle of cultural workers.

The content of spiritual life

The content of spiritual activity in developed socialist society is a matter of great practical and theoretical importance. The social awareness of the working class and other working people is a strong motor of social progress. In the ideological field, to quote Comrade Honecker, the SUPG calls for sustained effort 'to continue educating the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, a socialist attitude to labor and public property, and adherence to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and to combat reactionary bourgeois ideology with still greater resolve.'

Deepening internationalist thinking, sentiments and actions helps mould the spiritual outlook of developed socialism. Cooperation of the socialist countries in every field, which is assuming a new quality with economic integration, and the growing merger of the streams of the world revolutionary process, call for a higher level of internationalist education.

We regard socialist culture and art as an important component of this education, for they foster awareness of the cohesion, friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the socialist countries and teach people to think in terms of the entire socialist community. Deepening internationalism has been a determinant of cultural life in the GDR ever since the Eighth Party Congress. Exchanges and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in every field have expanded substantially. With the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, we have broadened our work of acquainting our people with Soviet cultural and artistic achievement, past and present. Now as always, we draw on Soviet literature, cinema, music, painting and theatre for spiritual and moral strength which helps us to foster and strengthen the socialist world outlook.

Our agreements with Poland and Czechoslovakia on visa-free trips are of historic significance for cultural cooperation. Eight-and-a-half million Polish and Czechoslovak citizens visited our republic in the first nine months of 1972. Ten million citizens of the GDR made trips to Poland and Czechoslovakia in the same period. This means that millions of personal contacts were established between the peoples of the three countries in a short time.

New forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have emerged. And we can speak of important cultural processes following from the increasingly internationalist character of the socialist countries' culture. Proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, inseparably united, are fundamental principles for the SUPG. The greater the socialist countries' cultural achievements and the closer their cooperation, the more varied are the opportunities to develop cultural and artistic relations between all democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist forces. We feel closely linked with men of culture in imperialist countries whose work contributes to humanism and democracy. This is also our attitude to cultural achievements in those Asian, African and Latin American countries that have freed themselves from national oppression.

The socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence also affords new opportunities for cultural exchange between countries belonging to different social systems. Socialist ideology asserts itself and makes further progress by combating bourgeois ideology. 'We must,' Lenin said, 'untiringly combat any and every bourgeois ideology regardless of the fashionable and striking garb in which it may drape itself' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 342).

A distinctive feature of the ideological class struggle between socialism and imperialism is its intensification at a time when the

peaceful coexistence policy of the Soviet Union and the commonwealth of socialist nations is steadily gaining ground. While it is true that imperialism finds itself, historically speaking, on the defensive, which is now evident in the ideological field as well, anti-communism remains, nevertheless, a common platform of all enemies of socialism and social progress. Its pivot is anti-Sovietism and our Party considers fighting it in the cultural as in all other fields a priority task.

Bourgeois nationalism has a special function in the ideological struggle West German imperialism and its political allies are waging against the GDR. Their main argument is the fiction of 'one German nation.' And to support it they claim that there is 'one national culture,' a 'oneness of German culture.' Yet it is indisputable that with the rise of the two German states with opposite social systems – the GDR and FRG – their cultures too become opposites. In the GDR socialist culture is developing as the culture of the working class and its allies. In the FRG, the decaying, anti-humanist culture of imperialism predominates and is opposed by democrats and progressives. In other words, there are now two cultures facing each other and incompatible both in content and class character.

We consider it a fundamental ideological and cultural-policy task steadily to encourage socialist patriotism and the devotion of our people, first of all the young people, to their socialist homeland, the German Democratic Republic. And we are achieving that through socialist literature and art and by preserving and carrying forward the German people's revolutionary, humanist, progressive cultural legacy.

The working class and culture

Our Party, like the CPSU and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, has always concerned itself with cultural-policy problems, including the most complicated. And we have solved some of them in the course of socialist construction – providing political, ideological and material conditions for the progress of socialist culture; bringing the majority of cultural workers to accept socialism and the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and winning them for the working class and its party; establishing ever closer links between men of culture and the masses, between art and life; making the benefits of culture available to the working people.

We can now put on record that never has there been such a close relationship between artists and workers in material production, between intellectuals and the Marxist-Leninist Party. Nevertheless, life demands that we solve cultural problems more thoroughly and regard their solution as one of the main principles of socialist progress. In his article 'On Cooperation,' Lenin wrote that under socialism the emphasis will increasingly shift to peaceful, organizing, 'cultural' work. 'I should say,' he added, 'that emphasis is shifting to educational work . . . were it not for the fact that we have to fight for our position on a world scale' (Vol. 33, p. 474).

After the Eighth Party Congress people, especially workers, began to be more active in raising cultural standards. In the 1971/72 trade-union elections, workers submitted 230,000 proposals for improvement in working and living conditions. Many of them confirm the vast significance of unity of material and cultural standards.

Of the 5.6 million people working in our industries, three million have joined in a movement under the slogan 'Work, study and live the socialist way.' More and more teams and trade union groups set themselves specific objectives in culture and education; 87.4 per cent of the collectives contending for the Socialist Labor title have assumed cultural obligations and adopted educational and cultural plans.

Interest in reading is growing. The number of permanent readers registered in factory libraries varies widely, ranging from 10 to 60 per cent of the employees. And reader requirements have grown too. In fact, most factory libraries can no longer meet the demand for social, scientific and technological literature and fiction. There is also a mounting interest in the fine arts among workers. The annual factory festivals and workers' festivals, held throughout the republic, are indicative of the development of amateur art.

Cultural development, though closely related to material production, is not confined to factory festivals and similar activities. At factory level, socialist culture begins with working conditions. The culture of labor is becoming an important factor. What does the term imply?

First of all, culture in relations between working people, in particular between executives and the collective. Appreciation of the results of labor, socialist mutual assistance, and cooperation, labor discipline and growing emulation are all manifestations of socialist relations of production. Secondly, organization of work, and this includes favorable job and shop conditions, safety and health measures: safe tools, proper lighting, pure air, noise control, order and cleanness are important aspects of socialist labor culture. Thirdly, the term connotes bringing the means of production into line, not only with technological parameters, but with people's physical and psychological and aesthetic requirements. A fourth criterion of socialist culture of labor is modern hygienic facilities.

Last year we checked up how 600 rationalization proposals had been put into practice and whether in doing so steps had been taken fully to meet safety and hygienic requirements. One-fourth of the establishments checked, even some that had been reconstructed, had yet to improve conditions. This means that not everywhere is it realized that socialist rationalization is something more than a technical or economic measure, for it should also encourage better work by providing better conditions. An important task, which also faces the socialist emulation movement, is to match rationalization with progress in labor culture.

The emulation movement is valuable in that it helps develop socialist relations and the formation of the socialist man. It promotes initiative and innovation, conscious discipline, a new attitude to labor, high labor ethics and comradely mutual assistance.

Cultural and aesthetic education of youth

In furthering socialist culture, we must give special attention to the aesthetic education of children and youth. This applies to the school, the family, the Young Pioneers and youth organizations, cultural workers and artists, all social forces. The main task is to cultivate art appreciation and an interest in aesthetic values. Art inspired by socialist ideas arouses socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism in young people and encourages them to see life and society from a socialist standpoint. Aesthetic education in school is sometimes conceived in narrow terms and taught accordingly – as just another subject. Yet it should not be the job of one teacher but of the whole teaching staff, as well as one of the key concerns of school patronage by socialist labor teams.

Our polytechnical secondary schools prepare young people to cope with the problems of life and work. The schools are being better equipped. But we know that the formation of the socialist outlook cannot be left to spontaneity. Material conditions, however favorable, do not in themselves produce a socialist attitude to life or socialist behavior. Besides, imperialism tries through radio and television, through its 'mass culture' and its hypocritical entertainment industry, with all its strident and gaudy trappings, to fill in the 'blanks' on our cultural 'map' which we all too often overlook.

It is our duty to safeguard the youth against the poison of imperialist ideology. In this we can rely on the young people themselves, on all the social forces, institutions and organizations of the socialist countries. We must do more to educate youth culturally and aesthetically, because the ideological class struggle is sharpening, not abating.

A cultured person's character is moulded by his social activity, knowledge and aesthetic experience. Consequently, we cannot accept the fact that the spiritual horizons of some people are still narrow. We do not support one-sidedness or asceticism in education and culture. We have always taken an uncompromising stand against ultra-Leftist and Maoist talk about cultural 'temperance,' against the ideology of resignation and poverty. Our policy is to encourage people, especially young people, to draw on the humanist culture of the world. We must set, and meet, increasingly high cultural demands. The spiritual climate of socialist society – and we can go far beyond the boundaries of our own country to draw on the spiritual wealth of all socialist countries – creates favorable conditions for people's all-round development.

Function of arts and literature

Art and literature make up a substantial part of our culture. They help to form well-educated and convinced builders of socialism. This is why we shall always attach great importance to them. Science is important and irreplaceable, but so is art because without it we cannot build developed socialism.

Reality and the higher demands put by socialist society add a new dimension to the necessity and irreplaceability of art. The rising educational and cultural standards of the working people, their keen interest, are evidently among the more serious reasons for the fast-growing interest in art. At the same time, the general improvement of vocational training and political education, growing social activity and a rising standard of life lead to a differentiation of cultural requirements among the workers, cooperative farmers and other sections of the population.

We must therefore solve new problems if we want to meet the ever more varied requirements of society. This applies to the variety stage, the cinema, theatre and music. New books are sold out immediately and museums, clubs and other cultural institutions attract a growing number of people. The increased interest in art was seen in the success of the district art exhibitions held in 1972, during preparations for the Seventh Graphic Arts Exhibition of the GDR. These exhibitions were viewed by 400,000 people, that is, twice or three times as many as in previous years.

The Sixth Plenum of the CC SUPG stressed that Party work must take into account the unity of the ideological and artistic aspects of art. Our society needs art and appreciates its aesthetically distinctive character and its impact on the formation of the individual. In accordance with Lenin's principles of partisan and public-minded art, we are doing our utmost to create an atmosphere in which the art of socialist realism will develop more fruitfully.

A firm socialist position, partisanship and closeness to the people are typical of socialist realism, which encompasses a vast variety of artistic creations, themes, styles, forms and methods. Socialist realism does not demand one approach or form of expression. This is why we speak of a rich and many-sided art. He who adheres to socialism and advocates partisanship has a place in art and is accomplishing a useful task. Socialism needs an art closely linked with reality, art inspired by life and able to influence reality. These principles underline the work of the vast majority of our creative artists.

One of the most important tasks of our art is to portray active builders of socialism, first of all workers. Vivid representation of the worker has been, and remains, one of the spiritual and aesthetic criteria of progress in art, for it is the working class, the leading class of socialist society, that determines to an enormous extent the object of the artist's creative effort by developing all social relations and carrying on its own practical and spiritual activity.

Many working people are rightly dissatisfied with a simplistic approach, indulgence in petty themes and the occasionally superficial portrayal of the working man. Indeed, one should realize the strength of the working class, show how it manifests itself in our society and in the world revolutionary process and reveal the condition, distinguishing features and ideals of the working class which entitle it to lead society. We encourage art to invade the sphere of labor, the socialist attitude to labor, and to show that labor is a

subject of art. This is no easy task. The deep changes in the nature of labor due to the combination of socialism with the technological revolution necessitate a creative quest for new realistic images, and we fully support and encourage this quest.

However, when we say that builders of socialism, first of all the workers, are the central image, we do not imply that this is the only theme. To confine oneself to portraying workers or work teams would mean restricting the scope of art and literature. We need works on historical as well as modern subjects, landscape painting along with love lyrics, political songs along with stage productions of *Faust*.

Socialist realism in the GDR is the method of a new and youthful art that has so far only begun drawing on its imaginative resources. In stressing the breadth and variety of these potentialities, we rule out any concession to bourgeois ideology or bourgeois views on art, nor should there be any room for the revisionist 'realism without any bounds.' Society is making higher and higher demands on the artist, to his ability to reveal new facets of reality, discover new facts, to penetrate into new spheres of life and master new themes. Artistic standards must also be higher than ever.

The responsibility of creative workers' unions grows in step with the social role of the arts and literature. They will measure up to it best of all if they encourage their members through manifold initiatives to scale new artistic heights. And one should appreciate their effort to improve the ideological and professional standards of their membership and to step up the fight against revisionism and every brand of imperialist ideology. Forming closer ties with the working class, its life and work, has become an important activity of these unions. This is in the interest of the unions themselves, for it makes for a better creative atmosphere.

Ever since its congress, the SUPG has been making a special effort to stimulate a creative atmosphere among artists and to bring about a style of leadership inspiring artists and suggesting new ideas to them. This, of course, presupposes appreciating and respecting artistic individuality. It also presupposes efforts to get to the root of the creative process, understanding of the distinctive impact of art and the individuality of the artist. The artist should feel certain that the people value his achievements and that socialist society needs him.

To advance art, we must help it in greater measure and more competently, specifically through comradely discussion of works of art and development trends. What an artist requires is neither excessive praise nor blunt rejection but competent appraisal. The more developed relations between art and society are and the wider the range of problems which the public joins in discussing and clarifying, the greater the responsibility of those who provide guidance. And this calls for progress in Marxist-Leninist aesthetics, whose principles should be familiar to artists as well as the people and should enjoy the support of both. It also calls for literary and art criticism based on the Party's Marxist-Leninist principles,

criticism helping to explain the manifold content and highlight the socialist character of our art. In defining the tasks of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and criticism, the decision of the CPSU 'On Literary and Art Criticism' is most helpful, as are the relevant documents of the fraternal parties.

Developing every aspect of socialist culture is an important component of SUPG policy. The Central Committee's Sixth Plenum made it clear that the decisions of the Eighth Congress can be carried out only if the whole Party focuses attention on cultural problems and if all Party committees and the entire membership go about solving these problems with a greater measure of understanding. This also applies to all government and non-government bodies. We seek to meet and encourage the working people's demand for a varied cultural life. We want the beneficial climate in which culture and art are developing in socialist society to produce new works championing socialism from the positions of the people and the Party.

Education and science in building a developed socialist society

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The socialist revolution puts the cultural and scientific achievements of man within reach of the masses. In Bulgaria, as in other countries, experience has shown that the new social system provides favorable conditions for rapid progress in education and science and their planned use in the interests of the people.

I. Throughout its history the Bulgarian Communist Party has devoted much thought to the development of science and education. Consequently, with the establishment of people's power, the Party immediately proceeded to effect a revolutionary change in the approach to education and science. The first major step taken was the introduction, immediately after September 9, 1944, of the educational reform designed to root out fascist ideology and make the school a bearer of true knowledge and socialist culture, a powerful medium of communist education.

The April 1956 meeting of the CC BCP was a landmark in the progress of education and science, and provided a powerful im-

petus to the country's advance and the people's effort in every field. Public education was transformed. On the initiative of Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, important measures were adopted to bring education closer to life, in particular by giving secondary education a sounder and more practical slant. This has broadened the scope of the educational process and heightened the attractions of the school.

The new system of public education, which retained the finest traditions of pre-revolutionary Bulgarian education enriched with Soviet experience, proved equal to its huge task. Compulsory eight-year education was introduced. A large body of skilled personnel and numerous specialists have been trained during the past 27 years. Upwards of 1.5 million people are enrolled in schools and other institutions. Last year there were 89,300 students, or eight times more than in former times.

Science has changed considerably. The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has been transformed and its new institutions are closely linked with production. Numerous research, experimental and design centers have been set up. Scientific advances have stimulated economic development, as shown by the rapid progress of new industries – instruments, shipbuilding, electrical engineering, control equipment and computers. During the past decade our scientists have helped start the production of over 7,000 new items, many of which have won high praise abroad.

In building developed socialism and carrying out the scientific and technological revolution, we are faced with fundamentally new and difficult problems in the growth of the productive forces, perfecting social relations and socialist democracy, and educating the new man. In our economic development we give priority to intensive economic growth factors and higher effectiveness of social production. Recently, our productive forces entered a new phase of concentration and specialization. New types of enterprises were formed – amalgamations in industry and agrarian-industrial complexes in agriculture. This affords ample opportunities to take immediate advantage of new scientific and technological achievements and to optimize social management.

No practical problem of any consequence can be solved today without recourse to science. On the other hand, the progress of socialist society, the rising cultural standards of the people, their experience in government, and expanding fundamental and applied research make it possible to guide every social activity scientifically.

The growing role of science and education in every field is a basic law of socialist construction, and it comes fully into its own when building a developed socialist society. 'At this stage,' the BCP Program says, 'science becomes intimately linked with socialist society and asserts itself as a direct productive force, as the pivot of production. It becomes the basis on which social processes are directed, the decisive factor for social, economic and technological progress.' Public education, in turn, gains immensely in importance 'as the main factor in making our people a

highly educated and cultured people who can solve the most difficult problems of social, scientific and technological progress.'

A mature socialist society keeps abreast of the technological revolution. The gains of this revolution combined with the advantages of socialism create the material conditions needed for the victory of the new system in its historic contest with capitalism. Our Party regards the effort to raise labor productivity and hasten technological progress as decisive in this contest. Todor Zhivkov said that 'to gain the lead in the scientific and technological revolution is becoming the primary issue of the strategy and tactics of the proletariat and the world socialist system.'

In present conditions, this task can only be accomplished through still closer unity between science and politics, between theory and practice. A further essential requirement is sound and active guidance of public education and research by the Communist Party and the socialist state.

The Party realized in time the discrepancy which arose in the 60s between the requirements of social development and the ability of science and education to fulfill these needs. The reorganization of science and education were prominent among the measures aimed at improving the administration of society. These tasks were incorporated in decisions of the Tenth Party Congress and in the Party Program. The main purpose is to meet present-day needs and bring science and education into line with the new stage of socialist construction.

Problems of science and education are among the most important in our sixth five-year plan (1971-1975). While we spent 0.5 per cent of the national income on research and experiments in 1960, we allocated as much as 1.8 per cent in 1969. By the end of the current five-year period, 2.5 to 3 per cent of the national income will be invested in research. And we plan to spend almost half a billion leva on bettering educational facilities. By 1975 this should enable roughly 85 per cent of our young people leaving eight-year schools to enter secondary (ten-year) schools. We also plan to provide our universities with up-to-date facilities, including computers. We are building complexes such as the university estate in Sofia—a project which by our standards is huge. Our student body is expected to grow to between 110,000 and 120,000. In the current five years alone, our universities and other higher institutions will train 65,000 specialists.

There is another aspect to the matter. To hasten technological, economic and cultural progress, we must continue to specialize and concentrate education and research, must intensify and integrate them on a large scale with similar activities in other socialist countries. Meeting this objective need is an important target of the Party's science and higher educational policy.

Science today must carry out comprehensive fundamental and applied research, concentrating on the problems of national significance facing industries which shape the structure of our economy. Under the sixth five-year plan, we are devoting special attention to

research into raw material and power resources, engineering, above all computers, microelectronics and automated equipment, microbiology, new, highly effective technologies, industrial and agricultural mechanization and automation. We attach great importance to the advancement of the social sciences, which must concern themselves with the political, social, economic and ideological problems of the socialist countries and combat bourgeois ideas, revisionism and dogmatism.

II. It is important to provide the conditions for organic unity between science, education and social practice and establish an integral link-up of science, personnel training and production. This will give expression to the dialectical interconnection and constant interaction and interpenetration of the material and spiritual spheres of socialist society.

To fulfil this task, far-reaching changes are required in the system of education and science from primary school up to the university and post-graduate training. These changes will be both horizontal and vertical, that is, will involve problems of organizing education and research and of their mutual links as well as forms of their integration with practice.

The BCP wants to build an up-to-date national science system in keeping with the needs of our society and the technological revolution. In October 1971 its Central Committee approved a new structure for the integrated system of research and higher education, and indicated its principal advantages.

The chief components of the new structure are science complexes. These entirely new units, the main organizational form in research, integrate interconnected research in major problems of fundamental and applied science and personnel training. They are flexible and dynamic, and bring science closer to production, making for greater coordination of various fields of research, and of science with education.

These science complexes are designed to serve the needs of the crucial socio-economic spheres and the processes in science and higher education. We take into account differentiation and integration trends in research, the potentialities of science and its progress so far.

The science complexes possess vast material and technical facilities and appropriate personnel. We are evolving a new mechanism to ensure the smooth functioning of the component institutions, a new type of integrational link between research and training centers, and a new system of management. The administration of the science complexes coordinates all sections, assures efficiency and concentrates the science potential on the solution of important problems. It must follow a uniform policy in planning and financing research and education and in guaranteeing that research is coordinated with personnel training and the requirements of practice.

Typical of the new structure are the research and experimental centers set up in recent years under state economic amalgamations,

ministries and general departments. These centers maintain two-way relations between research and practice and are entirely responsible both for work on the technical, technological, organizational and economic problems in this or that economic field and the application in production of the solutions arrived at.

The centers proved to be an appropriate form of concentrating research potentials. They help to reduce the interval between research and production and to introduce fundamentally new technologies into every economic field. They have technological design departments, which bring into the general cycle an indispensable and previously lacking unit. We now have 51 centers accounting for almost two-thirds of the country's research potential. Each center employs an average of 725 scientists and researchers.

In the second stage of reorganization in the light of past experience, the BCP concentrated on reorganizing the academies and institutions of higher learning to create an interconnected and effective system of research and higher education.

Some science complexes have been designed especially to integrate research and training. The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has ten such complexes, which integrate its research institutes with the corresponding faculties and departments of Sofia University and other higher schools. As a result, educational institutions are coming to play an active part in research and staff members of academic institutes are joining in the training of specialists. This is creating favorable conditions for the formation of large research teams for work on key problems of the natural and social sciences. Thus, the Academy of Sciences will be able to influence science and technical policy in every economic field. Sofia University is becoming a powerful scientific personnel training center for research into fundamental theoretical problems of the natural and social sciences, as well as into applied mathematics, physics, mechanics, chemistry, geology, biology, and so on.

We are reorganizing the network of agricultural research centers and higher educational institutions and have founded a new Agricultural Academy by merging the existing institutions of higher agricultural studies and the seven big research centers of the former Academy of Agricultural Sciences. The new Academy comprises four research-and-training complexes. This assures a close linkage of science and production in the training of agricultural experts and the promotion of agricultural science. The Academy is expected to cooperate with the research and experimental units of the economic amalgamations connected with agriculture. All its research and personnel training activities are directed by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry.

A Medical Academy, responsible both for research and training, has also been set up.

Important changes are taking place in the technical sciences. Research in higher educational institutions and specialized centers is to be more closely geared to the needs of production and technological progress.

In addition to reorganizing science, we are solving major problems of higher education. The merging of higher education with the national science and research system enhances the role of the former, helping to improve training and making research part of the educational process. The technological revolution has increasingly involved specialists in research; institutions of higher learning tend to develop into large research centers. That is why the material and technical facilities of science and the research personnel must fully participate in training and educating the younger generation. The collaboration of teachers, researchers and students must be extended and the content and forms of instruction substantially modified. We encourage the students to think creatively and to foster their ability to use their knowledge and contribute to the effort of large research teams. Conditions are created for training a growing body of young researchers to guarantee the steady progress of science. This task is made easier by the scientific and technological movement of the youth. Through the leadership and the direct cooperation of Party, government and YCL bodies, everything is being done to enable young people to contribute their share to the technological revolution under the motto 'study and work, work and study.'

III. The restructuring of science and education demands an educational reform aimed at creating a new type of school able to cope with the tasks set by the 10th Party Congress. Main attention is directed towards developing forms and mechanisms that would help to adjust education to socio-economic progress and the technological revolution.

Management faces new problems. Today it is not enough for a worker to possess manual skill, he must be an educated person and have polytechnical and special training. Public education must be attuned to the requirements of material production in order to be a decisive factor in raising the productivity of social labor.

The Marxist-Leninist principles of education lie at the root of BCP policy in developing a standard secondary polytechnical school. These principles were advanced by Lenin, who noted that 'an ideal future society cannot be conceived without the combination of education with the productive labor of the younger generation: neither training and educating without productive labor, nor productive labor without parallel training and education could be raised to the degree required by the present level of technology and the state of scientific knowledge' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 472).

The CC BCP has approved guidelines for the new type of ten-year school. They take into consideration both Bulgaria's traditions and modern trends. The standard secondary polytechnical school will bring general and vocational education closer together. This is an intricate process ruling out the predominance of one over the other, or their mechanical merger. Not until they are brought into adequate conformity with the needs of contemporary social and technological progress, until the non-specialized content of voca-

tional training and the polytechnical content of non-specialized education are perfected and until the process of training and education as a whole becomes much more sophisticated, will the ground be prepared for these new schools.

Bulgaria today has a sufficient number of vocational and technical schools in which almost three-fourths of its youth are enrolled. The standard secondary polytechnical school will inherit the positive elements of vocational training. The models and curricula prepared by the Ministry of Public Education take account of gains in the non-specialized and polytechnical training and combine them with achievements in vocational training.

Technical schools, which train intermediate personnel, play a prominent part, as do the training centers set up by enterprises, economic amalgamations and local government bodies. And they will continue to offer training, retraining and extension courses for workers in various industries.

The new trends and objective laws of scientific and technological progress necessitate a thorough revision of the structure and content of instruction and administration of education, greater recourse to the systemic method in studying the fundamentals of science and the introduction of more effective teaching methods. By introducing optional subjects and other extra-curricular forms which enable students to pursue their preferences and develop their abilities, we help them to grow as individuals and to acquire the habit of independent creative work.

The standard secondary polytechnical school implies an effective system of communist education. Its ideological and educational functions will be all the more fruitful, the more it relies on students' initiative and self-government and the sooner it evolves uniform progress criteria as a basis for assessment by teachers, the YCL, parents and the general public.

The reform of education is a long and intricate process. It will be implemented by stages, without upsetting the normal course of youth training. We plan to provide by 1975 the scientific, methodological, economic and organizational conditions for carrying out the reform, which is to be completed in the next five-year period. Government agencies and educational institutions, as well as research, non-governmental and economic organizations, are all engaged in this work. It is becoming a nationwide cause.

The reform makes new demands on pedagogics. It must study current and long-range aspects of the theory and practice of teaching and work out new methods. It is necessary not only to perfect the methodological and applied principles of the theory of teaching but to foster such aspects as the sociology of training and education, the economics of education, the theory of programmed instruction, the principles of using prognostication methods, modeling and quantitative analysis in instruction, and so on. Pedagogics must establish stronger bonds with other sciences with a view to carrying out sustained comprehensive research into problems of the development of the individual. It must establish itself as a leading factor in the investigation of problems of training and education.

IV. The deep changes taking place in the pattern and content of research and education necessitate an increase in the role of Party and government bodies in these spheres. To form the 'research-training-production' complex objectively requires a uniform government policy in science, higher education and technological progress at all levels.

Bulgaria already has a new structure of social management which includes the above fields. A council has been formed to promote the nation's spiritual assets. The main function of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Science, Technological Progress and Higher Education is to coordinate the activities of the numerous institutions of these three domains in line with state policy, which accords with national interests and to promote international co-operation in the sphere of scientific and technological progress and the training of skilled personnel.

The Committee functions as a state-cum-public agency. Noted scientists and scholars, administrators, educators, government and Party officials participate in its work. We are developing a mechanism that should enable us to dovetail the governmental and non-governmental aspects of guiding science. The introduction of this mechanism and the completion in the main of the restructuring of science and education will pave the way for a congress to discuss the achievements of Bulgarian education and science and decide on their subsequent progress.

In solving scientific and educational problems, our Party invariably draws on the experience of brother countries, primarily the Soviet Union. International division of labor in science, technology and personnel training is a decisive factor for building a developed socialist society. We cannot accelerate our science development without carrying forward integration with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries or without extending integration to research and experimentation, even though this is no simple task. Integration problems in science and education are under close scrutiny. We are making a careful analysis of the valuable experience of bilateral and multilateral fraternal cooperation since the rise of the socialist world system.

Socialist integration is vitally important to a small country like Bulgaria. The Comprehensive Program of the CMEA affords excellent opportunities for optimally coordinating national and international interests in science, technology and education. Our Party and people are determined to follow their chosen path by seeking the closest integration of the economic, scientific and technological potentials of the socialist countries.

The people in power

The people in power. The words usually bring to mind the citizens' part in government, their rights and obligations, the electoral system. These, of course, are basic, and I had them very much in mind when I started out on this visit to Hungary.

Change is best measured against some stationary object – river tides can be measured from a buoy. On my first day I went to the big Kobanya pharmaceutical works whose products are known the world over. I had been there before and was again impressed by the scale of production. But where there had been one factory there are now two. Output is up 186 per cent from 1966, exports 180 per cent, and average monthly earnings from 1,637 to 2,119 forints. My 'buoy' did not remain stationary.

In the fermentation department I talked to Laszlo Szemler about whom I had written an article six years ago. Now I could continue the story, interrupted at a most interesting point. Szemler's father was a worker and he himself came to the plant as a laborer. But a laborer who became a skilled chemist, and one who put his mind to his job, making many suggestions, inventing new techniques. He was encouraged to take an evening course at the chemical institute. Today engineer Szemler is research director of a big department. He attended symposiums on fermentation in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Egypt, recently went to India to commission a plant designed in Hungary.

'Fermentation again?' I asked.

He smiled: 'In India, we began producing B₁₂ vitamins in a tropical climate for the first time. It was very interesting.'

That was my first encounter. It gave me a better picture of the path traversed by Hungary than I could obtain from rows of figures. And talking to this man who owes his present position to hard work and ability, and not to origin, money or contacts in high places, I thought: the most complex problems of democracy are perhaps best seen in the destinies of ordinary people. For democracy is not an aim in itself: its real value is measurable in terms of human detail, in what it does to develop the individual, what it brings to man. It is hardly necessary to explain that socialist democracy goes beyond the models and practices of bourgeois democracy. For the foundation of our democracy is public property of the means of production, with the working people the masters of everything they produce. No bourgeois state allows the worker a say in either of these paramount matters. In the 50 and more years since the October Revolution this vital difference has become widely known. I shall not dwell on it – my theme is a much more modest one.

In February 1971 the State Assembly (Parliament) passed a new law on the local Councils, replacing the one enacted in 1954. The law has been published, is widely known and I shall try to explain what

it means in practice. It has been operating for less than two years and not all its innovations have taken root. There are difficulties, and I am not going to streamline them. I was able to discuss the law and its practical application with Hungarian scholars, Party and administrative officials, and their comments have been worked into this article. One more remark: I do not propose to describe what, in my view, Hungary should be like, but what Hungary is like today.

And so, my Hungarian encounters.

Member of Parliament

Karoly Retezi, 43, mechanic, Socialist Shock Worker, no party affiliation, has worked for more than 25 years at the old April Four engineering mills on the outskirts of Budapest.

When he was invited to run for Parliament he asked for five days to think the matter over. The comrades from the Patriotic People's Front asked him to cut the time to three days.

'Never, in all my thoughts, had I ever seen myself a member of Parliament,' he told me. 'When I told my wife and daughter they were flabbergasted.'

Could he cope? He would still remain at the plant, of course, and would have to do a good job, better than before: every one would be watching. And there were his family duties, too. 'I like people,' he remarked, 'but especially I like my family.' There was still another question: did he have the necessary knowledge and experience for such a responsible position? Because parliament was not like the City Council.

I describe all this in detail – possibly in too much detail – to show how man decides his future, the thought, the careful weighing that goes into his decision. Retezi was not altogether a newcomer to politics; he had been a member of the Budapest City Council. And he had been much sought after by his constituents. They came to his house after work to seek advice, for he was considered their own in this predominantly working-class community. The district was growing, old houses were being demolished, new ones put up. And with them came new problems – several times Retezi had to plead the case of 50 families housed in barracks before the City Council saw that they were moved into good flats.

He considered every aspect, weighed every detail, before agreeing to stand for election. The day came when he first entered the Chamber, admired the stained glass windows, caught sight of himself in a mirror – new black suit, heavy hands and a slightly worried look. Then came days of intensive work. He listened to reports by Ministers, attended meetings of the standing commissions (on industry, health, culture) though, not being a member, he need not have. His maiden speech was made on December 22, 1971 during the budget debate.

('How did you prepare the speech?' – 'I thought things over, read the reports, looked up the statistics on house-building.' – 'Did you

discuss it with anyone at the mill, in the Party City Committee?' – 'No, it was all clear enough. After all, I was only going to say what the people were thinking and saying. I live in this district, it's part of myself.')

He began by commenting on the vast scale of housing construction. But, he said, for many of the new occupants the rejoicing ends on the very first day. For on the second they see that there are no shops within reasonable distance, not enough kindergartens, no sports facilities. Why? For the simple reason that the planners had not thought things out properly. Their approach was wrong, and he proposed . . .

So far the planning authorities do not agree with all his proposals, and Retezi intends to return to the matter, if necessary to table questions. But there is this important aspect: here was a simple worker learning to think in terms of the national interest, learning to govern the country. Retezi became a statesman while remaining a mechanic. That is the very essence of government by the people – Retezi brings to Parliament the views, needs and convictions of his neighbors, his fellow workers, his district, his class.

I discussed all this at the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party with deputy department heads Varga, Perjesi and Ban. In Hungary socialist democracy is being extended along three basic lines: further development of inner-Party democracy, strengthening democracy on the shop floor, and better operation of the local Councils. It is no accident that the three processes coincide in time. They are interconnected; one cannot be separated from another, nor allowed to run ahead of the other two. Activizing the Councils makes for a bigger role of the working class and enhances the leading role of the Party. The new law says: 'The Councils work under the political leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.'

Strengthening the Councils will strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat is how the Hungarian comrades see it. For there is no such thing as 'pure democracy.' In Lenin's words it is a 'thrice-empty phrase.' 'History knows of bourgeois democracy which takes the place of feudalism,' he wrote, 'and of proletarian democracy which takes the place of bourgeois democracy' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 242). Representatives of the working class – the biggest population group and the biggest contributor to the national income – are being brought into closer participation in running industry, directing the work of Party and trade union organizations, sharing in the activities of the Party's Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the State Assembly. And all this, of course, applies also to the Councils at all levels.

In this context, it is fitting to recall what Lenin said of the Soviets. He emphasized that, by virtue of their program, they must become not only organs of government *for the working people*, but also organs of government *by the working people*. And this is accomplished by men like Karoly Retezi who, with the same dedication as at his regular job, is mastering his new 'place of work.' Let us wish him every success.

Imrene Papp, a member of the City Council Executive, grew up in Kapuvar. She was born there, married, brought up her daughters, is now a grandmother. She was a peasant (her husband still works on a cooperative farm) and became an industrial worker. Kapuvar changed from a village to a town, a status conferred upon it only two years ago. It is one of Hungary's youngest towns, and also one of the oldest: the first recorded mention of 'Fortress Gates' (that's what the name means in Hungarian) dates back to 1162.

At first Imrene was rather shy, just sat at Executive sessions and listened. At one session the Executive decided on a tax exemption for the aged. But it did not extend to all the old folk in her district. She could remain silent no longer: 'This was unfair!'

There was another issue, too: laying a sidewalk on Damjanich Street. When she raised the matter, the Executive President, Istvan Velner, a former worker, said there was no money. For hadn't the deputies approved the city's five-year plan, hadn't they voted for the budget? Imrene Papp demanded a new vote, no one supported her, 'because,' she said smilingly, 'I was the only woman on the executive.'

She brought the question up again: the people want a sidewalk, she insisted. But that did not put more money into the Council's exchequer. She decided to appeal to her voters. She put the case very frankly: the city budget is six times bigger than when we were a village, but we are building houses, we've laid on water, and modern plumbing is next on the list. So there's no money for sidewalks. But you people have money - savings bank deposits are increasing at a rate of 8 to 10 million forints a year. And if the people who live on Damjanich Street were to collect a little from each family . . . here I interrupted: 'But isn't that an additional tax?'

'I am a housewife,' she replied, 'and I know that you have to live within your means and not get into debt. When you go shopping you have to reckon what you're going to buy today and what can wait. The sidewalk's turn would come, but we were impatient, we wanted it now. And so we collected the money. The Council contributed half - at last it forked out, and that, I think, was only fair.'

A housewife, and a very thrifty one, always wants to see things neat and trim, always mindful of the difference between 'fair' and 'unfair.' In fact, it was with these two words that she began her public career. She's mistress in her own home, her city and country, and you can feel this not only in big things, but in the little things that go into everyday life.

Under the new law the Councils are becoming full-fledged masters of the areas under their jurisdiction. Tibor Kovacs, director of the Council Academy with whom I discussed the matter, said that the new law has accentuated their three-in-one function as popular representative organs, organs of local government and of state power. When the law was being drafted, Hungarian researchers and administrative officials visited the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bul-

garia and made several visits to the Soviet Union to learn from the experience of these countries.

There are now 19 regional and 1,875 city and rural councils. Judging from the press, they are much more active than before. Many example could be cited. I will take this one. In Mako idstrict the water supply is much better than in many urban communities. Why? The Party organization started a campaign for a modern water system. Plans were drawn up by all 13 rural Councils and discussed at public meetings in all the villages. The project cost 90 million forints, of which about 40 million were contributed by the population, either in money or labor.

In Foldeak village I spoke to the Council members in charge of the work: Gabor Szabo, a young doctor, and one of the most fervent campaigners, construction worker Miklos Schmidt, chairman of the building commission, midwife Jozsefine Kovago, who looked after the interests of the aged and the sick (a Party member since 1946, she has been on the council for 12 years now, she delivered 1,860 babies, practically the whole of the present generation, and is the village's 'elder statesman'). The Council agreed that the elderly could contribute less, the rest donated 1800 forints per household, and all the able-bodied helped in the work. As Jozsefine Kovago put it: 'We did not wait for the fried chicken to be brought on a platter.'

Nowadays travelling along the Tisza River one comes across water towers, a new feature of the rural skyline. People are beginning to forget the old wells, the heavy pails of water. Life has become all that easier, and cleaner, and this, as Imrene Papp of Kapuvar would say, is only fair.

Theory and practice

The people of Sopron are great patriots of their city. And my first question to the Chairman of the City Council was: 'Does this help you in your work?'

'In theory, yes,' he replied, 'but in practice . . .'

We were sitting in his big, sparsely furnished office, the windows looking out on a medieval square, a tourist attraction listed in all the guidebooks. The chairman, Dr. Sandor Erdei, a man of 48, is a lawyer and a former worker at the local carpet plant.

'You see,' he continued, 'there are the passive patriots always ready to tell you, at great length, just what the city needs, but not prepared to do anything about it. But there are also the active patriots, those who really get things done. They laid out the Liberation Park, built the theatre, cleared a recreation zone, and all this by voluntary labor.'

I asked about the budget. Voluntary labor is a commendable thing, of course, but a modern city can hardly be run along these lines. Does the new law provide bigger economic opportunities?

'In theory, yes but in practice the country did not become richer the day the new law was promulgated. What it does give us is the

possibility of increasing our resources in future and making better use of available ones. It's our job to translate this into reality.'

The 'translation' has already begun. Under the old arrangement, most of the city's revenue came from the national budget. Now it comes from several sources: the national budget, profits of local industry, the municipal tax paid by centrally-controlled enterprises, etc. And all the money is at the disposal of the City Council. The central planners hand down assignments only for housing construction and public buildings. Any surplus at the end of the year does not revert to the national budget, as was the case before, but goes into the Council's reserves. All in all, there is more money, though national budget allocations have not been increased.

What about local initiative, I asked. In the past, the City could apply to the regional authorities for a subsidy and the latter could apply to the government, but that was not a satisfactory arrangement. Now the Council can influence the inflow of revenue by developing local resources, encouraging partnership and joint projects between factories and cooperatives, helping to recruit labor power, organize joint construction projects, even start its own enterprises to boost profits (and municipal-tax revenue). Does not all this give the council more money?

'In theory, yes,' the Chairman replied, 'but in practice it will all take time.'

In Budapest I interviewed Peter Valyi, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers. I inquired about the country's economy, the problems of socialist integration, and so on. My last question was: How much independence do the Councils enjoy, and how strong is their financial position? Are the two interconnected?

This was the answer I got: 'We've made a big step forward. The local Councils have much wider rights now, but not all of them know how to make optimal use of them. However, it is already evident that local initiative and local patriotism are growing. And this is important for our country where, by tradition, everything was concentrated in the capital. In introducing the new law, the Party Central Committee and the government warned the Councils: more independence, yes, more authority, yes but more money, No. But, then, more independence and more authority should enable them - if they manage things efficiently - to increase their revenue. We do not expect the new law to pay off immediately. Its operation should be seen as a complex process the effect of which will steadily increase over the next four or five years.'

I shall long remember Sopron and its people, true patriots of their city. They jealously safeguard the old and are energetically building the new. And part of that new is the 1,100 flat housing estate, the theatre built in an abandoned quarry with its domed ceiling, stone columns and a stage virtually tailored for Greek tragedy. The Sopron Weeks are attracting more tourists (and this means more money). Now Sopron is about to build an indoor swimming pool, but that story will come later.

'Bounds'

I've been discussing local initiative. Now let's turn to centralism. The two do not contradict each other.

Council independence has definite bounds. That was one of the subjects I discussed with Dr. Mihaly Szabo, secretary of the Gyor City Council. Under the new law, his is not an elective post: regional Council secretaries are appointed by the government, City and rural Council secretaries by the regional government, in all cases for an indefinite period.

'I am here to assure stringent observance of the law,' Dr. Szabo said. He comes from a peasant family and as a young man worked on the land. At 24 he was elected to the rural Council, took a two-year course at the Council Academy, returned to his rural Council, then went through another spell of study, this time for a law degree. He has been Council secretary for 20 years, 14 of them in Gyor. At the last election (he does not have to be a Council member) he was opposed by the director of the local technical school ('we have always been good friends and we still are . . .') and won.

But let me repeat, Council secretaries are *appointed* and their duties are precisely defined. The secretary prepares meetings of the Council Executive, checks fulfilment of Council decisions, acts on complaints and infringements of the law, attends full Council sessions, sees to publication of their decisions—in short, he is a specialist, a professional, a permanent Council official.

The Regional Council meets in Szeged. Two-thirds of its members have been elected for the first time—constant renewal is an established principle. The questions raised are many and varied: Dr. Varro wants the hospitals to be better supplied; schoolteacher Julianna Batka suggests reducing the rent paid by youth clubs; Archdeacon Munkacsy says the chemists shops are always crowded and it would be a good idea to sell patent medicines from kiosks; worker Laszlo Balogh wants more money for flood protection. All these proposals are discussed and voted on and if approved become the law for this particular region.

But the country can't be run by regional laws, there has to be a law for the whole of Hungary. For besides renewal, there must be continuity to assure fulfilment of plan assignments. That point was made by Sandor Bozo, the Szeged Regional Council Secretary. His Council controls the work of city and rural Councils and can repeal any of their decisions that contradict national law. Have there been many such cases? Only three in the past year.

More about 'bounds.' Now as in the past, local Councils are elected by direct vote, and their members elect the regional Councils. The district Councils have been replaced by administrative offices accountable to the regional Council. General supervision of Council activity has been entrusted to the Council of Ministers and constitutional control to the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Sandor Lakos, director of the Party's Social Sciences Institute,

told me: 'Indirect elections to the regional Councils have made it easier to recall deputies and provide more room for control from below. Arranging a meeting of several thousand voters is always a problem, but the rural Council can immediately recall any of its representatives on the regional body if it finds that he is not doing his job properly. There have been such cases. Many of the questions formerly dealt with by the central authorities now come under the jurisdiction of the Councils. This has made for less red-tape and for a smaller administrative staff. On the other hand, the central authorities, now that they do not have to deal with local matters, can concentrate on national problems. In short, we are developing both democracy and centralism, striving for a synthesis of the two, an important but not easily attainable goal.'

Comrade Lakos went on to tell me about an argument he had with West German Social-Democrats during a recent visit to Vienna. The talk turned to the much-publicized incident of two Bundestag deputies going over to the CDU opposition when the treaty with the USSR was up for ratification (press reports suggested that they had been bribed). 'Why did you not recall them?' Lakos asked. That would have been undemocratic, he was told: once they had been elected they should be allowed to serve their full four-year term. 'But they have betrayed their constituents,' Lakos objected, 'the deputy must be faithful to those who elected him.'

At the Council of Ministers, Lajos Papp, head of the local Councils department, cited this example of how the democratic centralism principle is applied in practice. Last year the Councils adopted their first development plans. And though they did so independently, their target figures coincided with those envisaged by the central planning authorities. There was one discrepancy: the Minister of Education told Parliament that accommodation in boarding schools was 400 below the necessary figure. This, it turned out, was a misunderstanding: some Councils listed only accommodation in newly-built boarding schools. Why did the target figures coincide? First, the national plan indicators had been circulated to all the Councils. Second, and more important, both local and central plans were oriented on the same resources, i.e., available funds, construction capacities, etc. The Councils are in closer touch with enterprises. The latter donated 2.6 billion forints for the construction of clubs, clinics, sports facilities. In the current five-year period Council budgets will increase 44 per cent as against 27-30 per cent for the national budget.

'Of course, this does not solve all our problems,' Comrade Papp said in conclusion. 'It is only logical that if we give the Councils more rights, we must also give them more trained personnel. And we have. Now the task is to give them better political and professional leadership. We must bring into Council work experienced economists, teachers, architects, lawyers, doctors. In other words, we must oil the local administrative machine to make it run more smoothly.'

Unity

And so, Sopron decided to build an indoor swimming pool. The plans were discussed with architects – the city was determined to have one of the country's most beautiful pools – but also one of the cheapest. The architects presented eight plans and after long discussion two were adopted. Models, charts, cost calculations were then put on display in a shop window on the main street. And two ballot boxes – let the people choose. More than half of the voters, 16,000, voted. The majority opted for the more expensive pool. 'It's not so much more expensive, as so much more beautiful,' was the general opinion.

In Mako, the location for a new market was decided by the Council's 80 members – they held 80 meetings, each in his own area. The site that won a majority at 52 meetings was chosen.

There are many more examples of how the people decide on local matters, for this has become a regular practice in Hungary.

Some readers might be led to conclude that I have confined my impressions to purely municipal matters, to such 'minor' things as sidewalks, water mains, taxes, clubs, shops. Minor problems? In a way, perhaps. But they involve the lives of million of people and their attitude to government depends in no small degree on how these problems are solved.

When the new Council law was published bourgeois propagandists commented on what is by no means its most important feature, the electoral system. They pinned their hopes on its provisions for two or more candidates: the people, they said, will not vote Communist.

But what happened? In several hundred election areas and wards there were two or more candidates. All the elected deputies support the Patriotic People's Front and stand for socialism. They confirmed this by their work in the Councils. In 18 wards of Gyor region the voters did not choose the candidates originally nominated – 15 Party and 3 non-Party members – but elected 17 Party members and one non-Party man. The Hungarian people have disappointed their foreign 'well-wishers.'

'Socialist democracy begins with the Lenin norms of Party life,' Jozsef Afoston, Party secretary at Szeged, told me. 'Let me explain why I say this. There is only one party in Hungary and the development of inner-Party democracy has its impact on every facet of the country's life. Very much depends on how a Communist behaves. A high sense of discipline, devotion, ideological firmness, initiative – these features, of which Comrade Janos Kadar spoke at the 10th Party Congress, are essential to every Communist, for the Party's link with the people is through individuals. Of course, broadening democracy raises its own problems: everyone knows his rights, but when it comes to obligations not every one remembers them. It can even be said that we are losing in terms of time, but we are certainly winning in terms of popular support.'

Anatoly Agranovsky

Budapest-Prague



Has Sweden drawn nearer to 'socialist change'?

Kenneth Karlsson
Swedish economist

Towards the end of World War II, Swedish Social-Democrats were readying themselves for taking over the reins of government single-handed. During the war they had emerged as the biggest party, winning majorities in both chambers of the Riksdag. The opportunities were most promising. Sweden was unscathed by the war, her industrial potential was intact. The only cloud in an otherwise clear sky was a recession expected with the end of the war.

It was in these conditions that the Social-Democratic Labor Party and the central body of trade unions drew up their 'Postwar Program of the Labor Movement' in 1944. The program exuded optimism: 'Unemployment can be avoided and need done away with if we utilize the productive forces at our disposal as effectively in the interests of peace as during the war.' In 27 paragraphs the program set forth the ideas which were to determine economic policies.

The purpose of this article is to present an analysis of the Social-Democratic party's policies since it came to power and compare their results with the goals set in 1944. To what degree have the Swedish Social-Democrats, following the reformist road, managed to implement their program? Have they really managed to 'organize economic life along new lines and change society in the direction of socialism'? Have they been able 'to ensure the entire people's participation in exercising the right of ownership and the right of administering the productive resources on which their means of existence depend'?

Goals

The postwar debate on economic policies in Sweden, as in other capitalist countries, centered on the need for planning and regulating the capitalist economy. The idea was prompted by the lessons of the crisis of the 30s, which revealed to bourgeois economists and politicians that Marxist forecasts about the doom of capitalism were not just empty words. The conclusion drawn from the debate was that capitalism could be salvaged through measures already

tried out under various labels in the 30s in the United States, Sweden Germany and some other countries, namely, increasing government expenditures to boost employment and stimulate demand which, in turn, would stimulate investments in industry. The old laissez-faire policy was replaced by state regulation of economic activity.

In Sweden's political lineup, the Social-Democratic party was best suited for the purpose. Firstly, unlike bourgeois parties, the Social-Democrats had no ideological prejudices against expanding the role of the state. Secondly, from the propaganda point of view the fight against unemployment was admirably suited for a party which claimed a mainly working-class constituency.

The 'Postwar Program' showed what kind of economic policies the Social-Democrats envisaged. The ideas were further elaborated in the Stabilization Committee report published in 1961, which provided the basis for the policies of the 60s and therefore deserves a closer examination.

To begin with, the differences between the two documents in the definition of goals. The former states them as: 1. Total employment; 2. Fair distribution of incomes and raising the living standard; 3. Improving industrial efficiency and expanding economic democracy. The Stabilization Committee's report reduces the matter to 'raising the standard of living, high, steady and productive employment, stability of the national currency.'

The report thus omits two points: fair incomes distribution and economic democracy. The former is mentioned in passing as a subordinate objective, and democracy is not mentioned at all. This, however, does not mean that there is any great difference in the substance of the two documents. The fact is that they both solemnly proclaim goals and say little of the ways and means of attaining them.

Dynamics of employment

Swedish Social-Democrats parade as saviors of the working class from the evils of unemployment. During election campaigns their leaders endlessly recall the crisis of the 30s, claiming that any change in the present political structure would mean a return to dislocation and privations. Of course, no one can deny that postwar Sweden enjoys an employment rate that is high by capitalist standards. However, as will be shown later on, this is less a credit to the government than the result of the operation of other factors.

Let us first dwell on the general causes of unemployment. Karl Marx showed in *Capital* that crises and accompanying unemployment are natural in a capitalist society, being an effect of the objective laws of development. Hence, unemployment cannot be attributed to anyone's ill will or the plotting of individuals or groups. It is a consequence of the anarchy of production under capitalism. Have the Social-Democrats succeeded in establishing a 'planned' capitalism in Sweden and thus eliminated crises?

Today, as before, major economic decisions in Sweden are made

in the offices of monopoly interests; hence the soil for anarchy remains. Of course, nowadays the subsidies make it possible to influence the distribution of some investments, especially short-term. If a businessman needs capital to invest, he may receive tax concessions. Thanks to this the government has occasionally been able to reverse unfavorable business trends. There are other factors which have helped Sweden to evade serious crises since the war.

When the opposition attacks the Social-Democratic Finance Minister Strang for rising prices, he usually blames this on 'imported' inflation. The dynamics of domestic prices in a small country like Sweden, for which foreign trade is of tremendous importance, is certainly affected to a substantial degree by world prices and to this extent Strang is undoubtedly right. However, to balance the truth he should have added that, thanks to its considerable foreign trade, our country also 'imports' a high employment rate. And military expenditures also help to sustain demand. It is not accidental that, in response to suggestions about reducing arms manufacture, it is claimed that this would lead to unemployment in such places as, for example, Linköping, where thousands of people work at plants manufacturing Viggen aircraft.

In recent years symptoms of serious trouble have been appearing, with unemployment soaring to record heights. Here are figures for the first quarter of 1972:

Completely unemployed	122,000
Concealed unemployment	119,000
Semi-unemployed	111,000
Persons undergoing retraining or engaged in public works	100,000
Total	452,000

Thus, about every tenth able-bodied Swede is deprived of the opportunity of getting the job he wants.

The 60s saw, along with a rise in crisis phenomena and 'ordinary' unemployment due to fluctuations of demand, the appearance of so-called structural unemployment, when available jobs fail to attract applicants. In some cases businesses requiring manpower are located in remote parts of the country, in others the job-seekers lack the necessary qualifications. To reduce structural unemployment a system of controlling the labor market has been introduced with the declared aim of increasing manpower mobility. A job retraining system has been organized, a labor mediation institute has been set up, and benefits have been introduced for people changing their place of work. This policy is the pride of Social-Democrats, who claim that it has helped maintain a high level of employment.

However, resettlement benefits and job mediation is not always enough to induce people to pull up their roots and move, so more radical means are being applied. People who refuse to move lose their unemployment relief. This is, in effect, a refinement of a

method employed in the early period of capitalist industrialization, when peasants were forced to the factory by being deprived of their means of subsistence.

Dynamics of prices

Bourgeois economics claims that it is difficult, if not impossible, to keep prices down while ensuring high employment. Rising prices are blamed on high employment, and are said to be the price of low unemployment. In the last few years the basis for such reasoning has disappeared, with rising unemployment accompanying rising prices. When these unpleasant facts are pointed out, bourgeois politicians blame structural changes and imported inflation, attacking the trade unions and accusing the workers of unreasonable demands.

Before the war the monopolies craving higher prices were deterred by marketing considerations – to maintain the demand and prevent losses. Nowadays the state's economic policies help to sustain demand; as a consequence the tendency in practically the whole capitalist world is for prices to rise irrespective of demand.

The mechanics of raising prices was described in a report of a special commission set up by the businessmen's union, the central organization of white-collar trade unions and the central body of trade unions. It divides the Swedish economy into two sectors: the competitive and the protected. In the competitive sector labor productivity is increasing sharply thanks to rising prices on the world market. It also leads in the rate of growth of wages and profits. The protected sector, in accordance with the 'solidarity policy' follows the competitive sector's lead in wages.* At the same time the state, by supporting demand, makes it possible for capitalists in the protected sector to boost prices and get the same profits as in the competitive sector. Thus, the high rate of inflation is rooted primarily in the protected sector.

'Structural rationalization'

Supported by the government's 'structural rationalization' policy, monopolization of the economy went on unhampered in the post-war.

Business are expanding and increasing their centralization, that is, property is being concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer owners. The Social-Democratic government has facilitated the process in two ways: through its credits policy and by stimulating development of remote areas. The credits policy places efficient and profitable businesses in an advantageous position. Smaller or new businesses, more dependent on the banks for credits and short of money, are more liable to fail, which is also true of large businesses

*The 'solidarity policy' proclaimed by the central trade union body requires workers in the highly productive industries not to demand wage increases in solidarity with their comrades in other industries where labor productivity is increasing at a slower rate.

whose profits have been falling steadily over a long period of time. Thus, 'structural rationalization' means, firstly, the disappearance or absorption of weaker businesses and, secondly, the liquidation even of big businesses if they fail to yield a stable profit.

The Social-Democrats' regional policies also facilitate the centralization process by directing manpower to large businesses in remote areas. The purpose of this policy is to promote the interests of the monopolies.

Income distribution

The 'Postwar Program of the Labor Movement' projects 'fair distribution of incomes and a high standard of living.' These goals are elaborated in nine paragraphs. Let us compare the promises with the real state of affairs.

'Higher real wages and other real incomes of wide sections of the population.' There is no denying the fact that since the war real wages have increased substantially. However, this was not due to government generosity but to a sharp increase in labor productivity on the basis of extensive mechanization and intensification of work, and to concessions won by the workers in stiff struggle. Moreover, the increase in real incomes did not affect 'wide sections.'

Since 1966, as a result of prices and tax increases living standards of many Swedes, especially in the lower-income bracket, fell. Nor did the expansion of services, notably the public transit system, promised the taxpayers ever materialize. Car owners enjoy advantages at the expense of public transport.

'Policy of wage solidarity. Equal income for equal labor both in agriculture and industry, and regardless of sex.' The 'solidarity policy' already mentioned before, an object of smug satisfaction for the reformist trade unions, was introduced by the central trade union body in the early 50s against strong opposition of the radical wing of the working class. Its effectiveness is highly questionable. Substantial discrepancies in wages continue in spite of some temporary evening out in the 60s. But was the latter a result of the 'solidarity policy'? Other explanations suggest themselves, notably changes in the differences in wage payment of male and female labor. In 1950, a woman in industry earned 40 per cent less than a man; in 1966 she earned 30 per cent less.

Disappointment with the 'solidarity policy' resulted in wildcat strikes in the winter of 1969-1970. The strike movement was headed by workers of the state enterprise LKAB who were supported by a majority of the Swedish working class. The workers are coming to realize where the policy of class partnership leads.

'Guarantees against loss of income. Universal unemployment and disability security. An increase in daily relief to the level adequate for normal life. An increase in pensions.' Of course, something has been achieved here, and the poorest sections have been among those who have benefited. At the same time, however, a

number of facts substantially detract from the glory in which the Social-Democrats would bask. For one, the bourgeoisie's resistance to reforms was weakened by the protracted struggle of the working masses. Secondly, in the final analysis it is the workers who bore the burden of meeting the costs of reforms, including length-of-work pensions.

'Improvement of industrial hygiene. More effective prevention of occupational diseases and industrial accidents.' No improvement has been achieved in this sphere since the war. The higher tempo of work resulting from the premium system of payment has increased the accident rate. As before, inspectors have no effective means of ensuring greater safety at work stations. Inadequate safety engineering is the main cause of wildcat strikes.

'Shorter working hours, in the first place for the more strenuous jobs.' The gains from this are largely nullified by the fact that rising prices prompt people to work overtime. As a consequence real working hours have hardly changed since 1945. Furthermore, much more time is spent commuting as the public transit system is lagging behind the population growth. As a consequence large sections of working people in fact have less free time than before.

'Effective measures to improve the people's health standards.' Public health outlays have increased sharply since the war and, naturally, the standards are higher than 25 years ago. At the same time, one of the important goals set in the 'Postwar Program' has been scuttled: that of providing medical advice and medical control for all. Not enough attention is given to preventive medicine. Pollution of the environment has become a major problem, and mounting health expenditures cannot halt the new trend of falling life expectancy.

'Balancing child maintenance costs through a system of social family benefits. Reducing housework by providing kindergartens and day nurseries, at-home social services and wider use of household appliances.' Kindergarten accommodation is short of demand. Today more and more women are forced by spiralling prices to seek work so as to maintain a reasonable family living standard.

A large part of the funds paid out in higher pensions and child benefits is funnelled back to the state through a system of consumer taxation. The condition of pensioners and large families is worsening.

'Equal education opportunities for all young people regardless of their parents' income or place of residence.' Considerable sums have been spent to provide education facilities for young people, including working-class children. The results, however, according to a report of a special government committee, are not impressive. For example, only one of 10 children in social group III* goes on to study at a university or other institute of higher learning. In social group I, nine out of 10 continue their education. A similar

*Swedish statistics classify the population in three social groups. Group I includes big land-owners and bourgeoisie, group II includes the urban middle bourgeoisie and rich farmers, group III includes blue-collar and white-collar workers and working farmers. - Ed.

proportion can be observed in *gymnasiums*, and there is no evidence that it will change in the near future.

'A good standard of living for all and the erasing of differences between classes.' The only tax reform affecting the distribution of incomes was promulgated in 1947, when more progressive rates were established for direct government taxes and taxation of stock-holding companies, estates and inheritances was increased. The taxation rates for the latter three groups have remained unchanged except for a few minor adjustments. Income tax, though, has changed substantially, especially in the 60s, and not to the benefit of the working people. Firstly, progressive rates increased slowly and, secondly, the very principle of progressive taxation has been undermined by the introduction of new proportional taxation. In addition, indirect taxation was re-introduced, the rates of which climbed steeply.

The Social-Democrats have been in power for a long time since the war, but this has not brought Sweden any closer to 'the transformation of society in the direction of socialism.' On the contrary, the power of big business has increased. Once again the people are coming to see that the Social-Democrats' ideas of a more just society under their guidance are a pure utopia. Public opinion polls reveal that the Social-Democratic party enjoys the support of less than 40 per cent of the electorate.

Ever sharper criticism is being levelled at the central trade union body by the rank-and-file. It is aimed in the first place against the bureaucratic methods and excessive centralization of the trade union leadership, which promotes class partnership. The strikes and other mass actions of the last few years are indicative of the militant spirit and cohesion of the Swedish working class.

The Communists' policy since the war has been aimed at securing the demands of the working class and all other working people. It was under pressure of these demands that the Social-Democratic leadership was compelled to put forward a radical postwar program in the hope of preserving their influence. However, as we can see, it is one thing to formulate a program and an entirely different thing to bring it to fruition. The Left Party—Communists, which seeks cooperation with all socialist and progressive forces, is stepping forward as the only party that offers a real alternative in Swedish political life.



For a mass party in a military dictatorship

Athos Fava

Member Executive, CC Secretary,
CP of Argentina

I. The Communist Party of Argentina has to work in a complex and difficult situation. The reactionary military dictatorship installed in 1966 (in one of the succession of coups since 1930) is meeting with growing resistance from the people. There is widespread resentment over soaring prices, and insistent demands are made for higher wages, release of political prisoners (now numbering over 1,100, with about 30,000 having passed through prison in the past few years), an end to torture, and for guaranteed political freedom.

The profound socio-economic crisis has impelled important political and trade-union organizations, the peasants, students and cultural leaders to look for a democratic anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic way out.

Mass actions are gradually developing into a movement for radical change. This keeps the dictatorship on edge and prevents it from consolidating. There have been three presidents in six years, and a succession of hundreds of ministers and provincial governors.

The country is shaken by strikes and demonstrations. In 1971, no less than 14 million were involved in 350 stoppages, some of them lasting for weeks. There was a 48-hour general strike. Many of these actions were synchronized: at an arranged hour all work would stop, followed by demonstrations, usually culminating in mass meetings. There were 12 such synchronized strikes in Cordoba province involving practically the entire working population. In other provinces demonstrating workers were joined by peasants, white collar workers and students. Schoolteachers, too, staged five walk-outs.

The peasants are increasingly active in protesting against the government's reactionary policy, the high taxes and exploitation by imperialist monopolies and the big landed interests. The peasants are more organized and are employing more active methods, such as snarling traffic with tractors and trucks on busy roads. The army is often sent out to deal with these revolts. And often army commanders are obliged to negotiate with the peasants, and the

dictatorship has to agree to concessions. Systematic use of troops to 'adjust' social conflicts is bound to increase the ferment in the army, making it easier to conduct revolutionary work among patriotic-minded servicemen.

The Communists call for unity of all democrats as the only way out of the crisis. The Party drew up a program covering the interests of the various strata and their immediate demands as a basis for a national democratic front to sweep away the dictatorship.

And such a front, the National Meeting of Argentines (ENA), was formed at the close of 1970, bringing together democratically-minded groups from the various political parties (Peronists, Radicals, Socialists, Demochristians), peasant, trade-union and student organizations, women, intellectuals, diverse public associations, and independents. In a matter of 18 months it became a major political force coordinating its actions with other organizations and progressive groups. It has 1,000 branches in Greater Buenos Aires alone.

ENA is expressive of the mounting mass urge for united action, which is unfolding rapidly: the 1969 events in Cordoba were largely spontaneous; now spontaneity is giving way to organization. The most vivid proof of that is the struggle in Mendoza earlier this year. Starting as a protest against price rises, particularly electricity charges, it developed into mass demonstrations in which several people were killed. The people's answer was mass meetings and general strikes. A curfew was imposed, police and troops patrolled the streets, military tribunals were set up. But the only result was to fan public resentment and provoke more active opposition to the regime—demonstrators set fire to cars, disarmed policemen, etc. Mass actions were directed by a coordinating center representing political, trade-union and student organizations and ENA branches, with the Communists in the van of the revolutionary forces.

ENA followed this up by a new initiative, a national hunger march which started in Buenos Aires. The army threatened reprisals, the dictatorship took measures customarily employed only in time of war, and the mass media launched a campaign of ideological terror and intimidation. But the march organizers were not to be daunted, and on April 28, 1972, though the police and army were out in full force, there were mass demonstrations throughout the capital. There were street clashes, in which 700 were arrested, and 100 haled before the military tribunals.

These demonstrations underscored the importance of mastering concrete forms and methods of struggle at times of revolutionary upsurge: self-defense, contact between various contingents of demonstrators and their directing center in a city overrun by troops and police, and, likewise, work among the troops.

II. The situation in the country requires that the Party should improve its organization, strengthen its ties with the masses and coordinate mass actions.

Accordingly, we launched a Victorio Codovilla recruiting drive, in honor of one of the Party's founders and outstanding leaders, its chairman up to the last days of his life. His was a life dedicated to the attainment of national and social emancipation, the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and defense of the first workers' state, the Soviet Union.

Our goal in the 18-month campaign was 15,000 new Party and 7,000 new YCL members. The campaign ended on February 8, 1972, Codovilla's birthday.

The Central Committee called on all Party and YCL organizations to recruit factory workers, concentrating on the industrial centers – the big monopoly and state-owned enterprises. This would not only strengthen the Party's proletarian core, but would also change the balance of forces within the labor movement, giving it a wider action-margin in relations with the state and the employers. This, of course, could not be achieved without a sharp ideological struggle against the Peronist Right wing.*

The Central Committee also urged intensive recruitment of poor and middle peasants, especially in the economically important irrigated pampas areas, strongholds of the oligarchy and foreign interests. Another aim was to bring in secondary school and university students, women workers and peasants, intellectuals. Together, they were to make up 30 per cent of the new recruits.

However, the Party building campaign did not stop at just setting targets. Besides recruiting new members, we organized new branches and factory, community and district committees. The quality of leadership at branch and higher levels has improved, cadres are used in accordance with their abilities and experience.

The Party is outlawed and its members are banned from holding trade-union posts. But we are active in working-class centers, participate in every fight for the workers' demands, take part in factory and trade-union elections. Jointly with the Left Peronists we are working to strengthen the democratic movement and coordinate worker action. For this policy to be successful, we need bigger and stronger Party branches at the big industrial enterprises.

Fighting the dictatorship, the people have learned not to fear the police and fascist laws. This was confirmed by the results of the Codovilla recruiting campaign: 15,030 new Party members and 7,237 YCL. But the figures do not give a full picture of the prevailing mood, of the people's support of Communist ideas, their esteem for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, their admiration for the heroic Vietnamese people and socialist Cuba. Nor can figures express the warm response in Argentina and throughout the world to the attainments of our Chilean brothers.

Who are the new Party members? Fifty per cent are workers in industry, building and transport; wage and salary earners make up 64 per cent; 32 per cent of the new YCL members are students, including 90 university students; 34 per cent of the new Party members are women, but the percentage of small and middle

*For a social examination of Peronism, see R. Iscaro's article in No. 8, 1972, of WMR.

peasants is small, only 3.5. The average age of the new recruits is 25-30, and 14-18 in the YCL.

To this should be added that most of the new Party members, about 80 per cent, are former Peronists.

We are not satisfied with the result of our campaign in the big enterprises (which accounted for only 10 per cent of the new enrolment). Despite the persecution of Party branches and their members – and for that matter of everyone active in the labor movement – we must raise the share of new recruits in major industries to one-third.

The campaign brought us closer to the working people, strengthened our branches, enabled us to open new and re-start old factory branches – all in the face of unceasing police harassment. For instance, at the big Ika-Renault plant in Cordoba (6,000 workers) we had to reorganize the Party branch seven times in 10 years. We were able to oust the Right Peronist leaders from the auto workers' union, the biggest in Cordoba, and elect a united leadership. And in the Buenos Aires industrial belt we organized 55 new factory branches and re-started 12 dissolved as a result of police terror.

Today the Party has 107,000 members and the YCL more than 30,000.

III. The following, in general outline, are the main targets in building the Party. Our chief aim, of course, is membership growth. For we need a mass Party to fight the dictatorship and win a new-type regime. At present all our organizations, from top to bottom, are working to double the membership; the goal is 200,000 Communists.

Another pressing question is more vigorous political activity by the branches, the foundation of the Party, its link with the people. It is through the branches that we keep in touch with the masses and assess their reaction to our slogans. Though driven into illegality, constantly harassed, we shall continue to raise the political, organizational and ideological level of Party members. Without active branch work, the Party is like a man without hands, hearing and sight. Conversely, the more intensive and varied branch life is, the stronger become the Party's links with the masses and the greater the opportunities for the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members.

We are for collective leadership and against the ruinous method of leadership by directive, which only weakens the leading role of Party organizations, especially working underground. The lesson to be drawn from our experience is that leadership by directive harms our work and discourages initiative of Party members. The Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized the need to bring the Party leadership closer to the rank-and-file, particularly to factory branches. We urge all Party functionaries carefully to study the difficulties confronting the branches and help overcome them. And we mean effective assistance, not simply formal verification.

Party cadres are our most valuable asset. They assure continuity of policy and of our revolutionary traditions. Fortunately, from its very inception our Party has been strongly influenced by such Leninist revolutionaries as Victorio Codovilla and Rudolfo Ghioldi, now a member of the CC Executive. It is men of this type who uphold and carry forward the Party's Marxist-Leninist principles.

We plan our cadre policy to overcome spontaneity, and make the best use of both veteran workers and the younger people. The CC cadre department encourages Party members who display ability. It takes into account the collective opinion of local organizations rather than the judgment of individual comrades. As a rule, we have a good idea of the political and other qualities of those selected for Party work. As we see it, the most important of these is courage and revolutionary integrity, firmness towards the class enemy, contact with the masses, modesty and fidelity to principle, receptiveness to criticism. The Central Committee always helps provincial committees and Party branches in their cadre work. Special attention is paid to training cadres from among industrial workers, especially from the main industries.

Lectures, study circles, courses and schools, some of them full time, including the three-month Central Committee schools, naturally play a big part. All cadre training is conducted in close contact with the Party education commission. This helps to overcome the tendency toward pragmatism and underestimation of theory. The CC attaches much importance to the Party's organization committees, for they help to master the Leninist organization principles, the basis of our effort to build a mass Party.

Eighth Congress of Communist Party of Spain

Sebastian Zapirain
CC member, CP of Spain

The Communist Party of Spain has held its Eighth Congress. Our illegal status and security precautions prevented us from meeting earlier.

It was a representative convention. The overwhelming majority of delegates, sent by workers and other social groups, came from Spain.

The Congress, which examined important issues, will greatly help intensify the struggle against the Franco regime and, in the long term, for a democratic and socialist Spain.

The items on the agenda were: the situation at home and the

Party's policy (main speaker, Santiago Carillo, General Secretary of the CPS); proposals for the new Party Program (rapporteur, EC member Juan Gomez); amendments to the Party Rules, and other organizational matters (rapporteur, EC member Ignacio Gallego); election of the Central Committee.

The delegates unanimously approved the main report, which was discussed by 104 speakers, proposals for the new Program (its draft will be made available for discussion to all Party organizations and to progressives) and amendments to the Rules necessitated by the changing situation. The Central Committee of 118 re-elected Comrade Dolores Ibarruri Chairman of the CPS and Comrade Santiago Carrillo General Secretary. It also elected an Executive Committee of 24 and a Secretariat of seven.

The Congress unanimously adopted a political resolution and approved the Central Committee's domestic and international policy. In her concluding, deeply theoretical remarks, Comrade Ibarruri lauded the meaningful debate, the close political unity of the Party's veteran and young members, the sound spirit of criticism and self-criticism, the Party's solid unity and the big gains made since the Seventh Congress in strengthening ties with the working class, the youth and the general masses. She described the Eighth Congress as the most significant since the national revolutionary war.

Analyzing the domestic situation, the Congress noted that as a result of the growing mass struggle against the dictatorship, the Franco regime is in a deep social and political crisis.

The policy of the ultra-Rightist group in power is hardening; fascist repressions are being stepped up. The aim is to give Francoism a new lease of life without Franco.

The decline of the dictatorship and the people's mounting struggle for democratic change have induced Right-wing forces to proclaim a new, so-called 'centrist,' orientation. To establish a new political equilibrium, they want a monarchist substitute with Juan Carlos on the throne, for the representative system, in order to buttress up the existing social order.

The Communist Party warns those who aspire to democratic change against illusions about centrism or the promises of its proponents. At the same time it points out that the 'center' may help to undermine fascist laws and institutions. The opposition should use every opportunity for action and advance to democracy; it should win for the democratic alternative the groups and strata that may otherwise fall under the influence of the idea of a 'new' political equilibrium. For the opposition to accept the Juan Carlos monarchy would be political suicide.

The Congress discussed the Common Market. The CPS is firmly opposed to Spain's joining the EEC in the present conditions. It regards the Common Market countries' preferential agreement with the Franco government as disastrous for the national interest. However, viewing the matter in perspective, our Party holds that Spain cannot stay outside the EEC for the following objective reasons:

– integration is becoming a reality in Western Europe, reflecting an economic law operating in both the capitalist and the socialist worlds, namely, the trend towards internationalizing the productive forces.

– Spain's economy is active mainly in Europe. Half its trade is with Common Market countries, which take 90 per cent of its citrus exports and about 70 per cent of its total exports. Besides, 10 per cent of Spain's manpower is employed in West European countries.

In the cold-war years economic integration in Western Europe was conceived as an imperialist weapon against the socialist system and as a means of increasing monopoly power. Now, a monopoly bloc has taken shape, out to increase its economic potential and gain leverage in the scramble for markets.

The terms of the Rome Treaty, which bar fascist-ruled states from the Common Market, are, doubtless, among the reasons why the Spanish monopoly bourgeoisie must seek a roundabout way. They also, at least in part, account for the rise of centrism. The Eighth Congress holds that the way out without damage to the national interest is to end the dictatorship and establish a democratic regime, which could legitimately negotiate with the EEC.

'If our country had a government supported by the masses,' the Congress resolution says, 'the Communist Party would back associate membership in the Common Market, which would enable Spain gradually to develop cooperation with European countries in step with renovation of her economic structure and rising competitiveness. To achieve this goal . . . the democratic state must give preference to a public sector in the economy.'

The Common Market is no longer an issue that may divide the democratic forces of our country or block accord for the purpose of ending the dictatorship. Given an equal agreement with the EEC, the Communist Party and partisans of progress in Spain would join forces with Communist, Socialist and other progressive parties that may work for the democratization of the EEC and the conversion of the Europe of monopoly into a socialist Europe, which, the Congress pointed out, is the only perspective meeting the requirements of the growth and internationalization of the productive forces.

Neither the Franco dictatorship, nor the centrists can solve the problems of our trade and economic cooperation with Western Europe on more favorable terms, or those of expanding markets and building up trade with the socialist countries. This requires a democratic alternative, such as the Freedom Pact proposed by the Communist Party.

As our Party sees it, this pact, which is to be a result of agreement and understanding among all opposition forces – workers, peasants and intellectuals, as well as the bourgeois elements discontented with the regime – has already begun to take shape. The first step has been the establishment of a standing coordinating commission of the political opposition forces of Catalonia. Similar

work is going on in Andalusia, Valencia, Asturias and elsewhere. The forms of uniting the opposition forces vary. They include commissions, round-table discussions and solidarity funds.

The main objectives of the pact are a broad-based coalition government, amnesty, political liberties, and elections to a Constituent Cortes which would decide on the country's social and political system. The CPS insists that in the period of transition following the formation of such a government the peoples of Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia be enabled fully to exercise their legitimate national rights.

The Freedom Pact will derive its strength from the struggle of the democratic masses led by the working class. This struggle will take the form of a general political strike of workers and a nationwide strike, which together will assume the character of a political revolution – the working class would use the favorable situation to paralyze industry and to organize in the enterprises and residential neighborhoods, the people would go out into the streets, committees would be set up everywhere to lead the movement and pressure on the dictatorship would build up until it is forced out.

Our experience shows that a nationwide strike is possible. The strike in the Basque Country in December 1970 and the strikes in the Barcelona enterprises of SEAT, and later in the towns of El Ferrol and Vigo, were prototypes of a future national action.

Much attention was given to the experience of mass struggle and organization. By a thorough analysis the Congress arrived at the following conclusions:

1. it is necessary to increase the impact of the struggle of the masses on events by extending its scope; learn to use the minor demands of the masses and pass from minor to important demands; skilfully combine different forms of struggle and use every legal opportunity;

2. seek coordination of the struggle within and between the various movements; strive for their unity and cooperation;

3. increase the militancy of mass movements not by pseudo-Leftist 'outstripping of events,' but by political work and practical action rallying the masses and helping them to learn from their own experience;

4. make the most of spontaneous developments that may touch off powerful mass actions;

5. propagate the aims of the pact among the masses.

The workers' commissions, which are a mass movement, should help rally the people for the struggle for democracy and their class interests, and heighten the influence of the working class in the country. The activity of the commissions is a practical expression of the leading role of the working class. This is a distinctive feature of the democratic process in Spain and an earnest of advance to socialism.

The Congress noted the need to improve work among the peasants, so that the movements may fully reflect their discontent with the present regime.

The Party also intends to devote more attention to the Spanish emigrant workers and to promote their solidarity with the struggle of the CPS and the people as a whole. Emigrants are a substantial part of our working class; they have specific problems, arising from the policy of exploitation and discrimination followed by European monopoly capital. It is the duty of the CPS to work for the solution of these problems in cooperation with the brother parties, trade unions and other progressive organizations of countries with Spanish workers.

The Congress also called for a broader and more dynamic campaign against repressions and for an amnesty.

In the organizational domain, the Party lays emphasis on increasing membership, training of cadres, encouraging the initiative of branch organizations and improving political education. We must draw more women into Party work and reconsider our views on their role in the struggle.

The Congress acclaimed the militant participation of the youth in the revolutionary movement. It commended the work of the Communist Youth League and called on Party organizations to give it their help without encroaching on its organizational autonomy.

During the discussion of the international situation delegates expressed concern about the situation in Indochina. The heroic resistance of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos undermines the prestige of the United States, the main imperialist power. Solidarity with Vietnam today, the Congress resolution points out, is a touchstone of proletarian internationalism. Accordingly, the Congress urged all Communists, working people, democrats and youth to devote their energies and initiatives to developing a powerful nationwide movement of solidarity with Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists' crimes and Nixon's policy of genocide in Indochina must be vigorously exposed.

The policy of peaceful coexistence has made important gains of late. The Congress supported the moves to safeguard European security and eliminate military blocs and bases. Backing the initiatives of the socialist countries, the Congress also approved of the stand taken by the representative Spanish delegation at the Brussels Public Assembly against admission of the fascist governments of Spain, Greece and Portugal to the projected European security conference.

It reaffirmed the Party's solidarity with all socialist countries – a bastion against imperialist aggression – and all liberation movements, the Popular Unity of Chile, the Arab peoples' revolutionary progressive forces, the Palestine resistance movement, the peoples suffering from the colonial tyranny of Portugal and Spain, and the patriots of Northern Ireland.

The Congress opposed the Franco colonial policy and maneuvers to retain so-called Spanish Sahara. The Party demands the immediate withdrawal of all Spanish troops from the area, and the return of Moroccan territory, with safeguards, through an agree-

ment with Morocco, for the legitimate rights of Spaniards living there. The Congress expressed its opposition to the transfer of parts of national territory to the United States and demanded the dismantling of U.S. bases.

The Congress approved the Party's policy of promoting unity of the Communist parties in line with the present state of the movement and the need for each Party to work out its strategy independently. In our opinion, this will give proletarian internationalism the dynamism required in the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism in order to use the new possibilities of the revolutionary process.

A further important point was the reaffirmation by the Congress of our Party's concept of a labor-culture alliance arising out of the real and concrete struggle against the dictatorship, for the common objectives of the masses; it is shaping as an alliance oriented on socialism in Spain.

Inspired by Marxist-Leninist principles, our Party rejects reforms which do not transcend the framework of capitalism, and declares again that capitalist society cannot be transformed into a socialist society without a far-reaching social and political revolution, for no ruling class will relinquish its positions without resistance.

The Party holds that to guarantee socialist democracy, genuine socialism and the advance to communism in the Spain of the future, it will be most important to respect the basic political liberties, the multi-party system, freedom of information and criticism, intellectual and artistic creativity, and to refrain from imposing any official philosophy.

The socialist revolution in our country will be a revolution of the workers and progressive forces of the peoples of Spain. It will be our contribution to the world revolution.

The Congress received numerous messages of greetings from Communist parties expressing militant solidarity.



Ideological essence of 'post-industrial society'

Hyman Lumer
Member Political Committee,
CP USA

The hallmark of present-day capitalism is its affliction with progressively sharpening contradictions and mounting instability. With the continued deepening of the general crisis of capitalism has come the further rise of state monopoly capitalism, utilizing the economic power and resources of the state to bolster monopoly domination and profits at the expense of the masses of working people, thereby intensifying the contradictions of capitalism all the more. And the process is climaxed by the emergence since World II of the new scientific and technological revolution, rendering the antagonism between socialized production and private appropriation increasingly acute. Hence the growing instability—economic, social and political—which characterizes capitalist society today.

A 'new stage'

In the face of this, bourgeois social scientists are driven to seek a basis for the stabilization of capitalism—a basis deriving from the inner structure of capitalism itself. The economists claim to have found such a basis in Keynesian and post-Keynesian economics, with its concept of government regulation of the economy as the stabilizing mechanism. And now both economists and sociologists claim to have found the roots of stability in the scientific and technological revolution and its consequences. In the eyes of a growing body of bourgeois theorists of the most varied political persuasions, ranging from out-and-out spokesmen for imperialism like Brzezinski and Walter W. Rostow to adherents of the New Left like Alain Touraine and Herbert Marcuse, joined by modern revisionists such as Ernst Fischer and Roger Garaudy, a new stage of society has been attained which is variously designated as 'post-capitalist' (Ralf Dahrendorf), 'post-bourgeois' (George Lichtheim), 'technotronic' (Zbigniew Brzezinski), 'new industrial state' (John Kenneth Galbraith), 'multi-dimensional' (Clark Kerr) and 'post-industrial' (Daniel Bell). Though the numerous versions differ among themselves in various respects, this common thread runs through them all: in this stage, the conflicts of the earlier

industrial society have been mitigated and the society has attained a new degree of stability.

Most prominent in this picture is the theory of post-industrial society developed by the well-known U.S. sociologist Daniel Bell.¹ The basic feature of the new stage of society, according to Bell, is the shift of the center of gravity from industrial production to the services. More importantly, he maintains, the sources of innovation are becoming lodged in the intellectual institutions, principally the universities and research institutions, rather than in the older, industrial corporations.² Hence the modifications in the socio-political structures: '... if the dominant figures of the past hundred years have been the entrepreneur, the businessman, and the industrial executive, the "new men" are the scientists, the mathematicians, the economists, and the engineers of the new computer technology.'³

Others have picked up the concept and carried it further. Zbigniew Brzezinski, in his book *Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technotronic Era*, says: 'The transformation that is now taking place, especially in America, is already creating a society increasingly unlike its industrial predecessor. The post-industrial society is becoming a "technotronic" society: a society that is shaped culturally, psychologically, socially, and economically by the impact of technology and electronics – particularly in the area of computers and communications. The industrial process is no longer the principal determinant of social change, altering the mores, the social structure, and the values of society . . . Reliance on these new techniques of calculation and communication enhances the social importance of human intelligence and the immediate relevance of learning.'⁴

Alain Touraine writes: 'A new type of society is now being formed. These new societies can be labeled post-industrial to stress how different they are from the industrial societies that preceded them although – in both capitalist and socialist nations – they retain some characteristics of these earlier societies. They may also be called technocratic because of the power that dominates them. Or one can call them programmed societies to define them according to the nature of their production methods and economic organization.' He states further that 'the most widespread characteristic of the programmed society is that . . . growth results from a whole complex of social factors, not just from the accumulation of capital.'⁵

In the thinking of its theoreticians, the 'new society' represents a revolutionary transformation, entailing profound structural changes affecting all aspects of social existence. Brzezinski calls it 'the third American revolution.' (The first, he asserts, was the revolution which gave birth to the American nation; the second, that which transformed the United States from an agricultural into an urban-industrial nation.)

Basic features of the 'new society'

The concept of post-industrial society is a fuzzy one, which can

be invested with a variety of meanings depending on the social or ideological leanings of its exponents. It has also absorbed a host of earlier ideas tending in this direction. But all its versions have certain basic features in common, among them the following.

The character of a society is viewed as being determined solely by the level of its technological development, whatever the prevailing relations of production. The latter are regarded as playing at best a very minor role. Bell and Touraine contend that capitalism and socialism are only two variants of industrial society. The main trends, in the final analysis, coincide.

For Marcuse, too, capitalism and socialism are both forms of 'advanced industrial society.' For him the fundamental disparity in ownership and control is but 'quantitative in character.' A qualitative change in the character of society requires a change in its technological structure.⁶ What Marcuse indicts, therefore, is not so much capitalism as technology itself.

The idea that the economic development of society is automatically and uniquely determined by the level of technology has been elaborated by W. W. Rostow into a theory of 'stages of growth.' With the rise of modern industry, he asserts, every society must pass through a definite series of stages: traditional society, pre-conditions for takeoff, takeoff, drive to maturity and high mass-consumption.⁷ This concept is counterposed to the historical succession of socio-economic formations defined by Marxism. It forms the groundwork of the notorious 'convergence' theory, according to which the scientific and technical revolution is giving rise to a new type of social system, replacing both capitalism and socialism. The basic elements of this new system are considered to be contained in the 'post-industrial society.'

This society, as Rostow's terminology indicates, is also conceived of as a 'mass consumption' society. Its chief hallmark, according to him, is the widespread ownership of private automobiles and other consumer durables. The rise of modern technology, it is argued, has at long last ended the need to struggle for material existence and has made possible the production of an abundance of goods. The central problem, therefore, is no longer one of producing enough but of consumption of what is produced. Touraine refers to the new stage of society as an 'era of mass consumption.' Galbraith's 'new industrial society' is also an 'affluent society.' It is, moreover, a society which glorifies consumption, one in which 'the consumption of goods' is made 'the prime measure of social accomplishment.'⁸ In Marcuse's view, any industrially advanced society becomes of necessity a 'consumer society,' a society in which people are dominated by things, and the class struggle is mitigated.

Central in the concept of post-industrial society is the vastly enhanced economic role of the state, which is seen as primarily a direct outcome of the scientific and technological revolution. The high cost and uncertainties of research and development, now an integral part of production; the rise in services, many of which

(e.g., education) are provided primarily by government agencies; the growth of expenditures for military goods; the need for coordinated measures on a national scale – these and other developments have, it is contended, placed the state in a position of economic dominance. According to them private capital is subordinated to the state.

The architects of the concept of post-industrial society also lean heavily on the 'managerial revolution' theory of Adolf A. Berle and James Burnham, on which they have considerably elaborated. A new managerial class is arising, with its roots in a) the dominant role of scientists and technologists in production and b) the greatly increased role of the state.

In Bell's view, crucial decisions, whether made by the state or by private corporations, must have an increasingly technological character; hence control must pass more and more into the hands of a new intellectual elite – a technocracy marked by talent, training and a high degree of professionalism. They alone can make production efficient.⁹ They have yet, he says, to become a dominant class, but he visualizes their doing so in partnership with the political decision-makers, taking over control of the whole industrial setup. Touraine goes further. In his thinking, the capitalist class has already surrendered its power to a new elite of executives – technocrats and technobureaucrats. Here, according to Touraine, we have the new ruling class – a class of technocrats operating within the framework of the existing corporate and government bureaucracies (hence the term 'technobureaucracy') and playing an increasingly dominant role.¹⁰ It is this class, presumably, which has pushed the financial oligarchy into the background or at least, as Bell puts it, threatens to do so.

The 'new society' and the class struggle

The culminating effect of the scientific and technological revolution, as conceived of by these bourgeois and New Left theoreticians, is to transform the class structure of society and the nature and role of class conflict. Marxism, they say, may have had its day as a description of the one-time industrial society but 'is found wanting as a theory of post-bourgeois society.'¹¹

Bell takes as his point of departure the changing structure of the working class. For a century or so the industrial worker, replacing the farmer, was in the ascendancy. But today he is on the way out, thanks to his replacement by machines. Instead of the industrial worker, Bell says, we see the dominance of the professional and technical class in the labor force – so much so that by 1980 it will be the second largest occupational group, and by the end of the century the largest. The central person will be the professional, for he is equipped, by his education and training, to provide the kinds of skills increasingly in demand in the post-industrial society when information becomes a central resource.¹²

Bell devotes much space to demonstrating statistically the rising

proportion in the labor force of service as against production workers, of white-collar as against blue-collar workers. He notes also the rising proportion of government workers and of workers in the non-profit sector as a whole. He places special emphasis on the expanding numbers of engineers and technicians, who are replacing the skilled workers as the crucial group in the working class. But he rejects the current notion that these constitute a 'new working class,' dismissing this as a 'radical conceit.' Rather, he says, they fight to maintain their status as professionals, and it is as professionals that they aspire to dominance as a class. The 'labor issue,' Bell says, is no longer central in Western society. The main issues of concern today are on the national level such public-interest issues as health, education, and the environment, and, on the local level, crime, municipal services, etc.,—communal issues in which labor may be involved, but only as one of a number of elements.

Thus is the class struggle quietly embalmed as society, guided increasingly by scientists, engineers and other professionals, proceeds to develop along lines of growing class peace and stability. In this, Bell is joined by such reactionary writers as Zbigniew Brzezinski and Clark Kerr.

Touraine's thinking, like Marcuse's, follows similar lines, maintaining that the working class is no longer a privileged historic agent. But he takes a somewhat divergent view of the character of present-day social conflicts. He states that there are new conflicts peculiar to the society we see being formed. Rather than simply a conflict between capital and labor, the new conflict, he says, is between the structures of economic and political decision-making, the technocracy, and those who are reduced to dependent participation.¹³ The central issue, affecting the entire hierarchy from professionals to technicians and on to wage workers, is the struggle against 'dependent participation.' Since it is control of knowledge and information which is at issue, and since the battle is one against alienation from participation in such control, the rebellion is more social and cultural than economic. And the privileged center of opposition to technocracy becomes the university. Not only is knowledge a factor of production, but the university 'brings together the processes of research and the rebellion of the young. As a result, it is the only major social entity that can, by its very nature, be a source of confrontation between political and economic structures.'¹⁴ And in this confrontation it is the youth, and particularly the student youth, which plays a central role. The struggles of the working class continue and the workers are allies of the youth. But their struggles have become subordinate and increasingly institutionalized. Moreover, they are merely struggles for immediate economic ends and not really class struggles—that is, struggles for basic social change. These, for Touraine, are the great lessons of the May 1968 events in France.

Akin to these ideas are those of the modern revisionists, both 'Left' and Right, as illustrated in particular by the theories of Roger Garaudy, which have already been critically examined in

the French Communist Party press and that of other fraternal parties.

The 'end of ideology'

Some time prior to his elaboration of the concept of post-industrial society, Bell distinguished himself together with certain other well-known sociologists, by advancing the doctrine of the end of ideology. The time had ended, they declared, for theories based on class or group interests. As a guide to man's future, the old ideologies had proven bankrupt. 'Today,' wrote Bell, 'these ideologies are exhausted.' Out of their history, one simple fact emerges: for the radical intelligentsia, the old ideologies have lost their "truth" and their power to persuade.¹⁵

What is to take their place? Not new ideologies. On the contrary, with the development of industrial society class differences become less distinct and tend to disappear, and hence there takes place a 'natural death' of ideology. It is replaced by a strictly scientific approach to social and economic questions, independent of all class, moral or political considerations and based only on such criteria as accuracy of data, refinement of research techniques and effectiveness of conclusions. And with the growing dominance of professionalism and the technocratic mode of thought, we have the emergence of a society guided not by ideological considerations but by science and rationality. This is the society of the future, as Bell indicates in his introduction to Herman Kahn's futurological treatise *The Year 2000*.

But the idea of a science of society divorced from class concerns and from ideology is sheer delusion. The 'end-of-ideology' doctrine itself expresses the ideology of a particular group, as Ostrovitianov, the Soviet writer, points out: 'Every political, economic, and social doctrine, after its establishment, inevitably reflects the hopes and claims of various classes and groups. End-of-ideology sociology also has very specific social roots. Its origins are found in the distinctive interests of the managers, a rapidly growing stratum of educated administrative bureaucrats who squeeze the classical capitalist class, penetrating with energy and purposiveness the "rooms where the buttons are," the principal panels of modern capitalism . . . They disguise their own self-interest – for example, their drive for power and executive authority – in the toga of disregard for class and of concern for some universal, abstract, national will, which they contrast both to the claims of their competitors from the ranks of the capitalist class and to the social demands of the laboring people.'¹⁶

Here lies the essence of the idea of post-industrial society. It offers, so to speak, an alternative to capitalism within the framework of capitalism. It is a utopian vision which arises within a section of the growing body of scientists and other professionals being drawn increasingly into capitalist production – a vision of a so-

ciety in which power resides not with those who own means of production but with the possessors of talent, education and training. It is a society in which conflict is reduced to tensions and struggles among various interest groups on issues of a secondary character. The architects of this utopian society reject both the need and the possibility of any revolutionary change beyond the 'post-industrial revolution.' This is precisely the ideological function which the concept of post-industrial society fulfils. It is a concept which serves the interests of the ruling class. By no means does it represent an 'end of ideology.'

Myth and reality

As a matter of fact, the whole idea of post-industrial society is a piece of sleight-of-hand, performed by the simple device of focusing entirely on the forces of production and completely ignoring or reducing to inconsequential significance the relations of production, that is, the basic structure of the society within which the productive forces operate. But this removes from the scene the very heart of the question. Capitalism is not merely a society defined by a given level of sophistication of the means of production; it is a social system defined by who owns the means of production, how they are employed and how the product is distributed. One can therefore speak of social revolution, of the emergence of a 'new society,' only in terms of a basic alteration of these relationships – specifically, by the acquisition of power by the working class and the abolition of private ownership.

Obviously, no such basic change has occurred in the highly-developed capitalist countries. Nor is it true that power has shifted from the hands of the owners to those of the managers. It is true that with the growing scale and complexity of capitalist production, management becomes separated from ownership and is increasingly assigned to salaried employees (who in the top ranks may also be capitalist owners). But even the topmost managers remain hired employees doing the bidding of the financial oligarchy – the real owners. If this is true of corporation presidents, it is obviously far more true in the case of lower levels of management. Here power and influence terminate abruptly with dismissal from employment, which is by no means uncommon. The real power remains, as before, solidly in the hands of the top circles of finance capital. All that has changed, says Birnbaum, is that the mode of exercising power has, to some extent, shifted in advanced societies – from coercion to manipulation; from entrepreneurs to managers; from politicians to bureaucrats. This is clearly insufficient to justify the assertion that we have entered a technocratic epoch in which political and economic technicians make decisions on purely technical criteria.¹⁷

Such an assertion also overlooks the dual nature of management in capitalist production. On the one hand it is a necessary part of

the process of production; on the other hand it is an instrument for effectuating the exploitation of the mass of production workers, for assuring the maximum extraction of surplus value. In the top ranks of the corporate bureaucracy it is the latter which is its principal function. Therefore the decisions made by managers must always involve the class interests of their employers as the primary consideration; this is the main reason for their employment. There is no such thing as decisions based on purely technical criteria – with or without computers.

If the growing role of managers in production and exchange does not represent a diffusion of power, neither does the growing economic role of the state. The exponents of post-industrial society look upon the state as an independent force, capable of exercising control over monopoly capital. By so doing they reject the fact that the state is an instrument of class rule, a political apparatus for legalizing, imposing and enforcing the system of exploitation by which the ruling class lives. The growing economic role of the state represents not a wresting of control from monopoly capital but rather the utilization by monopoly capital of the state machinery as a vehicle for increasing the exploitation of the working class and for the extraction of added profits from all other sections of the people. Members of the corporate bureaucracy become members of the political bureaucracy, and in both capacities they serve the same class interests. The concept of post-industrial society is, in fact, but a glorified version of state monopoly capitalism, improved and reorganized with the scientists and professionals managing affairs. It is an effort to refurbish capitalism in its final, dying stage and present it as a 'new society,' the product of a 'post-industrial revolution.'

Bell is quite correct in noting the changing composition of the working class – the shift to service occupations, the rise of white-collar employment, the growth of scientific and technical personnel. However, this process is not new. It is a necessary consequence of advancing technology. It was noted by Karl Marx in *Capital*.

With the rise of the scientific and technological revolution it has accelerated and has acquired certain new features. But it has in no way invalidated the Marxist conception of classes and the class struggle. At the turn of the century Lenin wrote: 'In all spheres of people's labor, capitalism increases the number of *office and professional workers* with particular rapidity and makes a growing demand for intellectuals. The latter occupy a special position among the other classes, attaching themselves partly to the bourgeoisie by their connections, their outlooks, etc., and partly to the wage workers as capitalism increasingly deprives the intellectual of his independent position, converts him into a hired worker and threatens to lower his living standard. The transitory, unstable, contradictory position of that stratum of society . . . is reflected in the particularly widespread diffusion in its midst of hybrid, eclectic views, a farrago of contrasting principles and ideas, an urge to rise

verbally to the higher spheres and to conceal the conflicts between the historical groups of the population with phrases – all of which Marx lashed with his sarcasm half a century ago.’¹⁸

Today the transformation of science into a direct productive force has drawn growing numbers of intellectuals and professionals into production. There they find their creative abilities frustrated; they are increasingly assigned to dull, routine, stultifying work; they suffer growing economic insecurity and unemployment. In short, they are reduced more and more to the status of the blue-collar production workers. Their counterparts in the service industries and in government employment suffer a similar fate. To be sure, this objective process is not understood by them at once, and then not by all of them. Some espouse petty-bourgeois ideas, among them that of post-industrial society. But in growing measure they are responding by organizing unions and engaging in struggle against their employers. In the United States, unionization is currently developing among such diverse groups as the engineers and scientists, professional and scientific employees of the government, professional employees, foreign service employees, and brokerage house salesmen on Wall Street. Commenting on these trends, *U.S. News and World Report* says: ‘A new “community of interest” developed with the production workers, a United Automobile Workers official declared, when the professional man found himself in the unemployment-insurance line along with the production people.’

But despite the shift to white-collar employment, blue-collar workers still make up well over half the total work force, and it will probably take until the end of the century before the proportion of white-collar workers reaches 50 per cent (that is, excluding self-employed, officials and executives, which the official figures add into this category). Moreover, the economic conditions of white-collar workers are becoming increasingly indistinguishable from those of blue-collar workers. And both groups, far from enjoying mounting affluence, are being subjected to constantly rising prices and taxes, to declining real earnings and to persistent unemployment.

Clearly, the working class and the class struggle remain central in capitalist society. Whatever the changes in its composition, the working class is increasing in numbers, both absolutely and relatively, and the intensity of its exploitation is increasing, not declining. The class struggle is becoming sharper, not less so. And socialism remains the ultimate goal.

In capitalist society, the scientific and technological revolution brings not a greater spread of affluence and increasing stability, but greater inequalities and mounting instability. On the one hand, technological advance means increased concentration of ownership, for it is the largest corporations which are best able to develop and introduce new techniques. Hence the biggest grow even bigger. On the other hand the most advanced capitalist country, the United States, has some 25 million of its citizens living in pov-

erty and hunger, while its economy is just emerging from the latest of its succession of postwar recessions. Only in socialist society does the scientific and industrial revolution mean stable economic advance and the improved well-being of all members of society.

In its struggles against the forces of national liberation and socialism, world imperialism turns increasingly to the weapon of ideological subversion. Toward this end it finds the concept of post-industrial society in all its variants particularly useful. In the guise of a new society which is neither capitalist nor socialist, it offers a point of departure for arguing the superiority of capitalism on the contention that the leading capitalist countries have a more highly developed technology. This is also the basis for the convergence theory, contending that the socialist countries are returning to capitalism. It is not surprising that Brzezinski, the theoretician of 'silent counter-revolution' in the socialist countries, is also the theoretician of the 'technotronic society' in the United States. Nor is it surprising that the ideas of Bell and others like him are widely popularized. But such false concepts cannot long conceal the decay and crisis of present-day capitalism or the vast superiority of socialism as a society free of exploitation, a society in which scientists and professionals hold an honored place, and where every working member of society occupies a place of dignity.

1. The concept first appears in his 'Notes on the Post-Industrial Society (I and II),' *The Public Interest*, Nos. 6 and 7, 1967.
2. See Daniel Bell, ed., *Toward the Year 2000: Work in Progress*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1967, pp. 5-6.
3. *Notes on the Post-Industrial Society*.
4. Viking Press, New York, 1970, pp. 9-10.
5. *The Post-Industrial Society*, Random House, New York, 1971, pp. 3, 4-5.
6. See H. Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1964, p. 23.
7. W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1960.
8. *The New Industrial State*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1967, p. 38.
9. See *Notes on the Post-Industrial Society* (I).
10. *Op. cit.*, pp. 49-50, 53.
11. George Lichtheim, *Marxism*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1961, p. 394.
12. 'Labor in the Post-Industrial Society,' *Dissent*, Winter 1972.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
15. D. Bell, *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties*, Free Press, New York, revised edition, 1962, p. 402.
16. *Voprosy Filosofii*, No. 7, 1969, Moscow, pp. 32-33.
17. See Birnbaum, 'Is There a Post-Industrial Revolution?' *Social Policy*, July-August 1970.
18. *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 202.



The future of mankind

Is socialism the future of the whole of mankind?

Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary practice of the workers' movement have answered that question long ago. However, a proposition convincing and obvious to Communists is not accepted as such by very many. For the larger part of the world's population is still very far from a scientific understanding of the laws and prospects of social development.

Socialism can no longer be considered in complete isolation from historical reality. Even its confirmed opponents cannot ignore these obvious facts: socialism is today the destiny of one-third of the human race; dozens of ex-colonial countries have taken the road to socialism; more and more people in the 'classical' capitalist countries are rising to a conscious struggle for the socialist perspective.

The debate over mankind's socialist future is assuming increasing scope and sharpness, with our opponents using the most unscrupulous methods, including outright lies and falsification. That is no more than natural: we know that if mathematical axioms affected the class interests of the bourgeoisie, it would make every effort to refute them. . . .

Let us recall but one falsification technique. Essentially, it follows this line of reasoning: socialism is the invention of Marxist theorists, and socialist revolution the result of a 'conspiracy' carried out against the will of the people. That formula, a deliberate distortion of reality, figures prominently in anti-communist literature.

Actually, the conclusion drawn by Marx, Engels and Lenin that socialism and communism are the inevitable future of the whole of mankind, their teaching on the ways leading to this future and the laws governing the fight for it, are not the fantasy of writers or the prophecy of oracles, but a *scientific prognosis* based on an objective and wholly scientific analysis of history.

Yes, the founders of Marxism-Leninism maintained that socialism is the goal of the workers' movement. But a goal, they emphasized, not in the sense of some abstract ideal toward which society has to

*Concluding article in our series for students of Marxism-Leninism. For earlier articles see issues 7, 9, 12 for 1971 and 3, 6, 8, 9 and 11 for 1972.

be led, but in the sense of a historical necessity stemming from the objective requirements of social progress: a necessity which the workers' movement consciously accepts and helps bring to reality.

Basing themselves on the cognized laws of social development Marx, Engels and Lenin charted the main directions and stages of the struggle for socialism and formulated the tasks of the working class and its Party at each of these stages.

Their scientific and political prognoses have been realized with amazing accuracy, an example unparalleled in the history of social thought.

The facts are:

In 1844 Marx and Engels proclaimed *the proletariat the creator of the new society*. And only four years later, on the barricades of the 1848 revolution, the working class fought its first open battle against the bourgeoisie. Another 23 years later, in the Paris Commune of 1871, it made the first attempt to take power – and 46 years after that it did take power, in Russia in 1917.

In 1847 Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that for the working-class cause to triumph there must be an *independent, truly revolutionary workers' party based on the principles of scientific socialism*. And they organized the prototype of such a party, the Communist League. Seventeen years later they founded the First International, which laid the foundations of the Communist movement of our time; 39 years later, in 1903, Lenin founded the Bolshevik Party and in later years there were founded the Communist International and Communist and Workers' parties of the Leninist type.

In 1847 Marx for the first time emphasized the need for *proletarian dictatorship*. The October Revolution in Russia 70 years after that gave conclusive practical proof of the correctness of that prediction.

In 1882 Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that *the center of the revolutionary movement was shifting to Russia* which was becoming its European 'vanguard.' In another 23 years, this was confirmed by the Russian proletariat on the barricades of the 1905 revolution.

In 1915 Lenin formulated the proposition that *the socialist revolution could triumph first in several or even one capitalist country*. That was translated into reality two years later.

In 1919, developing the views of Marx and Engels, Lenin drew the conclusion that *the revolutionary potential of colonial and dependent countries was rapidly growing* and that they could play a much bigger role in mankind's advance to socialism than had earlier been supposed. In particular, some of them could follow the non-capitalist path. This prognosis was fully confirmed.

In 1920 Lenin declared that the revolution in Russia would be followed by other countries breaking out of the capitalist system and subsequently uniting around the first socialist country to form a community *capable of decisively influencing world politics*. In less than 30 years this found conclusive corroboration in the socialist world system.

History has thus confirmed the scientific prognoses of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. That alone should convincingly show that socialism is indeed the future of the whole of mankind.

One might object – as bourgeois science and propaganda do – that not all the prognoses of the Marxist classics have come true with such accuracy. Yes, that is so. And Marx, Engels and Lenin corrected and amended their conclusions, making them more precise. And these, too, have found confirmation in history. More important still is the fact that the corrected prognoses concern the concrete historical conditions in which the revolutionary process unfolds. For instance, the time and place of the beginning of mankind's social emancipation. *But the basic, global prognosis, on the inevitability of this emancipation, has been brilliantly confirmed.*

Bourgeois science and propaganda raise still another objection. The prognoses of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, they say, probably held good for the old capitalism, but they do not hold good today, in the new circumstances of history.

It might be recalled in this connection that in the early years socialism's foes declared that the October Revolution was no more than a chance accident and was contrary to all the laws of social development. Subsequently, when the achievements of the Soviets convincingly proved that the revolution had not been a mere 'zig-zag of history,' and when the new system took hold in a number of other European and Asian countries, our opponents changed their tune. Socialism, they declared, was possible only in backward countries.

Today, in the light of the achievements of the socialist community, which includes also former developed capitalist countries, advocacy of such a 'theory' would be totally out of place. Again the tune has been changed: now our opponents affirm that for countries building it, socialism is probably a natural thing, but certainly not for the rest of the world, for 'new circumstances have arisen.'

This change of argument is clear evidence of bourgeois ideology's steady retreat under the weight of reality. Let us, however, take a closer look at the 'new circumstances.' What is it all about?

Bourgeois ideologists lay special stress on state-monopoly capitalism. They present it as little short of an alternative to socialism or, at any rate, as a factor that casts doubt on the need for socialism.

State-monopoly capitalism has indeed injected much that is new in bourgeois society. First of all, the merger of monopoly and state to form a single mechanism – and especially if that mechanism can exploit the achievements of the technological revolution – gives capital new and not unimportant opportunities: it can more effectively exploit the workers, mitigate the antagonisms that imperil the very existence of the capitalist system. These new opportunities, apparently, are the cause of the wild optimism of many bourgeois scholars and journalists. An incurably sick man is trying a new medicine in the hope that it will restore his health. . . .

It won't work. For while giving bourgeois society short-term relief, state-monopoly capitalism is planting a mine under the system. It might explode at any time.

'The socialization of labor,' Lenin wrote, 'which is advancing ever more rapidly in thousands of forms and has manifested itself very strikingly . . . in the growth of large-scale production, capitalist cartels, syndicates and trusts, as well as in the gigantic increase in the dimensions and power of finance capital, provides the principal material foundation for the inevitable advent of socialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 71).

But what is state-monopoly capitalism, with its nationalization, programming, etc., if not factual, even formal, socialization of production? In the West, from 8 to 15 per cent of industry and a substantial share of distribution, are state-owned and 30-40 per cent of gross national product is realized through state agencies. Is this not a very long step in preparing the material foundations of socialism?

Further, by virtue of its intrinsic regularities, state-monopoly capitalism accelerates concentrations of private capitalist production. In the early 60s, 200 companies already accounted for nearly 35 per cent of the capitalist world's total industrial output.

Hence, in this respect too, socialization of production is moving ahead with giant steps, creating ever new material prerequisites for the inevitable triumph of socialist revolution and reaffirming anew Lenin's conclusion that ' . . . state-monopoly capitalism is a complete *material* preparation for socialism, the *threshold* of socialism, a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism *there are no intermediate rungs*' (Vol. 25, p. 359).

And so, production is being increasingly socialized. But what of appropriation?

The founders of Marxism-Leninism saw in capitalist private property the main source of the contradictions that make for society's movement toward socialism. Have the present changes in the capitalist world eliminated private property, that foundation, that starting point, of the capitalist social system?

Not even the most zealous apologists of capitalism will venture to say that there have been revolutionary changes in this area. *Private property of the means of production was and remains the foundation of modern capitalist society*, whatever its political or juridical forms.

True, there is the contention that the spread of so-called 'worker share-holdings' in developed capitalist countries, though not formally repealing the principle of private property converts a large part of 'former proletarians' into property owners and, furthermore, changes the social structure so that division into exploited and exploiters loses all meaning.

True enough, in the FRG, France and several other countries, thousands of workers have become nominal shareholders of 'their' enterprises. But practice has shown that this shareholding is but an additional means of the worker's submission to his employer. The worker has only the illusion of property rights, of participating in determining production programs, profit sharing, etc., but he does not benefit materially to any appreciable degree. This was

aptly illustrated by a cartoon in the West German *Handelsblatt* showing a worker papering a room with shares. The caption read: 'Cheaper than wallpaper . . .'

Most important, share-owning has in no way altered the worker's social position as an exploited wage slave of capital. For his position is determined by his place in the capitalist system of production.

The failure of the share-holding gimmick is evidenced by the fact that the monopolies which initiated this alluring innovation are now backtracking. For instance, the West German Preissag concern, which pioneered in this field, made much propaganda when it 'converted' its workers into 'share-holders,' but this summer it quietly cancelled all the shares. The Springer *Die Welt* commented on the 'death of the People's Shares.'

Monopoly propaganda does not, of course, give a real picture of modern capitalist society. But it can be drawn from the processes which, even capitalism's most faithful supporters admit, are at work within the system. This is what is happening.

The concentration of property continues to grow, and so does the wealth of the big billionaire trusts.

From 1960 to 1970 the number of billionaire corporations in U.S. manufacturing went up from 28 to 102, and their share in the industry's net profit rose from 38 to 53 per cent. In the FRG, the number of joint-stock companies with assets of over DM100 million increased from 73 to 109 (4.7 per cent of the total of joint-stock companies) between 1964 and 1971, while their share of the total capital increased from 54.3 to 64.7 per cent. The same is true of any capitalist country. *The club of the main capitalists is still extremely small, while the portion of social wealth they appropriate continues to grow.*

Growing wealth at one pole is accompanied by growing social insecurity at the other, and in many cases by outright impoverishment.

Describing conditions in capitalist countries, bourgeois writers usually 'forget' to mention the Latin American states, let alone the African and Asian. But even in the sphere of developed capitalism, examples of social insecurity are plentiful. It is officially admitted that five per cent of the wage and salary earners in the United States are permanently unemployed. And 27,100,000 people in that wealthiest of the capitalist countries, or 13.3 per cent of its population, are poor, that is, people with incomes below the 'poverty line' officially acknowledged in Washington. According to Republican Senator Boggs, 21 million Americans, or 10 per cent, can neither read nor write, and according to the National Medical Association, nearly one-quarter of the population - 45 million - cannot afford much needed medical aid. And President Nixon, too, has admitted that 24 million Americans (nearly 12 per cent) live in sub-standard homes.

This applies not only to the United States. It is estimated that in the developed capitalist countries three out of every hundred

wage and salary earners are permanently unemployed, six have an insufficient education, nine live in sub-standard housing and as many cannot afford medical treatment. These estimates concern but the wage and salary earners. If they were to include the numerous non-proletarian groups, pensioners and others, the result would be gloomier still.

The situation in present-day capitalist society bears out more conclusively than ever before the Marxist conclusion in the *Communist Manifesto* that this society will ever more fully split into two opposed classes – the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The percentage of wage-workers in the gainfully employed population of developed capitalist countries has gone up from 53.3 to 79.5 in 1900-1969 (while in farming it has gone down from 26.3 to 21.7 per cent; in industry, building, transport and communications it is up from 78.4 to 90.5 and in commerce and the services from 71.5 to 84.9).

The percentage of proletarians in total wage labor is now being determined through concrete analysis by the fraternal parties, but regardless of the exact results, it is quite clear that the working class continues to grow, drawing its recruits mainly from the middle strata. The proletariat is better organized and more conscious of its mission. This shows that state-monopoly capitalism leads to the accumulation not only of the material, but also of the socio-political preconditions for socialist revolution.

Thus, while labor becomes more and more social, appropriation in modern bourgeois society remains private and the social contrasts become ever sharper (despite the growth of social wealth).

The development process of modern capitalism is now no longer simply marked by conflict, but also by deep crisis.

Despite its new resources and maneuvers, capitalism cannot avoid regular recessions, monetary crises, and the like. And it is not surprising that the many opuses of the most prominent economists in the United States, FRG, France and Japan are, in effect, exercises on the subject of whether or not the Black Friday of 1929 may one day recur.

None of the major capitalist countries has escaped acute socio-political crises in recent years. Even the most 'stable,' such as the Scandinavian, are shaken by bitter class collisions.

Nor has capitalism succeeded in 'harmonizing' its relations with the former colonial world. Exploitation of the Third World by the 'developed' countries, the facts show, is continuing to grow, and the contradictions between the former metropolitan countries and their former colonies are growing more acute.

Lastly, imperialism has been responsible for a series of acute international conflicts, each potentially more dangerous than the one before, that have pushed the nations time and again to the brink of a new world war.

Those are facts that the more objective representatives of bourgeois politics and science are compelled to recognize. And it is not surprising that the captains of modern capitalism are casting about

quite candidly for new ways of overcoming the difficulties harassing the world of private property. Where and how they are looking for salvation is, however, highly symptomatic.

The best known and most widespread novelty is their 'convergence theory,' peddled in several variants, each (irrespective of the author's subjective wishes) anti-socialist in complexion. Indicatively, the proponents of this theory no longer speak of sustaining capitalism in its present state; they declare that it must be improved or modified, and suggest the use of some of the features and qualities of socialism for this purpose (naturally, in the interests of capital). In the long run, they aver, capitalism and socialism will merge, forming a 'harmonious entity.'

Their 'theory' is scientifically untenable, which hardly needs to be proved here, for it is affirmed by the facts, by the ever greater separation of the two opposite social systems. The important point is, however, that bourgeois ideology has publicly departed from its former views, which speaks for the potency and potential of socialism.

But the matter is not confined to the sphere of theory. Capitalism's frantic endeavors to delay its own collapse compel it to adapt itself to the new historical situation, and, as noted by the 1969 International Meeting, to hammer out a strategy for this adaptation. Indicatively, many of the 'new' undertakings of capitalism are, in effect, borrowed from socialism.

Take this example. People of the older generation probably remember capitalism's reaction in the 1920s to the Soviet Union's first five-year plan. It was unanimous: a five-year plan is a pipe-dream, planning is impossible. Yet today terms such as 'programming' or 'planning' are universally accepted in bourgeois technical literature and the practice of state-monopoly capitalism. What such programming actually yields, and what obstacles are insurmountable for it due to the rule of private property, is quite another matter. The fact remains that what was once regarded as the way to perdition is now accepted as the way to paradise.

It is appropriate to quote from a recent interview by John Kenneth Galbraith, who hardly needs an introduction. 'Socialism,' and 'nationalization,' he said, were 'unrespectable' words in the United States, thought they deserved to be rehabilitated. He mentioned the case of the building industry, medical service and public transportation. The United States is the only country, for example, he added, which has left the railways in private hands. As a result, the U.S. railways are running to ruin, especially passenger traffic. And he concluded that these industries cannot discharge their mission if not supported by the power of the state.

This from a man who created the 'new industrial society' theory, that is, one of the varieties or, more precisely, the foundation for the 'convergence theory,' a man who is doing so much for the 'clever' defense of the capitalist system.

Average Americans, Frenchmen, Japanese and Britons are beginning to see that capitalism is a dying system.

Americans are painfully conscious that their efforts to rectify their social system are not yielding the desired results, writes U.S. researcher Forrester. This is probably why *Business Week* reports that Americans are disenchanted with business. Two out of every three Americans, the journal says, are critical of monopoly and monopoly activity. If the tendency continues, it adds, painful changes are in store for the system of free enterprise.

One more example. Earlier this year a public opinion poll in France examined working conditions: forty-five per cent (aged 21 and up) held that though reforms were needed, the basic social structures should remain intact. But another 44 per cent thought ordinary reform would be useless.

What is the direction to take? The socialist example provides the answer.

The experience of socialism is discussed, weighed and studied most closely outside the socialist world. True, they lack the resources for a complete and really competent judgment. True, too, propaganda hostile to socialism goes out of its way to modulate the judgment. Yet the truth is making its way steadily to the hearts and minds of people everywhere.

And the truth is that, though socialism has still far from resolved the problems it has set itself, and though many difficulties arose (and many still arise) on the way (a way followed for the first time in history!) socialism has managed to accomplish what capitalism has failed to do.

This year the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist country, celebrates the 50th anniversary of its federative statehood. Looking back at what they have accomplished, Soviet people register with legitimate pride that in their country:

- class and national oppression have been completely eliminated;
- unemployment, hunger, poverty, illiteracy, and insecurity have been rooted out forever;
- every citizen is guaranteed the right to work, leisure, education, and a tranquil, well-provided old age;
- the standard of living is rising steadily, and the free access for each to the treasures of culture is broader than anyone could hope for himself in a bourgeois country;
- every citizen is afforded a real opportunity to participate in the discussion and solution of all problems at his enterprise or office, district or region, republic or the country as a whole;
- the state's policy is designed to safeguard and consolidate world peace.

Many of the Soviet gains, as we know, are placed in doubt by bourgeois ideologues. But nowadays they cast doubt on many fewer aspects than before, and much is unreservedly acknowledged, even by our foes.

The critics of socialism, as we also know, want to belittle its achievements, referring to the mistakes committed in one or another socialist country. Yes, mistakes there have been. But what is important is that they were and are being corrected on

the spot, by the ruling parties, and in a way that precludes their repetition.

Examining the present-day anti-socialist literature one cannot help seeing that the seeming abundance of its arguments is, in effect, the result of an absence of real arguments. Because in any socialist country one can – and even quite easily – find things that can be concretely criticized. By the way, this material for criticism is provided abundantly by the press in those countries, a press that is itself deeply critical, but critical constructively.

In other words, one can find negative points concerning the functioning of various institutions of the socialist social system. But none that would refute the incontestable superiority of the new society over all the preceding formations, the superiority over capitalism of the present-day socialism, which is still, in many things, in the formative stage, still 'dressed in scaffolding' – a society still seeking self-comprehension, still learning to use the tremendous potentialities implicit in its system.

Each advance in this self-comprehension will add to socialism's force of attraction, its positive example. And the force of repulsion of the negative, the capitalist system, will grow.

This shows that no matter how complex and different the ways are by which each of the non-socialist countries comes to socialism, all of them lead to precisely this and no other social system.

It is quite wrong, however, to espy anything fatalistic or providential in this conclusion. Yes, the preconditions for socialism are maturing everywhere. Yes, the necessity for all humanity passing to socialism is growing. But this cannot occur automatically, by itself. Because the forces of the old world will do everything they can to retain their positions, to retard, even turn back, the development of mankind. All the greater is the responsibility of the working-class movement, the responsibility of Communists.

History has entrusted them with a great mission – to help the operation of the laws of social development, to turn them into reality. And this mission the Communist movement is certain to perform.

V. Zagladin



The history of the Communist and workers' movement has always been the target of malicious attacks by bourgeois writers. And always their purpose has been to present the working-class struggle in a false light, distort scientific communism, vilify socialism. That method is being followed now too, on the centenary of the Hague Congress of the First International and the 125th anniversary of the **Communist Manifesto**. The capitalist press has made both dates the occasion of an anti-Communist campaign. The **New York Times** and the **International Herald Tribune** carried a series of articles under the heading 'Communism After 125 Years.'

There is more than a historical interest, we believe, in the documents of the past, which testify to the permanent relevance of the works of the founders of Marxism. Several documents of the Hague Congress are printed on this and the following pages, and materials pertaining to the **Communist Manifesto** will appear in one of our coming issues.

Marxism triumphs in the First International

Centenary of Hague Congress

At a mass meeting in St. Martin's Hall, London, on September 28, 1864 to protest the suppression of the 1863 Polish rising, a French worker delegation moved a proposal, earlier coordinated with British workers, for an international workers' organization with headquarters in the British capital. It was enthusiastically adopted. Thus was born the International Working Men's Association, later to become known as the First International (the Second International was founded in 1889).

In its short career (it was active in Europe for only eight years), the First International contributed an important chapter to the

history of the workers' movement. Its theoretician and leader was Karl Marx.

The rise and activity of the Association – successor to the Communist League – qualitatively changed the workers' movement by uniting it on the basis of proletarian internationalism. In later years many Marxist working-class parties developed out of its national affiliates.

The International's Fifth Congress, held in The Hague in September 1872, holds a special place in its history. It was the most representative congress, bringing together 65 delegates from 15 countries. Its open sessions, deliberately held in the evening, were attended by many Dutch workers. The Hague Congress culminated a long struggle by Marx and Engels and working-class progressives in many countries to assert the ideological and organizational principles of the proletarian party. In The Hague, Marxism prevailed over anarchism and other anti-Marxist trends.

Marx on the Hague Congress

Correspondent's report of Marx's Speech at a Public Meeting in Amsterdam, September 8, 1872

In the 18th century (the speaker said) kings and the mighty of this world would foregather in the Hague to discuss the interests of their dynasties.

And it was in this city, despite all the intimidation, that we decided to hold our congress, for we wanted to reaffirm, in the midst of the most reactionary population, the viability, growth and hopes for the future of our great Association.

When our decision became known, we were accused of sending emissaries to prepare the ground. Yes, we do not deny that we have emissaries everywhere, but in most cases we do not even know them. In the Hague our emissaries were workers, men of arduous labor; and in Amsterdam, too, they were workers, men who work 16 hours a day. These are our emissaries, we have no others; and in all countries, wherever we appear, they are always ready to extend a friendly welcome because they very soon realize that our aim is to improve their condition.

From General Council Report to Hague Congress

'... Since our last congress at Basle, two great wars have changed the face of Europe: the Franco-German War and the Civil War in France. Both of these wars were preceded, accompanied and followed by a third war – the war against the International Working Men's Association. . . .

'A few weeks after the plebiscite,* when the imperialist press commenced to fan the warlike passions amongst the French people, the Paris Internationalists, nothing daunted by the government's

*In May 1870 the French government staged a plebiscite in an attempt to bolster the position of Napoleon III.

persecutions, issued their appeal of the 12th of July, "to the workmen of all nations", denounced the intended war as a 'criminal absurdity'. . . .

'Their appeal met with an enthusiastic echo from Germany, so that the General Council was entitled to state,

'"The very fact that while official France and Germany are rushing into a fratricidal feud, the workmen of France and Germany send each other messages of peace and goodwill—this great fact unparalleled in the history of the past . . . proves that in contrast to the old society, with its economic miseries and its political delirium, a new society is framing up whose international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labor*".'

The Hague Congress was influenced by the Paris Commune and the events that followed it. Its elected chairman was Gabriel Ranvier, delegate of the Paris Section named in honor of the executed Communard Ferré. In analyzing the lessons of the Commune, the Congress emphasized the need for an independent, organized and ideologically united proletarian party in each country. Formulated much earlier by Marx and Engels, this was now forcefully brought home by the concrete experience of the class struggle. The need for an independent proletarian political party was stressed by members of the International in their messages to the Congress and became the focal point in the Marxists' fight against anarchist sectarianism and petty-bourgeois reformism. The inclusion of Article 7a in the General Rules, calling for a proletarian party and stressing the 'great duty of the proletariat' to win political power, signified the triumph of Marxism in the International's program.

From Charles Longuet's speech at the Congress

'If we had had a workers' political organization on September 4, the International, rallied on Place Corderie on September 5, would have been the core of the Commune.* Given an organization, the Commune, having repelled the invasion, would have taken hold in Paris and Berlin. The Commune fell because it lacked such an organization.'

From the Hague Resolution on the General Rules

Article 7a. 'In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes. This constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in

*A republic was proclaimed in France on September 4, 1870. The government included many conservative politicians, and this caused much anxiety among progressive workers. In the evening of September 4, members of International sections and delegates from labor unions met at the Paris Federation on the Place Corderie and decided to exercise control of government activity. On September 5, some 500 members of the International and the unions resolved to organize Republican Vigilance Committees in all Paris districts.

order to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and its ultimate end – *the abolition of classes*. The combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economic struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against political power of its exploiters. The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defense and perpetuation of their economic monopolies and for enslaving labor. To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the proletariat.'

The history of the First International is the history of the struggle the supporters of scientific socialism, led by Marx and Engels, waged against anarchism and its ideologist, Bakunin, against the sinister part played by the ultra-Left theories and methods the anarchist leaders tried to implant in the movement. And this struggle had immense, truly historic, repercussions. It is both timely and fitting to recall its lessons today, considering that in many capitalist countries there have been attempts, assisted by the bourgeoisie and its ideologists, to revive these anarchist trends, particularly among the youth.

Shortly before the Hague Congress, Bakunin and his supporters took advantage of the fall of the Paris Commune to intensify their attacks on the General Council of the International. Their aim was to destroy the International and replace it by their own secret conspiratorial organization, the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. The Hague Congress put an end to Bakuninist subversion and dealt a crushing blow to sectarianism and opportunism. Bakunin and his supporters were expelled from the International.

*From Engels letter to T. Cuno**

'Bakunin has a peculiar theory of his own, a medley of Proudhonism and communism. The chief point concerning the former is that he does not regard capital, i.e., the class antagonism between capitalists and wage workers which has arisen through social development, but' the state as the main evil to be abolished. While the great mass of the Social-Democratic workers hold our view that state power is nothing more than the organization which the ruling classes – landowners and capitalists – have provided for themselves in order to protect their social privileges, Bakunin maintains that it is the state which has created capital, that the capitalist has his capital *only by the grace of the state*. As, therefore, the state is the chief evil, it is above all the state which must be done away with and then capitalism will go to blazes of itself. We, on the contrary, say: Do away with capital, the concentration of all means of production in the hands of the few, and the state will fall of itself. The difference is an essential one: without a previous social revolution the abolition of the state is nonsense; the abolition of capital is precisely the social revolution and involves a change in the whole mode of production.'

*Cuno – German socialist, organizer of the International section in Milan.

The alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association

Report and documents published by
decision of the Hague Congress

'While allowing complete freedom to the movement and aspirations of the working class of various countries, the International has been able to unite the working class in a single organization and, for the first time, make the ruling classes and their governments feel the international strength of the proletariat. The ruling classes and their governments have acknowledged this fact and have concentrated all their attacks on the executive body of our Association, its General Council. These attacks have been steadily intensified since the fall of the Commune. And it is this moment that the Alliance has chosen to declare war on the General Council! . . .

'Stripped of its melodramatic trappings, this program (of the secret Alliance) can be reduced to the following:

'1. All the foulness that is the inevitable concomitant of the life of declassed men from the upper social strata is proclaimed an ultra-revolutionary virtue.

'2. A principle is made of perverting a small, carefully selected minority of workers, separated moreover from the masses by secret initiations, compelling them to share in the intrigues and outright trickery of the secret leadership and instilling the idea that to give free rein to one's "evil passions" is to shake the old society to its very foundations.

'3. The chief propaganda method are to attract the youth by fantastic fabrications concerning the scope and strength of the secret society, by forecasts of the inevitable revolution it is preparing, etc., and to compromise progressives in the eyes of the governments. . . .

'4. Instead of the workers' economic and political struggle for liberation there is *destructive* action by heroes of the underworld – that ultimate embodiment of revolution. In short, they suggest bringing to the fore the tramp, whom the workers themselves removed during the "revolutions according to the Western classical model" and in that way give the reactionaries, gratis, a well-schooled band of agents-provocateurs.'

The Hague Congress was the zenith of the International's ideological development. After 1872, it declined, giving way to new forms of workers' organizations.* 'The First International,' Lenin wrote, 'had played its historical part and now made way for a period of a far greater development of the labor movement in all countries of the world, a period in which the movement grew in scope, and mass socialist working-class parties in individual national states were formed.' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 49).

Prepared by Idris Cox

*On the proposal of Marx and Engels, The Hague Congress decided to transfer the General Council's headquarters to New York. The International Working Men's Association was officially dissolved at a conference in Philadelphia in 1876.



Shahrul Sait, a reader from the Republic of Bangladesh, asks us to tell of the Soviet Union's economic and technological cooperation with decolonized nations, emphasizing the interest in these questions in his country. Questions of economic relations between socialist countries and the developing nations appear in other letters as well. Accordingly, the editors asked S. Skachkov, Chairman of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for External Economic Ties, to answer these questions.

The USSR and the developing countries

Question: What are the basic principles of Soviet economic and technical cooperation with developing countries?

Answer: The expansion of economic ties between the Soviet Union and the developing countries is a direct consequence of the strengthening of the positions of socialism in the world and the success of the national liberation movement. The rapid expansion of our socialist economy, on the one hand, and the collapse of colonial regimes, on the other, created the possibilities for direct Soviet material support in the drive of the peoples of developing countries for economic independence and overcoming economic backwardness.

The volume of Soviet economic and technological support to these countries has more than trebled in the last 10 to 12 years alone. The Soviet Union has cooperated in building 370 industrial, civic and cultural projects, and 420 more are under construction or earmarked for construction.

In dealing with economic processes statistics are, of course, very important. However, they are clearly not sufficient to reveal the true essence and character of economic cooperation. These processes are so complex and diversified that in assessing them one must take into account a wide range of factors, many of which cannot be measured in quantitative terms. It is essential to view our economic and technological cooperation with developing

countries from the aspect of the general world alignment of class forces and the anti-imperialist struggle waged jointly by the socialist states and the international workers' national liberation movements. Soviet economic relations with Asian, African and Latin American countries help consolidate their national independence, and contribute to the common cause of the struggle against imperialism, for peace and social progress.

The economic and technological cooperation of the Soviet Union with developing countries is an element of the alliance of world socialism with the national-liberttation movement. Such a class-political assessment is the only true guideline for any statistical analysis of our economic relations with Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

Soviet economic support of developing countries is cooperation with a difference. Specifically, it helps strengthen the state sector: enterprises built with Soviet financial and technological assistance are the property of the respective nations, and many of them form the material and technical base of the state sector, thereby creating the prerequisites for promoting in-depth planned regulation of economic processes. This is extremely important for a developing economy, whose backwardness cannot be overcome within a system of uncontrollable private capitalist enterprise.

Another relevant aspect of our cooperation with the new nations is that it complements their long-term development programs. The economic plans of most developing countries provide for expanding the economy's industrial base, resolving the employment problem and boosting living standards. Soviet-supported projects, as a rule, occupy a prominent, if not a leading, place in these programs.

Special note should be made of the structure of our economic and technological cooperation with developing countries. To begin with, it is aimed primarily at promoting the expansion of the production sphere, with almost three-quarters of the funds channelled into the establishment of new industrial and power capacities (see tables). This approach takes into account not only the present needs of the economy, but also the fundamental, long-term interests of the respective countries' drive for economic independence. As a result, besides gradually ridding themselves of the need to import various industrial commodities, they are able to master the most modern basic means of production, which are the foundation for a genuinely independent economic system.

*Economic cooperation of USSR with developing countries
(as on January 1, 1972)*

<i>Allocation of Funds (per cent)</i>	
Industry and power	73.8
Agriculture	5.3
Transport and communications	8.1
Mineral prospecting	8.2
Education, culture, health, etc.	4.6
	100

Industrial Capacities

(built, in construction, planned)

Power plants (installed capacities), '000,000kw. 6.3

Steel, '000,000 tons 13.0

Rolled stock, '000,000 tons 12.3

Oil (processing), '000,000 tons 11.6

Metallurgical, mining, forging and pressing
equipment, material handling plant, '000 tons 150

At the same time, Soviet economic cooperation with Afro-Asian and Latin American countries is diversified. Besides industry, it includes agriculture, transport, mineral prospecting, education, health. Thus it serves one of the prime tasks of developing countries: that of overcoming the lopsidedness of their economies. About 300,000 specialists and skilled workers – a significant section of the national labor force – have been educated and trained with Soviet help.

As a rule, the financial investments of Soviet organizations are repaid with traditional exports or goods produced by the Soviet-assisted project. This is extremely important for the developing countries which, more often than not, are compelled to repay credits received from imperialist states in much-needed hard currency. The arrangements for settling accounts for Soviet credits and loans, granted on most favorable terms, provide the new states with a stable external market for their commodities which, in turn, help meet requirements of the Soviet national economy.

Thus, economic relations between socialist states and developing countries are based on respect for the interests of the parties concerned, on mutual benefit. Such cooperation is one of the ways of assuring genuine equality in international economic relations in contrast to the imperialist system of economic subordination by some countries of others.

Question: Do the mutual benefits of cooperation between the USSR and developing countries cover only the commercial aspect?

Answer: Obviously, it is one of the aspects. But, in keeping with what I said before about the class-political basis of cooperation, the question is a much broader one.

Of course, firm, sound economic ties form only when due consideration is given to business aspects and economic effectiveness. However, the mutual advantages of our cooperation with developing countries are determined by factors of a more general nature, for it promotes the expansion of their economies and thus strengthens their positions in the struggle against imperialist monopolies. On the other hand, as was stressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, 'the alliance with the national liberation movement, the alliance with anti-imperialist fighters all over the world, is one of the important sources of our strength on the international scene. Marching together, supporting each other, it is easier for us to ensure the solution of many international prob-

lems, including the task of strengthening the peace.' Hence, the principles of mutual benefit in our economic and technological cooperation go beyond simply ensuring mutual commercial interests.

Question: What is one to make of Western press assertions about a 'crisis in foreign aid' to the developing countries?

Answer: The imperialist policy of 'aid' to the developing countries has certainly reached a dead end. That Western writers say so themselves is additional confirmation of the depth of the crisis. Its roots should evidently be sought in the irreconcilable nature of the contradictions between imperialism and the national-liberation movements, between the expansionist desires of imperialist monopolies and the liberated countries' struggle for economic independence and social progress.

But when imperialist propaganda seeks to represent the 'aid crisis' as a universal phenomenon, that is, covering also the cooperation of the Soviet Union and other socialist states with developing countries, it is simply distorting the facts. There is no 'crisis' in our economic relations with these countries; on the contrary, they are continuously expanding and gaining in strength. This is borne out by their steadily expanding geography. In 1955, the Soviet Union had cooperation agreements with only two countries of the Afro-Asian world; today we have such agreements with 19 Asian, 22 African and 3 Latin American countries. It was rightly noted at our Party's 24th Congress that Soviet economic cooperation with new nations 'is acquiring the character of a stable division of labor opposed to the system of imperialist exploitation in the sphere of international economic relations.' Many leaders of developing countries speak highly of the Soviet Union's contributions to the advance of their economies. Thus, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in a statement in connection with the 15th anniversary of Soviet-Indian cooperation, said: 'Our goal is to overcome economic backwardness, to modernize our society and to achieve self-reliance. In this endeavor, we have received cooperation and help from the government and people of the Soviet Union. We greatly value this cooperation. It has contributed to the further strengthening of the friendly ties between our two nations, as well as to the cause of international friendship.'

The CPSU and the Soviet state are consistently promoting a policy of expanding and perfecting the forms of economic and technological cooperation with Asian, African and Latin American countries. They view all-round support – economic included – of the anti-imperialist, liberation forces as their internationalist duty.

To be sure, some circles offer a very peculiar interpretation of the concept of a socialist state's internationalist duty with respect to the national-liberation movement, and this also applies to the economic sphere. Thus, the idea is being mooted of the alleged natural duty of all developed countries, including the Soviet Union, to set aside a percentage of their material wealth for the former colonies and semi-colonies.

But this is a wrong approach to the matter, and it is based on a deliberate evasion of the fact that any stand of any state on any international issue rests on a certain class basis. That is why it is wrong to put socialist states and imperialist powers on the same footing in relation to the developing countries. Imperialism, which has never stopped its exploitation of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, owes them an irredeemable debt. The internationalist duty of the Soviet Union and other socialist states with respect to the developing nations is of an entirely different character, stemming as it does from the very nature of socialist society, from the common interests of socialism and the national-liberation movement in the world anti-imperialist struggle. That is why this question should be approached from a very definite socio-political basis, not by invoking mystical 'natural duties' stemming from the fact that the economic levels of some states happen to be higher than those of others.

The 50th anniversary of the USSR has heightened the interest of people all over the world in the principles of socialist internationalism underlying not only our country's national and state organization, but its foreign policy and activities as well. This directly applies to our economic ties with the developing countries. Socialist internationalism in this sphere means facilitating the economic development of new nations with the aim of consolidating their independence and ensuring social progress, in the interests of strengthening the positions of anti-imperialist forces all over the world. This is not a question of redistributing material resources, but of cooperation on a basis of mutual support.

It may be recalled that soon after the October Revolution, the Soviet state, despite grave economic difficulties, extended a friendly helping hand to Asian countries and peoples fighting for independence against imperialism and colonialism. It was on this soil that, already in the early twenties, sprouted the first shoots of the equal economic cooperation that has grown so enormously by now in the relations between the Soviet Union and tens of former colonies and semi-colonies. This consistent policy of our Party and our state is one of the main expressions of socialist internationalism in world economic relations. It is an inalienable aspect of our foreign policy and is taken into account in our economic planning. Thus, the directives of the 24th Party Congress providing the guidelines for the current five-year plan emphasize the need to 'continue to expand stable economic, scientific and technological links with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America on a basis of mutual advantage and in the interests of strengthening their economic independence.'



A treasure-house of experience

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has traversed a long and glorious road. Its rich experience is a major contribution to the theory and practice of the world revolutionary liberation movement and the socialist and communist transformation of society. The new edition of 'The Communist Party of the Soviet Union: Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and CC Plenums' (Moscow, Politizdat, 1970-1972), compiled by the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism and edited by P. N. Fedoseyev and K. U. Chernenko, affords an excellent opportunity for studying it. The ten volumes include all important CPSU documents from 1898 to 1971.

They contain penetrating analyses of the laws of socialist revolution and the building of socialism and communism encompassing all facets of social life, showing the CPSU's creative approach to the development and implementation of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Stage by stage the documents show how the CPSU guided the working-class struggle to overthrow the bourgeois-landowner system, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and implement Lenin's plan of socialist construction. They show the Party's role in the three Russian revolutions, how it organized the masses in defense of the gains of the October Revolution during the Civil War and imperialist intervention, how it mobilized them to carry out the sweeping plans of industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, and the cultural revolution, how it brought the Soviet people to victory over fascism in World War II.

The concluding volumes depict the Party's multifaceted activities today, its leading role in Soviet society in resolving the historical task of creating the material and technical base of communism, raising the people's living standard, developing social relations and fostering a communist consciousness.

Lenin's Party has always been an inalienable part of the world Communist and workers' movement. Of great interest are the materials showing the tremendous work of Lenin and the CPSU on the international scene. They reflect the Party's concern for the unity and consolidation of the world Communist and workers' movement,

its untiring and principled struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against Right and 'Left' opportunism of every variety.

Many of the documents show the Party's efforts to strengthen the socialist world system, to develop and consolidate international relations of a new type, its contribution to the struggle for peace and security.

Mutual exchange of experience, and its study, is one of the most valuable traditions of the international Communist and working-class movement. The fraternal parties draw on the wealth of revolutionary experience for elements not of local, peculiarly national, but of international relevance. Therefore, the publication is a valuable source of information for Communists all over the world, offering a comprehensive elucidation of the basic principles governing the Marxist-Leninist approach to social problems, the experience of Lenin's Party in resolving the main problems of transition from capitalism to socialism.

M. Alexandrov

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Edgar CAICEDO, *Historia de las luchas sindicales en Colombia* (History of the Trade Union Movement in Colombia). Bogota, Ediciones CEIS, 1971, 233 pp.

This, the first Marxist-Leninist study of Colombia's trade unions, assesses the fundamental problems of the working-class movement on the basis of past experience.

The author proceeds from an economic analysis to trace the formation of the working class and defines its specific features. Domination of the economy by foreign monopolies has resulted in industrial crises and stagnation; unemployment and partial employment constantly affect the composition of the proletariat, which is one of the reasons for its poor organization. Many workers are still influenced by bourgeois ideology, the trade union movement is split and some unions are monopoly-controlled.

Speaking of the struggle for trade union unity and independence, Edgar Caicedo stresses the importance of the Trade Union Confederation of the Working People of Colombia, founded May 1, 1964. It includes the most politically conscious and militant detachments of the proletariat and speaks for broad masses of working people in different branches of industry. The book notes the class character of this organization and its independent policy. The Confederation, the author holds, is destined to play an important part in achieving working-class unity in Colombia and launching a more energetic struggle.

As for the prospects of the workers' movement, the author singles out three main trends: greater trade union militancy, better organization, and winning the right to strike; enhancement of the leading role of the working class, and united action by all segments of the

population; trade union solidarity and independence based on economic and political struggle.

The book emphasizes that the trade unions will be successful only if there is political leadership by the proletariat's vanguard – the Communist Party. T. Varela

Mieczyslaw MICHALIK, *Morainosc a wojna* (War and Morality. Warsaw, Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1972. 380 pp.

The problem of war and peace has been the subject of many books – political, economic, sociological and military. Mieczyslaw Michalik treats of its moral aspects.

He proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist premise that wars are the product of a definite social system and an extension of policy. Hence, it is not only war as such that is subject to moral assessment, but also the conditions and factors that breed it, in particular capitalist economic and social relations. The author analyzes ethical views and theories concerning war and peace in relation to the historical process, showing their socio-political functions and meaning in various epochs.

The book provides a broad and systematic picture of Marxist-Leninist views on the problems of war and peace, and of the theoretical and political activities of the Communist and Workers' parties. The author deals primarily with the moral aspects of the problem, stressing the importance for the revolutionary movement of bringing such concepts as peace, labor and socialism together in a single slogan expressing the hopes and aspirations of the masses. Communists have always regarded peace to be one of the most important moral values, consistently supporting the policy of peaceful coexistence and rejecting the idea of the fatal inevitability of war.

At the same time the book shows that Marxist-Leninist moral requirements and convictions necessitate mobilization of people's moral forces in the fight for peace and active, conscious opposition to aggressive wars. The working people shoulder the responsibility for mankind's future and welfare.

Today the moral factor is becoming ever more significant in the anti-war activities of the progressive forces. Of all modern ethical systems the humanist ethics of the Communist movement are the most effective and consistent and are in keeping with the moral principles of the overwhelming majority of people. This underscores the importance of a Marxist study of the moral aspects of war and peace, one of the cardinal issues of our day. T. Wrebiak

Marea conflagratie a secolului XX. Al doilea razboi mondial (The Great Conflagration of the 20th Century. The Second World War). Bucharest, Editura politica, 1971. 735 pp.

This is a comprehensive research by a team of Rumanian historians into the economic, social, political, ideological and military aspects

of World War II. The authors show that from the very outset the war of the people against the Nazi Reich was a just one, and they reveal the role of the Resistance Movement of international progressive forces, Communist parties in the first place, against the spread of fascism.

The book emphasizes the Soviet Army's decisive contribution to the victory over fascism, the determining role of factors deriving from the socialist system in the USSR in achieving a fundamental turn in the whole course of the war, and the tremendous work carried out by the CPSU to rally the combined effort of all Soviet peoples. The authors note that the USSR had to bear the brunt of the struggle against Nazi Germany and its allies and that Soviet soldiers and working people displayed lofty moral qualities and stamina, which won them the admiration of all progressive people.

With facts and documents, the book shows the contributions to victory made by the other great powers of the anti-Hitler coalition, the U.S., Great Britain, and France. Note should be made of the authors' coverage of the role played by medium and small countries in the common struggle against the Hitler aggression. Several chapters deal with the war in Asia, and special mention is made of the contribution of the Chinese people and the armed forces created by the Communist Party of China to the defeat of militarist Japan.

The authors devote considerable space to the wartime events in Rumania, dipping extensively into new archive documents and offering a detailed analysis of the foreign policies of prewar Rumania.

Speaking of the military-fascist dictatorship and the internal policies contradicting the Rumanian people's will pursued by reactionary circles and fascist groups, the upshot of which was Rumania's joining the war against the Soviet Union, the authors give special attention to the historic factors which ultimately prevailed. They describe the struggle of the progressive forces of Rumanian society headed by the Communists against the Nazi domination, for the overthrow of the fascist regime, to take Rumania out of the war on Hitler's side and join the anti-Hitler coalition, for the establishment of friendship and cooperation with the USSR. They also show Rumania's contribution to the victory over the Hitler aggressors following the national anti-fascist uprising.

M. Marinescu

N. A. PETROVICHEV, et al. *Partiinoye stroitelstvo* (Party Building). Moscow, Politizdat, 1972, 496 pp.

Lenin's standards and principles of Party life are the key to successful work of a Communist Party. Their essence, meaning, and practical realization are treated of in the science of Party building, an integral part of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the Party.

This book, a new edition of a fundamental scientific study, analyzes Leninist organizational principles, Party standards, the

regularities and factors making for the growing role of the Party in leading Soviet society. It examines the experience, forms and methods of organizational work and its role in carrying out economic and political tasks. There is ample material on problems of ideology, the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists, political work with the masses, Party guidance of the press, radio and TV, cultural establishments, literature and the arts, educational institutions, and science. A chapter is devoted to the principles and methods of Party guidance of economic development, government and public organizations.

The authors stress that the scientific approach to problems of Party building requires a spirit of innovation coupled with comprehensive study and analysis of Party work.

The new edition takes into account the latest experience of Party building based on the contribution of the 24th CPSU Congress to the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the Party. It gives Communists in different countries an insight into the rich experience of the CPSU in Party building.

E. Luan

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

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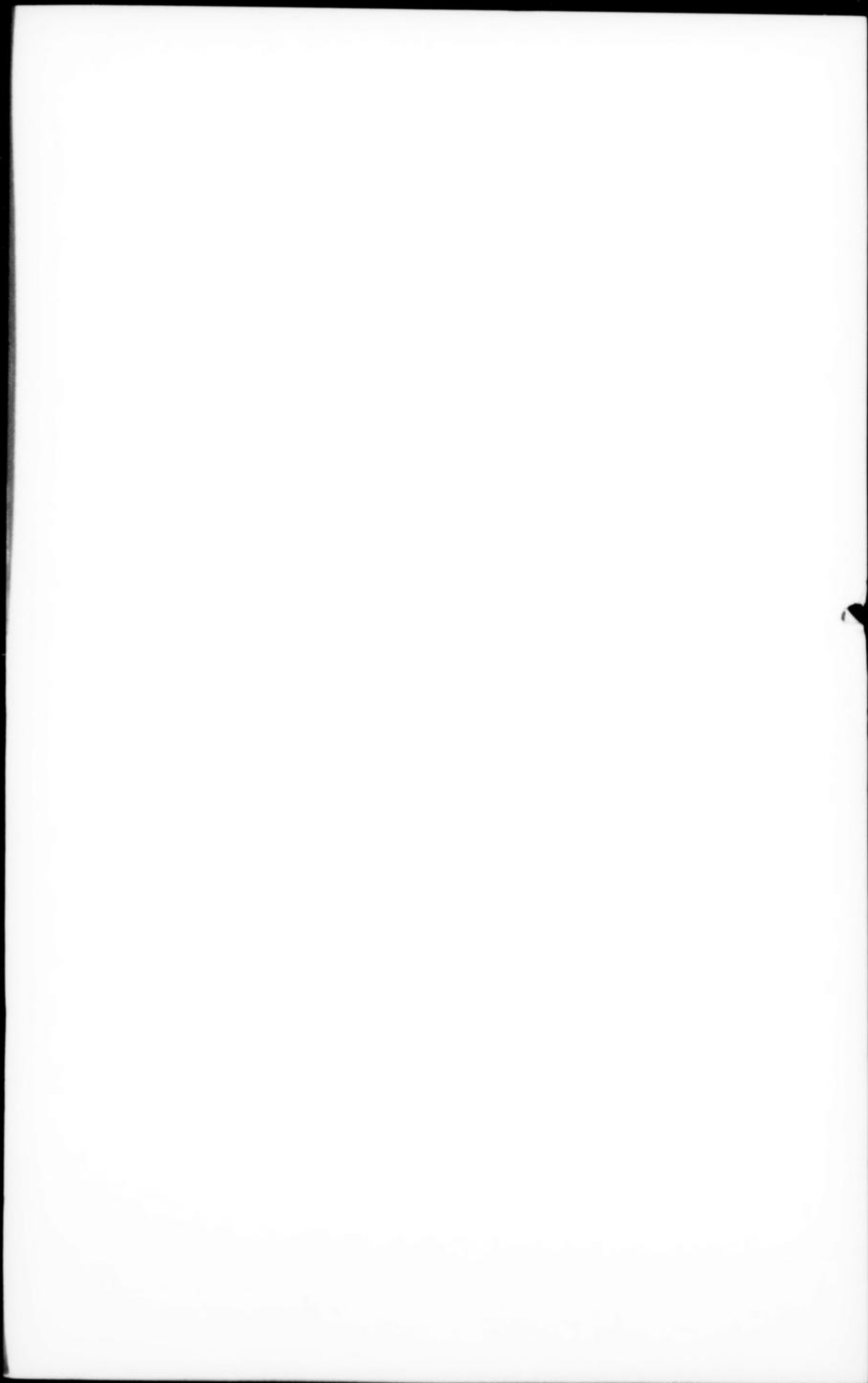
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