

WORLD

Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

June 1972, Vol. 15, No. 6

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**USSR
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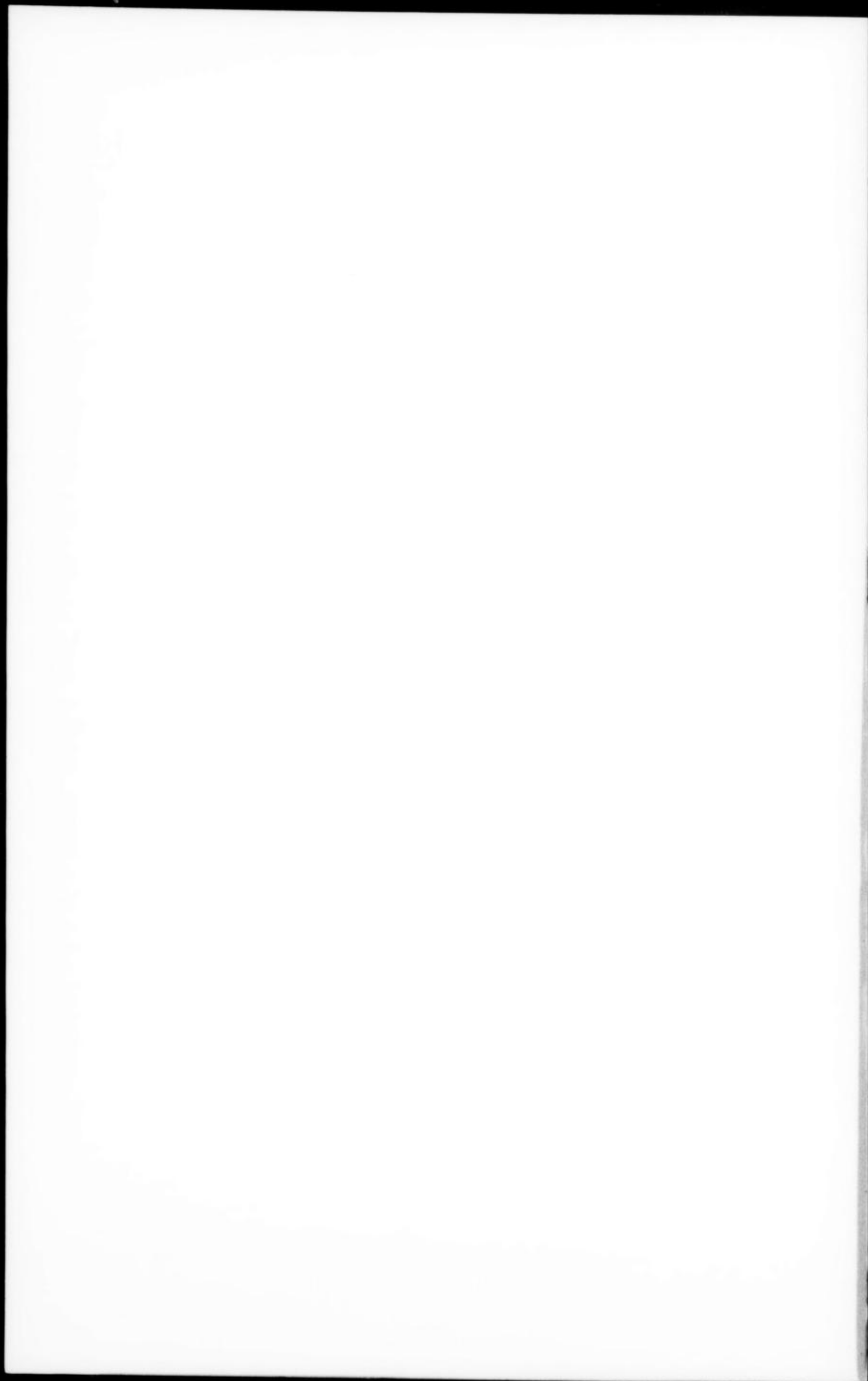
**Protecting the
environment**

**New garb of
anti-communism**

**Communist movement
— invincible strength**

**Whose axe does
extremism grind?**

**Land, bread
and freedom**





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ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ СССР

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See "Milestones. USSR Jubilee," records and documents on the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (p. 99)



Invincible strength of communist movement

Alvaro Cunhal

Three years have passed since the latest International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Life has confirmed its conclusions about the prestige, role and prospects of the world Communist movement. The fraternal parties operate in different conditions. Their histories and experience differ, as does their influence at home and abroad. But they are waging a common struggle for a common goal. The Communist movement is the greatest political and ideological force of our time. Its ideals are materializing in a sizable part of the world. Its unity is a factor welding the anti-imperialist front. The Communist movement has always played a decisive role in the world revolutionary process.

I. All major social changes in today's world are inseparable from the work of Communist parties, from the selfless struggle of Communists.

What makes the Communist movement so strong?

Firstly, the Communist movement is the revolutionary vanguard expressing the interests and embodying the organization of the working class, whose historic mission is to win power, end capitalism and the exploitation of man by man and build a classless society.

Secondly, the Communist movement is an internationalist movement. It champions a common cause, and for its every contingent national and international tasks are indivisible. Inspired by the principles of proletarian internationalism, it is going from strength to strength.

Thirdly, the Communist movement is guided by the scientific Marxist-Leninist theory, which enables it to understand social phenomena and define the aims of its struggle.

Fourthly, both nationally and internationally, it staunchly upholds the interests of the exploited and oppressed and unites them against capitalism and imperialism.

Fifthly, its aims are in line with the laws of social development.

Lastly, revolutionary practice has confirmed the justice of its principles, goals and ideals, giving mankind a living example of their realization.

Today, more than half a century after the first victorious socialist revolution, the political impact of the Communist movement is inseparable from the vast might of the USSR and the socialist system, the activity and influence of its contingents in countries still under capitalist rule, and its contribution towards the overthrow of colonialism and the people's liberation struggle.

The USSR remains the most powerful bulwark of the revolutionary forces, and the CPSU is in the van of the Communist movement. Its experience, which has universal validity, is reflected in the work of all fraternal parties. Closely linked with the achievements and victories won under its leadership are other victorious socialist revolutions, the creation and defense of the socialist world system, the growth of the Communist movement and the successes of the national liberation struggle. The example of the CPSU, the strength of the country it leads, its internationalist policies and ideological activities are all tangibly felt in the world revolutionary process.

The 1969 Meeting stressed that the socialist world system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. The building of socialist society and its rapid economic growth are primary factors in the success of this struggle. The socialist countries, led by their Marxist-Leninist parties, side with the peoples who have become victims of imperialist aggression and are fighting imperialism. They help liberated countries develop and strengthen their defenses, and make a decisive contribution to world peace.

Class battles are intensifying in capitalist countries, where the working people led by the Communists are scoring notable gains. The Communist parties urge the masses to fight for far-reaching political change. The formation of the Popular Unity government in Chile was a big victory and an indication of new possibilities for revolutionary advance. Communist prestige and influence are mounting also in the many countries where the struggle has to be waged underground.

The national liberation movement is playing an increasing role in the revolutionary process. More than fifty new independent states have arisen on the ruins of the colonial system, and in many other countries the people are fighting to break out of colonial rule.

Just as the upsurge in the liberation movement is inseparable from the victories of the USSR, the rise of the socialist world system, the influence of the international working-class movement, so the independent development of the liberated countries objectively calls for cooperation with socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. In some countries, which have followed a tortuous way in the battle for liberation and in which petty-bourgeois revolutionary parties play the leading role, communist ideas may quite understandably arouse misunderstandings and misgivings. Anti-communism and even persecution of Marxist-Leninist parties are not infrequent. The world Communist movement makes common cause with the Communists of these countries by fighting anti-communism, which, moreover, compromises the independent

policy of new states, impairs their anti-capitalist tendencies and plays into the hands of internal reaction, which is in the service of neo-colonialism. At the same time the Communist movement seeks unity with national revolutionary parties and forces to further the anti-imperialist struggle. This finds expression in the economic, political, diplomatic and other aid extended by the USSR and other socialist countries to anti-imperialist regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Imperialism's survival policy is now conditioned by the existence and influence of the socialist camp and the Communist movement. It seeks to suppress the people's liberation struggle. Anti-communism is the official policy of imperialist states and anti-Sovietism is its main line.

Imperialism persists in its aggressive strategy. It unleashes local wars, multiplies acts of aggression and exports counter-revolution. It interferes in the domestic policies of other countries and masterminds conspiracies, reactionary coups and assassinations. It has driven half of all existing Communist parties into illegality. It curtails democratic freedoms and resorts to repression and terror against the working-class movement.

However, the time is gone when imperialism could hope to strangle the socialist world economically or to destroy it by armed force, break the resistance of oppressed peoples by 'gunboat diplomacy' and arrogantly disregard the revolutionary potential of the masses. Today the mightiest imperialist power is breaking its teeth in Vietnam and other Indochina countries. Imperialist attempts to invade Cuba and the Korean People's Democratic Republic have failed. So have the efforts to prevent the consolidation and progress of the GDR, foment counter-revolution in socialist countries, block the development of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard in capitalist countries, suppress the Arab peoples' struggle and abolish progressive regimes in their countries, and stamp out the movement of peoples fighting colonial tyranny, as in the Portuguese colonies.

Imperialism realizes that while armed force and repression may hold up the revolutionary struggle in one or another part of the globe, it is impossible to arrest the development of socialism and anti-imperialist forces on a world scale.

Hence the use of demagoguery, new methods of exploiting the working people in developed countries and neo-colonialist revanchism.

Hence also the stubborn efforts to weaken the revolutionary forces and split them from 'within,' the attempts to pit them against one another, and to disrupt relations between socialist states, between Communist parties, and between liberated countries and the socialist system. This is the purpose of major diplomatic moves, of economic privileges to various countries, and of ideological subversion. The most diverse forms of economic pressure and blackmail, coupled with aggression, interference, intrigue and provocation, are used against the developing countries. Every effort is made to drive a wedge between the USSR and other revolutionary forces with the twofold object of discouraging interna-

tionalist support for the Soviet Union – the principal target of imperialism's aggressive strategy – and weakening other revolutionary forces by provoking them to reject help, often decisive, by the Soviet Union.

To be sure, imperialism scores some gains. But it cannot, now or ever, hold back the mounting struggle of the masses nor prevent their growing unity, which is rooted in objective causes.

Communist parties fight steadfastly and devotedly for working-class unity, an effective worker-peasant alliance, the unity of the masses and progressive forces on a national and world scale. The basis of their problem is their links with the masses, and effort to win them over, to organize and mobilize them.

II. The Communist movement is the most influential ideological force of the modern world. Marxism-Leninism is gaining ground among the masses, teaching, inspiring and guiding them in the struggle against capitalism, for socialist revolution and a new society.

The scientific character of Marxism-Leninism, its theses and predictions, its philosophy, economic theory, theory of the state and the party, and doctrine of the revolution have been proved correct by the October Revolution, the foundation and activity of Communist parties – the working-class vanguard – on a world scale, the formation of the socialist world system, the downfall of the colonial system, and the deepening general crisis of capitalism. Marxism-Leninism provides Communists with a scientific basis for defining their policy and tasks. However, its influence goes beyond the Communist movement. The masses taking part in the national liberation and democratic movement increasingly see Marxism-Leninism as a guide to the solution of problems of the class struggle and revolution.

While the revolutionary proletarian outlook is being adopted by the masses, bourgeois ideology is in the throes of a deepening crisis. In spite of successive 'new theories,' the bourgeoisie cannot present any effective alternative to communism. Anti-communism has become its principal ideological weapon. However, head-on attacks, now discredited, have little or no effect. Politically, imperialism seeks to split the Communist movement and revolutionary forces from within. In the ideological sphere, too, it tries to strike from within – at Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin stressed that 'the passing of certain individuals, groups and sections of the petty bourgeoisie into the ranks of the proletariat is bound, in its turn, to give rise to vacillations in the tactics of the latter' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 351), and that 'the attraction of new sections . . . must inevitably be accompanied by waverings in the sphere of theory and tactics.' (*ibid.*, p. 348). With the development of capitalism and the revolutionary process, less mature sections of the working classes, broad social strata, intellectuals and students, join in the anti-imperialist fight and the fight for socialism. The involvement of non-proletarian segments in the re-

volutionary process extends the sphere of influence of Marxism-Leninism, but on the other hand, creates favorable conditions for wavering and deviations.

Imperialism exploits this in an attempt to disrupt the Communist movement ideologically by supporting revisionism, nationalism, Right and 'Left' opportunism. Bourgeois propaganda encourages revisionist and opportunist (in particular ultra-revolutionary) concepts and all anti-Soviet tendencies as soon as they appear in the labor movement. It 'vouches' for their 'sincerity' and 'honesty.' It plays up even their slightest manifestations and increasingly uses them as a strike force.

The main line of the Communist movement's ideological struggle is to expose bourgeois ideology and anti-communism.

It would be absurd to imagine that existing difficulties can be overcome by rejecting the ideological unity of the Communist movement, or that eclecticism could form the basis for a 'new' unity, allegedly more in keeping with present-day realities. Admitting ideological pluralism, and tolerance of revisionist and opportunist trends in the Communist movement would not lead to a diversity of ideas but to ideological looseness, and would result in the division and disintegration of the whole movement. Communists reject eclecticism and all concessions on questions of principle; they combat departures from Marxism-Leninism, Right and 'Left' opportunism and nationalism.

Right opportunism substitutes reformist concepts for the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. To one degree or another, it negates the role of the working class and its party and questions the purpose of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It forgets Marx's statement that, in pursuing a policy of alliances, agreements should be concluded for action against the common enemy, but 'bartering away principles' is impermissible.

'Left' opportunism takes refuge behind ultra-revolutionary rhetoric, tries to 'skip stages,' makes an absolute of armed struggle and putschism and attacks the policy of peaceful coexistence. It is either empty rhetoric or sheer adventurism.

Right and 'Left' opportunism nourish each other, converge and interweave in many areas. Lenin's remark that 'anarchism was not infrequently a kind of penalty for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement' (Vol. 31, p. 32) is as valid as ever and deserves serious consideration in view of Leftist trends and a certain upsurge of anarchism. It is also true that reverses due to Leftist mistakes tend to revive Right opportunism.

Nationalism, as manifested in the Communist movement, belittles the importance of the connection between the struggle in one country and the struggle on an international scale. It artificially opposes national interests to those of the world revolutionary process, dampens solidarity and leads to the isolation, division and fragmentation of revolutionary forces.

Communists draw a distinction between the reactionary nationalism of oppressor nations and the nationalism of countries fight-

ing imperialism. They recognize and uphold the national rights and the development of the abilities and progressive traditions of every nation. They are the most devoted fighters for the peoples' interests, freedom and independence. They impart a new, more noble meaning to patriotism and identify the interests of the nation primarily with those of its working people. And their interests are the interests of the proletariat of all countries, of the socialist system, that bulwark of the world's exploited and oppressed. For every Communist party, love of its country and defense of national interests merge with its internationalist positions.

Deviations from Marxist-Leninist theory cannot be overcome by repeating set formulas or anathematizing apostates. The task is, first of all, to explain the creative meaning of Marxism and convincingly answer the questions raised by the revolutionary process. This is why by creatively developing our theory we defend it against revisionism and opportunism.

Operation of objective development laws and the revolutionary activity of the masses are changing the world. There are new developments on both the international and the domestic scene. One cannot be content with ready-made ideas or rigid concepts. Practice is the criterion of knowledge and theory generalizes the lessons of practice. Revolutionary action cannot be squeezed into the framework of magic recipes or stereotyped formulas. For us, theory is not a dogma but a guide to action.

The Communist movement studies and explains new realities and supplies scientific answers to the questions they pose. By analyzing social change, new forms of class struggle, experience and prospects, it continuously advances Marxism-Leninism.

Now as in Lenin's time, this creative development of theory has nothing in common with 'high-sounding phrases against the ossification of thought' which 'conceal unconcern and helplessness with regard to the development of theoretical thought' (Vol. 5, p. 368). It does not express itself in indulgence towards revisionism but in unrelenting struggle against it. Marxism-Leninism cannot be carried forward unless its integrity is upheld.

Fidelity to Marxism-Leninism is the best guarantee of success in the work of each fraternal party and the Communist movement as a whole.

III. The October Revolution initiated the realization of the revolutionary proletariat's objectives and program, which its enemies had described as utopian dreams.

Today the ultimate goal envisaged by the working class vanguard is no longer a society conceivable in theory only. We now have a material expression of its ideals, the *real* example of the world's first worker-peasant state and other socialist countries. One of the reasons for the successes of the Communist movement is that the working people can visualize the future because they already have a model of socialist society. It is inevitable, as Marxism-Leninism has scientifically proved, that the working class should come to power and that the exploitation of man by man

should be ended and socialism built. But it is revolutionary experience that has inspired the working people with confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Communist cause.

The victory of socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries, as well as in Cuba, refuted the bourgeois propaganda claim that the first socialist revolution was a 'specifically Russian' development. It confirmed the historic inevitability of socialist revolution on a world scale.

The achievements of the socialist countries win for socialism millions of people on all continents, or bring them nearer to accepting its ideals. Nor is their appeal confined to the working class and other working people; it extends to all the progressive-minded. Countries gaining freedom from imperialism draw on the socialist countries' experience for ways of accelerating their own progress, ending age-old backwardness, raising living standards and safeguarding their independence. The force of example is backed by aid from the USSR and other socialist countries. At the same time, the socialist community repulses the aggressive intrigues of imperialism. In spite of their different development levels, political instability and difficulties which are often due to an unfavorable balance of social forces, the above factors provide the new states fighting imperialism with a socialist perspective.

Every revolution shows features of its own, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism foresaw. Lenin stressed that the development of the proletariat's revolutionary struggle varies from country to country. Russia, he wrote, had revealed 'certain distinguishing features; although these, of course, are in keeping with the general line of world development, they distinguish her revolution from those which took place in the West-European countries' (Vol. 33, p. 477). He predicted that the subsequent revolutions would undoubtedly display even greater distinctions than the Russian revolution (*Ibid.*, p. 480). 'All nations,' he wrote, 'will arrive at socialism - this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life' (Vol. 23, pp. 69-70).

History has fully borne out these forecasts.

Revolutions cannot be copied nor imitated. They are not made to order, nor according to recipes. No form of struggle, path to power or form of organizing the proletarian state, may be regarded as absolute or universal. That is why the proletariat's revolutionary vanguard in capitalist countries, while being guided by Marxism-Leninism, learning from the experience of the world revolutionary movement and remembering external factors, carefully analyzes the situation at home and accordingly defines the stages of the revolution, the objectives and forms of struggle, the ways and means of winning power and even the features of the future socialist state. This scientific approach has nothing in common with *a priori* quests for a special 'model' of socialism that disre-

gards objective laws, historical experience and the common aspects of all socialist revolutions.

To undermine the influence of Communist parties and the confidence of the masses in the possibility of winning a better future, imperialism conducts a smear campaign to discredit life in the USSR and other socialist countries. Bourgeois propaganda plays up every difficulty or mistake to cast doubt on the principles of the socialist system. It resorts to misinformation, lies, falsification and slander.

Revisionists and renegades expelled from Communist parties join this campaign against the reality of socialism. They claim that there are insurmountable contradictions between the prevailing forms of political life and socio-economic achievements and that they want a different socialism, one that will be more 'humane' and 'democratic.' They advocate new 'models of socialism' not so much as an alternative to bourgeois society as to existing socialism.

If we Communists were to give in to the ideological pressure of imperialism and the influence of revisionism, or adapt to the momentary demands of real or potential allies and declare existing socialism 'unsuitable' for the working people of our countries we would undermine our own independence. Whatever arguments we might have advanced after that, the confidence of the masses would have been shaken. Proletarians subjected to capitalist exploitation look fraternally upon the USSR and other socialist countries. This is not only because they regard them as a component of the world proletariat's revolutionary forces but because they see their own future in them, and the Communist movement must foster this sentiment.

Communist and Workers' parties continuously expose imperialist and revisionist propaganda. They counter it with truthful information about the reality, the main achievement of the working class, which evokes universal admiration. This reality is working people's power, the new society in which there is no exploitation of man by man and the principal concern of the government's humanist policies is the working people's well-being. It is a society in which the masses have gained access to culture, in which democracy of a higher type, entirely different from bourgeois democracy, is developing and the nationalities question has been settled on the basis of equality and friendship among peoples. Its rate of economic, scientific and technological progress is unheard of in capitalist society. It is a world in which the socialist community, in spite of difficulties inevitable in evolving an entirely new type of relations between states, sets an example of fraternal cooperation inspired by proletarian internationalism.

Marx wrote that 'the bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production' and that the bourgeois social formation 'brings . . . the prehistory of human society to a close' (Preface to 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy'). We may say that whereas the capitalist countries are still in the 'prehistory of human society,' the socialist countries have, by abolishing bourgeois relations of produc-

tion and antagonistic classes, begun the genuine history of mankind – a mankind united by common interests and objectives.

Over the past half century, the Communist movement and each of its contingents have been defending both the interests of the working people of their own countries and the ideals of the new society, of socialism, which first triumphed in the USSR and then in other countries.

The bourgeoisie (aided by reformism, and by Right and 'Left' opportunism) uses the threat of repression and slander campaigns in an attempt to break the weak and make them abandon the banner of socialism. But the Communists continue to carry it high. They are confident that the present-day reality of the USSR and other socialist countries – the new society – will soon, in its *basic features*, also materialize in every other country where the socialist revolution triumphs.

IV. The identity of the interests and goals of the working class of all countries in the struggle against capitalism is the main objective prerequisite of the unity of the Communist movement.

Where the socialist revolution has triumphed the social composition of society has changed radically. The battle to do away with capitalism on a world scale is now waged, unlike the period before the October Revolution, not only by the oppressed and exploited proletarians who, as the *Communist Manifesto* puts it, 'have nothing to lose but their chains.' The struggle involves the exploited classes of capitalist countries and the working people building a new society. Socialism which commands vast economic and military means, influences the course of world events through the combined might of its component countries.

Hence, the unity of the Communist movement has different aspects, each of which is linked with many problems: unity of the socialist states, unity between the fraternal parties of capitalist countries and the ruling parties of socialist countries, unity of the movement as a whole.

The 1969 Meeting marked a turn towards closer Communist unity, which has since grown much stronger.

This means, firstly, greater cohesion of the socialist community, whose development ensures that 'the socialist world system is a close-knit family of peoples jointly building and defending the new society, enriching one another with experience and knowledge, a united and strong family in which the people of the earth see the prototype of the future world community of free peoples,' as L. I. Brezhnev said in the CC Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

Secondly, the Communist parties' unity of action has grown stronger. Increased political support and material help to the heroic Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples, support of the Arab struggle, of all peoples fighting for freedom from colonialism, the widespread action for European peace and security, the movements of solidarity with the victims of repression – they all emphasize the importance of Communist united action in drawing all democratic and anti-imperialist forces into the struggle and in

strengthening the bonds of cooperation and friendship between the parties themselves.

Thirdly, ideological unity has grown stronger. The Communist movement has been guided by the spirit of the 1969 Meeting and has fought against distortions and revision of Marxism-Leninism. The Lenin centenary stimulated much deep-going theoretical work, especially in the CPSU. The congresses of more than 40 Communist and Workers' parties held after 1969 played a notable part, for the ideological unity of each party is a condition for the ideological unity of the movement as a whole.

Of special importance is the struggle against anti-Sovietism, whose manifestations in the labor movement are a disquieting signal that bourgeois influence and the dangerous poison of discord and disunity may penetrate our ranks. Friendship and cooperation between fraternal parties and the CPSU is a condition for unity of action in general and the ideological unity of the Communist movement in particular.

Fourthly, bilateral and multilateral contacts have expanded and so has the use of diverse organizational forms of collective study of problems, exchanges of information, views and experience, cooperation, mutual understanding and agreements on joint action. In addition to international conferences, higher specific forms of cooperation among the parties of socialist countries and leadership meetings of fraternal parties, an important part in promoting unity is played by party congresses, which help establish contacts, by mutual visits, symposiums and seminars, and by the work of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, whose potentialities are far from being exhausted.

Fifthly, centrifugal trends and tendencies towards isolation, withdrawal into narrow national or regional boundaries, separatism and disunity are being overcome. These tendencies, born of nationalism, are due to overestimation of one's own forces and underestimation of international factors. Lenin warned that 'the failure and decline of political parties have very often been preceded by a state of affairs in which a swelled head is possible' (Vol. 30, p. 528).

The Communists' struggle in any country is based primarily on that country's own revolutionary forces. But the very fact that every Communist party has on its side the mighty forces of the socialist system, the support of fraternal parties and international solidarity, is a powerful factor which every party needs in developing the struggle.

Ever since 1969 the Communist movement has been combating isolationist tendencies, on the whole successfully. There are, as experience has shown, numerous problems which no party can solve single-handed. Conversely, there are no problems which the Communist and Workers' parties cannot solve jointly on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

Lastly, strengthening unity implies fighting against splitting activities, for which the Chinese leaders are notorious. Every fraternal party would like to see the CPC rejoin the Communist move-

ment from which it has deliberately broken away. Regrettably, recent events (the position on Bangladesh, using the United Nations to attack the USSR) reveal that the conditions for this are still lacking. It is our conviction that the problem is not confined to differences between the Soviet Union and China. The conflict places the Chinese leaders in opposition to the world Communist movement, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Unity requires a continued fight against splitting activities.

Far from running counter to, closer unity of the Communist movement enhances each Party's independence, with each party formulating its orientation and, on the other hand, following a consistent class, therefore internationalist, policy. When the class enemies, echoed by revisionists, declare that sustained criticism of the socialist countries is 'proof of independence' and accuse consistent internationalists of 'unquestioning subordination' to the Soviet Union, they are in fact trying to rob them of political and ideological independence.

Genuine internationalist relations with the CPSU and other parties in power, active solidarity, defense of, and participation in joint actions with the socialist countries are, in the case of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries, in themselves proof of independence in the face of the class enemy's anti-Soviet and anti-Communist pressure, the supreme proof of independence in countries ruled by fascist regimes with their jails, torture and often murder of revolutionary fighters.

Loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism is a distinguishing feature of Marxist-Leninist parties. Proletarian internationalism has been a constant of the Communist movement ever since its inception. It remains the basis of the very existence of the movement, of the relations between parties and of their solidarity, and an earnest of their unity and strength.

The importance of Communist unity is not confined to the movement itself. *'The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces,'* the 1969 Meeting stressed.

Only the Communist movement can be the moving spirit for the forces of democracy, progress, national independence, peace and socialism. This does not mean that it should be reconstructed or extended to include other political trends, dissolving it thereby in the anti-imperialist front. The stronger the political and ideological unity and joint action of the Communist movement, the greater is its ability to inspire and organize the unity of anti-imperialist forces. Such unity is in the vital interests of the working class and all peoples fighting against imperialism.

Imperialism is still strong. A hard struggle lies ahead. Though unevenly, the balance of world forces is steadily changing in favor of socialism and social progress. The historical initiative belongs to the Communist movement. Nothing can stop the revolutionary process, which will lead to the abolition of imperialism and to a classless society throughout the world.



Protecting the environment

In our day, preservation of the natural environment poses acute social and political problems. They have attracted the attention of public opinion, have crossed national frontiers, have global implications, affect the interests of all nations. Water and air pollution is causing widespread anxiety. Unless arrested, the progressive destruction of the biosphere can undermine the natural conditions essential to the very existence of mankind.

These problems were discussed at an international seminar in Prague on March 29-31, 1972, arranged by this journal. It was attended by Marxist scientists and representatives of Communist and Workers' parties from 36 countries; Algeria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Brazil, Britain, Czechoslovakia, Chile, Cyprus, Colombia, Denmark, FRG, France, GDR, Greece, Hungary, Israel, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Mongolia, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Rumania, Senegal, Soviet Union, Spain, Sudan, Tunisia, USA.

The seminar was organized at the suggestion of the Italian Communist Party, which submitted a report of its own conference on 'Man, Nature and Society (Ecology and Social Relations),' held last November under the auspices of the Gramsci Institute.

The following is a report of the discussions at the Prague seminar.

I. AN ACUTE SOCIAL PROBLEM OF OUR TIME

ECOLOGICAL CRISIS: REALITY AND MYTHS • NATURE'S SELF-DEFENSE CAPABILITY • MIRROR OF SOCIAL RELATIONS • PROFITS FROM DIRT AND CLEANLINESS • 'TECHNOLOGICAL BRIDGE' – HOPE AND DISAPPOINTMENT • PESSIMISM OF DOOM PROPHETS AND OPTIMISM OF FIGHTERS • RESPONSIBILITY OF COMMUNIST SCIENTISTS • WHAT KIND OF PLANET WILL WE TAKE OVER FROM IMPERIALISM

We Communists are convinced that the future belongs to us; that is why we are so concerned for the destinies of mankind, K. I. Zarodov, the journal's Editor-in-Chief, emphasized in explaining why it was decided to hold this, one of the first, international Marxist discussions on the environment. For can we be indifferent to the kind of planet socialism will take over from imperialism?

Nor is it merely a matter of the future: the vital interests of the people require that the problems we are about to discuss be solved now. We must stop deterioration of the environment and begin its renewal.

The Communist and Workers' parties devote much attention to these problems. They were discussed at the 24th CPSU Congress in the context of the long-range economic and social development plans and the peace program it adopted from the standpoint of world politics and peaceful coexistence and cooperation of states with differing social systems. Similar initiatives have been taken by the Communist parties of other socialist countries. And in developed capitalist countries the Communists see environmental problems in their relevance to the anti-monopoly struggle.

There is also this: the attitude towards the environment has become part of the competition of the two socio-economic systems, socialism and capitalism. Making the working class, and the working people as a whole, bear the cost of safeguarding the environment is a key feature of the state-monopoly conservation program now being framed in some countries. Bourgeois politicians are exploiting 'human ecology' to submerge social problems in the biological ones. They are using it as a demagogic ploy to mute the conflict between labor and capital. And there is the proof of experience that the 'society-nature' contradiction has its reflection in the class struggle. The Communists maintain that capitalism is pushing mankind to the ecological brink, jeopardizing the very continuation of life on our planet. But there are forces capable of preventing that.

Only a plan-governed economic system that serves the interests of the whole of society can provide fundamental solutions to the problems now confronting the human race. The attitude to environment is one more area in which socialism is increasingly, and convincingly, demonstrating its superiority. Of course, here, too, the new society has to contend with difficulties. Apart from everything else, effective environmental protection requires large material outlays for special research, the design and application of new technology and the carrying out of comprehensive conservation projects.

And these integrated problems are being solved by providing healthier working and living conditions, intelligent use of available resources, rational industrial geography, measures to prevent the negative consequences of industrialization and urbanization. The overall task is to combine, in a planned way and in the interests of the whole of society, accelerated technological progress and rational use of natural resources to prevent dangerous contamination of water, air and soil. Socialism's experience in this respect proves that the ruinous effects of technology on nature are not a fatal inevitability: mankind can eliminate the negative consequences of industrial progress.

Lastly, the attitude to environment has become an issue of sharp ideological struggle. The bourgeoisie has any number of pundits prepared to 'explain' the causes of the threatening ecological crisis.

Their most-favored argument is that all the evil resides in technological progress or in population growth. This wholly disregards the social character of the problem, its insoluble link with the general crisis of capitalism. And there has been a wave of pessimistic forecasts, numerous prophecies of mankind's early doom, preachment of the 'need' to halt industrial growth. And in all this the basic difference between the capitalist and socialist attitude to environment is willfully obscured. Marxist-Leninists consider it their duty to rebuff these views and scientifically explain the specifics of the interaction of society, technology and nature, and give an interpretative generalization of socialist experience in coping with these problems.

In working towards that goal, Comrade Zarodov said in conclusion, the Communists draw on the ideological heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin, who disclosed the regularities of man's relation to nature, both in its general, philosophical aspects and in the more concrete aspects relating to capitalism and socialism. Marxist-Leninists were the first to provide scientific solutions. More, a rational, prudent attitude to nature is part of the policy initiated and substantiated by Lenin, the founder of the first socialist state. It has been further elaborated in the decisions of the CPSU and the Communist parties of a number of socialist countries. Socialist economic integration opens to them opportunities for far-reaching and effective cooperation in protecting the environment. But there must also be joint action of the progressive forces in every part of the world, for capitalism's rapacious attitude towards nature holds out a distinct danger not only to the population of capitalist countries, but to the whole of mankind.

Professor *Giuseppe Prestipino*, member of the Italian Communist Party Central Committee, reviewed the conclusions drawn at the Gramsci Institute conference. Man's reconciliation with nature and with himself (Prof. Prestipino said) has always been the subject of historical materialism – that was how Engels formulated the results of the coming revolution. 'Reconciliation with himself' – this implies abolition of the antagonism in relations of production. But that, in turn, implies 'reconciliation with nature,' i.e., the preservation and development of the productive forces. For society's wealth rests on comprehensive control over the forces of nature and over the nature of man himself – control, not limitless consumption.

Domination over nature does not imply that man has ceased to be dependent on it. In certain conditions he can control that dependence, while in others he becomes subject not only to wild nature, but to humanized (or more exactly, inadequately humanized) nature. Capitalism's use of science reminds one of the sorcerer's disciple who unleashes the elemental forces of nature but cannot hold them in check. And they dominate man, acting despite and against his will, until scientific control of nature is combined with rational control of social, production relations.

In relation to the productive forces, the socialist revolution does

not merely continue the work begun by the bourgeoisie. Quite the opposite: as against the destructive trends of capitalist society, it injects elements of restoration and conservation. It protects the productive forces from capitalism which now, in its present stage, places in question the very possibility of adequate resources in the future: there is already a shortage of air and water, which we have come to regard as inexhaustible. And, of course, the solution lies not in hamstringing expansion of the productive forces, but rather in assuring such expansion through effective social management which, instead of a simple computation of national production costs (now the tendency) would employ overall computation of social expenditure and its results in the long-range interests of mankind.

Humanizing or dehumanizing nature depends on the character of the social system, and a transformed nature mirrors relations between men. The departure of a ruling class from the stage of history is often attended by an imbalance of the man-environment relationship. In the past this could affect a limited geographic area. Today continued rule by the bourgeoisie could affect the entire planet, threatening gradual destruction of the biosphere in which man's evolution takes place. The old saying, 'After us, the deluge,' reflects the thinking of a class that has outlived its day. Genocide, biological warfare, napalm, the annihilation of everything living in Indochina – these and other deliberate crimes of imperialism are part of its desperate attempt to postpone its demise. Were it not for the revolutionary change begun in 1917, genocide and biocide would now be near-inevitable results of the anarchy and rapacity of capitalism's development.

The bourgeoisie is caught in an unparalleled credibility crisis, and the masses are coming to realize the incompatibility of the law of maximum profit and the law of human survival. In this situation, the workers' democratic movement is confronted with difficulties that have to be surmounted to prove its ability to give society political and spiritual leadership.

The assertion that everyone is equally responsible for environmental deterioration is false. But the desire is fully justified to see the socialist countries more clearly demonstrating their superiority in the thoughtful, rational use of nature. The Italy-USSR Association ecological conference in Bologna this January was an opportunity for exchanging views on this question.

Many Western experts and scientists, while maintaining that the socialist countries, too, have their environmental problems, admit that it was Lenin, the Soviet system and Soviet science, that took the first concrete steps to understand these problems and devise solutions.

Italy is physically ill. The south suffers from drought. In the north there is the danger of a water shortage. But there is also another chronic disease, one that is assuming epidemic proportions – pollution of the environment. It kills plants, poisons humans and animals, spreads rapidly, before our very eyes. To restrict the

damage it does and to prevent further contamination of the atmosphere will require immense outlays, but they will be much less than the economic losses caused by pollution. However, should we confine ourselves to an economic assessment of non-economic phenomena? How are we to measure the harm done to man? In Milan, as a result of air pollution, the incidence of lung cancer is double the national average. In 1970 Italy set an unenviable European record, 11,550 cases of typhus, the direct and indirect result of impure water. The condition of the environment in Italy is a disgrace to any civilized state. Health-hazard conditions in industry, polluted air, shortage of technical water, an inadequate sewage system, unhealthy housing conditions, irrational use of water resources, chaotic concentration of industry, anarchy in the hydro-geological service, they are all part of Italian reality.

And another, disquieting, part is the absence of theoretical research. The explanation we are offered is simplicity itself; no point in injecting ideology into the problem of water pollution! Italian Marxists have not given proper attention to the problem of society's attitude to the environment. Optimism based on Marxist ethics, socio- and anthropocentric ontology is the antidote of the pessimistic view that man is captive of the laws of biology and, in a broader sense, of the evolution of our planet as a closed system subject to the second law of thermodynamics. The pessimism is wholly unwarranted, for the world Communist society will be able, with the aid of science and technics, to prevent the decline of mankind the pessimists seem so happy to predict. Optimism tempered with the will to fight is firmly embedded in science, in our knowledge of nature and society. The choice between the decline and flourishing of the Kingdom of Man is the choice between capitalism and communism. And it is no accident that the threat of ecological crisis is most pronounced in the United States where monopoly capitalism has reached its zenith.

In the words of one Italian Catholic, ecology is today a subversive science. Comrade Luigi Longo in his report to the 12th Party Congress, and Comrade Enrico Berlinguer in his report to the 13th Congress, treated the effort to prevent environmental destruction as a key task of the revolutionary forces and one intimately linked with the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly struggle. The 'ecological challenge' can become the starting point for a fresh advance to unity of the world's revolutionary movements. In fighting to maintain life and for the triumph of reason, the Communists must tirelessly expose to the masses the fallacy of the existing order of things, and do so in a very 'earthly' way, explaining from revolutionary positions of the working class the new, more far-reaching tasks in the fight to liberate man.

Both in the theory and practice of the working-class revolutionary movement, the fight for an environment worthy of man has always been part of the fight against capital, for a socialist and communist society, *H. Edeling*, Dr. Phil. (GDR Institute of Social Sciences) told the conference. In dealing with this question, the

bourgeoisie wholly disregards, in fact negates, the social implications of man's relation to the environment. It always divorces the causes of environmental deterioration from the antagonistic contradictions of capitalist society. Indeed, capital regards nature very much as its private property. The profit lust deforms and perverts the development of the productive forces and leads to anarchic expansion of the industrial landscape. 'Capitalist production,' Marx wrote, 'develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth – the soil and the laborer.'*

The bourgeoisie is not indifferent to environmental problems. Capital is interested in the biosphere inasmuch as upon it partly depends the cost and possibility of reproducing the labor power it needs. On the other hand, as long as the capitalist can increase his profits and is not affected by contamination of the environment, he has scant interest in the problem. He shows a readiness to find partial solutions only when there is a direct threat to his social and physical existence. The capitalist makes a profit on conservation, just as on destruction of the environment, by developing a new industry and, of course, making the state shoulder the cost of 'pure water' and 'pure air' through taxing the working people.

In a socialist society, protection of the environment is necessitated by economic, technological and ecological considerations. But also by the growth of socialist consciousness and the new pattern of social relations. And only unity of the two makes for a proper 'man-nature' relationship.

Addressing the Eighth Congress of our Socialist Unity Party, its First Secretary, Erich Honecker, described the struggle against contamination of air and water and for restriction of industrial and transport noises as a major requisite for improving the condition of the people. The building of a developed socialist society makes exacting demands on the human environment. Nature is an inexhaustible source of health, joy, love of life and spiritual riches and its protection is a distinctive feature of the socialist way of life.

By intelligently combining the technological revolution with the advantages of socialism we can make man's environment the environment of his culture. This requires integrated and far-reaching solutions providing for better conditions of work and rest. Scientific and technological progress adds a new dimension to man's relation to the environment, but relations of production and relations of power remain the determining factor. Environmental problems are not the same under capitalism and socialism.

The technological revolution has intensified man's intercourse with nature to produce a drastic ecological imbalance. Yet it would be wrong to accept the slogan 'Back to Nature.' Historically, nature is a variable magnitude: it opens its riches to man as he subdues the elements. Today the problem is to prevent the instruments of this process to be used in ways inimical to man by

*Capital, Vol. 1. Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 10.

disturbing the natural regenerative properties of air, water and soil. The long-range results of scientific and technological progress, its impact on nature, are not always clear. Might it not be that future generations will have to pay a high price for what we now consider an unqualified boon? Conscious of their responsibility, Communist scientists must searchingly investigate all the possible implications of technological development.

'... Cultivation,' Max wrote, 'when it progresses spontaneously and is not consciously controlled . . . leaves deserts behind it' (Letter to Engels, March 25, 1868). In quoting these words, K. V. Ananichev, Cand. Econ. (USSR Council of Ministers Committee on Science and Technology) said that in pre-socialist socio-economic formations man's spontaneous reaction on nature upset the ecological balance and drained natural resources. The Communist reconstruction of society brings harmony to man's relationship with nature.

The environment is not something stable. It is in a state of constant flux, influenced by plants, animals, microbes. Man holds a special place in this process, reacting on it through technology. However, this 'technological bridge' links man to nature not as an individual, but rather as part of a social organism, for production is social in its very character. In the means of production natural resources are the passive, and technology the active element, one that determines the pace of nature's transformation.

Bourgeois scientists suggest that technology is the main cause of the impending ecological crisis. In their thinking, technology is a sinister force indeed – it separates man from nature and causes it irreparable damage. That line of reasoning is ideologically biased.

Can we prevent technology exerting a harmful influence on nature? Yes, technology can be corrected. Industry has already learned to produce many things that cause no harm to the environment. The solutions are many: technological processes that use little or no water and air, the so-called closed cycle. Special devices to collect, utilize or chemically neutralize waste matter at the end of the technological process. A third method is recycling, that is, turning waste matter into usable material for other industries. This guarantees purity of the atmosphere, hydrosphere and soil, besides effecting an immense saving of natural resources. Only the new technology furnishes the means needed to ward off, even prevent, ecological crises. But, of course, the objects and results of its application depend on the socio-economic structure of society. And it is not fortuitous that some scientists, far removed from socialism, believe that if the capitalist countries are to moderate the impact of the ecological crises, they will have to limit production anarchy by state planning and national and international environmental safeguards. And they acknowledge the advantages of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in this respect.

There is the problem of a possible shortage of resources at some future time. Estimates of potential resources differ widely, but the fact remains that many unrenewable resources are limited, just as

are the confines of our planet. And even if its natural wealth would last for a practically unlimited time, tapping it becomes more complex with every passing year. It is therefore not to be precluded that we shall shift from unrenewable to renewable resources. Specifically, this could be wider use of organic matter, plant and animal products. A while ago, for instance, a method was discovered of producing from wood a material possessing all the properties of bronze. One might say man is operating in a closed circuit; without leaving the biosphere, he makes more rational use of it. Soviet academician V. I. Vernadsky predicted that we would have to face the problem of restructuring the biosphere in the interests of a more intelligent and united mankind.

Bourgeois scientists have tried to fit industrialization in Asia, Africa and Latin America into the 'environment and development' formula. That formula and the policy that follows from it are predicated on the supposition that to maintain the natural environment we must slow down or halt industrial growth, especially in developing countries. But they need industrialization for social progress, and they can industrialize by using technologies that can relatively easily be adapted to environmental requirements. The socialist countries are rendering them disinterested assistance, helping them consolidate their economic independence and sharing with them their experience in devising 'ecologically clean' technical processes and products.

In his report to the 24th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the Soviet Union is prepared to share in collective measures to protect and rationally exploit natural resources. The urgency of international cooperation follows from the fact that environmental deterioration has global repercussions that can be eliminated only by joint effort. Another compelling reason is the complexity of the problem: many of its aspects are still unclear and there has to be joint research to work out technical recommendations. This can be done on a bilateral, regional or world scale, and it will be the more effective, the more effectively each country solves its own problems and the more universal the joint effort. For the overall aim of cooperation of states with differing social systems is to purge modern technology of all its pollution-producing elements. Of course, devising ways and means of environmental protection should not obscure major political issues. More, the fight for peace and disarmament is not only a political, but also an economic condition for cooperation in safeguarding the environment, for the huge sums now spent on armaments could be used to give us all a healthier world.

Academician I. P. Gerasimov (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Geography) said scientists believe that the present anthropogenic transformation of the environment is fraught with a grave danger. In a number of areas imprudent use of natural resources and pollution of the atmosphere and hydrosphere have already passed the ecological threshold, undermining the spontaneous regeneration processes. And there is also the danger that natural

resources will be exhausted and the environment will rapidly deteriorate with the accumulation of matter dangerous, even ruinous, to living organisms, including man himself.

These problems have been investigated by a number of Soviet scientists. In particular there has been a searching analysis of biospheric resources in the USSR and the ways and means of their rational utilization.* The very term 'biosphere,' that is, the environment in which life takes place, was introduced by the noted Soviet researcher Vernadsky. In lectures at Charles University in Prague in 1923-24 and later at the Sorbonne, he substantiated his theory, now the basis of our knowledge of the biosphere, and explained its geochemical implications. Vernadsky also examined the role of man in remaking his environment and gave us another new term, 'noosphere,' the sphere of the mind. Vernadsky drew on the works of such Russian researchers as V. V. Dokuchayev, who elaborated the theory of natural zones and drought control, and A. I. Voeikov, who formulated the scientific principles of climate control.

In another work,** based on analysis of the ecological situation in Britain, the FRG, Holland, Spain, Italy, Finland, France, Sweden, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and the USSR, we have the basic methodology of planning research and working out practical proposals.

It has been established that scientific and technological progress influences environment in the following main directions. Use of more natural resources, and hence more industrial waste. More area is taken up by opencast mining and slag heaps, aggravating the land problem in industrial areas and making it necessary to recultivate wasteland. Air pollution necessitates the use of diverse methods to contain industrial smoke. Excessive pollution of Europe's waters by the dumping of industrial waste, including poisonous matter, has destroyed all life in many rivers and made their water unfit for human consumption. The recycling of water has become a pressing problem. The release of anthropogenic energy into the environment (heated industrial water, heat radiation from industrial installations) creates local overheated areas and could develop into global overheating, with irreversible adverse changes in the environment.

In the socialist countries, too, scientific and technological progress has an increasing effect on the environment. But these countries follow fundamentally different social principles and this enables them to coordinate their environmental policies, of which the following are the distinctive features.

— systematic state control, stringent planned measures to restrict and prevent pollution of the environment by introducing new technology. One example is the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on Measures to Prevent Pollution of the Volga and Ural river basins by the dumping of unprocessed waste;

**Biospheric Resources in the USSR*, Moscow, 1971.

***The Present Condition and Means of Preserving and Improving the European Environment (Biosphere)*, Moscow, 1971.

– more effective methods of planning new urban communities and modernizing existing ones to provide better conditions, moderate and subsequently eliminate the adverse effects of urbanization. Moscow's development plan is an example of such scientific town planning;

– planned implementation of programs to refashion nature over extensive areas, river-flow regulation, linking of rivers, land improvement, afforestation;

– rational use of natural wealth to assure natural reproduction of renewable resources and economic use of the unrenowable. The integrated measures to protect Lake Baikal is one of the more recent major programs in this field;

– creation of rest zones in and around urban communities;

– diverse state measures to safeguard national preserves, enrich their flora and fauna and protect the natural environment as the basis for evolving new races of plants and animals, and for scientific research to heighten the productivity of the biosphere.

II. NEW BATTLEFIELD AGAINST CAPITAL

ONE MORE PROOF OF IMPERIALISM'S DECAY • THE
POVERTY OF THE 'AFFLUENT SOCIETY' • DELIBERATE
SOCIAL MURDER • YOU SERVE NO ONE BETTER THAN
YOU SERVE YOURSELF • CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD OF
ENTERPRISE • WHO SHOULD UNTIE THE PURSE STRINGS
• SMALL SINNERS AND THE KINGS OF INDUSTRY •
POLLUTION FOR EXPORT • ECOLOGICAL STRIKES •
SPONTANEOUS PROTESTS AND THE ORGANIZED MOVEMENT

Biologists have been sounding the alarm against pollution for decades, said writer *K. Jensen* (CP of Denmark). In the early 50s Danish veterinarians warned against the rising content of pesticides in food products, and in 1966, J. Dorst protested in his book, *Before Nature Dies*, against the destruction of vital resources. Book followed book, warning followed warning. In the beginning, none but the nature-lovers responded, but gradually a mass movement developed despite jeers from the industrial tycoons, who tried to ridicule the 'bird watchers.'

The first Danish nature protection law was adopted in 1917. A law promulgated in 1937 forbade littering the countryside with wrapping paper and egg shells, fishbones and empty bottles; but it sidestepped the issue of chemical and biological pollution. An anti-pollution ministry was set up in 1971. Its minister, an ambitious young Social-Democrat, declared: who pollutes the environment must pay for the damage.

The bourgeois political parties have declared support for the anti-pollution battle in the hope of using the public discontent in their narrow party interest.

On the face of it, an effective battle has been mounted against pollution. But that impression is false. The problem will not be

solved until private property and the industrial magnates are properly curbed. The big landowners, who hope to profit from the protective legislation, are asking for huge sums from the government in compensation for reviving the natural zones, and the industrialists are following their example.

The Communists have supported the environmentalists through their newspaper, *Land og Folk*, since 1965, seeking to direct the movement against the main culprits. But the confusion in these matters is monumental.

Communist writer Hans Scherfig wrote about the Noah Society and its educational work in our paper. While commending the zeal shown by its members, he added: they tell us to economize and not flush the toilet more than necessary, to ride bicycles instead of cars, and to grow cabbages on the greens. But none of this will yield the desired results. The danger comes not from the needs of living or the losses incurred in production, but from production as such, which is pushing the world into a cesspool where none but the lowest organism will survive. The substance of the matter is in property relations, which only the class struggle can change. However, the Noah Society's educational work is beneficial, Scherfig says, because it names the biological factor as yet another proof of the evils of capitalism. He adds: mankind could not survive under capitalism, and since people want to live it will finally sink in that the capitalist system must be eliminated.

The nature protection campaign, some say, distracts from the political and class struggle. A Social-Democrat trade unionist recently said: 'What I want is a good flat; I can do my sunbathing in Majorca.' Fishmongers are angered by the talk of mercury-contaminated fish, farmers by the talk of penicillin-contaminated pork, and even trade unionists protest when their factory is blamed for destroying fish and polluting beaches.

Some industrialists, it is true, have awakened to the benefits they may derive from the environmentalists' campaign, which is likely to push up production of such items, say, as smoke traps and water filters. Monopolies are mobilizing public relations experts to oppose the charges of dangerous pollution and predaceous use of natural resources, on the one hand, and to demand that society pay the cost of damage control, on the other.

Bourgeois politicians are using delaying tactics and refer to the international nature of the problem. They say, for example, that the matter should be handled in the Common Market framework, though the EEC has done absolutely nothing so far. The Ruhr soot settles on the snow in the Norwegian fjords. 'Dead zones' have appeared in the Baltic Sea. Denmark's bird-rich marshlands are contaminated by sewage. The lakes are dying. And air pollution is raising the incidence of throat and respiratory diseases.

There is a lot of talk about the technological problems of the 'affluent' and 'lost' society, but few see their connection with the anarchy in production. Yet on the other side of the Baltic socialist countries are solving problems regarded as insoluble in Denmark.

Clean water and nature protection decrees were adopted in the Soviet Union as far back as the twenties; afforestation is practised on a grand scale; rivers are made to change their course, and factories with substandard purifying equipment are shut down. Biologists in the socialist countries may not be more gifted than those in the West, but have much better opportunities, for society backs them when they discover a danger and show how to fight it.

J. Angenfort, member of the Presidium of the German Communist Party showed that the pollution problem reflects the basic contradiction of the capitalist system – the clash between big capital's drive for the maximum profit and the interests of the millions who want health and a better chance of survival. Participation in environmental campaigns brings hundreds of thousands of citizens in the Federal Republic of Germany closer to a new anti-imperialist front. And Communists are seeing to it that the alarm roused by environmental damage should engender clear demands for vital changes.

In the FRG air pollution is seven times as heavy as in the United States. The Ruhr, Emscher and Wupper rivers have deteriorated into sewers for industrial waste. The same is true of large sections of the Main and Rhine. The evidence is plentiful. The health and even survival of the population will be in jeopardy, says a GCP paper, 'Thoughts and Proposals on Effective Environmental Control,' if radical changes are not made in time.

It is fashionable to condemn destruction of the environment and call for action. But capitalist propaganda does not name the culprits and those who should pay the cost of action. The CDU/CSU says we are all to blame – the housewife who throws out dirty water, the worker who drives his car, etc. The same sort of thing is also said by the Social-Democratic government.

Recently, the weekly *Die Zeit* devoted one of its pages to damage control, listing forty ways of protecting the environment, of which none referred to the big industries. Here are a few of its hints: don't use pink toilet paper; cut down on aluminum tins; don't litter the woods. . . .

Certainly, Communists welcome sound advice and have no wish to see the woods littered with empty tins. But that is not the main problem. The small sinners make no million-mark profits by violating public regulations, while industrialists do.

The culprit is known, though the press, radio and television are reluctant to name him. The Bayer works in Leverkusen and Urdingen discharge as much waste water into the Rhine as half the Ruhr population. Industrialists who frustrate damage control schemes and research by pleading 'economy' are the main foes of the environment.

For the FRG, pollution of water and soil is a problem of major proportions. In August 1971, factory workers informed the CP branch in Bochum that toxic waste had been secretly buried in the city dump, including 15,000 tins containing sodium cyanide. GCP activists called a press conference; the Party's central organ joined the campaign. A Bochum Party branch deputation gave the municipi-

pal authorities a hand-drawn map showing where the poison was buried. The scandal could not be hushed up, and officials soon admitted that they had uncovered enough sodium cyanide to poison the entire FRG population.

The German Communist Party demands public controls, including representatives of staffs and their unions, over enterprises producing most of the waste; big fines for environmental damage, and transfer of enterprises jeopardizing life and health to public ownership under democratic control.

All discussion of the dangers presented by the war industries are taboo in capitalist countries. Yet large stockpiles of U.S. atomic missiles and biochemical weapons are stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Big capital is not completely indifferent to the environment. The damage in many imperialist countries, including the FRG, is so great that an increasingly greater section of the people will no longer tolerate it. Captains of industry and banking tycoons dread the prospect of a new anti-monopoly front involving new segments of the public. The more far-sighted are prepared to make partial concessions. Besides, the damage to the environment is beginning to create difficulties for industry. So capitalists, too, are taking an interest in ecology, but entirely in their own way. Certain steps have been taken, some with state assistance. But the main principles of capitalist policy remain: no cut in profits; no legislation in excess of that in other countries, for this could benefit the competitors, and no excessive burdens on the state, for this would deplete the financing of armaments.

The expenses, capitalists say in so many words, should be borne not by big capital, but by the consumer, by the working people. Communists oppose these designs of making the people pay either directly, by raising taxes, or indirectly, by raising prices and charges. The main culprits, the magnates of big industry, not the public, should untie their purse strings.

Real damage control is possible only in a society where man is the focus of all things and nature is not an object of predatory exploitation. The socialist countries, we are told, have the same problems as the capitalist ones. But this is untrue. The main problem has been solved: the property of capitalists and big landowners has been abolished, and there is no chase after profit, an obstacle to all sound undertakings. None but the socialist system creates the preconditions for a harmonious relationship between man and nature. But this does not mean that we should put off environmental protection until socialism triumphs in the FRG. It is a vitally important matter, and should be tackled at once. The people will acquire experience in the struggle and will realize that their own interests are incompatible with those of big capital, and thus will see the necessity of socialism.

The battle for the environment is in all phases a class struggle. The German CP regards actions against pollution as a part of the struggle for a democratic renovation of the state and society, for an

anti-monopoly democracy. It is, in fact, yet another pathway leading the masses to a broad anti-monopoly alliance under working-class leadership. These actions will not be effective, however, unless all the working-class organizations and trade unions participate in administration on a democratic basis with the responsible involvement of science workers, technicians, the medical profession, students and professors. What is required is initiative in each enterprise, each town, and each organization. This is the only way to achieve effective, or at least partial, success.

The fears created by air and water pollution have given impulse to many public acts. Special committees have been formed in some towns. In Hamburg, demonstrators wearing gas masks collected signatures against the manufacture of toxic gas. In Ludgwigshafen, a city ruled by the Badische Anilin-und Sodafabrik, young demonstrators carried streamers, saying: 'While Raschig and Timm make money, Mueller and Krause suffocate.'* Recently, the people of Bremen prevented the authorities from converting the local reservation into a Bundeswehr testing-ground. And young people form political tribunals to indict the destroyer of nature – the capitalist system.

FRG Communists take part in all these movements, and are prepared to work together with all democrats, if only for limited aims and even if ecological viewpoints do not coincide. The differences will surely be overcome through such cooperation. In the end, all those involved in the campaign are sure to see that big capital is the common enemy.

Ecology, said R. Maccarini, Dr. Med. (Italian CP), has become part of politics, culture and the social struggle, and was discussed at length by the 13th ICP Congress and various Party conferences.

The ruling class is trying to absolve itself of guilt by strident advertising and thus achieve its selfish aims to distort the 'man-nature-society' concept and continue its predatory use of nature, to profit from damage control, and to legislatively formalize its policy.

The interests of the Italian and American technocrats, bent on enriching themselves through sales of purification equipment, coincide completely. Nixon, it will be recalled, mounted a large-scale environmental propaganda action in January 1970 as a diversionary maneuver to distract attention from the dirty war in Vietnam. However, nobody was deceived. It only brought home the appalling scale of the damage in the developed capitalist states.

Knowledge of the dangers of pollution sheds new light on the destructive nature of capitalism. Never supported and often even ridiculed in the past, 'ruralism,' the priority of public over private transport, development of the South, interdependence of agrarian reform and industrial growth, and concern for living and working conditions – all these problems are now broadly accepted, though as yet insufficiently reflected in policy. The battle for land and water in Apulia and the fight against the government's injustices

*Raschig and Timm – co-owners of the chemical concern; Mueller and Krause – the general public. – *Transl. Note.*

following the floods in Genoa were received by the public as the first ecological strikes.

The only serious measures taken so far were those of commune and provincial administrations headed by Socialists and Communists. An academic conference held under the auspices of the Gramsci Institute pointed out, however, that none of the measures matched the political and cultural magnitude of the problem and that the mood and enthusiasm of the masses was often far ahead of the organized movement.

The basic reasons for the flaws in political and ideological work, it said, should have been examined self-critically; the problem should be properly analyzed, providing guidelines for all Left forces and the unions, which have strong influence in this area. The ICP's political line did not reflect the social consequences of the changes in the geophysical reality, with Communists tailing behind their class adversaries, who had long been preparing to meet the ecological crisis, shifting the cost on the workers and middle strata, and preserving the monopoly privileges.

The battle against pollution will not be won, unless it becomes part of the battle for the transformation of society. There is a clear link between pure air, water and soil, on the one hand, and water consumption, urbanization, housing, the agrarian problems, the sanitary and educational reforms, on the other. An ecological policy that ignores the imperative of changing the structure of society will be nothing but words and will not subdue the cynicism of the dominant classes. The main reason for the impingements on health and for the destruction of nature are known.

With whom and against whom to fight? First of all, with the working people, with all citizens whose health and future are imperilled. The danger can be eliminated by a mass movement only. But that movement must act on the immediate interests of the people and must know all the aspects of the problem. If an ecologist comes to a building workers' meeting and says they should stop building and 'preserve the landscape,' he will be thrown out on his ear. And rightly so. If he explains, however, that improving the environment does not mean cutting back production or reducing employment – something the employers insinuate to intimidate the workers – and if he explains that the objective is better housing and a new approach to town planning and landscaping, his arguments will carry weight. It is important to show the connection between the people's immediate demands and the structural reforms, the ecological policy and democratic programming.

Some of the damage control could be exercised by the capitalists on their own initiative. It assumes an entirely different complexion when imposed on them in a confrontation, through the cooperation of mass movements, the political forces, specialists and the public administration.

The Italian CP is aware of the international implications of the 'man-nature' relationship. The 'ecological smog,' that is, the propaganda campaign launched by Nixon and his friends, is nothing but

camouflage for the real crisis. Only socialist society advancing to communism can resolve the global environmental problems. Hence, the critical state of the environment creates new stimuli for struggle for communism. Pollution control is a pillar for the unity of progressive forces in an international context, since the aim is to unite political movements to end exploitation and the hazards of man's survival—a battle in which science and technology will play an eminent part. The international labor and democratic movement should demand that states with different social systems conclude agreements, and should press for an end to pollution and the depletion of natural resources. Vigorous action is required in international and European bodies (e.g., exposure of the Common Market regulations permitting automobile exhausts to poison the air, demanding stricter controls).

Ecological policy has points of contact with the struggle for peace. It could be the starting point for a new phase in the fight for peaceful coexistence. In the 50s, millions signed the Stockholm appeal for a ban on atomic weapons. In the 60s, an imposing international movement sprang up for solidarity with Vietnam. Similar campaigns may be mounted to protect the environment. The struggle of the three revolutionary streams expresses the interests of the entire human race. And mankind is menaced by the changes in the man-and-nature relationship caused by the capitalist social organization. Peace is indivisible just as is the biosphere. The peoples cannot be saved from war and ecological disaster if the status quo remains. The organization of society must be changed, and so must international relations.

All countries have to deal with the contradictions between technology and the environment, said *Pauline Robinson*, member of the Science Advisory Committee of the British Communist Party. The difference is one only of degree and of emphasis on one rather than another type of damage. No capitalist country has succeeded in escaping the dangers of which the late 19th century ecologists warned.

Science can indicate the way out. For this it is necessary for teams of geographers, biologists, economists, engineers, demographers, statisticians and what in England we now call the social sciences to work together. There is fair agreement among scientists about the technology required for such things as, for example, the recycling of water. But there is a wide variation, especially among the capitalist countries, on control measures, standards, legislation and the necessary research. As long as industry uses science to maximize profits, there will be resistance to any control. Socialist countries, with other criteria for assessing the return of investment, are in a favorable position to achieve effective damage control.

Early in 1970 the British government appointed a Royal Commission to collect evidence on pollution of the environment and to tender advice on new legislation. Our Party published a statement in this connection.* The effectiveness of the Royal Commis-

*Communist Party Evidence to Royal Commission on the Environment. Comment, July 3, 1971.

sion's recommendations, with most of which our Party agrees, will depend on public pressure. If it is the wrong pressure, it will not achieve much.

In March 1971 our Party's Executive Committee considered a study paper on environmental pollution, and later *Marxism Today* published an article on the subject by R. Hayter and J. Cox.* It makes these points: unplanned, uncontrolled application of science and technology produces disastrous results. The environmental crisis is part of the general crisis of capitalism. If socialism is long delayed in countries which are soon going to face a resource crisis, it will be very much more difficult to build the new society.

The Party's recommendation to the Royal Commission made suggestions as to the measures that could be undertaken now. These are: stringent control legislation; agriculture and forestry policy based on ecological understanding; drive on slum clearance in urban areas; provision of leisure space in and near all communities; adequate public transport; voluntary family planning; international agreements on measures concerning pollution of the air and the seas and levels of residues of toxic materials allowed in food. True, there are dangers in setting pollution standards. Unless they are repeatedly reviewed in the light of the best available practice, the firms will avoid installing new purification facilities.

In Britain we have had air and water pollution control legislation for some 90 years now and to some extent it has been successful. What is needed, however, is an overall policy with a sound scientific basis. In January the magazine *The Ecologist* published a document called *A Blueprint for Survival*. It has generated an enormous amount of interest, because for the first time a positive program of action was postulated for discussion. Though in many respects it is reactionary, it has served to initiate a discussion which includes basic social and political criteria. And the discussion has made it even more important for our Party to put forward proposals around which Marxists and other Left-wing forces could unite. Otherwise, a large section, particularly among young people, will be led into support of programs based on romanticism and incapable of achievement.

Claude Kussman, member of Central Committee, CP of Belgium: Our Party is not remiss in studying the present environmental problems. Nature protection is a topical subject in Western Europe and a goldmine for publishers: new books on the subject appear in a steady stream. Some writers regard pollution as an inevitable companion of the rising living standard: greater production and consumption multiplies waste and rubbish. Others describe it as nature's revenge, as the other face of technical progress.

In Belgium, re-cycling industrial water is an imperative, for no other source of pure water exists. The bourgeoisie, too, is raising the alarm, worried over the future of its enterprises. The war against pollution, the Americans estimate, should become a prosper-

* Hayter, R. and Cox, J. 'The Crisis of Man and Environment.' *Marxism Today*. Sept., 1971, pp. 261-269.

ing industry in the next ten years. Governments, they say, should regulate industrial waste by legislation. There is clear evidence of disparate interests: the industrialists who pollute the environment, those who make water and air filters and want damage control legislation to boost sales, and the general public, which wants an unpolluted world. The masses, as we see, have to contend with groups of industrialists of divergent interests rather than with united capital. That will doubtless make the battle easier if the existing contradictions are properly used. But that is not the ultimate solution. Capitalist governments will adopt legislation only insofar as the population and industry experience acute shortages of essential natural resources, such as drinking water, and insofar as this creates difficulties for capitalists. Nor can the disastrous consequences of pollution be prevented by spontaneous action. The action must come from the trade unions, the Left parties, the people.

In Belgium, the various bodies investigating air and water pollution are controlled by the monopolies. The bourgeoisie has taken the initiative in studying the problem and finding solutions. As the saying goes, you serve no one better than you serve yourself. But by doing so the industrialists are also establishing a monopoly on ideas and elbowing out the government agencies.

Though in recent years the mass manifestations were usually local – against destroying some woodland, or against some ‘dirty’ factory – they were also directed against the consequences of capitalist enterprise.

In World War Two Japan was the victim of an American nuclear attack; today it is the victim of capital which is turning the country into ‘islands of pollution,’ Comrade S. Toyoda, representative of the Communist Party of Japan on the journal, told the conference. Our large cities are enveloped in smog. Some of the rivers around Tokyo cannot, reportedly, support even amoeba. Tokyo bay is in its death throes. The people suffer from noise, vibration, radioactive contamination, are deprived even of sunshine.

All this is causing mounting indignation. The number of petitions and complaints to local government bodies increased from 20,000 in 1966 to 30,000 in 1968. As of the end of March 1971, 3,219 persons were officially classed as suffering from diseases caused by pollution.

The struggle to safeguard the health and life of human beings is so deep and tenacious that it might develop into a broad national movement. The trade unions are beginning to take an active part. Some of them have conducted successful strikes against industrial accidents and environmental pollution. Various tactics are employed: strikes, demonstrations at sea, petitions, lawsuits, demands addressed to parliament and the local authorities.

The anti-pollution movement is assuming a new, anti-monopolist orientation. The people are insistently demanding that factory managements be called to account. Their criticism is directed chiefly at big business. There is widespread condemnation of the policy

pursued by the central and local authorities as favoring monopoly capital. And there is pressure for concrete measures to eliminate and ward off public hazards. In 1970 there were huge anti-smog meetings in Tokyo and a campaign to collect one million signatures to back the demand for an emergency session of parliament. Another development was the popular demand for local inspection and control machinery.

The contradictions between monopoly capital and the people on the pollution issue are being aggravated, as is also the confrontation between the Liberal-Democratic Party and the progressive parties, including the Communist Party of Japan. The latter favors united action with these parties in the anti-pollution movement. But if united action is to be truly effective, it must have a clear common basis.

The monopolists, by setting up their 'Committee for the Improvement of the Environment,' are trying to hold back the popular movement. They maintain that the anti-pollution movement militates against a high rate of economic growth and that the workers are just as much responsible as their employers and should therefore share in the expenses. The Right-wing Social Democrats and trade union leaders have taken up that tune, maintaining that the choice is between economic growth and protection of the environment.

The resolution of the 11th Communist Party Congress emphasizes that environmental pollution is one of the new forms of poverty in the so-called affluent society, a manifestation of the decay of Japanese monopoly capitalism, the biggest consequence of 'its destructive excrement.'

In his *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Engels called air pollution, shortage of water supply and housing, the damage caused by capitalism to the workers' health and life, a 'social murder' or a 'veiled, malicious murder.' The Communist Party of Japan declares that destruction of the human environment is a social murder for which the big monopolies are responsible. The Party's Chairman, Comrade Kenji Miyamoto, stressed that the demand to defend human life has a distinct anti-monopolist coloring, directed against the U.S. and Japanese ruling circles. He formulated the task of turning the anti-pollution movement into a mass nationwide political struggle.

The Communist Party is working for a united front in the battle against pollution, and in this it relies on the militant sentiment of the people. In May 1970 the Central Committee appointed a commission to work out solutions to this question. It formulated a concrete program envisaging, in particular, popularly elected committees in all urban communities with authority to investigate the causes and determine the scale of damage; more authority for local government bodies; compensation, medical and material assistance at the expense of the monopolies, the government and the local authorities.

The Party has also drawn up detailed plans to save Seto Inland

Sea and is making a special effort to implement them with the support of mass organizations and public opinion. The people call Seto Japan's 'Mediterranean Sea.' However, its coastal waters have been turned into an accumulation of sludge and industrial wastes and are colored red. The damage amounts to billions of yen. There are chemical tankers and oil tankers, the smell of gunpowder from the bases of the U.S. Armed Forces and the Japanese Self-Defense Forces, industries have sprung up on the shores. Ultimately Seto might become a dead sea.

The 11th Party Congress indicated the perspective for a democratic coalition government. The mass struggle against pollution will play a definite part in its achievement. It will help to undermine the position of the ruling element and will merge with the common struggle for a democratic coalition government.

'Preserving a livable environment is also a class problem,' Gus Hall, General Secretary, CC CPUSA, writes in his recent book.* Citing these words, Philip Bart, the CPUSA representative on the journal, told the conference about the conception and conclusions of his Party.

The largest international exploiter and destroyer of nature, the United States contributes about 40 per cent of the planet's pollution, he said. The rapidity of the depletion of natural resources and the destructive processes in the biosphere are matched only by the criminal neglect of America's workers, causing a rise in accidents. Early this year 100 were killed and 5,000 left homeless when a slag mountain gave way in the mining town of Buffalo Creek, West Virginia. Densely populated areas contaminated by carbon monoxide, rivers transformed into polluted sewers—these are some of the distinguishing features of the American way of life.

The pollution issue has drawn the attention of many sections of society. Even George Meany, the arch-conservative head of the AFL-CIO, has called for a 'positive attitude' to ecology. But the most profound developments were registered in the trade union conference held in 1969 in New Jersey by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union. The subject was Hazards in the Industrial Environment. The testimony of one worker is most revealing: 'I was amazed to see that a worrisome chemical being used in our oil refineries has a safety standard of 225 parts per million under the Walsh-Healy Act . . . The Russian standard is 25 parts per million. Now I don't know who's correct; whether the Russians are correct or the Americans are correct. However, I say, if there has to be an error, let the error be on the side of the workers, instead of on the side of the boss . . . I say, let's have the lower level, and if it is over-safe, fine, because once you've been exposed to the higher level, it's irreversible.'

U.S. monopoly will not yield willingly. *Business Week* puts it bluntly enough: The 'social costs,' it declares, 'will finally be reflected in prices.' This means that if any measures are taken, the

*Gus Hall, *Ecology: Can We Survive Under Capitalism?* New York, 1972.

people will have to pay for them. The employers have posed the false choice of either unemployment or live with pollution. Nixon's first concern is the protection of capitalist profits. But this has been most costly to the health and lives of workers.

The U.S. Communists have set the following goals: strict laws; nationalization where anti-pollution laws are violated; the cost to be borne from corporate profits; control to be exercised by community, worker, and minority organizations.

It is wrong to believe that only insignificant improvements can be achieved in capitalist countries and that big improvements are impossible, *Idris Cox*, British Communist Party representative on the journal, told the seminar.

Public pressure forced through the 1957 Clean Air Act in Britain and for several years now much of London has become a smokeless zone, with heavy penalties against those who use coal fires causing smoke. These laws were put into operation despite the protests of capitalist monopoly coal merchants, so that today London has much cleaner air.

So long as the capitalist system exists, progressive changes in the human environment which it is forced to adopt will still be in danger. But capitalist governments can be fought by public indignation and mass pressure to make progressive changes even at the expense of certain monopoly interests. Under capitalism the ruling class is not so homogeneous and united as to preclude conflicting interests.

Despite all the advances that can be gained under capitalism, it is clear that only socialism is the final solution. This does not mean that we should sit with folded hands until socialism comes. What must be done is to intensify the mass struggle on this and other issues and raise it to a higher political level so that we can speed away towards socialism.

L. Ribeiro, the Brazilian CP's representative on the journal, said: The scientific-technical revolution opened up a new battlefield against imperialism, against the exploitation of man by man, against the capitalist mode of production – protection and renewal of natural resources, maintenance of the biological balance and improvement of the environment.

Extensive farming is the rule with the owners of latifundia in the Latin American countries. They clear forestland for their crops and in three to five years, when the land becomes barren, they cut down more forest. As a result, we have vast areas of eroded land. In Brazil, for example, nearly three quarters of 'seized land' lies fallow for years due to predatory farming.

The widely advertised government measures are only meant to deceive the public. An Institute of Forestry was founded in 1965. The government promised afforestation aid to landowners. It undertook to pay 50 per cent of the bill – a gift to the big proprietors. Before the 70s the government-sponsored afforestation scheme covered a relatively small area of under one million hectares, while more than 100 million hectares require treatment. The poor semi-

desert north-east is left out of the government plan. The rivers there are polluted by the local sugar refineries, and all fish disappeared many years ago. The future of the Amazon basin hangs in the balance. Land left out of the government's development programs is given away practically free to the big foreign monopolies. The ravages inflicted on the luxuriant Amazon jungle may turn it into a desert.

Cuba, Chile and Peru are the only countries in Latin America to have devised measures for sensible use and renewal of natural resources.

Industrialization has only begun. It is in an early stage even in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico. But pollution has already grown into an acute problem in such industrial cities as Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Mexico and Santiago. American, Japanese and West German imperialists are exerting pressure on Latin American governments to let them build petrochemical, cellulose, and other factories with a high pollution coefficient in their territory. It is farthest from their minds to help our continent develop industrially. All they want is to remove health-hazardous plants from their own countries. An aluminum works was transferred from Norway to South America, for example, because the public objected to air pollution and damage to the surrounding forestland. For similar reasons, petrochemical enterprises are going up in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela. Sulphuric acid plants in Brazil are operating on imported raw materials.

Communists reject the contention that environmental pollution is the unavoidable price of economic growth. While building up the economy, natural resources must be used sensibly, employing the achievements of science and technology for the good, rather than to the detriment, of the people. For this we must combat the imperialist monopolies.

In the developing countries, too, said A. Dansoko, representative on the journal of the African Independence Party of Senegal, interest in environmental problems is rising. This is a good sign. Until recently, talk about the dangers of pollution was scoffed at as an eccentricity of the rich developed countries. Industrialization is obviously the only way the African countries can end backwardness and poverty. So, every attempt at identifying industrialization with pollution was received sceptically. Doubly so, because it was used as a reactionary ploy by imperialist agents to decry 'technical civilization.'

Now, more and more people recognize the problem of the ecological equilibrium. This is borne out by the conference in Addis Ababa in August 1971, which showed that a country need not necessarily be industrial to fall victim to certain types of pollution. Take pollution of offshore waters by the shipping.

We must take the long-term view: the future of many African peoples depends on the correct use of the Nile, Niger, Senegal and Lake Chad. The exploitation of natural wealth will doubtless follow industrial lines. So the choice of method is of decisive im-

portance. Will growth be stimulated by private or collective interests? This is the central question for the environment in Africa.

Imperialist groups are toying with the idea of transferring some of their 'dirty' industries to our continent and placating public opinion at home. This scheme is being morally justified by the plea of balancing the distribution of industrial potentials. But that is an ideological veil for a new capitalist international division of labor.

In Africa, the problem centers mainly on the predaceous use of natural wealth.

Could the continent end its economic backwardness without disrupting the ecological balance? The answer is 'no,' unless powerful forces are brought into play to prevent spontaneous growth of the capitalist type. This applies in the case of the developed, as well as the underdeveloped countries. Signs of destruction are evident across the length and breadth of Africa. Forests are cut down, land is made barren and mineral resources are depleted in the interest of overseas financial tycoons. These ravages are inflicted on the continent by the capitalist mode of production, which, moreover, is imposed from abroad. In the long term, this is being countervailed by the patriotic struggle and by socialism, which will provide the basis for a development policy serving the needs of the future, as well as the present.

III. THE SOCIALIST WORLD: SEARCH AND SOLUTIONS

MAN IS CHANGING NATURE • BIRTH OF A NEW SCIENCE
• INITIATIVES AND EXPERIENCE OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES
• A PATTERN OF GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC MEASURES •
CONTRADICTIONS AND DIFFICULTIES • ECONOMIC STIMULI
SERVING HEALTH AND SURVIVAL • TECHNOLOGY
LEARNS FROM NATURE • A QUESTION OF WORLD POLITICS.

The claim that the initiative in resolving environmental problems on an international scale is held by capitalism, primarily U.S. capitalism, is untrue, said *Emil Hadat*, Corresponding Member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Institute of Landscape Ecology). The socialist countries, Czechoslovakia included, were the first to raise the matter in the United Nations. The first large-scale international ecological conference—a symposium of the UN Economic Commission for Europe—was held on Czechoslovakia's initiative in Prague in May 1971.

Science helps determine how to use natural wealth without upsetting the equilibrium in the biosphere. Its planned use will not be effective, however, unless all society owns the natural resources. Socialist science employs a comprehensive approach. Physiologists, geobotanists, zoologists and legal experts work together in the Czechoslovak Institute of Landscape Ecology. The Institute is re-

presented on the government's Environment Council and can influence solutions at legislative level. An investigation of Ostrava in 1967-1970 is an example of comprehensive research, an attempt to produce a scientific analysis. It enabled us to see the unbalanced development of natural, economic and social elements in the area. The results were examined by the authorities and incorporated in measures improving the environment: garbage dumps were moved from city limits, a better quality coal is used for heating, and verdure has been planted in the city. The Ostrava of today is a far cry from the Ostrava of the early 60s. Its transformation evoked admiration among the participants in the Prague symposium of the UN Economic Commission for Europe.

Tachov district in the border area of Western Bohemia, which is chiefly agricultural, was also investigated. We experimented with industrial farming. This cost us nearly one billion Czech crowns, but the expense was justified. The experiment showed the importance of balancing technico-economic, demographic, social, medico-biological and other factors, and helped alter the local economic, social and cultural pattern.

The biggest changes in the structure of Czechoslovakia's rural areas are traceable to the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. But there have also been negative developments. Mechanization requires big fields, whereas the elimination of shrubs and trees may in the long run upset the vital conditions of the landscape and cause soil erosion.

Among the main reasons why the rural population flocks to towns are the relatively lower living conditions. However, it would be wrong to turn the village into a likeness of the city mechanically, merely to reduce the disparities between town and country. The rural specifics favorable for vacationing benefit all society.

It is wrong, too, to jeopardize the future of the population for time-serving reasons. The advantages of socialism enable us to adopt solutions benefiting all society in line with the long-term development trends. In socialist society the accent in research is laid on the planned development of the environment with consideration for the ecological systems. Socialism inherited from capitalism not only the material structure of the environment, including production, transport and living conditions, but also elements of its mentality. Scientists in the socialist countries reject them and concentrate their research on the specifics of complex systems: the modern city, industrial enterprise and the landscape as a whole.

Pollution in Poland, though not as great as in highly developed countries, is growing, said Academician W. Michajlow, Chairman of Man and Environment, a scientific committee under the Polish Academy of Sciences. The biosphere is damaged in varying degree — there are areas where nature is almost intact while in some industrial areas, such as Silesia, the picture is a sad one.

The Party and the government are concerned about the state of the environment. The Sixth Party Congress said in its resolution that a comprehensive water management and nature conservation

program must be drawn up in the next few years. A state committee for environmental protection was set up in 1970 under a vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers. It represents ministries, the Academy of Sciences and various non-governmental organizations. Under the current five-year plan, 65 billion zlotys has been budgeted to protect the environment. The committee's function is to see that the appropriations are spent effectively by concentrating on key objectives. The committee periodically examines reports by ministries, issues instructions to various agencies and drafts relevant legislation. Similar committees are now being set up locally.

The Academy's Man and Environment committee cooperates with international organizations, coordinates research in Poland and provides expertise for the state committee and other government agencies. In December 1971 the Academy devoted its general meeting to environmental protection.

Upsetting the biospheric balance poses a serious threat to mankind. To conserve the biosphere is only second in importance to safeguarding peace. Incidentally, the term 'conservation' is not entirely accurate. In some highly developed countries man's environment has so deteriorated that it must be renewed rather than conserved. The problem is to work out the principles of a new organization of the environment to serve man's interests and conform to the laws of nature and society. Polish scientists have for years been developing a science concerned with the transformation and conservation of the environment. It is known as *sozology*. Some manuals have already been published.*

Bourgeois ideologists maintain that the causes of pollution and the possibilities of preventing it are the same in all countries irrespective of social system. They use this as a new argument in favor of the 'convergence' theory. In refuting this argument, it is important to show the actual achievements of socialism and to publicize them undeterred by the fact that socialism's vast potentialities in this sphere have yet to be used in full.

All over the world, the people seek to improve the quality of life, which cannot always be assessed by economic standards. The quality of life also depends on the state of the environment. It is important, therefore, to evolve the principles of socialist civilization, including a rational organization of the environment in line with the natural factors, production technology, territorial planning, urban development, architecture, public transport. At the same time it is necessary to analyze the peoples' social aspirations and sentiments prompted by the environmental crisis.

Though most environmental problems come within the jurisdiction of the nations and governments concerned, active participation in UN undertakings is important in view of the global danger, provided they are universal. In view of the heavy pollution of the Baltic, Poland would like the Baltic states to sign an agreement

*See *Sozologia i sozotechnika*. Cracow, 1972.

to improve the situation. However, an effective agreement is unthinkable unless both German states participate.

The problems under discussion are very important ideologically and politically. Hence the need of concerted international action, exchanges of experience, of organizational, scientific and technological achievements, and closer cooperation among the socialist countries, for this is a new important area of integration.

Under capitalism man and the environment in which he lives receive scant attention, said W. Neneman of the Polish Foreign Ministry. Incidentally, Christian philosophy asserts that nature has been given man to satisfy his whims. In other words, there is supposed to be no coexistence between man and nature.

Scientists are right in sounding the alarm over the threat of natural resources being exhausted in the foreseeable future, even though numerous substitutes are likely to be discovered. But there is yet another menace. It may be safely predicted that the shortage of supplies will induce developed capitalist countries to try and seize the riches of other countries, especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This would increase the neo-colonialist danger. The socialist countries have done much to prevent such a development, specifically through the UN. It was on their initiative that the UN adopted resolutions in defense of the peoples' sovereign right to their natural resources.

The Sixth Congress of the PUWP decided on steps to raise the people's material, social and cultural standards. One of the big problems is to improve the environment. In Poland new industrial construction is accompanied or even preceded by home-building. Considerable attention is devoted to balanced distribution of industry. As a result, there is no overpopulation anywhere.

Environmental protection is not a special economic field, said G. Thoms, Deputy Minister for Nature Protection and Water Management of the GDR. It implies a wide range of social measures to which each branch must make an optimal contribution.

The Constitution of the GDR says that the state and society protect nature for the good of the citizens. To maintain the purity of water and air and conserve nature is the responsibility of appropriate agencies and the duty of every citizen.

On May 14, 1970, the People's Chamber of the GDR enacted a law on the planned socialist development of the country's natural resources which encompasses every problem of environmental protection, in particular purposive improvement of the landscape, rational use of the lands, forests and waters, preservation of the purity of the air, noise control, and the disposal of household refuse and industrial wastes. A government system for the planned development and effective protection of the environment has been set up. The law gives added powers to local government bodies. They are responsible for the comprehensive exploitation of natural resources in their area and are empowered to establish zones of landscape and water protection, and also noise-free zones. They also have the right to demand inclusion of damage control clauses in the industrial plans and to fine offenders.

In 1969-1970 an experiment was conducted in Halle District to gauge the effectiveness of economic incentives in environmental protection. The standards set in the experiment for purity and use of ground and surface waters, have been extended to the entire republic, with heavy fines for violations. Henceforth, enterprises will not be able to 'save' by ignoring pure water rules. The Halle experiment has prompted us to work out similar rules for clean air.

Steps to protect the environment are taken, first and foremost, in highly industrialized areas.

The socialist countries are expanding their cooperation in environmental protection. The GDR has agreements with Poland and Czechoslovakia on protecting border waters and using water supply facilities. Agreement has been reached to filter sewage discharged into the Oder. In collaboration with Poland and the Soviet Union, a symposium on environmental problems is to be held during this year's Baltic Sea Week to which other Baltic countries have been invited. The Budapest Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty countries (March 17, 1969) stresses that given a solid system of European security, the countries concerned could carry out important projects by joint effort in water management, the power industry, air protection and public health. The June 22, 1970 memorandum of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries proposed that the future European security conference should discuss environmental problems. We welcome the agreements of April 28, 1971 on CMEA scientific and technological cooperation in planning nature protection.

Th GDR is also prepared to cooperate with countries belonging to the other social system, and notably to participate on an equal footing in the June 1972 Stockholm ecological conference and contribute to its success. The imperialist powers oppose the UN universality principle, with the result that equal participation by the GDR, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the DRV in UN biosphere protection measures is hanging fire. Yet it is obvious that environmental problems cannot be effectively solved without the cooperation, among others, of the GDR, a state in the heart of Europe.

Some of our executives earmark funds for air pollution fines in the factory budgets, said *Professor L. Hrzal*, Chairman of the Philosophy and Sociology Collegium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The motivation for this disregards the aims of socialist production and makes economic growth an aim in itself. The problem of 'man and environment' was also underrated in public quarters - Czechoslovak philosophers did not give it proper attention.

The Czechoslovak experience reveals the importance of research into the socialist way of life and the advantages of the new system. The problems of conserving the environment are prominent in this research.

Bourgeois natural science mostly studies individual components of nature and pays little attention to what is now known in science as territorial natural systems, or natural complexes, said Professor

Y. G. Saushkin of Moscow University. The approach in terms of complexes, which regards the natural system as one entity, has been used by Soviet geographers for several decades now. Perceiving nature as an integral whole is important both theoretically and practically. It enables us to keep track of the succession of changes caused by the contradictory activity of society and to forecast, if only in part, nature's 'vengeance' for industrial, especially unreasonable or wasteful, activity. Indeed, even 'humanized' nature continues to develop according to its own laws, many of which are still unknown. Surprises are therefore possible. And the socialist countries, too, are not guaranteed against them. But under socialism science, which cognizes laws as aspects of the whole, helps to eliminate contradictions.

Man is not satisfied with nature and therefore changes it. The point is how this is done, what is the social content of man's continuous interference. What new and special contribution has the socialist system made in this field? In the Soviet Union production has been planned ever since the Lenin electrification plan, according to the theory and practice of developing territorial production complexes. Even now we are solving as a complex problems covering very large areas. The problems of Lake Baikal and the Volga and Ural rivers have already been mentioned here. The CC CPSU and Council of Ministers of the USSR recently adopted special decisions on these problems. Large sums are being budgeted to prevent the adverse effect of production on the environment. Over 300 million rubles has been earmarked for waste treatment facilities to be built in fifteen towns on the Volga and Kama rivers.

The bourgeois system afforded considerable opportunities for the progress of various industries. But none of the capitalist countries has yet created territorial production complexes in which a single plan would tie in nature factors, settlement of people and economy. The Soviet Union has many such complexes. Their planning, modeling and realization are the responsibility of research institutions. In Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Novosibirsk, Tbilisi and other cities, thousands of geographers, economists and sociologists closely cooperate in studying the forestry complexes of Siberia, the oil complexes of the Volga region and the iron ore and metallurgical complexes elsewhere.

A territorial production complex implies the creation of communities situated as rationally as possible from the standpoint of production and natural conditions, in optimal surroundings. In the Soviet Union an effort is made to prevent the excessive growth of big cities if they cannot be adequately supplied with water and verdure, if air conditions are unfavorable and no recreation areas are available in their vicinity. Of course, it is no easy task to plan these complexes so as to provide, among other things, for the proper use of natural conditions. We must coordinate the exigencies of industry, agriculture, transport and urban development. Besides, the shortage of specialists and personnel presents a subjective difficulty. But these are problems which can be solved.

One of the most acute problems in the European part of the Soviet Union is the water supply of the central and southern industrial regions. There is a project to create storage lakes by using our northern rivers – the Pechora, Kama and Vychegda – to supply the Volga and maintain the level of the Caspian Sea. It is a romantic and attractive project but we must consider other factors. The lakes would raise the level of ground waters in the northeast of the forest-rich European USSR (timber producing region) submerging roughly 40 per cent of the forest. Lands rich in oil and gas would be flooded. This is why the population of the Komi Republic, for one, is against the project. In other words, the interests of the Northeast and the Caspian may be said to clash. Scientists are wondering whether the Caspian Sea really must be maintained at its former level, whether this would not be too costly a project and why everything nature created millions of years ago should be conserved. Would it not be wiser to stabilize the Caspian at its lower level? There is a more realistic project which provides for transferring part of the waters of northern rivers to industrial areas – the Moscow and Kursk areas and the Donets coal-fields – and then discharge the Don overflow into the Volga.

What is the criterion of a project? We in the Soviet Union have developed a general distribution pattern for the productive forces, which we continually complement as new problems arise, and we are working on long-range overall plans. The main purpose of these plans is to gain economic benefits to improve the life of the people, conceived in broad terms and including conservation of the environment. The planning of complexes claims universal attention. When contradictions between diverse economic branches are hard to reconcile the problem is thrashed out with public co-operation. The use of resources on a complex basis makes it easier to keep the environment clean.

As recently as 10 to 15 years ago nature in Bulgaria could still renew itself and restore the biological balance, said Professor I. Zakhariiev, Chairman of the Productive Forces Commission of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The intensive exploitation of natural resources, industrial construction, the chemicalization of agriculture, expanding transport and urbanization have thoroughly changed the situation. Environmental protection has become a national problem. The task is not merely to protect today's genetic resources but to evolve a scientific strategy for decades ahead.

The problem of man and environment is an international one. Bulgarians are concerned, among other things, about the pollution of the upper and middle reaches of the Danube.

Obviously, no country may be debarred from cooperation regardless of whether or not it is a member of the UN. Attempts at discrimination are mere relapses of the cold war. International co-operation implies resistance to attempts by imperialist countries to safeguard themselves by transferring to developing countries industries which pollute the environment.

Environmental protection is becoming a nationwide effort in

Bulgaria. We now have a National Committee for Nature Protection under the Fatherland Front, non-governmental committees for the protection, restoration and enrichment of nature in every town or village, and a Council for Environmental Protection and Rehabilitation under the State Council of the republic. The problem of man and environment is incorporated in the research plan of the state. The National Scientific Coordination Council of the Academy of Sciences has drawn up a long-range research program involving 80 institutes, laboratories, universities and ministries. Their task is to propose scientifically-based methods for the rational utilization of natural resources and for improving the environment in view of fundamental social changes and the scientific and technological revolution.

Bulgaria's new Constitution says that to protect nature is the duty of government agencies and enterprises, the cooperatives and every citizen. In addition to general laws on nature conservation and the protection of air, soil and water, there are special decisions and regulations. They provide for the construction of waste-treatment facilities, without which enterprises may not operate. Government supervision has been entrusted to the Ministry of Forests and Environmental Protection. The Fatherland Front, trade unions, Young Communist League, hunting, fishing and rambler's clubs arrange lectures on environmental protection. A Nature Protection Month sponsored by the National Committee was held in 1971. Positive results were achieved by such mass movements as tree-planting and the maintenance of natural landmarks and historical monuments. An area of 1.1 million hectares has been planted to forests over the past 25 years, and the voluntary work done in rehabilitating nature is estimated to be worth 120 million leva.

Maintaining the balance between man's transforming activity and environmental protection is a big socio-economic problem whose actual magnitude is occasionally overlooked in the everyday effort to meet the working people's immediate requirements. To solve this problem, we must make the fullest use of the advantages of socialism. It is essential to introduce a technological system that will enable us to close the production cycle, so that its every closing link may serve as the first link of the next stage, as in nature. This will undoubtedly entail substantial spending to set up new production branches, to make control apparatus and build waste-control facilities.

In pursuing a policy of comprehensive and rapid economic development on a modern technological basis, the Communist Party and government of Rumania steadfastly implement measures to ensure proper use of natural resources, maintain the ecological balance and conserve nature, said Professor E. Hutira of the Rumanian Academy of Social and Political Sciences. This policy meets the requirements of today's generations and the long-range interests of the country.

Rumania's environmental problems have many peculiarities which are not due to natural conditions alone. Industrialization, begun

relatively late, became a fast-developing process in the years of socialist building and promoted modern enterprises equipped with waste-treatment facilities. In the early period of the revolution, however, when burning problems of the new system were being solved, environmental protection did not receive adequate attention. Forests were cut down indiscriminately, regulation of big and small rivers was delayed and some enterprises were wrongly sited. In recent years, rapid industrial progress and the chemicalization of agriculture have made for more pollution. The directives of the 10th RCP Congress provide for continuous industrialization and the Party and state are taking important steps, such as scientific study of degradation of animal and plant life; methods to curb pollution; permissible pollution limits; methods to be used by central and local government and non-government bodies to keep pollution down to permissible limits and to minimize the effects of natural calamities; specifying the objects and landscapes which need to be protected as natural landmarks.

A central Party and government commission has been formed to prepare economic and social development forecasts. Its Chairman is Comrade N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP. We have a national demographic commission under the State Council, a commission for the protection of natural landmarks under the Academy of Sciences and various ministerial and departmental commissions. After a comprehensive discussion we adopted a national program of urban and rural planning and laws on the protection and utilization of lands, the rational use of water resources, increased irrigation, and erosion control. There are also regulations for plant, animal and game protection, and conservation of spas and natural landmarks. Energetic measures to protect the environment are part of the overall effort of the RCP to build a comprehensively developed socialist society.

We attach great importance to modelling the rational evolution of ecosystems and to comprehensive territorial programming. The approach in terms of territorial complexes serves the complete and harmonious development of geographical zones and districts. Adverse phenomena arising from industrialization can be removed without renouncing the advantages of technological progress. The preparation and adoption of decisions that accord with the state and evolution of social and natural systems is a sign of effective social management. The national program of environmental protection includes educational work among the masses.

Preventing environmental degradation is a vast field for international cooperation. All countries of the world are interested in eliminating the adverse effects of the clash between human activity and the environment. How effective the measures will be depends on coordinated effort. There are ample opportunities for inter-governmental cooperation. The CMEA's Comprehensive Program adopted in Bucharest shows the common interest in joint measures to protect nature. A number of investigations are under way. Needless to say, the effects of environmental pollution can

be effectively prevented only through cooperation of all countries irrespective of social system and of membership in the UN or other international organizations.

Socialist Rumania takes an active part in measures implemented by the specialized UN agencies to combat pollution. It bears in mind the connection between these measures and the problems of disarmament and collective security, as well as the development level of the countries concerned. Pollution-control measures in developed countries should not affect the economy of developing countries. The spirit of cooperation, the desire for collective security and better relations between states are important factors for protecting man from the adverse effects of technological progress.

The attitude to nature at different stages of civilization has been different, said T. *Balkhazhav*, alternate member of the CC MPRP (Mongolia). Capitalist monopoly, whose only concern is profit, leads to the depletion of natural resources. These resources can be used thriftily and wisely only in socialist society, which can curb the forces destroying man's natural surroundings.

The complete victory of socialist production relations in Mongolia and the people's new outlook have proved decisive in preserving and increasing natural wealth. The revolution ended wasteful exploitation of the country's riches by foreign oppressors. In 1924 the land and its resources were nationalized. The government has introduced environmental controls to protect and properly use pastures, irrigate arid areas and cultivate a conscious attitude among the people. A recent law on hunting stresses the importance of protecting and increasing wild life. This is being done on a scientific plan basis.

Pastures in Mongolia are often hit by drought. During the past five years we have sunk about 6,000 wells, which enabled us to improve the water supply on 18 million hectares of pastureland. Much attention is devoted to pasture rotation, meadow irrigation, the use of local fertilizers and the sowing of wild grasses. Another 14 million hectares of pasture will be irrigated in the next few years by sinking over 6,000 new wells and improving about 100 natural springs.

Purposive transformation of the natural environment in Mongolia did not begin until the years of people's rule. In building industrial projects and modern towns, we have always tried to conserve the people's natural heritage. Environmental pollution and the exhaustion of natural resources, which threaten the capitalist countries today, are not an acute problem in Mongolia. This is not to say, however, that we ignore them in social, ideological or international terms. Our people are deeply concerned and angered by the nuclear tests carried out in neighboring China and by the Americans' use of chemical weapons in Indochina.

In the years of socialist development in Hungary, said N. *Csaki*, Director of the Research Institute for Urban Designing and Development, we brought into being new industrial complexes, with the result that water, air and soil pollution hazards increased. The state

construction law, construction regulations and other legal acts oblige every enterprise to have protected areas and pollution control facilities. Thanks to the measures that were adopted, environmental pollution in Hungary is much lower than in the capitalist countries of Western Europe.

However, the agencies in charge of nature protection have to wrestle with considerable difficulties. The means of curbing air and water pollution are known. We cannot say, however, that they are used by every enterprise. An attempt to eliminate in a short time the lag in nature conservation that developed in the past would greatly reduce industrial investment. Building and operating waste-treatment plant entail high expenditures. The cost of up-to-date dust-traps in cement and aluminum works amounts to 15 per cent of the total investment and to 10 per cent in the case of lignite power stations; their operation cost (before depreciation) is roughly five per cent of production expenditure.

Our limited investment potential prevents us from doing as much as we would wish to protect the environment. There is another difficulty: ours is a small country and its rivers have their sources beyond our borders; their waters are polluted even before reaching us. Experience shows that nature cannot be effectively protected without joint and coordinated measures on an international scale. Were a country to try to do this on its own it would be fighting windmills.

This seminar, said *K. I. Zarodov* in conclusion, was interesting and proceeded in a spirit of fraternal cooperation and humane concern for the environment. Some controversial issues were raised too, which was evidence of creative Marxist quest.

Three main aspects of the theme stand out against the background of a common Marxist-Leninist ideological and methodological approach.

In the capitalist world environmental protection is becoming an acute social problem whose solution is possible and is achieved to a degree through the anti-monopoly struggle of the working class and other working people and through democratic change. The mass movement to protect nature is a new social phenomenon aggravating the contradiction between labor and capital.

In the socialist world rational use of the environment and prevention of dangerous water, soil, air and biospheric pollution are based on combining the advantages of the socialist system with achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. The facts show the fundamental differences of approach between socialism and capitalism. The experience of the socialist countries, where much is done to protect and improve the environment on a comprehensive basis for the good of all, is of international significance. However, many important problems have yet to be dealt with and this will necessitate new organizational, technological and educational measures.

Internationally nature conservation requires cooperation between

the socialist countries as well as between them and other countries. It is inseparable from the effort to promote peace and peaceful coexistence, establish collective security and solve other pressing international problems in the interests of the peoples.

We know perfectly well that the proper relationship between man and his environment cannot be *definitively* guaranteed until socialism and communism triumph throughout the world.

As we see, the three aforementioned aspects are not merely the essential conclusions of our discussion; they are guidelines for further research, principally in the social, but also the technical, contexts.

The Stockholm conference on the environment is due to meet shortly. It has been said at this seminar that the conference could contribute to international cooperation if it were universal in character and based on the principle of equality. In taking a stand on the conference, the participants in this symposium unanimously condemned the discrimination exercised against certain socialist countries, in particular the GDR, a central European state.

I would like to call your attention to another two points.

In view of the nature of the problem of environment, the final solution hinges on planned worldwide regulation of the interaction between nature and man. While envisaging this long-term objective, Marxist-Leninists at the same time evolve a specific and realistic program for the present. They are far from reducing the conservation problem to 'propaganda,' as the ideologues and politicians of monopoly capital allege. Communists regard the effort to conserve man's natural surroundings as a most important *social problem* affecting the fortunes of mankind and requiring prompt solution on a national, regional and global scale. However, they reject attempts to ignore the fundamental difference between the socialist and capitalist approach.

It is imperative to extend and strengthen the alliance between the Communist and working-class movement and science. The problem has many aspects and must therefore be studied by the social and natural sciences alike, which should together offer recommendations for social practice. In the socialist countries, this unity expresses itself in growing environmental research and in its close connection with economic and social development plans. The authoritative opinion of scientists will play an increasing role in the worldwide effort for nature conservation. It is in this light that we should assess the significance of our meeting, which is attended by Marxist scientists working in different fields, government officials and political workers.



Congress that firmed up unity

Aarne Saarinen

I. The extraordinary public interest in the recent 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Finland is traceable to the Party's quite considerable influence and its important role in the country's political affairs. But there was also another reason: the serious difficulties in the Party of the past several years had reached a point where it hovered on the brink of a split. From 1966 to 1971 Communists participated in the Left and Center government; this caused a special situation and created additional problems in the Party.

Three years ago many of the delegates to the 15th Congress refused to take part in it before it even began, because there had been no advance understanding about the composition of the Party's leading bodies. In February 1970 an extraordinary congress was convened to restore and firm up unity: its resolutions helped consolidate the Party's ranks. The situation became less complicated when the sharp controversy over economic policy between our Party and the other members of the government coalition compelled us to go back to the opposition benches.

But neither the extraordinary congress nor the withdrawal from the government could remove all the internal contradictions. The differences that had surfaced in the mid-sixties were still alive. The danger of a split remained. Conferences were held by the leadership to prevent division and to achieve closer unity before the next congress. This resulted in a unanimously adopted resolution, 'On Cementing the Party's Unity and Extending Its Mass Basis,' which harmonized with, and projected the decisions of the extraordinary congress and contained recommendations as to the composition of the leading Party bodies. This paved the way for unanimous adoption of the documents of the 16th Congress, the results of which speak of full accord over the Party's general line and policy. That is the main achievement of the Congress; though not all difficulties have yet been eliminated, the preconditions for closer unity are clearly in evidence.

What caused the difficulties in the Party? There can be no conclusive answer, because due to prevailing differences the Party

was unable to produce an agreed assessment. The Central Committee report, which caused no friction at the Congress, describes the situation in but general terms. It notes, among other things, that the erosion of mutual confidence goes back to a relatively distant past. By the mid-sixties the mistrust had grown into an obvious crisis. The reason: political and ideological differences, which also surfaced in public discussions in the press. Some Party members adopted postures contrary to Marxism-Leninism, including Right revisionist and sectarian ones. The changes in the modern world and the international Communist movement, and developments on Finland's own political scene necessitated a reassessment of the situation in the CPF and of its strategy and tactics. There were grounds for alarm, the discussion showed, over the Party's future and its Marxist-Leninist essence: would the Party become isolated? Would its influence drop and Communists become less active? The anxiety caused discontent with the leadership, engendering the mistrust which gradually began to rack the Party. Though departures from Marxism-Leninism were registered in the discussion, they scarcely affected the collective decisions of our leading bodies. The differences of recent years concerned a few particular political issues. But mistrust, once it appears and deepens, will not vanish overnight. When the crisis erupted, part of the Party hastened to the defense of the former leadership, asking for but few changes, while the other part aspired to substantial ones. In the circumstances, the CPF could not in unison combat the departures from Marxism-Leninism, as the situation required. And no one in particular can be blamed for this, because the blame lies on practically all the former and present leadership.

If we want to cement our unity, we must first remove the reasons for the mistrust. This, the CC Congress report says, requires criticism and self-criticism: no Communist is guaranteed against mistakes, and criticism is the best way of remedying them.

To expand its activity and to cement unity the Party must be based on Marxism-Leninism. The sharpening confrontation of socialism and capitalism, the aims of the working class and the necessity for combating opportunist trends, the CC resolution 'On Cementing the Party's Unity' points out, makes ideological struggle central to CPF work. The Party's aim is to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of our country. Political struggle does not amount to mere solemn assurances, but to a concrete discussion and solution of problems.

Different opinions and postures came into evidence during the debate of the Central Committee report. Some delegates objected to the method of preparing the Congress, though, as we see it, there could be no other way due to the complicated situation. Some were one-sided and showed little or no desire to overcome the differences. The wish to accentuate the differences, the debate showed, still persists, though we have much more of what unites Communists than of what divides them.

The Party's most important task is to build up a broad common

front of workers and other progressive forces to contain and eliminate the domination of big capital. For this we need cooperation with those who follow the Social-Democrats, and also between the CPF and SDP. However, this does not rule out criticism of the SDP's hostile policy, of the Social-Democratic trade union leadership, and of reformism generally. But we must also acknowledge the positive changes in SDP policy. There had been somewhat one-sided postures on this score in the Party, precipitating disagreement. The mistakes were the same as those of the twenties and thirties, which were sharply criticized by the Seventh Comintern Congress.

II. The Congress coincided with a sharpening of the crisis in Finnish society. That industrial production has not grown since last year is a sign of economic depression. And just as in other capitalist countries, the difficulties are aggravated by a fierce inflation. Prices have gone up an average of nine per cent in 12 months. There were 40 per cent more unemployed in the beginning of 1972 than at the same time last year. In home politics, too, there is instability. The class contradictions are more acute, government crises more frequent and drawn out, and strikes more numerous. The different parties have changed their attitudes. But most symptomatic of all were the results of the pre-term parliamentary elections in January.

The Party Congress could not but set forth its view of the nation's most acute problems. Examining the results of the Left and Center coalition government of 1966-1971, we discussed the following points: why did the coalition fall apart? Is the same kind of government possible at present, and if so, what are the necessary preconditions? Will the growing differences between the Social-Democratic and Communist parties cause alienation between Communists and Social-Democrats in factories and the labor organizations? What should be the Communists' program in the economic and social fields?

The Congress answered these and other questions in the unanimously adopted resolutions and provided a single action program for all Communists. It produced a general estimate of the work of the Left and Center government which, though perhaps insufficiently conclusive, is generally quite acceptable. Among the coalition government's positive results the Central Committee report listed the initiatives firming up Finland's policy of peace—official support of the all-European security conference idea, the renewal for another 20 years of the Finnish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, and an expansion of economic ties, already partly effected. Also listed as positive was the growth of state-owned industry in the period under review, expansion of state-financed house-building, improvement of the social security scheme, a substantive modification of the labor agreements law, and the launching of an educational reform.

The Communist Party was highly active in the workers' battle

for better living conditions and broader rights. The gains were considerable: a 40-hour work week was enforced across the country in the mid-sixties; persons working their first year are now entitled to a four-week paid vacation; vacation payments have been raised 10-20 per cent. The law on collective agreements now requires industrialists unaffiliated with employers' unions to pay the same wages and provide the same benefits as the affiliated, who are a party to collective agreements. In the matter of dismissals wage-earners have won certain guarantees against abuse, and the rights of stewards elected by workers are now better protected. Legislation assures workers the right to association and assembly inside or in the immediate proximity of their enterprise (in the latter case the employer is obliged to provide the premises). Social legislation has been modified: social insurance covering unemployment and sickness has been expanded and improved; government outlays for house-building have gone up from 150 million marks in 1966 to 730 million in 1972; the state's material assistance to students has been increased, and the schools are going over to universal nine-year education.

The workers are better organized, and the trade union movement more united. At the end of last year the Central Association of Trade Unions had 720,000 members, against 248,000 in 1965. The growth is traceable to the CPF-SDP agreement reached in the autumn of 1967 and their joint call for trade union unity. The SDP ceased the divisive activity it had pursued since the end of the fifties, and here, too, much of the credit doubtless goes to the patient efforts of the Communists.

These various positive changes were made possible by our Party's participation in the government in 1966-1971. And we do not intend to rest on our oars. The condition of the workers and the under-privileged sections is still a difficult one. The people are uncertain about their future. Though the pension scheme has seen improvements, it is still unsatisfactory in many respects. Our aim is to have it radically improved, and the minimum pensions substantially raised.

III. The coalition government would not direct its economic policy against big capital. Our partners rejected the socio-economic reforms which we considered necessary. Far from the thought of containing the monopolies, the SDP and Center Party leaders went out of their way to protect the power of big capital, presenting a serious obstacle to the country's development in 1966-1971. This was also the main reason why the Left forces and the Center terminated their collaboration in the government in March 1971. When the Communists withdrew, the Social-Democrats and Centrists embarked still more candidly on an economic policy favorable for the big capitalists.

These were the main conclusions of the Congress. A critical examination was also made of the Party's own activity in the government. The embroilments in our ranks were an impediment, and so

was the fact that in a certain sense the Party's political course was identified in the public mind with that of the other coalition partners. As a result, part of the blame for government decisions contrary to the interests of the working people, but passed by majority vote, was shifted on the CPF, though everybody knew that the Communists and People's Democrats had rejected them. The Congress also sharply criticized the present Social-Democratic government on the grounds that during the negotiations which preceded its formation following the elections, the SDP and Center Party deputies abandoned the economic policy consonant with the needs of the people and advocated by the CPF.

The Congress did not confine itself to merely examining the old and criticizing the present policy. It called for a revision of the country's home and foreign policies in conformance with the requirements of the masses, and for a return to cooperation by the Left and Center at government level. The program of a coalition government should lay the ground for a higher living standard, activate Finland's policy of peace and consolidate her international positions. A strong mass movement is the prime condition for a progressive government policy.

The breakdown of the Left and Center government coalition, the serious shortcomings in the trade union movement, and the gains made by the Right, prompted the Congress to discuss the problems of the working class and the workers' parties in a broad context. This held priority in the CC report, the debate and the resolutions. To chart the right course, the CC report also analyzed developments in the Social-Democratic Party in recent decades, noting positive changes in its foreign policy since the mid-sixties and its somewhat changed attitude towards the CPF. But the CC also noted the fact that the SDP had not moved an inch from its policy of class collaboration with big capital. Its attitude towards the workers' class struggle and the recent strikes was incoherent or frankly inimical. These aspects of SDP policy were severely criticized, with the Congress stressing that reformist ideology should be firmly combated. It pointed out, however, that united action was imperative to achieve the workers' immediate and long-term aims. It would be a great achievement, the CC report said, if the workers' parties and trade union leaders should succeed in working out a joint action program. This would doubtless encourage the working people, giving the masses fresh hope of attaining the great ideals of the working-class movement. The Communists addressed an appeal to the SDP Congress and the extraordinary convention of the Social-Democratic League of Workers and Small Farmers for united action to promote the basic working-class demands.

IV. The Congress discussed the forthcoming presidential election, due in January 1974. The event will be a big one, for the president is vested with extensive powers in matters of home and foreign policy. What the country needs, the Congress stressed, is a presi-

dent who will follow a consistently peaceful foreign policy and promote friendly relations with the Soviet Union. He should also promote a democratic home policy and an economic policy ministering more effectively than now to the interests of the working people. Noting the good services of the present president in foreign policy and in building up relations between Finland and the USSR, the Congress said that the CPF is prepared to give serious consideration to his re-election for the next term. However, this depends on whether the parties succeed in reaching an accord and agreeing on campaign tactics.

Those are some of the aspects of the political line charted by the Finnish Communists. The Congress devoted special attention to Finnish-Soviet relations. Our Party plays a conspicuous role in developing them. Many of the major joint economic projects now in progress or in preparation were proposed during negotiations between representatives of the CPF and CPSU. The Congress came out strongly against the Right forces, whose activity impedes, even jeopardizes, these relations, and called on all democratic forces to act in common and frustrate the reactionary designs.

The Congress reiterated the Party's strong objections to associating Finland with the EEC or any other West European economic or political alignment. It demanded broader cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

A broad political program was adopted, setting out the Party's aims in industrial development, agricultural and social policy and culture. Its draft was discussed for more than six months in Party branches and was substantially improved on the basis of their recommendations. It will certainly influence the impending struggle of the Communists and workers in many ways.

The Congress gave evidence of our close ties with the world Communist movement and all revolutionary forces. The greetings conveyed by delegations of fraternal parties were received with deep satisfaction. The Congress resolutions reaffirmed the Party's traditional policy of proletarian internationalism and denounced the divisive activity of the Chinese Communist Party leadership in the world Communist movement.

The Congress praised the historic experience of the CPSU accumulated in the struggle for socialism and of fundamental significance for all fraternal parties, rendering great ideological and political aid to all those fighting for the greater unity and cohesion of Communist ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The 16th Congress ushered in a new stage in the development of the CPF. By defining the Party's political aims and general line it has creditably performed its basic mission, and its resolutions will help cement its ranks and unite all forces in the joint struggle. To be sure, the full impact of the Congress in this respect will only be felt in the period ahead.

The difficult years have shown that the Party's links with the

people are strong and that large sections of the nation regard it as their political leader. Hundreds of thousands of people see the Party as the force that battles consistently and perseveringly for the interests of the workers and the small farmers and proprietors, pensioners and the unemployed. The Party's political line also finds broader approval than ever among the youth. The masses rightly associate with the Communists the successful growth of Finnish-Soviet friendship, Finland's active policy of peace and the unwavering struggle for the nation's vital interests.

The success of the Party and the people's democratic movement in the January election is proof of its influence and prestige. Thirty-seven Democratic Alliance of the People of Finland candidates, including 33 Communists, were elected to the Diet, making the DAPF parliamentary group the second largest. The Party has thus firmed up its positions.

In adopting their resolutions, the delegates to the 16th Congress acted on their sense of responsibility to the country's working class. Conscious of this responsibility and leaning on Marxist-Leninist theory, the Party will achieve still greater success in the impending battles.

Anti-monopoly democracy and road to socialism

*Willi Gerns and
Robert Steigerwald*

One of the main political problems of the Communist parties in the developed capitalist countries is to combine the fight for anti-monopoly democracy with the fight for socialism. This problem is also central to the Theses adopted by the Duesseldorf Congress of the German Communist Party (November 1971).

The GCP, a Marxist party of the working class, regards socialism as its ultimate goal, to which all Party activity is subordinated. That socialism is necessary is not a Communist whim of fancy. The fundamental requirements of social development now make it more urgent than ever.

The GCP Theses clearly formulate the main conditions for winning socialism. They enable the Party to dissociate from both its outspoken falsifiers and the advocates of vague concepts of socialist society. Many Young Socialists,* who uphold the slogan of 'democratic socialism,' strive undoubtedly for far-reaching social changes even though their views do not coincide with those of Marxist-

*Members of the youth organization of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. - Ed.

Leninists. But Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders use this slogan primarily to slander real socialism by describing it as 'undemocratic' and to camouflage their defense of the capitalist system.

The Program Statement approved at Essen (1969) and the Dueseldorf Theses list three main conditions for establishing a socialist system: the winning of political power by the working class in alliance with other working people, making all important means of production public property, and introducing social planning for the benefit of the people.

These requisites of the transition to socialism follow from the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Only those who strive to bring them about may be called genuine revolutionaries. In stating its socialist objectives, the GCP proceeds from the need to fight in West German conditions for demands of the transitional stage paving the way for socialism.

In 'The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It,' written between the February bourgeois democratic revolution and the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin pointed out that a state of revolutionary democracy could be a step forward from state-monopoly capitalism to socialism. He stressed that in that case the rule of big capital could be fully undermined through a series of measures, with the working class gaining decisive influence in state and society even at that stage. This, Lenin wrote, defining the class essence of revolutionary democracy, 'will still not be socialism, but will *no longer* be capitalism. It will be a tremendous step towards socialism. . . .' (Coll. Works, Vol. 25, p. 360).

The Communist International, too, in working out the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement under Lenin's leadership, proceeded from the assumption that the struggle of the working class for political power might have to go through various stages depending on the situation. The Fourth Comintern Congress (1922), which formulated the United Front tactics, declared: 'The present period of rule by open bourgeois reaction is separated by various stages from the period of the revolutionary proletariat's complete victory over the bourgeoisie. . . .'

The Congress advanced the slogan of a 'labor government' as a step preceding working-class rule. This government would have been expected to take political, economic and financial measures restricting the capitalists' right to use at will the means of production and the profits in their possession, and hew a path to the further struggle for socialism. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern, carrying forward this idea, called on the Communist parties to fight for a popular front government as an eventual form of transition to working-class power.

The likely stages of the advance to socialism are no longer a matter of theory alone. A number of socialist countries have passed in practice through a stage known as the people's democratic state or, in the case of the GDR, the anti-fascist democratic state.

In the present contest between the two world social systems the working class can in alliance with other democratic forces win a

system of anti-monopoly democracy strong enough to break the resistance of home and foreign reaction and pave the way for socialism. The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out that there are favorable prerequisites for uniting all democratic currents in a political alliance 'capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned, of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favorable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism.'

This thesis is reflected in one form or another in the policy documents of the Communist parties of practically all developed capitalist countries. 'The issue of the specific path of advance to socialism,' the GCP Theses note, 'will be settled through the class struggle. . . . In the present context of the class struggle, the GCP maintains that the struggle of the working class and other democratic forces to renovate the state and society on democratic principles and win anti-monopoly democracy can do much to pave the way for socialism.'

What are the factors warranting the conclusion that in advancing to socialism in the FRG, it is necessary to fight for anti-monopoly democracy? We shall try to answer this question.

1. Marx, Engels and Lenin pointed out on numerous occasions that success in the fight for socialism hinges on both objective and subjective prerequisites. Objectively, the FRG—a state characterized by developed productive forces and a high degree of production concentration, which makes direct government interference in economic activity imperative—is not only ripe but overripe for socialism.

However, the Theses stress: 'The advance to socialism cannot take place automatically. Socialism cannot be imported nor brought about through a coup or conspiracy. It can only be the result of struggle by the working class and the masses.' A legitimate question arises, therefore, about the subjective factor, that is, the degree of the political consciousness and preparedness of the social force which can overthrow capitalism and build a socialist society.

Marx and Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* that the working class is the gravedigger of capitalism and the builder of classless communist society. The GCP is guided by that. 'By virtue of its class position,' we read in the Theses, 'the working class is the decisive factor in the fight for social progress. . . . The working class is not only the largest class but the only one whose numerical strength grows as production expands. The proportion of wage and salary earners among the gainfully employed population of the FRG has increased from approximately 70 per cent in 1950 to more than 80 per cent. The working class is the paramount productive force of society and the main object of monopoly capitalist exploitation. . . . The concentration of workers in large enterprises, their organization and their revolutionary party, which is equipped with the scientific theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, provide the

most important objective conditions for the working class radically improving its condition and freeing itself, once and for all, from capitalist exploitation.'

How high is the political consciousness of the West German working class today? How far does it realize its condition and its historic mission? We must not forget what Engels said about the prerequisites of effective struggle for socialism. 'Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization,' he wrote, 'the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for, body and soul' (Introduction to Marx's 'The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850').

The Communists are aware that many wage and salary earners in the FRG are still influenced by Social-Democratic ideas and follow the policy of the SDP leadership. Whether we like it or not, these people believe that, speaking generally, capitalism guarantees full employment and an adequate standard of life, democracy is the rule in the country and there is no need for radical change.

To be sure, they too would like the system to be more equitable. The economic crisis of 1967 and recurrent monetary breakdowns made the workers feel uncertain about the future. During the September strikes of 1969-1971, some workers gained what may be described as an embryonic class consciousness. The Party must bear this in mind. However, taking sober stock of the situation today, it sees that even the most advanced workers often lack proper political, let alone socialist, consciousness.

In these circumstances there is only one way of carrying on a revolutionary, socialist policy if we want to be realistic, discarding all illusions. We must work out a strategy that will help to bring the necessity for socialism home to the majority of the working class and other working people through their own experience. But while experience brings awareness of the urgency of the struggle to push back and eventually end the power of monopoly capital, it does not immediately bring realization of the need to abolish capitalism altogether.

Here is an example. The workers gain elementary experience of struggle as they fight for a wage increase. Their consciousness, though infected by the ideas of 'social partnership,' registers the selfishness of the employers, who refuse to put up wages in spite of high profits, hire scabs and call in police to protect them, and do not hesitate to sack their 'esteemed social partners.' The workers also begin to see the true role of various parties, the 'free press,' which daily backs the employers, the 'democratic' state, which is supposed to be above classes but actually intervenes in class conflicts on the side of capital, using the machinery of coercion and imposing 'wage guidelines' on the trade unions.

The growth of the workers' experience does not end with the winning of higher pay. First of all, they see that a considerable part of the increase is invariably nullified by growing prices and taxes. Communists must help them to learn this lesson. It follows

that this fight is not enough and that it is also necessary to win union demands, such as the demand to know how much profit the company is making. This would give fresh impetus to the struggle for higher wages, against soaring prices.

To curb price increases, it is essential to secure for the working people the right to co-management. This does not mean calling for 'social partnership' but for control over all economic decision-making on investments, profit distribution, price policy, and so on. Co-management will undoubtedly enable the workers to influence the sphere of profits.

The masses are coming to realize that prices are dictated by the big corporations. This makes it easier to persuade them of the legitimacy of the anti-monopoly demand that the key industries and big corporations be made public property under the democratic control of the workers and their organizations. Realization of the role of the state as an advocate of higher prices, a patron of big capital and a tax collector who robs them of a substantial part of their wage increase prompts the working people to seek deep-going political changes.

Anti-monopoly consciousness is fostered by the protest movement against higher fares, tenants' action, demonstrations against environmental pollution by industrial corporations, action for a progressive educational system, and so on.

The fight is spearheaded against the big monopoly companies which control whole industries and have seized huge markets. They are the chief enemy. The task at this stage is, therefore, to curb and defeat monopoly power and bring about anti-monopoly democracy, the key connecting link between the present state of affairs and our socialist objectives. It can be accomplished provided the Party steps up its ideological work among the masses – a necessity stressed at Duesseldorf.

2. The Theses point out that state-monopoly capitalism is a merger of monopoly and state power. Only a mighty counteracting force can defeat this concentration of power. Its strength will depend on how far we succeed in uniting in a broad alliance led by the working class all social groups and sections whose interests clash, if only on partial issues, with those of state-monopoly capitalism.

Such an anti-monopoly alliance is necessary and objectively possible today, both economically and politically. Economically, because state-monopoly capitalism not only exploits the workers but also plunders the peasants, handicraftsmen and most of the intellectuals. By redistributing the national income through the budget, it appropriates, in favor of the corporations, even part of the profit of the small and medium capitalists. Politically, there is a basis for the alliance, for the working class is not the only one to be endangered by the arms drive and militarization. Nor does the continuing curtailment of democratic rights and freedoms affect the wage and salary earners alone. With monopoly and state, financial oligarchy and government bureaucracy interlocking ever more

closely, even small and medium capitalists are virtually barred from power. The monopoly-capitalist state has become an instrument used by a narrow group of financial oligarchs against the rest of the population.

While emphasizing the need and objective possibility of forming a broad anti-monopoly alliance, we in no way overlook difficulties. These arise, first of all, from the vacillation of petty-bourgeois sections and the antagonism between the interests of the small and medium capitalists and those of both monopoly capital and the working class. This antagonism becomes particularly marked when workers demand a pay rise, for even the smallest capitalists then side with monopoly. Nevertheless, the working class should try to win over the vacillating. Whenever possible, the small and medium capitalists should be drawn into political alliances, if only limited ones as to scope and time, to fight against monopoly capital and its state.

A policy of alliances is necessary, first of all, because we must bring other contingents of the working people or non-monopolistic bourgeois strata into the common struggle. But this policy is also very important if the majority of the working class itself is to be won. Indeed, many workers still live in a petty-bourgeois environment. They are linked with the countryside and small commodity production in one way or another and are influenced by bourgeois ideology. A correct policy of alliances will show these people that the monopolies, not the small proprietors, are to be expropriated. It will foster the anti-monopoly consciousness of the working class, help to bring about unity of action of the workers and strengthen their positions.

The GCP maintains that the fight for anti-monopoly democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable due, first of all, to the class character of the anti-monopoly democracy and to the alignment of political and economic relations it brings about. 'A prerequisite of anti-monopoly democracy,' the Theses say, 'is radically to change the alignment of political forces and establish a state power led by the working class and exercised in common with all anti-monopoly forces. The economic power of monopoly capital will be broken by transferring the key industrial and commercial enterprises, the banks and large insurance companies, press and cultural monopolies to public ownership under the democratic control of the working class and other anti-monopoly forces and organizations.'

This will mean removing the main obstacle to socialism and destroying the foundations of contemporary state-monopoly capitalism. We therefore share the opinion that in view of the tremendous role of the monopolies under imperialism, their expropriation will virtually end capitalism as a social formation. Paraphrasing Lenin, we may say that anti-monopoly democracy is still not socialism but neither is it imperialism any longer. It is a tremendous step towards socialism.

Anti-monopoly democracy must under no circumstances be regarded as a stage in the development of capitalism (state power

led by the working class and exercised in common with other anti-monopoly forces, with monopoly property made state property, can hardly be described as capitalist). It would be just as wrong to identify anti-monopoly democracy with socialism. There are important distinctions between them, political and economic. The fundamental difference is in the degree of political maturity of the working class and in the breadth of the alliance wielding power. Under socialism it is indispensable to the political power of the working class that at least the proletarian core adhere to a socialist position, whereas at the early stage of anti-monopoly democracy it is enough for a considerable proportion of workers to be against monopoly.

Defining the nature of the political power of the working class victory, Lenin wrote that it is 'a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata, an alliance against capital, an alliance whose aim is the complete overthrow of capital, complete suppression of the resistance offered by the bourgeoisie as well as of attempts at restoration on its part, an alliance for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism.' (Vol. 29, p. 380.)

As for anti-monopoly democracy, it is state power exercised by a broader alliance under the leadership of the working class. After this alliance has been set up, small and medium capitalist property, as well as private ownership of the means of production by small commodity producers in town and country, will persist during a certain period of transition alongside public property. As the alliance will include non-working strata or part of them, it will not be free from contradictions nor frictions and will lack the inherent stability characterizing the alliance of the working class with other working people under socialism.

The anti-monopoly alliance must be oriented on establishing the political power of the working class. This necessitates raising the political consciousness and militancy of the proletariat, strengthening the positions of its revolutionary party, rallying other working strata behind the proletariat and organizing the small proprietors of town and country in cooperatives. On the other hand, state participation in small and medium capitalist enterprises will give their owners the prospect of a more meaningful share in the country's economic life. Already at this stage, the leading role of the working class will provide the conditions for the further advance to socialism. Of course, it will be necessary to use force against those who attempt counter-revolutionary action against the state of anti-monopoly democracy.

Attacking GCP policy of promoting anti-monopoly democracy as a component of our fight for socialism, ultra-Leftist critics often mispresent it, as the following examples show.

It is often alleged that the GCP regards anti-monopoly democracy as historically inevitable. Actually, the Theses say in no

uncertain terms that the path of advance to socialism in the FRG will be determined by the class struggle. Proceeding from the present situation, we consider that anti-monopoly democracy will create the most favorable opportunities of advancing to socialism. However, the conditions of class struggle are not immutable. They change, and anti-monopoly democracy is one of the likely forms of advancing to socialism although it is not an inevitable, objective law. However, even now, it is imperative to spearhead the struggle against monopoly capital, strive to end its domination and refashion the state along democratic lines. It follows that the GCP distinguishes between the necessity for anti-monopoly struggle and the possibility of winning anti-monopoly democracy in advancing to socialism.

On the other hand, ultra-Leftist critics try quite often to use against our policy what Georgi Dimitrov said at the Seventh Congress to the Comintern. Dimitrov, joining issue with Right-opportunist views, took a stand against attempts to 'establish a special "*democratic intermediate stage*" between the dictatorship of the bourgeois and the dictatorship of the proletariat,' against illusions about a 'peaceful parliamentary stroll from one dictatorship into another.' Recalling Lenin's approach to the matter, Dimitrov said that 'Lenin spoke of the form of transition and approach to the "*proletarian revolution*", that is, to the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship, and not of a transitional form *between* bourgeois and proletarian dictatorships.'

To use this idea against us, ultra-Leftists snatch it out of its context. Yet what we have just quoted from Dimitrov is preceded by the following words: 'Lenin called on us fifteen years ago fully to concentrate on the "search for forms of *transition or approach* to the proletarian revolution". A *united front government* may prove in a number of countries to be one of the most important transitional forms. "Left"-wing doctrinaires have always disregarded this recommendation of Lenin's and, being narrow minded propagandists, spoken of only the "goal", never giving any thought to the "forms of transition".'

Our concept of anti-monopoly democracy is entirely in keeping with Lenin's insistence on searching for forms of transition and approach to the struggle for socialism. Dimitrov's polemic against 'Left'-wing doctrinaires – who, mechanically re-wording Bernstein's well known formula, speak of only the goal and are unconcerned about the forms of transition – demolishes the arguments of today's ultra-Leftists.

GCP policy differs in every way from the Right opportunists' attitude. We do not delude ourselves into believing we can 'stroll over' to socialism. After all, it would be pure utopia to imagine that the monopolies, which still have political and economic power and control the courts, police and army, will refuse to use these instruments in the most brutal way to maintain their power. This is why we refuse to regard even the stage of struggle for anti-monopoly democracy as an idyll. It will be a period of bitter class

strife. And it will depend primarily on the strength of the working class and on the unity and cohesion of the anti-monopoly movement whether reaction will be able to resort to force. The following conclusion, contained in our Program Statement and reaffirmed in the Theses, applies to this stage of the struggle. 'The GCP,' it says, 'wants to find for the working people of the FRG the most favorable path to socialism, a path without civil war. It is the ruling reactionary classes that have always used brute force against the people to maintain their power and privileges. Only in stubborn class and popular struggle against the inevitable resistance of groups of big capital can the people's socialist and anti-monopoly movement gather sufficient strength to head off the use of force by reaction.'

To be sure, the class struggle on the road to socialism will not cease even after the state of anti-monopoly democracy has been established and monopoly property made public property.

We are not trying to construct an artificial democratic intermediate stage unconnected with the fight for socialism. To quote the Theses again: 'The GCP holds that anti-monopoly and socialist changes are interlinked stages of the single revolutionary process of transition from capitalism to socialism.'

This is why the fight for anti-monopoly democracy is a component of the fight for socialism.

Indonesian communists continue struggle

Tomas Sinuraja

I. The Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) was founded May 23, 1920, at a time when, under the influence of the October Revolution, the workers' movement was at high tide and Marxism-Leninism was gaining ground in Indonesia. Our Party's history is inseparable from the life and struggles of our people and from the international Communist movement.

From the very outset the Party has been in the forefront of the fight for the working people's interests. Though young in years and experience, under the direction of its founders, Ali Archam, Sardjono and Munawar Musso, it was able to lead the 1926-27 popular rising against Dutch colonial rule. The rising was brutally suppressed and followed by wholesale persecution of Communists and all patriots. But the flame it kindled was never extinguished, continuing to illumine the path to liberation. When the Indonesian Nationalist Party was inaugurated in 1927, its founder, Sukarno,

described it as the 'continuer of the revolutionary struggle begun by the PKI.' This and the famous 1928 Youth Pledge, with its clear call for unity of all the revolutionary anti-colonial forces, were evidence of the Party's substantial influence on Indonesian politics and the impact of the popular rising it had led.

In later years the Party was driven into clandestinity, with all the attendant difficulties and dangers caused by unmitigated police terror. But the fight continued, highlighted in February 1933 by the mutiny on the Dutch cruiser '*De Zeven Provinciën*.' Involving both Indonesian and Dutch sailors, it was a vivid demonstration of proletarian internationalism and of the indestructible resolve to fight through to freedom. That fight took on a new dimension in 1942-44, the years of Japanese occupation. The Communists joined with other patriots in resisting the invader by organizing sabotage in industry and on the railways, inspiring and leading peasant revolts (in Singaparna, Indramaju and Tanah Karo), actions by servicemen (in Blitar), intellectuals, students and secondary-school pupils.

Indonesia proclaimed its independence on August 17, 1945, following the expulsion of the Japanese. The task now was to safeguard the gains of the August revolution and carry to completion its democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist stage. This called for mobilization of all our forces against the bourgeois-compradore element entrenched in the government apparatus and the reactionary forces and Dutch imperialism which, assisted by the U.S., were making a desperate bid to bring the country under their undivided control. The fight was a difficult one and its casualties included Munawar Musso, Amir Sjarifuddin and other Party leaders. They were victims of the terror unleashed by the Hatta government during the Madiun events.*

The Party's militant championship of independence won it wide influence. Its Fifth National Congress (March 1954) adopted a program setting out the tasks of the Indonesian revolution and defining its character and motive force. It emerged from the 1955 general elections as one of the four biggest. Its growing influence was a factor in strengthening the progressive forces and limiting reaction's operational sphere. The conditions were thus created for the formation of an anti-imperialist national government under Sukarno, a bourgeois democrat.

The Sixth Party Congress (September 1959) called for unimpaired national independence and continued democratization. It emphasized the need for 'unremitting struggle against the two dangerous trends, capitulationism and adventurism, both the product of petty-bourgeois vacillation.' The Congress urged more vigorous effort inside the National Front to bring together all the fighters for peace and against colonialism.

Subsequent events, however, were to show that the Party leaders had been carried away by these successes, had lost their revolutionary vigilance and were steadily retreating from the policies

*Anti-government action of progressive-minded servicemen provoked by reactionaries in September 1948 at Solo and Madiun to undermine the Communist-led Popular Democratic Front.

agreed on at the Fifth and Sixth Congresses, from Marxism-Leninism to opportunism. Advocates of petty-bourgeois ideology were becoming stronger and the Seventh Extraordinary Party Congress (April 1962) incorporated in the Party Rules the Pantja Sila and Manipol principles* which, in fact, were proclaimed the Party's second program.

The decisions of the Second Central Committee Plenum (1963) plainly showed that the Party leaders was increasingly succumbing to Maoism, was dissociating itself from the international Communist movement and was inclined to absolutize the armed struggle. The result was to strengthen the drift to adventurism.

This was noted in the 1966 Party document, 'For a Correct Path of the Indonesian Revolution.' It read in part: 'Influenced by subjectivist views and maintaining that armed struggle was the only path of the revolution, the Party leadership was oblivious to all other forms and methods of struggle. This "Left-revisionist" platform was, in a way, the theoretical prelude to the gamble that became known as the "September 30 Movement".' There is ample evidence that part of the PKI leadership was involved in the abortive counter-coup of a group of progressive-minded junior officers in an attempt to prevent a reactionary coup by the 'generals' councils.' 'Nonetheless,' the document said, 'progressive forces not only in Indonesia, but in all other countries, had strong doubts about the value for the revolution of the "September 30 Movement." For it was conceived merely as a counter-coup, with no active support from the Party and the working people. Yet the elementary rule of revolution for all Communists is that victory cannot be attained if the movement lacks mass support.'

The counter-coup of September 30, 1965, it will be recalled, was suppressed by the reactionary forces led by Generals Suharto and Nasution. Supported by U.S. imperialism, they unleashed a campaign of brutal terror in which many PKI leaders, hundreds of thousands of Party members, supporters, devoted patriots and their families were killed or banished to concentration camps where they were subjected to the most horrible torture.

The 1966 document notes that the 'PKI and other mass revolutionary organizations were virtually paralyzed. The revolution was hurled back, counter-revolution was triumphant. The defeat of the counter-coup was a terrible blow to Indonesia's national revolution and to the international anti-imperialist front.'

The losses suffered by the revolutionary vanguard greatly weakened the progressive forces. By March 11, 1966, General Suharto was able to consummate his reactionary coup. President Sukarno was virtually removed from power and the country placed under a military dictatorship. Anti-Communism became official ideology and policy, thinly masked by the 'new order' slogan.

The 1969 Party document, 'Urgent Tasks of the Communist

*Pantja Sila - the five principles enunciated by Sukarno in 1945: nationalism, internationalism, democracy, welfare and faith in God. Manipol - a political manifesto issued by Sukarno in 1959, a mixture of petty-bourgeois, socialist and nationalist views.

Movement in Indonesia,' emphasized: 'The armed forces, and primarily the ground army, are the main support of the present regime. It leans for political support on the big bourgeoisie, the capitalist-bureaucratic element, the venal military, civilian and party bureaucracy, profiteers and embezzlers, landlords employing feudal and semi-feudal methods of exploitation, the compradores and other elements economically dependent on foreign capital. They were the motive force of the 1965-66 reactionary coup.'

II. What is the position today? The Suharto regime promised a 'policy of economic upbuilding.' Its much publicized five-year economic development plan begun in 1969 was drawn up by Right-wing economists, men like Sumitro Djojohadikusumo* in cooperation with Mohammed Sadli and other members of the Berkeley Mafia.** To all practical purposes, it makes the country dependent on 'aid' from the U.S. and other imperialist powers and on foreign investments. By 1971 ('aid' began in 1967), credits and loans amounted to \$2.26 billion, one-third coming from the U.S., another from Japan and the remaining third from other capitalist countries. The 'aid' does not benefit the people, only the regime, helping to strengthen it, and with some of the money lining the pockets of its leaders. True, the government has achieved a measure of economic stability – it has stopped the price rise on some consumer goods, for instance. However, this should be seen as the short-term effect of emergency legislation, not as the result of better economic performance.

The foreign investment law provides favorable conditions for an inflow of private monopoly capital. By mid-1971 foreign investments totalled \$1.6 billion, with the biggest sums coming from the U.S. and Japan. A third of the total (\$540.6 million) is in mining and a substantial sum also in timber and timber products. In both cases most of the output is exported – Indonesia is being drained of her natural wealth. Foreign investments have another result, too – wholesale bankruptcy of national enterprises which cannot stand up to the competition of the big monopolies and local Chinese business interests.

In fine, the Indonesian economy is being converted into an appendage of the U.S. and other imperialist economies. Their economic and financial crises immediately, and painfully, affect Indonesia. For instance, a week after the U.S. imposed its import surcharge, Indonesia was compelled to devalue its currency from 378 rupiahs to the dollar to 415. This, in turn, sent prices on imports and local goods soaring and increased budgetary expenditure by three, even four billion rupiahs.

Devaluation, the government announced, was merely meant to 'readjust' the rupiah to boost exports. Actually, however, with the sole exception of oil, exports have been declining. That much is

*Member of the Right-Wing Socialist Party (PSI) banned by Sukarno, participated in the 1957 reactionary rising in Sumatra and Sulawesi; now Minister of Commerce.

**The name given to graduates of Berkeley University (USA) or to those who studied under its instructors in Indonesia. The Indonesian school was organized by the CIA on money supplied by the Ford Foundation to train 'Indonesian government leaders.'

admitted by Commerce Minister Djojohadikusumo: 'In the second quarter of 1971, our foreign trade was influenced by numerous adverse factors.' The foreign debt is mounting, too. In short, despite all the assurances of the 'new order' economists, President Nixon's financial measures have had a markedly negative effect on Indonesia's economy. The *Merdeka* newspaper commented: 'We must give up the illusion that we have been able to survive only thanks to U.S. generosity.'

Foreign capital is used chiefly to build tourist facilities, office buildings and military installations. Very little is being done by way of giving the country more schools, hospitals and homes. Commenting on this, the Minister of Public Works and Power, Sutami, remarked: 'It is said that we are building much. Actually we are building very little, too little, in fact, to keep up with the growth of the population and its growing requirements.' Hence, unemployment continues to grow. The number of fully or partially unemployed is estimated at 19 million, and some Djakarta papers give a higher figure, 25-30 million, out of an active population of 48 million.

The regime denies the workers the right to strike. Democratic trade unions including SOBSI, the progressive trade union federation founded in 1946, have been dissolved and their leaders and activists arrested or harassed by the police. The worker does not earn enough to keep his family above the borderline of starvation and, what is more, is deprived of all legal opportunity to fight for better conditions.

The lot of the peasants is no better. With the Communist Party driven underground, the feudals and rich farmers launched a massive terror campaign. And they are supported by the present regime, which has categorically refused to operate the agrarian reform and crop-sharing laws. In fact, it is helping landowners and rich farmers get back the land allotted to landless and land-hungry peasants and is encouraging intensified exploitation and landlord tyranny. Progressive peasant organizations and primarily BTI, the Peasant Front organized in 1945, are subject to constant harassment, and what remains of rural self-government is being abolished. Appalling poverty is forcing the peasants to quit the land and seek jobs in the city, adding to the army of unemployed.

Economic dislocation is cutting into the living standards of intellectuals, students, etc. Out of the 57 million in the 5-24 age group, only 17 million (slightly more than 30 per cent) are able to attend school. The reasons are many—high tuition fees, lack of school facilities, not enough teachers, etc. School leavers and college graduates have a very hard time finding work. Dutch sociologist Van Hoff estimates that 70 per cent of secondary school leavers never manage to find a job. In this way the jobless army is augmented by intellectuals too.

III. The Suharto regime maintains that Pantja Sila is still the state ideology. But only one of its principles, faith in God, is being

popularized, and interpreted as unquestioned adherence to Islam. Suharto is fond of repeating that his regime is based on the 1945 Constitution. But that Constitution has been robbed of its anti-imperialist and democratic content: strikes are forbidden, so are demonstrations, propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, and all the revolutionary mass organizations, with the Communist Party, of course, heading the list.

This type of 'democracy' enables the military clique to interfere in the affairs of all political parties and public organizations. Army officers attend party conferences and congresses to weed out recalcitrants and guarantee that the men 'elected' to their executives faithfully follow the Suharto line.

In the July 1971 'general elections' the government made a special effort to activize the United Secretariat of Functional Groups (better known by its abbreviated name Sekber Golkar). Made up of representatives of professional and public organizations and directed by army officers, it acts as a government party. Measures were taken to undermine and split other political parties and organizations and remove leaders known for their opposition to Suharto. Their place was taken by Suharto's supporters. Bribery and threats were used to bring prominent individuals, in some cases whole organizations, into Golkar. A combination of all these methods gave the regime a clear victory in the bogus general elections.

Some political and public leaders, and some periodicals, had the temerity to criticize these proceedings, but they were stopped by threats, arrests and police terror. These anti-democratic measures were 'legalized' by the Minister of the Interior in an ordinance on 'election campaign procedures,' restricting the already restricted activity of political parties. The election campaign was also used to step up repression against all suspected PKI members. The purpose was to bully the opposition into compliance by holding up the 'communist danger' and sidetrack the people's attention from vital issues.

Our Party decided to boycott the elections. Nor did the working people show any desire to be part of the election farce. But they were made to vote, often driven to the polling stations at bayonet point. This was evidence enough of the regime's 'popularity.'

As was only to be expected, Golkar polled a majority, 34.3 million votes, which gave it 236 seats in parliament. In addition the President appointed 100 MPs representing the armed forces, giving the military 336 out of the 460 parliamentary seats. The Moslem Nahdatul Ulama Party (NU, founded in 1952) polled 10.2 million votes and obtained 58 seats, about the same as in the previous, 1955 elections. The Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI)* obtained 3.8 million votes and 20 seats, compared to 8.4 million and 57 seats in 1955. The remaining 46 seats went to other parties. This 'victory' strengthened Suharto's position, but the public, and many prominent political leaders, denounced it as the result of foul play. For

*A bourgeois democratic party founded in 1946 and claiming to be the continuer of Sukarno's Nationalist Party.

instance, the nationalist *Suluh Marhaen* newspaper (July 14, 1971) bluntly described the election as rigged. In Nusatenggara Barat province, it said, 66,177 votes cast for PNI candidates did not figure in the final count; in Bali, 88,212 votes were declared invalid, etc.

The elections fully confirmed the PKI contention that 'under a reactionary military regime elections cannot be free and democratic, though they do provide an opportunity, albeit limited, to express condemnation of the regime.'

After the elections Suharto called for 'streamlining' (actually liquidating) the party system. The parties were told to 'join together' in larger parliamentary groups. Accordingly, the Moslem parties formed the 'Democratic Unity' group and the national and Christian parties constituted themselves the 'Democratic Development' group. Together with Golkar and the armed forces they make up the four parliamentary groups. But the regime wants to paralyze all political activity by the parties and turn them into its pliant tools, the end aim being to liquidate political parties altogether. And that is being achieved by banning political activity in rural areas, which severs the parties from their main base, the peasant population.

Most party leaders are prepared to accept that, but not the rank and file. The younger element in the Nahdatul Ulama and Indonesian Nationalist parties has taken a militant stand. At a recent Nahdatul Ulama conference representatives of the regime tried to impose docile leaders and a program designed to depoliticize the party. Young party functionaries prevented that by mustering the support of local organizations. The same in the Indonesian Nationalist Party—young activists are working to enlist pro-Sukarno politicians, Ali Sastroamidjojo, Ruslan Abdulgani, Madame Supeni and others. After September 30, 1965, the party was taken over by Rightist elements, and if these pro-Sukarno progressives are brought into the leadership this might change the party's orientation. These two parties, the PNI, which speaks for the national bourgeoisie, and the Moslem NU, together with the PKI, outlawed by the present regime, now enjoy wide influence in Indonesian society.

IV. The dictatorship continues its anti-Communist policy and its concomitant, repression of the workers' and peasant movement, of the intelligentsia and youth, of all progressive forces prepared to stand up for the ideals of freedom, democracy and justice. Its repressive measures are intended to assure the country 'political stability,' and the regime a long life. But as the Party's 'Urgent Tasks' document says, tyranny inevitably 'increases the forces of its opponents and gravediggers—the working class and peasantry, artisans, intellectuals, the national bourgeoisie, etc.'

One evidence of that is the recent developments in the youth movement. When the generals seized power such Rightist youth groups as KAMI (Students' United Action), KAPPI (Secondary School Pupils' United Action) were faithful helpers of the military in organizing the mass terror against the Communists. And it was

with the support of these and similar youth organizations and their 'combat units' that the generals prepared the overthrow of Sukarno. On March 11, 1966, these youth units surrounded the presidential palace demanding Sukarno's immediate resignation. Sukarno yielded and issued a Super Semar – a decree transferring supreme authority to General Suharto. In those days the youth proudly called itself the '1966 generation' and was looked upon as 'equal partner' of the military.

Using the Super Semar, Suharto issued a number of decrees, including one dissolving the PKI, to bolster his position. The role of the '1966 generation' gradually declined, and by the time of the 'general elections' the 'equal partnership' of youth and military was no more than a memory.

The collapse of the 'partnership' and the generals' deliberate disregard of the '1966 generation,' prompted these erstwhile 'true helpers' to realize that they were no more than 'discarded banana peel.' From helpers of the regime they became its opponents.

At first this youth opposition found expression in the 'anti-corruption movement,' in organizations bearing such high-sounding names as 'Students Accuse,' or 'Committee to Fight Corruption.' They were immediately suppressed, of course. On the eve of the 'general elections' a new youth organization, the 'White Group,' called for an election boycott, but it too was quickly suppressed. But the youth persisted, and at the height of the election campaign another organization came to life, 'Debate on Political Detainees.' One youth leader, Adnan Bujang Nasution, declared that 'every member of society must reflect on the fate of the Communists held in prison and concentration camp.' Needless to say, the regime banned the movement and arrested its leaders. But the movement to free political prisoners is gaining more support all the time.

One of the latest proofs of this is the series of youth demonstrations against a project sponsored by Mrs. Suharto as director of a business firm that goes under the name of 'Our Hope.' The idea was to spend \$26 million on a 'mini Indonesia' recreation center. The youth started an 'anti-mini' movement. President Suharto reacted by threatening to invoke the Super Semar and instruct the army to crush the movement. The young people were not to be daunted by presidential threats and the movement continues despite the regime's attempts to use the Suppression of Communism Act against it.

Anti-Communism finds expression also in the regime's pro-imperialist foreign policy thinly veiled by endless talk of 'neutrality' and an 'independent and active' foreign policy. Indonesia is a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) comprising the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. At one of its last sessions, in Kuala Lumpur, there was a proposal to give it a distinct military orientation. Suharto supported this on the plea that 'Asians must unite against their enemies' to assure a 'zone of freedom in Southeast Asia.' Needless to say, 'enemies' refers to the Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces, and 'zone of freedom' to a zone 'free' of communism and the anti-imperialist strug-

gle. This is fully in keeping with the Nixon doctrine, the purpose of which is to make Asians kill Asians to further the interests of U.S. imperialism.

Though Indonesia is not a member of military alliances, it actually cooperates with the imperialist powers on military matters. Indonesian officers are trained in West Germany and the U.S., the Indonesian army is being equipped with American and Australian materiel, there have been joint naval exercises with Malaysia, the Philippines and Japan, American instructors – the Green Berets, known for their atrocities in South Vietnam – train Indonesian officers in anti-guerrilla warfare.

Yet the regime is at pains to emphasize its 'neutrality' in the Indochina conflict and calls for peace in the area. But the record will show that Suharto supports the puppet regime in Saigon and Lon Nol in Cambodia, accusing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and all Indochinese patriots of 'subversion.' More, a group of Cambodian officers supporting Lon Nol's reactionary regime were given a training course at the Indonesian army center near Bandung.

'The new-order government has again found itself de facto in the U.S. orbit,' writes Professor Juwono Sudarsono of Indonesia University in Djakarta, 'and the military are determined to make us still more dependent on the U.S., contending that neutrality is a thing of the past.'

The regime's anti-Communist policy is playing havoc with the economy and aggravating the political situation. It is condemning the Indonesian people to a life of poverty and suffering. In violation of all the accepted standards of democracy and humanism, it is involving Indonesia still more deeply in U.S. imperialism's global strategy. That policy is directed against the Indonesian revolution, the interests of our country and its people, and the anti-imperialist movement as a whole.

Is the military clique likely to yield power voluntarily? The answer is an emphatic No. And the Communist Party, guided by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is working to accomplish the tasks set out in its policy statement, 'Urgent Tasks of the Indonesian Communist Movement':

- indefatigable mass activity in town and country to uphold the interests of the people and expose the reactionary, anti-national essence of General Suharto's military-fascist dictatorship;
- unremitting effort towards a national unity front that will bring together all the patriotic forces on a general democratic platform;
- resolute and systematic preparations for armed struggle to overthrow the reactionary regime and bring to power a government of the national-democratic front with Communist participation;
- re-establishment of cooperation and indestructible unity with the international Communist movement.

Amidst brutal terror, and working in the rigorous conditions of illegality, Indonesia's Communists have in the past three years succeeded in strengthening their organization on the basis of Marx-

ism-Leninism and purging it of Maoist and other opportunist elements. The PKI has an active share in the popular movement for a return to democracy and justice. It is working to give spontaneous mass actions organization and economic demands a political orientation, and in this way prepare the conditions for overthrowing the reactionary regime. By heightening its vigilance, strengthening discipline and raising the combat ability of its members, the Communist Party of Indonesia will lead the people's struggle to victory.

The CC CPSU Marxism-Leninism Institute



We continue our series on the brother parties' theoretical centers. This instalment deals with the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (IML) of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The Institute is a vast repository of the literary heritage of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and V. I. Lenin and records of the CPSU and the international

working-class movement. As well as publishing scientific editions of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and producing biographical works about them, it does research in scientific communism, the history of the CPSU and the world Communist movement.

Our correspondent interviewed Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, Director of the IML, deputy directors P. A. Rodinov, V. Y. Zevin, D. M. Kukin and A. A. Solovyov, M. V. Iskrov, Academic Secretary, heads of department V. S. Semyonov and A. I. Sobolev, and other staff members of the Institute on its work and plans.

Stages of development

Immediately after the October Revolution the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party took steps to popularize the works of Marx and Engels and collect their literary heritage. The greater part of this heritage was in the hands of the leadership of the German Social-Democratic Party and Second International and was scattered over various countries, cities, archives and private collections. The Marx and Engels Institute founded on Lenin's initia-

tive in January 1921 began therefore by locating and acquiring manuscripts.

At first the Institute had only eight original letters by Marx. On instructions from Lenin the Soviet government allocated substantial funds, including foreign currency, to locate, purchase and photograph Marx's and Engels' manuscripts and letters, as well as to buy special literature and whole libraries in Europe and America. By the early thirties the Institute had the originals or photostats of the main works and of letters of the founders of scientific communism. Its energetic measures helped prevent the loss of a large part of Marx's and Engels' literary legacy.

As well as publishing Marx and Engels, the Institute brought Lenin's works to a wide readership. Work to locate and collect Lenin's papers was begun in the early years of Soviet power by the Commission for the Collection and Study of Historical Records of the October Revolution and the Russian Communist Party, set up in September 1920. Subsequently it was also carried on by the Lenin Institute, founded in 1924 by decision of the 13th Party Congress. In the summer of 1928 the two institutions were merged into the Lenin Institute under the Party's Central Committee. The range of problems was extended – the Institute proceeded to study Lenin's life and work, problems of Leninism and the history of the Party and the Communist International. In 1931 a single research center, the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, was founded on the basis of the Marx and Engels Institute and the Lenin Institute. It has been known as the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU since 1956.

The IML has 16 branches: 14 institutes of Party history under the CCs of the Communist parties of Union republics and corresponding institutes under the Moscow City and Regional Committee and Leningrad Regional Committee of the CPSU. Their main function is to study the Party's development, to record the history of local Party organizations, to publish their documents, and translate Marxist-Leninist classics into the various languages of the Soviet Union.

The quest goes on

There are more than 8,000 Marx and Engels items in the IML collection, one-third of them originals. And to that figure should be added the almost 8,700 letters from people prominent in the international working-class movement to Marx and Engels. They give an idea of that part of their correspondence which has not reached us and of their views on theoretical and political problems unfamiliar to us from other sources. The Lenin stock exceeds 30,000 items, over nine-tenths of which are originals.

Each of these items has its own interesting history and reached the Institute's Central Party Archives in its own way. I would like to tell about some of them.

After years of search the IML managed to secure a considerable

part of the manuscripts of *Capital*, Marx's crowning work. At present it has several variants of all the volumes, including Vols. II and III, on which Engels worked in completing his friend's book. Numerous manuscripts were donated to the Institute by Marx's great-grandson, Charles-Marcel Longuet.

A notable part of Marx's and Engels' papers in the IML's possession come from brother parties. The Institute has a most valuable collection of books from their private libraries donated by the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the originals of a number of letters by Marx donated by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the CCs of the French and Belgian Communist parties. Numerous manuscripts came from relatives of Marx and Engels. Recent years have seen the arrival of new records from statesmen and veteran Communists, student of Marxism and other persons. The Institute has acquired some of its items through exchange with the Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, where the originals of much of Marx's and Engels' literary heritage are still kept. Photostats of a number of letters from Marx and Engels to Italian labor leaders were obtained from the Feltrinelli Institute in Milan. Valuable discoveries were made at the Plekhanov House and Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad. During the celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Marx (1968) and Engels (1979) dozens of new items, including originals, were added to the Institute archives.

The collection of items from Lenin's literary heritage is steadily growing. Most of Lenin's manuscripts were inside the country – in government and Party institutions, archives and museums. Many of his manuscripts and letters were contributed by N. K. Krupskaya. In 1929 A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova and M. I. Ulyanova made available most of Lenin's letters to his kin. They now make up Vol. 55 of the *Complete Works*. The Secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR contributed 12,000 items.

After the war over 2,500 new Lenin items were discovered in Soviet government and departmental archives. Many items dealing with foreign policy matters, unknown before, were found in the Soviet Foreign Ministry's files.

Numerous Lenin letters and other items were uncovered in different parts of Europe. For years Communists in Poland's research institutions and archives searched for Lenin's Cracow and Poronin archives. Not until 1954 did archivists in Cracow Province come unexpectedly upon small sheets of paper filled with Russian writing in a small hand. The text turned out to be the manuscript of Lenin's article 'What Is the Cadet Election Platform?' Two hundreds and ninety items were found in this way. In 1954 the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party turned them over to the CC CPSU.

A number of Lenin items came from the family of Dietz, the German publisher. Lenin's letters to the International Socialist Bureau (originals) were contributed against the will of the SI leadership by Camille Huysmans, the Belgian politician. Four origi-

nal letters by Lenin were received from the Columbia University archives. In all, the IML has during the past 20 years obtained over 500 original Lenin texts from 18 countries.

Many Lenin items came in during the commemoration of his centenary. In the first half of 1970 alone, their number exceeded one hundred. Most of them are letters, notes and various instructions.

The IML calls on all Communists, organizations and private persons to look for the as yet not found items listed in the Collected Works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. These items may be in the archives of newspapers or journals for which they wrote or could have written. The clue might often be a seemingly insignificant note, a marginal remark in a book, and so on.

A living legacy

The following figures give an idea of the scope of the IML's publishing activity. It has brought out the works of Marx and Engels in 79 languages, in a total exceeding 90 million copies. In the Soviet Union alone Lenin's writings have appeared in 102 languages, in more than 400 million copies.

The Institute has published two editions of the *Works* of Marx and Engels. The second edition, the more complete one, consists of 39 volumes (42 books) comprising about 5,500 works and letters. An important supplement is *Early Works*, a collection containing some of Marx's and Engels' works of 1839-1844 and part of their early correspondence.

Lenin's *Works* have come out in five editions. His *Complete Works* (fifth edition) consists of 55 volumes, or about 9,000 items, over half of which were not included in previous editions, and over 1,000 are published for the first time. Thirty-seven volumes of the *Lenin Miscellany* series, started in 1924, have been brought out to date, and Volume 38 is in preparation.

These editions of the Marxist classics are the most complete and have been used for new editions in numerous languages of the Soviet Union and the world. They have also been the basis for the two- and three-volume *Selected Works* and collections on particular subjects.

Since numerous new letters and other texts of Marx and Engels have been found in recent years, the *Works* will be enlarged. Supplementary Vols. 41 and 46 of the Marx-Engels *Works* have already come out. When the rest of the supplementary volumes are out everything written by Marx and Engels will have been put in print. Lenin's *Complete Works* have been supplemented by 'A Summary of the Marx-Engels Correspondence, 1844-1883,' 'Notebooks on the Agrarian Question' and 'Preparatory Material for *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.'

Now that the Institute, after years of devoted effort, has collected virtually the whole literary heritage of the founders of scientific communism, it is working on the *Complete Works* of Marx and

Engels. This edition is being produced in collaboration with the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC Socialist Unity Party of Germany. All the works of Marx and Engels will be published in the original, with no changes in the spelling of the time. The edition will be entitled *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe*, or MEGA for short.

An academic edition, MEGA will comprise about 100 volumes. It will consist of four sections. The first is to include all philosophical, historical, political and many economic works. Most of them have already been published in various editions. MEGA will print all authorized versions and recently discovered new texts. The second is devoted to *Capital* and all items relating to Engels' work on Vols. II and III. The third will present the correspondence of Marx and Engels, including letters from prominent labor leaders and from relatives, containing important biographical data. Lastly, the fourth section is to be composed of available abstracts, excerpts, notebooks, autographed books, and so on. In each section, the items will be arranged in chronological order, and detailed comments, notes and indexes will be supplied.

In view of the work involved in the proposed edition, both institutes will bring out a trial volume this year. The purpose is to familiarize the public and the brother parties with the project and to gather suggestions. Numerous institutes, libraries and archives of the Soviet Union, the GDR and other countries will be involved.

The IML has begun to issue a 50-volume *Works of Marx and Engels* in English. The project is being carried out by the Institute and Progress Publishers (Moscow) in collaboration with progressive publishing houses in Britain and the USA.

Publishing Marxist-Leninist classics is a formidable research task. All texts have to be checked once more with the manuscripts or editions published during the authors' lifetime, inaccuracies in translation have to be corrected, and so on. Other meticulous tasks are preserving the terminology and the language of the time, compiling notes, comments and indexes, which synthesize the latest findings of the social sciences. All this makes the publishing of Marxist-Leninist classics a genuinely scientific undertaking.

The Institute has brought out numerous memoirs on Marx, Engels and Lenin. It has also produced scholarly biographies of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. After careful research over a long period, work was begun on a multi-volume Lenin biographical chronicle. The first two volumes, which have already appeared, cover more than forty years of Lenin's life, which they follow day by day, recording all works and letters written and books read by him, all his meetings with Party officials and working people, and other facts.

The IML also publishes historical records of the CPSU and the Communist movement. It has brought out the proceedings and stenographic records of CPSU congresses and conferences. At present it is producing the eighth edition of *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses*,

К. МАРКС Ф.ЭНГЕЛЬС



БИОГРАФИЯ



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Biographies of
founders of
Marxism-Leninism

**A History of the
CPSU:** a detailed
account of the
heroic advance of
Lenin's Party.

Conferences and CC Plenums, a vast collection covering the period from 1898, when the First Party Congress was held, to this day.

This invaluable stock of manuscripts and other records is kept in the Central Party Archives, where one also finds dozens of photographs and drawings of Marx and Engels, their relatives and close associates, 396 photographs of Lenin, 847 metres of film showing the living Lenin and 14 gramophone records of his speeches. Many of these items are in the Marx and Engels Museum, Central Lenin Museum and its branches, Lenin memorial houses and home museums. All these subsidiaries of the IML publicize Marxism-Leninism and educate the masses, above all the younger generation, by the example of our great teachers. Over two million books line the shelves of the IML library, the central book depository of the CPSU, which has all editions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, including those published in their lifetime, and all books on Marxism-Leninism and the history of the CPSU and the world Communist and working-class movement. The collection covers 150 years of labor history.

Current problems

In addition to the departments in charge of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and CPSU history, the IML now has the new departments of Party development, scientific communism and the history of the international labor and Communist movement.

The IML will soon complete *A History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. The first four volumes (six books) and Book One of the fifth volume are out. Book Two of the fifth volume will appear shortly and the sixth volume is at the printers. This is the first such edition. It continues the study of Soviet history in the Institute's earlier five-volume *History of the Civil War in the USSR* and six-volume *History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941-1945*.

The latest edition of *A History of the CPSU* is a scientific account of the heroic advance of the great Lenin's Party, which blazed the trail to communism for mankind. It records the history of the Party and of all its contingents in the constituent republics from



early Marxist groups and working-class organizations (1880s) to this day. It shows the role of the CPSU in the promotion of world socialism and the international revolutionary process. Citing numerous facts, it exposes bourgeois falsifications and opportunist distortions of CPSU history.

New research studies scheduled for publication deal with the history of Russia's three revolutions and their international significance, the historic experience of the CPSU in building socialism and communism, and the Party's ideological activity at the present stage. A book now in preparation deals with the general principles and specific forms and methods of Party guidance of society, especially in developed socialism. Another book – on the history of Party organization – will sum up the experience of the CPSU.

The IML is making an intense study of Lenin's ideological legacy, the experience of building socialism and Lenin's role in the international Communist movement. Recent years have witnessed the publication of such collective works as *The Lenin Plan for Socialist Industrialization and Its Fulfilment*, *The Lenin Cooperative Plan and the Party's Struggle to Implement It*, *Lenin's Organizational Principles and Current Problems of Party Development*, *Lenin and Problems of Scientific Communism*, *Leninism and the Nationalities Question Today*, *Lenin and the Communist International*, and *Leninism and the World Revolutionary Process*. One of the books now being written summarizes the main problems of Leninism. A fundamental work on the history of Marxism-Leninism is in preparation.

The IML has gained prominence in the study of problems of scientific communism. A team of scholars under Academician Fedoseyev has written a textbook called *Scientific Communism*. The Institute plans to analyze the main development trends of the social structure of society in conditions of building communism, the Soviet people as a new historical community, and so on. It studies the world Communist movement. After publishing a brief survey of the Communist International, preparations have been launched for a fundamental work on the history of the contemporary Communist movement. A further work now in preparation is concerned with the motive forces of the world revolutionary process and their unity, the dialectics of the international and

national, and modern form of proletarian Internationalism. The Institute has been publishing its own journal, *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* (Problems of CPSU History), since 1957.

International scientific links

The Institute steadfastly extends its scientific links with the theoretical centers of brother parties by publishing in collaboration with them Marxist-Leninist classics and records of the Communist movement, carrying out collective studies of current problems, taking part in forums and conferences and exchanging experience and information.

In common with the CC SUPG Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the IML brought out collections of records, 'The First International in Germany' and 'The Communist League.' In collaboration with the Hungarian Institute of Party History large documentary editions entitled *Hungarian Internationalists in the October Revolution and Civil War in the USSR* were published. A team of staff members of the IML and the Bulgarian Institute of Party History produced the book *Lenin and the Historical Destiny of the Bulgarian People*. Due to come out shortly is a monograph on Georgi Dimitrov, outstanding leader of the world Communist movement. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the people's revolution in Mongolia, the IML and the MPRP Institute of Party History published *Fraternal Cooperation between the CPSU and MPRP for Socialism*.

The international theoretical forums sponsored by the Institute foster cooperation. Scholars from over 40 countries attended IML-sponsored forums and sessions on the 150th anniversaries of the birth of Marx and Engels, the Lenin centenary, the fiftieth anniversary of the Comintern and of Lenin's 'On the Significance of Militant Materialism.' Preparations are under way for a conference on the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, forums on methodological problems of the history of the Communist movement, and the laws and stages of socialist building.

On the other hand, the IML takes an active part in forums sponsored by the socialist countries' institutes of Party history and the Thorez and Gramsci institutes.

V. Sukhodayev

Moscow-Prague.



For land, bread and freedom

Under the auspices of this journal representatives of seven Latin American brother parties held an exchange of views on agrarian problems. The following took part; for the Guatemalan Party of Labor, J. Garcia; Communist Party of Honduras, D. Paz; People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, M. Solis; Mexican Communist Party, G. Mesa; Nicaraguan Socialist Party, R. Pérez; People's Party of Panama, R. Medina and L. Thomás; and Communist Party of El Salvador, D. Jimenez.



L. Thomás made the introductory remarks. He said that the agrarian problem can be solved only if the latifundium system and foreign monopoly domination are abolished, and pointed to the limitations of bourgeois agrarian reforms. The bourgeoisie tries to take advantage of the peasants' growing discontent to speed capitalist development. Its agrarian measures never go beyond the bounds of capitalist relations.

The purpose of the meeting, L. Thomás said, is to exchange information on the condition of the peasantry and compare notes on the parties' effort to organize the struggle of the rural masses for land, against imperialism and the latifundia.

Following is a brief account of the meeting.

Who is to blame for backwardness and poverty

The natural conditions of Latin America would enable it to grow enough farm produce to feed the whole world. Yet over half the population of the continent is starving or underfed and lives in dire poverty. Speakers noted that to the majority of the rural population the agrarian system of today means lack of land and rights and as for the latifundium system, which provides a solid basis for reactionary and terroristic regimes, it serves to implement the policies of U.S. imperialism.

Although the state of agriculture varies from country to country, the existence of enormous landed estates and hundreds of thousands of land-hungry peasants are a common feature of all countries. In Mexico, G. Mesa said, 2.5 million peasants hold 80 million hectares of land whereas 9,000 big landed proprietors own 90 million hectares. In view of the low efficiency of Mexican farming, peasants whose holdings range between 6 and 20 hectares barely make ends meet. To make things worse, the government and private banks and companies rigidly control and ruthlessly exploit peasant farms through credits. Foreign capital is penetrating into agriculture mainly by loans and credits. Cotton production and cotton prices and the sale of chemical fertilizers and farm machinery are under its stringent control.

Over three million peasants in Mexico are landless. Many of them are agricultural laborers, slaving on capitalist-type estates the year round. Others are seasonal laborers employed mostly at harvest time. Numerous peasant semi-proletarians, including small holders, till their land at sowing time and then work on a capitalist estate.

The economic consequences of the latifundian system and imperialist domination, many speakers pointed out, are slow economic progress, a small home market and a growing food problem. According to official statistics, D. Jimenez said, over 46 per cent of the arable land belongs to less than one per cent of the farms; some estates are as big as 30,000 hectares. Over half the cultivable land is unused or serves as pasture. Yet most peasants have no land. Malnutrition is rife.

Salvadoran farming follows two lines. One is coffee, cotton and sugar for export, using up-to-date machinery and fertilizer and getting the greater part of the bank credits. The second line is grain and other products for the home market. Its technical standards and efficiency are low. The overwhelming majority of the population is engaged in agriculture and this is now giving rise to serious crisis phenomena. The concentration of land in the hands of big landowners restricts the home market and makes the economy increasingly dependent on the Central American market. Stagnation has become more pronounced, especially since the war against Honduras.

R. Pérez spoke of feudal and semi-feudal practices in Nicaragua's agriculture and the domination of U.S. monopolies. The bulk of the land is owned by a few wealthy families who, however, cultivate only a negligible part. Some 12 years ago the country's agriculture was based mainly on the production and export of coffee. But demand declined, and the U.S. companies switched to cotton, forcing out other crops, in particular grain and oil-bearing.

Agriculture accounts for more than 60 per cent of the gainfully employed population. Semi-starvation, poor housing, the absence of medical aid, and illiteracy are all part of peasant life. Numerous peasants are ruined, but there is no massive migration to the cities, for, with industry underdeveloped, jobs are few and hard to find. The plight of the agricultural workers employed only at harvest time, that is, not more than four months a year, is appalling. The

rest of the year they move about the country in search of a livelihood.

The Honduran countryside, said D. Paz, presents a similar picture. Over 90 per cent of the rural population live in houses with earthen floors, without plumbing and electricity. Over half the population cannot read or write. Tuberculosis, malaria and other diseases are widespread, and the death rate is high.

One of the main causes of the Honduran people's backwardness and poverty are antiquated production relations. The biggest landed estates are held by two U.S. companies, the United Fruit Co. and Standard Fruit, which own 200,000 hectares of land. However, they only till 35 per cent of their holdings while the rest lies idle, though officially registered as pasture to prevent the government from applying the law on the expropriation of unused land. Over 60,000 peasant families have no land at all and must lease it from landowners on onerous terms.

In Guatemala as in other Central American countries, agricultural workers and peasants make up the majority of the rural population. Most of the peasants, J. Garcia said, are semi-proletarians or middle peasants. The former (74 per cent of all rural families) till small patches of their own or leased lots. The percentage of small holders of this kind is highest among the Indians. The middle peasants farm their land mostly with the aid of members of their own families. They are denied public credits and technical aid. Due to bad organization of transport and marketing and lack of canning facilities, sales are low. Only few prosper; these the authorities then try to enlist as a counter-revolutionary force.

U.S. imperialism has deformed Guatemala's economic development, Garcia stressed, while semi-feudal methods that survive due to the existence of large estates hamper the development of capitalism. The overall result is increasing exploitation of the masses.

Agrarian over-population makes the lot of farm workers and semi-proletarian peasants worse still. Unemployment is high. Yet part of the landowners' holdings is unused. This helps keep unemployment high and wages low. The poor Indian peasants living on the plateaus are exploited by go-betweens who recruit farm labor.

R. Medina described the situation in the Panamanian countryside. The rural population is 700,000. One of the main causes of poverty, high mortality and illiteracy is the inequitable distribution of the land. The oligarchic government of the past never gave proper attention to the plight of the rural population. In rural Panama capitalism is represented by U.S. monopolies, principally the United Fruit Co. There is also a Dutch company, which grows citrus fruits. All these companies own vast lands. U.S. imperialist plunder in the Canal Zone is the same as everywhere else in Central America. Exploitation of the land and the Canal Zone brings in millions of dollars in profits from the sale of fruit, vegetables and animal products. A large part of this produce goes for subsequent sale to so-called commissariats, which the United States unlawfully maintains in the area. Besides, the Americans control the drinking water

supply of two cities, Panama and Colon. Every year they sell water to Panama for a sum equalling the rent for the Canal. It goes without saying that the struggle for land in the Canal Zone is also a struggle against U.S. imperialism, which uses large areas for military proving-grounds, camps and bases.

M. Solis spoke of the domination of foreign companies in Costa Rica, where they own hundreds of thousands of hectares of land. The main peculiarity of Costa Rican agriculture is the preponderance of small and medium producers. The landed oligarchy is relatively small and exerts lesser influence on the country's politics and economy than is the case in other Latin American countries. This, M. Solis stressed, makes it particularly evident that imperialism is the main obstacle to the economic progress of underdeveloped countries.

The two U.S. banana monopolies, United Fruit and Standard Fruit, have seized the most fertile land along the Pacific and Atlantic coasts. They hold half of the cultivable land area. They control the timber industry and the large bauxite deposits in the south. This is a farming area and the peasants are very much concerned about their future. The foreign monopolies are trying to evict them, which is bound to aggravate the agrarian problem.

The bourgeoisie and agrarian reforms

To change agrarian structures in Latin America is vitally necessary for economic and social progress. And large sections of Latin American society, including the bourgeoisie, are aware of this. Economic and financial difficulties, the growing pressure of the masses and the need to spread capitalist relations to agriculture are compelling the bourgeoisie to effect certain agrarian changes. But the objects it sets itself and its half-hearted, undemocratic agrarian reform measures prevent a radical solution of the problem.

Early in this century (1910-1917), said G. Mesa, a bourgeois-democratic revolution took place in Mexico. One of its fundamental tasks was to abolish the big estates held by landowners and the Church. Semi-feudal exploitation was the rule in the countryside, peasants had to pay in kind for the land they leased and the peons' slave-like labor was paid for in tokens exchangeable for food. However, the conciliatory policy of the bourgeoisie and the resistance of the big landed proprietors, who held back land expropriation, prevented the attainment of the peasants' goals. Between 1917 and 1935 the peasants got only some two million hectares of land.

The 1929-1933 crisis altered the balance of class forces. The government of General Cardenas, which spoke for the nationalist bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois element, initiated an agrarian reform that gave the peasants about 20 million hectares. As the reform was carried into practice, the bourgeoisie sought mass support against the pressure of the latifundium-owners and monopolies. But it also tried to prevent the reform from being beyond the frame-

work of private capitalist relations. On the whole, the measures adopted by the Cardenas government were conducive to the relatively rapid growth of the Mexican bourgeoisie. On the plea of more effective economic growth, the bourgeoisie later sought closer ties with imperialism. As a result, the agrarian reform was virtually discontinued, the peasants being allotted such small patches and on such terms that big landownership was strengthened rather than weakened. Agricultural development followed the Prussian path.

In recent decades the peasants have mostly been given barren or uncultivable lands which in many cases had to be abandoned. Besides, they have been unable to obtain credits. Owing to the landowners' resistance, government decrees allotting land to peasants often remained a dead letter, though the land figured in the agrarian reform statistics, which show 80 million hectares of land 'distributed' among 2.5 million peasants.

By registering the land under the name of relatives or proxies, estate owners conceal their holdings. Moreover, they seek and bring about amendments to the law on landownership. There exist, for example, all sorts of safeguards against dividing lands. If new lands are brought under the plough most of them eventually become the property of rich peasants.

The Mexica revolution re-established the role of the state as the main land proprietor. The lots distributed among peasants were made over to them as 'communal land,' and it cannot be sold or mortgaged. Actually the peasants, lacking means to cultivate their plots, lease almost 60 per cent of this land to the big operators. Peasant communes with their own managing bodies were set up, which cultivated land both individually and collectively. Collective land tenure in the form of cooperatives became widespread under the Cardenas government. Afterwards, however, the reactionaries did their utmost to prevent the development of cooperative farming.

Speaking of class differentiation in the countryside, G. Mesa said that middle and rich peasants constitute the minority of the rural population of Mexico. A negligible proportion of peasants are small holders who have bought their land or earned it by working as settlers. Most peasants are members of communes.

D. Jimenez spoke of the growing interest of large sections of the Salvadoran population, including the bourgeoisie, in radical agrarian reforms necessitated by the country's economic development. Two years ago the Legislative Assembly devoted one of its sessions to the agrarian problem. Most deputies declared for changes in the countryside to foster capitalist development. The latifundium owners could not take that and walked out.

In recent years the government has been trying to solve the problem by means of the Central American market but has failed. In the end it had to set about drafting an agrarian reform, which gave rise to differences and division within the ruling party. These are plain indications of the deep crisis of the ruling class, which, due to its class outlook, cannot settle the agrarian problem in the interest of the masses.

A similar situation obtains in Nicaragua, said R. Perez. The government is carrying out a so-called agrarian reform through a special institute set up under the patronage of U.S. monopolies. The purpose of the reform is to concentrate the land in the hands of big holders and to this end the peasants are evicted from their farms. In other words, the 'agrarian reform' is part of the policy to create especially favorable conditions for the ruling classes.

Another case in point is Honduras, where, D. Paz said, the domestic and foreign latifundium owners often seize land by force, violating the decree on the agrarian reform. This decree was issued in 1962 by the Morales bourgeois government, under pressure from the peasants supported by the working class, students and other segments of the population. The decree provided for the abolition of the latifundia, the expropriation of unused lands and the restitution to the peasants of the uncultivated areas owned by the U.S. banana companies. However, the government was unable to break the resistance of the latifundium holders and confined itself to settling the lands.

In 1966 the Honduran bourgeoisie again had recourse to reforms in an effort to solve the agrarian problem. It needed agrarian change to speed up industrial progress and to compete on the Central American market. Agricultural cooperatives were set up within the framework of the Alliance for Progress and have been operating with the financial aid and under the direction of the National Agrarian Institute. But the peasants did not become owners of land as cooperative members. The authorities promised that they would be entitled to own the land and manage the cooperatives when they had paid off the loan granted to them. But this promise was never kept.

Though in Honduras the bourgeoisie and the big landed oligarchy are at loggerheads, this does not prevent them from making common cause against the people. Early in 1971 they reached agreement on forming a so-called national unity government of the Liberal and Nationalist parties. This was how the present two-party regime came into being, dominated by representatives of the big landowners who paralyzed rural reforms. The cooperatives were abolished and peasant action put down by force. Peasant evictions and arrests, and repressive measures against their leaders, became much more numerous. The National Federation of Landowners and Stock Farmers and the National Association of Honduran Manufacturers are operating in close contact today. As a result, reforms have fallen through.

The present government of Panama, said R. Medina, originally set out to establish asentamientos (settlements), a move whereby it wanted to vacate peasant-occupied estates, offering government land in exchange. However, the peasant leagues that had taken part in establishing the asentamientos fought against eviction. The situation created by the abortive CIA attempt to overthrow the Torrijos government was favorable to this fight. The peasants stayed on the lands occupied by them and set up in the asenta-

mientos agricultural communes which are gradually being reorganized into cooperatives.

Land tenure in the asentamientos is communal. The peasants quickly realized that cultivating small patches is unproductive and unprofitable. They obtained government technical assistance, better medical care, and new roads. Road-building is particularly important, Medina said, since it links the rural population closer together. The state has also set up so-called market centers which fix the prices of peasant produce and buy it.

Medina stressed that the government has nationalized United Fruit land and given some of it to the peasants. Needless to say, all of the government's agrarian measures are resisted by Rightist elements. Nevertheless, the changes taking place in rural Panama constitute a new and most interesting development. The way for it was paved by the present government's anti-imperialist policy broadly supported by the people.

Land to the tiller

The deep-going changes of recent years show that the solution of numerous big problems of the continent hinges on the agrarian question. The peasants and agricultural proletariat are a great social force. And on their degree of participation in revolutionary and national liberation processes depends how deep the socio-political and economic changes will be.

Policy documents of the Communist parties of Latin America devote much attention to the agrarian problem. The Communists seek to improve the organization of agricultural workers and to raise their political level so as to increase the revolutionary influence of the rural proletariat over other sections of the rural working people. The main object of the brother parties' agrarian program is radical reform. They proceed from Lenin's thesis that a radical agrarian revolution can only result from a radical political revolution, that is, the winning of power by the revolutionary people. Of course, agrarian changes are planned according to the socio-economic structure, traditions and customs of each particular country. Lenin stressed that 'the building of communism would take different courses in countries where large-scale farming prevails and in countries where small-scale farming prevails. That is an elementary truth, an ABC' (*Coll. Work*, Vol. 29, p. 205).

The Communist slogan 'land to the tiller' makes it possible to mobilize the peasant masses and bring them into revolutionary struggle. Mexico's Communists, said G. Mesa, have long enjoyed considerable influence among the peasants. Peasant leagues were formed years ago on the Communist Party's initiative. They subsequently merged into one national organization led by the Communists. The Independent Peasant Center founded in 1963 with CP participation in the wake of extensive peasant action, now numbers hundreds of thousands of members. Dreading the influence of the Center, the reactionaries succeeded in dividing it. At present, work

is carried on chiefly among landless peasants, agricultural laborers and in the peasant communes. However, the bulk of the agricultural proletarians are constantly on the move in search of employment, which complicates the Party's work. Besides, the government does all in its power to prevent them from organizing. In advocating the formation of trade unions in the countryside, the Party strives to mobilize the working people there to fight for their pressing demands.

The Party's agrarian program, G. Mesa said, is aimed at protecting small farms which are being forced out of existence by land concentration. In the irrigated areas, the goal is to abolish large-scale capitalist property and reduce holdings to 20 hectares. This slogan enables the Party to draw the vast mass of landless peasants into the revolutionary struggle against big landownership. Later, when radical revolutionary changes have been effected, the Party will call for the voluntary merger of peasant holdings into cooperatives, which can cultivate the land more efficiently. The Party follows Lenin's proposition that 'only gradually and cautiously and only by a successful practical example' (Vol. 30, p. 196) can the peasants be convinced of the advantages of collective labor. State farms can be set up on some of the lands where up-to-date agricultural machinery and the labor of thousands of rural workers can be used. The Party's aim is to free the peasants of excessive government tutelage and dependence on private banks and companies. It calls for credits on easy terms, for free discussion of agrarian problems, and profitable marketing arrangements.

Asked about peasant guerrilla warfare, G. Mesa said that small guerrilla groups are operating in some areas. However, they have no clear-cut program and their operations have no mass basis. The Communist Party has no links with them. It seeks radical agrarian changes and tries to promote a genuinely revolutionary process in Mexico.

Speaking of the activity of El Salvador's Communists in the countryside, D. Jiminez said that the motive forces of the revolution are primarily the proletariat, peasants and middle strata. The Party's task is steadily to raise their class consciousness, draw them into revolutionary action and work to form a united front for democracy and progress.

To solve the agrarian problem, it is necessary, first of all, to organize the rural masses. The working people of the cities and even some churchmen today advocate peasant trade unions. Small peasant unions are operating already and a campaign is on to win legal status for them. The authorities had to recognize the right to strike.

In a number of areas, Jiménez said, committees have been set up to resist land evictions, to campaign for better roads, and so on. There was a congress of rural working people, attended by some 300 representatives of diverse regions who discussed steps to organize the masses. Among the participants were members of peasant committees. Incidentally, so-called peasant self-defense

committees have been formed in some areas. They come to the aid of rural working people attacked or harassed by the National Guard, the main tool of the reactionary classes against the peasants.

In striving to organize the rural working people, The Party realizes, of course, that the peasants, most of whom are poor peasants, are allies of the proletariat. It strives therefore, to build up the worker-peasant alliance, using illegal as well as all legal opportunities. We consider, however, that in Salvadoran conditions today this alliance is led by the agricultural proletariat.

The Party knows that it is no easy matter to organize the rural masses, all the more since the owners of large coffee and cotton plantations try hard to prevent the formation of rural trade unions, using the mass media to set public opinion against them. Besides, the bourgeoisie likewise tries to organize the peasants so as to pose them against the peasant committees influenced by the Communists. The Christian peasant federation exerts visible influence on the rural masses. Plans are being made for a national congress of various peasant organizations, including the Christian and those under Communist influence. The purpose of the Congress is to establish a single peasant center. This is part of our chief task — unifying all opposition forces. The Party has already scored some results by drawing up, in collaboration with other political organizations of the opposition, a common anti-imperialist program which includes agrarian demands.

R. Pérez, for his part, stressed that in Nicaragua, where the urban working class is small, the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (NSP) is likewise concentrating on organizing the peasants and agricultural workers. Lenin said that it is possible 'to inspire in the masses an urge for independent political thinking and independent action, even where a proletariat is practically non-existent' (Vol. 31, p. 243). For a number of years, and more particularly since 1967, we have been operating through the Confederation of Peasants and Agricultural Workers. To be sure, repressive measures by the government complicate our activity. Terror and sustained massive intimidation notwithstanding, the Party has made some progress in organizing the peasants, especially in the north, where risings have been frequent.

The NSP seeks unity of the progressive, democratic forces. National unity is the people's main weapon in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship. This is why the Party has no illusions at this stage about the possibility of participating in elections held by the dictatorship, but is searching for the most suitable realistic ways and means of uniting the masses.

Attempts by the bourgeoisie to carry out at least modest agrarian changes generally meet furious resistance on the part of the big landed proprietors. In Honduras, D. Paz said, peasant action in the early sixties against the demagogy of the Morales bourgeois liberal government, for an agrarian reform, frightened the imperialists and big landowners. In 1963 these forces overthrew the government and established a military dictatorship which proceeded to terrorize

the Communists. The Communist-led National Peasant Federation was disbanded and its leaders jailed, deported or murdered.

In the late sixties, too, the bourgeoisie's reformist experiment in so-called agricultural cooperatives failed. True, the authorities managed for a time to mislead the peasants and to win part of them. Some even withdrew from their organizations for a while. But now we are witnessing a fresh upswing in the peasant struggle, which expresses itself in land seizures, various demonstrations and the fact that the rural working people's organizations are putting forward more radical demands.

Once again there is talk of a new government. In Honduras this is the case whenever the masses step up their fight. In view of the new situation, the Communists point to the possibility of a coup. They stress, however, that no amount of reshuffling at the top will help until the reactionary elements are removed from power. Only the transfer of power to a democratic government supported by the workers, peasants, intellectuals, small and medium manufacturers and traders and expressing their interests will make it possible to change the country's socio-economic structure. Naturally, the alternative advanced by our Party will become feasible only when the conditions are ripe for revolutionary change and when the masses realize the necessity for it.

The example of Cuba, which has solved the agrarian problem, and the revolutionary and progressive agrarian changes effected in Chile and Peru increasingly influence Latin America's peasants. In Guatemala, J. Garcia said, the rural masses long for agrarian reform. The urban working class – which, incidentally, backed the agrarian program of the democratic government under Arbenz in the years 1952-1954 – also has a stake in the reform. It realizes that its own standard of living will depend on the results of the reform and that industry (the service industry included) cannot develop effectively without a capacious home market, which can only be extended by eliminating the big latifundia, giving the land to the peasants and helping them financially and technically. This is our agrarian policy.

It is typical of Guatemala that many of the peasants are Indians, who have preserved their language, customs and traditions. This means that the solution of the agrarian problem depends on the solution of the Indian problem. And we are naturally taking note in our policy, J. Garcia said, that the ruling classes are still managing to isolate the peasant masses from the Indians. However, since all working people in the country are equally exploited and oppressed, the Party strives to raise their class awareness and bring them into the revolutionary struggle.

Medina spoke of the Panamanian peasants' fight for their demands and against evictions. The People's Party of Panama has played a big role in organizing peasant leagues. It has done good political work, especially in Veraguas Province, where a Federation of Peasant Leagues was formed.

There are signs of changes for the better in rural Panama. The

leading bodies of the asentamientos are elected by the peasants themselves, which helps the democratic forces to establish and extend contacts with the rural working people and raise their political consciousness. Some gains have been scored in this field. In Chiriqui Province, for instance, some peasants gave up their title to their allotments, turning them over to the commune. This is evidence of a new mentality. All asentamientos are affiliated with the National Confederation (CONAC), R. Medina said.

M. Solis spoke of the close connection between the Costa Rican people's struggle for genuine agrarian reform and the fight against imperialism. The Party holds that there can be no question of really far-reaching agrarian changes without abolishing imperialist domination. The Party Program stresses that 'at the first stage the Costa Rican revolution will be mainly democratic, popular, anti-imperialist and agrarian.' One of the key tasks at this stage is genuine agrarian reform.

Speakers stressed that meaningful struggle for democratic agrarian changes is one of the principal means of speeding the revolutionary process in Latin America. Irrespective of the goals the social forces involved in this struggle set themselves, it objectively undermines the landowners' position, deepens the antagonisms dividing the ruling classes, and shows the ineffectiveness of the reformist political parties and currents. It also helps to raise the peasants' class consciousness and rid them of bourgeois influence.

The Latin American Communists regard the peasants as an ally. However, taking a realistic view of their capacity and strength, they do not make an absolute of their role in the revolution. Acting on Lenin's postulate, they stress that only under the leadership of the proletariat can the great revolutionary potential of the peasants fully unfold, and be used effectively for the victory of the revolution.



Anti-communism's new garb

Ib Norlund

Anti-communism is the greatest folly of our age – the words belong to the German writer Thomas Mann. He arrived at that conclusion, shared by many, in the early days of fascist terror. Unfortunately, history is not immune to folly, nor to its repetition. More, in our day every repetition reduces the distance between folly and crime. That is why the fight against anti-communism is becoming a fight against the most heinous crimes of the 20th century.

Anti-communism is inseparable from bourgeois ideology, from its chief function of inducing the working people to resign themselves to the rule of capital. Bourgeois ideology is directed against the force that mobilizes the working people to fight their oppressors. Its purpose is to vilify, discredit, isolate and destroy communism. We use the term anti-communism to denote the sum-total of ideological and political activity designed to attain that aim.

Anti-communism is spearheaded against the Communist, Marxist-Leninist parties and, internationally, against socialism's main force, the Soviet Union. It takes the form of *anti-Sovietism*, which bourgeois propaganda not infrequently tries to combine with praise of other socialist countries in an obvious attempt to set them at loggerheads with the USSR and sow distrust of the CPSU and the world Communist movement.

Anti-communism will exist as long as the bourgeois ideology exists. It can be forced to retreat, shift to other positions, but in maneuvering under the blows of the revolutionary movement it always looks for new, more effective forms and techniques. That, it might be said, is nothing new. And yet, every time anti-communism changes its skin many naively believe that it has vanished or at least receded. Such illusions can lead to grave errors. Aware of that, the Communist parties consider the struggle against anti-communism a *permanent task*, an indispensable condition of successful struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

Anti-communism has a set of standard techniques as part of imperialisms' ideological struggle against socialism and the progressive forces. But it also changes its techniques in adaptation to concrete conditions in one or another country. Its methods

against popular rule in the socialist countries differ from those used to condition public opinion in capitalist countries. The latter is the subject of this article. Its author does not attempt a comprehensive analysis. He will only try to show, on the basis of Danish experience, the permutations anti-communism undergoes in response to the changing strength-balance between socialism and capitalism.

Collapse of gutter anti-communism

From the very emergence of the Communist movement its enemies sought to frighten people with the 'spectre of communism.' When the October Revolution made the new social system a reality, enemy propaganda concentrated on discrediting the Communists, depicting their activity as inhuman and criminal. The public was told that the Communists were a gang of bandits who killed children, committed other acts of violence, all in order to keep their system alive. Even after World War II this hysterical anti-communism became a built-in part of the cold war and the 'roll-back' policy. The idea was to isolate the socialist countries, hamstringing their influence on world events, justify persecution and discrimination of Communists at home.

But to no effect. Far from being 'rolled back,' communism spread. Far from being isolated, the socialist countries were exerting an increasing influence on world politics. And no amount of horrific propaganda could obscure the advance of the movement that was transforming the world. First, in the Soviet Union and then in other countries, socialism appeared before the world not as the 'graveyard of mankind,' but as the decisive force for peace and progress.

Reality dealt harshly with this type of anti-communism. The hysterical antics of McCarthy and his ilk only made people suspicious. And not only that: by painting a distorted picture of reality, the anti-communists were dooming to failure the policy based on it. People were having second thoughts. Bourgeois propaganda had to alter its methods.

Not so long ago Senator J. William Fulbright, writing in the *New Yorker* magazine expressed some thoughts which read like an epitaph on the grave of the Truman doctrine. The Senator admits that at one time he, too, was affected by this blind anti-communism. And referring to U.S. policy he says that the anti-communism of the Truman doctrine became the basic, determinative element of American foreign policy after the Second World War. The hand of Moscow was seen, he says, in disorders anywhere in the world and communism was regarded as an international conspiracy.

Senator Fulbright came to the conclusion that this anti-communist vision acted like a straightjacket on the leaders of U.S. imperialism, compelling them to make wildly unrealistic judgments which led to one mistake after another. Anti-communist ideology, the Senator remarks, relieved America's policy-makers of the need to reckon with concrete facts and concrete situations, to think realistically,

observe and assess the conduct of countries and their governments with whom we were dealing. Like medieval theologians, he says, America's leaders worked out a philosophy that explained everything well in advance, and everything that did not fit into its framework was branded as deceit, lies and illusions.

Anti-communism has and will have disastrous results for those who follow it, the Senator maintains. The Truman doctrine even after it was made universal, led America to the catastrophe in Southeast Asia and to demoralization in America itself. The Truman doctrine, he says, has been badly mauled, but it still exerts an influence on American policy and American views.

It was primarily the 'catastrophe in Southeast Asia' that prompted the Senator to take up the cudgels against primitive anti-communism. But the main reason for the changed attitude to the dogmas of bourgeois propaganda is the growing understanding that the relation of forces, material and ideological, has changed to the advantage of socialism and the disadvantage of imperialism. That is at the root of the crisis of anti-communism and of the discomfiture of the architects of the Truman doctrine and McCarthyism. Yet there is good reason to agree with the Senator that the fading myth still exerts a definite influence.

Re-adaptation

The professional anti-communists are devising and applying new methods. A few years ago American radio stations in Europe were instructed to take a quieter and more 'businesslike' tone, to abandon sensational 'exposures,' to desist from outright counter-revolutionary appeals.

Change of anti-Communist techniques, however, is a complex process. For it concerns not only the directors of psychological warfare. It entails marshalling all the defensive mechanisms of bourgeois ideology to prevent Communist ideas from gripping people's minds. Hence the frenzied campaign to envelop the Communists in a cloud of suspicion and distrust. Not all of it is planned and rehearsed. Playing on ingrained anti-communist prejudices is sometimes extemporaneous, with a thin or thick layer of terminology acceptable to the listener, viewer or reader. That is why it is not easy to catalogue the new anti-communist techniques. But we can single out the most typical, often used in combination. The overall aim remains the same: relieve people of the need 'to think realistically,' prevent them from 'reckoning with concrete facts.'

The central technique is to inject doubt in the internationalism of the Marxist-Leninist parties. By discrediting internationalism the anti-communists hope to counter the influence socialist reality has on the masses in the capitalist countries and undermine the Communists' struggle for the people's interests. New, more subtle forms of anti-Sovietism are employed to this end.

The widely-known achievements of the Communist movement

are no longer negated or challenged – anti-communism has nothing to oppose to them. Facts are not denied; they are questioned or ‘interpreted.’ And there is a small army of ‘commentators’ and ‘experts’ to provide such ‘interpretations.’ Nor do they have to overly exert their mental faculties – it is enough to digest the instructions in the special, mostly American, publications, such as *Problems of Communism*, *Survey* and others which ‘explain’ developments in the socialist world and the Communist movement.

A recent television program in Denmark is a typical example of this method. The anti-communist commentator ‘interpreted’ an excellent Soviet documentary film. Sequences showing the flourishing culture of Uzbekistan were dismissed with these words: ‘Of course, that is how things are in Uzbekistan, but many other nationalities do not enjoy these opportunities.’ And this comment on a sequence showing a typical worker’s family: ‘Well, that’s one family, but things are not so good in other families.’ The whole program was studded with these false and hypocritical ‘interpretations.’ But the bourgeois press said it was a ‘sound’ program: naturally it liked the ‘interpretations.’ That technique is typical of anti-Soviet propaganda today.

Another technique is to challenge socialism’s ability to solve the problems that have proved unsolvable under capitalism. Whenever there is a public outcry against speculators, you can be sure that the mass media will immediately come out with the story that there are speculators in the Soviet Union too. A trial in the USSR of a group of speculators was given top coverage in the capitalist press, though what it really showed was that socialist society, unlike capitalist, combats speculation and speculators. When there is growing unemployment, the press immediately tells its readers that there is ‘concealed unemployment’ in the USSR, describing as unemployed people temporarily working not in their trade, or who for one or another reason have given up their job and are arranging to take another. No mention is made, of course, of the fact that Soviet workers enjoy rights which are inaccessible to workers in capitalist countries (under Soviet laws, when discharging an employee, the enterprise is obliged to find him a new job). Nor does bourgeois propaganda mention the numerous ‘help wanted’ advertisements in Soviet newspapers and on billboards prominently displayed near factories and on the main streets or that, with the ambitious program of economic upbuilding, there is a shortage of labor power in many areas. When there is worldwide protest against persecution of racial minorities in the United States, a special effort is made to instil the idea that the Soviet Union, too, ‘has its race problem.’ The usual propaganda figment is ‘discrimination of Jews,’ though Jews, like all other citizens, enjoy equal rights under the law and in practice, and rights, moreover, that are beyond the dreams of Negroes and other minorities in the United States. Many more examples could be cited.

But, of course, not every critical remark about the socialist countries should be branded as anti-communist. There are different kinds

of criticism. Communists in the socialist countries are the first to criticize errors and shortcomings, everything that hampers progress, the purpose being to improve what has already been achieved. In contrast, anti-communist 'criticism' is meant to pervert reality, distort the facts to discredit socialism.

All this reflects anti-communism's retreat from its traditional positions. It no longer argues that everything in socialism is worse than in capitalism. The argument now is that conditions under socialism are, at best, not as progressive as under capitalism. The purpose behind that is to prevent people from 'reckoning with concrete facts.' True, this is done allegedly to present things in an 'objective' light. No longer able to prevent criticism of their system, capitalism's sermonizers try to produce an 'objective' picture – by pointing an accusing finger at socialism! A peculiar kind of objectivity that proclaims socialism contradictory to social progress and reactionary imperialism the very pinnacle of mankind's development!

And still another technique – orchestrated international anti-communist campaigns centered on some minor theme. Any question the anti-communists can exploit is inflated by the capitalist press, radio and television to fantastic dimensions, on the pretext that it 'attracts public attention' in the socialist countries. Most such questions have no interest whatever for people in the socialist countries – they have other problems to discuss. As an example mention might be made of the Zionist campaign about the 'position of Soviet Jews,' or the clamor around anti-Soviet lampoons penned by renegades (to which, the Soviet public reacts with angry condemnation of their authors, who abuse for anti-Soviet purposes the rights they enjoy as members of a socialist society).

False criticism is only one of the methods of spreading anti-communism in the capitalist countries. Another frequently used method is indirect attack, through innuendoes and insinuations, in discussing peripheral issues. The aim is to create an atmosphere of intolerance towards communism as incompatible with the interests and feelings of normal persons.

Shopworn anti-communist clichés are giving way to a motley collection of specious arguments borrowed from elements allegedly close to communism, notably from Right and 'Left' revisionists. Their 'arguments' against Marxism-Leninism and the policy for which it is the basis, differ only in detail. That is why venomous bourgeois propaganda is now laced with neo-reformism, Trotskyism, anarchism, Maoism, etc. And it is from these that anti-communism draws such mongrel theoretical concepts as 'social-imperialism,' 'the new class under socialism,' 'socialism without freedom,' and the like. They are used to conceal the evils of capitalist society, the absence of genuine freedom for the majority.

The more vicious the revisionists are in their attacks on Marxism-Leninism, the more actively they parade as the only 'true Communists.' Like all other anti-communists, they try to create the impression that the socialist camp is disintegrating into 'national

communisms.' President Nixon recently proclaimed this a major element of U.S. imperialism's global policy. In a message to Congress he spoke of a 'higher priority in at least some of the Communist countries to the pursuit of national interests rather than their subordination to the requirements of world revolution.'

Repeated reverses on the political and ideological front have forced anti-communism to apply more flexible tactics. That, however, should not make us oblivious to the fact that this, more cautious anti-communism prepares the ground for its more arrogant variety. The substance of anti-communism remains unchanged, and there is no fundamental difference in the forms it assumes.

'Flexible Tactics'

The crisis of anti-communism and the resultant change of tactics provide better conditions for its exposure. And we must correctly utilize these conditions. While applying 'flexible' methods, anti-communism will revert to its crass forms whenever capitalism and its leaders find themselves in a difficult situation. True, this very often boomerangs, aggravating instead of improving things, for vulgar communism has lost all credibility. So much so, that for many in the capitalist world anti-communism has become a dirty word.

The Social-Democrat parties are especially sensitive to that. In an effort to find a way out of the crisis of Social-Democracy, they are prone to resort to vulgar anti-communism, the traditional technique of splitting the working class. That technique has lost all credibility with the rank and file and its repeated use can only weaken the leadership. This applies to Denmark as well as to other countries. Some Social-Democrat leaders are falling back on the old anti-Communist shibboleths to justify a policy that is putting Denmark at the mercy of the Common Market monopolies – a policy rejected by most workers. Every time the workers, whatever their political views, turn a deaf ear – they know that anti-communism is used only to by-pass vital issues.

The Communist movement has a rich fund of experience in combating vulgar, gutter anti-communism. It can be put to good use in combating its more subtle methods. The fight against anti-communism requires, above all, all-round activity of the parties in the interest of the working class and the people, dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist ideas, use of the methods described by Lenin to show up the new features of monopoly capitalism and how it adapts itself to present-day conditions. But this should not be taken to mean that there is no longer any need to perfect our methods of battling anti-communism.

Bourgeois propaganda, as noted above, wants to discredit Communist internationalism. It exploits the fact that the capitalist-controlled mass media give a curtailed and distorted picture of socialist reality, of living conditions in the socialist countries, the deep-going changes in human relations resulting from the socialist

revolution. This enables anti-communist propagandists to play on nationalistic and other prejudices.

Hence, it is especially important to give the people in the capitalist countries a closer knowledge of socialist reality. The superiority of the new system is expressed not only in statistics showing the growth of its economy and culture, but, above all, in the fact that, *overcoming all difficulties, socialism solves problems vital to workers that are unsolvable under capitalism*. This has to be understood if we are to paralyze anti-communist propaganda.

Further, successful refutation of anti-communism calls for all-round exposure of its *function in the class struggle*. For anti-communism is directed not only against Communists, but against the working people and all progressives. It tries to isolate our parties, and they must therefore fight it not from sectarian positions, for that would indeed isolate them. They must show that anti-communism is a weapon against the interests of all the working people.

The battle against anti-communism requires *systematic, purposive and militant activity*. By its very nature, anti-communism constantly finds itself caught in a net of contradictions, attacking communism now from the Right, now from the 'Left.' And if we patiently and convincingly point out these contradictions, and do not allow ourselves to be diverted by anti-communist campaigns, this is bound to have a great impact on the masses.

The Communists firmly adhere to *class positions* on all issues the anti-communists try to exploit. And the more complex the forms of anti-communism, the more convincingly must be our arguments, based on our class approach and used in the day-to-day discussions in which the consciousness of the masses is forged.

In their ideological offensive, the Communists cannot always know in advance the timing and character of enemy counter-attacks. But they can be prepared for them if they know the *methods* anti-communism employs in the class struggle. When bourgeois propaganda is activated on one or another issue, we naturally ask ourselves: what is the aim of this particular campaign? And we select our exposure methods accordingly.

Ideology plays an increasingly important part in the class struggle. And strengthening and deepening the *ideological unity* of the Communist movement is a paramount condition for exposing anti-communism's pseudo-scientific theories.



Milestones

This year will see the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, an event which has gone down in world history.

The following records show the evolution of relations between the socialist republics brought into being by the October Revolution, preparations for the formation of the USSR and the actual rise of the new state. They should be of interest to our readers.

1917-1922. MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC ALLIANCE

The proletarian party strives to create as large a state as possible, for this is to the advantage of the working people; it strives to draw nations closer together, and bring about their subsequent fusion; but it desires to achieve this aim not by violence, but exclusively through a free fraternal union of the workers and the working people of all nations.

V. I. LENIN

April 10, 1917.

(*The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*,
Coll. Works, Vol. 24, p. 73)

We want a voluntary union of nations – a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another – a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent. Such a union cannot be effected at one stroke; we have to work towards it with the greatest patience and circumspection, so as not to spoil matters and not to arouse distrust, and so that the distrust inherited from centuries of landowner and capitalist oppression, centuries of private property and the enmity caused by its divisions and re-divisions may have a chance to wear off.

V. I. LENIN

December 28, 1919.

(*Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine
on the Victories Over Denikin.** Vol. 30, p. 293.)

*During the civil war Denikin, a leader of the whiteguard movement, was commander-in-chief of the anti-Soviet armed forces operating in South Russia.

As a result of their bitter experience of Denikin's rule, the mass of Ukrainian peasants and workers are becoming convinced that only the closest alliance between the Ukraine and the Russian Republic will be really invincible in the face of international imperialism, and that at the time of struggle against imperialism there is nothing to be gained by the separation of the Ukrainian state, since imperialism will take advantage of every division to crush Soviet power. Such a division is criminal.

V. I. LENIN

February 2, 1920.

(*Report on the Work of the All-Russia CEC and the Council of the People's Commissars*. Vol. 30, p. 326.)

ON UNITING THE ARMED FORCES OF THE SOVIET REPUBLICS

From Decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian SSR

1. The Soviet Republics shall pool their armed forces in all armed struggles against their enemies.

2. The Republics shall place all the material means for carrying on this struggle at the disposal of a single center.

Accordingly, the CEC instructs its Presidium to propose to the CECs of all the Soviet Republics that they should evolve specific forms of organizing a united front of revolutionary struggle.

May 18, 1919.

ON UNITING THE SOVIET REPUBLICS OF RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE, LATVIA, LITHUANIA AND BYELORUSSIA TO FIGHT AGAINST WORLD IMPERIALISM

From Decrees of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee

The military alliance of all the Soviet Socialist Republics mentioned above shall be a first reaction to the offensive of common enemies. Hence, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets, fully abiding by its recognition of the independence, freedom and self-determination of the working masses of the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia and the Crimea, and in compliance with the resolution of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee on May 18, 1919, as well as with the proposal of the Soviet governments of Latvia, Lithuania and Byelorussia, deems it necessary to effect a close unification of (1) the military organization and military command, (2) National Economic Councils, (3) Railway Administrations and services, (4) finances, and (5) Commissariats of Labor of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia and the Crimea, so that the direction of the above spheres of national life may be concentrated in common collective bodies. . . .

June 1, 1919.

In recognizing that federation is a transitional form to complete unity, it is necessary to strive for ever closer federal unity, bearing in mind, first, that the Soviet Republics, surrounded as they are by the imperialist powers of the whole world – which from the military standpoint are immeasurably stronger – cannot possibly continue to exist without the closest alliance; second, that a close economic alliance between the Soviet Republics is necessary, otherwise the productive forces which have been ruined by imperialism cannot be restored and the well-being of the working people cannot be ensured; third, that there is a tendency towards the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan. This tendency has already revealed itself quite clearly under capitalism and is bound to be further developed and consummated under socialism.

V. I. LENIN

June-July 1920.

(Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions for the Second Congress of the Communist International. Vol. 31, p. 147.)

WORKER-PEASANT TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE RSFSR AND THE SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC OF BYELORUSSIA

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, on the one hand, and the Government of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Byelorussia, on the other, prompted by the right of nations to self-determination proclaimed by the Great Proletarian Revolution, recognizing the independence and sovereignty of either of the contracting parties, and realizing the need to unite their forces for defense purposes and in the interest of their economic development, resolve to conclude this worker-peasant treaty of alliance. . . .

Article 1.

The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and the Socialist Soviet Republic of Byelorussia shall enter into a military and economic alliance between themselves.

Article 2.

Both states consider it necessary to announce that all the common obligations which they may assume in the future in respect to other states can be determined only by the common interests of the workers and peasants who are concluding this treaty of alliance between the two republics, and the mere fact that the territory of the SSRB was previously part of the former Russian Empire does not imply any obligations towards anyone. . . .

The original was drawn up and signed in two copies, in the Rus-

sian and Byelorussian languages, in Moscow, on January 16, 1921.*
(*Izvestia*, April 6, 1921.)

PROTOCOL EMPOWERING THE RSFSR TO REPRESENT THE SOVIET REPUBLICS AT THE GENERAL EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE IN GENOA**

On the basis of the insoluble bonds of fraternity and alliance linking all the above independent republics with the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, and with a view to safeguarding the interests of these republics at the said Conference as effectively as possible, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic is empowered to represent and uphold the interests of the above eight republics at the said Conference, to sign on their behalf acts which may be drafted at the Conference as well as any individual international treaty or agreement, relating directly or indirectly to the Conference, both with states represented at the said Conference and with all other states, and to take all the steps flowing therefrom. . . .

Done at the Kremlin, Moscow, on February 22, 1922, in nine authentic copies.

(*Izvestia*, February 25, 1922.)

FROM RESOLUTION OF THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE RCP (B), MARCH 1921.

The common defense interests of the Soviet Republics, on the one hand, the rehabilitation of the productive forces disrupted by the war, on the other, and also the need for the grain-growing republics to extend food relief to the non-grain-growing ones, imperatively demand a political alliance of the separate Soviet Republics as the only way of salvation from imperialist bondage and national oppression. Delivered from 'their own' and the 'foreign' bourgeoisie, the national Soviet Republics will be able to maintain their existence and defeat the combined forces of imperialism only by forming a close-knit political union, or they will not be victorious at all.

THE LENIN PLAN OF FORMING THE USSR

By the summer of 1922, a practical solution of the problem of relations between the RSFSR and the independent republics had become economically and politically necessary.

On August 11, 1922, during Vladimir Ilyich's stay in Gorki, where

*In 1920 and 1921, worker-peasant treaties of alliance were signed between the RSFSR and each independent Soviet Republic. 'The meaning of these treaties,' *Izvestia* wrote editorially on November 1, 1922, 'is that each Soviet Republic retains its particular legislation and represents a separate political entity. True, the financial, economic and military departments of these Republics have lately been unified by setting up common people's commissariats. The allied republics send their delegates to all-Russia congresses of Soviets and to the All-Russia CEC and are represented on the Council of People's Commissars of Russia. However, there is still no general federal Constitution nor general legislatures for the entire Soviet confederation.'

**The agreement empowering the RSFSR to represent the Soviet Republics at the Genoa Conference was signed by eight Republics: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Byelorussia, Bokhara, Georgia, the Far Eastern Republic, Ukraine and Khorezm.

he was recuperating, the Organizational Bureau of the CC RCP(B) formed a committee of CC members Stalin, Kuibyshev, Orjonikidze and Sokolnikov and representatives of the independent national republics to draft the resolution 'Relations between the RSFSR and the Independent Republics.' The committee based its work on Stalin's theses on 'autonomization,' which provided for the unification of the independent republics through entry into the RSFSR on the principle of autonomy.

The draft resolution prepared by the Organizational Bureau committee was circulated to the full and alternate members of the CC RCP(B) for discussion at the forthcoming Central Committee plenum in October.

Vladimir Ilyich assessed the committee's resolution as a serious political mistake impairing the interests and powers of the independent republics.

L. FOTIEVA

(From *Lenin's Life*. Moscow, 1967, pp. 269-271.)

Committee resolution. 1. To recognize the advisability of a treaty between the Soviet Republics of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and the RSFSR on their formal entry into the RSFSR. . . .

Lenin. Stalin is already willing to make one concession. He suggests saying in para. 1, instead of 'entry' into the RSFSR, 'a formal association with the RSFSR in a union of Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia.'

The spirit of the concession is clear, I hope – we recognize ourselves to have equal rights with the Ukrainian SSR and others, and together and on an equal footing with them we enter into a new union, a new federation, the 'Union of Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia.'

Committee resolution. 2. In line with this, to regard decisions of the All-Russia CEC of the RSFSR as binding on the central agencies of the Republics mentioned in para. 1 and decisions of the Council of People's Commissars and the Labor and Defense Council, on the integrated commissariats of these republics.

Note: Delegates of these republics will be included in the Presidium of the ARCEC of the RSFSR.

Lenin. In that case, para. 2 should be amended too – to something like setting up, along with sessions of the ARCEC of the RSFSR, 'a federal CEC of the Union of Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia.'

If the former meets once a week and the latter at the same intervals (or even once in a fortnight), it should not be difficult to arrange matters.

The important thing is that we must not give the 'independents' cause for complaint, must not destroy their *independence* but bring into being a *new tier*, a federation of *equal* republics.

Part two of para. 2 may be left: objectors may appeal (against decisions of the *Labor and Defense Council* and the *Council of*

People's Commissars) to the federal CEC without thereby suspending execution (as in the RSFSR).

Committee resolution. 3. To merge external affairs (People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade), military affairs, transport (with the exception of local transport) and People's Commissariats of Communication of the republics listed in para. 1 with those of the RSFSR, on the understanding that the relevant People's Commissariats of the RSFSR will have their delegates and small staffs in the republics.

Delegates shall be appointed by People's Commissars of the RSFSR by agreement with the CECs of the republics.

To consider it advisable for the delegates of the republics concerned to participate in the relevant foreign missions of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade.

Lenin. Para. 3 may be left provided its wording is changed to 'shall be merged into federal People's Commissariats with headquarters in Moscow, on the understanding that the relevant People's Commissariats of the RSFSR will have their delegates with small staffs in all the republics which have joined the Union of Republics of Europe and Asia.'

Part two of para. 3 is left. Perhaps we could say, for the sake of greater equality, 'by agreement with the CECs of the republics forming part of the Union of Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia.'

We ought to weigh part three. Should not we replace 'advisable' by 'obligatory'? Or perhaps insert conditional obligatoriness, at least in the form of seeking authorization and permitting decision without seeking authorization only in the event of 'especial urgency'? (Quoted from Lenin's letter of September 26, 1922 and from the Committee resolution.)

With his typical modesty, Vladimir Ilyich called his letter a preliminary draft which he said he was going to amend after he had talked with some of the comrades. Actually it set out scientific, genuinely internationalist principles on which to form the USSR.... Lenin's letter was very important politically; coupled with his talks with leading officials, it had a decisive effect on the outcome of the matter. . . .

L. FOTIEVA

(Op. cit.)

ON RELATIONS OF THE RSFSR WITH THE INDEPENDENT SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

From Decision of Plenum of the RCP(B)
October 6, 1922.

1. To recognize the need for the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the federation of Transcaucasian Republics and the RSFSR to conclude a treaty uniting them in the 'Union of Socialist Soviet Republics,' each of them retaining the right to secede freely from the Union.

2. To consider that the supreme agency of the Union shall be the 'Union CEC' composed of representatives of the CECs of the RSFSR, Transcaucasian Federation, the Ukraine and Byelorussia in proportion to their populations.

3. The executive agency of the Union CEC shall be the 'Union Council of People's Commissars,' to be appointed by the 'Union CEC.'

CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

SEVENTH ALL-UKRAINE CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

December 10-14, 1922.

I welcome the opening of the All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets.

One of the most important problems which the Congress has to solve is that of uniting the republics.

(Vol. 33, p. 454.)

V. I. LENIN

*Comrade Lenin,
The Kremlin, Moscow
(Telegram)*

Even before your telegram was received, the Congress resolved to send you a message of greetings and convey to you the heartfelt love and devotion of the working population of the Ukraine. In line with your recommendations, the Congress gave special attention to problems of government organization, agriculture and industry. In close alliance and union with the other Soviet Republics, we shall work to carry the principles of communism into effect.

From Declaration on the Formation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

The Seventh Congress of Soviets, in full accordance with the desires and will of the working people of the Ukraine, submits to the workers and peasants of Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan a fraternal proposal for setting out immediately to form a Union of Soviet Republics, which is virtually in existence already, and for establishing in this way a united socialist worker-peasant front against the front of the world bourgeoisie.

FIRST TRANSCAUCASIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

December 10-13, 1922.

Decision on the Convocation of a General Congress of Soviets of the Socialist Soviet Republics

The First Transcaucasian Congress of Soviets considers it necessary to convene a General Congress of Socialist Soviet Republics. The Transcaucasian Congress resolves to send its delegates to that Con-

gress and to empower them to sign a treaty establishing the Union of Republics.

FOURTH ALL-BYELOUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

December 14-18, 1922.

From Decision on the Formation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

The Fourth Congress of Soviets of Byelorussia expresses deep confidence that the Congress of the RSFSR will in common with the delegates of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian Republics establish a well-knit union of working people of all the brother republics. It instructs its delegation elected for participation in the All-Russia Congress of Soviets to give a solemn pledge during the Congress deliberations and to perform the formal acts finalizing the fraternal Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

TENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF THE RSFSR

December 23-28, 1922.

The Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets will open on Saturday, December 23, at 6 p.m. in the Bolshoi Theatre.*

(*Izvestia*, December 23, 1922.)

The RSFSR Congress Starts Today A Letter from Moscow

I emphasize the RSFSR. We delegates of the allied Republics shall attend this Congress as guests. . . .

Guests. What is a guest? A guest is someone standing on the side, an outsider. We, however, are and always have been together, struggling together, fighting on the fronts together, starving together, going through the horrors of bandit raids together.

It was not accidental that a non-Party Ukrainian peasant could not for the life of him understand why he might not be elected to the presidium of the RSFSR Congress while his comrade from Kaluga gubernia might.

That non-Party peasant was perfectly right. We are at one all the time. It is immaterial whether our union has been formalized by a treaty. We have sealed it with our blood, with the blood of all the working people who fought on the Republic's numerous fronts.

*Lenin, who stayed in Gorki from December 7 to 12, prepared to speak at the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets and wrote a summary of his proposed speech. It was his last manuscript apart from the small notes written by him later, before December 16. On December 15, Lenin dictated a letter addressed to members of the CC RCP(B): 'I have now finished winding up my affairs and can leave with my mind at peace. . . . Only one circumstance still worries me very much; it is that it will be impossible for me to speak at the Congress of Soviets. My doctors are coming on Tuesday and we shall see if there is even a small chance of my speaking. I would consider it a great inconvenience to miss the opportunity of speaking, to say the least.' (Vol. 33, p. 460.) In the second half of December Lenin's health took a sharp turn for the worse, which prevented him from attending either the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets or the First All-Union Congress of Soviets.

Nor is it important whether we have a formal right to vote at the RSFSR Congress. The cause of the RSFSR is our cause, just as our cause is the cause of the RSFSR.

And so we are going to the Congress as active participants and not as guests. It is not someone else's congress we are going to but our own congress which will decide on problems of interest to us and connected with our work.

MINCHANIN

*(Zvezda, newspaper of the CP of Byelorussia.
December 23, 1922.)*

The vast Bolshoi Theatre was filled to capacity by delegates. Seated in the central boxes were diplomats. On the speakers' platform were members of the All-Russia CEC and officials of central government agencies. Comrade Kalinin announced that over 2,000 delegates had arrived and the Congress was therefore fully competent.

(Izvestia, December 24, 1922.)

From Speech by Comrade Frunze of the Ukraine

Comrades, I should like, first of all, to convey to you greetings from the working class and peasants of the Ukraine who at their latest, the Seventh All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Armymen's Deputies resolved unanimously that a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should be founded at once. . . .

We consider that the state we are now building is only the beginning of the immense, gigantic work awaiting us. We who began the first proletarian revolution have by our practice provided many examples of how the workers of other countries should fight and what path they should follow. We are now beginning this work in the sphere of government organization. In establishing our Union state, we must not forget that we are laying the foundations for a future political association comprising the peoples of the world.

(Izvestia, December 27, 1922.)

From Speech by Comrade Tskhakaia of Georgia

When the Great October came to the Transcaucasian Republics we all realized that the Transcaucasian Federation could not exist by itself. This is why over 500 representatives of Transcaucasian Soviets declared for the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(Izvestia, December 27, 1922.)

*From Speech by Comrade Kalinin, Chairman of the
All-Russia Central Executive Committee*

Isn't RSFSR a word dear to us? It is. It is the result of our victory in armed struggle. I can see a red banner waving in front of us,

inscribed with those five sacred letters – RSFSR. And we delegates to the Tenth Congress of Soviets, fully empowered representatives of the entire Soviet Russian Federation, lower this dear banner, glorified by battles and victories and strengthened by the sacrifices of workers and peasants, in homage to the Union of Soviet Republics. We can already see a new red banner, that of a Union of Soviet Republics. I can see that banner in Comrade Lenin's hands, comrades. And so, comrades, forward, raise that banner aloft so that all the working people and oppressed of the world may see it. (*Izvestia*, December 27, 1922.)

*From Decision on the Formation of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

1. The Congress authorizes, as a timely step, the merger of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and Byelorussian Socialist Soviet Republic into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. This merger shall be based on the principle of voluntary membership and equality of the Republics, each of which shall retain the right freely to secede from the Union of Republics. (*Izvestia*, December 28, 1922.)

FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

December 30, 1922

CONFERENCE OF PLENIPOTENTIARY DELEGATES OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

A conference of the plenipotentiary delegations elected by the Congress of Soviets of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and Byelorussian Socialist Soviet Republic took place in Andreyevsky Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace yesterday, December 29.

The conference elected a presidium of four, each of the above Republics being represented by one delegate . . .

The conference agenda comprised the following items:

1. Consideration of the union treaty and declaration on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. The procedure and opening date of the First Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft declaration on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the draft treaty between these republics, examined in advance by the various delegations and submitted to the conference by the delegation leaders, were read out at the conference.

After the debate the conference approved the draft declaration and the draft of the treaty.

The conference resolved to hold the ceremony of signing the declaration and treaty on the morning of December 30.

The conference also discussed the procedure of the First Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and resolved to convene it in the Bolshoi Theatre at 11 a.m., December 30.

(Izvestia, December 30, 1922.)

The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic is a New Year's gift to the world proletariat.

(Izvestia, December 31, 1922.)

The First Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics opened at the Bolshoi Theatre yesterday, shortly after midday. It was inaugurated on behalf of the conference of the Union Republic delegations by Comrade Smidovich, the oldest member of the Russian delegation, who made a brief speech. . . .

(Izvestia, December 31, 1922.)

Our states have until now fought as separate armies on one front and we have together defended one cause – the power of labor, Soviet power – against the united front of imperialist governments, and have been building a socialist economy in face of the capitalist offensive. By joining the forces of the various Republics we have derived tremendous strength to face any danger!

Let us recall our fight against famine. Let us recall the trains that left Petrograd for the Tatar Republic or Moscow for the Chuvash Region. Let us recall the ships that sailed from Georgia to the Crimea or the trainloads of grains that were sent from Byelorussia and the Ukraine to the famine-stricken Volga country. This united strength of our Republics contributed to our victories on the external battlefield and on the economic front at home.

We shall now unite in a single state and form one political and economic entity. And then every blow from without and every sorrow affecting a remote, outlying territory will be felt in every part of the state simultaneously and bring an appropriate reaction from the whole Union.

(Proceedings of the First Congress of Soviets.)

After Comrade Smidovich's opening speech, a presidium was elected. Comrade Lenin was elected honorary chairman of the Congress.

(Izvestia, December 31, 1922.)

TO COMRADE V. I. LENIN
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
FIRST CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The First Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army-men's Deputies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which

is beginning its deliberations, sends heartfelt greetings to Comrade Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, honorary chairman of the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR and leader of the world proletariat.

FROM DECISION APPROVING THE DECLARATION AND TREATY ON THE FORMATION OF THE USSR.

The Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, having considered the draft Declaration on the Formation of the USSR and the Treaty of Union concluded by the plenipotentiary delegations elected by Congresses of Soviets of the RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR, Transcaucasian FSR and BSSR, resolves:

1. To approve the Declaration and Treaty of Union in principle. . . .

DECLARATION ON THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Since the formation of the Soviet Republics, the states of the world have split into two camps: the capitalist camp and the socialist camp.

In the capitalist camp there are national enmity and inequality, colonial slavery and chauvinism, national oppression and pogroms, imperialist atrocities and war.

Here in the socialist camp there are mutual confidence and peace, national freedom and equality, peaceful coexistence and fraternal cooperation among the peoples.

Decades-long attempts by the capitalist world to solve the problem of nationalities by combining the free development of the peoples with the system of exploitation of man by man have proved futile. Indeed, national antagonisms are becoming more tangled still, imperilling the very existence of capitalism. The bourgeoisie has proved powerless to organize cooperation among peoples.

It is only in the Soviet camp, only under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has rallied the majority of the population behind it, that national oppression has been thoroughly eliminated, an atmosphere of mutual trust created and the foundations laid for fraternal cooperation among the peoples.

The Soviet Republics owe it only to these circumstances that they were able to beat off the attacks of the imperialists of the world, both domestic and foreign. They owe it only to these circumstances that they succeeded in ending the civil war, safeguarding their existence and embarking on peaceful economic development.

But the war years have left their imprint. With the devastated fields, the factories at a standstill, the destroyed productive forces and depleted economic resources inherited from the war, the separate efforts of the republics towards economic development are not enough. Economic rehabilitation has proved impossible in a system of separately existing republics.

On the other hand, the unstable international situation and the

threat of new attack make it inevitable to set up a united front of Soviet Republics in the face of capitalist encirclement.

Lastly, the very structure of Soviet power, which is international by its class nature, induces the working people of the Soviet Republics to unite in one socialist family.

All these circumstances make it imperative to merge the Soviet Republics into one Union state capable of ensuring both external security and internal economic prosperity and the free national development of the peoples.

The will of the peoples of the Soviet Republics, who recently assembled at Congresses of their Soviets and unanimously resolved to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is a dependable earnest that the Union is a voluntary association of peoples enjoying equal rights, that each republic has a guaranteed right to free secession from the Union, that access to the Union is open to all socialist Soviet republics – both those in existence and those that will rise in the future – that the new union state will fittingly consummate the peaceful coexistence and fraternal cooperation of peoples initiated in October 1917, will be a reliable bulwark against world capitalism and a new, decisive step towards uniting the working people of all countries in a World Socialist Soviet Republic.

Declaring all this to the whole world and solemnly proclaiming the unshakable solidity of Soviet power, which has found expression in the Constitutions of the Socialist Soviet Republics that have empowered us, we delegates of these Republics resolve, on the strength of the powers given to us, to sign the treaty on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(From Congress minutes.)

Comrade Kolarov, General Secretary of the Third, Communist International, who was given an enthusiastic ovation, greeted the Congress on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and said that the Congress was an event of world significance. . . .

Comrade Kolarov said that the Comintern, brought into being as a result of the victorious Russian Revolution, now unites 62 Communist parties and that this militant organization of the world proletariat follows with the keenest interest the new type of proletarian statehood, in which it sees a form of the future union of the peoples of the world. . . .

Comrade Kalinin said in his closing speech:

'We have seen quite a few historic events of exceptional significance in recent years. We cannot but note, however, that this day will play a tremendous role for the peoples of the world. Perhaps we do not realize this sufficiently at the moment but we are here laying the cornerstone of a genuinely fraternal community.'

The delegates left the Bolshoi Theatre on whose pediment, in fire-red letters were the words: 'First Union Congress of Soviets.'
(Izvestia, December 31, 1922.)

... I am profoundly convinced that more and more diverse federations of free nations will group themselves around revolutionary Russia. This federation is invincible and will grow quite freely, without the help of lies or bayonets. The laws and the state system which we are creating over here are the best earnest of its invincibility.

V. I. LENIN

January 31, 1918.

(Summing-up Speech at the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Vol. 26, p. 481.)

As socialist construction progressed favorable socio-economic conditions were gradually created for continuing and perfecting the national and state organization of the USSR. In 1924 the Turkmen and Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republics came into being and in 1929, the Tajik SSR. In 1936, the Kazakh and Kirghiz Autonomous Republics were transformed into union republics. The same year the Azerbaijan, Armenian and Georgian Soviet Republics, which had earlier founded the Transcaucasian SFSR, directly joined the USSR as member republics. The political development of the nations regenerated by the revolution also expressed itself in the formation of autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national districts. . . .

The reunification of the Ukrainian people in the years 1939-1945 and of the Byelorussian people in 1939 were noteworthy events in the life of our multi-national socialist state. In 1940 the working people of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia restored their Soviet statehood through revolutionary struggle. On the basis of the freely expressed will of their peoples, the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Soviet Republics joined the USSR. As a result of the reunification of the Moldavian people, the Moldavian ASSR was transformed into a Union republics.

Full of vigor, the RSFSR and the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Azerbaijan, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tajik, Armenian, Turkmen and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics are advancing to the 50th anniversary of their unbreakable union. Over a hundred nations and nationalities work in our country shoulder to shoulder, building a communist society. Every Soviet citizen, whatever his national origin, is proud primarily of the fact that he is a citizen of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(From Decision of the CC CPSU.

**On Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the
Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.)**



State-monopoly capitalism and its Austrian 'modernizers'

Hans Kalt

L. Maier's article examining new phenomena in modern imperialism, especially as regards the interaction of the monopolies and the state,* raises questions of interest to Austrian Communists. We should like to deal with the specific features of present-day state-monopoly capitalism in our country.

A few words about its evolution. The collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy undermined not only the material base of big capital, but also its trust in Austria's ability to survive as an independent state. The bourgeoisie went into bondage to powerful foreign monopoly interests, chiefly German, with the ultimate result that Austria fell in 1938.

During the Nazi occupation, Austrian capital was driven into the least promising industries, such as textiles and food, and was concentrated in chiefly small and medium-sized enterprises. The country's rebirth, which it owes primarily to the Soviet Army's victory over fascism, weakened the bourgeoisie still more. It was compelled to make substantial social and political concessions, and, among other things, to nationalize the big banks and industrial concerns – a move without precedent in a developed capitalist state. The enterprises taken over by the state were mainly those that had belonged to German finance capital. In 1945, the workers employed there would not have tolerated any other solution.

At the time, the ideologues of the bourgeoisie held that capitalist relations of production could be preserved and stabilized only by extensive state investments and reliance on the most powerful imperialist state, the USA. Accordingly, the bourgeoisie tried to wrest the maximum advantages from nationalization and the Marshall Plan, under which Austria received very substantial funds.

The country was at a political crossroads. Developments could direct it to socialism, but could also consolidate state-monopoly capitalism. An insufficiency of class consciousness prevented the working class from withstanding the influence of foreign imperialists. And the historical responsibility for the stabilization of capitalism despite the weakness of the bourgeoisie and the very

*See WMR No. 3, 1972.

large working class rests principally with the Social-Democrats, who by rejecting the socialist perspective facilitated the political consolidation of capitalist rule when they in fact disrupted the famous October 1950 strike of the Austrian working class, which no longer wished to shoulder all the burdens of economic rehabilitation. True, the workers won some substantial material gains, but these were short-lived. The general situation favored the big bourgeoisie. The concentration of big capital continued, while the smaller enterprises went out of business. The number of manufacturing enterprises fell from 75,000 in 1958, of which 45.1 per cent had but one or two workers, to 62,000 in 1970, with the percentage of dwarf enterprises dropping to 38.2, while, conversely, enterprises employing 50 or more workers rose in number from 4.5 per cent to 5.8.

No capitalists in present-day Austria directly own any of the big banks or any enterprises in the heavy, chemical, oil, engineering or electrical engineering industries. Neither does Austria have any large concerns with subsidiaries abroad, as do such other small capitalist countries as Switzerland, Holland or Sweden. The concentration of home capital is greatest in the 'traditional' industries, chiefly food and textiles. This is where the richest and most influential bourgeois clans are the most active. And it would be a mistake to underestimate their power and place in the country's economy.

So far we have singled out two peculiar features of Austria's state-monopoly capitalism: the unusually high degree of state involvement in the economy through nationalization, and the limited sphere of application for big capital, restricted mainly to the light industries, in which a handful of the traditionally wealthiest groups predominate.

Austrian capitalist dynasties

The Schoeller group is probably the biggest in the country. Its operations offer an insight into the mechanism of monopoly domination. The annual turnover of the main firm, Schoeller and Co., is three billion. In addition, it owns the family bank, Breisach-Pinschoff-Schoeller (housed, by the way, in the former Rothschild bank building in Vienna), with a turnover of some three billion schillings. Schoeller holds the controlling block of shares in Leipnik Lundenburger, Austria's largest sugar producer, the Erste Wiener Walzmuehle Vonwiller Schoeller and the Vereinigte Nahrungsmittel AG, which have an annual turnover of at least 1.5 billion schillings.

The Schoeller dynasty also owns completely or controls a number of smaller businesses, such as Marietta Konditorei, Oesterreichische Ruebensamenzucht, Wiener Neustaedter Hammerbrotfabrik and Stahlhallenbau. Flourishing in imports are the Schoeller-owned Landsmaschinen-Service, Contex Import-Export, Vilweg-Lebensmittel Vertriebs and Bekum Maschinen Vertriebs (in which Schoeller's share is 50 per cent). Some of these are closely associated with major world concerns and hold all but a monopoly on some imports.

This list does not yield a complete picture of the Schoeller

dynasty's influence. It owns 33 per cent of the shares in Voeslauer Kammgarnfabrik, 25 per cent in Brucker Zuckerfabrik and smaller blocks in many of the banks and other private Austrian enterprises. The total annual turnover of the Schoeller-owned and controlled firms is a match for that of the biggest nationalized concerns.

The group's close ties with leading world concerns extend beyond the commercial sphere. Members of the Schoeller family and its trusted agents may be found on the rolls of supervisory councils of a number of enterprises in which foreign capital holds decisive positions. The dynasty predominates in all organizations representing the interests of the Austrian bourgeoisie. One of its representatives heads the industrial section of the Federal Economic Chamber. Dr. Igler, son-in-law of the senior owner of the Schoeller house, was recently made president of the Austrian industrialists' association, and a trusted agent of the group is the vice-president of the federation of Austrian banks and bankers.

The Schoellers are also solidly entrenched in the nationalized industries. Dr. Igler, for example, is a member of the supervisory council of the head organization of the state enterprises, of the Boehler concern, Schoeller-Bleckmann and Oesterreichische Stickstoffwerke, president of the supervisory council of Elin and of Kabel-und-Drahtwerke, and vice-chairman of the supervisory council of Oesterreichische Mineralverwaltung.

A similar pattern of ties in the state-monopoly system exists in the case of the Mautner-Markhof dynasty which is a very close second to the Schoeller house. Other big capital groups hold lesser positions.

Forms of organization

In the early postwar Austrian big business lacked a sufficiently solid base for the reproduction of capital. Its financial capacity was incomparably lower than that of the concerns of other countries. It was therefore eager to devise forms of economic organization that would enable it to predominate in society despite its limited resources. At the same time, it sought to avoid major class conflicts, which, due to its own weakness and the proximity of the socialist countries, could, as the bourgeoisie saw it, imperil its existence. And this policy quickly won direct support from the Social-Democratic leadership, which was in thrall to the 'social partnership' idea and had a stake in maintaining 'class peace.'

A ramified system of voluntary and statutory capitalist associations was formed – cartels, industrialists' societies, the Federal Economic Chamber, and the like. And on the pretext of placing the management of nationalized enterprises in 'competent' hands, big business installed its lieutenants in the top posts in nationalized banks and factories. The arrangement is yielding enormous benefits to the bourgeoisie. Just the setting of prices for raw materials made by nationalized plants and processed in private factories enables capitalists to pocket more than 10 billion schillings of surplus value produced by state enterprises.

Big business steered nationalized industry along an economic course which hampered, even precluded, expansion and development of the more promising industries. In the mid-sixties, when this jeopardized the nation's further industrial growth, big capital began promoting the penetration of foreign capital among others, into the nationalized electrical and petrochemical industries.

The leading place of the main big business groups in state-owned industry and the nationalized banks strengthens their hand in relation to the other sections of the bourgeoisie, and enables them to perform the functions of monopoly capital despite their relative financial weakness.

In the early postwar, the extreme dislocation necessitated, among other things, that the government control raw materials production, food supplies, consumption, and currency. This helped big business to establish a system of control which enables it to influence distribution and the state of the economy through government or 'semi'-government levers (i.e., levers arising from 'social partnership').

Apart from the specific forms of government activity in the large nationalized sector, the state employs such forms of interference in production and distribution typical of latter-day capitalism as the budget, taxes, credits, subsidies, and the like. Of interest on this score is the analysis of these forms in L. Maier's article and the conclusions he draws about the role of the state budget as a concentrated expression of the state's economic function.

To ensure the maximum profits for big business is not the sole purpose of the state's interference in the economy. Stabilizing the capitalist system is another important function of the modern monopoly state. Take the large agricultural subsidies; they are at least partly intended by the ruling circles to retain the small farmers as a social base for capitalism. This purpose is likewise pursued (this was especially the case in the fifties and early sixties) by the comparatively favorable opportunities offered for the growth of urban petty-bourgeois strata engaged primarily in the service industry.

However, the more pressing the question of the scientific-technical revolution becomes, requiring huge investments, the less the big bourgeoisie is inclined to reckon with the interests of its 'junior' class partners. A specifically Austrian form of 'social partnership' has developed by now as the socio-political base for the rule of big capital.

'Social partnership' as an institution

The 'social partnership' theory is but an adaptation to modern conditions of the time-worn concept of 'class harmony.' The resultant system of relations between the vested interests and the government is a characteristic trait of Austrian state-monopoly capitalism.

Since the late 40s a pattern of institutions began taking shape, which include representatives of the Economic Chamber (big industrial capital), the Chamber of Agriculture (big landowners), and

the Chamber of Labor and the Austrian Trade Union Association (the latter two being completely influenced by Social-Democracy). These institutions draft government and parliamentary decisions for various spheres of economic policy, notably prices, wages, customs tariffs, credits, investment, etc.

The institutionalization of 'social partnership' was completed in 1957 with the creation of a parity wage and price commission and its economic and socio-political council. This enabled the dominant circles to avoid all large-scale strikes through all of two decades, with Austria ranking last among the developed capitalist countries for the number of strikes. On the other hand, her industrial workers are the lowest paid in the developed West European capitalist countries.* That is the result of 'social partnership.' For two decades, the ruling class managed to avoid crisis developments in the economy. An important reason has been the country's specific place in the capitalist world economy. The institution of 'social partnership' was able to survive the fall of the Austrian People's Party and Socialist Party government coalition. It functioned during the APP government and continued under the Socialist government.

The decisions of 'social partnership' bodies are motivated first and foremost by the needs of the state-monopoly system. As a rule, big business always gets what it wants. This does not mean that the heads of the Chamber of Labor or the trade union association simply rubber-stamp the demands of the Federal Economic Chamber of Agriculture representatives. Their purpose is to forewarn big business of the limits to which it can go in intensifying exploitation without provoking dangerous counteractions by the working class.

That is the basis of the whole system: real incomes of blue- and white-collar workers are slightly higher (considering the tax burden, the increases are negligible), but profits grow much more rapidly.

The state-monopoly oligarchy

The 'social partnership' institution has impelled the emergence of a state-monopoly oligarchy which also includes a substantial segment of the Social-Democratic leadership. It encompasses not only big business and its agents in the economy, the organizations of industrialists and businessmen and in the government, but also functionaries of the Socialist Party, the trade unions and the Chamber of Labor holding leading posts in the nationalized sector and in enterprises belonging to these bodies (e.g., Bawag, the trade union bank, is Austria's largest private bank).

A system of privileges has been devised for the so-called public representatives, who are exempted from the income tax, and receive special retirement pensions and high salaries. As a result the average income of the narrow circle of Socialist Party functionaries, probably numbering several thousands, is much higher than the average wage (4,100 schillings before taxes in 1971). And since

*See *Jahrbuch der oesterreichischen Wirtschaft*, 1971, part 1. Published by the Federal Economic Chamber, p. 217.

most of them hold several offices, their monthly incomes are 40-50 thousand and in some cases even in excess of 100 thousand schillings.

These material incentives stimulate the concern of leading Socialist Party, trade union and Chamber of Labor functionaries for preserving the existing system. With top posts in these organizations securely held by members of the state-monopoly oligarchy, the bourgeoisie has nothing to fear.

Naturally, the ultimate decision-making instance – if decision-making it is in view of the influence of multinational concerns – is the top echelon of big business. The majority, notably the working class, is deprived of participation in important decisions. The Austrian trade union association (the country's only trade union center), which should at the very least represent working-class interests in economic and social matters, has held no conferences with delegates elected by the rank-and-file since 1945. The members' opinion is not sought either in electing the union leadership, or in other cases, even in formulating wage demands.

Parliaments and governments come and go. Heads of directorates, chambers and unions change. But men like Mautner-Markhof and Schoeller remain. They need not be re-elected or to answer to anyone. They cannot be relieved of their posts. They belong to the state-monopoly oligarchy by birth.

This is why the 21st Congress of the Austrian Communist Party noted in its resolution that the decision-making prerogative of the narrow big business institutions and anti-democratic bourgeois rule in Austria are traceable to 'the firm entrenchment of social partnership which is ideologically a refurbished form of the old theory of class harmony and the basis of Socialist Party policy.'*

Role of Socialist Party government

Following the 1970 elections in which the Socialist Party won a relative majority in the National Council, party chairman Dr. Kreisky formed a minority government acclaimed by big business for its intention of 'modernizing' the existing social relations, while rejecting all radical reform. This 'modernization' of capitalism completely suited big business, insofar as it envisaged greater investment and more profits. It was easier for the Socialist Party government than for its predecessors to follow a policy prejudicial to the working class and aimed at increasing profits at the expense of wages. Besides, unlike the National Party, it could take less notice of the interests of the petty-bourgeois strata, subjected to mounting monopoly capital pressure.

In the October 10, 1971 elections the Socialist Party won an absolute majority in the National Council. It continues to steer its old course, meaning higher prices and higher taxes for wage-earners and rapid concentration of profits in the hands of big business.

Regardless of the Socialist Party's election promises, a consider-

*See *Protokoll des XXI. Parteitages der KPO*, Stern Verlag, Vienna, p. 340.

able section of the working class still believes that a socialist government augurs better prospects than any of the previous governments. But all hopes have been dashed. And the disenchantment may be the beginning for a surge of workers' action. It creates a new situation and offers new opportunities for undermining the 'social partnership' ideology.

The mass of Socialist Party members, supporters and voters have none of the advantages of the leadership and have not been materially 'integrated' in capitalism. This means that the Socialist Party leadership and the rank and file have an entirely different relationship with the state-monopoly system. For Communists it is especially important to see and correctly evaluate this.

In the mid-60s total incomprehension of the matter was displayed by Marek* in a statement on joint action with the Socialist Party: 'We can no longer use the old recipe of the inter-war period: always action unity below, unity above and below when possible, and never only above.'** What did this mean? In substance, it was an acknowledgement of purely summit deals between Communists and the Right-wing Socialist leadership. How could one convincingly show the Social-Democratic workers the true place of the Socialist leadership in the state-monopoly capitalist system if even such 'Communist figures' as Marek maintained that united action with the top leaders without the rank and file was quite feasible?

The development of the crisis in the CPA, which broke into the open in 1968 and was not overcome until the 21st Congress in 1970, was stimulated among other things by our Party's failure to refute the notion that by virtue of Austria's economic structure she had no monopoly capital and that therefore state-monopoly capitalism was out of the question. As a result, the analyses of the true role of the nationalized sector, the Socialist and trade union leaderships, the 'social partnership' institutions, etc., were incorrect. Not until the crisis in the Party was overcome, could we proceed to analyze state-monopoly capitalism and its specifically Austrian features.

The abyss between the leadership, rank and file and supporters of the Socialist Party will widen as capitalism develops. The internal differentiation, though combated by various political moves, will act ever more strongly and take new forms, and will show in bolder relief some of the specific weaknesses in the country's economic structure.

The advance of foreign capital

State-monopoly capitalism in Austria is highlighted by intensive penetration of multinational corporations, fraught with dangerous consequences. Under direct pressure from abroad, a number of baneful decisions were taken shortly after 1945. For instance, Austria was compelled to refrain from restoring her automobile plants,

*Franz Marek, formerly member of Political Bureau, CC CPA.—Ed.

**See *Weg und Ziel*, November 1965.

though she had had a highly developed motor industry in 1938. As a result, Austrian industry was deprived of an important economic growth factor during the automobile boom of the following decades.

According to statistics released by the Austrian National Bank, the annual increase of direct foreign investments (excluding reinvestment of profits earned in Austria) was 627 million schillings in 1967; 1,126 million in 1968; 1,308 million in 1969, and 2,458 million in 1970.

In 1969, a study of the Vienna Chamber of Labor shows, 22.5 per cent of the nominal assets of stock companies operating in Austria (10.3 billion out of 46 billion schillings) were foreign-owned.* The magnesite plants (leading the field in the capitalist world) are wholly controlled by foreign capital. The multinational concerns of Esso, Mobil, Shell, British Petroleum, Unilever, Nestle's, Philips, Brown Boveri, and others, are firmly entrenched. West German monopolies have recovered lost ground and are making advances. Their total investments in Austria ranked fifth in 1961, but climbed to the top of the list of foreign investors by 1968.** Siemens exploits the labor of 12,000 Austrian blue- and white-collar workers; Hoechst and BASF control the burgeoning petrochemical industry, and Flick, Mannesmann, MAN, AEG, Bosch, Oetker and a number of commercial and haulage firms are expanding operations.

The Socialist government goes out of its way to facilitate the interweaving of Austrian big business and the multinational concerns. It is argued that transfer of the principal enterprises to foreign capital is the only way to make them competitive and ensure survival. These claims are easy to refute: what multinational giant would be more interested in keeping an Austrian subsidiary competitive than in making profits? True, the high skill of Austria's manpower coupled with lower wages augurs additional profit, encouraging multinational corporations to expand production. But all the same, the introduction to the above-mentioned Chamber of Labor study voices fears 'that in most cases foreign investments materialize in production of low or medium technological complexity, cementing the gap between the development rates of the investor and recipient countries.'***

When the world market conjuncture declines, these are the enterprises most threatened by closure or cutback. Besides, we must not lose sight of the danger for neutral Austria of economic, and hence political, subordination to the influence of West Germany, the most powerful of the West European states and a member of the Common Market and NATO.

For the CPA, analyzing state-monopoly capitalism is of the utmost importance from the standpoint of orientation in the current struggle and the long-term battle for socialism. It is impossible to combat the 'social partnership' ideology without resolute struggle against

*Oskar Gruenwald, Ferdinand Lazina. *Auslandskapital in der oesterreichischen Wirtschaft*. Europa Verlag, Vienna, 1970, p. 52.

**Ibid., p. 62.

***Ibid., p. 12.

state-monopoly capital, without criticizing it from Marxist-Leninist positions. An elucidation of its essence should help show the working class that the Socialist government is not much different from the previous governments.

The orientation on struggle for socialism is inconceivable without the battle against state-monopoly capitalism. Yet it involves mounting difficulties, though the objective conditions are becoming more favorable: the ranks of the working class, the main force in the struggle for socialism, are expanding; the contradictions between the monopoly bourgeoisie and virtually all other sections of the people, notably intellectuals, peasants, artisans, etc., are growing. The existence and consolidation of the socialist community is another, especially important factor. This can and should be used to establish broad anti-monopoly alliances and bring home to the overwhelming majority the abyss between its interests and those of the monopolies, to push out the monopolies and to create the preconditions for undermining and ending their rule.

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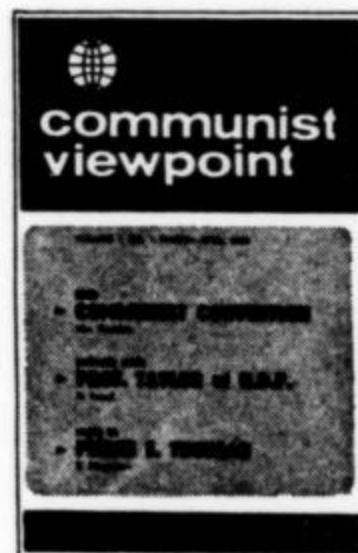
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'Vietnamization': a doomed policy

This spring the South Vietnamese patriotic forces launched offensive operations throughout the country. In a desperate attempt to save an unsavable situation, the U.S. imperialists sharply escalated the war in Indochina, using air and naval power on a scale never known before. Hanoi, Haiphong and other densely populated areas of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have been attacked by heavy B-52 bombers. The DRV is effectively repelling the air and naval attacks. In their impotent fury, the U.S. aggressors are wreaking vengeance on the peaceful population in a vain attempt to delay the inevitable end of their military gamble. But there is only one way to end the conflict, through a negotiated political settlement. That is, and always has been, the policy of the South Vietnam patriotic forces and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

While in Hanoi, our correspondents asked Nguyen Phu Soai, special representative in the DRV of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, to describe the political situation and outlook in his country. His account follows.

The United States refuses to acknowledge military, political and economic defeat in Vietnam. Hence the celebrated 'Vietnamization' policy. It does not signify a change of America's imperialist aims, only a change of tactics. What we have is a new type of colonialism.

The U.S. imperialists want to 'pacify' the country, build up a puppet army and bolster the Saigon regime. Not an easy task, to say the least.

Let us take the military and morale factors. For more than ten years now our small country with a population of about 17 million has been in confrontation with a country of more than 200 million and a tremendous military and economic potential. At times the Americans had more than half a million troops, and considering that they were alternated, from two to three million American soldiers have seen duty in South Vietnam. This has not improved their morale. In fact, many came to realize that they were being made to fight a dirty war.

Now Nixon wants to replace the Americans by a Saigon puppet

army. That's not easy either – even the imperialists believe that it would take 20 years. The Saigon troops are demoralized and their combatworthiness is, in many respects, questionable. For one thing, there is widespread drug addiction. Nixon is using massive air and naval support to keep this army from crumbling.

'Pacification' presupposes herding the rural population into 'strategic hamlets,' where they will live under the stringent control of the Saigon authorities. The policy in the cities is to implant 'American culture' – corruption, prostitution and similar 'values.' And here the main target is the youth, the idea being to instil false aims and undermine its intrinsic spirit of resistance.

This type of 'culture,' meant to subvert our people spiritually, goes hand in hand with ruthless bombing meant to destroy the country and its people.

Nixon wants to extend 'Vietnamization' to foreign policy too. That is the object of his 8-point program. It promises withdrawal of American troops but sets no date. In exchange for this we are expected to lay down our arms and wait for negotiations, for elections organized by the Thieu administration, and so on. Some pretend to see a similarity between Nixon's eight points and the 7-point program of our Provisional Revolutionary Government. There is no similarity – the two are as far apart as heaven and earth. The end aim of Nixon's proposals is to bring South Vietnam under neo-colonialist tutelage. The aim of our proposals is to give South Vietnam freedom and independence.

We are successfully fighting the aggressors, but there are serious battles ahead. For we are faced with a powerful adversary and have to operate in difficult and complex conditions. Our work has to extend to the military, political, diplomatic fields. That is the only way to neutralize the enemy's efforts and prepare our victory.

Let me describe some forms of the struggle we are now waging. One of them is political work, and it is conducted everywhere, even among enemy troops and Saigon officials. We differentiate our tactics in highland areas, villages and towns. Operations by the Liberation Army are complemented by actions of local armed units and civilian groups. We combine or alternate political struggle and military operations depending on local conditions. But everywhere and always the purpose is to destroy the enemy.

In the cities we use legal, semi-legal and illegal methods, the aim being to prepare the people for a general armed rising. Of course we cannot raise their level of political understanding all at once. We are working gradually and steadily to shift from illegal to legal work in order to reach a wider section of the people.

Let me cite this example. The patriotic forces have all along insisted on a complete pullout of foreign troops. The Saigon puppet regime, on the other hand, legislatively banned not only that slogan, but all talk of peace. Indeed, anyone who talked peace was tried as an enemy of the state. But now, as a result of our political work, everyone is talking of peace and of a neutral South Vietnam. Even Thieu's rival in the presidential campaign expressed such thoughts.

Since mass repression is no longer possible, the Saigon authorities are trying to muzzle the press. They have raised the price of newsprint to cut down circulation and in this way hinder the spread of 'undesirable' ideas.

Our political and economic slogans and their combination help to bring new sections of the people into the fight against the regime. And this is undermining it. For instance, when the workers at Saigon munition plants act to support the demand for more pay and jobs for the unemployed, this can cut back production or close some of the plants altogether.

The main patriotic force in the towns are the working people, but more students, intellectuals, men and women from other sections are being drawn into the fight.

Anti-American sentiments are particularly strong among the youth, which is displaying courage and a high degree of activity. Not so very long ago it was customary to refer to our young people as 'firecrackers' – they would flare up but were not capable of sustained effort. That is not so today. The youth is joining in political activity and learning our tactics. And experience has shown that if young people are enlisted in the struggle and helped to understand the situation, they become stable and devoted fighters. We are firmly convinced that the success of our political work, designed for many years to come, depends on educating a new type of man, a new morality. Youth must be made to know who its friends are and who its enemies. A youngster whose interests do not go beyond bell-bottomed trousers, pop music, etc., can easily be diverted from the right path. That is why, I repeat, we reject as unacceptable and dangerous these waste products of the 'American way of life.'

Women play a conspicuous part and we attach much importance to bringing them into the struggle. Many intellectuals are animated by patriotic sentiments and are working with the National Liberation Front.

Now, one general remark: in the nearly 4,000 years of its history, Vietnam has spent about 1,000 years combating foreign invaders. It is therefore only natural that the idea of independence and freedom should be so deeply rooted in our people. This is an important factor in all the work of the patriotic forces.

But political struggle is a very complicated art. We cannot launch any military operation in disregard of the political situation: in every concrete case we must carefully and accurately assess the relation of forces.

The aim of all our political work is the creation of a broad popular unity front. Many parties and organizations are working within the National Liberation Front on a common program that takes into account the interests of the entire population. And its aim is peace, democracy, independence, but independence that will enable the people to elect the government and all other authorities in genuinely free elections. That has nothing in common with the kind of independence American imperialists want to impose on us. If we are effectively to expose and expel the Yankee invader and win power,

there must be a high level of moral and political consciousness of the people. And much will depend on the vanguard of the patriotic forces.

The NLF has a strong and firm foundation in the support of the people and the people's army. There is a complete consensus of the Front's component forces, and I might add that all its resolutions are adopted unanimously. Leaning on this support and correctly applying the various forms of struggle combined with a flexible policy, we can further expand the NLF and bring in new allies. We are uniting with diverse parties, public, cultural and religious organizations, and with many prominent leaders irrespective of their past (some of them were our opponents). The main plank of our unity program is sincere and devoted struggle to expel the U.S. imperialists.

NLF influence is steadily growing. A short while ago 32 Saigon organizations came out against Nixon's eight points and in support of the program advanced by the NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

The U.S. is trying to sow disunity and discord. So much so that it wants to divide every family against itself, with the father on one side and the son on the other side of the barricades. Everything is used to achieve that, not least money and coercion. For us, however, national concord is a strategic, not merely a tactical aim, for we must spare our people the suffering to which the Yankee invader wants to condemn them. To do that we are working to instil in the people a deep feeling of love for their countrymen and their homeland.

In this respect our 10-point Statement is of especial significance. It appeals to the soldiers of the Saigon puppet army to join the patriotic forces against the American imperialists. It helps the misled to find the path to justice and to work in the people's cause. The Statement is imbued with humanism and concern for the national interests.

The Saigon stooges are completely isolated in the country, even in parliament. And among them there is a widening division and a growing understanding that no amount of 'Vietnamization' will save them. Some of the more astute are changing their position, resorting to political feints, presumably in the hope that they can still serve the Americans. Nguyen Cao Ky, for instance, has found it prudent to take a more realistic view of the situation and come out in open opposition to President Thieu. The latter, for his part, has lost faith in the regime and is salting his money away in Swiss banks against the time when the Americans will no longer have any use for him.

Nixon talks peace but makes war. He even professes fondness of children, as if he never ordered the bomb attacks and knows nothing of the six million tons of bombs dropped on Vietnam. But it should be perfectly clear that no amount of bombing can stave off America's defeat. We have implicit faith in victory over the U.S. imperialists and their Saigon marionettes. They have lost the initiative. Today three nations are fighting the American aggressor shoulder to shoul-

der. And each of them has scored significant successes. Lon Nol is no longer in effective control even in Pnom Penh and his regime finds itself in a profound military and political crisis. More and more of Laos is being liberated by the patriotic forces.

Nixon continues to maneuver, refusing to withdraw his army from Indochina. But he will have to withdraw; the situation in our part of the world makes that a certainty.

Victory will be ours despite all the machinations of Nixon and his allies. We have the support of the people and the assistance of the socialist countries, which we highly appreciate. With us are the Communists and the progressive forces of the world.

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Whose axe does extremism grind?

I. Extremist elements of the Leftist variety have become more active of late in some of the developed capitalist states.

Take just a few of their actions with the greatest resonance in the world press. At the end of February, when a Maoist group wishing to distribute leaflets tried to force its way into the Renault plant at Boulogne - Billancourt, 23-year-old Pierre Overney was shot and killed in the ensuing clash with factory guards. His assassin, a Renault employee, was arrested on the spot. But a few days later the Maoists, who quickly formed a Pierre Overney group, kidnapped Robert Nogrette, a member of the Renault staff, and set conditions on his release. Soon they had to let him go, because contrary to their expectations the kidnapping evoked nothing but anger and contempt among the Renault workers.

In March, a sharp clash occurred in the center of Milan between the police and a mob of Rightist and Leftist extremists. The wounded numbered nearly 100, and as many were arrested. The provocation was deliberately timed to coincide with the Italian Communist Party congress opening the following day, and was also aimed at stoking up tensions in anticipation of the general election. Another objective: to justify the violence resorted to more and more frequently by Italy's ruling element against the Left democratic forces.

Japan too, did not escape the extremist contagion: explosions rocked cinemas and other public places at the end of last year. The disturbances are ascribed to members of Rengo Sekigun, a Maoist organization that tries invariably to turn every public demonstration and mass meeting into a mob fight or bloody clash with the police, while advertising its tactics as the highest form of struggle. The arrested rowdies, the *Akahata* reported, did not deny acting on the instigation of Peking, where hot praise was showered on them. A new monstrous crime committed by Rengo Sekigun - this time against its own former members - was discovered this spring. Fourteen corpses of brutally slain young people, victims of a Maoist lynching, were found in the hills near Tokyo. An arrested suspect revealed that the fourteen were

'liquidated' for 'displaying the intention of deserting' and that the lynching was meant to 'preserve the group from falling apart.' The young men died, because they could no longer stomach political assassinations and terrorist tactics.

Extremist excesses also occurred in the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, some of the Latin American countries, Turkey and elsewhere.

Communist Parties can not but say what they think of these acts, which give the public a wrong impression of the character of the revolutionary struggle and, more, are gradually acquiring the complexion of a large-scale political provocation.

Showing the implications of the Rightist calls 'to defend the republic' against ultra-Leftist activity, the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party noted that 'the authorities want disturbances. They thrived on them in 1968, and now want to begin all over again.' The FCP called on the masses to rally and frustrate the conspiracy, bringing France out of its present crisis.

The General Confederation of Labor statement followed the same lines, stressing that ultra-Leftist activity would only serve to 'create a situation favorable for increasingly serious impingements on trade union and democratic freedoms.'

The Italian Communist Party's 13th Congress, too, occupied itself with the question of extremist tactics. Comrade Enrico Berlinguer showed that the extremist groups had degenerated from vehicles of spontaneous youth protests into an instrument of sinister reactionary intrigues against the labor movement and its organizations. The ultra-Left was grinding the axe of Italian reaction and supporting what is a highly advantageous legend for the authorities, that of 'opposite extremisms,' which blames the violence equally on the Right and Left, portraying the state as the only effective countervailing force.

The Communist Party of Japan came out sharply against the Rengo Sekigun. The criminal tactics of the blinded Mao followers, T. Sakaki, member of the CC CPJ Secretariat, pointed out, show 'what the theory of "people's warfare" and "arms only" leads to.'

In short, the recent Leftist actions show 'ultra-revolutionism' in world and political gangsterism and provocation in deed to be the specific attributes of modern Left extremism. The would-be revolutionaries who confuse violations of public order with the struggle against the bourgeois social order are pawns of reaction. They provide the latter with a good excuse for its repressive anti-people 'law and order' policy. And its task is made easier by the fact that most of the groups and mini-groups which follow the perfidious Trotskyite 'entrism' theory of secretly infiltrating other political organizations, are themselves literally teeming with agents of every conceivable secret service. Gil Green, a U.S. Marxist and student of the so-called Left radicalism in the United States, observes: 'Every recent arrest on a terrorist charge has uncovered

at least one government agent who led in the wild talk and the formulation of fantastic plans.'*

There is one more feature of present-day Left extremism – its anti-communist prejudices – that arouse a special interest among the reactionary forces. Ultra-Leftist groups usually publicly oppose the working-class parties. And bourgeois propaganda is quick to seize on the opportunity of confusing the public by averring the existence of a 'Marxist' extremism and attaching this epithet to terrorist organizations in, say, Argentina, Uruguay and Turkey. Yet ultra-Leftism has in fact always stood for disavowal of Marxism and is shot through with hate for the Communist movement.

Capitalist propagandists know this perfectly well. But they are also aware of the advantages accruing to them from the use of this 'Left anti-communism.' For it is one thing for inveterate enemies of progress – known reactionaries, fascists and semi-fascists – to fulminate against the Communist parties, and quite another for youngsters waving red flags and swearing allegiance to the revolution to shout anti-communist slogans and raid Communist Party premises.

II. Reactionary ideologues go out of their way to magnify the 'mysteries' of the ultra-Left ideology and oppose it to scientific communism.

For Marxist-Leninists, however, there is nothing either mysterious or essentially novel in extremism, because it is only a latter-day modification of anarchism, an ideology which Marxism first contended with as far back as a hundred years ago. At that time, it will be recalled, anarchism was associated chiefly with Bakunin and was theoretically repulsed by Marx and Engels, with its ideological defeat later consummated by Lenin.

However, the dialectics of the labor movement is such that from time to time it has to deal with seemingly long extinct misconceptions and fallacies reviving on new soil. Most of all it is the new recruits, especially those coming from non-proletarian sections and classes, who are vulnerable. The social background of the present Left extremist 'wave' bears out its petty-bourgeois essence, long since pinpointed by Marxism. The continuing accession to Leftist organizations shows that the petty bourgeois, who, as Lenin aptly put it, 'was crazed by the horrors of capitalism,' has gone berserk in the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism. The complexities and convolutions of the social struggle in the setting of the scientific-technical revolution, the new perils stalking humanity, tend to unhinge people lacking proletarian self-control and a scientific conception of social development, driving them to adventurism.

True, Leftist groups are a motely collection which also includes young workers led astray by pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric. But

*Gil Green, *The New Radicalism. Anarchist or Marxist?* International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 99.

the bulk of their membership hails from the 'middle classes.' And as a rule it is intellectuals who act as their patrons and god-fathers: in Italy, for example, the late Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, millionaire publisher of anarchist literature, who recently fell victim to a Right extremist provocation and lost his life under mysterious circumstances in a Milan suburb.

For some of the 'brilliant' young (and not so young) intellectuals in the capitalist countries, the workaday organizing of the anti-imperialist and anti-monopolist mass struggle seems dull and tedious. They are attracted by spectacular acts of violence sensationally reported in newspapers. Yet the experience of history proves that the real revolutionary aims are unattainable through political adventurism, which substitutes actions by isolated, albeit daring, loners for the historical initiative of the masses.

Some left extremists could not care less for the aims of the struggle. For them revolutionary gesture often substitutes for the revolutionary standpoint. Take this statement by Sauvageot, a French student leader: 'The main thing is to destroy capitalism; then we shall see.' That the ruling bourgeoisie has no fear of Leftist 'revolutionism' is probably traceable to this very absence of clear and definite social aims. The ruling classes know what extremists, befogged by their own rhetoric, are unable to understand: modern state-monopoly capitalism will not be brought down, or even forced to retreat, by sporadic acts of terror. The real danger to the exploitative system comes from the organized action of the masses, and first and foremost the working class.

Lack of contact with the masses, lack of confidence in the fighting spirit and strength of the workers, and inability to link revolutionary work with the labor movement, are still the main sources of extremist sentiment. As Lenin noted in his 'What Is to Be Done,' 'it is difficult indeed for those who have lost their belief, or who have never believed, that this is possible, to find some outlet for their indignation and revolutionary energy other than terror' (Vol. 5, p. 418).

These days, too, it is chiefly elements unconnected with the masses, elements that are worlds removed from the truly revolutionary ideals of the working class and its allies, who join the terrorists. Their apology of violence and terror in the interest of 'immediate revolution' and the exclusiveness ('elitism') of their organizations, the orientation on anarchist acts by a handful of 'activists' and a penchant for conspiratorial methods, put all this motley company, whatever they may call themselves – gauchist, Trotskyite, Maoist or anything else – in one heap. Symptomatically, the ultra-Leftists' smug claim that social revolution is accomplished not by the masses but by a handful of the 'chosen,' has not escaped the notice of bourgeois observers. A *Le Monde* editorial described the Left extremists as the 'last of the aristocrats' (March 10, 1972).

And it is this 'aristocratism,' or more precisely this bourgeois

individualism, which is the main source of the weakness of modern 'Leftism.' Precisely for its lack of a mass base and despite its claim to a special 'revolutionism,' extremism presents no dangers to the survival of monopoly power, though in word it keeps challenging imperialism. In fact, it personifies only the most primitive forms of protest against the capitalist system. A 'revolt without an aim,' it is incapable of being the mover of social progress.

Hence the conspicuous inconsistency of the 'ultra' revolutionaries. Hence their unpredictable swings from one extreme to another. The evolution of the Black Panther leaders in the United States, discussed in an earlier issue, is a typical example of this petty-bourgeois vacillation. One of the most radical Black Panthers, Huey P. Newton, gave up his original belief in the 'power of the gun' and began flirting with the reactionary authorities and supporting the idea of a 'Black capitalism.'*

In sum, though a close kin to the anarchism of old, present-day extremism possesses a number of new features. Take its multiplicity. The Leftism of today is not a single stream, but rather an interlacement of different, often long inactive, rivulets flowing in approximately the same direction. It is a hodge-podge of diverse elements - Trotskyites with a long record of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet intrigue, anarchists of different complexions, voluntary or paid informers, and politically inexperienced, 'sincerely mistaken' young men. But regardless of the subjective motivations of the various members of Leftist actions, they are often objectively abettors of reaction in its battle against the truly Left parties and organizations. And this anti-Communist and insidious side of Left extremism is now more apparent than ever before.

The Maoist variety of extremism, an organized and deliberate exporting to other countries of the methods and ideology of the so-called cultural revolution, is unquestionably a novelty. Along with the apology of blind 'revolt' and physical violence, the Maoists borrowed from their mentors also the latter's fierce hatred of the Soviet Union, the Communist parties, and the existing socialist society. The specific danger of this strain of extremism is that its activity relies not only on political, but also on financial and other material support from the Peking leadership.

III. Puerile and unscrupulous, therefore, are the contentions of a section of the capitalist press that the irreconcilable stand taken by the Marxist-Leninist parties against Left extremism is due to their fear of being 'outlefted.' A London *Times* editorial, 'Well to the Left of the Communists,' for example, said, of all things, that roles have changed and Communists are no longer revolutionaries, but a 'party of order.'

Its writers are deluding themselves and misleading others. There is no unoccupied space 'left' of communism, of Marxism-Leninism,

*For details see Henry Winston's 'The Crisis of the Black Panther Party' in No. 12, 1971.

that 'revolutionists' of the Leftist underground could occupy. They ought to know the worth of the latter's pseudo-revolutionism, and are committing a deliberate fraud by standing things on their head and describing the party whose purpose it is to replace capitalism with socialism, one social system with another by revolutionary means, as a 'party of order.'

Communists reject none of the possible forms of struggle. They oppose extremism not for a lack of revolutionism and not because they are more afraid than others of the sight of blood. They oppose it because of their sense of responsibility to the revolution, which they regard as the cause of the broad masses. Marxists have never denied violence and terrorism in principle, wrote Lenin, but they are for such forms of violence as are calculated to bring about the direct participation of the masses and which guarantee that participation (see Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 195).

During the first Russian revolution of 1905-1906, none other than Lenin defended the armed actions of Russia's western fringes against charges of Blanquism and anarchism. In the conditions of a ripening popular uprising, he wrote, partisan warfare and resort to arms is fully justified (see Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, pp. 217-220). In 1918 the young Soviet republic did not hesitate to retaliate against 'white terror'—attempts on the lives of revolutionaries organized by bourgeois reaction—with massive 'red terror.' And later, too, the victorious proletariat never faltered in striking back at counter-revolution.

But revolutionary class struggle and the elimination of class enemies who refuse to surrender is one thing, and senseless disorderly terrorist activity which does not discriminate between its victims, is another. Marxist-Leninists have nothing in common with such activity, which is foreign to revolutionary expediency and proletarian humanism. They condemn it and will have nothing to do with it.

To justify their passion for acts of violence and sabotage, ultra-Leftists argue that terror possesses a great educational potential, that it rouses the masses and generates fury against the existing system. Many of those who plead this do not even suspect that they are merely aping the Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries of the beginning of this century, who also insisted on the 'excitative' value of terrorism. Lenin tore their arguments to shreds, describing the call to terrorism in place of organizing the masses as a way of 'dodging' real revolutionary political work.

We have no reason to exaggerate the danger of Leftist extremism as the bourgeois press does for its own ends. But it would be folly to underestimate its harm. It is not something one can simply dismiss. First of all, it is engendered by the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism with its reactionary extremes, its suppression of the personality and its dictatorship of the moneybags. Second, it recruits followers principally among young people, exploiting their finest qualities, their keen sense of justice, their intolerance of

social evil, and their energy and thirst for action. It tries to attract the youth, capitalizing on its sense of the romantic, its craving for deeds of valor. That is the reason why the Leftist leaders tend to disparage the 'routine' and 'conservatism' of Communist parties, while casting a veil of romanticism on their own often dirty dealings.

Though condemning Left extremism, the Communists do not throw all its supporters into one heap. As Comrade Georges Marchais pointed out recently, the French Communist Party 'has never confused the leaders, the chiefs, the provocateurs, with the youth that aspires to change and may have been temporarily deceived.' As for the former, it would be childish to expect them to turn over a new leaf, to revise their views. They are the scum on the surface of the liberation movement. They lack roots not only among workers, but also among the working intelligentsia, and not accidentally all their stakes are put on the lumpenproletariat. Their aims have nothing in common with the revolutionary reconstruction of the world.

Marxist-Leninists consider it their duty to protect the youth from the insidious influence of the 'Left' adventurers, to direct its energy on genuinely revolutionary tactics. The best antidote to ultra-Left illusions, the experience of some parties shows, is to firm up the youth's ties with the working class and to show it the maximum of trust and respect. To breathe real life and real revolutionary romance into the activity of youth organizations, the romance which Lenin so ardently defended against the 'pedants of Marxism,' is to erect a dependable barrier to extremism.

Jan Prazsky

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Forms of the struggle for power

Earlier articles in this series* investigated certain aspects of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution and analyzed the present-day features of the world revolutionary process and its motive forces. This analysis leads logically to the fundamental problem of the revolution, that of political power and the forms of achieving it. Lenin noted that 'the passing of state power from one class to another is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a revolution, both in the strictly scientific and in the practical political meaning of that term' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 44).

The winning of power by the working class is a law of the socialist revolution, a prerequisite for its victory. Establishment of the political rule of the proletariat, which Engels called the 'gateway to a new society,' is an objective necessity for carrying out the creative tasks of the revolution and building socialism and communism. Hence, the struggle for power determines the content of the class strategy and tactics of all revolutionary forces, of all contingents of the world Communist movement. This, however, does not mean that it takes the same forms always and everywhere. In 1872, Marx declared: 'In time the worker must take the political power into his hands. . . . But we have never claimed that this goal must be achieved everywhere by the same means.' Lenin, carrying forward this important proposition of Marxist revolutionary theory, emphasized: 'Marx did not commit himself, or the future leaders of the socialist revolution, to matters of form, to ways and means of bringing about the revolution. He understood perfectly well that a vast number of new problems would arise, that the whole situation would change in the course of the revolution, and that the situation would change *radically* and *often* in the course of revolution' (Vol. 27, p. 343). In other words, set political formulas and dogmatic prescriptions that can only shackle the initiative and creativity of the masses in revolutionary action are completely alien to Marxism.

The experience of this age of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism has fully confirmed the importance of the Marxist-Leninist theses concerning the diversity of forms of revolutionary

*See *World Marxist Review*, Nos. 7, 9, 12 for 1971 and No. 3, 1972.

struggle, in which the general laws of this struggle are revealed. Choosing the path which the working class must follow to win power, and taking into account the specifics of the given situation, of the alignment of forces, are problems which occupy a prominent place in the theoretical and practical activity of Communist parties and the Communist movement as a whole. In this sphere too, Lenin remarks, Marxism-Leninism 'learns, if we may so express it, from mass practice' (Vol. 11, pp. 213-214). Marxist-Leninist theory, drawing on the experience of revolutionary struggle, offers the proletariat a reliable guide to the most effective means of winning power.

I. Socialist revolution is always a battle fought simultaneously on the political, economic and ideological fronts. Its forms depend on both internal and external factors and their interaction in concrete circumstances. The internal factors include the country's economic and cultural level, the degree of organization of the proletariat, the balance of class forces, the state of local democratic institutions, and national traditions. Among the external factors are the links and cooperation with the revolutionary forces of other countries, the international situation as a whole, and relations with neighboring states. But every specific situation may develop in a unique way, and this will determine the tactics to be adopted in fighting for power.

Diverse as the forms of revolutionary action may be, they fall into two main categories: peaceful action, i.e., action not involving the use of armed force, and non-peaceful action, requiring the use of force. Striking a proper balance between the two forms is most essential to the theory and practice of the socialist revolution, and for more than a century it has been a pivotal problem claiming the attention of the world labor movement. Throughout these years the proletariat's political vanguard has had to fight against both Right and 'Left' opportunists dogmatically opposing one form of the revolution to the other.

Marxism-Leninism rejects all absolutization of the peaceful forms of taking power, which revisionists see as the only indication of 'maturity' of the revolution. But equally unacceptable is the Leftist fetish of non-peaceful means, and the claim that 'power comes from the barrel of the gun.' Opportunists on the right and 'left,' outwardly at loggerheads, have a common predilection for ossified schemes and equally scorn revolutionary practice.

To understand the relationship between peaceful and non-peaceful ways in the struggle for power, it is important to remember that we are here dealing with forms of the revolution. And whatever the forms, revolution always involves overthrowing the power of the ruling class, and in this sense revolution is always violence. To break the bourgeois government machine, the proletariat and its class allies can resort to either 'criticism by weapon' or the 'weapon of criticism.' In either case this implies force, whether military, political or ideological. 'Without revolutionary violence directed against the direct enemies of the workers and peasants,' Lenin said, 'the resistance of these exploiters cannot be broken' (*Complete Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 40, p. 117).

Anti-Communist propaganda, which is silent about the humane objectives of the socialist revolution and distorts the nature of revolutionary violence, accuses Marxist-Leninists of advocating armed struggle as a *sine qua non*. But the working class and Communist parties always seeks to carry out socialist changes in society without bloodshed. 'Insurrection would be folly where peaceful agitation would lead to the goal by a faster and more certain road.' These words of Marx express the principle of choosing forms of revolutionary struggle. But class battles are not duels between gentlemen in which the weapons to be used are chosen by mutual agreement. Where the exploiter classes use repression against the proletariat to prevent it from political activity, revolutionaries have no alternative but armed action.

When, in the pre-monopoly period of capitalism, the conditions were evolving for its developing into imperialism and the bourgeoisie was stepping up its offensive against the working people, Marx and Engels held that armed insurrection was the most probable way of gaining power. The only experience of proletarian struggle for power at the time was that of the Paris Commune. But even then the founders of Marxism did not see armed rising as the only way. 'We know,' Marx said at a meeting in Amsterdam, 'that the institutions, customs and traditions of various countries must be taken into account; nor do we deny that there are countries like America, England and if I knew your institutions better, I might add Holland, where the workers can achieve their objective by peaceful means.' And in the 1890s, after the death of Marx, Engels called upon the working class to prepare for both peaceful and non-peaceful struggle for power.

The increasing reactionary and militaristic trends of imperialism at the turn of the century led Lenin to the conclusion that armed struggle was inevitable at the first stage of the world Socialist revolution. His conclusion was supported by historical facts, it was suggested by an analysis of the situation in the world, of imperialism's economics and politics. But even at a time when the prospects of peaceful development of the revolution had grown dimmer, Lenin considered it necessary to use every opportunity for the proletariat's peaceful advance to power. 'The working class,' he wrote, 'would, of course, prefer to take power *peacefully* . . .' (Vol. 4, p. 276). Lenin urged proletarian parties to study every form of struggle and be prepared to combine different forms or promptly replace one form by another.

II. The effective, genuine humanism of Marxist-Leninist theory always motivated its founders in seeking the most painless road to revolutionary transformation even when the opportunities for this were limited. Lenin considered the prospect of a peaceful takeover of power extremely valuable and carefully studied it. After the tsar was overthrown in Russia (February 1917) Lenin pointed to the possibility of the bourgeois democratic revolution developing peacefully into a socialist revolution through the Soviets taking

over full power. This was made possible by the gaining of substantial democratic freedoms, the absence of a direct rule of force over the masses and the weakness of the Russian bourgeoisie. This road was later closed by the counter-revolution, which resorted to arms, and betrayal on the part of opportunists (Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries), who in effect supported the counter-revolutionaries. In September 1917, following the defeat of the Kornilov rebellion, Lenin again saw the prospect of the working class taking power by peaceful means and called upon the Party to spare no effort to bring that about. But once again the petty-bourgeois parties' compromising policy prevented it.

History has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist prediction of the possibility of the proletariat winning power by peaceful means. There is the experience of the people's democracies of Central and Southeastern Europe, where the proletariat, led by Communist and Workers' parties, ensured the development of the victorious democratic revolution into a socialist revolution along relatively peaceful lines.

In Chile, for the first time in the continent's history, a popular government was formed by constitutional procedure and set out to effect revolutionary changes. 'The Left parties,' said Luis Corvalan, 'have formed a government, are in control, that is, of that part of the political-power mechanism which plays the main part in government' (WMR, No.12, 1970).

What are the prerequisites for the peaceful development of a proletarian revolution? Firstly, the existence of a minimum of bourgeois democratic freedoms, the strength and political organization of the working class and its support by the majority of the people. This produces a situation in which the bourgeoisie has neither the opportunity nor the resolve to resort to armed force. A highly important factor of our time is the existence of the socialist world system. The working people of capitalist countries know that they can rely in their struggle on the socialist countries' full support.

Due to changes in the balance of forces on the international scene and in individual capitalist countries, the likelihood of the revolution taking a peaceful course has increased. The Marxist-Leninist concept of this road was developed by the meetings of Communist and Workers' parties in 1957, 1960 and 1969 and by the congresses of some fraternal parties. The 1960 Statement emphasizes that a peaceful transition to socialism 'would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, with the national interests of the country.' The same idea is stated in the Document of the 1969 Meeting. 'The Communist and Workers' parties,' it says, 'are conducting their activity in diverse, specific conditions, requiring an appropriate approach to the solution of concrete problems. Each Party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, and

also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country.'

The peaceful development of revolution may take diverse forms. One way of gaining power without recourse to arms is through parliament. In the 1930s, when the labor movement in the developed capitalist countries had to work out new tactics corresponding to the changed conditions, the Communist parties, fighting for a democratic anti-fascist popular front, envisaged the achievement of socialism through popular parliaments and popular governments. The possibility of new ways of attaining socialism was also suggested by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

Communists believe that wherever possible a stable majority should be won in parliament and the latter transformed into an instrument of the people's will. This actually happened after World War II in some people's democracies, whose parliaments acquired a new, revolutionary content. This was facilitated by the situation that had emerged as a result of the Soviet Army's victory over Hitler fascism. After the war the possibility of using parliament for the peaceful transition to socialism was theoretically elaborated and acknowledged in the programs of some parties and in documents of international meetings.

Communists do not limit peaceful acquisition of power to the use of parliament. While rejecting 'Leftist' claims that parliamentary activity is out of the question for revolutionaries (Lenin called this anarchist nonsense as far back as 1905), they regard it as a big mistake to absolutize such activity. Parliamentary struggle is effective to the extent that it is based on the mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and other social strata opposed to monopoly domination. Disregard of this, 'overestimation of parliamentary work and underestimation of work among the masses outside parliament, above all among the working class,' were among the causes of the defeat of the democratic forces in Greece, as the Theses of the CC CPG for the Ninth Party Congress note.

Besides parliament, Communists envisage other lines of winning power by peaceful means, including democratization of the state apparatus, worker participation in economic management, and building up public opinion to curb anti-popular policies.

Peaceful development of the revolution does not mean the smooth evolution of capitalism into socialism or the voluntary renunciation of political power by the ruling classes. Consequently, this path does not mean an end to the class struggle nor a lessening of it. Even on this path, critical situations and unexpected changes may require the revolutionary party to prepare the masses to beat off reactionary attacks and take power by other means. The alternative to this may be defeat. Luis Carlos Prestes, analyzing the cause of the 1964 reactionary coup in Brazil and the defeat of the democratic forces, wrote: 'We inaccurately assessed the possibilities of the "peaceful path," seeing revolution as an idyllic process, free of clashes and conflicts' (WMR, 1968, No. 6).

In elaborating the tactics of peaceful struggle for power, the Communist parties of capitalist countries make flexible use of vari-

ous forms of economic and political pressure on the bourgeoisie. At the same time they soberly assess the real possibilities of these forms. Thus, the general, national strike is a tested weapon of the working class struggle. However, it would be wrong, as Lenin pointed out, to see it as an independent means of winning power or ascribe to it aims it cannot accomplish. In summing up the lessons of the 1905 revolution, he stressed that during a revolutionary crisis the general strike merely prepares the working class for using higher forms of struggle.

III. Now that international imperialism is stepping up its attack against revolutionary movements and giving direct armed aid to reactionary regimes, the fraternal parties of some countries where bourgeois-democratic freedoms are curtailed and the possibility of unfolding political struggle in peaceful conditions has been reduced to a minimum have opted for non-peaceful revolution. At the same time they employ political means to consolidate their positions and achieve unity of the revolutionary forces. '... The Colombian revolution will not be a peaceful one,' declared J. Vieira, General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Colombia. 'But our Party also believes that its most important task in the present situation is to achieve unity of the working class ...'

The revolutionary overthrow of the exploiters involves the use of various forms of action among which armed insurrection occupies a special place. Marx, Engels and Lenin regarded insurrection as the culmination of the struggle for power. Lenin elaborated in great detail the basic principles of preparing for it.

The theory of insurrection was evolved in ideological struggle against Blanquism and adventurism, on the one hand, and Right-wing opportunism, on the other. Whereas opportunists rejected the very idea of armed struggle, Blanquists ignored the objective situation, holding that insurrection can begin and win anywhere and at any time given a group of determined conspirators. For them, insurrection was but a conspiracy, a coup d'état engineered at the top. In opposing Blanquism and 'Left'-wing putschism, Lenin argued that one cannot embark on armed struggle until the objective conditions for it have developed, until there is a revolutionary situation. Insurrection must not be based on a conspiracy nor on the Party alone, but on the vanguard class, on the revolutionary élan of the masses. It can be successful provided there is a national crisis and it enjoys the help and support of the majority of the people. 'If the revolutionary party has no majority in the advanced contingents of the revolutionary classes and in the country, insurrection is out of the question,' Lenin wrote before the October Revolution (Vol. 26, p. 134).

Proceeding from the experience of the revolutions of 1905 and 1917 in Russia, Lenin defined the main rules of armed insurrection as an art. His concept of insurrection invites conclusions that are highly relevant for the revolutionary forces of today: success is ensured in the first place by the existence of a revolutionary party capable of leading the masses; preparation and implementation

require a careful study of the situation and comprehensive organizing work.

Lenin's ideas have been confirmed by the revolutions in Russia and the revolutionary struggle in other countries. Thus, the Hungarian uprising in 1918 helped to establish a republic. During World War II, anti-fascist risings in a number of countries promoted the establishment of popular democratic governments. Communists took an active part in planning and carrying out these actions.

Armed struggle does not necessarily take the form of an insurrection. Revolutionary practice has shown that it may take other forms, such as partisan warfare or civil war.

Lenin called civil war against the bourgeoisie 'a form of the class struggle.' History knows numerous examples of counter-revolution forcing civil war on the proletariat: in Russia, Finland, Hungary, Spain, China, to name but a few countries. Nor was imperialist war the only cause – there was another cause, as noted in the theses of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, the '“normal” conditions of present-day capitalism, which aggravates the class struggle to the limit, leading directly to a revolutionary situation.'

The effectiveness of various types of armed struggle depends on the maturity of the objective and subjective prerequisites for revolution. As Communists see it, revolutionary strategy and tactics do not represent a set of standard rules applicable in all countries and historical conditions. Armed struggle may be an objective necessity in some countries, but this does not mean that it is the only form of revolutionary action, suitable on all continents and at all times. If the situation in a country and the relation of class forces are not favorable to armed struggle it proves disastrous to the revolutionaries, and may lead to defeat or even catastrophe and provoke reactionary repression. This was the case in Indonesia in 1965. Conversely, the armed struggle of Cuba's revolutionary vanguard, which enjoyed popular support, hastened the development of a revolutionary situation and ended in winning power.

This is why Marxist-Leninists criticize the tactics of 'Left' adventurers, who advocate the use of arms always and everywhere and disregard the value of other forms of struggle and the importance of a united democratic front.

IV. The Communist parties in the developed capitalist countries have drawn up programs of far-reaching democratic change as a stage of transition to socialism.

Marxism-Leninism has always emphasized the inherent connection between the general democratic and the socialist movements. 'To develop democracy to the utmost,' Lenin wrote, 'to find the forms for this development, to test them by practice, and so forth – all this is one of the component tasks of the struggle for the social revolution' (Vol. 25, p. 452). In our time the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism have come closer together than ever, and their objectives intertwine and meet. Democratic demands for political freedoms, peace and national independence are spearheaded against monopoly capital, the main bulwark of

reaction. It is under anti-monopoly slogans that the majority of the people in capitalist countries rally around the working class, the most revolutionary class of today, a class capable of bringing down monopoly power. But a radical solution of this problem is possible only on the road to socialism. 'In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action,' the 1969 Meeting pointed out, 'favorable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned, of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favorable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism.'

As Communists see it, democratic changes have nothing in common with either reformist ideas of socialism as a result of a 'set of reforms' or the 'Leftist' rejection of reforms. Marxism does not separate the working-class struggle for the ultimate goal of socialism from the fight for its daily economic, political and social demands. To be sure, democratic changes do not do away with exploitation or private ownership of the means of production. But they do facilitate the subsequent struggle for socialism by restricting the dominance of big business, weakening its positions and thereby strengthening the position of the working class, facilitating the isolation of reactionary forces and the unification of progressive forces, promoting working-class initiative and realization of the need to build a new social system.

Today the programs of the Communist parties of most of the developed capitalist countries lay emphasis on transitional requirements paving the way for the proletariat's coming to power. These parties, soberly assessing the situation, do not set the task of immediately replacing capitalism by socialism. Many of them see the need to go through definite stages in advancing to socialism, and have therefore put forward the realistic task of replacing governments embodying monopoly rule by an economic and political democracy capable of satisfying the needs of the majority of the people.

Far-reaching political, economic and social changes are envisaged in the Program of a Democratic Popular Unity Government adopted by the Communist Party of France. A close combination of specific democratic goals with the advance towards socialism is the essence of the concept of anti-monopoly democracy advocated by the German Communist Party, of the idea of a popular anti-monopoly alliance formulated in the program of the CPUSA, of the task of forming an anti-monopoly coalition and government outlined in the new program of the Communists of Canada, etc.

Such is the content of one of the forms of development of the socialist revolution. And the prospects for it are now opening in many countries of big capital.

Powerful revolutionary processes are taking place in the world today. The class battles that have lately been developing in some capitalist countries are portents of new struggles which can lead to fundamental social changes.

A. Rodriguez



"Társadalmi Szemle"

*Political and theoretical
journal of the Hungarian
Socialist Workers' Party*



The first issue of *Társadalmi Szemle* (Social Review) appeared in 1931. Two years later it was banned by the fascist Horthy regime and court proceedings were started against its editors and distributors. Publication was resumed after liberation and early in 1971 we celebrated the journal's silver jubilee.

In the quarter century since its resumption, *Társadalmi Szemle*

has become a tribune for the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism. discussion of topical theoretical and political problems and generalization of Hungary's experience in building socialism. Its readership consists mainly of Party officials and members, also intellectuals close to the Party. But it is gaining readers among students and politically-minded workers in industry and agriculture.

It deals with a wide range of subjects—the Party's theoretical, political, organizational and ideological work, home and foreign policy, the experience of fraternal parties and countries, the international Communist, workers' and national-liberation movements, the battle against bourgeois ideology and Right and 'Left' opportunism. This survey will deal chiefly with its work after the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Economic policy

Explaining the details and principles of the Party's economic policy at the present stage is one of the journal's main functions. It has published a series of articles on the fourth five-year economic plan begun last year and the long-range 15-year plan.

In recent years many of its columns have been devoted to articles, discussions and proposals on the new economic management system. Now we can analyze its operation. An analysis has

shown that the Hungarian economy is developing dynamically, on a sound basis, and in conformity with the laws of socialist production. The facts and figures bear that out: last year national income was up seven per cent, supplies of consumer goods increased and living standards rose. But there are difficulties and they have been the subject of much discussion. And here analysis has shown that most of them are connected with the shift from extensive to intensive development, with attendant strains in capital investment, inadequate rate of capital construction and inadequate profitability levels in some industries despite improved structures.

Operation of economic policy begins, of course, at the factory. Indeed, its success depends, above all, on the collective, on the people directly engaged in production, their consciousness, devotion, professional competence, initiative. That is why we devote so much attention to management problems at factory level, production democracy and the worker's part in boosting output.

Last year the Party Central Committee adopted a decision providing for expansion of the socialist emulation movement, which now involves more than one million people with nearly 100,000 work units vying for the title of Socialist Work Team. The emulation campaign, and particularly the experience of the best production teams, are regularly reported in the journal

Articles dealing with economic cooperation of socialist countries emphasize the importance of the 25th CMEA session decisions designed to extend socialist economic integration. We show how CMEA activity is constantly being perfected to produce closer production cooperation between its members and thereby form a still closer link between their economies. At present it is not merely a matter of exports and imports, but rather of integrated extended production based on stable scientific and technical contacts, also on planned division of labor. These, in brief, are the determinative elements in long-term cooperation of CMEA member states. Their Comprehensive Program looks forward to coordinating economic plans and bilateral and multilateral cooperation in industrial development. All these problems, important to the entire socialist community are systematically discussed in the pages of *Tarsadalmi Szemle*.

In several issues we gave the reader a more comprehensive picture of the 24th CPSU Congress, the objects and tasks of the ninth five-year plan and perfection of the Soviet economic management system. A wealth of factual material was used in relating the progress of Hungarian-Soviet contacts, and in this context the point is made that Soviet economic development opens up new prospects not only for closer relations between our two countries, but for socialist integration in general.

Socialist democracy

Our 10th Party Congress decisions stress that consistent development of the socialist state and socialist democracy are key

requirements for the building of full socialism. Consequently, more attention has to be paid to efficient operation of administrative bodies. But this should go hand in hand with extending the independence of local government bodies and active participation of the people in all their activity as, for that matter, in all other links of government. Naturally, these questions figure prominently in the journal, which has opened its pages to a wide discussion of the problems of socialist democracy, how to bring it closer to the requirements of our time and to the social processes at work in Hungary.

We chose a Budapest industrial suburb to illustrate the role of the Party branch in promoting production democracy. Working in close cooperation with the trade union committees, economic executives and technicians, Party branches examined the various forms of democracy at shop and factory level. The study proved once more that they play a key role in strengthening socialist relations of production, promoting worker consciousness and activity and inculcating a feeling of responsibility for the performance of the given factory and creating a healthy atmosphere in the collective. Experience has shown that the best results are obtained where the workers are encouraged to share in the discussion and solution of production problems, and where factory management correctly reacts to criticism and takes the necessary measures to carry out concrete and realistic suggestions.

The central element of production democracy is organic combination of personal interests with those of the enterprises and society as a whole. This aspect was analyzed in an article on the connection between production democracy and efficient management. And the study has shown that eliminating excessive centralism can create favorable conditions for higher efficiency and more worker participation.

Some incorrect views have gained currency in recent years. Politics, or more accurately democracy, is contrasted to technical competence, and political knowledge to technical know-how. In no small measure this is due to the influence of Western sociology. The journal exposes such views and popularizes the Marxist-Leninist proposition on the relation between politics, democracy and science and their close interconnection. For instance, one article, pointing to the greater role scientifically-grounded policy plays in socialist society, emphasizes the need not only for central Party and government bodies, but also for intermediate and factory organizations to base their decisions on clear scientific analysis.

A leading role in our political system belongs to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. 'Of all socio-political organizations,' an article 'The Party and the Public Interest,' says, 'only the Party can synthesize and translate into reality the interests of the entire working class and people.' The thesis that the Marxist-Leninist Party plays a leading role in socialist society is central to all our

discussions. The Party's political and organizational work and the promotion of inner-Party democracy are comprehensively discussed in a number of articles.

Ideological-political education

Much of the material published in the journal deals with the ideological and political education of the masses and the struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views.

The Party Central Committee directives on science policy spell out the immediate and long-range tasks for research in the social sciences to meet the growing requirements of ideological work. These questions have received special attention.

The main task in ideological work, the 10th Party Congress declared, is strengthening and promoting the socialist mentality. And here Marxist scholars have much work ahead in overcoming, by force of conviction, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views and anti-Communist notions and in exposing revisionist and dogmatic concepts, very often clothed in Marxist phraseology.

The new pattern of social relations, we always emphasize, plays an increasing part in the ideological training of the people and in the battle against hostile views. For we are living at a time when the socialist system is firmly established. The fashioning of socialist consciousness, therefore, is the more effective the more organically it is linked with reality. In other words, the process of refashioning consciousness is inseparable from the refashioning of life itself. And the stronger hold socialist relations take, the higher the level of socialist consciousness and the fewer the opportunities for the infiltration of hostile views.

The growing influence of Marxism is compelling its opponents to alter the forms and methods of their ideological struggle. Today no one ventures to discount Marxism. On the contrary, traditional outspoken anti-Marxism is finding itself in increasing isolation. Mindful of that, bourgeois ideologists and revisionists seek to deprive Marxism of its revolutionary content and give it a new orientation. Hence, the vogueish method of 're-thinking' Marx and subjecting his doctrine to 'objective' criticism. Marxism, these critics assert, is not an integral world outlook and dialectical materialism should not be its sole scientific basis. All that is meant to justify philosophical pluralism. Our journal vigorously and consistently criticizes hostile ideology.

Closely associated with ideological work are articles dealing with education and culture. The 10th Party Congress called for a review of the entire system of education, its modernization to bring it into step with the present stage of socialist construction, the requirements of the technological revolution and our long-range economic goals. This entails, first of all, radical improvement of the education offered in our schools, where the formation of a socialist consciousness begins. We are running a special section on The School and Society.

Another new section, Notes on Cultural Policy, contains terse polemical items on the many questions of cultural development now being raised. One of them is: what is meant by continued development of the cultural revolution? The most important element, we say, is the cultural, spiritual enrichment of everyday life, of the very way of life and, primarily, giving it a more pronounced socialist content.

Other important questions discussed in analytical articles are, for example, cultural policy and changing reality. An article on the subject illustrates the practical application of Lenin's proposition that Marxism requires concrete analysis of concrete situations in close association with fidelity to the Marxist ideology. And from this standpoint the article examines some of the problems of Hungary's continuing cultural revolution.

A few words about our plans for the future. We want to renew and extend the range of our articles to keep abreast of the times. For example, with a keen interest in the problems of the scientific technological revolution, we started a new section on these problems in the January issue. In the March issue we began publication of a series on mass political work and the mass media. We also intend to take up such problems as the criteria of developed socialist society, forms and methods of perfecting socialist democracy, changes in the social structure, development of socialism's political system, the formation of socialist consciousness, etc.

Of course we shall continue to deal with problems of the world Communist and Workers' movement and the anti-imperialist struggle and report the experience of fraternal countries and Parties.

Our basic aim is to serve as the Party's theoretical and political forum, a forum of Marxism-Leninism that helps to achieve the fundamental task formulated by the 10th Party Congress, the building of full socialism in Hungary.

Valeria Benke



Fidelity to Marxism and proletarian internationalism

The publishing house of the Bulgarian Communist Party has put out the Selected Works of Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The eight volumes provide a detailed and instructive picture of the deep-going changes wrought by the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, the country's progress under Communist Party leadership, the people's dedicated effort in building socialism. In Bulgaria, the appearance of this collection is regarded as a major ideological and political event.

The first volume contains several works of the underground years, when Comrade Zhivkov was one of the organizers of the guerrilla movement. In them he discusses the general situation, the work of the Party in the difficult conditions of fascist rule, and the armed struggle that brought together all the patriotic and revolutionary forces. Also included in this volume are articles relating to the early years of popular rule and socialist construction. The other seven volumes cover the period after the historic April 1956 Central Committee Plenum, when the Party re-established the Leninist principles of organization and leadership and the Dimitrov style of Party work. It was after this plenum that the initiative of Bulgaria's Communists and people attained full scope. Drawing on the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and working in comradely cooperation with the People's Democracies, Bulgaria advanced to the triumph of socialism. And with socialism firmly established in all spheres, it became possible to tackle the next task, the building of developed socialist society.

The process is analyzed in the Central Committee reports Todor Zhivkov delivered at the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Party Congress, at meetings of the Central Committee, in his speech at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, in addresses to congresses of fraternal parties, in statements during visits of Party and government delegations and in his articles and public speeches on the Lenin centenary, also in press interviews, etc. Together they testify to the unremitting and fruitful activity of Comrade Zhivkov, whose entire life has been devoted to the Party, the people and the communist cause.

Comrade Zhivkov describes in detail the Communist Party's rich experience in building Bulgaria's socialist economy and culture, in fashioning and developing the new social relations, fostering and perfecting socialist democracy. Reflected in all the materials included in these volumes is the collective thought, creative initiative and Leninist style of work of the Party's Central Committee.

Special mention should be made of Comrade Zhivkov's reports and speeches on the fundamental problems of Bulgaria's economic and political development. And here the list includes his speech at the July 1968 Plenum on perfecting the administrative system of society; technological progress and the new economic management system (September 1968 Plenum); further development of agriculture along industrial lines and to organization of agrarian-industrial complexes (April 1970 Plenum). Comrade Zhivkov's Report to the 10th Party Congress (1971) had wider implications. It was closely linked with the program of the Communist Party, drafted under his direction and adopted by the Congress. It synthesizes the rich experience of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction and concretizes the road to developed socialist society. Comrade Zhivkov said in his report: 'In charting our course for the next stage, we endeavored organically to merge the Party's national and international tasks, the particular and the general.' In working out its program the Party drew on the CPSU's epochal experience in building socialism and communism, on its contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and on the experience and contribution of other Communist parties and the international Communist movement.

The Party's policy of accelerated industrialization, structural changes in the economy, the development of new modern industry – electronics, precision engineering, synthetic chemicals, etc. – are discussed in many of the speeches and articles included in this collection. The same applies to the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, with the accent on concentration and production specialization, streamlined organization and higher productivity. This and an increasingly closer link with urban life are now characteristic of Bulgarian farming.

The leading role of the Party, its links with the people and its influence among all sections of Bulgarian society is another subject extensively discussed. And in this context, Comrade Zhivkov emphasizes the need constantly to strengthen and develop the Fatherland Front as the broadest socio-political organization embracing all the people. The Fatherland Front is the embodiment of the people's unity, of the alliance of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, the embodiment of joint effort by Communists, members of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union and non-party people.

The Bulgarian Communist Party attaches special importance to developing socialist democracy. This has found concrete expression

in the new Constitution adopted after a nation-wide referendum. All-round promotion of socialist democracy is essential to raising the activity of the people in building a mature socialist society. It is only natural, therefore, that this question should hold such a prominent place in the works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. He examines in detail the increasing role of public organizations in administering the state, and of representative local government bodies in attaining the goals set by the Party and the country.

Fundamental problems of ideological work and the spiritual life of the Bulgarian people are discussed in many of the items. Comrade Zhivkov takes up such problems as education of the working people and youth in the setting of the scientific-technological revolution, the role, character and principles of artistic creation, and the artist's part in training the new man of socialist society.

In 1956, when the counter-revolution tried to launch an offensive in several socialist countries, Comrade Zhivkov addressed a mass meeting in Sofia and effectively rebuffed all attempts of diverse nationalist and opportunist elements to revise Marxism-Leninism. And this passionate, uncompromising defense of the revolutionary and internationalist substance of Marxism-Leninism permeates many of his other articles and speeches. In them, too, Comrade Zhivkov exposes Right and 'Left' revisionists, exponents of nationalism and anti-Sovietism, upholds unity of the socialist world community and the international Communist movement and shows the need for solidarity and united action by all progressive and anti-imperialist forces.

Vividly expressed in the Selected Works is the mutual feeling of brotherhood, gratitude and sincere friendship that characterizes relations between the Communist parties of the two countries. The Soviet Union is the main base and bulwark of the international workers' movement, the main force of world socialism. 'Today our Party is convinced more than ever before,' Comrade Zhivkov declares, 'that communism and the CPSU, communism and the Soviet Union, are inseparable, and that socialist construction is possible only on the basis of fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.' And elsewhere he emphasizes: 'For us friendship with the Soviet Union is much more than an emotional slogan. It is a matter of exceptional responsibility, responsibility to history, to Bulgaria and to mankind. And our friendship implies action, has a great meaning, content, program and noble aims.'

Comrade Zhivkov has played an active part in exposing the anti-Leninist policy of the Chinese leaders. Logically and convincingly, he proves that violation of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the shift to nationalist positions are especially dangerous in the case of a Party in power. 'When anti-Sovietism is made official policy,' he says, 'it undermines the foundations of socialism in the country concerned, but it also does damage to the world revolutionary cause, and the exponents of anti-Sovietism

lose their authority and prestige in the international workers' movement. Such is the fate of Maoism.'

The foreign policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party and government is the subject of a number of items. And Comrade Zhivkov shows that this policy is permeated with internationalism, which is the very foundation of Bulgaria's friendship and cooperation with other socialist countries. Indeed, their unity, their closer economic, political, scientific, technical, cultural and military cooperation are central to every aspect of Bulgarian foreign policy.

Comrade Zhivkov repeatedly emphasizes that Bulgaria is a peaceable country, but is active in the struggle against aggression and oppression. 'Aggression in any area of the world jeopardizes not only the interests of the peoples of that area, but the interests of the whole of mankind.'

The distinguishing feature of all the items in these eight volumes is realism and deep understanding of the problems confronting the Party and the country. But it is a realism combined with the limitless optimism with which the Bulgarian people and their Communist Party look to the future. Comrade Zhivkov's writings and speeches epitomize our Communist Party's fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, its internationalism and unity with the world Communist movement; they are a powerful ideological weapon of Bulgaria's Communists and people, and are of fundamental importance in the building of a developed socialist society.

Georgi Bokov

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Black Book. The Greek Junta Stands Accused. Published by the Central Committee of the Patriotic Anti-Dictatorship Front. 1971.

'They tied my whole body tightly to the bench with a thick rope so that I could not move at all. Then they began the "falanga" torture. They struck me hard on the soles of my feet with a thick stick . . .'

'They began my interrogation, kicking me and beating me hard on the head . . . and threatened to throw me out of the open window . . .'

'They . . . punched me and kicked me on the head, the chest, the lower part of my body . . .'

'I was tortured with electric current applied to all parts of my body . . .'

These are excerpts from letters, statements and memoranda by victims of the Greek military junta's political police, collected in a Black Book by the Patriotic Anti-Dictatorial Front – a cry of indignation, as well as anguish, and also a call to all decent men to fight against the pro-fascist regime in Greece and against the perils it holds out for other peoples of Europe.

Under pressure of world opinion, the Greek dictators were compelled to close down concentration camps at the end of last year. But more than 350 political prisoners are still languishing behind prison walls. Arrests and torture of Communists and other democrats continue. On one occasion, Georgios Papadopoulos, the head of the military junta, said: 'The Communists under confinement will stay in the concentration camps and leave them only as swollen and stinking corpses.' Smuggled to the outside world at great risk, the letters are truly written in the blood of the victims of the fascist terror. What they say is that terror is impotent against the patriots' love of country and freedom.

The resistance is headed by the Communist Party of Greece, steeled in many battles against oppressors. The evidence in the Black Book shows again the unbending courage of the Communists. Here is a passage from a letter by Haris Theoharidis, an ex-inmate of the concentration camp in Partheni:

'I address myself to the invincible working people . . . from whose bosom I come . . . I assure them that I shall never bow my head to those . . . who have taken away all rights . . . I will stand at their side on this battlement . . . I will feel my powers of resistance growing.'

When Argiris Baras, a Communist, was tortured to make him disavow his communist ideals and betray his comrades, he said to his executioners:

'I have nothing to discuss with the fascist junta which has committed a crime against the people and against democracy. Communists love their party and they are ready to die for it.'

Asked by the Judiciary Committee* what she would do if given her freedom, Thetida Kotsaki, a Communist, said:

'I was sentenced by a military court because in my plea I said that I am a Communist and declared that the Communist Party of Greece does not indulge in espionage. It is a patriotic party which fights consistently for the good and the prosperity of the land. When I get out of here I shall continue to struggle with all my strength for the fall of the dictatorship, for the abolition of all the emergency laws and law 509 which condemns political views and keeps the Communist Party illegal, for the restoration of genuine democracy in our land.'

The Black Book is an indictment of imperialism, which is resorting to reprisals and terror in a desperate attempt to hold up the world's social renovation.

K. Nikou

A. A. GALKIN, *Sotsiologiya neofashizma (The Sociology of Neo-Fascism)*. Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1971. 198 pp.

What does fascism look like these days? Is it confined to seats of the 'brown plague' like those of Hitler and Mussolini? Or has it donned a new garb and changed so much that it differs from the

*A committee formed by the Athens Court of Appeals to 'investigate' the conditions of political prisoners.

traditional fascism? Or should the concept 'neo-fascism' also cover all reaction and terror – from what the Ku Klux-Klan is doing in the United States to the anti-Communist actions in Indonesia and Sudan?

We cannot help asking ourselves about this today, because the threat to the democratic forces arises in dissimilar forms in different countries and the neo-fascist movements are jettisoning the old slogans and trying subtle social demagoguery to adapt to the new times.

Soviet researcher A. A. Galkin tries to answer these questions, to evaluate the nature and magnitude of the Right danger, to pinpoint its social roots and the reasons for its relative stability. 'The social anatomy of contemporary society,' Galkin says, 'is the main field of research.' He examines the nature of the radical Right in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and other West European countries against the far-reaching changes in the social structure of modern capitalism. And his excursion into the history of fascism from the 20s to the 40s, into its role and place in the political superstructure of state-monopoly capitalism, is distinctly fastened on the present.

For all the diversity of the radical Right, the author holds, there are two principal trends. One of these – the groups and groupings of the European Social Movement (the so-called Malmo International) and the European New Order movement – is determined to preserve all it can of the ideology and method of the traditional national-socialism and fascism, while the other consists of parties and organizations that write off discredited theories and slogans and at least partly renounce the traditional fascist methods: the ultra-Rightists in the United States, organizations like the Italian Social Movement, the National Democratic Party in the FRG, the 'poujadists,' the OAS and the National Anti-Communist Front in France.

Despite the disparities of a national, programmatic and tactical order, the radical Right movements – traditional, as well as 'new' – have a number of common features: they are the Right opposition to even the most conservative governments in the bourgeois parliamentary system; they are pathologically anti-communistic, extremely nationalistic and racist, anti-Semitic and socio-politically conservative; their leaders, who have close ties with the ruling élite and act in the interest of part of the dominant class, address their appeals to the masses, to the average man in town and country.

The author draws attention to the neo-fascist tactics of social mimicry (it imitates slogans of the labor and democratic movements), and defines fascism as a 'preventive counter-revolution parading as revolution.'

The Right danger is a symptom of the socio-political crisis of modern capitalism and, consequently, a sign of its weakness. On the other hand, it is also a sign that the revolutionary movement is neglecting some of the opportunities presented by this weakness. Hence the objective of uniting and stimulating all democratic and progressive forces in the battle against Right extremism, against neo-fascism.

V.S.

M. FATU, I. SPALATELU. *Garda de fier – organizatie terorista de tip fascist* (The Iron Guard. Fascist-Type Terrorist Organization). Bucharest, Editura politica, 1971, 430 pp.

Impotriva fascismului (Against Fascism). Proceedings of a session of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Research of the CC RCP. Bucharest, Editura politica, 1971. 319 pp.

A deep-going economic and political crisis shook Rumania's bourgeois-landlord system following the First World War. The country was an arena of bitter rivalry among the imperialist powers scrambling for influence in this part of Europe. The social contradictions grew more acute, and the people's revolutionary activity, rallied by the RCP, increased visibly under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia.

Like the rulers of many other capitalist countries, those of Rumania launched a policy of severe reaction, promoting Right extremist organizations and using them against the labor movement and all other progressive and democratic forces. The Iron Guard, a fascist organization, was founded in the early 30s.

The Rumanian authors invoke extensive documentary material to show the Iron Guard's criminal and terrorist activity, and its close links with the German Nazis. They show its role in involving Rumania in Hitler's policy, in the war against the Soviet Union, and present incontrovertible evidence of its national betrayal.

The books examine the motives behind the replacement of bourgeois parliamentarism with the royal dictatorship and, later, the fascist dictatorship. They show the reasons behind this and enumerate the domestic and external factors. The main accent is put on showing fascism's anti-popular and aggressive substance and on exposing its ideology – bellicose anti-communism, chauvinism and racialism.

The authors describe how the Rumanian Communist Party combated the fascist offensive, how it rallied the working class, the peasant masses and all democratic elements. The anti-fascist movement had followers among prominent scientists and intellectuals, highly popular in the country.

In 1943, the Rumanian CP formed the Patriotic Anti-Hitler Front and began to prepare an armed national rising against the fascist regime. In August 1944 the insurrection triumphed, paving the way for the people's democratic revolution. I. Ionescu

J. F. MCGREGOR, *La red y la tijera*. Los medios de comunicacion social en la Argentina (The Net and the Scissors. Mass Information Media in Argentina). Buenos Aires, ABECE Ediciones, 1971. 255 pp.

The Argentine Marxist, J. F. McGregor, examines the social role of the mass information media.

He shows to what extent his country's bourgeois press, radio

and television are under the sway of monopoly capital, especially U.S., and describes their methods of misinforming the public. Everything sensational, trite and belligerent, everything that 'stimulates individualism, subjectivism and egocentrism,' is encouraged to distract the people's attention from the real political and national problems and block the spread of progressive ideas. The mass information media are increasingly becoming 'catalogues of paid advertisements.'

The Communist press McGregor describes as the razor-edged scissors that cut the net of bourgeois propaganda. Though 'it is not sold on newsstands or sent through the mail,' it reaches 'the most remote corners.' The weekly *Nuestra Palabra*, organ of the CPA, has appeared for over 20 years. Despite the difficulties of working underground, the Argentine Communists are putting out several theoretical journals, a number of newspapers and numerous bulletins. Central Committee documents, resolutions, and statements and other information are swiftly published, giving the Communists a clear idea of the political situation.

The Communist Party of Argentina is enlarging its press. In the six years between the 12th and 13th congresses it has published some 800 books, journals and pamphlets, totalling nearly six million copies. 'No other publishing house in the country,' the author says, 'has been able to operate as regularly and on such a scale.' Twelve million copies of the classics of Marxism-Leninism came off the press between 1957 and 1969, and the second Argentine edition of the collected works of V. I. Lenin is soon to be completed. 'If these figures are multiplied by the readership,' the author writes, 'it is easy to see how many people are reached, and to understand one of the main reasons for the considerable growth of the people's political awareness and the increasingly effective resistance to the ideological penetration of U.S. imperialism.'

V. Pereira

J. ARONSON, *Packaging the News*. A critical survey of the press, radio and TV. New York, International Publishers, 1971. 110 pp.

James Aronson, who teaches journalism at New York University and is a frequent contributor to radical publications, devoted his study to the American news industry. The factual material in the book offers a clear picture of the place and role of the mass information media in the modern capitalist world.

The U.S. news industry, the author shows, has become a lever of the state-monopoly machine, and is wholly dependent on it. The giant press corporations (only 45 out of the 1,500 daily newspapers in U.S. cities are not owned by the press monopolies) use their publications chiefly to condition public opinion in their own interests. The modern philosophy of the newspaper industry was succinctly expressed by Lord Roy Thompson, who said, 'It is the business of newspapers to make money.'

The playing down of information, misinforming the public and stage-managing the news, the author notes, is a threat to the nation and democracy.

'Newspapers,' Aronson writes, 'seem to come from a colossal sausage machine which grinds out words in digestible packages to suit each region of the nation.' He amplifies: 'It tends to ensure that all persons who read newspapers will be similarly influenced by the news and commentary they absorb daily. It follows that they will think alike, and their thinking will be encouraged to defend the "national interest".'

Aronson describes the close connection between monopoly and government control of the mass information media. The first is mainly economic pressure (60 per cent of the space in U.S. newspapers is given over to advertisements and papers refusing to toe the line are cut off from this source of income), while the government resorts to court investigations, fines and persecution of progressive publications.

The book contains a unique list of 'obituaries' on publications and journalists who defied the pressure and conveyed a true picture of government policy.

In its concluding passages, it discusses the main trend in the progressive press. The author describes the U.S. Communist Party's newspaper, *The Daily World*, as the most militant and radical publication, whose influence is growing.

P. Loiseau

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication)

MARX K., ENGELS F., LENIN W. I. *Ueber den sozialistischen Aufbau* (On the Building of Socialism). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1971. 560 pp.

LENIN, V. I. *La rivoluzione d'ottobre* (The October Revolution). Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1972. 488 pp.

First Decrees of Soviet Power. A collection of the fundamental decrees enacted in 1917-1918 by the Russian Soviet Government. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1972. 204 pp.

BILLOUX, F. *Quand nous étions ministres* (When We Were Ministers). Paris, Editions sociales, 1972. 196 pp.

JOHN E. *Zur Dialektik des Sozialen, Nationalen und Internationalen in der Kulturentwicklung* (Dialectics of the Social, National and International in the Development of Culture). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1972, 84 pp.

DUCLOS, J. *Que sont donc les communistes?* (What Are the Communists?). Paris, Editeurs sa Epi, 1971. 183 pp.

Istoriya na mladezhkoto revolutsionno dvizheniye v Bylgariya (His-

tory of the Youth Movement in Bulgaria). Sofia, Narodna mladezh, 1971. 603 pp.

KIRSCHNER, B. *Lenin a demokratikus és a szocialista forradalomról (1893-1917)* (Lenin on the Democratic and Socialist Revolution. 1893-1917). Budapest, Akadémiai kiadó, 1971. 276 pp.

KONZE, M. *Für die Befreiung der Frau* (For the Emancipation of Women). Frankfurt am Main, Verlag Marxistische Blätter GmbH, 1972. 218 pp.

KUCZYNSKI, J. *Klassen und Klassenkämpfe im imperialistischen Deutschland und in der BRD* (Classes and Class Struggles in imperialist Germany and the FRG). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1972. 568 pp.

Le DUAN. *The Vietnamese Revolution. Fundamental Problems and Essential Tasks*. New York, International Publishers, 1971. 151 pp.

LERUMO, A. *Fifty Fighting Years. The South African Communist Party. 1921-1971*. London, Inkululeko Publications, 1971. 216 pp.

MOJSIEWICZ, C. *Bundeswehra i społeczeństwo NRF. Aspekty polityczne i socjologiczne* (The Bundeswehr and FRG Society. Political and Sociological Aspects). Poznań, Instytut Zachodni, 1971. 229 pp.

LONGO, L. *Le Brigate internazionali* (International Brigades). Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1972. 368 pp.

NADRA, F. *Peron hoy y ayer, 1971-1943* (Peron Today and Yesterday. 1971-1943). Buenos Aires, Editorial Voz Juvenil, 1972. 94 pp.

Operace Československo. Fakta nelze zamlcet (Operation Czechoslovakia. The Facts Cannot Be Hushed Up). Prague, Knihovna Rudého práva, 1972. 156 pp.

Comuna din Paris și mișcarea muncitorească și democratică din România (The Paris Commune and the Labor and Democratic Movement in Rumania). Bucharest, Editura politică, 1972. 448 pp.

RODRIGUEZ ELIZONDO, J. *Mitología de la ultraizquierda* (Mythology of the Ultra-Left). Santiago de Chile, Editorial Austral, 1971. 108 pp.

SSSR na puti stroitelstva kommunizma (1959-1970) (Communist Construction in the USSR 1959-1970). Moscow, Politizdat, 1971. 463 pp.

DIARY

Comrade C. Alba, representative of the Communist Party of Bolivia on the journal, and A. Masyagin, department head at the journal, were received in Hanoi by Nguyen Van Tran, Central Committee Secretary of the Vietnam Party of Working People, and Hoang Tung, alternate member of the Party Central Committee, Deputy Head of its Propaganda Department and Chief Editor of the *Nhan Dan* newspaper. Our representatives also visited the editorial offices of *Hoc Tap*, the Party magazine, the Committee on Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, met with Party and administrative officials in Thanh Hoa and Quang Ninh provinces, visited industrial enterprises, cooperatives and an army unit. They addressed a readers' conference attended by scientists, journalists and publishers. Speakers at the conference expressed appreciation of the theoretical and information material published in *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and made a number of suggestions. They also pointed out that despite all difficulties, the Vietnamese edition appears regularly and unabridged.

* * *

Comrade Jaime Fuchs, representative of the CP Argentina on the Editorial Board, met in Delhi with Comrade S. G. Sardesai, member of the Communist Party of India's Central Executive Committee and Secretary of its National Council, and Comrade M. Sen, member of the Central Executive Committee. Comrade Fuchs also met with the leadership of the Party organization in Patna, Bihar State. At these meetings, and in an interview with the Party's General Secretary, Comrade R. Rao, the discussion centred on cooperation between the CP India and *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. The Indian comrades gave a positive assessment of the journal in promoting the development of theory and the exchange of Party experience and said its circulation would be increased. Examples were cited of articles being translated into Hindi by local Party organizations.



Kwame Nkrumah



Kwame Nkrumah, an outstanding champion of national liberation and an active fighter against imperialism and colonialism, died April 27, 1972.

Dr. Nkrumah was born in 1909 in a small village in what was then the British colony of the Gold Coast (now the Republic of Ghana). From early childhood he was subjected to all the oppression and humiliation that was the lot of the African. After finishing school he took up teaching and later went abroad to continue his studies.

Returning after the Second World War, he became active in politics. In

1949 he founded the Convention People's Party, which led the Gold Coast to independence; in 1957 it became the first country of Tropical Africa to break out of colonial rule.

In his Autobiography Dr. Nkrumah wrote that the foundation of the Convention People's Party coincided with the political awakening of the workers and the youth. The progressive forces soon dominated the new party and influenced its program, adopted in 1962. Dr. Nkrumah rejected the capitalist path for Africa, emphasizing that 'capitalism would mean betrayal of the African character and conscience.'

Throughout his life Dr. Nkrumah was a stalwart fighter against colonialism and neo-colonialism and a passionate advocate of anti-imperialist unity of Africa's peoples and states. Together with other progressive African leaders, he did much to attain such unity. His work for an independent Africa and for the alliance of its progressive forces in the fight for national liberation was widely appreciated throughout the world. Dr. Nkrumah was awarded an International Lenin Peace Prize.

Communists and progressives will cherish the memory of this man, who dedicated his life to the cause of independence and social progress.

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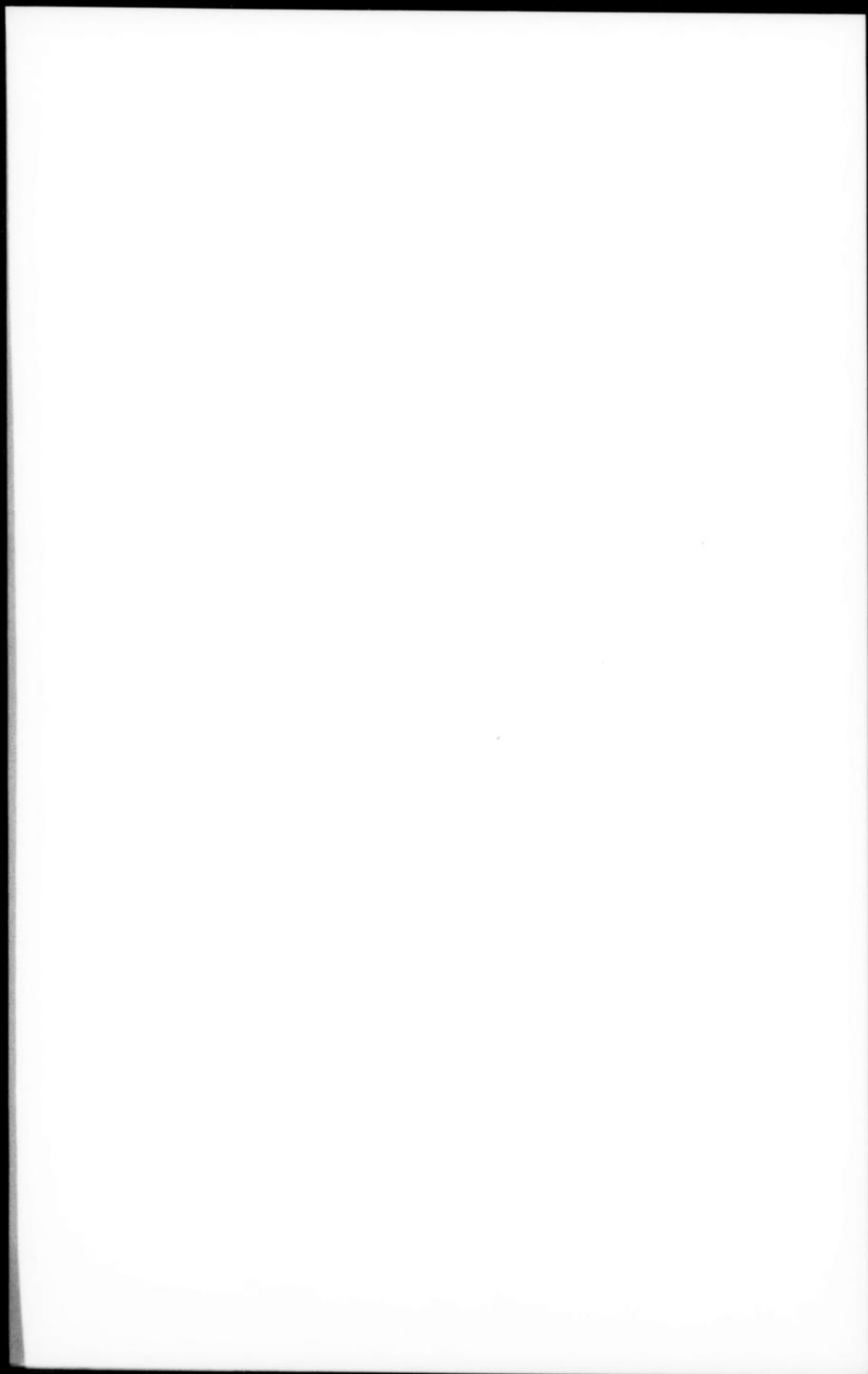
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