

WORLD

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Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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**Events in
Guatemala**

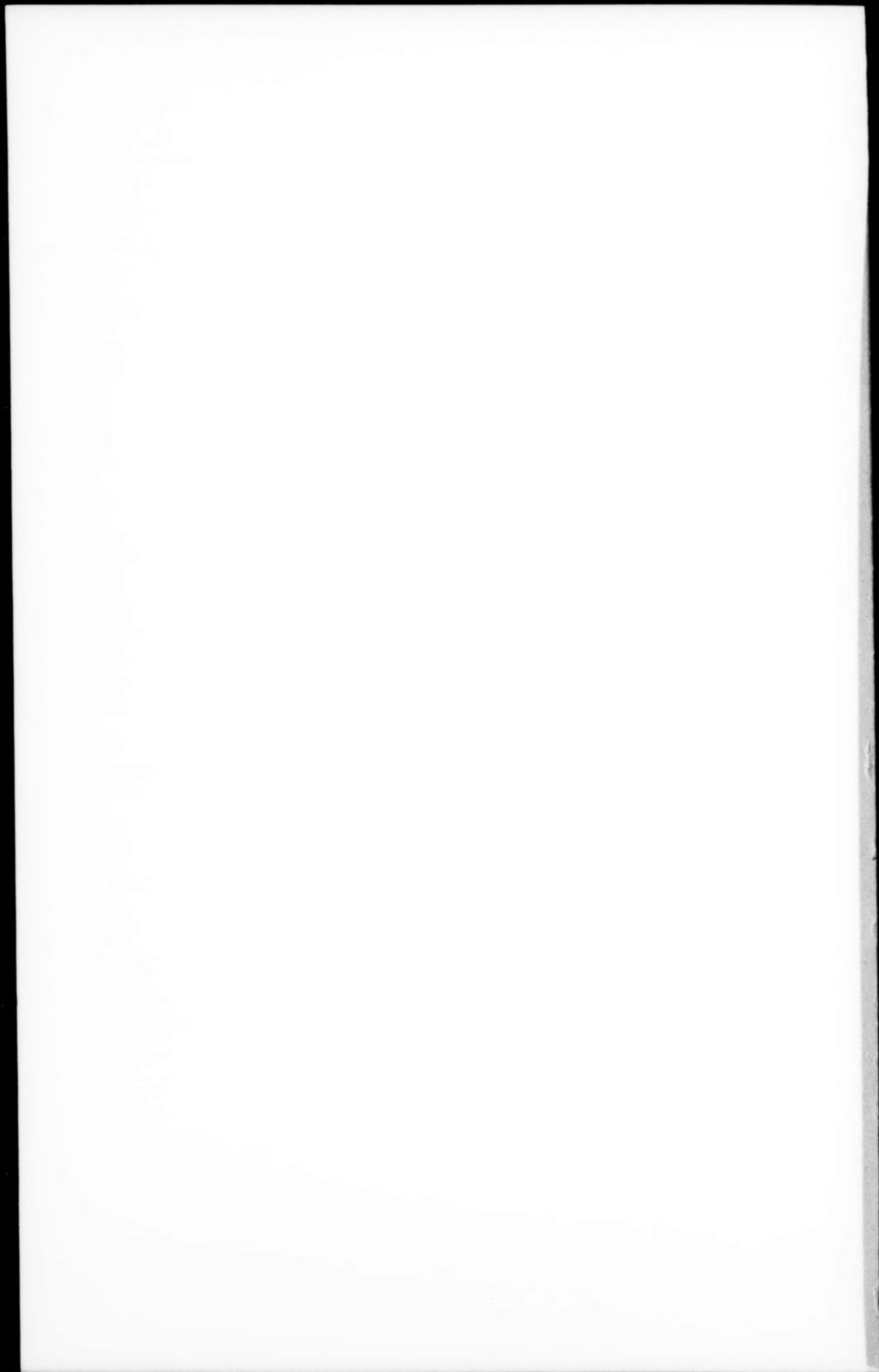
**The Party
as organizer**

**Solidarity
with Vietnam**

**Interview with
Bangladesh CP**

**Interview with
Gustav Husak**

**Positivists
vs. science**





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

Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

Sept. 1972, Vol. 15, No. 9

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„Tím, že vychovává dělnickou stranu, vychovává marxismus avantgardu proletariátu, která je s to uchopit moc a vést všechny lid k socialismu, řídit a organizovat nový řád, být učitelkou, řídicí silou a vůdkyní všech pracujících...“

V. I. LENIN



'By educating the workers' party, Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat, capable of assuming power and leading the whole people to socialism, of directing and organizing the new system, of being the teacher, the guide, the leader of all the working people . . .'

This passage from Lenin's *The State and Revolution* on the poster of Czechoslovak artist Jiri Figer, is as topical as ever for the Communist and Workers' parties, and is being put into practice in socialist countries. (See interview with Gustav Husak on p. 8)



For solidarity with people of Vietnam

Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties

A conference of Communist and Workers' parties of the whole of Europe for solidarity with the people of Vietnam was held in Paris on July 27.

The following 27 Communist and Workers' parties took part: Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Bulgarian Communist Party, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, German Communist Party (FRG), Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Communist Party of the Netherlands (observer), Communist Party of Norway, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, San-Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labor, League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The Communist Party of Ireland, which could not send a representative, communicated its approval of the conference.

After a comprehensive exchange of views, conducted in the spirit of friendship and concord, the conference approved a Statement.

The representative of the Communist Party of the Netherlands said he would present the results of the conference for examination by his Central Committee.

STATEMENT OF SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

For more than ten years now, the United States has been waging a brutal war against the Vietnamese people. The U.S. administration has had much to say about peace, but continue to escalate its aggression.

In defiance of obligations undertaken four years ago, the U.S. is increasing the scale of its air attacks on the Democratic Republic

of Vietnam. It is systematically destroying towns and villages, industrial enterprises, schools and hospitals. On the eve of the flood-waters caused by the monsoons, it is bombing dikes and dams, which can lead to the flooding of large areas and cause measureless suffering to millions of people. It is waging a war of annihilation against women, children and old people. In repeated violation of accepted standards of international law, the Nixon government has blockaded the sea coast of a sovereign state, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In South Vietnam there have been massive bomb attacks and the use of toxic and chemical weapons, defoliants, napalm, phosphorous and fragmentation bombs, all the latest weapons in the U.S. arsenal. Systematic devastation, fires, murder, destruction of all forms of life over whole regions — such is the reality of America's imperialist policy in Vietnam.

Never before have such vast quantities of destructive weapons and means of annihilation been employed against any nation. In Vietnam, American imperialism is resorting to veritable genocide. The U.S. has brought the war to Laos, Cambodia, the whole of Indochina.

But all in vain: no one can break the will of peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. The time is long past when the imperialists could decide the destinies of nations as they saw fit.

The policy of escalated aggression and "Vietnamization" is being defeated by the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the patriots of Laos and Cambodia. This is a glaring example of the collapse of imperialist attempts to solve international issues from 'positions of strength.'

In their courageous struggle, the patriots of all the Indochina countries enjoy the unfailing support and all-round assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They have the support and active solidarity of the Communist and Workers' parties, the national-liberation movement, the progressive and peace-loving forces the world over. And in the United States itself there is a growing movement against this unjust war and a growing trend in favor of a peaceful settlement.

There is no more noble and urgent task today than that of supporting the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and exposing the American crimes in Indochina. The Vietnamese people's struggle for the inalienable right to shape its future is the cause of all peoples battling imperialism.

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe, gathered in Paris on July 27, 1972, reaffirm their resolute support of the reasonable and constructive proposals of the DRV government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. These proposals express the legitimate aspirations of the Vietnamese people and can serve as a just basis for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, with its threat to interna-

tional security. Aggressive war will never become a means of solving the Vietnam problem. A solution should be worked out at the Paris negotiations.

The Communist parties represented at the conference demand that the U.S. government immediately halt the air attacks and all military operations against the DRV, lift the blockade of its ports, cease the genocide, immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops and weapons from South Vietnam and the whole of Indochina, renounce support of Thieu, and end all interference in the internal affairs of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The inalienable right must be recognized of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to shape their future in conditions of peace and independence. In the face of intensified American aggression, we solemnly declare that we shall not cease our actions against the aggressor.

We appeal to Communists throughout Europe to raise still higher the banner of proletarian solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam and the patriots of Laos and Cambodia.

We appeal to the working class of Europe, to the working people of town and country, to democrats, patriots, to men and women who cherish the ideals of peace, justice and independence, still more actively to demonstrate their solidarity with the peoples of Indochina.

We appeal especially to the young generation, to its noble enthusiasm, to intensify support for their brothers and sisters in Indochina.

Coinciding actions, united struggle, the unity of all revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces, is of decisive importance for the triumph of the just cause of the Indochina peoples.

Solidarity with them has become a factor in promoting still wider united action of Communists, Socialists, all the progressive and peace-loving forces. There has been a marked evolution in the views on Vietnam of representatives of the Church and religious people. We declare that we are prepared to discuss possible joint action with them.

Let us intensify the joint struggle for an end to the genocide in Vietnam!

No man of conscience must remain aside from this struggle.

Let us intensify joint action in support of the peoples of Vietnam and of all Indochina in their fight for freedom and independence.

Paris, July 27, 1972.



The Party, the state and the people

WMR interviews Gustav Husak

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia answers questions of **World Marxist Review** editors.

Question: You stressed at your Party's 14th Congress that the Party's successes stem from loyalty to, and creative use of Marxism-Leninism in changing conditions. What do you think are the main differences in the work of the Party in the principal stages of its history? Particularly, how did the fact that the working class in your country won power by peaceful means reflect on the forms and methods of Party work?

Answer: Analyzing the past period and framing a realistic program for Czechoslovakia's further socialist development, our 14th Congress first of all took into account the following lesson from the Party's history: it performed its duty to the workers and all working people of our two nations, and to the world Communist movement and socialist world system only when it consistently observed Lenin's teaching and effectuated its universal principles in the concrete conditions of the respective periods of class struggle and socialist construction. Conversely, every deviation from Lenin's ideas and, first of all, departures from class and internationalist positions, always led to mistakes. In 1968-1969 they put in jeopardy all our socialist gains.

These conclusions were drawn from our more than 50 years' experience, rich in examples of the Leninist approach to various highly complicated problems. One example was the growing up and tempering process, the "bolshevization" of our Party in the 1930s when under Klement Gottwald's leadership it learned to apply the Leninist strategy and tactics of political struggle and succeeded in rallying not only the core of the working class, but also large

sections of other working people. Another example was our line of building up the national-liberation struggle against the Nazi occupation. Following our country's liberation by the Soviet Army, the Communist Party made creative use of the universal Leninist principles to lead the working class in alliance with the peasants and other working people to victory in the socialist revolution and the realization of their cherished aim – elimination of exploitation and the building of socialism. Now we can also add that by following Leninist principles we were able to repulse the foes of socialism and assure the country's further socialist development. It is not surprising, therefore, that recognition of Leninism's vital importance for the working class and the life of all working people is at the basis of all our work and is taking deep root in the people's consciousness.

Our aims and principles, consonant with the laws of the epoch of revolutionary transition from capitalism to communism, were and are the same. Their effectuation has never been stereotyped, always creative, completely in the Leninist spirit. What changed were the conditions in which the working class and its vanguard applied them. And first and foremost we should note the changed conditions of struggle before and after the conquest of power.

During the *struggle for political power* – a struggle which in Czechoslovakia was a continuation of the revolutionary path already traversed, and reposed on our own and international experience, a struggle fought as the national-democratic revolution grew into a socialist revolution – the Party acted mainly on the basic Leninist tenet that the dictatorship of the proletariat is exclusively a revolutionary cause, to be performed by the working class and other sections of working people led by the Communist Party, and that it can be accomplished only by a conscious political movement, making the most of favorable internal and international conditions.

A considerable revolutionizing effect was exercised on the masses by the cruel lesson of Munich, the betrayal of the people and the Czechoslovak Republic by the ruling bourgeoisie and its class allies, and by the historic fact that the decisive part in crushing fascism and liberating Czechoslovakia was played by the Soviet Union, that home- and foreign-based resistance forces headed chiefly by Communists, participated in this battle, which culminated in a national uprising. A new people's democratic system grew up on this foundation, with a National Front government of Czechs and Slovaks and a system of national committees resting on the worker-peasant alliance and a broad national-democratic bloc in which Communists held increasingly strong positions. However, at that time a section of the bourgeoisie, too, still wielded political power alongside the working people. It follows that in 1945 the main question of the revolution – that of power – was not as yet completely settled.

The Party was oriented on a gradual peaceful passage to socialism. The theoretical basis for this was Lenin's teaching on the

growth of the bourgeois democratic into the socialist revolution.

The Party was winning the trust of the masses in daily battles for vital requirements, in constructive efforts and sharp class collisions in the mass organizations and state institutions (confiscation of the property of traitors and fascist collaborationists; nationalization of key industries, banks and insurance companies; effectuation of the land reform; solution of the national question; democratization of education, culture and social welfare). The reactionary elements in the leadership of non-Communist parties lost influence, for they departed more and more from the National Front government's program and were, in effect, betraying the ideas of the national-democratic revolution which had brought their parties into being and in the name of which a portion of the people had supported them.

The February 1948 victory was the culmination of the growth of the national-democratic into a socialist revolution. Full power was taken over by the workers and other working people. People's Democracy began to perform all the functions of the proletarian dictatorship. It was thus that, led by the CPC, the broad alliance of working people headed by the working class assumed political power peacefully, without an armed collision, in keeping with the essential constitutional and parliamentary traditions. The forms of power that had evolved during the national-democratic revolution, were preserved.

By the peaceful way of winning political power we mean only the forms, or the means, of the class collision, not its content. This was the case in Czechoslovakia. The Communists' orientation on the peaceful way was a revolutionary orientation, implying a class struggle for leadership against the bourgeoisie. The purpose was to overthrow the bourgeoisie and win power for the workers and all working people, or, as Gottwald put it, to effectuate the principles of Marxism-Leninism, applying the Leninist strategy and tactics to Czechoslovak conditions.

That the revolution developed peacefully, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism had anticipated, depended not only on the working class and the Communist Party, but mainly on the strength and forms of resistance of the bourgeoisie.

During *the struggle for socialism*, Gottwald reminded us time and again of Lenin's words: the class struggle does not cease after the complete conquest of power; it continues in other forms, and the working class and its Party carry an incomparably greater burden of responsibility as they assume full charge of building socialism.

True, the changed conditions were not always, and not everywhere, taken fully into account. This applies especially to the recent period.

The interests of socialism require the Party to utilize the leverage of socialist power and socialist relations of production to the fullest in resolving the people's vital problems, to guide the country's

development with initiative, on a scientific basis, enhance the socialist relations and forms of life, and consistently defend the Marxist-Leninist principles against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

The National Front is a specific attribute of the socialist system in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Gradually, it became the political embodiment of the alliance of the leading working class and the cooperative farmers and other working people jointly building socialism. Socialism is the programmatic aim of all the parties and mass organizations in the National Front; hence, they acknowledge the leading role of the Communist Party as the representative of the workers and all working people. Based on a common program of building socialism, this relationship is incomparably deeper and more developed than that of an ordinary political coalition in the bourgeois parliamentary system. Sectarian activity outside the National Front would only reduce the mass basis of socialist construction. Therefore, the attempts of the Right forces to disrupt the National Front by calling for the restoration of ordinary political coalitions, was clearly a blow against the common socialist aims of the National Front.

The workers' peaceful takeover, with none of the class conflicts developing into an armed clash, may be described as a school of revolutionary experience. But, as we learned here in Czechoslovakia, following the peaceful takeover the Party must take note most carefully of the regularities of class differentiation and struggle, for they are bound to surface whatever the conditions may be. The Party must closely observe the universal laws of building socialism, use all the political means which were effective in the past, fortify the workers' power by moulding socialist human relationships, always creatively effectuate the Leninist principles, and conduct intensive ideological work.

Speaking of the peculiarities of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia, we must also stress that our alliance with the Soviet Union has been of incalculable value for our workers and people; more, it averted a foreign counter-revolutionary intervention during the decisive clash for power. And naturally we owe it entirely to our alliance with the Soviet Union and the socialist system as a whole that our socialist development is possible and is guaranteed today and in the future.

Question: The 14th CPC Congress decisions refer to combating opportunism, stressing that Right opportunism and revisionism are the main danger in Czechoslovakia. Anti-communist propaganda infers therefrom that your Party is turning 'conservative' and reverting to voluntarist methods, etc. It even avers that political trials are taking place. What have you to say on this score?

Answer: As the Czechoslovak Communists see it, the period between the 13th and 14th congresses was a time of the greatest trials in our Party's history. With the concrete political results attained in the consolidation process, the 14th Congress was able to write *finis* to it.

The political line of the 14th Congress orients the Party and society on tasks of the new stage – on ascent, first and foremost, in the economy, on active participation of the working people in building a developed socialist society.

The Party's policy of principles has enabled it to deepen the process launched by our Central Committee meeting of April 1969. The Party's Marxist-Leninist character was fully restored. This was accomplished chiefly in battle against Right opportunism, by clearing out of the Party the bearers of Right opportunism. Thereby we created the preconditions for the CPC to perform all the functions devolving on it as the leading force of our socialist society.

When the Party declared at its 14th Congress that it regarded Right opportunism and revisionism as the main danger in the prevailing conditions it merely observed the lessons of the crisis period and followed our analysis of the home and foreign situation. This does not mean that it underrates the harm and danger of 'Left' opportunism and revisionism, and the accompanying sectarianism and adventurism.

The voluntarism of the 1960s following the completion of the foundations of socialism, was expressed chiefly in an overestimation of the attained level of social development and idealization of moral-political unity, which resulted in unrealistic political and economic aims. The laws of social development were not heeded sufficiently, and the Leninist guidelines for Party, state and economy were violated. And with the leadership of that time failing to determine the reasons for all the deficiencies and to remedy the mistakes, the situation ripened for a dangerous upsurge of Right opportunism and revisionism.

The revisionists' ideological offensive was mounted behind a screen of criticism of dogmatism and past mistakes. They took advantage of the weakness of the leadership, which could not distinguish sincere criticism, attempts to restore the Party's principles, from revisionist perfidy. Right-wing criticism also misled some honest people. The revisionists began by casting doubt on our way to socialism, then denied the relevance of Leninism and searched for a so-called Czechoslovak model, and ended up by assailing the pillars of socialism.

The anti-socialist counter-revolutionary complexion of what the opportunists were doing became especially clear after direct attacks were mounted on centralized planned guidance and the state form of socialist ownership, which are basic principles of socialist economy. The Right elements wanted a free, spontaneous market, leading matters up to chaos and inflation and a breakdown in labor discipline. The economic damage was tremendous. A large portion of our people lost its sense of security, which affected their faith in the socialist system.

The Right elements proclaimed a clearly defined but specious platform of 'democratic' and 'humane' socialism, directed against the authority of the socialist state and the guiding role of the Party.

They provided legal opportunities for outright counter-revolutionaries, many of whom had at one time been penalized as saboteurs and agents of imperialist secret services, to put themselves at the head of a drive to destroy the existing political structures.

The Right elements showed clearly what they meant by 'freedom and democracy,' the slogan they used most of all, and also showed to whom these principles applied. They organized frenetic campaigns against anyone who spoke up for socialism, who exposed them for what they really were.

As fully confirmed later, the Right opportunists' activity was not a mere miscalculation: it was a plan to wipe out the revolutionary gains of generations of workers and their revolutionary party. Their program put the Right elements into one lot with international anti-communism.

Naturally, anti-Communist propaganda tries to obscure the fact that the Right opportunists and revisionists were fighting not against dogmatism, but against Marxism-Leninism in general. It is trying to conceal that the Right forces did not take into account, much less accept, the principles of building socialism, that voluntarism attained full bloom in Czechoslovakia precisely in 1968. Thus, to open up the way for a creative approach to the problems of building a developed socialist society, we had to grapple with Right opportunism and revisionism, and their exponents. And the fact that our Party was able to overcome the social crisis and remove its causes in so short a time by purely political means speaks of the vitality and correctness of our policy, of the maturity of the working class, showing that the ideas of socialism and proletarian internationalism are deeply rooted in the consciousness of our people.

The events of recent years have been a grim lesson for us. We have understood that any deviation from Marxism-Leninism in the economic, political or ideological fields provides a medium for revisionism. So our Party is doing its utmost to build up politico-ideological work and eliminate the remnants of opportunist views and postures, to create conditions for the extension and deepening of socialist democracy. The significance of our defeating the Right elements, as we see it, is, among other things, that the vast majority of the people have understood the harmfulness of their plans and actions.

Now we are being accused of reverting to the practices of the 1950s, to political trials. These charges come mainly from those who had miscalculated in their counter-revolutionary planning. Our Party and the people have condemned the past deformations and put an end to them. We demand consequent observance of socialist legality both in relation to the citizens of our land and to our socialist state. However, if anyone violates the law, he must bear the responsibility. There are and will be none of the fabricated or unlawful political trials alleged by anti-Communist propaganda.

It is not surprising that our adversaries decry firm measures against people committing acts hostile to the socialist system. This is in keeping with the reactionary interests of their class, with the logic of the class struggle.

Question: The care shown by Communists in socialist countries to preserve and enhance progressive national institutions has given rise to talk of specific national 'models of socialism.' Could you, from Czechoslovak experience, show the difference between the concepts 'model' and 'national specifics' in a socialist society?

Answer: Throughout its history, as we have said, our Party looked for such ways and means of applying Marxism-Leninism in Czechoslovak conditions that would enable us, in the concrete interests of the people, to utilize the traditional national forms of political life.

The relatively developed forms of bourgeois democracy in our country were furthered by the traditional political activity of the working class, its resolute participation in the revolutionary struggle for democracy, against the fascist and chauvinist reactionary policy of the big bourgeoisie and its parties. Knowing this, we made every possible use of those organizational and political forms of the past that had stood the test of time and could be filled with a socialist content.

This applies, among others, to the main organs of power, the National Committees, first formed as revolutionary bodies to combat fascism, and to the National Front, formed as a political bloc of organizations representing all the classes and strata that took part in the national-liberation struggle. Communists in these organs and organizations worked for a consistently democratic line, winning over the politically unaffiliated and gaining prestige among members of other parties. The battle for the masses was fought in all the existing organizations, and it was our Party that won.

In this way, by democratic means, often in grim political battles, we succeeded in building a new socialist political system devoid of the elements of bourgeois parliamentary pseudo-democracy (inter-party struggle for power, a legal opposition to the ruling majority, representation of interests only by political parties, etc.). All elements of political life developed along the democratic principles of cooperation among all progressive political forces, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

As the consequences of the crisis period are being overcome in all areas of social life, new elements of socialist democracy – based on the new evaluation of accumulated experience – will and must develop. This the Party knows. And we also know that the stagnation and passivity prior to 1969, largely caused by incorrect forms of political work, especially by formalism and subjectivism in economic and political matters, were used by 'elitist' Right elements in urging the working class by means of demagogic slogans to deny its support to the Party. So we are striving to increase the workers' influence on political decisions and are devoting much of our

attention to the life of working-class collectives. Many of the new deputies to National Committee are workers. And the republican and federal trade union congresses have shown that the people are fully aware that the unions are a political and social force representing their interests, and that the unions are provided every opportunity to carry forward their social functions.

The same may be said of the youth organization, whose purpose should be to bring home to the young people ever more clearly the place they occupy in society, so that they take part in developing it.

Non-Communist political parties are active in the National Front, which encompasses many public organizations. Their activity, based on the National Front platform, shows that our political system offers broad opportunities for active political cooperation, because the non-Communist parties and their members take part with initiative, and, as a rule, conscientiously, in building socialism and in the work of the National Committees and public organizations.

The Czechoslovak political system is not merely a compound of 'traditional' forms and a new socialist content. It alters these forms in accordance with the changing conditions.

In its policy the CPC has always taken into account that the population of the country consists of two peoples and also national minorities linked by fraternal bonds. Opposing the incorrect bourgeois conception of a single so-called Czechoslovak nation, the Party has always, even at the time of the bourgeois republic, worked in accordance with Lenin's idea for the equality and all-round development of both nations, the Czechs and the Slovaks, who make up most of the population. Following the victory in the national-liberation struggle, the national question was dealt with along democratic principles. Despite the unfavorable effects of subjectivism and a crude approach to national policy in the years following the victory of the revolution, we achieved certain incontestable successes, especially in the economic field.

The Party saw that subordinating the national question to the class standpoint and consequently to the *international* question, did not in principle mean that national problems required no political solution. We acted on Lenin's ideas and the experience of the Soviet Union, where federalism has proved its worth, being based on the principle of equality of peoples in a common socialist state and forming a dependable basis for the international cooperation of peoples and nationalities.

Acting on these time-tested Leninist principles, our Party and the fraternal Czech and Slovak peoples along with the national minorities, set to removing the mistakes of the past period by creating a federative system. The political and state equality of the two peoples offered better opportunities for balancing their economic, social and cultural level more quickly as part of the process of the general all-round development of the country for the good of all working people.

Full developing of the potentialities of the national republics in

developing the state as a whole is tied in with the determinative and unifying role of the Communist Party, which, in line with Lenin's conception, is the one party, the one vanguard of our socialist nations.

The foes of socialism and Right opportunists are raising a howl over 'national models' of socialism in the various socialist countries.

The concept or term, 'model,' is used chiefly for a complex, intrinsically organized entity with its own laws of development, with its own aim – the 'project.' The use of this term is meant to signify that socialism does not exist as a single socio-economic system, that there are but differently patterned systems functioning dissimilarly and dissimilar in many substantive ways, or 'models' that have but one thing in common – that they are all called socialist.

This ideological sleight of hand denies the really existing socialism, portrays it as 'state-capitalist,' 'state-bureaucratic,' etc., and puts forward other 'models of socialism,' to which quite often petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties declared allegiance. The claim that a 'democratic socialism' was in the making in Czechoslovakia was intended to help the demagogic conditioning of the masses, to camouflage anti-communism, chauvinism, and the anti-Soviet hysteria.

In May 1969 already our Party again firmly declared that socialism develops according to common laws, including the leading role of the Communist Party in all areas of social life, the socialist state as the vehicle of the power of the working class and people, planned guidance of socialist economic development, and all-round co-operation with the USSR and other countries of the socialist system.

Question: The experience of the world Communist movement shows that incorrect relationships between the Party and the masses entail grave consequences for revolution and socialism. How, in the light of the lessons in Czechoslovakia, would you define the main principles of this relationship, assuring the stability of the socialist gains?

Answer: The experience of every contingent of the world Communist movement confirms that ideological and organizational unity, the unity of action and high combat capacity of the vanguard, is expressive of a complex of varied relations and ties. Apart from the 'revolutionary vanguard – working class and its allies' relationship, there are also relations inside the vanguard – the quality of the leading cadres and maturity of Party activists as a condition for sustained activity by the Party rank-and-file.

At the beginning of the 1930s, during the bolshevization of our Party following the Fifth Congress, the new Gottwald leadership advanced the slogan, 'Face the Masses.' After April 1969 we revived this slogan, and the 14th Congress made its content more specific for the present stage.

What was its meaning in Gottwald's time? To begin with, it was a reversal of the opportunist policy of the pre-Gottwald leadership, which had failed to make a realistic assessment of the general situ-

ation in the Party, the working class and the bourgeoisie, failed to understand the dialectics of the development of class forces, the positions of our allies, and did not chart a realistic political course to rally the people against the bourgeoisie, a course abreast of the concrete conditions, the immediate and long-term interests and requirements of the masses.

The document, 'Lessons of the Critical Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the CPC,' showed the grave consequences of incorrectly analyzing the situation, of distorted notions about the objective interests and requirements of further socialist development, the ways and methods of resolving problems ripe and 'over-ripe' in 1968.

The main thing is to understand the basic problems of the period correctly, and to draw up action plans, a clear program, that will win the masses. Ignoring objective requirements and the interests of the masses, the leadership's break with reality led—due to an incapacity for drawing conclusions at once, at the first sign of negative phenomena—to an accumulation of unsolved problems. As a result, the leadership of that time succumbed to many opportunist influences and tendencies, instead of tackling difficulties in an earnest, principled manner, and made opportunist concessions on the excuse of maintaining unity.

After January 1968 the Party leadership did not quickly enough see the difference between rectifying mistakes and eliminating shortcomings, and outright attacks on the basic revolutionary gains of socialism. The Right elements captured one position after another, and by means of false social demagoguery temporarily misled part of the working class and Party.

We saw what misleading the masses means. We saw that lack of principle, in whatever form, can bring society to the brink of disaster. We still remember how difficult it was to regain the confidence of the masses, although, at the same time, we also saw that sooner or later the masses recognize the revolutionary truth and understand the efforts of their vanguard, the Communist Party, for when the Party follows a correct political line and explains it patiently, it always gets the support of the masses.

The prolific experience of the CPC, which also helped it after 1969, shows that patient struggle for positions should be carried on continuously in all areas. The Party regards the masses not only as indispensable in carrying out its program, as an object of Party influence, but also an important source of its policy and ideas.

The slogan 'Face the Masses' is a permanent political slogan embodying the Marxist-Leninist principles of mass leadership—formulation of concrete tasks, framing of clear policies and forms of advance, step by step, suiting the changing conditions and preconditions, and observing the universal laws of the development of socialist society. To practice this slogan means to help the masses understand their objective interests, combat all demagoguery, show the masses the way to their aims, and avoid spontaneous movements

of no clear orientation. This slogan our Party follows faithfully.

Such leadership of the masses requires a differentiated approach to the various classes and social groups, good use of the Party's varied organizational structure, diverse forms of work, consideration for the specific interests of social groups and their coordination with the interests of all society.

Daily, we encounter important connections of different kinds between policy and the objective laws of development of socialist society. In political practice, taking daily decisions and defining the course of action, there may arise the false illusion that politics is completely independent and 'free.' But with each serious departure from the chosen course we become aware that social development, under socialism as well, is an objective process with its own laws, highly sensitive to the changing conditions. However, there are also specific rules in politics: social development is a continuing process, it cannot be stopped, it cannot wait until we come to a decision, it continues, and if we lose control of the situation, it will become spontaneous. This, as I see it, gives rise to one of the main, one of the most complicated tasks of the Party, its organs, its responsible functionaries: not to surrender to spontaneity, not to lose touch with the movement. We must see ahead as far as we can, but also resolve the urgent problems of the day, even the most acute. We must look for the right order, find the 'main link' of the chain, and we must do our utmost in the process of political decision-making to commit as few mistakes as possible and, if they occur, to react at once.

The gravest weakness a revolutionary movement, a Communist Party, can suffer is inability to arouse, use, mobilize and build up the revolutionary energy of the masses. Leninism shows and the practice of socialist society confirms the decisive significance not only of the orientation of all Communist policy, of the leading bodies and the activists of the Party in accomplishing this, but also of effective use of the appropriate means, among which the Party's politico-ideological and politico-organizational activity holds top priority.

Unintermittent reproduction of the ideological and organizational guidance of the masses on the basis of a scientific program based on Marxist-Leninist theory, is a continuous and one of the most difficult of all social tasks. Social processes, as we know, are the most complicated form of motion of objective reality. Conscious guidance requires extensive and profound revolutionary experience on the part of the vanguard of the working-class movement, the leading Party cadres, activists, and the Party membership. But this is not all. Also required is continuous enrichment of the experience of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction of each country and the international working-class and democratic movement.

We regard as our supreme responsibility to follow a socialist policy, that is, administer the affairs of all society in pursuance of

the substantive, long-term interests of the working class and the working masses, building and developing socialist and communist society. Our policy must repose on a critical analysis of practice and the achievements of science (but not science for the sake of science) which facilitates the optimum effectuation of society's crucial tasks. Among these our Party sets top priority on the economic tasks, which it regards as decisive for politics.

Question: Recently our journal held a round-table exchange on the problem of uniting scientific socialism with the social activity of the people. One of the aspects of the discussion concerned cultivation of Marxist-Leninist consciousness in the masses in the environment of socialist construction. As we know, special significance is attached to the matter in Czechoslovakia. Could you tell us how it is dealt with in the case of separate classes and social groups?

Answer: As I have said, practice has shown that still higher criteria should be set for ideological work as an essential sector of the Party's activity. This is required first and foremost by the positive tasks facing us after the 14th Congress—conscious and inspired labor and political activity. But the question has yet another side to it. As evident from the document, 'Lessons of the Critical Development,' one of the reasons for the crisis in our Party and society was that ever since the '60s bourgeois, anti-Communist, anti-Soviet and anti-socialist propaganda and revisionism were afforded relatively fertile soil—principally in the outlook of the surviving petty-bourgeois strata and the remnants of capitalism in the consciousness of some people. This was a consequence of the often formalistic approach to educating working people in the socialist spirit. This is why the Party should always devote the utmost attention to this aspect.

Marxism-Leninism is not a religion, but a living, revolutionary teaching on the transformation of life and thinking; the decisive influence on the people's consciousness is exercised by their daily experience, their life in the real socialist conditions. However, we must make this conclusion concrete, elucidate it, and—especially in our ideological work—acquaint people with the future tasks and perspectives of socialist society, showing their relation to the daily drive of raising the effectiveness of labor in each sector. It was in this spirit that the 14th Congress stressed the need to fight for the socialist consciousness of people. Consequently, we regard ideologico-educational work as a sustained Party influence on all society, which helps its citizens to gauge their opportunities in the socialist environment. Underrating ideological work—formalism and vagueness, and merely sporadic campaigns—opened up the way to bourgeois ideas. Nothing but systematic ideological activity, tied in with mass political work, can yield good results.

However, it is not the purpose of our ideological work merely to alter the views of people, though this, too, is exceedingly important for their attitudes and conduct. Learning the scientific

world outlook enables members of socialist society independently to grasp the complicated problems of the contemporary class-divided world, to see the more subtle aspects of imperialist policy, to approach political issues from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism, etc. But what we are also working for is that this assimilated scientific ideology should materialize in practical activity. The 14th Congress set us the task of helping 'every honest person understand and agree with the policy of the Party' and also to apply the maximum effort for its effectuation not only at his job, but also in all his other public activity.

Today, a year after the 14th Congress, I can safely say that we are coping with these tasks successfully. I can cite several examples of how the Party line, the policy of the 14th Congress, is supported by increasingly larger masses of workers, members of agricultural cooperatives, the working intelligentsia, the youth and all other working people.

During the elections to the legislatures and local bodies of government, the National Front worked out development programs for every town and village, every district, every region, and at meetings with their electors candidates consulted them on how to improve and carry out these projects. The efforts of the National Committees, helped by some 220,000 members of their various commissions and another 300,000 activists, have resulted in collective socialist pledges. The pledges are, in effect, detailed plans for the social development of the village, town, district or region concerned. And the initiative of the workers and farmers in fulfilling them is the foundation for an upswing of labor enthusiasm.

The public organizations, too, are becoming more active. The recent republican and federal congress of the labor unions put the full weight of their support behind the 14th Party Congress line. A number of concrete measures were taken to assure fulfillment by union bodies of the 14th Congress decisions. A similar atmosphere reigned at the congress of agricultural cooperatives, which outlined the ways of fulfilling the agricultural decisions of the CPC Congress. Congresses of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, of journalists, and of writers have taken place, and there will soon be congresses of the Socialist Youth League, the unions of art workers, etc. All these forums review the past period, sum up the results, analyze mistakes and shortcomings, and, most important, search for new ways of rallying their members for work in the spirit of the 14th Congress decisions to fulfil the tasks facing society.

Of late, the CPC has been devoting more attention to the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members and deeper ideologico-political, economic and philosophical education of members of mass organizations, especially the labor unions and youth organizations. We are trying to avoid stereotypes and to find in our propaganda work the right balance between general and special knowledge. We are also aware that different means and methods should be used in

politico-ideological education considering the dissimilar degree of the socialist consciousness of different social groups and individuals.

At its February (1972) meeting the Central Committee discussed the country's economic problems in the broadest social context, including the economic education of people. Agricultural affairs were likewise examined in a broad context. We take guidance in the general line of the 14th Congress and strive to enhance the efficiency of our economy. To achieve our targets – a higher living standard, improvement of the social situation of various groups, consolidation of our entire socialist society – we must create important preconditions and marshal the required resources. The coming Central Committee meeting, to be devoted to ideological matters, will continue this line and consider the acquired experience, finalizing in the context of the Party's overall policy the perspectives and trends of ideological education.

To answer your question briefly, I may say that our experience shows that in the process of socialist construction the workers and other working people assimilate the main principles of Marxism-Leninism, taking guidance in them more and more consciously in their practical activity. The socialist consciousness which sufficed to cope with the aims of the preceding period, we are aware, must now be raised to a higher level. For example, nowadays people must know the regularities and ways of economic development, methods of management, the socialist integration measures, and the Party's entire policy. And since we want to tie up the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, the importance of special knowledge, and its interconnection with people's political experience, is now also greater. New criteria arise for people's moral standards and relationships, and the need for a more profound socialist patriotism and internationalist education is greater. The Party's politico-educational work will play its part in these objectives, combining education and propaganda influence with the practical experience of people at their jobs, in the public organizations, at home, etc.

Our Party's place of leadership in the socialist social system assures the right impact of the elements of that system on men's socialist consciousness. It is the main task of the Communist Party, whose leading role in this sphere grows more solid and broad in the process of socialist construction, to see to it that all links of the socialist social system function effectively and uninterruptedly, in different ways and yet to one and the same purpose.



Communist movement and the world revolutionary process

Herbert Mies

I.

Every day brings us interesting news from all over the globe, nor was July, when this was written, an exception. The UN world economic survey for 1971 notes the dynamic economic growth of the socialist community, in which industrial output increased by 7.8 percent and the national income 6.3 percent. There were reports of strikes in Italy, Japan, USA, Britain and of mounting popular resistance to the Black Colonels' regime in Greece, the Franco dictatorship in Spain and the fascist regime in Portugal. Chile's Agrarian Reform Corporation launched the last stage of dismantling of the big landed estates by expropriating 50 more estates in the southern province of Ozorno. Patriots stepped up their fight against colonialism and racism in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia, the SAR and Namibia.

Reports of Fidel Castro's friendly visits to the socialist countries of Europe, of meetings between the CPSU and other fraternal parties, the theoretical conference on the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR attended by 47 Communist and Workers' parties, and the adoption of a joint government program by the French Communists and Socialists, all speak of changes in the world political climate and of a new alignment of political forces due, above all, to the activity of the Communist movement.

More than ever before, each day brings convincing proof of the development of revolutionary processes and the further strengthening of the three mighty forces of our time: the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement. The main feature of the world revolutionary process today is the existence and consolidation of the socialist world system, which is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. The revolutionary labor movement is once again on the rise though its scope, strength and consciousness differ from one country to another. The appeal of socialism's revolutionizing ideas has increased in capitalist countries. The anti-imperialist movement and the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia,

Africa and Latin America exert a growing influence on social progress. The revolutionary-democratic regimes oriented on non-capitalist development are a new phenomenon in world revolutionary practice.

The first postwar meetings of Communist and Workers' parties played a decisive part in bringing about these historic developments. They initiated a new form of collective discussion by Communists of the major problems of our time on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and common goals in the fight for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The first such meetings in Moscow 15 years ago brought together representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries (November 14-16, 1957) and delegations of 64 Communist and Workers' parties (November 16-19). The former meeting adopted a Declaration of Communist and Workers' Parties and the latter, a Peace Manifesto.

The 1957 meetings set down new guidelines for the anti-imperialist struggle in a situation in which the alignment of forces was steadily changing in favor of peace, democracy and socialism. The Communist and Workers' parties noted that imperialism had lost its domination over the greater part of mankind and that the main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism begun by the October Revolution. They described the issue of war or peaceful coexistence as the crucial problem of world politics and pointed out that the peace forces had grown to such an extent that there was a real possibility of averting war.

The Communist and Workers' parties unanimously agreed that solidarity of the socialist countries is in the interests of all the peace-loving peoples, deters imperialist aggressiveness and strengthens the peace forces. They regarded the cohesion and close unity of the socialist countries as a reliable guarantee of their national independence and sovereignty.

The Communist and Workers' parties emphasized that Marxism calls for a creative application of the general principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction according to the concrete historical conditions of each country. They demonstrated their resolve to counter all attempts by reactionary, imperialist forces to impede the advance of mankind to the new era by building up their unity, by each party performing its international and national duty, and by combating opportunism and nationalism.

The meetings noted with deep satisfaction that the international Communist movement had grown, withstood serious trials and won major victories. The 1969 Moscow Meeting and more than 40 congresses of fraternal Parties held after 1969 could draw more far-reaching conclusions. And the Communists have every reason to say that no other political movement can match theirs in social significance. The historical initiative is now in the hands of this worldwide movement. Today there are 89 Communist and Workers' parties with more than 50 million members.

The Communist movement is the main driving force of the world revolutionary process, which encompasses numerous social movements developed in diverse international and national conditions. They and the class forces taking part in them differ in character and ideological maturity. In these circumstances, it is highly important for every Communist party to properly combine its national with its international responsibilities. Communists stressed this at their world meetings 15 years ago.

II.

All people, irrespective of nationality or socio-political views, want to live in peace. This and the awareness that a nuclear war would surpass in destruction anything mankind had yet experienced, prompted the Communists to address a Peace Manifesto to the working people of all countries. By appealing to them to pool their efforts for peace, heighten their vigilance against the warmongers and organize for concrete action for peace, the Communist and Workers' Parties demonstrated their concern and responsibility for the destinies of mankind.

"We Communists," the Peace Manifesto declared, "have devoted our lives to the cause of socialism. We are firmly convinced that this noble cause will triumph. And it is because we believe in the triumph of our ideas — the ideas of Marx and Lenin, the ideas of proletarian internationalism — that we want peace and are working for peace." The ideas of the Peace Manifesto were carried forward in the Appeal in Defense of Peace of the 1969 Meeting, the report of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, to the 24th Party Congress and the Prague Declaration on peace, security and cooperation in Europe adopted by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

At their 1957 meetings the Communist and Workers' parties stated that war can be avoided and peace preserved for a new situation, a new alignment of forces, had formed in the world.

The statement that war is not inevitable had a strong rallying effect on all anti-imperialist forces at the time and in the years that followed. The Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries constantly take new initiatives to halt or prevent imperialist aggression, ease tensions, achieve collective security in Europe and Asia and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The international working class acts to check the aggressive forces of the military-industrial complex and forces governments to pursue an active policy of peace. National liberation movements deal telling blows at imperialism and repel its recurrent acts of aggression and intervention. The peace movement has spread to every corner of the world and has become an effective mass movement. Thanks to the growth of these forces, and especially the increased political prestige and military power of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the period since

the 1957 meetings imperialist attempts to unleash a world war have been foiled and there have been new victories for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The most aggressive forces of imperialism are giving up one position after another and are compelled to adapt to the changed alignment of world forces. This, however, does not mean that imperialism is no longer aggressive. Evidence to the contrary: the continued aggression in Indochina despite U.S. reverses and the mounting worldwide movement of protest and solidarity; persistent imperialist attempts to engineer a new military conflict in the Middle East; the imperialist arms drive, principally by the USA and FRG, and the growing influence of the military-industrial complex in a number of NATO countries.

On the other hand, the revolutionary forces of the world and the peace movement are so strong that they can compel the most aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism to accept peaceful coexistence. The changed alignment of world forces, the impact of the 24th CPSU Congress peace program, the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist countries, the peace movement and the activity of the Communist and Workers' parties of all countries—as a result of all this peaceful coexistence is hewing a way for itself even in the leading imperialist states, though there are obstacles and there might be temporary setbacks.

'Europe is at the threshold of a new stage, as it were,' L. I. Brezhnev said at the 15th Congress of the Soviet trade unions. 'The ideas of peace, security and extensive, diversified cooperation are winning recognition and support among a growing number of countries. The socialist countries' peaceful initiatives have helped create a situation in which problems of European security and cooperation can be considered in a practical context. To solve these problems is a major historic task.'

The coming into force of the FRG treaties with the USSR and Poland, the four-power agreement on West Berlin, the treaties and agreements between the GDR and the FRG and between the GDR and the West Berlin Senate signify a decisive change in the development of postwar Europe. The recognition in international law of postwar realities, including existing frontiers, is virtually a materialization of some of the tasks which the 1957 Meetings made central to the struggle for peace.

An all-European conference on security and cooperation would go a long way towards establishing a healthy climate in Europe on a durable basis and normalizing international relations in this part of the world. This was why the socialist countries put forward relevant proposals, and most West European governments favor such a conference. The Communist and Workers' parties of Europe are working for an early and successful conference. They hold that consolidating peace in Europe is inseparable from support for the peoples of Indochina in their struggle to end the U.S. aggression and that it would contribute towards a Mideast settle-

ment and a collective security system in Asia, and would substantially help the anti-imperialist forces everywhere.

Everyone can now see that socialism brings peace and that the Soviet Union's peace offensive and the foreign policy of other socialist states are yielding tangible results. They stimulate the forces of peace and socialism. This is evidenced now in the last instance by the Soviet-American talks and their outcome. For the first time ever, by signing the 'Basic Principles of Relations Between the USSR and the USA,' the United States recognized peaceful coexistence as a basis for relations between countries with different social systems. The strategic arms limitations agreement represents a first step towards curbing the nuclear arms race. The other Soviet-U.S. agreements also met both the national interests of the two countries and the aspirations of all peoples for security, detente and world peace.

Furthermore, the course and the results of the Soviet-American talks show that Soviet foreign policy is both a universal and a class policy. It is inseparably linked with the interests of the world Communist and Workers' movement, the national liberation movement and the peoples' struggle for world peace. The Soviet Union has always repulsed imperialist encroachments on the gains of socialism, the peoples' freedom and sovereign right to decide their future, and will continue to do so.

In pursuing a foreign policy aimed at resisting aggression and using new opportunities to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union, other socialist nations and the international Communist and Workers' movement follow the principles of Lenin's policy of peace.

The purpose of Lenin's policy of peace is:

- to safeguard peace and security of nations, prevent imperialist wars against socialist countries and create favorable external conditions for building the new social system and demonstrating its advantages;

- to hem in imperialism's resources of combating revolutionary and liberation movements by military means, effectively prevent imperialism from exporting counter-revolution and provide in this way favorable conditions for the struggle of the working class and the national liberation movement;

- to counter the attempts of reactionary capitalist forces at exploiting international tensions to bolster their internal positions, encourage fascist trends and attack democratic freedoms;

- to impress on the masses the humane essence of socialism and help revolutionary and progressive forces draw the masses into the anti-imperialist struggle under the slogan of safeguarding peace and heading off the threat of a new war.

In today's conditions, B. N. Ponomarev said at the international theoretical conference on the Lenin centenary, the struggle for peace is both a universal and a class struggle. Communists uphold

peace as consistent fighters for the national interests of their peoples and as consistent internationalists.

This has also been the attitude of the Communists of the Federal Republic, who over the past two years have energetically worked for the signing, and then the ratification, of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties. The campaign for these treaties, which serve to normalize relations between the FRG and socialist countries, promote European security and help implement the principles of peaceful coexistence, showed that when all peace forces in and outside the country cooperate they can contain the most aggressive and revanchist elements of big capital. Developments at home proved that success in the struggle for peace facilitates the struggle of all anti-imperialist, democratic and socialist forces and affords new opportunities for democracy and socialism.

III.

Communist and Workers' parties analyzed the changed alignment of forces and the processes of development and differentiation in the world imperialist system and in individual countries. They set the sights on unfolding mass anti-imperialist and anti-militarist movements, unity of all anti-imperialist forces, united action by Communists and Socialists and continued effort for the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties.

An analysis of world development showed that deep-going, historic changes, a decisive shift in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism, and the increased appeal of socialist ideas among workers, peasants and intellectuals have bettered the conditions for the victory of socialism. The forms of transition from capitalism to socialism may vary from country to country. The working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist parties—want to accomplish the socialist revolution by peaceful means.

In accordance with the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the need to master every form of struggle, Communist and Workers' parties expressed the view that in the new conditions in a number of capitalist countries, the working class headed by its vanguard had the opportunity given a united working class and a popular front, as well as other possible forms of agreement and political cooperation between different parties and mass organizations, to unite the majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the people. Relying on the majority of the people and decisively rebuffing opportunist elements, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for carrying out the socialist revolution by peaceful means. However, the peaceful way implies powerful and continuous development of the class struggle of the

workers, peasant masses and urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for democratic liberties, far-reaching social anti-monopoly reforms, peace and socialism.

The fact that the Declaration of the 1957 Meeting pointed to the possibility of accomplishing the revolution by peaceful means was, needless to say, of tremendous importance for the strategy and tactics of Communist and Workers' parties.

Since then the world Communist and workers' movement has gained a wealth of knowledge and experience in using various forms and methods of struggle. It owes them, in particular, to the gains of the revolutionary movement in Cuba and Chile. It has generalized the lessons of national liberation revolutions. These have reached the stage when the fight for national liberation develops more and more frequently into a struggle against feudal and capitalist relations of exploitation. The movement has acquired new experience and new knowledge also from the effort of the Communist and Workers' parties of developed capitalist countries to combine everyday struggles with the struggle for fundamental social changes, for socialism. It has also gained new experience in the battle against Right and 'Left' opportunism, against a definite part of the 'New Left,' against such enemies of Marxism-Leninism as Garaudy, Fischer and Marcuse, as well as against the attempts of counter-revolutionary forces to reverse the socialist development of the CSSR, as the 14th Congress of the Czechoslovak CP pointed out.

This experience and knowledge were generalized in documents of the international Communist and Workers' movement, as well as in numerous decisions and policy statements of Communist and Workers' parties. There is the proof of recent events that when a proletarian party ignores national specifics, this inevitably results in loss of contact with reality and the masses, which can only harm socialism. And the cause of socialism is also harmed by exaggerating the role of these specifics or departing from the universal truth of the theory of socialist revolution and socialist construction of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The Declaration of the 1957 Meeting sets out the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction tested and confirmed by the development of the socialist states. These laws are: guidance of the working masses by the working class and its revolutionary party in effecting socialist change and establishing the political power of the working class in one form or another; alliance of the working class and the bulk of the peasantry and other sections of the working people; abolition of capitalist ownership and establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production; gradual socialist reconstruction of agriculture; planned development of the national economy aimed at building socialism and communism, and raising living standards; extension of the socialist revolution to ideology and culture and developing an intelligentsia devoted to the working class, the working people and the cause of socialism; abolition of national oppression and estab-

lishment of equality and fraternal friendship between peoples; defense of socialist gains against attacks by external and internal enemies; solidarity of the working class with the working class of other countries, that is, proletarian internationalism.

IV.

At their world forum fifteen years ago, Communist and Workers' parties stressed that to bring about real unity of the working class of the world, it is necessary, above all, to promote the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties. Realizing their historical responsibility for the socialist world system and the international workers' movement, they declared that they would tirelessly promote their unity and comradely cooperation with a view to consolidating the community of socialist states and in the interests of the international working-class movement, of peace and socialism.

The Declaration of the 1957 Meeting substantiated the idea that the unity of the world Communist movement is the core of still broader unity of the working class and other working people, of progressive freedom- and peace-loving forces throughout the world. At a time when the number of Communist and Workers' parties is growing, when parties operate in different conditions and when the Communist movement, like any progressive movement in history, inevitably encounters difficulties, there may be different approaches and even different points of view on this or that issue. Participants in the Meeting therefore expressed the conviction that Communists would counter all attempts of imperialists, opportunists and nationalists to split their ranks by strengthening their unity.

No one questions the independence and national responsibilities of the Communist parties. On the other hand, all Communist and Workers' parties must closely cooperate if the principles of proletarian internationalism are to be applied. This is an imperative of the present and the future which no Communist party, no matter where it is working, can afford to ignore. That is also suggested by the bitter results of the divisive activities of the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The principles of relations within the Communist movement, evolved in 1957 and elaborated at subsequent Communist meetings have been fully tested. The movement is united by common interests and objectives in the struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism and communism, and by a common ideology, the teachings of Marx Engels and Lenin. It is united by loyalty to proletarian internationalism, internationalist policies, and resolute struggle against nationalism and chauvinism. Its unity rests on respect for the equality of every party and non-interference in its internal affairs.

The Communist and workers' movement knows that imperialism remains the chief obstacle to man's historically inevitable advance

to the triumph of peace and socialism. Imperialism is still a dangerous enemy. It is still strong, and can still show its strength. But it can be overcome or pushed back by a continuous anti-imperialist struggle and stronger unity of the revolutionary movement. Hence, the importance of mass anti-imperialist struggle led by the Communist and Workers' parties will not decline, but will steadily increase.

New possibilities open to all anti-imperialist forces today. At the same time, the Communist and Workers' parties are faced with new problems and tasks. The past fifteen years have strengthened the confidence of every Communist that our parties will cope with their tasks and their national and international responsibilities. To fulfil their duty towards their own working class and people, and towards the international working class, the Communists, true to the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to proletarian internationalism, will continue to strengthen their unity.



We continue our series on the content and topicality of Lenin's fundamental works and ideas. The first article (in **WMR** No. 5, 1972) dealt with uniting scientific socialism with the social activity of the working people, a problem that found its fullest elaboration in Lenin's **What Is To Be Done?** The present article discusses the role of organizational principles in building the party of the new type, a subject to which Lenin devoted a large part of his **One Step Forward, Two Steps Back**.

On this and the following pages is a summary of a discussion by a research group composed of Vilem Novy (CP Czechoslovakia), Executive Secretary of **WMR**, V. Stepanov (Editorial Board member of **Kommunist**, theoretical and political journal of the CC CPSU) and Party representatives on **WMR** M. Doig (CP Canada), L. Padilla (CP Bolivia) and L. Junttila (CP Finland). The discussion covered some of the problems raised in Lenin's book and their significance

Organized and organizing force

"When a prolonged, stubborn and heated struggle is in progress, there usually begin to emerge after a time the central and fundamental points at issue, upon the decision of which the ultimate outcome of the campaign depends, and in comparison with which all the minor and petty episodes of the struggle recede more and more into the background."

V. I. Lenin*

These opening words of *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* provide a vivid picture of the conditions in which the book was written.

Reading it, page by page, one is caught up in the sharp political and ideological controversy of its time, the formative years of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The book was written

*Collected Works, Vol. 7, p. 205.

nearly 70 years ago, sufficient time for history to test any idea and pronounce its impartial verdict.

Lenin formulated and elaborated the Party's organizational principles in many other of his works, but *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* is devoted entirely to the subject. It clearly sets out and comprehensibly explains the the basic principles of Party organization. The book was written after the Second RSDLP Congress which was indeed a "step forward," for it brought into being a proletarian party of the new type, Lenin's revolutionary party of the working class.

Having failed to get their way at the Congress, the opportunist groups composed their feuds and joined forces in an onslaught on the Congress decisions, on the Lenin principles of Party organization. This dragged the Party "two steps back," to a situation succinctly expressed in the book's subtitle: "The Crisis In Our Party."

Understandably, Lenin devotes much attention to the Second Congress, analyzing the ideological and political positions of the various groups participating in that crucial forum, their infighting, the decisions finally adopted and post-congress attitudes. All these questions are dealt with, to one or another degree, also in other Lenin writings of the period.

Though sharply polemical, the book answers questions vital to the movement, for it contains far-reaching conclusions and broad interpretative generalizations. It confirms, in a very practical way, Lenin's thought that polemics and discussion help promote theory.

Formation of the revolutionary party – a dictate of the times

"The character of any organization is naturally and inevitably determined by the content of its activity."

V. I. Lenin*

In working out the organizational foundations of the working-class Party and the norms of Party life, Lenin took full account of the Party's historic mission in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the collapse of colonialism and the victory of national-liberation movements, mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of communist society. What Lenin required of the new-type Party can, in the most general terms, be formulated as follows:

A revolutionary party dedicated to preparing the working class for the capture of power in the form of proletarian dictatorship;

The conscious vanguard of the class, closely linked with the masses and marching at their head. A united combat organization capable of mobilizing the working class and all working people for revolutionary struggle.

An internationalist party, an inseparable part of the world Communist movement.

*Vol. 5, p. 440.

All that is now taken for granted, but that was not so at the time the book was written.

Georges Sorel, the French anarcho-syndicalist whose views enjoyed a certain currency in the early 1900s, maintained that Marxism "should not be confused with political parties, no matter how revolutionary they may be."^{*} Some Socialists of the time acknowledged the need for a working-class party. But they conceived it as a loose association for political education without a clearly defined organizational framework and tasks. The French Socialists held that the party "is and can only be an enlightener and recruiter"; The Belgian Socialists emphasized "political activity, development of free associations"; the Hungarian Socialists spoke of "educating all sections of the population through uninterrupted explanation and dissemination of the socialist aims."

Working out firm and precise principles of Party organization therefore became a crucial task. To accomplish it, it was necessary to demolish the arguments of those who, in one or another way, minimized the importance of organization. Trotsky, for instance, wrote after the Second RSDLP Congress that the Party's organizational tasks do not merit serious attention for they are "solved in passing, in the process of political struggle."

In setting its sights on revolution and the capture of power, the Party must be sufficiently firmly organized to withstand all ordeals and consistently uphold the movement's ultimate aims, and sufficiently flexible to steer a correct course at every stage. Lenin's organizational principles are meant to assure both.

The latter-day bourgeois ideologists ("Sovietologists," Marxologists" and their ilk) and revisionists artificially counterpose Leninism to Marxism in an attempt to discredit the former. Their line of argument is that, unlike Marx, Lenin grossly exaggerated the subjective factor and often ignored the objective factor, and it was only his will and energy that propelled the revolutionary cause. And this, we are told, was vividly expressed in the creation of the new-type party.

But let it be said that the founders of Marxism never denied the vast importance of personal revolutionary initiative, activity and energy. In fact, their life's work is evidence of the influence leaders exert on the course, pace and direction of history-making. To allege that their activity, and particularly that of Lenin, was but a manifestation of subjective revolutionary will, is to deliberately distort reality, history and Marxism-Leninism.

Engels wrote: 'Communism, inasmuch as it is a theory, is the theoretical expression of the proletariat's position in this struggle and the theoretical generalization of the conditions for the proletariat's emancipation.'

Lenin's teaching on the Party of the new type provides both theoretical and methodological guidelines for the organization of the proletariat, its successful fight to break out of exploitation and

^{*}Georges Sorel, *La décomposition du marxisme*. Paris, 1908, pp. 56-57.

build socialist society. Lenin's principles of Party organization are scientifically substantiated; they theoretically conceptualize the conditions of the working-class struggle in our age.

Paragraph One of the party rules

"... we must not forget that every Party member is responsible for the Party and that the Party is responsible for every one of its members."

V. I. Lenin*

The problem of the Party as the vanguard of the working class has lost none of its topicality in our day. It is basic to the organizational principles on which the Marxist-Leninist Party is founded and in accordance with which it works. In *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* the problem is analyzed in the context of the controversy, at the Second RSDLP Congress, over Paragraph One of the Rules defining the criteria of Party membership.

This is the draft proposed by Lenin: 'A member of the Party is one who accepts its program and who supports the Party both financially and by *personal participation in one of the Party organizations*.' And this is the draft proposed by the Menshevik Martov: 'A member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party is one who, accepting its program, works actively to accomplish its aims *under the control and direction of the organs of the Party*.' At first sight the difference would appear to be slight – merely a matter of the concluding words in the two drafts. The subsequent struggle between the revolutionary and opportunist wings of the Party showed how important the difference, one of fundamental principles was for the Party's destiny. For, essentially, these were two mutually exclusive philosophies, two incompatible views of the revolutionary movement and the role of the working-class party.

Party membership is not a minor issue. It is insolubly tied in with the Party's political activity as determined by the class struggle. And Lenin attached the greatest importance to the honorable and responsible title of Party member. That title implies active work, responsibility for carrying out Party directives and translating into deeds the Party's vanguard role. Naturally, not everyone can live up to these demands.

The opportunist principle of conferring Party membership on persons not belonging to any Party organization, let alone working in it, erases, in effect, the difference between members of the Party and those who attach themselves to it, or accept some of its political slogans. This obliterates the line of division between the vanguard of the class and the class as a whole. More, it throws the Party open to all manner of unstable, dubious elements from other, non-proletarian strata.

The present-day opportunists direct their attacks at all the basic organizational principles of the Marxist-Leninist Party. Their usual

*Vol. 6, p. 503.

argument is this: much has changed in the world, yet the Communist parties still cling to old organizational patterns based on conditions that no longer exist. Thus, Ernst Fischer writes: 'The party Lenin created accorded with definite historical and social conditions. The need now is for new organizational principles and forms'* And, of course, revision begins with the Party's composition. 'I can foresee,' Fischer proclaims, 'the possibility, despite the old ossified positions, of the emergence of new organizations of like-minded fighters, of Marxists and non-Marxists, Communists and Social-Democrats, Catholics and Protestants . . . '** Against that background, Martov, with his proposals that the Party be opened to professors and secondary school students, looks like an amateur opportunist.

Like their predecessors, the revisionists of today want to diffuse not only the Party's organizational framework, but also its class framework. In his day Lassalle wrote to Marx (and his words are quoted by Lenin) ' . . . the greatest proof of a party's weakness is its diffuseness and the blurring of clear demarcations . . . ' (Vol. 5, p. 347). Instead of controlling the march of events, instead of directing the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the Party itself loses direction and control over its members; instead of being in the van of the workers' movement, it is in the tail. How can it give leadership to people who do not want to accept such leadership, do not want to subordinate their actions to the Party, reject all organization

Lenin emphasized the need to distinguish between the vanguard and the mass and warned against equating the Party with the class. "We are the Party of a class, and therefore *almost the entire class* (and in times of war, in a period of civil war, the entire class) should act under the leadership of our Party, should adhere to our Party as closely as possible. But it would be Manilovism and tailism to think that the entire class, or almost the entire class, can ever rise, under capitalism, to the level of consciousness and activity of its vanguard' (Vol. 7, p. 260). It is the duty of the Party to raise the consciousness of ever broader strata of the class to the level of the vanguard without, however, identifying the two organizationally, for this, Lenin stressed, would produce disorganization.

To cite one example: the Communist Party of Finland is affiliated with the Democratic Alliance of the People of Finland as an independent political organization and the two join forces at elections. At one time there was a suggestion that they merge into some kind of 'Socialist Workers' Party' in order to strengthen and extend the Alliance's influence. The idea was supported by some regional Party organizations, and some are campaigning for it even today. But, of course, it has found no support in the working class, which understands the importance of the Communist Party's organizational independence and its strengthening on the basis of democratic centralism.

*Ernst Fischer, *Erinnerungen und Reflexionen*, Rowohlt 1969, p. 349.

**Stern, No. 49, 1969, p. 144.

The Party's role and character as the working-class vanguard is inseparable from its organizational structure, its membership, recruitment, measures to prevent its penetration by persons who join it not out of conviction, but on a momentary impulse, or for some personal advantage – erecting a barrier against those 'who are not averse to making use of the Party title but are conscious that this title of theirs *does not accord* with the interests and will of the Party' (Vol. 7, p. 357).

Indiscriminate admission of new members leads, as a rule, to 'incurable dropsy.' On the other hand, reluctance to admit fresh forces, particularly the youth, closes the Party's doors to persons fully prepared to assume membership obligations. This can lead to sectarianism, political anemia, progressive narrowing of the Party's influence. The history of the Communist movement offers examples of one and the other.

The following events are still fresh in memory: the Communist Party of a certain developing country, Indonesia, was rapidly increasing its membership, but did not abide by the Leninist organizational and tactical principles (and to this might be added that a considerable section of its leadership was under the influence of Maoist ideas). It disintegrated under the first blow struck by the reactionary forces. The tragedy came like a bolt from the blue. Later, in analyzing its miscalculations and mistakes, the Party declared that new members were admitted without proper selection, as if they were joining an ordinary mass organization; ideological work among new members was haphazard, with the result that the Party contained many unstable elements who brought with them their petty-bourgeois views.

Nor is it any great secret that in the early postwar years, with the powerful liberation wave that swept the world, the Communist parties in some capitalist countries (as they admit in their resolutions and statements) did not show sufficient judgment in recruiting new members. The result was an outflow of people who had joined on the spur of the moment, were not really prepared to work in the Party.

Nor are the Communist parties in the socialist countries guaranteed against such things. Instances can be cited of indiscriminate recruitment in violation of the Leninist organizational principles. This only weakened the Party, deprived it of control over its local organizations and of its political orientation and leading role in society.

Speaking at a plenary Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in June 1970, its General Secretary, Comrade Husak, said: 'After February 1948, many joined the Party, though they had no real understanding of its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist nature or of socialism. . . . Many of those who found themselves members of the Party following its merger with the Social-Democrat and other political parties, brought with them the survivals of bourgeois ideology, Social-Democrat customs, Masarykism, petty-bourgeois indecision. . . . In some districts and villages

practically every adult was a Party member. And even after two membership verifications, when membership dropped by 900,000, its social structure did not improve. . . .’ And this, Comrade Husak noted, was one of the factors that ‘created a receptive soil for the Right opportunist and anti-socialist forces in 1968.’ Only vigorous rectification of these shortcomings and the removal of those who were disorganizing Party work helped set things right.

The revisionists consistently denounce the leading role of the Communist parties in the socialist countries. To all practical purposes, they are challenging, in another form and other conditions, the fundamental principle of the Party as vanguard of the working class. The argument behind their attacks is that the social structure of society has changed radically and the dividing line separating the working class from the rest of the population is all but obliterated. From this false premise they conclude that the new, chiefly ‘intellectual,’ forces rather than the workers should set the tone in the Party.

In *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* Lenin re-emphasizes the slogan: ‘Every factory must become our fortress. . . .’ The Communist parties have remained true to that. Addressing the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Canada, its General Secretary, William Kashtan, stressed that strengthening the Party among the industrial working class remained the most urgent task. It is directly linked with the building of a firm political base of the Party in every industrial centre, with the task of expanding its political, ideological and organizational activity.

For many parties, the big enterprises and proletarian centres remain their chief revolutionary bastions. For the French Communist Party these are the Renault plants and the Paris ‘Red Belt’; for the Italian Party – industrial Milan and the ‘Red Provinces’; for the Luxembourg Party – the steel workers; for the Danish Party – the seamen’s union.

In his policy report to the Sixth Congress of the Polish United Workers’ Party, its First Secretary, Edward Gierek, said: ‘The Party’s chief support, naturally, are the workers of the big industrial centres. They have the richest traditions of class struggle and the highest level of political and professional culture.

‘In the past we did not always correctly assess the importance of these big working-class centres. Today we fully appreciate that leading enterprises and traditional workers’ centres must become the main bastions of socialism, a source of Poland’s economic strength and a school of Party and other cadres.’

Thus, the attempts to undermine and discredit Party leadership of the working class in its revolutionary struggle and in building the new society, and undermine the class character of the Party, are bound to meet with a strong rebuff.

Democratic centralism vs. ‘organizational diffuseness’

‘We are for democratic centralism. And it must be clearly understood how vastly different democratic centralism is from bureau-

cratic centralism on the one hand, and from anarchism on the other.'

V. I. Lenin*

Proletarian organization, Lenin stressed, is the antithesis of petty-bourgeois anarchy. And in this book he explains the dual meaning of the term 'organization': as the individual 'nucleus' and the sum-total of such 'nuclei' forming a single whole (for a long time the CPSU was made up of such nuclei). In Lenin's view, the Party is a united broad organization consisting of many primary units: 'The sum (and not the mere arithmetical sum, but a complex) of organizations' (Vol. 7, p. 257).

In combating the opportunists' 'organizational diffuseness,' Lenin emphasized that organization was the proletariat's only weapon in the battle for power. Organization plays a no lesser role also in building the new society.

The basic organizational principle of the Communist Party is democratic centralism. It implies election of all leading organs from top to bottom, their accountability to their Party organizations and higher bodies, stringent discipline and subordination of minority to majority, unqualified acceptance of decisions of higher organs by lower ones. In formulating this principle, Lenin took due account of the experience of the first Communist organizations, the Communist League and the International Working Men's Association founded and led by Marx and Engels, and of the Second International Social-Democrat parties which, because of their loose organizational structure, proved incapable of directing revolutionary action.

Democratic centralism organically unites democracy and discipline, local initiative and central leadership. Bourgeois and revisionist opponents of Leninism artificially separate democracy from discipline, contrasting one to the other. They concentrate their attacks on centralism and discipline (contending that as long as there is discipline there cannot be democracy).**

Lenin attached special importance to strengthening centralism – all organizations must be subordinate to higher bodies, work according to a uniform program, uniform rules and uniform Party discipline. And not only because this was dictated by the circumstances of the time (in tsarist Russia the Party was forced to work illegally, faced constant persecution, etc.). Lenin wrote: 'Refusal to accept the direction of the central bodies is tantamount to refusing to remain in the Party, it is tantamount to disrupting the Party; it is a method of *destroying*, not of convincing. And these efforts to destroy instead of convince show their lack of consistent principles, lack of faith in their own ideas.' (Vol. 7, pp. 363-364). Lenin thus links organizational questions to ideology, to the ideological steadfastness of Party members.

*Vol. 27, p. 207.

**There is the assertion, for instance, of 'Sovietologist' Westwood that though the party is based on democratic centralism, the shift is increasingly towards centralism (G. Westwood, *Russia, 1917 to 1964*. London, 1966, p. 27).

Though the very logic of the class struggle, social development and economic life makes it necessary for working-class parties to adopt the centralism principle, the opportunists denounce it as an 'evil,' as the product of back-stage intrigue in the leaders' battle for power, as formalism and bureaucracy. Lenin, however, showed that the accusation of bureaucracy is but a cover for individuals who cannot stomach the way the Party is run. The opportunists say: you are a bureaucrat because you have been appointed against my will; you are a formalist because you rely on the formal decisions of Party congresses, and not on my personal consent; you are acting mechanically because you depend on the 'mechanical' majority, and not my wishes. . . . Uppermost in all such accusations are personal motivations. They prevail over the will of the majority; the subjective prevails over the objective, individualism is here opposed to collectivism.

One would think that those who do not like democratic centralism would join some other party. But the revisionists believe it is to their advantage to be members of the Communist Party and make use, in Lenin's words, of the 'Party title' to undermine the Party from within. In this context, it is fitting to examine another revisionist ploy, the so-called 'minority problem.' On the pretext of defending and promoting Party democracy, they demand special guarantees for this 'minority' which, needless to say, is presented as the protagonist of progress and custodian of democracy. We know, for example, that the new Party Rules framed by the Right opportunists in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia contained special clauses safeguarding the rights of the 'minority.' In effect, they provided for organized 'majority' and 'minority' groups, and not only on controversial issues, with unanimity restored after they had been resolved, but as permanent institutions. This would virtually sanction factions and factionalism.

The 'minority' problem is the present-day revisionists' Trojan horse. And it would be naive to think that they are really concerned to promote 'unlimited democracy.' There is the experience of history to show that they want firm Party power, but only if *they* wield it. We might recall Lenin's caustic remark about the opportunists: 'You want to fire at my fort, and yet demand that I surrender my artillery. What jokers you are!' (Vol. 7, p. 378).

Another favorite opportunist ploy in attacking Lenin's organizational principles is to contrast the Party's 'moral authority' to its 'power authority.' Lenin described this as anarchistic phrasemongering. For the power of the central Party institutions rests on moral authority, and to counterpose one to the other can have dire consequences indeed. For, as Lenin wrote: 'Now we have become an organized Party, and this implies the establishment of authority, the transformation of the power of ideas into the power of authority, the subordination of lower Party bodies to higher ones.' (Vol. 7, p. 367). The Marxist-Leninist ideology is the indestructible foundation of the Party's moral authority, and the Marxist-Leninist organizational principles, democratic centralism, the authority of its power.

Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists see no connection between centralism and discipline and democracy. According to them, centralism never serves to implement democratically drafted decisions, and Party decisions never take into account the will and views of the membership. Lucio Magri, a member of the opportunist Manifesto faction expelled from the Italian Communist Party, is at pains to prove that the organizational principles of the Marxist-Leninist parties, their 'hierarchy' and discipline, create a gap between leaders and membership and make for a 'Jacobean' structure of leadership of the Party and society.*

Bourgeois and revisionist critics consistently seek to inculcate the idea (basic to all their thinking) that Party discipline is one-sided and operates only in the interests of the 'top-crust' and the 'all-powerful apparatus' that stands above the Party** and they make a show of despising such discipline. But it is a key norm of Party life that discipline is the same for all members without exception or reservations; every one is equally responsible for his views and actions. A Leninist approach to norms of Party life implies equal obligations for rank-and-file members and the 'men above,' without any division into those 'exempt' from discipline and those obliged to submit to it.

The Russian Mensheviks and other opportunists coined many phrases to express their disdain: 'We are not serfs,' 'Party discipline is serfdom,' 'We need no hierarchy or lower and higher Party committees and organs.' Lenin disclosed the petty-bourgeois, anarchistic nature of their arguments. He showed that a definite stratum of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia consider themselves an elite standing above the mass organization and its discipline. They abhor all organization and all discipline, which, they maintain, suppresses all individuality.

The 'liberalization' of Party life advocated by the present-day revisionists as a cover for their attacks on the Party leadership, is designed to undermine Party discipline or prevent its strengthening. The 'liberals' would confine Party activity to the sphere of 'ideological influence,'*** or, in the parlance of the old opportunists, to the 'process of ideological struggle.'**** This 'liberalization' is but a repetition, albeit slightly modernized, of the 'arrogant anarchism,' ex-

*Lucio Magri, 'L'Etat et la Revolution' aujourd'hui. - *Les Temps Modernes*, Aout-Septembre 1968 (N 266-267).

**Speaking at the 13th Congress of the Italian Communist Party, its General Secretary, Enrico Berlinguer, said: 'It is high time an end was put to all the talk about a monstrous Communist apparatus which allegedly dominates the Party. The fact is that for 1.5 million Party members we have only a few hundred comrades who have dedicated their life to Party work. No other major Italian party has so few "functionaries." The strength of our Party rests on the tremendous, often heroically self-sacrificing efforts of hundreds of thousands, indeed millions.' (*L'Unita*, March 14, 1972.)

***According to Garaudy, for instance, leadership of the revolutionary struggle is not the Party's chief function - that can reduce it to sheer 'practicism'; the Party is but an 'ideological force using democratic means and itself organized along democratic lines' (Roger Garaudy, *Le Grand tournant du socialisme*. Paris. 1969, pp. 227-228, 204).

****The Party can never artificially narrow its sphere of influence. This applies above all to socialist society, in which the Party's objective role is to guide and regulate its development. Comrade Tito, Chairman of the Yugoslav League of Communists, told a meeting of political activists in Belgrade in June 1971: 'You know that many Communists, especially after the League's Sixth Congress, were inclined to the view that there are many areas where Communists should not "intervene," but should simply act as an ideological and political guiding force. . . . Yet it should be perfectly clear that the League of Communists is the main cementing force in our country. . . . It has the right to intervene and make its influence felt wherever necessary.'

posed by Lenin in the early 1900s, the product of bourgeois influence on vacillating individuals, on the new-fangled 'liberals' who want to perform the revolution in kid gloves.

What the opportunists want is a Communist Party modelled on bourgeois parliaments, with unending discussion and decisions not binding on anyone – in short, much talk and little action. And they harp on the argument that the CPSU was formed as a party of iron discipline because it had to wage a hard fight against the ruling classes. But now, they affirm, bourgeois society provides guarantees for Communist activity and there is no need for the Party to operate as a disciplined, organized force.

But all the experience points in quite another direction. There is this fact of history, for instance: in 1934 the fascists made a bid for power in Austria, and the large but loosely organized Socialist Party was in no position to rebuff them. Effective resistance came only from the small but strong and disciplined Communist Party. And it was none other than Otto Bauer, the theoretician of Social-Democracy, who was obliged to admit: '... we saw how difficult it was for a party oriented on legal activity within the framework of bourgeois democracy and adapted to it, suddenly to reorient itself on revolutionary action.'*

The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties are the main target of bitter attacks by bourgeois ideologists and revisionists. For they realize that the Communist parties are the workers' most effective weapon for the capture of power and the transition to socialism.

In socialist conditions, the Party's firm adherence to Leninist ideological and organizational principles coupled with a consistent Marxist-Leninist policy is the chief guarantee of all the gains of the working class and the people generally and of society's progressive development.

For over ten years now, the Maoists have continuously attacked the principles of scientific communism. And they began their outright struggle for power and imposed on China their ruinous anti-Leninist, chauvinist policy by destroying the Party ('strike at the head,' 'strike at the leading bodies'). The Ninth Party Congress, convened in 1969 to legalize the military-bureaucratic order, virtually discarded the political, ideological and organizational principles of the Marxist-Leninist Party.

The permanent value of Lenin's organizational principles resides in the fact that their correct application enables the parties to operate with equal effectiveness in widely differing conditions, rapidly to reorganize their ranks, always be fully armed and able to achieve the revolutionary aims of the proletariat.

'The facts show,' L. I. Brezhnev has said, 'that Communists triumph where the Party consistently implements its role as vanguard of the working class and other working people, where the Leninist norms of Party life are strictly observed and where the Party safeguards and tirelessly strengthens its political, organizational and ideological unity.'**

*Otto Bauer, *Zwischen zwei Weltkriegen?* Bratislava, 1936, p. 343.

**Speech at Lenin Centenary Meeting, April 21, 1970.

The proletarian party, embodiment of unity of form and content

'The lame and undeveloped character of the form makes any serious step in the further development of the content impossible; it causes a shameful stagnation, leads to a waste of energy, to a discrepancy between word and deed.' V. L. Lenin*

A distinctive feature of the new-type party is organic unity of form (organization) and content (the essence, aims and tasks of the struggle). Lenin's organizational principles fully assure such unity.

The latter day revisionists plead changes in society (primarily the scientific and technological revolution) and changes in the conditions of political struggle as justification for their insistent demand to 'transform' the Communist parties. In practice, this would weaken them organizationally, and would lead to their liquidation as proletarian class parties. Whereas the Right opportunists (feigning concern for 'content') belittle the importance of organizational principles, the 'Lefts' often absolutize the forms of organization, alleging that they enable the parties to achieve their political aims almost automatically.

The Communist parties strive for organic unity of form and content, i.e., an organization constantly perfecting its policy, strategy and tactics and the organizational forms needed to carry them out.

For instance, 'discrepancy between word and deed' was self-critically analyzed at the 21st Convention of the Communist Party of Canada (November 1971). Having noted defects in Party work – inadequate circulation of Party literature and inadequate membership growth – the Convention instructed the Central Committee, and more particularly its Executive, to work unremittingly to bridge the gap between Party policy and its implementation. The Party's General Secretary, William Kashtan, told the convention that shortcomings in Party activity found expression in trends towards organizational liberalism, organizational laxity, lack of discipline and control, in the inadequate level of criticism and self-criticism, in the weakening of democratic centralism. The Convention expressed the confidence that the Party would quickly curb these adverse trends.

The founding and development of Communist parties follows different paths. Organizational growth and consolidation is not always preceded by the drafting of a clearcut political and ideological program. In fact, the two processes might be parallel, and one can never say that they have reached completion. This can be illustrated by the history of the Latin-American Communist parties.

Their rise and growth is an outstanding political event of Latin American history of this century. In Argentina, Chile and other countries the Communist parties were formed after reorganization of the Socialist parties founded at the turn of the century, or under the influence of the 1905 Russian Revolution and the First World War. These were not Leninist parties and, to one or another degree,

*Vol. 7, p. 390.

followed the opportunist policy of the Second International. Consequently, the formation of Latin American Communist parties reveals much in common with the reorganization of the RSDLP into a proletarian party of the new type.

Acceptance of the Leninist principles is but the first step. Every Party had to accumulate revolutionary experience in the specific conditions of its country and go through the school of hard-fought ideological and political battles. Nor were the results always the same: some parties made rapid headway, even came to power. But in all cases we can safely say that the best opportunities for mobilizing the masses, isolating the class enemy and mounting a revolutionary offensive for power, come when the parties are highly organized.

Latterly, there has been a revival of reformist and opportunist trends in the Latin American labor and popular movements aimed at undermining the organizational foundations of the Communist parties. These trends, associated in particular with Petkoff and other renegades expelled from the Communist Party of Venezuela, have caused definite harm.

Essentially, Petkoff's ideas are a Latin American version of the Garaudy and Fischer theory of the need for a 'new form' of Party. In common with other revisionists, Petkoff accepts – in words – the Leninist proposition of the minority submitting to the majority, at the same time insisting on 'contrasting platforms' within the Party. It need hardly be said that these and similar ideas are a far cry from the organizational principles of a genuine proletarian party. In practice they would convert the Party into an ineffectual movement without any real prospect of leading the anti-imperialist peoples' revolution.

Opportunist views are being spread outside the Communist parties, too, by men who subscribe to ultra-revolutionary tactics and strategy. There is, for instance, the theory of 'guerrilla centres' expounded by Régis Debray and certain other theorists of the 'New Left.'

The Debray theory is a reflection – and this has to be clearly understood – of anti-Leninist and liquidationist views. In reference to the Communist parties he remarks: 'Since they were born, they can die and revive in a new form.'^{*} His theory of 'guerrilla centres' goes much farther than the reformist and revisionist theory of 'restructuring' the Communist parties. Its supporters say that the Communist parties can be reborn in a 'new form' with the help of such a miraculous device as guerrilla centres in the mountains. Little surprise, then, that the bourgeois press has seized on this great discovery, for it is a heaven-sent means of discrediting the Communists and proving that the 'real revolutionaries' are those who fight the Communist parties.

The 'guerrilla centre' as a substitute for the new type of proletarian party has already lost its old supporters. But other ultra-Left groups continue to challenge the Marxist-Leninist principles of the

^{*}R. Debray, *Revolucion en la Revolucion?* Havana, 1967, p. 82.

Latin American parties and persist in their ideological and political attacks in an attempt to win away the working class.

Lenin showed, by scientific analysis, the need for a highly organized proletarian party, one capable of achieving its revolutionary aims. Without such a party the victory of the Bolshevik-led socialist revolution would have been impossible.

Lenin principles in action

"Under the banner of Leninism the revolutionary movement in most countries has risen to a new height, Communist parties have been formed and have grown strong, and the international Communist movement has become a truly world-wide political force, the most influential political force of today."

Lenin Centenary Address of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back concludes with the firm conviction that the proletariat can, and inevitably will, become an invincible force through its ideological unification on the principles of Marxism being reinforced by the unity of organization, which welds millions of toilers into the army of the working class. History has already largely corroborated this scientific prevision, and every passing day brings fresh confirmation.

History has confirmed that the organizational principles formulated and substantiated by Lenin have universal application for the international workers' and Communist movement and for the working-class struggle for socialism and communism. The enemies of Leninism have sought in vain to present it as of purely 'local' significance, alleging that Lenin merely adapted the theory of revolution to the situation in tsarist Russia.*

All Lenin's works are intimately linked with international developments and the world revolutionary movement. They present a supreme example of detailed knowledge of all forms of proletarian struggle in the leading capitalist countries, of all trends and shades of social thought. And *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* treats organizational and political problems in their relevance to the activity of workers' parties in other countries besides Russia.

A distinctive feature of the book is its general critique of opportunism, projected, as it were, into the future. Its main features, Lenin showed, are present in all workers' parties, with slight national variations. Opportunism is an international phenomenon. A struggle of the revolutionary and opportunist trends on organizational issues as the continuation of their struggle on all the fundamentals of Marxist philosophy, politics and tactics, was characteristic of all Social-Democratic parties at the time the book was written.

It sets a model of revolutionary consistency, fidelity to principles, irreconcilability in the battle against opportunism. It will be recalled

*Ernst Fischer, *Was Marx wirklich sagte*, p. 157.

that Plekhanov advocated reconciling the revolutionary and opportunist trends within the Party. He called for 'concessions' to opportunism. Lenin showed that concessions would only play into the hands of the opportunists, helping them disarm the revolutionary trend ideologically and organizationally. Plekhanov's proposals amounted to criticizing revisionism, but 'sparing the adversary,' and 'killing anarchistic individualism with kindness.' If accepted, they would only have strengthened the wrong views and attitudes on so paramount a question as the organizational structure of the working-class party. Opportunism is a rot that corrodes the Party.

The revisionists of today are prepared for 'reconciliation' with the consistent Marxist-Leninists but, of course, on their own terms. Witness this from Fischer: 'There has to be a counter-weight to acceptance of firm principles, and that counterweight is *the basic right of every Party member to criticize any principle.*'*

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back helped build the Leninist tradition of irreconcilability towards opportunism, firm adherence to principles and firm opposition to all attempts to undermine them.

After the October Revolution, A. Potresov, a Menshevik leader, told his party congress: 'There is no justification for the hope that the Bolsheviks can be groomed. The most characteristic feature of Bolshevism is that it has never allowed itself to be groomed. It is adamant. It cannot be bent. And it is absurd to think that we can bend it.'**

If anyone, Potresov certainly knew from his own experience that the Bolsheviks are always firm in their convictions and in upholding their principles.

Lenin's revolutionary irreconcilability in the fight against revisionism played a tremendous part in the rise and consolidation of the international Communist movement. Bourgeois ideology, Right and Left opportunist distortions in theory and politics, dogmatism and Left-sectarian adventurism must be relentlessly fought – that appeal of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is addressed to all Communists.

The Party is a living and complex socio-political organism. It originates, develops and works in accordance with definite objective regularities, not in accordance with the subjective wishes or orders of individuals. Its organizational principles, the result of careful scientific analysis of the objective regularities of the revolutionary movement, have been tested in many countries and represent the science of building the revolutionary Party of the working class or, in Lenin's own words, the theory of its organization.

And like every theory, it is being developed by the Communist and workers' movement. Foes of Leninism often aim their attacks at its organizational principles, deliberately confusing these with the concrete forms of organization, alleging that the Communist parties cling to an ossified structure immune to change. But the

* *Weg und Ziel*, 1965, N 7-8, p. 511.

** Marxism-Leninism Institute archives.

Communists are not to be diverted from their correct positions by such specious charges.

The Leninist organizational principles are precisely defined and are inviolable, but they can be applied in different ways and different forms, depending on concrete needs and situations.

The forms of Party organization undergo constant change and perfection as the conditions of struggle and social life itself become more complex. All this lays its imprint on the concrete forms of applying the basic organizational principles (in such matters, for instance, as recruiting new members, election procedures, forms of collective leadership, how and where primary units, the Party's support bases, should be formed, etc.)

Today Party organization rests on a firm scientific foundation, on a thought-out system of rules and norms of Party life, on principles of Party leadership. This in itself is evidence of the long road travelled by the Communist movement since *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, and of the book's immense influence on the movement.

History has vividly and incontestably confirmed – probably more than in the case of any other theory – that the revolutionary re-fashioning of the world, the creation of the new society, is impossible without a revolutionary working-class party. And the existence of such a party – and this, too, has been proved by historical experience – is inconceivable without Lenin's organizational principles.



Internationalist class policy of peace

'The question of peace is a burning question, the painful question of our time,' Lenin declared on the day after the Great October Socialist Revolution in presenting the Decree on Peace, the first foreign-policy act of the Soviet State.

'The Workers' and Peasants' Government, created by the Revolution of October 24-25 and basing itself on the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, calls upon all belligerent peoples and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a just, democratic peace. . . .

"The Government of Russia proposes that such a peace be immediately concluded . . . and expresses its readiness to take all the resolute measures now, without the least delay, pending the final ratification of all the terms of such a peace by authoritative assemblies of the people's representatives of all countries and all nations.'

—Decree on Peace, adopted by Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, October 26 (November 8) 1917.

The Decree started a train of momentous events. The road to detente began with it, also the policy of peace and peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. And when, today, we look back on the developments of the last one-and-a-half or two years, we recall the beginning of that long road. For any assessment of the profound political changes in modern society has to be seen in its context. From the first steps of the young Soviet Republic and the young multinational state to the advance of the mighty socialist power and the world socialist community — such is the road traversed.

1922

. . . Everyone who wants peaceful labor should join his efforts with those of Soviet Russia to secure peace and spare mankind the horrors of destructive war!

—Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets Appeal to the Peoples of the World.

1972

In world affairs the USSR is a force firmly and consistently com-

mitted to a policy of peace and friendship and the Leninist principles of equality of peoples.

—From CC CPSU decision on 50th Anniversary of the USSR.

From the Decree on Peace and the First All-Union Congress of Soviets which proclaimed the USSR, to the peace and security program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress, one can trace the Soviet Union's unremitting effort to bar the way to war, assure peaceful development and cooperation. Ever since its inception the Soviet Union has made active struggle for peace the very foundation of its foreign policy.

The changes in the world situation we now witness are the direct result of the Soviet Union's energetic foreign policy and the achievement of the socialist world; the logical result of decades of worldwide class struggle for the triumph of proletarian internationalism.

That is evidenced by history, by the documents of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet State and of the international Communist and Workers' movement.

That is evidenced, also, by the interviews with *Ib Norlund*, Executive Committee and Secretariat Member, Communist Party of Denmark; *James Jackson*, Political Committee Member, Communist Party USA; *Kerim Mruhe*, Political Bureau Member, Lebanese Communist Party; *Bhowani Sen*, Central Executive Member and National Council Secretary, Communist Party of India.

MODEL OF REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Interview with *Ib Norlund*:

Q: What results has Soviet influence had on the international situation?

A: The political picture of the world has changed beyond recognition since the time, half a century ago, when the Union of Socialist Republics, the product of the Great October Revolution, became an active factor of international politics. The sum and substance of these changes is the fundamental shift of the world balance of strength in favor of socialism.

One might recall the difficult and tortuous road imperialist governments had to travel before they finally recognized the basic political reality of the twentieth century, state power of the working class. It took the United States 16 years to recognize the USSR. That was in 1933, and in 1932 Henry Stimson, one of Washington's top spokesmen, declared: 'Never, never! Centuries will pass but America will never recognize the Soviet Union!' Now, 40 years

later, the President of the United States goes to Moscow and concludes a number of important agreements with the Soviet Union.

The problem of recognizing the USSR has in our day given way to the problem of recognizing the foreign policy aims of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

This applies primarily to the principle of peaceful coexistence. In the 1950s, Paul-Henri Spaak, then NATO Secretary-General, insisted on categorical rejection of the very idea of peaceful coexistence as a 'dangerous Communist maneuver.' Today a document accepting this principle bears the signature of the President of the chief imperialist power.

It applies to general disarmament and restriction of the arms drive. For many years the imperialists flatly rejected every Soviet proposal. They cannot do so today.

It applies to European security. Not so very long ago the proposal for an all-European conference was dismissed by imperialism as a chimera. Today nearly all the potential participants in such a conference have officially signified their support.

Such are some of the major changes in world politics influenced by the Soviet Union and the socialist forces.

Q: How does reduction of international tension affect the ideological and political struggle in the present-day world?

A: First, detente implies a definite concession by imperialism and, moreover a forced concession, imposed on it in defiance of its doctrines and concepts. That alone should make it clear that a telling blow is being dealt imperialism's ideological positions. There is also this: detente makes it more difficult for the imperialists to pursue their traditional policy of inciting anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. In a climate of political reality and sober thinking people can better understand the substance of socialism and its profound humanist ideology and policy.

But, of course, the bourgeoisie is aware of that, too. That is why its entire ideological apparatus has been put to work to devise new methods of disseminating anti-Communist and anti-Soviet views in a detente atmosphere. It has become customary to attack socialism 'in the name of socialism.' And one method is to popularize the anti-Communist 'arguments' supplied by the ideologists of social-reformism, Trotskyism, Maoism and the other varieties of Right and 'Left' opportunism.

We know that Right opportunism interprets detente as the signal to end the class struggle. On the other hand, the 'Left' adventurists, using revolutionary phraseology as a cover, allege that any international adjustments with the imperialist powers are, in effect, betrayal of the workers' class interests and aims.

Perhaps the most convincing reply to all these fallacious conceptions is the living reality of Soviet foreign policy.

Q: What are the prospects, in present-day Europe, for the anti-

imperialist and anti-monopoly struggle of the working people and all the progressive forces?

A: The relation between the fight for peace and the class struggle against imperialism and capitalist exploitation is not merely a tactical problem – it involves the very fundamentals of Communist strategy.

The struggle of the progressive forces in capitalist Europe and international developments are closely interconnected: every success in the fight for peace strengthens the anti-imperialist movement, and every political gain of the working people and democratic forces exerts strong pressure on imperialism and reaction, thereby contributing to a healthier international climate.

And such a climate, in turn, creates more favorable conditions for the struggle against military-fascist dictatorships. Isolated in their own countries and internationally, they are able to maintain themselves in power chiefly by relying on the overt and covert support of NATO and the U.S. imperialist militarists. And even in countries where the bourgeoisie does not resort to outright political dictatorship, even in these countries, the people see in the lessening of international strain an important factor in their fight against reaction, high taxes and inflation, against persecution of democrats and Communists.

It will thus be seen that the Soviet Union's consistent policy of building an enduring collective-security system in Europe is a weighty contribution to the anti-fascist, anti-monopoly struggle of the working class and all progressive forces of the capitalist part of Europe.

Durable peace depends also on continued activity and united action of the democratic and peace forces nationally and internationally, as urged by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The idea of unity against the imperialist policy of war and international tension found vivid expression in the European public forces forum in Brussels this June. It is also present in the joint program drawn up by the French Communists and Socialists and supported by the Radicals.

The opportunities today for international detente are much greater than at any time in the past. For in the past international life was patterned on confrontation of imperialist groups, of policies distinctly oriented on war, policies that ignited military conflicts. Today the imperialist policy of war is opposed by the socialist, notably Soviet, policy of peace. This creates more and more obstacles to dangerous imperialist international actions. In particular, this explains why, for nearly 30 years now, Europe has enjoyed peace, though there were ample 'incidents' which in the past could have led to war.

'Peace is not something given to man, it has to be won. . . . The loss of one day could mean the loss of what we cherish most.' These words of the Norwegian writer Nordahl Grieg could well serve as

the political slogan of the anti-imperialist and progressive forces of our planet.

A SUMMONS TO NEW STRUGGLE

Interview with *James Jackson*

Q: What is your appraisal of the recent changes in world affairs, including the Soviet-American agreement, from the standpoint of the political struggle waged by the U.S. Communist Party?

A: The message from the 'Summit' is a summons to new struggle with new confidence in new prospects for new victories. The bugle call of its meaning is 'advance.'

Some well-intentioned political commentators on the highly important Moscow summit studiously avoid dealing with its anti-imperialist significance. But to ignore this aspect is to deny that the agreements arrived at have a relevance and a validity for the requisite further development of the world revolutionary process. To us, the main thing is that the very holding of the Summit and its positive achievements are, at once, a *product* of the high stage attained in the world revolutionary process (and that of its most powerful single component, the Soviet Union, in the first place), as well as an additional *contribution* to the further unfolding of the anti-imperialist struggles for peace, democracy, national liberation and the revolutionary advancement of the world working class.

Such commentaries are preoccupied with interpreting the Summit documents as representing no challenge or discomfort to the imperialist powers but are reassuringly protective of their long-term true interests.

The truth is that the very important agreements arrived at between the leadership of the Soviet Union and the United States constitute a formalized acknowledgement on the part of U.S. imperialism of the irreversible fact of the position of power occupied by the socialist community of states, in the forefront of which is the Soviet Union, and of the mass base it enjoys in world public opinion, among the working and oppressed peoples especially.

Nor were the working sessions of the Summit Conference itself some quaint tea party remote from the class struggle. On the contrary, it was itself a vital diplomatic and political battle waged under the leadership of the General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and wholly related to and an organic part of the world revolutionary process.

The President of the United States, the arch leader of world imperialism, was compelled to yield certain concessions to the new world reality and sign agreements which formally acknowledge some of the changed relationship of forces as between imperialist and socialist power. These agreements are a historic, symbolic and

material step forward in the direction that serves the interests of all humanity – of all nations, peoples and classes who yearn for deliverance from the ever-impending danger of the outbreak of a thermonuclear holocaust, and for the construction of realistic patterns of reasonable economic, political and cultural relationships and interchange between the nations.

The Summit communique and other signed agreements have modelled a pattern for approaches to the solution of a number of specific situations involving other countries where U.S. policy is frozen in postures of cold war and imperialist aggression. The logic of the agreements, which the President of the United States put his signature to alongside that of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, demands that the United States Government restore full recognition to Cuba and vacate its military and naval base (Guantanamo) on the territory of that sovereign socialist Republic; that it recognize the German Democratic Republic; the Mongolian People's Republic, as well as the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Certainly it must inspire a victorious phase in the struggle to compel the U.S. aggressors to get out of Indochina.

The key to even greater future successes on the vital issues which were put before the world in the historic Communique is in our grasp of that which prepared the way for fulfilling the requisites of the Moscow Summit. That decisive thing was the product of the class struggle which has brought the working class to the position of ruling class in a whole community of states and to a preparedness for big further advances in a whole number of countries of the capitalist sector of the world.

The accomplishments of the Moscow Summit strengthen the socialist state bastions of world working-class power. They open the doors wider for the working class, the oppressed nationalities, to intensify and broaden the struggle against militarism and reaction and to take new mass initiatives in behalf of freedom, democracy, social progress and socialism. It creates favorable conditions for taking a world-wide offensive against the ideological smokescreen of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

It is not fortuitous that the Summit Conference occurred within the year that the 50th Anniversary of the Soviet Union will be celebrated. It is the evergrowing strength and the indissoluble unity of this great bastion of working-class power, which unites over a hundred distinct nations, nationalities and communities into one mighty socialist people, that is the factor forcing the imperialists to retreat. The progress of this people under the triumphant banners of Lenin's party are living proof of the viability of the scientific illumination provided by Marxism-Leninism to all who will take the road to socialist revolution, the only path that will lead mankind from the bondage of exploitation, racism, national oppression and war, and into a new age of international fraternity – the road to communism.

FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Interview with *Kerim Mhruhe*

Q: The past fifty years have seen big changes in the Middle East. What was the role of Soviet foreign policy in that?

A: Those changes are truly colossal. In the half century since the formation of the USSR the world has changed immensely and so has the Middle East. Rightless protectorates and mandate territories have given way to politically independent Arab states. Progressive regimes capable of playing a big role in the revolutionary reshaping of life throughout the Arab East have come into being by the people's will in a number of Arab countries.

The gains of the Arab peoples' national liberation movement are inseparable from Soviet activity in foreign affairs. The Soviet Union's firm anti-colonialist stand helped towards French recognition of the independence of Lebanon and Syria and the withdrawal of British and French troops from both countries. The Soviet Union forced the U.S. invaders to pull out of Lebanon in 1958. The Arab peoples know from their own experience that the Soviet Union is always loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism and repulses every imperialist act of aggression. By frustrating imperialism's armed attack on Egypt in 1956, the Soviet Union made an invaluable contribution to the Arab national liberation movement. It stood up firmly for our peoples' present and future in 1967 by compelling the Zionist aggressors to stop and to accept a cease-fire.

The Aswan High Dam, the Euphrates project and hundreds of factories, now joined in the offensive against backwardness in Arab countries, would never have risen without disinterested Soviet aid. The Arab armies defeated in 1967 would have been unable to regain and increase their efficiency or resume the defense of our peoples' achievements but for the Soviet Union's tremendous and varied military assistance. The peoples of Iraq and Syria could not have attacked the oil monopolies' positions had they not had political support from the Soviet Union and had Soviet-Arab friendship not grown stronger.

Q: Some propaganda media, including non-imperialist ones, allege that there is a contradiction between the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence and Soviet support of the peoples' liberation struggle. This "contradiction" allegedly impedes elimination of the consequences of Israel's aggression. How do things really stand?

A: Those allegations are made, I regret to say. Some claim that the Soviet Union wants the Arabs to maintain a state of 'neither peace nor war' with Israel.

Frank agents of imperialism are not the only ones to be telling false anti-Soviet stories. They are echoed by some people active

in the Arab national liberation movement. Behind a smokescreen of patriotic slogans these people want a solution through re-orientation on the United States and in isolation from the Soviet Union. They say it is necessary to make concessions to the imperialists, renounce friendship with the Soviet Union, end the 'Soviet presence in the Middle East,' dismantle the Palestine Resistance and defeat the progressive forces of the Arab world, whose vanguard is the Communist parties.

We believe these intrigues stem from the increased activity of Rightist groups in the Arab liberation movement. This increased activity, in turn, is due to serious shortcomings of the movement and the sharp struggle going on between its components, as well as to economic, political, social and military difficulties, aggravated by the continuing Israeli occupation of the seized areas.

These intrigues are resisted by a large body of Arab opinion, mainly by Communist-led progressive forces. Life has shown them that support from the Soviet Union and the socialist system is the only guarantee of successful continuation of the liberation struggle, including elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression. They realize that there is no contradiction, nor can there be any, between the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful co-existence and Soviet support of the people's liberation struggle.

Q: What are the prerequisites of closer unity within and between Arab countries?

A: We Arab Communists approach this issue from the class point of view – we ask ourselves whether closer unity fosters the fight against imperialism and promotes social progress, and subsequently socialist building, in our countries. The problem of unity of the progressive national forces in each particular Arab country and throughout the Arab world is very acute at the moment, for we must resist imperialist-Zionist pressure and solve highly important economic and social problems in the peoples' interest.

Our Party held its Third Congress in Beirut in January. The Congress was also the first meeting in history of diverse contingents of the progressive and patriotic forces of Lebanon and the Arab world generally. On our initiative, an important document was signed by 24 parties, national, progressive organizations, including the Communist parties of Arab countries, the Arab Socialist League of Egypt, the Arab Baath Socialist parties of Syria and Iraq, Palestine Liberation Organization, Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon and others, the document calls for a conference of all these forces to discuss problems of unity and cooperation.

Our Party Program stresses that the desire of the masses for unity is a result of the objective evolution of the Arab world and of historical links between its various parts. The existence of progressive regimes and the growth of anti-capitalist trends within them provide a harmonious basis for this. By helping progressive

regimes in various ways, the Soviet Union contributes to the cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces in the Arab East.

FOR PEACE AND SECURITY

Interview with *Bhowani Sen**

Q: What are, in your view, the main aspects of Soviet influence on the international situation in Asia?

A: The deep-going changes that have come about in Asia over the last half century, that is, since the formation of the USSR, are inseparable from the international impact of the revolutionary example of the first socialist state in history. The ideas of equality for all nations and peoples, translated into reality by the October Revolution and national-state building in the Soviet Union have always inspired fighters against colonialism and imperialist oppression on our continent.

Another highly important aspect of the matter is the varied support which the Soviet Union and the CPSU give to the national liberation movement. The gains of the patriotic forces of Vietnam and the miscarriage of the U.S. military and political strategy in the area are a direct result of the consistent internationalist policy of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, of their solidarity with the heroic peoples of Indochina, of their moral and material support of the fight against U.S. aggression.

The events leading up to the formation of Bangladesh also showed that the assertion of the Asian peoples' national rights is closely linked with the growing political weight of the Soviet Union and its friendly relations with Asian countries. It is from this standpoint that the Soviet-Indian Treaty, concluded last year, should also be assessed.

Realization of the peace program advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU is of exceptional importance for the political fortunes of Asia. We are well aware that all Soviet peace initiatives, irrespective of their immediate 'geographical' object, are vastly important for a healthy international climate in Asia. It is from this angle that we view the substantial headway made towards a European detente, the Moscow talks with President Nixon in May and the Soviet-U.S. agreements on restricting the arms race.

We fully subscribe to the thesis that peace is indivisible, the foreign policy formula advanced by the Soviet Union as far back as the thirties. Accordingly, we strive to contribute to the normalization of international relations in Europe, for we realize that this also benefits peace in Asia. This is one reason for our Party's insistence on immediately establishing diplomatic relations with the GDR at ambassadorial level.

Of course, we also give our active support to the Soviet initiative

*Bhowani Sen died on July 8. This interview is one of his last political statements.

which has a direct bearing on our continent – the idea of establishing collective security in Asia put forward by L. I. Brezhnev in 1969. This idea has lately claimed growing attention among the general public and politicians in Asian countries.

In an effort to discredit Soviet foreign policy, the bourgeois press alleges that Soviet influence in Asia is assuming 'threatening' proportions. To be sure, the Soviet Union today enjoys greater prestige in Asia than ever before. But if this presents a threat, it is only a threat to the positions of imperialism, neo-colonialism and other reactionary forces of the world.

Q: To what extent are conditions ripe for collective security? What must be done to that end?

A: A collective security system for Asia implies, first of all, an end to the war in Vietnam and other countries of Indochina, an end, also, to closed military alignments. Lastly, if such a system is to be established the tensions existing between some Asian countries, in particular those between India and Pakistan, must give way to relations based on cooperation in the spirit of complete equality and mutual benefit. This may not be the whole problem but, in any case, these are its three important aspects.

The international efforts being made to stop U.S. imperialism's aggression in Vietnam, and primarily the all-round assistance which the Soviet Union renders to the heroic Vietnamese people, constitute a key factor in really promoting solution of the problem of collective security in Asia. The effect which a peaceful settlement in Indochina, one that meets the legitimate demands of the patriotic forces, would have on the security of the countries and peoples of our continent is hard to overestimate.

The cooler attitude to SEATO shown by influential political quarters in member countries may be regarded as a favorable trend. The issue of replacing closed alignments by this or that form of collective security has become a topic of lively discussion in Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines. A positive role in this respect was played by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, who proposed an international agreement guaranteeing the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Southeast Asian states without recourse to military pacts, on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The agreement reached during the Indo-Pakistani talks at Simla in June and July can be regarded as a positive development.

It is on the whole fair to say, therefore, that the three-year-old Soviet proposal is now bearing good fruit. Furthermore, it is important to stress that this initiative of the CPSU and the Soviet Union gave rise to political trends in Asia which strengthen the positions of the forces fighting against imperialism and international adventurism, for world peace and security.

Q: Bourgeois press comments suggest that the Soviet-Indian Treaty means India has abandoned its policy of non-alignment. What is your comment?

A: That interpretation of the meaning of the Treaty is perfectly groundless. Far from implying that India renounces its position of non-alignment, the Treaty even reinforces it in a definite sense. Let us recall that the conception of this policy as formulated by Jawaharlal Nehru attached paramount importance to the effort for lasting peace and security, peaceful coexistence, anti-colonialism, and condemnation of the imperialist-imposed military blocs. Any unbiased person who studies the text of the Soviet-Indian Treaty will say that it accords with these principles in letter and spirit.

It is well known that the conclusion of the Soviet-Indian Treaty and the establishment of friendly relations with Bangladesh by the Soviet Union were seized on to accuse the Soviet Union of attempts to 'encircle China.' We in India know and, I may add, feel it every day that it is solely the forces of reaction, imperialism and neo-colonialism that the Soviet Union is 'encircling.'

Characteristically, in India itself this treaty is seen as a 'document renouncing non-alignment' by precisely those leaders who for years assailed the policy of non-alignment, insisting that our country should ally itself in international affairs with imperialism. The question arises: what is the source of this talk about the 'encirclement' of China? One gets the impression that it is inspired by the very same quarters in Peking which a short time ago betrayed the national interests of the Bangladesh people, hoping to set up and fortify outposts of their political influence on India's western and eastern borders.

Q: How would you describe the connection between socialist foreign policy and the progress of the national liberation and class struggle?

A: In Asia, where the overwhelming majority of states are one-time colonies or semi-colonies, it is important to define correctly the relationship between the national and social content of today's anti-imperialist movement. Approaching the matter in Leninist fashion, we must say, first of all, that every gain of the national liberation forces is also a gain for the working people's class struggle against monopoly and the bourgeoisie. Let us look from this standpoint at, say, Soviet aid in consolidating the economic independence of former colonies and semi-colonies. It should be obvious that by helping to accomplish this highly important task of the general democratic, anti-imperialist struggle, the Soviet Union is also making an invaluable contribution to the strengthening of the class positions of the progressive forces.

A distinctive feature of the present stage of the national liberation movement is that it is objectively assuming an ever more marked social, anti-capitalist character. The Communists, who consider it

their duty to foster this process, seek unity of the progressive and democratic forces. A key provision of the program on whose basis this unity can be achieved is cooperation with socialist countries, sincere and disinterested friends of the newly-free countries. The resolution of the Ninth Congress of our Party (October 1971) stresses that the task of India's establishing closer relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has become the central plank of the platform of Left and democratic unity.

The same resolution puts on record the fact that friendly sentiments for the Soviet Union are now more widespread among the Indian people than ever before. I take especial pleasure in repeating this today, shortly before the jubilee of the multinational Soviet state.

History recalls

... we must help the peoples to intervene in questions of war and peace.
—V. I. Lenin

1921. The heroic effort of its working people has won the Soviet Republic the possibility to treat with the capitalist countries as an independent state, on the basis of reciprocal political and commercial undertakings.

—Tenth CPSU Congress Resolution

1928. The proletarian state's peace policy in no way suggests that the Soviet Union is reconciled with capitalism, as the Social-Democrats and their Trotskyite underlings allege in an attempt to discredit Soviet power in the eyes of the international proletariat. It is the Leninist policy of proletarian dictatorship. It is but another, and in the present situation more advantageous, form of the struggle against capitalism, which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has consistently waged since the October Revolution.

—Sixth Comintern Congress documents

1956. The Party will unswervingly pursue the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social system. It will actively work for international peace and security and for confidence between states. . . .

—20th CPSU Congress Resolution

1966. The Soviet Union will continue to work for normal relations with all countries and for settlement of international issues through negotiation, not through war. At the same time, it must

be strongly emphasized that the principle of peaceful coexistence does not apply to relations between oppressors and oppressed, colonialists and victims of colonial oppression.

—23rd CPSU Congress Resolution

1969. *The defense of peace is inseparably linked with the struggle to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. . . . This policy does not imply either retention of the social and political status quo or a weakening of the ideological struggle. It helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and world-wide scale.*

—International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

1971. In Soviet policy, a resolute rebuff to aggression is always combined with constructive effort to settle pressing international problems and with consistent defense of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

—24th CPSU Congress Resolution

. . . Continue the policy of peace, taking all appropriate measures to ensure its success.

—V. I. Lenin

1922. In Genoa, Soviet Russia and its allies proposed general disarmament. When this was rejected, the proletarian government tried to achieve disarmament on a smaller scale, with Soviet Russia's neighbors, and gradually extend the disarmament area. But this initiative, too, was foiled by Russia's neighbors' refusal to reduce their armies.

—Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets Appeal to the Peoples of the World.

1928. The USSR Central Executive Committee . . . instructs its Presidium and the Council of People's Commissars to continue to work for a program of complete disarmament, utilizing every opportunity, no matter how slight, even for partial or temporary results in this field.

—Decision of USSR CEC on Report of Soviet delegation to Preparatory Committee for Geneva Disarmament Conference.

1946. *On general armaments reduction.*

1. In the interests of strengthening international peace and security and in conformity with the aims and principles of the United Nations, the General Assembly considers a general reduction of armaments necessary.

2. A decision to reduce armaments must include, as a priority task, prohibition of the production and use of atomic energy for military purposes.

—Soviet proposal to UN General Assembly

1959. Having carefully weighed the present international situa-

tion and the experience of earlier disarmament negotiations, the Soviet government is convinced that the surest way to a practical solution of the chief international problem of our time – the disarmament problem – is *general and complete disarmament by all states*.

—Soviet declaration at 14th UN General Assembly

1972. The Treaty between the USSR and USA limiting anti-ballistic missile systems and the Interim Agreement on measures to limit strategic offensive arms represent a crucial step towards lessening the threat of nuclear war, restraining the arms drive and opening the prospect for progress towards general disarmament.

—Statement of CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers on results of Soviet-American negotiations.

. . . We prize the preservation of peace above all else . . .

V. I. Lenin

1933. Peace does not depend on our efforts alone. It requires the cooperation and support of other states. . . . We have never rejected, and never will reject, organized international cooperation to promote peace.

—Statement of USSR Central Executive Committee

1938. Tomorrow may already be too late, but there is still time today if all the states, and particularly the Great Powers, take a firm, unambiguous stand for a collective effort to save the peace.

—USSR statement on Hitler Germany's seizure of Austria

1954. *European collective security treaty*.

(Draft presented by Soviet delegation).

The Treaty is open to all European states irrespective of social system that accept the aims and assume the obligations envisaged in this Treaty.

. . . States party to the Treaty shall refrain from attacks on each other, shall not resort to the threat or use of force in their international relations and shall, in accordance with the UN Charter, settle all disputes which might arise between them by peaceful means and in a manner that will not jeopardize international peace and security in Europe.

—Berlin Four-Power Foreign Ministers Conference

1967. We Communists, working in differing national conditions, will stint no effort to erect a collective security system and promote relations between states that rule out the very possibility of aggression and assure Europe and the world durable peace.

. . . Communists of the European countries are deeply convinced that in upholding peace and security on their continent against the forces of aggression and war, they are acting in the interests of

democracy, social progress and national liberation, in the interests of all the peoples of the world.

—*Statement of Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties*

1972. The states participating in this conference of the Political Consultative Committee urge general acceptance and practical implementation in European political life of the following basic principles of European security:

Inviolability of frontiers . . .

Non-use of force . . .

Peaceful coexistence . . .

Good neighbor relations and cooperation in the interests of peace . . .

Mutually-advantageous contacts between states . . .

Disarmament . . .

Support of UN . . .

—*Declaration of Prague Meeting of Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee*

Our socialist Republic of Soviets will stand secure, as a torch of international socialism and as an example to all the working people.

—V. I. Lenin

1919. To the workers of all countries.

. . . The assistance the Russian revolution has given the workers of all countries in their struggle against militarist and despotic governments cannot but evoke the enthusiasm and approval of the working class.

—*First Comintern Congress documents*

1935. With the victory of socialism, the USSR has become a great state-political, economic and cultural force influencing world politics; a centre of attraction for all the peoples and countries, and even for states interested in preserving international peace; the bulwark of the working people of all lands against the menace of war; a mighty weapon for uniting the toilers of the world against world reaction.

Seventh Comintern Congress resolution

1960. It is the principle characteristic of our time that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

—*Statement of Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*

1969. The socialist world system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Each liberation struggle receives indispensable aid from the socialist world system, above all the Soviet Union.

—*International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*

. . . We shall exert every effort to foster association . . . with the Mongolians, Persians, Indians, Egyptians.

—V. I. Lenin

1917. Moslems of the East, Persians and Turks, Arabs and Indians, all peoples whose life and property, freedom and homeland, have for hundreds of years been bought and sold by the avaricious European freebooters, all peoples whose countries these freebooters, who began the present war, want to divide up. . . . You yourselves must be masters of your country. That is your right, for your destinies are in your own hands. . . . Our banners bring freedom to the oppressed peoples of the world. . . .

—Council of People's Commissars' Appeal to the toiling Moslems of Russia and the East

1923. . . . With one blow the October Revolution shattered the fetters of national oppression, demolished the old pattern of international relations, undermined the old national enmity, cleared the way for cooperation of the peoples and won the Russian proletariat the confidence of its brothers and sisters of other nationalities and not only in Russia, but also in Europe and Asia.

12th CPSU Congress resolution

1960. The Great October Socialist Revolution aroused the East and drew the colonial peoples into the common current of the world-wide revolutionary movement. . . . The forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression.

—Statement of Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

1961. . . . Give all-round support to peoples battling to break out of imperialist and colonial oppression and consolidate their independence.

—22nd CPSU Congress resolution

1966. The CPSU will continue fully to support the just liberation struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people and will give them political, material and moral assistance. The firm and consistent policy of the CPSU and of the entire Soviet people is for an end of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam to enable the Vietnamese people themselves to solve their internal problems.

—24th CPSU Congress resolution

1971. The CPSU is always true to the Leninist principles of solidarity with peoples fighting for national and social liberation. Now as always, fighters against the remaining colonial regimes can

rely on our full support. The Congress attaches special importance to extending cooperation with socialist-oriented countries.

—24th CPSU Congress resolution

The international solidarity of the revolutionary proletariat is a fact.

V. I. Lenin

1920. The world political situation has now put dictatorship of the proletariat on the agenda, and world politics centre on the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which will inevitably group around itself the Soviet movement of the advanced workers of all countries, and all the national-liberation movements of colonial and oppressed peoples, who from their own bitter experience are coming to see that their only salvation lies in an alliance with the revolutionary proletariat and the victory of Soviet power over world imperialism.

—Second Comintern Congress documents

1935. The interests of strengthening the USSR, multiplying its might, assuring its victory in all fields of struggle, coincide fully and insolubly with the interests of the working people of the world in their fight against their exploiters; they coincide with the interests of colonial and oppressed peoples fighting imperialism and predetermine and facilitate the triumph of the world proletarian revolution, the victory of socialism throughout the world.

—Seventh Comintern Congress resolution

1941. The peoples of the world support the Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. News of Hitler's bandit attack on the Soviet Union aroused the people in all countries. . . . Labour, trade union and other organizations, political parties, prominent public leaders, renowned writers, scientists, journalists, artists are actively working to support the Soviet Union.

—"Communist International" magazine

1960. The Soviet Union is the first in history to be blazing a trail to communism for all mankind. It is the most striking example and most powerful bulwark for the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace, democratic freedoms, national independence.

—Statement of Communist and Workers' Parties Meeting

1969. The formation of the socialist world constitutes an integral part of the class struggle being waged on the international arena.

. . . The defense of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists.

—International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

. . . We fully anticipate a peaceful attitude not only on the part of the workers and peasants . . . but also on the part of a huge section of the reasonable bourgeoisie and the governments.

—V. I. Lenin

August 1918-May 1919

The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic wants to live in peace with all nations and dedicate all its energies to building up the country in order to organize production, transport and public administration on the basis of Soviet power . . .

The worker-peasant government repeatedly proposed peace to the Allied powers: *August 5, 1918* – People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs addresses peace proposals to U.S. representative Pool; *October 24, 1918* – proposal sent to President Wilson; *November 3, 1918* – to all the Allied powers through representatives of neutral countries; *November 7, 1918* – on behalf of the Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets; *December 23 1918* – Litvinov's note to representatives of all Allied powers in Stockholm, followed by proposals on *January 12 and 17* and *February 4, 1919* by notes to all Allied governments; *March 12, 1919* – draft treaty drawn up together with Bullitt acting for President Wilson; *May 7, 1919* – statement transmitted through Nansen.

—*Documents of the Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets*

August 1971-May 1972

August 5. USSR and other socialist countries submit revised draft of convention banning bacteriological (biological) weapons to Geneva Disarmament Committee. *August 9* – Peace, Friendship and Cooperation Treaty concluded between USSR and India; *September 3* – Agreement between USSR, France, USA and Britain on West Berlin; *October 3* – N. V. Podgorny, President, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, visits Democratic Republic of Vietnam; *October 8-10* – A. N. Kosygin, Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers, visits Morocco; *October 25-30* – L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, visits France. Principles of Soviet-French cooperation defined. *December 16* – UN General Assembly adopts resolution approving Soviet proposal for World Disarmament Conference; *March 1-5, 1972* – Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, visits USSR; *May 22-30* – U.S. President Nixon visits Moscow; *May 31* – USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ratifies treaty between USSR and FRG.



The Party and youth in socialist society

Arpad Pullai

I. To educate politically conscious and active builders of the new world who see happiness in fighting for social progress, revolutionaries whose personal interests are inseparable from those of society and, in a broader sense, from international interests, is the main purpose of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) youth policy.

Young people are eager to find their place in life. But in deciding on their goals, they cannot ignore the social conditions into which they were born. It only seems to man, Lenin says in *Philosophical Notebooks*, as if his goals are preordained, are independent of the world. 'In actual fact, men's ends are engendered by the objective world and presuppose it – they find it as something given, present' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 38, p. 189).

For the Hungarian youth of the seventies, socialist society is a reality, the objective form of being. Our young men and women study in a socialist state, work in socialist enterprises, offices and cooperatives. They have no experience of exploitation, nor do they ever feel socially insecure. They take for granted the right to study, work and create, and a future guaranteed in every respect. Most young people strive to make sensible use of the opportunities afforded by society. Their aspirations are generally realistic and agree with the program of building socialism, and with socialist humanism.

However, socialist-mindedness does not come to the new generation automatically, with the progress of society. Young people may get bourgeois or petty-bourgeois notions or romantic utopian concepts. Therefore, the Party attaches prime importance to the Marxist-Leninist schooling of youth, which it sees as a complex process in various spheres – the family, school, production, society as a whole – and in diverse forms – education, propaganda, new moral principles, and so on.

However, special and political knowledge taken from books and lectures will not produce the desired results unless young men and women are drawn into practical activity. Experience of life and familiarity with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Party policy are all the more indispensable as imperialist pro-

paganda is primarily aimed at young people, whom it tries to influence by taking advantage of their political inexperience.

We want the rising generation also to look beyond the borders of the country, to realize that it is a contingent of the planet's progressive youth and to assume its share of responsibility in youth's international struggle for democracy, peace and socialism. We want to educate our youth as genuine internationalists to whom the Soviet Union, the socialist community as a whole and the international working-class and Communist movement will be the embodiment of revolutionary ideals. Our desire to see young people working actively for social progress, spurred by socialist patriotism and internationalist solidarity, accords with their own aspirations, blends with their natural desire, one that deserves every respect, to search and fight for the finer things in life, for the more perfect, the truly communistic, to which they would dedicate themselves.

The problems of the youth have in many respects outgrown the traditional notions of the change of generations. Almost half of the world's population is young. In Hungary, people under thirty account for 44.6 per cent of a population of 10,374,000. As many as 1,680,000 are working, and 1,849,000 go to school.

The rapid social and technological progress and the substantially greater amount of information made it necessary to lengthen the term of study. People's educational and professional standards rose and their interest in science and technology grew.

The Hungarian working class, which leads the country, sets goals meeting the vital interests of society as a whole, and hence of young people. The working classes and strata, including youth, enjoy the fruits of the country's material and spiritual progress on an equal basis. This is the main reason why millions of our citizens accept the policies and objectives of Party and state.

Certainly, we do not think that growing up, starting out in life, is without its conflicts. Harmony between personal and public aims is not always easy or simple to attain. Every development involves contradictions and difficulties. Besides, when solving problems of the younger generation, we must take account of the country's actual possibilities. And when moulding the ideology of the youth, we must overcome harmful survivals of the past in outlook which are liable to revive at times. In other words, temporary conflicts may occur in the lives of young men or women, or groups. However, the concern, benevolence and sense of purpose shown by all individuals and organizations involved in education remove the strains, and it is safe to say that in our country relations with the bulk of the youth rest on confidence and complete mutual understanding.

II. The Central Committee of the HSWP has repeatedly concerned itself with youth problems, specifically, in 1957, after the defeat of counter-revolution and in the course of political consolidation. Since then, under Party leadership notable progress has

been made in socialist building: the political and economic system has been strengthened, agriculture reorganized, socialist production relations established in all sections of the economy, the method of intensive development begun, the structure and efficiency of production in industry and other economic branches improved, the economic management reform related to this has been carried out, and the socialist outlook has taken root in social and cultural activity. In the new stage we continue to build a complete socialist society. Raising economic efficiency and promoting socialist democracy are part of this. The advances in building the new society doubtless influence the life and thinking of people, particularly young people.

Everyone in Hungary may enter any school. On receiving an eight-year education (compulsory for all children between six and 14 years of age), 84 per cent of children continue their studies in secondary or trade schools. Sixty per cent of these children study to the age of 17 and the rest longer still.

Before the country was liberated we had only 16 institutions of higher learning attended by 11,700 students, among whom children of wage and salary earners made up 3.5 per cent. We now have 74 higher schools with 86,000 students, including 56,000 who attend day classes. Workers' children in these schools constitute 36 to 38 per cent, and among freshmen 39 per cent. The expansion and democratization of education are the result of social changes in the past fifteen years. Almost half the day students are accommodated in hostels, 69.4 per cent use the student messes, and 83 per cent draw a regular allowance. Government aid averages 600 forints a month per student. This sum varies from 100 to 1,600 forints (1,600 forints is two-thirds of an industrial workers' average pay) according to the student's needs and academic progress.

There is no discrimination in our country on account of property status, social origin or nationality. But since the educational standards of children belonging to diverse strata and classes are still dissimilar, the Party and the state aid workers' and peasants' children so that they may go on to university.

We see to it that young people get competent advice when choosing a career. Ten years ago we set up consultation centers to this end. On summing up the results of years of activity which also aroused international interest, the government in mid-1971 adopted a new decree to extend assistance to young people in choosing a profession. This enables us to achieve the greatest possible harmony between the aspirations and abilities of the individual and the requirements of society. Complete harmony is hardly attainable but we can at least reduce the number of people to whom the career they have chosen is a burden rather than a source of joy. A poll of the Central Statistical Board revealed that about two-thirds of those starting a career are satisfied with their occupation and that the jobs of 85 per cent of young specialists correspond to their qualifications. The overwhelming majority of these young people see the road to success and happiness in conscientious work.

Workers are the largest and socially most important section of our youth. They number 800,000. The proportion of young peasants has dropped to 300,000 due to changes in economic and social structures. The transformation of property relations in the countryside eliminated the social and economic causes of the class differentiation of the past and speeded the withering away of deep-going differences born of centuries of inequality in property status and of religious differences. The rural youth of today are an active contingent of the socialist cooperative peasantry. Numerous young men and women from rural areas have learned trades, some of them even becoming mental workers.

The traditional reserve of labor, that is, the rural population which can go into industry, is all but exhausted. In the future, the younger generation will be the most important, perhaps the only, source of new labor power. It already accounts for 80 per cent of the new industrial jobs and the next decade will see it supplying as much as 90 per cent of the reinforcements.

This sketchy and incomplete survey shows that great changes have occurred in the life of Hungary's youth in a mere decade and a half. It was logical, therefore, that in February 1970 the CC HSWP discussed the situation of youth after exhaustive research. The conclusions drawn by the CC and made public may be listed as follows:

- Thinking of the country's future, we must do everything for the rising generation according to our principles and standards and with due regard to our material resources. For social progress, the character and general climate of society, the economy and culture in the future will be what our sons and daughters make them.

- Not only does the Party look with hope to the future of the younger generation, but reckons with the fact that the youth now is also active in society. The youth is a large political and social force, one that should be treated thoughtfully, especially in government decisions.

- The growing role and influence of youth in society accord with our views on the progress of socialist democracy. We trust youth and expect them to accomplish much in every sphere.

- At the present stage care of the younger generation can be made the concern of society as a whole. The youth, however, should not be inert itself, should not remain passive. It is clear that the chief role in educating the generations starting their working life and in preparing them for socialist building is played by the Party, which carries out this task with a full sense of responsibility.

III. The line in regard to youth approved by the Central Committee in February 1970 is a component of the Party's overall policy. The CC, the February plenum noted, considers that all institutions and non-governmental organizations must play a bigger role in educating youth in schools, on the job and in their leisure time. This should be done with the fullest regard to reality, the development level attained by young men and women, and their requirements.

Every government agency and public organization must see to it that the example of adults, study and grappling with difficulties should help the youth to acquire the socialist world outlook and socialist characteristics.

The Tenth Party Congress confirmed the views of the Central Committee and endorsed its policy. It stressed that the moral and political standards of the youth are determined by the conditions and prospects of Hungarian society. Most young men and women accept and strive for the socialist goals, backing Party policy, studying and working, and fulfilling their patriotic duties. The young people's attraction to socialism and the fact that their educational standard is higher than that of earlier generations are important gains of our system. On the other hand, the Congress pointed out that the education of the youth is not an automatic process and will not be effective, unless the Party and the government, the schools, non-governmental organizations, and parents contribute to it all the time.

In the autumn of 1971, following the Party's youth policy the State Assembly passed the Law on Youth, formalizing the relations established between society and youth and the rights and duties of the younger generation. It specifies what the state is obliged to provide for the younger generation and what responsibilities to the state and society devolve on those entering on their working life.

The law states that every young man or woman is in duty bound to study and participate in building socialism, inasmuch as labor is crucial for the progress of both the individual and society. Young people must be helped to choose a suitable career, depending on their abilities and aspirations, and the country's needs and possibilities. Working youth is rewarded both materially and morally according to work done.

Managers must keep the young people working in their enterprise or cooperative informed about its activity, and must heed and carry out the proposals of the youth organizations. The law authorizes the Hungarian Communist Youth League to represent the younger generation in administrative and other agencies. The League may demand that its opinion be asked and its consent sought, and may oppose measures at variance with the interests of youth.

Through cooperatives and public organizations the state helps young people start their families by, among other things, helping newly-weds in settling their housing problem.

The law envisages study of the conditions of life of the various sections of the youth. The findings are to be used for furtherance of the Party's youth policy.

It was stressed in the parliamentary debates of the law that though society concerns itself with the problems of the rising generation, this does not relieve parents of their responsibility. No law can ever substitute for parental love and care.

The youth are part of society and so all our social problems are

also their problems. For instance, solving the housing problem, improving the standard of life, training specialists, and extending socialist democracy meet the interests of every citizen, including the young people. However, the youth have requirements of their own – facilities for leisure, starting a family, etc. And the law takes this into account.

IV. The Youth League holds a special place among the various agencies and organizations responsible for educating the younger generation.

The Tenth Party Congress, outlining the work of the League, emphasized its political, Communist character.

The paramount function of the League is political work. This should be evident, since the League is a political, Marxist-Leninist organization. It must be remembered, however, that the League is also a mass organization uniting young people of different ages and varying interests, which means that its activities must be diversified. In building up its political character and its influence over the youth, the League draws on the support of government agencies, trade unions, cooperatives and other organizations. To assure full consideration of the needs of the young, we have revised our views on both our work and methods. Our basic principle is that all the institutions of society are answerable for the younger generation: they must use their resources for the benefit of the youth.

Certain tasks can be and are accomplished by government agencies only, such as guaranteeing the right to education and work, helping choose a career and solving the housing problem. An All-Hungary Youth Council, set up recently by government decision, studies and submits to the government questions related to youth work and coordinates the activity of ministries in this respect. Interministerial commissions for the professional orientation of young people, youth tourism, student sports, and so on, have been set up on the Council's initiative. There are also commissions that assure admission of workers' children in higher schools, and do sociological research among young people. Meeting the requirements of the youth is the responsibility of several government bodies, and only joint commissions can work out acceptable solutions. The commissions include economic executives authorized to decide on financial questions.

The Youth Law and government regulations on its implementation oblige ministries and other national agencies to study the condition of young people in this or that sphere at least once in two years, jointly with the Youth League. Simultaneously, under the auspices of the Youth League and trade union (or cooperative), we plan to hold in enterprises and educational institutions what we call youth parliaments to discuss young people's needs and proposals.

Another important institution with which the League cooperates is the trade unions. They also deal with youth problems; besides, they control and protect working people's rights. In higher and

secondary schools these functions are performed by the League. In factories and government offices, it cooperates with the trade unions, and together they look after the young workers' interests. The unions have the necessary authority for this, ample resources and carry much public weight. One-third of the union membership, over one million, are below 30 years of age.

The Patriotic People's Front, a social movement encompassing all sections of the population, has important social functions. It can nominate young men and women for election to the State Assembly and local councils.

Our Party tries, through the various public organizations, to deal with all the problems relating to youth. In particular, these organizations play a substantial part in providing cultural and recreation facilities for the youth. This calls for a large network of youth clubs, associations and sports societies capable of engaging young people's interest and energy, and the Youth League is well to the fore. We encourage the League to concern itself with every aspect of the young people's life but without wasting its effort on minor things.

The League must also train young people to head youth clubs, art groups or sports societies and their elected boards. This means, in effect, setting up a network of schools to train and retrain all youth leaders on universal principles, irrespective of whether their field of activity is culture, sports or science. This requires a new approach to League work, and gives League activists a more concrete and interesting share in public life. And now that the League is relieved of a number of functions that have been taken over by other organizations, it can concentrate on its principal function, political work.

V. When the League held its Eighth Congress in December 1971, it had some experience in operating Party Central Committee and Congress decisions on youth policy. And it can now be said that young people, and League organizations, take a greater interest in public affairs. This was seen in last year's elections to the State Assembly and local councils, as well as in the election of delegates to trade union conferences and congresses. Twenty-one candidates under 30 years of age were elected to the State Assembly. The proportion of young people in local government bodies reached 13 per cent and more than 26 per cent in trade union bodies. There is a visibly keener interest in politics: League membership increased by almost 55,000 in recent years and now stands at more than 800,000 in 27,000 branches. Half a million young people attend political schools or classes run by the League.

League members make a good showing in industries. We now have 18,000 youth teams against 12,000 in 1967. Between the last two League congresses, about 50,000 young men and women in industry and 10,000 in agriculture won the Young Craftsman Title.

The League members helped build some of the major industrial projects and over 12,000 new flats. On League initiative, local government bodies now distribute 25 to 30 per cent of the new flats among newlyweds against the original 20 per cent target.

The Eighth Congress of the Youth League adopted new Rules, which reaffirm that the League is the Party's youth organization and that its principles and policies are based on those of the Party. The League strives to draw more and more young people into carrying out Party policy, into socialist construction. It is a school for future Party members. In token of its confidence in youth and the League, the Party has decided that one of the recommendations needed for Party membership may be given by the general meeting of the applicant's organization, and has lowered the admission age to 18.

At the Eighth League Congress there was much criticism of what delegates described as old fashioned methods. Many activists still shy away from initiative and responsibility. Yet boldness is not adventurism, and reasonable risk not irresponsibility. The League must show boldness and initiative in solving problems, but without lapsing into adventurism. League democracy must grow and develop. This does not mean that League members should discuss every problem endlessly, but it does mean that they should think and act on their own, and with a sense of responsibility. If a bureau secretary or even a whole branch make a mistake no particular harm will be done – the Party organization is always ready to help. The League unites the more politically conscious members of a generation which neither wants nor could live under any system but the socialist, and which places all its hopes on the progress of the new society. This affords the League unlimited opportunities for initiative and meaningful and interesting work.

We cannot blaze a historically new path in building socialist society without a sense of the new, without constant creative search, without evolving effective solutions. Our workaday effort is full of revolutionary romance, the romance of pathfinders, innovators, which will not fit into any ready-made pattern. The Youth League must work in such a way as to meet the requirements of the hundreds of thousands of its members and, at the same time, set inspiring goals for the Hungarian youth.

The Tenth Party Congress called for continued and heightened effort to build mature socialism. This is a universal task, for it involves all aspects of our political, economic and social activity. It is a program for all our people and for the youth.

Functions and specifics of trade union work

Gheorghe Petrescu

The prime objective requirement as we build our harmoniously developed socialist society is to elevate the leading role of the

Rumanian Communist Party. The part played by the state as the main instrument of socialist construction becomes greater too. And so does that of the mass organizations assuring the people's active participation in the administration of economic, socio-political and cultural affairs.

An important part in socio-political life is played by the trade unions. The General Trade Union Association of Rumania (GTAR) has more than five million members in its 7,200 branches in enterprises and offices, formed into thirteen industrial unions and 3,000 union groups of rural laborers and employees.

The tasks of the unions change with the succeeding stages of social development. The main object before Liberation was to unite the working class, concentrating worker Communists, Socialists and politically unaffiliated workers in a strong mass organization to fight against capitalist exploitation, for democracy and social progress.

Following the anti-fascist rising of August 23, 1944, which led to the overthrow of the Antonescu dictatorship and Rumania's accession to the anti-Hitler coalition, the unions took an active part under the leadership of the Communist Party in the battle for people's democracy, for general-democratic and anti-imperialist solutions, paving the way to socialist reconstruction.

When political power was taken over by the working class in alliance with the working peasants, followed by the nationalization of the basic means of production, and when we tackled the tasks of socialist construction, the role and functions of the unions changed completely. Socialist relations of production—cooperation and mutual aid—became predominant between the workers and managements of state enterprises. The contradictions between union and management were no longer antagonistic.

The unions helped in effectuating the policy of the Party oriented on building up the material and technical basis of socialism and raising the standard of living, perfecting the socialist relations of production, and shaping a new ethics, cultivating the best qualities of the new man of our society.

The decisions of the February 1971 plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee and the conclusions in the speech made at the plenum by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP General Secretary, were exceedingly important for defining the place and role of the unions in the present stage.

With the country launched on building a harmoniously developed socialist society, it has become one of the main objects of the unions, as the 10th Party Congress said, to provide the organizational framework for the people's active participation in framing and effectuating the policy of the Party and government. The CC RCP plenary meeting and the GTAR Congress in March 1971 stressed that the activity of the unions hinged on the dual role of the working people of a socialist country as producers of all material and spiritual goods and as owners of the means of pro-

duction. The staff of every enterprise is responsible for that portion of the national wealth which is entrusted to its care and should dispose of it in the best interests of the socialist system, its development, and the enhancement of the nation's standard of living.

The GTAR Congress noted that it was the unions' job to assure increasingly active participation of their members in the country's administration, to provide an outlet for the organized expression of public opinion, to discuss with the masses all the issues of socialist construction, and assure the direct participation of working people in the making of decisions. 'In our socialist system,' said Comrade Ceausescu in his speech at the Congress, 'the unions are needed by the people as a broad organization in which they can concert their efforts, express collective opinions, take part in making decisions concerning the development of Rumanian society.'

Within the limits of the common principles of democratic centralism, collective management is exercised from top to bottom in all enterprises, economic bodies and government offices. The bodies of collective management are elected at general staff meetings from among workers and employees, and also include representatives of the union and administration. Decisions are adopted by a majority vote. And if the top manager disagrees, he may contest them before the superior collective organ, whose decision is final.

This institutionalization of collective management bodies at different levels—staff committees in enterprises, and councils in amalgamations and ministry collegiums—provide good scope for the use of foremost experience, for the initiative and proposals of the rank and file, for optimum solutions and the effective growth of each enterprise and the economy as a whole.

The unions take part in making and effectuating decisions at all levels. The chairman of the GTAR, for example, represents the unions in the government, and members of the GTAR Executive Committee and Central Council participate with full voting powers in the collective management of various government bodies. The chairman, deputy chairmen and secretaries of the industrial unions represent the unions in the respective ministry collegiums, and by decision of the GTAR Congress, union committees of amalgamations cooperate with ministries and other administrations. They participate in framing the annual and long-term production plans, plans for the installation of new technology, in personnel planning, and in all undertakings designed to improve control, planning and production techniques, rate setting, the wage scheme, labor safety, and the like.

The main economic problems and matters related to the people's living and working conditions are regularly discussed at joint conferences of the Council of Ministers and the GTAR Executive and of ministry collegiums and executive bureaus of industrial unions. Territorial union councils are represented in local government as voting members.

Union representatives of staff councils of industrial amalgamations contribute tangibly to the solution of economic, social and cultural problems, including drafting of enterprise production plans, projecting and designing, investments, supply, sales, concentration, specialization, inter-enterprise cooperation, marshalling of potentialities, in order to raise production and enhance general efficiency.

Union representatives take charge of proposals made by staff members, seeing to their effectuation, and advocate them before superior agencies if they exceed the capability of enterprises in the relevant amalgamation. Representatives of higher union bodies cooperate with union groups in factories and offices, helping them rally the work force to fulfil and overfulfil plans and pledges of economizing raw and other materials improving quality, marshalling potentialities, and the like.

The staff committees in enterprises take part in working out better solutions of economic problems, blocking arbitrary and subjective decisions, drawing wage- and salary-earners into management, and bettering the conditions of work and life.

The further development of socialist democracy and improvement of production relations is epitomized, among other things, by the general staff meetings at enterprise level, whose content and structure have been modified considerably in recent years: elements of formalism have been banished, and they have been fashioned into an effective medium for the expression of the collective opinion of workers and employees. In the past year the unions displayed a deep sense of responsibility in preparing these general meetings, seeking to assure their effective operation. The atmosphere at most of them was business-like – the interventions were by and large constructive, oriented on effective solutions of the problems at hand. And the unions follow up, reporting to the staff on fulfilment of decisions and enlisting the collective in carrying them into practice.

The unions in Rumania, as in other socialist countries, promote the socialist emulation movement as a vehicle for the involvement and initiative of the working people. Guided by Party branches, the unions sponsor production contests between workshops, teams and sections, and propagate the experience of foremost workers, the best techniques, and useful initiatives. Among our prime concerns at present is to improve the organizational side of the emulation movement and broaden the movement of innovators and inventors.

Exchanges of positive experience, of valuable initiatives and advanced labor techniques, and promotion of up-to-date technology are things which the unions have assumed as a prime responsibility.

The GTAR takes part in framing the laws and other regulative instruments concerning the rights and obligations of workers and employees, work safety and health protection.

The socialist state is particularly concerned with improving working conditions and eliminating health and accident hazards.

Large sums are allotted for this purpose. Last year's allocation, was in excess of 1,700 million leis.

Another essential function of the unions is the exercise of public control over the observance of labour legislation. Acting on the decisions of the GTAR Congress, the Central Council of the unions, held in May 1971, instructed all trade union bodies to see to the further improvement of the working people's living and working conditions, to enlist the people in initiating measures for the prevention of job accidents and occupational diseases, and to tighten control in this domain. It is up to the unions to develop an exacting attitude to labor protection in all factories and regularly inform the personnel of measures taken, and their results.

Working hand in hand with other mass organizations in the framework of the Front of Socialist Unity, the unions take part in workers' public control of the distribution network, health services and resorts and children's institutions. Union group meetings elect citizens' teams for this purpose, and the practice is paying off in better service in shops, catering establishments, polyclinics, hospitals, sanatoria, hostels and infant nurseries, and the community services. The battle against violations of professional ethics is also yielding good results. The managements of retail and other facilities are bound by law to heed the demands and proposals of the control teams, and are liable to prosecution and penalties for disregarding them.

The unions also promote workers' control of the consumer industries. Activists and specialists are formed into control teams by territorial union bodies to assure good quality and observance of contractual provisions as to quantity and delivery schedules. The teams forthwith inform the competent authorities of snags, flaws and violations, and work together with the union branch of the enterprise concerned to eliminate them.

The continuous growth of production enables the socialist state to assure a steady improvement of the people's material and cultural level. In the socialist environment, the state is the bearer and protector of the working people's interests and handles matters relating to the further improvement of the working and living conditions of the entire population. The central union bodies, territorial councils, and union branches in amalgamations and enterprises participate in the planning of state-financed socio-cultural building, and control observance of legal working hours, leisure time, the provisions for special free meals, use of working clothes, and the leave and health provisions for employees and members of their families. A special accent is laid on mechanization of arduous jobs, on lightening the labor burden.

As in the other socialist countries, the Rumanian unions take part in the ideological and cultural development of the people, elucidating the operation of the objective laws of the socialist system, promoting their creative application and the further growth of the progressive socialist consciousness. Employing specific forms, the unions help the people to acquire the revolutionary,

Marxist-Leninist outlook and to assimilate the valuable elements of modern culture, science and technology. They assist actively in broadening the political, educational and occupational horizons of men and women in town and country, moulding their communist civic sense, and inform the people of the decisions of the Party and government, and elucidate newly-promulgated laws. They encourage conscientious work, good care of socialist property, and good behavior in public and at home, and combat backward views and anti-social conduct.

To perform these functions the unions have a far-flung network of cultural institutions, continuously enlarged and modernized. The network covers nearly all the industrial and workers' centres, and includes more than 4,200 clubs and houses of culture, and more than 5,000 libraries. Another well equipped 22 houses of culture and clubs are to open their doors before the end of the present five-year-plan period. In the past five years as much as 200 million leis was spent on expanding the unions' cultural facilities. There are more than 4,600 union-sponsored amateur groups in factories and offices, with nearly 70,000 members. In 1971, more than 40,000 workers and employees were members of technical, literary and art circles.

The building of a harmoniously developed socialist society requires a steady improvement of political and ideological work, a still greater involvement of the masses, a higher degree of proficiency at work and broader general knowledge, and a further development of social relations based on the principles of socialist ethics and justice. The Communists and the entire body of union activists are highly exacting and intolerant of all things impeding the progress of our society as they tackle these all-important objectives. Helping to mould and develop the socialist consciousness of the people, the unions cultivate boundless loyalty to the country, the socialist cause, and the spirit of internationalism and class solidarity with the working people of all other lands.

The greater participation of the unions in political and social affairs required a corresponding modification in the composition of the union bodies. The executive organs—from the factory committees to industrial and territorial councils, and the GTAR itself—should, the trade union congress instructed, consist mainly of men and women directly employed in production. Out of the six deputy chairmen of the GTAR Central Council, for example, five are factory people, and over half the members of the Executive Committee, too, work in enterprises and offices. Out of the members of the executive bureaus of industrial union committees, 62 per cent are also employed in production. As a result, the governing bodies are always fully cognizant of the actual state of affairs and focus attention on matters of immediate concern to the working people.

The GTAR Congress decision that factory and office workers should be drawn more extensively into union work provides greater scope for workers' democracy, broader union autonomy, wider initiative and participation of the rank-and-file in resolving the

problems of socialist construction. The unions are not merely a transmission belt conveying Party decisions to the masses. They are independent organizations participating in economic planning and in framing measures of immediate interest to the working class.

The GTAR Congress has adopted a new general trade union charter, setting out the principles, tasks and structures of the unions. The charter accounts for the experience acquired in the period of building socialism and for the diversity of conditions and specific objectives in each collective. Every union is permitted to suit the provisions of the charter to the specifics of the enterprise. Acting on the principles of trade union autonomy and democracy, the industrial unions have produced their own charters. Far from contradicting democratic centralism, union autonomy has given it a more solid foundation and assures broad initiative and greater responsibility for each union body in economic and socio-cultural matters.

Political guidance securing the correct orientation of union work, and greater union initiative and responsibility, is afforded by the Communist Party on the basis of the general line through Communists working in the unions. Party members assure the democratic functioning of the union organs, and fulfilment of Party decisions and directives, and those occupying high union posts are accountable for this to Party bodies. This is an important avenue of Party guidance. Communists in the unions report on the principal problems, submit proposals, and solicit aid in matters which the unions cannot cope with on their own. Party organs aid Communists doing union work and help further to improve union methods and techniques.

The Party sees to it that its organs and organizations should refrain from superseding the union functions and from petty tutelage, which are incompatible with the principles of socialist guidance. It is helping to enhance the initiative of the unions and fortify their bonds with the masses.

In keeping with the internationalist traditions of the working class, the Rumanian unions promote friendship and cooperation with the unions of all the other socialist countries and those in capitalist and developing states, and with all forces representing working class interests and participate in the anti-imperialist struggle, the struggle for independence, security, peace and social progress. The GTAR, a founding member of the World Federation of Trade Unions, maintains ties with national and industrial labor unions in 110 countries on all continents.

In the present stage, as always, the Rumanian unions are firmly set on serving the socialist and communist cause in our country to the best of their ability.

Firm convictions and the ability to assert them

Karlheinz Kniestedt

No working class party, however large or influential, can evolve genuinely revolutionary strategy or tactics without careful study and creative application of Marxism-Leninism. This was stressed by Gerhard Danelius, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, at the Party's Second Congress (May 1970).

Our Party attaches prime importance to the Marxist-Leninist education and training of its membership. This is one means of increasing its influence over the working class and other working people and exercising its leading role in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

The wage and salary earners of West Berlin fight for higher pay, against monopoly domination in the economy and society. The population protests against growing rents and prices, and young people voice their opposition to a system of education serving the interests of the ruling classes. The sharper these conflicts, the more important is political awareness and organizational unity of the Party in the class contest, and the harder must it work to spread revolutionary theory and establish a living link between the Marxist-Leninist training of the Party membership and effective struggle against bourgeois ideology.

The political situation in our city puts special demands to Party members as to their ideological staunchness and their activity. Imperialism has assigned West Berlin the role of a spearhead against socialism. Day after day the mass-circulation Springer press viciously attacks the GDR, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and democrats and socialists. Radio and television are attuned to the same line. Bellicose anti-communism is typical of not only the bourgeoisie and its mass media but also the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDP), which has had a Senate majority ever since 1948.

Our Party remains the main target. Until recently it was almost alone in demanding normal relations with the GDR, broader workers' rights in industry and in public life, and equal opportunities in education. The bourgeoisie and Right SDP leaders were unable to isolate our Party, to organize a conspiracy of silence. Now that the masses have taken up Communist slogans, the ruling classes do their utmost to check the growth of our influence among the workers, particularly youth.

How did we succeed in piercing the anti-Communist front and stimulating an interest in Marxism-Leninism among young workers

and students? Why do more and more of them seek our ideological support? And why do they demand that in universities scientific socialism be taught by Marxists and not by its bourgeois interpreters like those active at, say, Dahlem University, which received \$1.3 million in 'aid' from the Ford Foundation in 1948 and is known as an anti-Communist centre?

The reason is that when rabid anti-communism was at its worst our Party firmly upheld Marxism-Leninism and its internationalist policy towards the GDR and the Soviet Union.

In November 1968, for example, the Party Executive published its widely-discussed appeal, 'West Berlin Workers and the German Democratic Republic,' explaining that the GDR is a class ally of the city's workers, students and scientists, of all who are directly affected by the contradictions between labor and capital, between technological progress and the outdated educational system. In that way we supported our demand for normal relations with the GDR and advanced an explicit socialist alternative to the monopoly system in West Berlin. The Party's effort to clarify the role of the GDR and the policy of peaceful coexistence made for a social atmosphere which was bound to benefit the four-power agreement on West Berlin.

In addition to the Marxist-Leninist schooling of its membership, a highly important object of the Party is to help the workers, especially young people, shed bourgeois notions, and to make them socialist-minded through systematic propaganda of scientific socialism. This means combating bourgeois ideology, Right-wing opportunism and petty-bourgeois radicalism. We mobilize the working class to fight for its interests, against monopoly power, and help it to achieve unity of action, which means inevitable confrontation with the Social-Democratic ideology used by the bourgeoisie to influence the workers.

As the contradictions between labor and capital grow the working people are becoming more aware – despite the Right Social-Democrats' talk about 'social partnership' and the 'boat' the workers share with the capitalists – that they must fight monopoly capital to win their demands. Though the Right-wing leadership of the SDP is stepping up its attacks on the Communists, the working people see the Communists as fellow-fighters. There are attacks, specifically, in the SDP document of February 26, 1971 entitled 'On Relations Between Social-Democracy and Communism,' which alleges that monopoly capitalism is capable of 'social development,' and denounces the socialist alternative as 'totalitarian.' The document resorts to the same demagoguery that Bernstein and Kautsky used against the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviet power and the Communists.

We have yet another kind of opponents. Members of the petty bourgeoisie, anarchists and Trotskyists pose narrow sectarianism, isolated actions by various groups and elitist claims to leadership against Marxist-Leninist strategy of mobilizing the masses against

imperialism and working for cooperation with all progressive forces. These elements are out to divide the anti-imperialist movement.

These, then, were the main lines of our ideological work and our criticism of Right and 'Left'-wing opportunism. Right SDP ideologists tried to oppose Leninism to Marxism, claiming that Marx favored 'disciplined inner-party democracy' but never advocated centralism and that, speaking generally, Leninism is an 'attempt to put up a socialist superstructure on an economically immature basis.' Pseudo-Leftist sectarian groups attacked Leninism, asserting that the Marxist-Leninist party is antiquated and that revolutionary strategy must follow the principle of 'criticism-unity - criticism-unity.'

We counter all this rhetoric with Leninism, the powerful, living doctrine transforming the world, the Marxism of our time. In the Lenin centenary year and after it our Party, drawing on Lenin's writings and the documents of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, worked to perfect its strategy and tactics for peace, democracy and socialism. It championed united action by the working class and a broader anti-imperialist front, explained the historic role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party and fostered the workers' class consciousness. The Party explained the connection between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activity and stressed the role of the socialist world system and its leading force, the Soviet Union, in the fight against imperialism, as well as the significance of the policy of peaceful coexistence as a special form of class struggle. It was especially important to show that the stronger the socialist world system with the Soviet Union at its head became, the more effective was the struggle against imperialism. We held our own against attempts by the ideologists of monopoly capital, who juggled with the concepts of 'national communism' and 'democratic socialism,' to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries and divide the democrats and socialists of our city, especially after the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia. Our propaganda helped people, first of all the younger generation, to dissociate from Right and 'Left'-wing opportunism.

Now for some details about the organizational aspect. The series of lectures (covering over 20 subjects) delivered by secretaries of our Party Executive and lecturers of the SUPG and CPSU were received with keen interest. On some occasions discussion went on till late into the night. The lectures were attended by more than 2,000 people, including young workers and students. District Party executives have set up classes for the study of Lenin's works. These classes are attended by up to 500 Party members and non-members. To link them up with contemporary problems more closely, we have brought out pamphlets introducing the reader to Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and *'Left'-Wing Communism - an Infantile Disorder*. So far we have produced eight

pamphlets of this kind in more than 20,000 copies. The pamphlet on *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* gives facts showing the concentration and centralization of production and capital, the growing rates of surplus value, especially in enterprises owned by corporations, and the growing gap between wages and profits. This brings out the growing contradictions between monopoly capital and the people.

In April 1970 we held a Lenin centenary meeting in the industrial district of Neukölln, which brought together 3,000 Communists and non-Party people. In the centenary year our Party won 1,000 new members, mostly young workers and students.

The class struggle here in West Berlin, on the borderline of socialism and capitalism, confronts our Party with new, first of all ideological, tasks. Lectures were not enough and we had to find forms which would help the greatest possible number of people to assimilate the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist knowledge and promote the ideological training of new members.

The Second Party Congress decided to set up a night school of Marxism under the Party Executive. The school opened late in 1970 with an enrolment of about 500. Over 400 attended all lectures and seminars, one half studying dialectical materialism and the other, the political economy of capitalism. Twenty per cent of the students were workers, and 40 per cent non-Party. Most of the students were under 30. Each course in the first year was made up of ten fortnightly lectures and seminars.

We had first to gain experience in setting out the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism in interesting form and in close connection with contemporary problems of the class struggle. We found that going from facts to generalization is an effective method. Vivid facts do not consist in new statistics alone but, to an even greater extent, they relate to class battles in the enterprises and universities. Seminars examined the experiences acquired in everyday struggle in connection with decisions of our Party, the documents of the 1969 Meeting, 24th Congress of the CPSU and Eighth Congress of the SUPG, and the main works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It was a good thing that the seminars were attended jointly by workers and students although the difference in their general education and their knowledge of scientific socialism certainly created difficulties.

With help from experienced lecturers, Party groups and district executives set up numerous classes and held lectures on various subjects, such as the alignment of class forces under state-monopoly capitalism. The Right Social-Democrats' contention that the monopoly state is a 'welfare state' was criticized. We had interesting discussions on the role of class consciousness and organization in the fight against imperialism and on the role of trade unions in the class struggle. These ideological activities attract more and more people, above all because in most cases they help young workers and students to familiarize themselves with Marxism-Leninism.

We owe it to sustained ideological work that Party groups in the academic community, the enterprises and residential neighborhoods have been growing. In the industrial district of Kreuzberg, for example, the Party group increased by 65 members in two years.

The newspaper *Die Wahrheit* plays an important part. It carries articles on topical problems of ideology which help to increase Party influence. Among them were articles criticizing Marcuse's book, *One-Dimensional Man*, and the attacks launched on Marxism by H. Skrypczak, a Right-wing Social-Democrat historian. Reports submitted to meetings of the Party Executive and now published, are in great demand.

Young workers are clearly becoming more active, and we want to enrol more of them in the Marxist-Leninist night school. Going by the experience of the first year it was decided to extend the curriculum and introduce—in addition to the series of lectures on dialectical materialism and political economy—two courses on historical materialism and the political economy of state-monopoly capitalism—so that now we have four courses. Among the enrolled are 760 workers and students (320 Party members and 440 non-members). Many have taken all four courses, and many regularly take part in discussions of topical problems.

The school has taught workers to counter opponents' arguments. This is a valuable achievement. Another is that the school helps young Party members and sympathizers to win influence in the enterprises and trade unions.

The Executive attaches special importance to the Marxist-Leninist training of Party cadres. Drawing on the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and on the materials of the CC CPSU and CC SUPG research institutes, they study the objective and subjective factors in the class struggle, and formation of the political consciousness of the working class. In this way our comrades learn effectively to combat bourgeois ideology, repulse the attacks of Right and Left-wing opportunists on Marxism-Leninism and use their theoretical knowledge in class battles.

The revolution on the march

Mario Solis

The People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, realizing the importance of ideological work, urges its members to study revolutionary theory, and strives to educate them as Marxist-Leninists. We raise the workers' class consciousness and explain to the masses that

only people's power can meet their needs. And we work for a broad anti-imperialist front. How our cause will progress depends largely on our ability to cope with these tasks.

Political training

Our program stresses that the leading role of the working class and the Communists is the pivot of the strategy of the revolution. Only an ideologically seasoned and well-organized proletarian party can lead a struggle involving diverse classes and press forward the revolution without vacillation or undue haste.

The years 1969-1971 saw the Party grow fourfold and improve considerably in social composition. Agricultural and industrial workers now make up 51 per cent of its membership (and 64 per cent if we add the peasants). However, three-fourths of our Communists did not join the Party until recently and so they lack adequate experience and political training.

Early this year we conducted a campaign to raise the political standard of new members. We have classes for advanced comrades, also regular Marxist Discussion Hours on topical domestic and international problems. Among the lecturers are leading Party members and the audience comprise both Communists and non-Communists.

The Party's national and provincial schools help in training personnel, needed primarily by branch organizations. The national school, with a one-month term of study, has been functioning for twelve years. We also send our comrades to the school for Central-American trade union leaders run by the General Confederation of Costa Rican Working People.

The Party press plays an invaluable part in the ideological field. We publish *La Libertad*, a weekly whose circulation now stands at 15,000 copies, and *El Trabajo*, theoretical journal of the CC. *Principios* (the Costa Rican edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*) contributes, for its part, to the ideological and political training of our membership. It is distributed mainly among Party members and a substantial number of copies reach progressive intellectuals. The monthly *Aurora* and the bulletin *Informaciones*, both of them based on APN releases, and the daily TASS bulletin acquaint the population with Soviet life and achievement.

To publicize our views, we use as far as possible the mass media of the bourgeoisie, parliament, where we hold two seats, and the municipal councils, on which there are ten Communists.

Among the masses

In carrying on our ideological work among the proletariat we bear in mind that most of Costa Rica's workers are engaged in agriculture. The industrial proletariat is still young and has little experience of class battles. It began to form only a short time ago, mainly after the Central American Common Market was set up. Most factory and plantation workers are peasants, who left

their villages in search of a better life, but they do not yet feel themselves part of the working class, and have no understanding of its historic mission. This is why we do our best to heighten their class consciousness.

The Party gives much attention to the trade union movement. By leading the workers in struggle, the unions educate them in a class spirit. *El Orientador*, the newspaper recently launched by the General Confederation of Working People, is bound to play its role in encouraging the working class to adopt revolutionary positions.

However, a more difficult problem for our Party is to win over the masses to the workers' side. Work among the peasants, intellectuals, youth and women requires differentiated tactics. In the countryside we organize the poor and middle peasants and the tenants to fight for land. At the same time we urge a far-reaching agrarian reform which only the revolutionary government of a democratic, popular, agrarian and anti-imperialist front can effect, as the Party program notes.

The struggle against the landed proprietors interlocks with anti-imperialist action, since the foreign monopolies, too, are big landowners. The peasants, especially those in the coastal areas where imperialist companies have their largest land holdings, have no particular difficulty in grasping the provisions of our Party program regarding the latifundia and imperialism. Costa Rican reality itself—the growing social conflict in the countryside and the bourgeois governments' inability to end the lag in agriculture—makes objectively for the peasants' increasing political awareness. The peasants are coming to realize that only in alliance with the working class can they throw off the shackles imposed on them by the landowners and foreign monopolies.

Communist influence among the peasants has grown in the past decade. There is still much to be done, however, particularly in the remote areas of the central plateau, where the peasants are still in bondage to reformist illusions and are prey to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. We now play a key role in peasant organizations and lead their actions, which gives ground for the hope that our influence in the rural areas will go on growing.

We pay a great deal of attention to young people. Of the country's 1.7 million inhabitants, 900,000 are below 21 years of age. We work through our organizations—Vanguard Youth and the University Action Front—among the masses and the students respectively. Vanguard Youth has a newspaper for young industrial workers and secondary school students. The University Action Front has a weekly with a circulation of 5,000 copies.

After long years of passivity there is greater involvement of the youth, particularly students, in political activity. The Rightists, who campaign in the university against communism, have by now been weakened organizationally and numerically. They only have a small group, a contingent of the so-called Free Costa Rica Movement (paramilitary organization of a fascist type), which has been

unable to win strong positions. But above all we have to combat ultra-Leftist views spread by certain intellectuals. As they have no hope of influencing the workers and peasants, the 'Leftists' concentrate on the students, among whom they still have some following, mainly among the politically unsophisticated. While combating the ultra-Leftist groups' ideology and anarchist methods, we try to draw these groups into anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic activity and have already scored some gains.

The Party's strengthening ideological positions in the university and its tactics of combining the youth movement with the workers' struggle gradually induce some ultra-Leftist groups to revise their views. Last year we succeeded in prevailing on all student organizations to join along with the workers in a big demonstration for normal relations with the Soviet Union.

Much is also being done among women, with emphasis on housewives, politically the most backward segment of the population. In organizing them and drawing them into action we constantly stress that the only way to solve their problems is to bring about radical changes in the country. Our monthly for women (circulation 5,000 copies) is distributed all over the country.

Our Party is Costa Rica's only political organization advocating a revolutionary program for the good of the masses and calling for a people's government capable of accomplishing a democratic, popular, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. It leads industrial strikes, peasant actions for land, and large popular movements.

Strategic objective

One of our main strategic objectives is to form and consolidate an anti-imperialist united front.

United Fruit workers are militant and active. Peasants driven off the land by foreign monopolies launch strong protest actions. The student oppose imperialist ideological infiltration with increasing resolve. The intellectuals are becoming more vocal—they demand an end to U.S. monopoly plunder. Many mass organizations are adopting a radical position because they rightly see in imperialism the real cause of the people's plight.

Even the big bourgeoisie, which loses millions of dollars due to foreign economic domination, shows signs of discontent. More and more often, various official spokesmen cite unequal trade with the United States as the main reason for our country's financial difficulties.

Our demand for a genuine agrarian reform to end agricultural backwardness meets with a response among the masses. Peasants demanding land are backed by the students. More and more Costa Ricans see the futility of government attempts to solve the agrarian problem under the present laws. The national bourgeoisie, too, is beginning to see the need for reform. In short, the Party's fight for radical change in rural Costa Rica is in keeping with the nation's requirements, and the provisions of its program are becom-

ing an important factor for popular unity as they gain recognition among the masses.

The Party's policy of promoting and extending democracy, and its program for accomplishing a revolution by peaceful means (unless the class enemy constrains us to use other forms of struggle) accord with the objective and subjective conditions prevailing in our country. They enable us to strengthen our bonds with the masses and to further the formation of a united front as a prerequisite of a democratic, popular, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution.

Communists expose the reformist policies of the ruling National Liberation Party, which adheres to a Social-Democratic position and misleads the masses by promising what it cannot give. The reactionaries – foreign imperialism and the domestic oligarchy – have become more active with official connivance. Using the media and backed by certain elements of the Church hierarchy, they are intensifying the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign. In this situation we fight at once against reactionary subversion, reformism and ultra-Leftist views.

These are the main lines of our ideological struggle, whose outcome will depend on how firmly, devotedly and correctly the Party's policy is put into practice.

Communist role in Guatemala

The state of emergency in Guatemala was ended last November under public pressure. The municipal elections held four months later were a kind of rehearsal for the 1974 presidential elections. They were won by the ruling coalition, an extremely reactionary alignment comprising the so-called National Liberation Movement and the Constitutional Democratic Party, which represents part of the agrarian and the industrial bourgeoisie. That outcome was not unexpected. During the election campaign the opposition, in particular the Christian Democratic Party, pointed out that the government was set on winning at all costs. Terror against democrats, the 'disappearance' of opposition candidates, the intimidation of voters, and patrolling by army units helped the ruling group to victory. For all that, there is reason to speak of new realities in Guatemala.

The state of emergency was declared by President Carlos Arana Osorio in November 1970. In 1966-1968, Arana was in command of the Zacapa military zone and gained notoriety by his punitive operations – 6,000 peasants were killed in one year.

On coming to power, Arana pressed forward his 'pacification' program by stepping up his already brutal repressive measures. The

army and police used the state of emergency as a pretext to seize people and execute them without trial. They dealt summarily with political and public figures, MPs and trade union leaders, workers and peasants, students, and intellectuals. The slightest suspicion of disloyalty to the regime was enough for anyone to be physically destroyed. A case in point was the assassination of A. Mijangos Lopez, an MP who had called on the government to stop the violence. He was shot down in the heart of the capital, not far from the National Palace. A similar fate befell over 2,000 people under the present government.

Arana tried to stamp out all opposition and destroy the democratic forces, using particularly savage methods against the Communists. But he failed. Indeed, a widespread public outcry forced the government to repeal martial law. This, of course, did not mean giving free rein to the opposition. Hence the Guatemalan Party of Labor (GPL) last November urged the use of every opportunity afforded by the repeal and stressed the need to lay bare the regime's crimes and fight with greater resolve for the people's economic and political rights.

Forced back one step, the dictatorship did not, however, renounce terror. People who have incurred official displeasure continue to 'disappear.' Organizations of fascist terrorists like Mano Blanca (White Hand) or Ojo por Ojo (Eye for an Eye) are becoming more militant. These government-controlled gangs are financed by the U.S. imperialists. Half of the \$4 million in 'aid' to Guatemala is spent on maintaining repressive forces which, moreover, are instructed by U.S. advisers.

U.S. monopolies have thrust deep into the country. Formerly they invested in railways and banana plantations but now they have also invaded industry. As the Americans' economic interests in Guatemala grow they are increasing their aid to reactionary forces, which could not have otherwise stayed in power for long.

The situation in Guatemala is characterized by U.S. imperialist domination, a narrow home market, unequal foreign trade and unrelenting terror against the opposition plus a deepening ideological crisis of reaction. This state of affairs necessitates a radical change in the socio-economic structure and determines the alignment of class forces.

Our industrial proletariat is rather young and largely of peasant origin. This, of course, complicates our task. Besides, repression tends to inhibit the working class. Nevertheless, proletarians are clearly becoming militant politically. They are beginning to strive for unity and action, and show an increasing readiness to back peasant struggles.

Reaction tries in vain to check the dangerous ferment in society. In the Church, where the ultra Right still commands strong positions, many priests publicly uphold the people's interests. The army, especially its top leaders, is still extremely reactionary but the possibility of positive trends even among them should not be ruled out.

The ruling classes are beset by insoluble contradictions. The big bourgeoisie, linked with the big landowners and imperialism, cannot cope with the crisis of Guatemalan society. To allow any radical changes in the country would mean ending imperialist plunder and the parasitical latifundium system. And this the bourgeoisie will never accept. It realizes that while the big landed proprietors and the monopolies block the development of capitalist relations, they also help it to survive as a class. This prompts the dictatorship to protect their interests and to try to perpetuate foreign monopoly domination. Ever since 1954 this policy has been carried on through outright suppression of the people. It was only natural that the people should counter reaction's use of force with revolutionary violence, that is, armed struggle.

The Guatemalan Party of Labor regards armed struggle in the form of a revolutionary people's war as the principal method of carrying forward the revolution in our country at this stage. Operating under its leadership are the Revolutionary Armed Forces, which the Party considers it very important to build up. In the early fifties the Guatemalan people sought power without recourse to armed force, by establishing a broad national unity front. However, U.S. imperialism in 1954 launched an armed intervention and overthrew the democratic Arbenz government. The Party would have been unable to hold out in an atmosphere of terror and repression had it not taken up arms in self-defense.

Guatemala's Communists have never proposed to come to power solely by force, and that is the policy today too. The Party urges developing and combining all forms of struggle, and drawing the masses into it, as the records of its Fourth, illegal Congress (December 1969) indicate.

In view of the nature of the social contradictions and the alignment of class forces, we consider that the Guatemalan revolution is one process consisting of two closely linked stages: the agrarian, anti-imperialist, popular revolution, and the socialist revolution. The Party is opposed to the ultra-Leftist idea of fighting for socialism at once. We think numerous problems will be solved at the first stage, which will witness, among others, certain social changes, primarily in the countryside. This should pave the way for the peasants, led by the working class, to move on to the second, socialist stage of the revolution. We believe the industrial and agricultural proletariat should play the leading role in this process, with the poor and middle peasants, who make up the majority of the population, operating as the main force of the revolution. Needless to say, we also count on the middle strata—salary earners, students and intellectuals—whom we class as a revolutionary force.

The Party joins issue with those who, not knowing the nature of the working class, allege that the workers have become 'bourgeoisified' and lost their revolutionary character. The advocates of this view certainly include some who err and who many eventually take a correct stand.

Nor can the Party agree with the proponents of 'national unity'

without a class content. This concept is current among certain groups of intellectuals, who call on the nation to join forces against foreign domination. These people are naive enough to imagine that the ruling classes will relinquish their privileges of their own free will. We Communists hold that the way to achieve victory is through use of every form of struggle, support of the working people, their unity and direct and active participation in the revolutionary movement. We are confident of victory. What makes us certain of the people's ultimate triumph over reaction and imperialism is, to a considerable extent, the fact that we are not alone in the fight. We enjoy the solidarity of the continent's brother parties and working people, the solidarity of the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, which as far back as 1954 took a firm stand in the UN for the sovereign rights of the Guatemalan people attacked by U.S. imperialism. We attach vast importance to increasing fraternal support from the working people of all countries and to their solidarity with the Guatemalan people's struggle for freedom and democracy.

Francisco J. Prieto

Trial volume of complete works of Marx and Engels

A trial volume of the *Complete Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*,* which the Institutes of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU and CC SUPG are jointly preparing by decision of the Central Committees of the two parties, has been mailed to research centers and scholars of a number of countries. The volume (about 800 pages) is the result of long years of joint effort by Soviet and German scholars engaged in studying and publishing the literary heritage of the founders of Marxism. MEGA, which is to total about 100 volumes, will be the first complete edition of this heritage. In addition to the works included in the second Russian and the German edition published a little later, it will include all manuscripts, outlines, plans, summaries, extracts, marginal notes, and so on, making it possible more profoundly to study Marx's and Engels' theoretical and political activity.

All texts will appear in the original language. This will assure authenticity and enable a more complete and accurate study of the evolution of Marxist terminology and the linguistic heritage of the founders of Marxism.

A major objective of the proposed publication is to show how the two authors created their works, from the first to the last

**Karl Marx - Friedrich Engels Gesamtausgabe (MEGA)*. Editionsgrundsätze und Probestücke. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1972. For the contents and structure of MEGA, see also the June 1971 and June 1972 issues of WMR.

variant. Along with reproducing individual works as fully as possible according to the manuscript or the first edition, the publishers intend to trace the consecutive changes made in each manuscript by giving variants and reworded texts, showing the cuts made, and the like. In other words, the reader will get an inside picture of how Marx and Engels worked.

The notes to the volumes carefully analyze the history of each work and the formation of its text, showing the part played by re-editing. Being a historico-critical publication, MEGA must provide scholars with the most accurate source material and other aids in any language.

The significance, size and intricacy of the edition prompted the Institutes to bring out a trial volume. The purpose is to familiarize research centers and scholars in various countries with the contents and proposed principles of MEGA. The first volumes will go to press next year, after a careful analysis of the comments that will have come in.

The introduction to the trial volume explains the purpose of the edition and the publishing methods. There are explanations of the proposed methods of presenting the items and relevant comments and notes. The volume is expected to give an idea of the edition as a whole. The trial volume is meant to give an idea of what the whole edition will look like, and contains works of various periods. Philosophical, economic and historico-political texts are reproduced in the main languages used by Marx and Engels.

Worthy of note is the first chapter of *The German Ideology*, presented in such a way as to show the reader the whole process of its writing. *The Civil War in France*, too, is reproduced for the first time in all the variants of the authorized English, German and French editions. It includes Marx's corrections in the proofs of the French translation. The extract from Marx's outline of *A Critique of Political Economy* includes his quotations from various sources (the quoted and paraphrased passages are strictly specified and so are the author's comments).

The trial volume, showing the results achieved by the publishers to date, closes an important preparatory stage. A solid basis has thus been laid for the continuing search for texts and unknown editions of Marx and Engels, as well as for contemporary comments on their writings; to gain access to all manuscripts of the founders of Marxism, irrespective of who owns them; to assure close international cooperation of the most diverse sciences in tracing the history of the texts. The mere reproduction of every text in the original language will require great effort by experts of various countries.

Both Institutes feel certain that the international working-class movement and Marxist scholars will be interested to study the trial volume. They request the scientific community to help in producing MEGA, primarily by analyzing its principles as demonstrated in the trial volume, and thus help in this complex undertaking whose immense political and scientific importance is beyond question.

Richard Sperl

Leader of the people

Letters from the DRV

The Communists are the unshakable mainstay of the fighting people of Vietnam. They are those whom the U.S. imperialists have been unable to break and never will. True, they themselves say little about it, insisting that "the whole people are fighting."

This letter* is about the Working People's Party of Vietnam (WPPV) and what has enabled it to lead the people in decades of grim struggle for national independence and socialist building.

Traditions of struggle

When it comes to saving the country, history is invoked to join in battle. Perhaps nowhere else are the people as keenly aware of every page of their history as in Vietnam. Few other peoples have had to face so many dangers or fight such powerful enemies. From the first to the eighteenth century the people of Vietnam are estimated to have waged over twenty wars of liberation or in defense of political sovereignty – apart from lesser campaigns. As for the past century, it has seen a continuous series of struggles against various colonialists and conquerors – French, Japanese, British, Chinese (Chiang Kai-shek), and lately, U.S. The people remember their victories and their heroes. In Thanh Hoa Province we heard the story of Le Loi, a hero of the anti-Chinese rising of the fifteenth century.

'He lived in this province,' we were told, 'and rallied the peasants against the invaders in a fight that lasted ten years. The people of Thanh Hoa are ready to follow his glorious tradition.'

History has left its imprint on the Vietnamese national character. 'We try to make an accurate appraisal of our merits and demerits,' Hong Chuong, deputy chief editor of *Hoc Tap (Study)*, theoretical and political journal of the CC WPPV, told us. 'We have no special ancient landmarks, for we have had neither a slave-owning system nor capitalism. But we do have, figuratively speaking, our own walls and pyramids and great buildings – our traditions of struggle and patriotism, and good human relations. Our Party studies national tradition and spirit and uses them in struggle and in socialist building. After all, people are the main factor.'

The working classes have common traits but in different peoples

*The first letter appeared in the July issue of WMR.

they show themselves differently. Even a brief stay in Vietnam gives you an idea of the people's distinguishing features, which may be described as a high fighting spirit, a strong spirit of resistance and calmness in the face of danger; amazing industry irrespective of age, with everyone working from early dawn till late in the evening, coordinating their job and almost always laboring shoulder to shoulder; comradeship, unity, and mutual aid; strict discipline and diligence, specifically in study and in learning to use machines; modesty and the ability to do with little while fully retaining one's dignity and respecting moral principles, science and culture; an inventiveness which produces amazing results in warfare, in the gigantic work of building and rebuilding roads and dams, in the unfailing delivery of supplies.

In resisting the U.S. aggressors, the Vietnamese are inspired by the will to live in freedom and by the example of their ancestors. To speak of national spirit or specifics does not necessarily mean giving in to idealism or nationalism. Patriotic traditions have played, and continue to play, a tremendous part in the struggle for independence. However, there is also a much more significant factor in shaping the people's social consciousness. It is the patriotism of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries. This highly important new phenomenon in modern Vietnamese history arose during the war against French colonialism and has been developing in the war against U.S. imperialism.

Heroic path

In 1884 the Hue dynasty legitimized the status of Vietnam as a French protectorate. Thereupon the struggle for independence became also a fight against the feudal system and the privileges of the handful of landed proprietors who had made an open deal with the colonialists. Nevertheless, the masses were slow to grasp social reality and it took a long time to expose the conciliatory nationalism and form a political vanguard of the working class equipped with a genuinely revolutionary theory.

This vanguard, the Communist Party of Vietnam,* entered the political scene in February 1930.

Ho Chi Minh played an outstanding role in the ideological and political quests preceding the founding of the Party. A participant in the French labor movement and a functionary of the Comintern, he at once saw the historic significance of the October Revolution. His books, pamphlets and articles exposed the French colonialists' brutality in Indochina and the meaning of their 'civilizing' mission. 'Under the guise of democracy,' he wrote in 1924, 'French imperialism has transplanted to the country of Annam the whole accursed system of the Middle Ages, including taxes, and the Annamese peasant is crucified between the bayonet of capitalist civilization

*Renamed the Communist Party of Indochina in October 1930 and given its present name, Working People's Party of Vietnam, in February 1951.

and the cross of a prostituted Christianity.* Great credit is due to Ho Chi Minh for spreading Marxism-Leninism in Indochina and creatively applying it in the conditions of his country.

'In "Left-Wing" Communism - an Infantile Disorder,' said Nguyen Van Phung, member of the Commission for Party History of the CC WPPV, 'Lenin notes that Russia achieved Marxism through agony and suffering. That is also true of our country. Ho Chi Minh, speaking of his own experience, said how deeply he was impressed by Lenin's theses on the national and colonial problem, approved by the Comintern. And he was convinced that the road to freedom for our country led through proletarian revolution. Ever since then Marxism-Leninism has been gaining ground among all social strata involved in the anti-colonialist movement. And while the working class was small - 225,000 in all, or about 1.5 per cent of the population - it assumed the leading role in the revolution.'

Among the numerous historical records on display at the Museum of the Revolution in Hanoi is a facsimile of instructions from the colonial authorities insisting on the need to prevent the distribution of Lenin's writings and the activity of people associated with the Comintern. This goes to show that the WPPV has from its inception been closely linked with the world Communist movement.

By founding the Communist Party of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh and his associates not only completed a difficult search for an ideological and political program, but laid a real groundwork for the unity of all patriotic, anti-imperialist forces. As a result, many people of petty-bourgeois origin (the peasants have been, and still are, the largest class in the country) adopted Marxism-Leninism and joined the Communist Party, while others, true patriots and anti-colonialists, became loyal allies of the working people. In this way the CP-led revolutionary movement drew closer to the general democratic movement inspired by progressive organizations.

During the political events, big strikes and peasant revolts of the thirties, the Communist Party showed itself to be equal to leading the national democratic revolution, forging the worker-peasant alliance and uniting the forces seeking independence and social progress for the country. A mere fifteen years after it was founded the Party brought about the victory of the people's democratic revolution in Southeast Asia.

The Party came to power in August 1945, as a result of the people's victorious rising. It had only 5,000 members at the time, while now it is the greatest political force.

'The Party has over a million members,' Hoang Tung, Alternate Member of the CC WPPV, chief editor of *Nhan Dan* (The People), the Party's main newspaper, told us. 'Its organizations are in the forefront of the struggle of the masses. The number of Party members who have lost their life in struggle is by now as large as that of the living. Every fallen Communist is succeeded by a new one.'

*Ho Chi Minh, *Paginas escogidas*. Instituto del Libro, Havana, 1968. p. 81.

It may be recalled that Ho Chi Minh spent over 30 years in exile, served many years in prison and was sentenced to death in absentia by the French colonial administration. Tran Phu, the first General Secretary of the CP of Indochina, died of consumption in jail. Le Hong Phong was tortured to death and Nguyen Van Cu was executed – both were general secretaries at various times.

Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC WPPV, was in prison for over ten years, and did hard labor part of this time. Speaking of the Party's heroic path, he stressed: 'Our Party, which has gone through forty years of struggle in exceedingly difficult conditions, both legal and illegal, in armed battles and in political struggle, has always enjoyed the people's unqualified confidence and love and received help from them everywhere and at all times, both before and after taking power. The Party has always lived up to its mission of revolutionary vanguard. It has fearlessly overcome hundreds of dangers and swept away thousands of obstacles, heroically fulfilling the sacred mission assigned to it by history, class and nation.'

Every new applicant for Party membership today must be recommended by two Party members, whereupon his application is generally discussed at a meeting of non-Party people. In the armed forces, members are admitted after a battle, with careful consideration of their conduct and record.

There are now two tasks requiring daily attention. At a time when fighting the U.S. aggressors and economic rehabilitation and development take up all of people's time, and when the Party is continuously reinforced by young people (they are more numerous in the Party than older people), it is hard to give Communists consequent and substantial theoretical training. On the other hand, the bulk of the Party membership has no opportunity to study economic problems, laws or management.

'There has never been a period since we won power,' said Hoang Tung with justifiable bitterness, 'in which we could fully concentrate on building socialism.'

It is interesting to note that numerically the Party membership exceeds the working class.* When the Comintern was taking form and work was going on to frame its policy towards the colonial and dependent countries, the hundreds of millions who lived in these countries and were rising to make history, Lenin set before the Communists of the East the difficult task of adapting 'the Communist Party (its membership, special tasks) to the level of the peasant countries of the colonial East (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 42, p. 202). Fighting petty-bourgeois influence and strengthening the ideological positions of the working class have always been a key concern of the Party and its leadership. Looking back from the

*'Ours is a mass party having hundreds of thousands of members,' Ho Chi Minh wrote in 1958. 'Due to our history, most Party members in our country come from a petty-bourgeois milieu. There is nothing surprising about this. Some Party members, being influenced by bourgeois ideology, did not take a firm stand at first and had vague convictions and incorrect views. In the course of the revolution and the war of Resistance, however, our Party members became on the whole good Communists devoted to the Party and the revolution.'

standpoint of today's heroic struggle of Vietnam, we can say that the WPPV tackled the very fundamentals of the problem and its experience is an international asset of the Communist movement.

Some points of strategy and tactics

Asked about the distinctive features of WPPV policy, Hong Chuong replied: 'There is nothing special as far as the main thing is concerned. Our Party, the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties all have common teachers – Marx, Engels, Lenin – a common goal – socialism and communism – and a common basis, which is our mainstay – the working class. However, our starting point was different. For instance, our people skipped two formations – slave-owning and capitalism. Hence the numerous new and complicated problems. We firmly adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and take account of the experience of other countries, but we cannot borrow it mechanically.'

Vietnam's Communists stress that they owe their gains in struggle and in unifying the people primarily to the fact that they raised the national banner as soon as the Party was founded and have been carrying it for decades.

First a word about the socio-economic conditions in which the WPPV began to operate.

Capitalism in Vietnam never went beyond the embryonic stage. Nguyen Van Phung, the historian mentioned earlier, told us that when people's democratic revolutions triumphed in Asia industry accounted for 17 per cent of the national product in China, 20 per cent in Korea and a mere 1.5 per cent in Vietnam in the first year of peaceful development (1955).

The country was a semi-feudal colony before the August Revolution. If we put aside what the socialist system has accomplished in an atmosphere of unceasing war, it is manifest even today that the sole vestiges of the French presence in Hanoi and other cities are the buildings of the one-time colonial administration and the residence of big merchants (plus huge pill-boxes, those monstrous blocks of reinforced concrete rising at strategic road and street crossings, at bridgeheads and overpasses).

Vietnam's Communists correctly appraised the situation in the country and the nature of the national liberation movement. Having analyzed them in a thoroughly internationalist spirit, they came to the conclusion that the Vietnamese revolution was a bourgeois democratic revolution of a new type led by the working class. This definition, given when the Central Committee held its early plenums, was subsequently extended to emphasize the national, democratic and popular content of the revolution, which became a socialist revolution as it developed.

In evolving their policy line, the Communists always kept step with the changes in the revolution. This enabled them to set tactical and strategic objectives in strict accordance with the requirements of the political situation.

During the world-wide offensive of fascism, which in Asia was spearheaded by the Japanese militarists, the Party responded to the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern by calling for a Democratic Front of Indochina (1936-1939). The result was that the Party, though still very young, succeeded in forming and training a political army comprising millions of people in town and country.

The strategic slogan of national liberation gained priority at the beginning of World War II. And when the Japanese moved into Indochina, Vietnam's Communists refused to confine themselves to the role of onlookers and resolved that the Party must lead a rising to seize power. Armed action in 1940 and early 1941 showed that the slogan accorded with the mood of the masses.

The patriots and revolutionaries of Vietnam defeated and isolated the invaders and their henchmen and formed a worker-peasant alliance. They revealed to the people the need for national unity, which found organizational and political expression in the Viet Minh (League of Struggle for the Independence of Vietnam)* front. In August 1945, when the Japanese surrendered to the Soviet Army and the Allies, the Party called for a general rising, which triumphed in Hanoi on August 19, Hue August 23 and Saigon August 25. On September 2, 1945 the Democratic Republic of Vietnam came into being.

The Party has always sought to rally large segments of society – including the national bourgeoisie and even members of the French colonial administration (under Japanese occupation, for example) – to its slogans on the basis of a durable worker-peasant alliance. It has sought the unity of the population of all the three strategic areas of the country (as they are called here), that is, the cities, countryside and mountain areas, all nationalities (there are over 60 nationalities and ethnic groups) and people professing diverse religions – Buddhists, Christians, Moslems, Confucians and others.

'There are twelve nationalities in this province,' Tran Quoc Lan, member of the Party organization's standing committee and head of the propaganda department in Quang Ninh Province, told us. 'The Han, for instance, make up 23 per cent of the population. Our propaganda media include the press, radio, art groups and cultural centers. All our functionaries speak the languages of the nationalities among whom they work and must help promote their culture, education and folk art. It is not a small job in our conditions to translate propaganda and information materials into other languages, such as Chinese, without drawing on outside help, but we do it.'

You cannot impose your leading role on the people, Communists argue, but must win it through work and selfless devotion to the people and country.

'The Party and the masses are committed to a common cause,' said Pham Hong Thi, deputy secretary of the Party organization in

*In May 1946 the Lien Viet (National League of Vietnam) was formed on a broader basis.

Hoa Loc Commune. 'No Party member must ever forget the people's interests. The Party explains its policy to the working people and shows them the prospects for the future. In turn, we heed criticisms from the peasants.'

'You mustn't imagine,' Ho Chi Minh warned Party members, 'that you have only to paint the word "Communist" on your forehead to win the love of the masses.' The Party has led the people's broad patriotic front without advertising its role, but making sure that the prestige it won was a logical result of its contribution, stressing that its slogans and the measures it strove to carry out were prompted by the people's pressing needs. This also reduced the opportunities for anti-Communist provocation and slander. Furthermore, there is the noteworthy fact that while the Party has been in power since 1945, the question of founding a legal WPPV was not raised until 1951, or six years later.

The U.S. imperialists today fling accusations at both the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the DRV, alleging that the proposal for a coalition government in South Vietnam is a deception and that whoever joined that government would immediately find himself under Communist control. We think this allegation is refuted by history and the Vietnamese Communists' entire activity. After all, none but the WPPV achieved such close unity of all national movements that long years of harsh trial have failed to shake it. It is a unity based on mutual respect of the component forces of the alliance and on respect for all rights and democratic guarantees in spite of the extraordinary conditions created by the war.

It would be wrong and one-sided to see the Vietnamese people's struggle as solely an armed conflict. The Vietnamese comrades deny this view, stressing that the conflict in Vietnam is between revolution and counter-revolution and the forms of struggle cannot therefore be restricted to the use of armed force alone.

'Armed struggle is important but it isn't all,' we were told by Hong Chuong of the journal *Hoc Tap*. 'You can hardly expect to win without closely combining armed with political struggle. There were armed movements in Malaya, Burma and the Philippines for a score of years but they couldn't win. We've been fighting for over thirty years but we neither idealize nor absolutize armed struggle.'

The depth and strength of a revolution depend on how much it involves the masses. Vietnam's Communists use every form of struggle to encourage popular activity. They lean on both the workers and peasants for support.

The forms of struggle are improved as circumstances change and the enemy learns the lessons of his setbacks. The U.S. aggressors are bound to lose the battle, in particular because globally they are dogmatists incapable of taking account of all the motive powers of the revolution, which cannot be measured either arithmetically or by computers.

It was said, for example, that the Americans studied the theory of 'popular warfare' and took appropriate counter-measures. In

South Vietnam, knowing that the partisans were 'like fish in water' among the peasants, they began building 'strategic hamlets', expecting 'to drain off the water' thereby and to catch 'the partisan fish.'

'But we fight in our own way,' we were told, 'so that the enemy can't adjust to our methods. We continuously introduce new elements.'

Indeed, it is recognized by all, the Americans included, that the strength and scope of the offensive launched by the patriots of South Vietnam in the spring of 1972 surpassed all expectations. What was new among other things was that the enemy came up against well-organized units with up-to-date weapons, including heavy arms.* The fact that these arms were delivered to the battlefield in such quantities and virtually undetected, and that they were used unexpectedly, speaks for itself.

Victories are planned beforehand, of course. We saw that at an exhibition in Hanoi. Skilfully executed mock-ups marked the progress of the big battles fought in 1970-1971 for No. 9 Route, the Ho Chi Minh Trail, the Khe Sanh base and other objectives. The puppet troops of Saigon, Laos and Cambodia, who were supported by superbombers, helicopters, guns and tanks, lost tens of thousands of men and officers in those battles. Prominent among the exhibits are Soviet armor and artillery, as well as machine-guns and small arms supplied by other socialist countries. These weapons helped in achieving signal victories in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Even these few references to the Vietnamese Communists' strategy and tactics suggest that revolutionary strategy must be based on reality and the experience of the masses and their vanguard party. They show that one cannot make a dogma, an absolute, of any particular form of struggle or means of achieving victory. Lastly, account must be taken of the universally valid lessons of other revolutionary processes. Indeed, revolutionary ideas cannot be the exclusive property of one people nor limited to national bounds. The experience of the Vietnamese revolution is interesting and important, both theoretically and practically.

'Vietnam shall win'

'The countries of the East,' Ho Chi Minh noted in his article 'The Russian Revolution and the Colonial Peoples,' written before the Party was founded, 'are subjugated by capitalism and imperialism. But despite their vast numbers, which is what makes them strong, these oppressed peoples have never made a serious attempt at self-determination, that is, they have yet to realize the significance

*Nguyen Thi Binh, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and former deputy commander-in-chief of the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of South Vietnam, was asked by *Le Nouvel Observateur*, the French magazine, whether the use of heavy and powerful arms implied that the patriots were now counting less on a mass rising. 'A people's war may change in form,' Nguyen Thi Binh replied, 'but does not cease to be a people's war. Does anyone want to doom our army to immaturity and infantilism, and to fighting with bare hands as in the past?'

of international solidarity and could not unite for struggle. They have no international links.'

Credit is due to the Communists of Vietnam for establishing political and spiritual links with the world Communist movement from the first. However, the Vietnamese revolution lacked strong material ties with the socialist community for a long time – diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and China were not established until 1950.

The Vietnamese comrades stressed that their revolution is part of the world revolution, and that the WPPV is a component of the world Communist and working-class movement. Vietnam's gains and victories are inseparable from the enormous aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, from the internationalist support of the Communist movement and all progressive forces.

'We have been waging this war by ourselves, with our own hands, from the very beginning,' said Hoang Tung. 'But of course we have a vast hinterland, the socialist countries. We are using their arms. We cannot win without their help or the help of the world's progressives.'

'We rely on our own strength and at the same time set great store by the aid given to Vietnam,' said Nguyen Van Tran, Secretary of the CC WPPV, in the closing interview.

Our interlocutors stressed the importance for Vietnam of close unity of all brother parties and all socialist countries. Nationalism today is a great danger to the Communist movement. The WPPV educates its members and the people as patriots and internationalists.

The green top of a mountain rising not far from the famous Hamrong bridge displays a slogan which can be seen from afar, even by U.S. flyers crossing into the country's air space. These men do not speak Vietnamese but they know that the huge white letters on the mountain say: 'Vietnam shall win.'

What is behind this certainty? It is the heroic record of a people who will never surrender their independence; the socialist system, which has transformed patriotism into an effective weapon uniting the people in a close-knit family of fighters; the existence of a party whose wisdom and efficiency, courage and sacrifices, have earned it the right to be the real leader of the people and nation; the solidarity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement with fighting Vietnam. Their aid and support will never fail, because for every Communist it is his honor and duty to stand by Vietnam's side.

Carlos Alba
Alexei Masyagin



Positivist 'philosophy of science' versus science

Vladimir Ruml

For many decades logical positivism, otherwise called the 'philosophy of science,' was prominent among the various schools of contemporary bourgeois philosophy treating of knowledge. Its ideas influenced many intellectuals engaged in research or management in capitalist countries. And while the 60s saw signs of its decline, it still exerts considerable influence on bourgeois philosophical thought. Many bourgeois scholars who are not adherents of logical positivism and, indeed, challenge it, have nevertheless, borrowed its ideas on the nature of physical reality, the characteristics of logical-mathematical knowledge, the essence of science, and so on.

The emergence and evolution of logical positivism largely reflect the general features of the crisis of modern bourgeois philosophy. The bourgeoisie uses the ideas of this school against Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Hence the continued relevance of their critical analysis from the positions of Marxist philosophy.

I.

The concept of logical positivism in its basic features was worked out in the twenties and early thirties by members of the so-called Vienna circle and followers in Britain, the United States, Czechoslovakia, France and other countries.*

At that time, the latest revolution in natural science and the concomitant crisis of physics had brought to the fore the logical-methodological problem of scientific research. The development of the theory of relativity and quantum mechanics gave rise to controversies focused on the very foundations of science and knowledge, the essence and structure of scientific theories and their connection with experience.

In the course of these discussions logical positivists insisted on separating scientific problems from 'pseudo-problems,' among which they classed the fundamental question of philosophy and, in

*Among the more prominent members of this school were Moritz Schlick, Rudolf Carnap, O. Neurath, C. Hempel, Karl Popper, Philipp Frank and Hans Reichenbach. The works of Ludwig Wittgenstein and Bertrand Russell played a big role in the emergence of logical positivism.

general, all problems bearing on the nature of reality. They described philosophy as an 'ideologically neutral,' or extra-ideological, form of theoretical consciousness. Its function, as they saw it, was to analyze the language of science by means of mathematical logic. To engage in philosophy, wrote Rudolf Carnap, one of the pillars of logical positivism, means elucidating the concepts and statements of science through logical analysis.*

A major epistemological source of this conception of philosophy were the real methodological difficulties encountered by natural science until the thirties of this century. They could be overcome, in the logical positivists' view, by constructing an artificial, formalized language of science; secondly, by subjecting the methods of scientific research to logical analysis, as well as by analyzing the relationship between the theoretical and empirical levels of knowledge. Another source was the development of mathematical logic and the mathematicalization of science in general. This philosophical method based on logical-mathematical analysis, which Bertrand Russell evolved in 1912-1924, was posed as a strict, conclusive method of solving theoretical problems against the 'hazy' arguments of speculative philosophy.

These traits of neo-positivism are one of the reasons for its popularity among many bourgeois scientists with but vague philosophical views, who give credit to the logical positivists for the mere fact that they have taught philosophy to speak a language familiar to scientists about problems of interest. The notion of the 'ideological neutrality,' or 'extra-ideological' nature as it were, of philosophy, and the idea of removing social problems from the realm of science appealed to petty-bourgeois intellectuals, who are inclined to be apolitical.

But this was also logical positivism's heel of Achilles. The efforts of its exponents towards equipping philosophy with the methodological apparatus of the natural sciences resulted in the negation of philosophy as a science. Logical positivism is essentially unscientific and unphilosophical. This may seem a surprising conclusion at first sight, for in its treatment of philosophy logical positivism did proceed from the real requirements of the natural sciences and sought to make it scientifically sound and 'respectable.'

Undoubtedly, analyzing the language of science by the methods of mathematical logic is a real and not imaginary problem. Numerous logical positivists were eminent specialists in the fields of formal logic and mathematics and contributed to the elaboration of a number of concrete logical-methodological problems of specific sciences. It would be wrong to deny the role of formal mathematical, cybernetic or semiotic methods in science in general. Marx stressed the vast importance, as his 'Mathematical Manuscripts' show. Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and *Philosophical Notebooks* contain a number of comments of fundamental significance on the nature and role of mathematical knowledge.

*Rudolf Carnap, 'Die alte und neue Logik.' *Erkenntnis*, Ig. 1930, Heft 1, S. 23.

The fundamental fault of logical positivism is not that it has tackled the above problems but that it extends research methods and devices suitable and effective in solving definite problems to cognitive activity and culture as a whole. It discounts all spheres of spiritual activity not directly concerned with the development of exact knowledge and drastically narrows the content of philosophy. It presents even formal logic as no more than a fruit of speculation.

It is only dialectical materialism, which summed up and assessed the previous development of man's spiritual and practical activity and disclosed the primacy of socio-historical practice over theory, which provides the key to the question of the essence of philosophy and its relationship to science. Specialized scientific investigations and philosophical generalizations are qualitatively different, albeit interrelated, aspects of human knowledge, which reflects inexhaustible objective reality ever more deeply. Philosophy theoretically generalizes every human activity – production and social practice, the achievements of science, technology and culture. In this way by taking a materialist approach to the relationship between thought and being, it reveals the more general development of laws of nature, society and knowledge and presents a comprehensive picture of reality. Marxist-Leninist philosophy is the only genuinely scientific ideology. It is closely linked with social practice, whose development laws it reveals, and expresses the interests of the working class. It is inseparably linked with the special social and natural sciences, which supply it with material for generalizations and which it, in turn, equips with a scientific methodology and world outlook enabling scientists intelligently to approach the general problems of their sciences. The development of scientific knowledge, far from causing the break-up of philosophy as a world outlook, enhances its role to an unprecedented extent.

Reducing the subject of philosophy to logical analysis of the language of science makes it impossible to investigate the essence of objective reality and its reflection in human consciousness. Yet this is needed to answer the question: What is science and scientific knowledge? Nor is that all. Contrary to their claims of ideological 'neutrality' and rejection of metaphysics, logical positivists have worked out a system which even their bourgeois colleagues rightly describe as a brand of metaphysics and which represents a very definite trend of class ideology. Let us examine its main features.

One of the main epistemological problems of logical positivism is that of the correlation between theoretical and empirical knowledge. 'The central problem of the philosophy of science,' wrote Philipp Frank, 'is how we proceed from the affirmations of everyday common sense to general scientific principles.'* In solving it, logical positivists put forward several ideas fundamental to their philosophy.

*P. Frank, *The Philosophy of Science*, In Russian. Moscow, 1960, p. 56.

Reductionism. Logical positivism maintained that theoretical knowledge is reducible to the immediate sensory data of the individual, which constitute the foundation of scientific knowledge. By dismissing the question of the objective basis of the content of consciousness as meaningless, they logically arrived at subjective idealism which in their case took the veiled form of objectivisation of the subjective, subjective constructions from sensations being seen as objects.

To avoid the blind alley into which subjectivism leads, logical positivists sought to provide a 'scientific' answer to the question of the nature of the objective within the framework of their concepts. The question facing them was: if the psychic experience of the individual is the starting point of scientific knowledge why is it something more than the individual's emotions?

Initially they tried to resolve the problem by Carnap's method of logical construction of concepts* which consists in establishing structural similarities in the impressions of different people. Subsequently they formulated the methodological requirement that methods of formal logic be used to translate the statements of all concrete sciences containing descriptive terms into statements containing only physical terms. According to the exponents of this approach, known as physicalism, it is generally only those expressions in the language of any science which are translatable into the language of physics that have meaning.

However, all attempts to realize the physicalist program failed, and in the mid-fifties Carnap conceded the impossibility of reducing theoretical terms to terms of the language of observation. This meant that notable changes had taken place in the position of logical positivism.

The shift, however, was not in the direction of materialism. It all boiled down to attempts to overcome real theoretical difficulties by formulating them as the linguistic problem of choosing or perfecting the language of science.

Doctrine of the language and nature of logic. Emphasis was laid on restricting the mission of philosophy to the elaboration of a logical syntax of scientific language, because all meaningful philosophical problems relate to syntax.** This implied the formal theory of scientific language structure laying down the rules by which expressions permissible in it are formed and the relations between them regulated. The choice of initial language axioms and rules was described as a question of agreement, of convention.

However, the development of logic as an independent scientific discipline furnished convincing proof that its content cannot be reduced to syntax. This made it necessary to complement the doctrine of logical syntax with semantics, that is, the theory treating of relations between language expressions and the extralinguistics entities to which they refer.

It should be said from the outset that the study of the meaning

*See R. Carnap, *Der logische Aufbau der Welt*. Berlin, 1928.

**See R. Carnap, *Logische Syntax der Sprache*. Wien, 1934, So. 205.

of linguistic expressions, specification of such concepts as 'meaning,' 'synonymity,' 'logical sequence,' etc., are in themselves real problems which are the concern of logical semantics and are no less valid than the problems of logical syntax. Semantic problems also arise when a formal system is interpreted, that is, correlated with a meaningful theory or object sphere. However, logical positivists interpreted the development of logical semantics in terms of sign fetishism reducing the whole problem of epistemology to a comparison of diverse sign systems. Yet investigation of the relations between signs by means of logic does not, and cannot, replace investigation of the process of cognition by specifically philosophical methods.

Formal logic does not study the laws of development of knowledge and, indeed, abstracts itself from it in working out its methods and its conceptual apparatus. However, to grasp the objective world in its diversity and in the complexity of its connections and relations, it is essential to see the objectives to be cognized as they exist independently of the cognizing subject, that is, in their contradictory mutation and development. Consequently, science needs a philosophical method enabling it to explain the specifics of scientific knowledge and devise ways and means of revealing the dialectics of the cognitive process in its advance towards objective truth. The philosophical method corresponding to the level of modern science is materialist dialectics, for its laws reflect the more general laws of development of the surrounding world. This method is also valid for the totality of special sciences. Conscious use of the methods and forms of mental activity enable the investigator to know the objective world and discover the real dialectics of things and processes.

Logical positivists interpret logical and mathematical assertions as analytical ones, i.e., as assertions whose truth is determined by the meaning and relationship of the logical terms they contain and does not depend on experience. In their view, they contain no information about the outer world and in this sense are *a priori*.

This conception contradicts scientific practice. Although the relation between the truths of logic and mathematics and the external world is indirect, they are revealed in man's practical activity and fixed in his consciousness. 'Logic,' wrote Lenin, 'is the science . . . of the laws of development . . . of the entire concrete content of the world and of its cognition, i.e., the sum-total, the conclusion of the history of knowledge of the world.' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 38, pp. 92-93.)

The *verification principle* of the logical positivists consists in establishing the meaning of statements of the language of science by comparing them with the observer's sensory experience. If a statement cannot be compared with experience directly, logical analysis should be used to arrive at a statement capable of comparison. If a statement cannot be compared with experience either directly or indirectly, it is considered to be devoid of scientific

meaning. 'The meaning of a statement,' wrote Moritz Schlick, 'is the method of its verification.'*

As conceived by the members of the Vienna circle, the verification principle was designed to resolve the problem of the scientific meaningfulness of the assertions to be verified. But it proved unsuitable for this. In particular, the transition from empirical data to theoretical generalizations and the verification of the latter are of a very complex nature and have certain aspects which do not fit into the narrow framework of the verification principle and can be successfully investigated only from the positions of the dialectical materialist doctrine of practice as the criterion of truth.

In searching for a way out, logical positivists proposed 'loose' variants of the verification principle. However, none of their attempts brought them closer to their goal, primarily because logical positivism remained true to the thesis that genuine knowledge of the world can only be empirical knowledge expressed in terms of direct observation. This led to the conclusion that scientific cognition consisted essentially in establishing the relationships between experimental data while theoretical knowledge played the purely auxiliary role of a means of processing and conceptualizing empirical information.

It follows that theoretical concepts, unlike observation terms, have no real content, nothing corresponds to them in reality and they are no more than logical constructions convenient for purely technical purposes.

Dialectical materialism has shown that human practice transforming nature and society is the point of departure and criterion of knowledge. Practice, or material activity subordinated to objective laws, is where the unity of subject and object originates and where the 'logic of ideas' and the 'logic of things' coincide, the latter playing the determining role. The activity of consciousness is not arbitrary, it springs from the objectively conditioned dialectics of reflection and is aimed at increasingly revealing the truth.

Marxist philosophy regards science as a developing theoretical system which reflects objective reality ever more faithfully, taking into full account the relative independence of the development of scientific cognition itself. The Marxist conception of science is characterized by unity of investigation of the internal and external aspects of the development of science, by unity of the analysis of the formal and meaningful characteristics of scientific knowledge.

II. Logical positivism exerted considerable influence on bourgeois sociological thought, even though only a few of its prominent exponents concerned themselves with sociology. First among them was O. Neurath (Britain), author of the concept of 'empirical' sociology. According to Neurath, sociology studies human behavior and since behavior is a spatio-temporal relationship, social phenomena can be studied by the methods of natural science. The lan-

*M. Schlick, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Wien, 1938, S. 340.

guage of physics or the language of behaviorism could also serve as a basis for scientific sociology.

This conception denies the differences between social sciences and natural sciences and tends to employ primarily quantitative and behaviorist methods in sociology. This position was taken by P. Lazarsfeld, G. Lundberg and other American sociologists. According to these authors, the scientific and practical functions of sociology, far from being interconnected, are to a degree mutually exclusive because interference in social conflicts by a sociologist prevents him from conducting an objective, unbiased investigation. They therefore expect the sociologist's position to be that of 'pure science.'

Logical positivism fostered the formation of the concept that sociology is 'social engineering' designed to provide ways and means of controlling human behaviour, whereas the purpose of this control is determined outside this process. In practice this means justifying the participation of sociologists in activity aimed at maintaining the normal functioning of bourgeois society by counterposing the means of control, which led themselves to scientific analysis, to the purposes of this control, alleged to lie in principle outside scientific knowledge.

The fact of the matter is that in a class society every social investigation bears the imprint of the investigator's ideological orientation. Whether he realizes it or not, the interests and values of his social class or group affect his presentation of the problem, the nature of his investigation and his generalizations.

In the latter fifties logical positivists proceeded to a partial revision of their ideas about the nature of social knowledge. They are now prepared to concede the real significance of subjective intentions, goals, values and orientations in social investigations. However, present-day exponents of the 'philosophy of science' dealing with these questions (E. Nagel, C. Hempel, K. Popper, M. White, M. Scriven and others, mostly in the United States) associate the specifics of social knowledge with only its origin and applications. In their view, such logical-methodological problems of sociological analysis as moving from empirical data to generalizations, the advancement and verification of hypotheses, the structure of theories, the formation of concepts, explanation, etc., can be fully resolved on the general principles of the philosophy of science, said to be free of any ideological overtones or value orientations.

The approach which concentrates on the conditions of logical correctness of social knowledge overlooks the fact that these conditions are not the only criterion of knowledge. Marxism-Leninism has shown that genuine scientific social knowledge is inseparable from class interests, and one of the methodological tasks of the social sciences is to show how the investigator's class position influences his advance to the objective truth — whether it helps or hinders his advance.

Logical positivists in the person of the British sociologist and

logician, Karl Popper, also paid tribute to the philosophy of history. Popper advanced the thesis that operating in society are tendencies and not laws, and that these tendencies do not conform to any laws – a conclusion deriving from the positivist negation of the specifics of knowledge of social life, on the one hand, and negation of the objective need of its specifically social form, on the other.

It is from these 'theoretical' positions that Popper attacks Marxism, which has scientifically established the laws of social development. Popper dismisses policies based on the principles and conclusions of Marxism-Leninism as utopian and counters them with 'social engineering,' which he interprets as 'improving' society, not by political means, but through minor administrative reforms that do not affect the substance of the existing social system. He rejects Marx's theory of class struggle and explains the nature and trend of development of social institutions from the point of view of the theory of social antipodes – the 'open' (i.e., capitalist) and the 'closed' (i.e., socialist) societies. The function of this theory, which presents socialism and communism as an authoritarian system, in the arsenal of anti-communism is well known. It reveals the falsity of the positivists' claims that their doctrine is ideologically 'neutral.'*

III. As the inadequacy of logical positivist's interpretation of scientific knowledge became more and more obvious philosophers close to positivism felt ever more strongly that it was no more than a variety of the 'metaphysics' it criticized. Realization of this fact stimulated the activity of schools and trends which, while remaining in the mainstream of positivism rejected a number of important theses of its logical variety.

The most influential of these schools is the philosophy of linguistic analysis which emerged in Britain after World War II (J. Austin, G. Ryle, J. Wisdom, P. Strawson, and others). It came into being under the impact of L. Wittgenstein's works of the thirties and forties. Linguistic analysts rejected the verification principle, the reductionism thesis and the view on science as an ideal model of any type of thinking. They hold that philosophical problems spring from the semantic vagueness of common, everyday language, not of an artificial, formalized language. The linguistic positivists of Britain and their brethren in the United States (the 'general semanticists') peddle absurd recipes of arbitrary intervention in the structure and semantics of 'natural' national, current languages. Another school, that of so-called logical pragmatism (W. Quine, N. Goodman, A. Pap and others in the United States), opposes the rigid differentiation of the analytical truths of logic and mathematics and the synthetic assertions of the experimental sciences from a semi-pragmatic, i.e., likewise subjective, standpoint. There are some other schools of 'philosophy of science' which, however, do not go

*For a detailed critical analysis and refutation of this theory, see *The Open Philosophy and the Open Society* by the British Marxist Maurice Cornforth.

beyond seeing philosophy as an analysis of the linguistic means of cognition or depart from this view but slightly.

The example of logical positivism shows that in our time philosophical conceptions advocating 'pure' science or 'non-alignment' play a very definite class role. Regardless of the concrete forms of this or that philosophical school or the subjective intentions of its adherents, this role is determined by the objective content of their doctrine. One finds among logical positivists people whose socio-political views are not frankly reactionary. However, anyone who deliberately sets out to 'rid' philosophy of ideological aspects or dismisses important social problems as 'irrelevant' to science is objectively paving the way for schools opposed to the scientific conception of nature and society, which means, in the last resort, serving the interests of the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

At the turn of the century, Lenin joined issue with the contemporary brand of positivism known as Machism. 'Behind the epistemological scholasticism of empirio-criticism,' he wrote, 'one must not fail to see the struggle of parties in philosophy, a struggle which in the last analysis reflects the tendencies and ideology of the antagonistic classes in modern society' (Vol. 14, p. 358). This idea is as valid as ever. It makes possible an objective assessment of the latest varieties of positivism, a sterile bloom on the tree of knowledge and an ideological weapon of reaction.



Concerns of a new state

*Interview with Bangladesh
CP leaders*

Interview with Abdus Salam, General Secretary, CP of Bangladesh; Khoka Roy, Member of Secretariat, CC CPB; Anil Mukherji, Member of Secretariat, CC CPB.*

Q: Could you say what is the social and political structure of Bangladesh?

*A: The main classes in our society are: the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, a narrow section of the middle bourgeoisie and the landlords.** There is no monopoly capitalist class in our society.*

The Awami League, the governing party, whose leadership is dominated by petty-bourgeois elements, is still highly influential among all parts of our population. The interests of the working class are represented and consequently defended by the Communist Party.

The National Awami Party led by Prof. Muzaffer Ahmed, is a party of the intelligentsia and middle-class. It has an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic program and cooperates with us closely. This party is now rapidly growing.

The split-away section of the National Awami Party headed by A. H. Bhansi, though it makes excessive political claims, represents a relatively narrow group of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, including a portion of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie. It is an ultra-Left party and plays a disruptive role in trying to undermine the prestige of the present government, doing damage to the country and, in effect, playing into the hands of imperialism and the Peking leaders' ambitious drive for hegemony. Though they criticized Chinese policy during the liberation movement, now, in their theory they closely follow the Maoist line. For example, in almost all their public speeches and writings they are attacking our friendly relations with India and the Soviet Union. In fact, all ultra-Left parties are pursuing in a way a policy which is advocated by the Chinese as well as by the Americans.

**Recorded on April 25, 1972.*

***In Bangladesh - jotedars, i.e., landlords who give their land for share-cropping.*

Q: Could you describe the strength of these organizations?

A: About Awami League, it is difficult to say the exact membership. If you ask them, some say all Bengalis are members of their party. In fact, they do not have any system of enrolled membership yet.

Q: Could you say something about the membership of the Communist Party?

During the period of illegality membership, naturally, was very restricted. Mass membership has just begun. We are sure the membership will now tremendously increase after the legality. Through the liberation struggle the Party has gained tremendous prestige in the country, and a large number of young workers, peasants and students are attracted to the Party. The Party has become the focal point of attraction for all progressive-minded people, particularly the younger generation.

Q: What about the mass organizations?

A: There are several trade-union federations. The one led by the Awami League is called Jatya Sramik League. This organization has the largest influence on the workers. They say their membership is more than one million but they have not yet announced how many trade unions belong to the Federation. Then there is another trade union under our influence, which is known as Trade Union Centre. Its membership would be round-about 100,000. One hundred ninety trade unions are affiliated to our Trade Union Centre. There is another national trade union known as Sramik Federation. This Federation is under the influence of the pro-Peking group led by Bhasani. They have influence in some pockets. For example, in Tongi, a region near Dacca, and in Chittagong. Their influence is confined mainly to some textile and jute industries.

Q: What about peasants' organizations?

A: Peasantry constitutes 85 per cent of the population of Bangladesh. Thirty per cent of the rural population is agricultural labourers. They are generally landless labourers. For a long time there was only one organization of the peasants known as Krishak Samity in which various political forces worked together. Since 1967 the Krishak Samity was made defunct by Bhasani who was President of the organization. After the liberation we revived it. Last March an all-Bangladesh peasant conference was held with participation of 2,500 delegates from all districts. Bhasani and his group refrained from attending this conference and now are sponsoring a second organization. The membership of our present organization is about 50,000. This does not include agricultural labourers.

Q: Is there no peasant organization belonging to the Awami League?

A: They really do not have one but now they talk of forming one.

Q: What are your main economic problems at present and how do you propose to overcome them?

A: The main economic problems at the moment are supplying of food to the population, to begin production in the factories. At the moment besides jute no other factories are running. There are 37

textile mills and most of them are closed. 30,000 workers are sitting idle. There is no raw material for these mills, no spare parts. So to restore production in these factories is the problem No. 1 for us.

The problem of agricultural production is equally big. The Pakistani army destroyed almost all cattle, ploughs and seeds. The government is trying to bring cattle from India but the market price there is pretty high.

We are also facing an enormous problem of transport. Pakistani army destroyed all the big bridges and ports. Their repair will take time. Soviet experts have already arrived and started clearing the Chittagong port which is our biggest port.

The problem of getting enough food is affecting most of the common people.

This year's deficit of rice is about 3 million tons. We require in Bangladesh roughly 81 million tons of rice every year. In fact Bangladesh should not have deficiency in rice. The negligence by the former Pakistani government damaged greatly our agriculture. If the problem of seed, cattle and ploughs is solved and cultivation can begin, we think the food problem will not be that acute any more. With a minimum support from the government our peasants will find ways to solve this problem.

Q: What about the land reform that the government has announced?

A: Still today 20 per cent of the agriculturists own 60 per cent of the land. Sharecropping is predominant in our agriculture. In fact, 34 per cent of our land is under the share-cropping system. These sharecroppers have to give half of their produce to the Jotedars. In North Bengal they are forced to give up two-thirds of their total harvest. They are treated in fact like slaves. In many villages a primitive feudal society is still intact.

The government has announced a ceiling of 100 bighas* on land holding. But you see it is not being implemented in practice. One thing we must mention, they have commuted rent up to 25 bighas of land holdings. This rent was a small part of the government revenue but nevertheless it was a relief for the poor peasants.

Our peasant organization has not yet given the slogan to form cooperatives. That is too early now. They have given the slogan for 'ploughing in cooperation.'

Q: You said the dominant section in the Awami League leadership is petty bourgeois. How does this reflect on the agrarian policy of the government?

A: You see the petty bourgeoisie in Bangladesh is very much related to land. They have acquired this new status in the society only since 20 or 30 years. Before that they were all Jotedars or rich peasants. Our petty bourgeois is not like the petty bourgeois in, say, West Bengal, in India who have lost all connections with land a long time ago. Here the petty bourgeoisie depends very much on the income from land. Usually they give their land for share-cropping and get their share at the end of the harvest. The intel-

*One bigha equals 0.13 hectare.

ligentsia in the towns, the students, teachers, etc., come from these families. And they are the dominating force in the ruling party of the Awami League.

The intelligentsia here is very vocal against capitalists but they are not so against the landowners. One of the important steps which the government has taken is the nationalization of all jute, cotton and sugar industries. Almost all the big capitalists who were in Bangladesh were non-Bengalis. In fact there was only one middle-ranking capitalist who was Bengali. He had a textile mill, a jute mill and a match factory. All his enterprises, together with those of the Pakistani capitalists have been nationalized and there was no difficulty in doing that. But there is none of this firmness in agrarian relations.

Q: And what about other foreign capital, apart from Pakistani?

A: Foreign capital is mainly in plantations. This sector has not been nationalized. In plantation British capital is the biggest. Tea, which comes from these plantations, is one of Bangladesh's export items. The government is apprehensive, if these plantations are nationalized we shall lose the Western market for tea.

Q: What about the ten million refugees who came back from India? How are they being settled?

A: In fact, this problem still remains to be solved. Most of them do not have even a hut. The problem of refugees, as the Party sees it, is related to the agrarian problem; agriculture could provide work for many of the refugees who came back. We are also telling the peasants that because of the dearth of cattle and ploughs it is necessary to till their land collectively. We are also asking the government to advance credit to the poor peasants so that they can have the necessary equipment to begin cultivation.

Q: In many of the speeches made by the leaders of the Bangladesh Communist Party and also in the resolutions of your Central Committee you have advanced the slogan of Bangladesh taking a non-capitalist path. Do you consider such a course possible under the leadership of the Awami League, considering, as you have said, the petty-bourgeois complexion of its leadership?

A: Yes, we do see this possibility. One thing is already clear that they have taken immediate steps to curb development of private capitalists in the industrial sector, obviously because the petty-bourgeoisie was not directly connected with this. We do not rule out the resistance which a small section will put up against this course.

Capitalists in Bangladesh by and large were the ardent supporters of Pakistani military dictatorship and almost all of them invariably sided with the Pakistan rulers in suppressing the popular movement of the Bangladesh people. In fact they themselves had discredited capitalism among the people of Bangladesh. When people here think of capitalism they are reminded of those 22 monopolies of Pakistan who ruled over them for over two decades. So a large section of our people are very much against capitalist development.

Q: The victory of Bangladesh liberation was of course a severe

blow to imperialism and local reaction, but I am sure the enemies would not take it lying down. In which way do you think they are now working?

A: That is a very pertinent question. The American imperialists, in spite of the open hostility against us, started financing relief organizations in Bangladesh even before the liberation struggle was over. They had a centre in Calcutta from where they instructed their men inside Bangladesh. At the moment there are 29 so-called relief organizations. Many of them are not handing over their relief materials to the government. They have set up their own machinery and are going even into the interior villages to distribute the relief material.

At the moment, in their pressure on our government, the Americans stress one thing, just like the Maoists, that is, Bangladesh should 'free' itself from 'Indian domination.' They are also trying to build up public sentiment against the Soviet Union. In this we see the combination of the ultra-Left and the ultra-Right. They use the same arguments and often the same language.

Q: *What are your efforts for building unity of all anti-imperialist forces?*

A: The Communist Party of Bangladesh has been trying since the beginning of the liberation struggle to form a united front of these forces. Even before the liberation struggle started it was only our Party who strove for such unity. The situation, of course, is more favorable today but we cannot say there is no difficulty any more. We are getting some response from the Awami League but there is a strong tendency inside the Awami League to go it alone. Nevertheless some joint mass actions have already started.*

The realization is now dawning that the problems facing Bangladesh are too serious to be resolved by the Awami League alone, although it is a big party.

Q: *What do you think is the perspective before Bangladesh now?*

A: In spite of all the difficulties that we have mentioned we want to conclude by saying that perspectives before the people of Bangladesh are really very bright. The people fought heroically for their liberation and through this struggle they gained rich experience. We have enough natural resources and very fertile land. We have friendly neighbors – India and the Soviet Union.

Four important things emerged from the liberation struggle: the ideology of Pakistan based on religious fanaticism has been destroyed; all the big monopolists have been eliminated; friendship with India which was virtually prohibited for two decades, has now been established on a firm footing; and then last, but not least important, is the friendship with the Soviet Union which is no more a mere slogan of the Communist Party; in fact it is being echoed all over Bangladesh today.

All this means a qualitative change in the whole political situ-

*In May a joint committee, including representatives of the Awami League, Communist Party of Bangladesh and National Awami Party, was set up to help the government in organizing relief and for settling the problems of refugees who returned from India.

ation of Bangladesh. Hence we never doubt the bright prospects before this country. Now that all objective conditions required are there, much depends on us, on how we act, build the united front and take the country ahead.

The success of the liberation struggle has not only roused national and patriotic feeling among the masses but has also enhanced the class consciousness of the working people. Now every class, the workers, the peasants, and others, are thinking in terms of their role and place in society. We are getting letters even from remote villages saying the peasants there have themselves formed organizations and want to establish contact with us. And you know in our country peasantry is the most difficult section of the population to organize. Never before have we seen such political awakening among them as we see today. The problem is how to channel this enthusiasm in the right direction, how to expand the mass organizations in the quickest possible time.

In our lifetime we have never seen such a politicalization of our people, we have never heard to much talk of socialism, though it is often vague. Today we can openly propagate scientific socialism, giving massive examples of achievements of the Soviet Union; common masses like to know more about this.

The liberation struggle at home and the role of the Soviet Union in this connection has already given a certain orientation to the future course of development and that is in our favor.

From oppression and corruption to progress

Ali Mattan Hashi

In July 1960 Somalia, a trust territory administered by Italy, merged with Somaliland, a British protectorate, to form an independent state, the Somali Republic. A backward economy, poor communications, a budget deficit, a low-standard educational system and hundreds of 'experts,' as one-time colonial officials were called, were the heritage left to our people by the two 'mother' countries.

Somali was for centuries a politically and economically unorganized society of nomads, peasants, fishermen and shopkeepers. At the close of the industrial revolution in Europe it was occupied and partitioned by imperialists, who were unconcerned about the country's socio-economic progress. This state of affairs lasted until the proclamation of independence. However, the reactionary regime

which succeeded colonial rule hardly did anything for the people.

Tribalism, corruption and nepotism were rife in the country, public funds were embezzled and the ruling elite got rich while the masses became still more impoverished.

In 1961 Aden Abdullah Osman, acting President of the Republic, appointed Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermark Prime Minister. Most ministers of the cabinet formed by Dr. Shermark were members of the nascent Somalian bourgeoisie, which had shared in the national administration during self-government. By then many puppet parties had proved ideologically and politically bankrupt and disappeared from the political scene. But some of their leaders kept their cabinet posts. Still in charge of key functions in the administration were indigenous officials appointed by the British and Italian colonialists. The new government, fearing tribal strife, did not dismiss them.

The independence of justice from the executive proclaimed by the Constitution was a dead letter. The judiciary remained in the same hands as before and the judges were closely linked with the administration by reciprocal interests. Corruption was widespread. Arrested criminals were set free the next day. A telephone call from a minister or MP was enough to release a common criminal who belonged to the caller's tribe or was an acquaintance of his. Embezzlers caught red-handed were never put on trial.

Non-governmental organizations were in a sorry state too. The more than twenty trade unions and a similar number of youth and women's organizations were controlled by agents of the reactionary regime and their activity was partly financed by foreign embassies and the reactionary trade unions of capitalist countries. The Western, especially the American, press encouraged the anarchy prevailing in Somali, and comments like 'genuine democracy in Somali' or 'an example which all Afro-Asian countries should emulate' were not infrequent in its columns.

The 'experts' who lingered in the country, including past masters in embezzlement, set out to train the new elite in the art of amassing a fortune at the people's expense. Ministers, MPs and civil servants tried to outdo one another, building villas and buying cars, land and shops.

The anti-national character of these people was only too obvious in their attitude to Soviet aid. Under the economic, technological and cultural agreements signed with Somali in 1961, the Soviet Union began to build modern agricultural complexes, hospitals, dairy and meat-packing plants, fish canneries, schools and printing plants. Somalia imported Soviet agricultural equipment needed for the mechanized state farms in construction in the Gelib and Tug Wajale areas, as well as building materials and other goods, which were resold on the home market to finance these projects.

However, the reactionary top gave scant attention to the projects. The authorities refused to cooperate with Soviet experts and technicians and made no effort to carry out approved projects.

Ministers, MPs and high-ranking officials used Soviet equipment for their own households, in particular by distributing tractors and trucks amongst themselves. As for the money which was made by reselling building materials and should have been spent on economic projects, it was embezzled or used for financing various political actions of the ruling quarters.

I recall my trip to Gelib, where an agricultural complex was going up in 1965. I was chief pilot of the aeroplane which took a government delegation to the site. I asked the head of the Soviet specialists how many workers were employed. 'That's hard to say,' he replied. 'We have 150 Somalian workers, technicians and drivers working on the project. But the payroll drawn up by the Somalian manager lists 450 employees. Tractors, bulldozers and other equipment are sent away to be used on private estates on orders from the Minister of Agriculture. The motor vehicles actually used on the project are hired from ministers and MPs. Yet many of the new Soviet vehicles, complete with spares, stand idle although they're intended for use at Gelib.'

We owe it to sustained control by Soviet specialists that some of the projects were completed after all in the face of great difficulties, resistance and abuses of the ruling quarters.

Small wonder that government projects were built very slowly and entailed fantastic outlays having nothing to do with the real cost of materials or labor power. These facts were typical of the venal administration of the time. An elementary school of three classrooms, built from local materials, cost over 300,000 Somali shillings, or over \$42,000, according to the Ministry of Education.

Politics were a short cut to wealth. Presidents were elected and Prime Ministers appointed as a result of back-stage deals by PMs and top bureaucrats. Administrative posts and votes were sold, the bargain being made publicly. He who paid more got more votes. This was an open secret. The 1969 election campaign involved 88 parties. Parties were so numerous because anyone could rally his tribesmen and found a 'party' with the sole aim of securing election to parliament. As the game was worth the candle and election expenses were more than compensated out of the Treasury in the event of election, the ambitious sold their villas and lands and motor vehicles and whatever else they could turn into money to win election. One fraud was to transfer thousands of voters from one constituency to another. Civilian and military personnel alike were granted an extraordinary leave of absence to canvass in various electoral districts. By agreement between themselves, ministers put their subordinates at the service of other ministers or MPs for the election campaign. Cabinet members bribed candidates with public money in exchange for the promise of support in parliament. Officials or party representatives empowered to supervise the vote were bribed or put out of the way if they refused to 'cooperate.'

Some electoral districts had no polling stations at all, but the boxes turned out to contain ballots with the names of candidates of the Young Somali League, the ruling party. Elsewhere the candi-

dates of other parties could not stand for election because there was an official order to block all opposition. The election degenerated into a farce. The political situation was extremely tense during the campaign and there were clashes between warring factions. Thirty-eight people were killed and 50 wounded.

After the election Mohamed Ibrahim Egal, who held pro-American views, formed a cabinet, some of whose members – former ministers – had made a fortune with public funds. On the other hand, a number of men who disapproved of the government's anti-popular policies were disgraced. Chief of Police Mohamed Abshir Mussa was dismissed and the same lot threatened the army commander. The situation in the country became intolerable.

On October 15, 1969 President Shermark was assassinated while touring the country. The subsequent five days saw an unabating struggle for power, mainly between Prime Minister Egal, Haji Mussa Bogor and Abdullahi Issa. Bogor was a spokesman of the pro-American bourgeoisie, and ex-Prime Minister and Minister Issa (1956-1960), former member of the Central Committee of the Young Somali League, represented the interests of domestic capital. In other words, all three presidential candidates were agents of the national bourgeoisie, which made no secret of its pro-imperialist orientation. The country hovered on the brink of disaster.

The people had had more than enough of rulers who for ten years had been disrupting the economy and national unity and undermining the country's prestige. They refused to stand for this any more. But where were they to seek support?

I have indicated that the trade unions did not really defend the working people's interests and as for the peasants, they could offer the regime no serious resistance on their own. The only force holding out any hope was the progressive section of the army. Army officers and most police officers realized that the country was in crisis and resolved to take its destiny into their hands.

In the small hours of October 21, 1969, troops occupied Mogadishu according to plans made beforehand. All district commanders were ordered to take power and set up local revolutionary councils. While the troops were carrying out the operation not a shot was fired nor a drop of blood shed. It was a peaceful revolution backed by the people. In a matter of hours, control of the country was assumed by the armed forces. All members of the venal government under Egal were arrested.

The Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) that was constituted under Division General Mohamed Siad Barre immediately dissolved political parties, parliament, the trade unions and student organizations and repealed the Constitution, which had never been applied anyway. A new government was formed, mostly of young progressive intellectuals and specialists.

The SRC came up against formidable socio-economic and political problems aggravated by post-colonial rule. It had to decide where to begin and what problems to tackle first.

The Treasury and bank vaults turned out to be empty. As a first

step towards ending the economic lag, it was decided to establish control over currency circulation and then over capital goods. A few months after the revolution all foreign banks, power, the sugar industry, import of fuel and most other goods and home trade in them were nationalized. This was the beginning of the country's economic progress and the gradual abolition of decayed survivals of the colonial and post-colonial period.

In October 1970 the SRC announced its choice of the only road guaranteeing socio-economic progress – the road of socialism indicated by Marx and Lenin and tested in practice by millions of people. The people of Somalia welcomed this step with enthusiasm.

The venal capitalist system could not end the people's political and socio-economic backwardness. And nothing will ever make people who want to work on their own soil in decent conditions leave the road of progress.

Madagascar revolutionary democrats

Gisele Rabesahala

One of the most interesting and significant developments in the present stage of the national liberation movement is the growing role of the revolutionary-democratic forces and their parties. We should like to contribute to its analysis by describing the experience of the AKFM,* a revolutionary-democratic party working in the specific conditions of Madagascar.**

Crisis of the neo-colonial regime

The foreign policy of President Tsiranana's government since Independence in 1960 may be described as model neo-colonialist. The economic, military and cultural 'cooperation' agreements with France subordinated national interest to the interest of the former

*Antokon'ny Kongressin'ny Fahaleovantenan'i Madagasikara – Independence Congress Party of Madagascar.

**Madagascar is approximately 500 km off the African coast. Its closest neighbors are the South African Republic, Mozambique – a Portuguese colony, the Comoro Islands, Réunion, still run by French colonialists, Mauritius, independent since 1968, a chain of small islands turned into Anglo-American military bases a few years ago (Chagos, Farquar and Aldabra), Tanzania, Kenya and Somali.

The more than seven million population is predominantly under 20 years of age (55 per cent). Population density ranges from 27 per sq. kilometre in Tananarive to 4.5 in Majunga. Some districts are almost completely isolated. Roads are poorly developed (2,500 km. asphalt, 870 cobblestone, 490 dirt), and some unusable in the rainy season. Railways total only 860 km.

Peasants make up 85 per cent of the population and according to official statistics a peasant family has an average of about 1.5 hectares of land; the average annual cash income is approximately 25,000 Malagasy francs (50 mgf = 1 French franc), but in some districts is barely 5,000 mgf. Out of the 300,000 wage- and salary-earners 30,000 are factory workers and 60,000 civil servants. The ratio of the earnings of the lowest paid groups to those of the ruling clique is 1:1,000.

colonial power. Many political parties, including the ruling Social-Democrats, demanded that they be reconsidered. The Malagasy Republic established diplomatic relations mainly with capitalist countries, including the most reactionary (Greece, Spain, Portugal). Israel, FRG, USA and the Chiang Kai-shek clique have a place of privilege. President Tsiranana's approach to the topical African problems may be judged by his 'dialogue' with the South African Republic and the economic and tourist agreements he has signed with it.

In 1971 and the beginning of 1972 the country was in a state of political and economic crisis. Its causes and consequences have been analyzed repeatedly by our Party. A statement of October 20, 1971, following the 'discovery' of yet another 'anti-government plot,' said: 'The AKFM notes that this is the seventh time since 1969 "plots" have been discovered to overthrow the government. The AKFM repeats its earlier statements that the main reason for these events is the people's growing discontent with the critical situation in the country.'

On the political scene, the crisis was marked by repressions against our countrymen in the South; lawlessness in the villages (extortion, requisitioning, forced labor, etc.); dirty politics by the administrative apparatus; denunciation and false accusation of opponents of the regime; abuse of censorship and mass information media by the ruling party.

On the socio-economic scene the crisis was marked by a chronic trade deficit, a rapidly rising cost of living, especially the spiralling price of staples, growing unemployment, and, as a consequence of this, a higher crime rate among the youth.

The AKFM holds that the disastrous situation in the country is the result of the government's capitalist orientation, which has led to the predominance of foreign monopolies in all spheres of life.

More branches of our economy were taken over by foreign companies: Americans are managing port Tamatave; Japanese are trying to monopolize the fishing industry; the French (Pechiney Co.) have taken over the bauxite mines in Manantenina; South-African capital is involved in building a port in Narinda, and De Beers is mining Malagasy diamonds. Long-term economic development plans were based on possible South-African credits.

A military alliance with the South-African racists was evidently being prepared on the specious pretext of countering what is called 'the Soviet presence' in the Indian Ocean (the imperialists keep harping on it continuously). The SAR has declared that it is prepared to cooperate with any African government with an anti-Communist platform.

All these facts were evidence of a serious threat to the country's security and were causing deep alarm.* The people are becoming

*The events on Madagascar following the writing of this article bear out this appraisal. The popular discontent with President Tsiranana's neo-colonialist regime has erupted in mass actions. A general students' strike broke out in April, demanding a revision of the surviving colonial system of education. The government retaliated by closing all schools and colleges, and arresting the student leaders. Responding to an appeal of the labor unions, workers and employees in the capital came out in support of the striking students. A demonstration of 100,000 in front of

aware of the need for change in all spheres of national life, are opposing the capitalist orientation of the ruling circles, and are increasingly conscious of the fact that the country will not attain economic independence unless it takes a socialist course.

A revolutionary internationalist party

For us the AKFM is really a revolutionary party. Suffice it to recall some of the highlights in its history. Since the beginning of French colonization in 1895, the Malagasy people fought unceasingly for independence, employing all forms, from armed resistance (1895-1905) to a movement for equality headed by the dedicated patriot Jean Ralaimongo (1921-1943).

The Democratic Movement for the Renovation of Malagasy (MDRM) came into being in 1946, proclaiming the aim of 'independence within the framework of the French union.' The movement was extremely popular and so alarmed the colonialists that they organized a police provocation in 1947. The MDRM was banned, and this was followed by brutal reprisals, costing over 90,000 lives, including those of the bulk of the leadership of the national liberation movement.

Exposure of the colonialist repressions and amnesty for those convicted in 1947 became the platform of the battle to unite the country's national forces. At the head of this drive stood the Madagascar Solidarity Committee founded in 1950 by young patriots active in the trade union movement and MDRM members who had escaped the terror. The greater part of the AKFM leadership comes from the MSC.

This was the beginning of an orientation new in form and content: two principles – internationalism and anti-imperialism – merged in the struggle against colonialism. The Committee popularized the need for *militant solidarity between the peoples of the oppressed nation and the working class of the oppressor nation*, i.e., the people of Madagascar and the French working people and all democrats, in the struggle against the common enemy – French imperialism. This was not an easy stand to take in face of the terror carried out 'in the name of the people of France.'

This period is likewise notable for the effective ties of solidarity between Malagasy democrats and the people of Africa and Asia, including the fraternal people of Reunion.

The internationalist line of the patriotic movement alarmed the

the presidential palace demanded a stop to police repressions and the president's resignation. There was support also in other towns and districts.

For three days in May the strikers were in control of the capital. The government called out the police and gendarmerie. Some 50 people were killed and hundreds wounded. Though some extremist elements caused excesses, witnesses attest that the vast majority of demonstrators behaved with restraint and discipline; for example, when the population of Tananarive came out to greet the student activists whom the government had been forced to set free.

The restraint and determination of the people had its effect. The bloodshed was stopped. The government was forced to make concessions. Although formally Tsiranana remained President, full power has been transferred to the new Prime Minister, General Ramanantsua who assured the strikers that his government would restore democratic freedoms and draft a new constitution. A revision of the policy of 'dialogue' with the SAR was announced at the end of June.

Further developments on Madagascar depend on how the new regime will fulfil its promises. –Ed.

colonialists, who launched a far-flung anti-Communist campaign. The Catholic church and groups under its influence displayed especial zeal. When political activity was again allowed on Madagascar in 1956, numerous parties appeared, and though all supported independence, the dividing line was the attitude towards anti-communism.

In 1958 a Madagascar independence congress was convened in Tamatave on the initiative of university professors and other Malagasy intellectuals. The ten parties at the congress were to draft and – the public hoped – carry out a common program for early independence. True, they did present a united front in General de Gaulle's referendum that year, calling on the people to vote 'No' and thus express itself for immediate political independence. And in spite of government pressure and manipulation, 25 per cent of the voters responded to this appeal.

But after the voting the bloc fell apart. Four parties combined to form an organization which indiscriminately opposed, as its founders declared, 'the capitalist system, dictatorship and hegemony of a single party or tribe and particularly Marxist and Communist ideas.'^{*} (Our italics – G.R.) One party proclaimed its 'neutrality,' and the remaining five founded the Independence Congress Party (AKFM), which immediately took a revolutionary stand rejecting anti-communism as something 'patriots' should not even mention, because it is a conception propagated in the interest of the colonialists.'^{**}

Four years later at its Third Congress our Party declared its adoption of the principles of scientific socialism: 'Following a study of Madagascar's economic development during the two years of independence, the Third National AKFM Congress notes that the pillars of the colonial regime have been preserved in Madagascar and that the influence of monopoly capital is growing. Nowadays, everybody recognizes the fact that only socialism is capable of assuring the country's political, economic, social and cultural progress. The AKFM stresses that our country can develop in this direction only by following scientific socialism.'^{***}

In 1967 the Fourth Congress amended Article 2 of the AKFM Rules; it reads: 'The Party is striving for the following goals:

'socialism, the only system that abolishes exploitation of man by man;

'safeguarding political independence;

'achieving economic independence;

'creation of a secular people's republic.'

For fourteen years our Party has been true to this option. The struggle to realize the program for the country's reconstruction is organically combined with the fulfilment of internationalist obligations. The AKFM is working for broader ties with progressive

^{*}Asa Vadi-Drano, November 1958.

^{**}From *What You Should Know About the Present Political Situation. Basic Principles of the AKFM*, April 1959.

^{***}Economic Resolution, 3rd AKFM Congress, Tananarive, September 1962.

movements throughout the world, and always stresses the connection between the situation abroad and at home, acquainting its members with the struggle of the peoples for freedom, democracy, peace and social progress, with the achievements of the socialist camp, and exposing anti-communism in all its forms.

The spread of nationalistic trends in some countries, which imperialism tries to exploit for its ends, stresses the significance of our Party's internationalist position.

A democratic party

Having rapidly become the country's most influential opposition party, the AKFM cooperates with such progressive democratic organizations as the Trade Union Federation of the Working People of Madagascar (affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions), the Madagascar Democratic Youth Association (affiliated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth), the Madagasy National Peace Committee (member of the World Council of Peace), and the Madagascar Solidarity Committee (member of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization).

The Party rejects all attempts to cast doubt on its broadly democratic complexion. The first of a series of pamphlets, 'The AKFM, Socialism and Communism,'* put out by the Party in Malagasy in 1966 contains a chapter headed: 'Is the AKFM a Communist Organization?' 'In reply to this question,' the pamphlet says, 'we declare that the AKFM is not a communist party. It does not hide the fact that different philosophical conceptions exist among its members and its leadership. But this does not prevent them from working together and avoiding conflicts. This we regard as one of the reasons for the Party's strength. Those who believe in the ideas of progress must be tolerant and broadminded, willing to hear different opinions and follow the wise advice of our forefathers that truth is born of argument . . . The AKFM does not deny its members the right of friendship and solidarity with democratic organizations in other countries (trade unions, peace committees, public organizations, Christian associations, etc.). On the contrary, the Party encourages such contacts . . . The Party invariably opposes anti-communism, because it contradicts its socialist orientation; the Party holds that anti-communism cannot do our country any good.'

Some in the AKFM leadership hold Marxist views, and there are also those who come to us from various organizations of a general democratic complexion. Imperialism and its local agents have always tried to take advantage of this in order to split our leadership and cause confusion among the membership. But these attempts are in vain.

Pastor Richard Andriamanjato, AKFM president since its foundation, has on many occasions denied that there is any contradic-

*This series includes the following pamphlets: 'The AKFM and Religion,' 'The Class Struggle,' 'Classes in Madagascar,' 'The Class Struggle in Madagascar.'

tion between his religious convictions and the Party's socialist orientation. In an interview for the *Realités Malgaches* in November 1970, he said: '... When analyzing political and economic facts I use the Marxist method.

The Party's democratic platform is explained in the pamphlet, 'The AKFM and Religion' (April 1966). 'In the AKFM,' it says, 'Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, followers of the cult of ancestors, and atheists all work together. They pool their efforts and knowledge, find the most acceptable solutions for the growth of the national economy, for governing the country, for the observance and protection of the rights and freedoms of all and the welfare of each . . .'. Such broad-mindedness is remarkable in a country whose true development has only just begun.

The demand for political democracy – uppermost in our practical activities – is closely associated by the Party with the people's deep-rooted historical and social traditions (for example, 'tenimiera,' the principle of discussing and taking decisions by the majority). We lean on these traditions in our efforts to introduce a proportional election system at all levels. The AKFM participates in meetings and debates between various parties and public organizations arranged by the government or the opposition, in order to arrive at a common minimum program that would lay the foundations for joint action towards economic independence in the framework of the socialist orientation. The Party supported all government actions which it believed to be consonant with this goal. However, we rejected outright any political maneuvers contradicting the nation's vital interests.

A party of the masses

Acting on democratic principles and striving to gain the support of the people, the AKFM has chosen the way of peaceful mass political action, rejecting the adventurism advocated by certain extremist groups. For this it is the target of their vicious attacks, eagerly picked up by a definite section of the foreign press. Objectively, these groups merge with Malagasy reaction, which persecuted the Party since its formation. This was done in many ways – provocations, slander, even violence against members and leaders of the AKFM. Many were killed or exiled in 1960-1966. One can only admire the courage of our comrades banished to the most remote parts of the island, where they daily suffer insults from village or block chiefs. They were even denied elementary community services just for being members of the AKFM.

In attempts to prevent the Party from expanding its mass basis, the authorities tried to impede the formation of new sections, refusing, among other things, to issue official registration papers, or jailing local activists on trumped up charges. This helps to understand the essence of the policy formulated on one occasion by

President Tsiranana: 'We allow the opposition to exist, but we do not allow it to act.'*

Most of the laws passed in the early years of independence, and other regulations concerning the citizens' rights and duties and the activities of political and public organizations, were used to suppress the people's aspirations and democratic freedoms. The rules of parties, their activities and finances, were put under the control of the government, the press was severely censored, and the least violation was punished by exile without trial. Special 'attention' was focussed on the AKFM. In many regions of the country meetings of its branches were banned since the beginning of 1971, the party minutes were checked by the authorities, and members of local AKFM sections were registered.

In spite of all this, the Party continued to expand and its prestige is growing. The AKFM has 417 sections, of which 170 are in Tananarive province, where the Merina nationality is in the majority. This is used by its enemies to accuse it of 'tribalism,' although it is common knowledge that the government was raising impediments to our activities in other, especially the coastal, provinces. The AKFM calls on all people to awaken to the fact that religious or tribal differences and prejudices, like anti-communism, only strengthen imperialist positions and hinder the country's progressive development.

Public opinion views the AKFM victories in elections in these difficult conditions as a gain for the progressive forces in the struggle for democracy. This is proved by the many messages from all parts of the country congratulating the Party following the 1969 municipal elections in Tananarive, in which the AKFM won 40 out of the 60 seats, and the 1970 elections to the National Assembly, in which the Party retained its three seats.

The Party's close ties with the masses enabled it to explain to the people why it did not participate in the presidential elections on January 30, 1972.** After analyzing the election results and the stand of various political groups, the Party stated: 'It is clear that today the AKFM is the only party true to the ideals and interests of the Malagasy people, guided by correct principles in its struggle, which it is waging on the basis of a corresponding organization and ideology . . .' That is why, whether the authorities like it or not, the AKFM is recognized at home and abroad as the only organized opposition party.

And so, the AKFM is a revolutionary-democratic party. In its work there are, of course, errors and setbacks. But no one can deny or belittle its contribution to the Malagasy people's liberation movement. The AKFM will continue to fight for our country's development along the road of democracy and social progress, in close alliance with the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

**Le Monde*, May 22, 1964.

**It was reported in the press that the opposition was deprived of all campaign facilities. The pressure put on the population and the padding of election results enabled the authorities to announce the re-election of Tsiranana - the only candidate - by a big majority. The May events, however, showed the true will of the people. - Ed.



On stage and behind the scenes

Notes from Vienna Congress of Socialist International

The 12th Congress of the Socialist International, held at the end of June in Vienna, was conceived with great pomp to demonstrate successes achieved since its 11th Congress in Eastbourne, Britain, in June 1969, and the big part it plays in international affairs. The choice of the venue in Austria was not accidental, for the Social-Democrats' advent to power there in March 1970 was proclaimed 'the beginning of the socialist age.' From the outset speeches abounded in florid references to a 'renewal of Social-Democracy,' its 'efflorescence,' and the like. *Socialist Commentary*, the journal of the British Labor Party, entitled its article on the opening of the Vienna congress, 'Social-Democracy on the Ideological Offensive,' its author A. Day, Editor-in-Chief of the Socialist International's official organ, *Socialist Affairs*, marvelling at the 'almost unprecedented strength of European democratic socialism' and 'the red belt of Social-Democratic rule' in Northern Europe, where, for the first time in history, 'all four Scandinavian countries have governments of exclusively socialist composition.' He also listed Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany, where Social-Democrats are 'senior partners of government coalitions,' Belgium and Switzerland, where Socialists hold parity in coalition governments, and, lastly, 'the southern outpost of European Social-Democracy on Malta where Dom Mintoff's Labor Party has a narrow absolute majority.'

Carried away by successes in recent elections, Day did not seem to notice that the Social-Democrats' 'almost unprecedented strength' balances in some cases on a one-vote edge (as in Malta), that in Finland and Denmark the Social-Democrats head minority governments, and that in the FRG the SDP government is having serious difficulties.

It is farthest from our minds, however, to deny that many of the parties in, or associated with, the Socialist International, are a real political force and have the support of a substantial portion of the working class. Social-Democracy has a mass basis of long standing in the developed capitalist states. Yet at its congresses the Socialist International as a rule turns the wrong side of its

face to public scrutiny. Its masters-of-ceremonies haul on to the stage as many of the bigger luminaries as they can – statesmen and politicians, and the top-ranking functionaries. In this regard the Vienna Congress was no exception. The stars featured included two chancellors, five prime ministers, and about a score of ministers, despite only less than half of the parties having sent their delegates.

From the Konzerthaus press boxes we observed how heavily the Social-Democrats banked on 'men in power.' The interest of delegates, none-too-numerous guests and numerous journalists centered on Golda Meir, Israel's Prime Minister and chief pet of the Socialist International, FRG Chancellor Willy Brandt, Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, Swedish Premier Olaf Palme, Norway's head of government Trygve Bratteli, and former British Prime Minister Harold Wilson. They were allowed to speak as long as they wished, gave interviews generously, and called press-conferences.

It is only fair to point out that not all by far were pleased by this over-veneration of rank and office. Some were probably afraid that this too clearly exposed the elitist nature of the Socialist International, and the gaping rift between 'leaders' and the rank-and-file with its daily worries, needs and interests. This sentiment was indeed in evidence, and particularly in the speech of the British Labor Party's representative, Anthony Wedgwood-Benn. The audience displayed considerable animation when this usually reserved Englishman suddenly, on finishing his prepared speech on women's equality, veered off at a tangent: wasn't it strange, he inquired, that a congress of Socialists consisted chiefly of 'former, present and future ministers,' that so much was said of election victories and nothing of the setbacks, and that the voice of the rank-and-file was not heard at all? Where are the unions, he queried, and where are the representatives of the plain people? Some applauded his questions, others did not.

The five items on the agenda were the international situation, 'socialist policy' for Europe, 'socialist strategy' towards the Third World, industrial development and the environment, and political equality of women. Of these the first three items, and the resolutions on them, were unquestionably the most weighty.

What is Social-Democracy's reaction to the present positive changes in the international situation?

The Socialist International acclaimed the Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, and welcomed the progress towards detente, especially in Europe – principally the ratification of the West German treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland, the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, and the accords between the FRG and GDR.

Confidence resounded in some speeches that nothing could any longer obstruct an all-European security and cooperation conference and the multilateral consultations on this score in Helsinki this autumn.

In a number of resolutions on the international situation the Congress declared for the universality and consolidation of the United Nations as an instrument of peace, for an end to the arms race, for general disarmament and a ban on nuclear bomb testing underground, as well as in the atmosphere.

The resolution on Indochina called for an immediate end to the bombing and wholesale killing in Vietnam, demanding an early withdrawal of U.S. troops from that country, and urged a political settlement without outside interference, and a coalition government with free elections in South Vietnam.

The resolutions displayed a realistic cognizance of the main changes in the world arena and the demands of the world's progressive forces. The Socialist International leaders were obviously aware that in today's world their former outspoken support for bankrupt aggressive NATO doctrines and Atlantic dogmas would do irreparable damage to the Social-Democrats' influence.

All the more puzzling then were the backstage intrigues of the Congress managers to hamstring the process of positive change in the International's foreign policy postures. Despite the demands of a whole succession of delegations, they succeeded, for example, in pushing through a Vietnam resolution in which the two belligerents are, in effect, tarred with the same brush. Reluctant to condemn U.S. imperialism, the Socialist International was content to appeal piously to the aggressor.

As though hypnotized by Golda Meir's pronouncements, the Congress leaders also went out of their way to block a condemnation of Israel's aggression and latest armed provocations. The Middle East situation earned no mention at all in any of the resolutions.

As a result, the Socialist International leadership proved unable to produce an entirely objective assessment of the world situation. They carefully avoided any deep-going examination of the reasons for the general easing of international tensions and improvement of the European situation. Not the slightest hint of the constructive policy of the European socialist countries, their peace-loving foreign policy, and the Soviet peace offensive mapped out by the 24th Congress of the CPSU – without which detente would have been impossible. For elementary impartiality, as we see, Social-Democracy trailed far behind even the Right bourgeois press which, however reluctantly, concedes the credit to the peace initiatives of the socialist countries.

The Vienna Congress chose to occupy itself instead with expressions of mutual admiration, lavishing exaggerated praise on Bonn's 'eastern policy,' the postures of the Socialist International and, of all things, the NATO Council. There were attempts to complicate the All-European Conference by recommendations for its agenda of items obviously controversial or unacceptable to one of the parties. The Finnish delegation, for example, was compelled to warn against 'propagandistic proposals which interfere with the internal affairs of other states.' The future will show whether this sober and far-sighted approach wins in the International.

The inclusion of the item on 'socialist policy' for Western Europe was a logical projection of the revision of the Socialist International's stance on all-European issues, and also doubtless responded to the hopes and expectations of the broad masses, who are becoming increasingly conscious of capitalism's lack of perspective. But the results of the discussion of this subject were staggering, to say the least.

The prepared text of the resolution distributed to delegates, guests and journalists for some reason identifies the objective of 'creating a socialist Europe' with fortifying 'European economic integration.' Once again the Socialist International leadership went out of its way to dress up the image of imperialist integration and put a 'socialist' stamp on decisions dictated by bosses of 'the Europe of monopoly capital.' Pietro Nenni, for one, made no bones about calling on Social-Democracy to create a 'political basis' for the 'Europe of Ten.'

True, there was also criticism of modern capitalism, and expressions of fear of its crisis phenomena. The *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* commented: 'Not only representatives of the Third World, but also some of their confreres in Europe called for a more intensive struggle against . . . the capitalist structures of the Old World.' And the representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions spoke at length about the danger implicit in the dictatorship of multinational monopolies. The Finnish Social-Democrats again expressed their serious reservations about the Common Market. K. Sorsa, Secretary of the Social-Democratic Party of Finland, stressed that 'it is a very long way from the present EEC dominated by the interest of capital, to a socialist community.'

But the criticism had no effect on the attitude of most of the leaders of the Socialist International. The debate and the resulting resolution showed that they regard the Common Market as a progeny of their own and all but declare its institutions a materialization of the ideals of 'democratic socialism.' They are not in the least embarrassed that by so doing they range themselves beside the monopoly magnates of the Ruhr, the French trusts, and, soon, London's City. Harold Wilson sharply criticized the terms on which Heath is putting Britain into the European monopoly club. He complained bitterly of the continental Socialists' 'lack of understanding' of the Labor Party and, invoking the interests and pressures of the British working people, promised to revise the terms for Britain's entry into the EEC if Labor comes to power. What could be more revealing than the admission that the Common Market stance of the British Conservatives proved closer to that of the West-European Social-Democrats than the policy of the Labor Party? What is there left in the circumstances of 'a Social-Democratic strategy for creation of a socialist Europe?' Is it not just another name for the strategy of defending monopoly interests?

The motives behind the item on 'socialist strategy' towards the Third World are easy to understand. Never had the Right-wing Social-

ist leaders had any contact with the revolutionary national-liberation movement. More, they were inimical. But nowadays, they dream of political ties with the African, Asian and Latin American countries.

A year ago, making his concluding remarks at the final sitting of the Council in Helsinki, its chairman said 'the Socialist International can remain true to its name only if we find ways and means to invite cooperation of the exponents of democratic socialism in the so-called Third World regardless of their specific approach. Without joining hands with our newly-independent brethren our struggle against exploitation (sic!) must be doomed to fail at home and abroad.'

The only response to this desperate call was a conference in Singapore in May 1972 of the Asia-Pacific Socialist Organization. However, in this new organization, too, the commanding heights have been seized by the reformist parties of Australia, New Zealand and Israel.

Its frail ties with the Third World the Socialist International leadership tries to buttress by flirtations with some of the outstanding Asian, African and Latin American leaders. There were persistent rumours, for example, that India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, President Salvador Allende of Chile, and President Nyerere of Tanzania, would come to the Vienna Congress. But none of them did. Instead, they sent polite messages. This caused visible disappointment. Joan Lester, the British Laborite, said she was dismayed by the Socialist International's inability to be really international, as evidenced by the total absence of parties from the African continent. Many delegates deplored this isolation from the Third World, blaming it on the European and European-Atlantic spirit. The franker ones admitted that reformism had nothing to offer to the Third World, that the Common Market countries were acting egoistically towards the developing states, and this, among other things, by disregarding the UN sanctions against the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.

The discussion showed that the Right Socialist exponents of timid reform in a capitalist context could not count on popularity in countries fighting for political and economic independence. The political parties in the developing states are becoming more radical and making anti-imperialist demands which the Socialist International cannot, and will not, support. Despite a few verbal attacks on capitalism, its leading figures are quite comfortable in the capitalist fold. Bruno Pitterman, Socialist International Chairman, expounded the anti-revolutionary philosophy of modern reformism, urging this generation of working people to be content with the progress achieved 'in reforming the existing social system' and 'to realize that one cannot change an established society if one destroys it first.'

This brings us to the question of the ideological ammunition of the Right-wing Social-Democrats in their widely-advertised 'of-

fensive.' Anti-communism, a weapon borrowed from extreme bourgeois reaction, is still prominent in this line. The organizers of the Congress saw to it that folders distributed to the press should contain the texts of the Socialist International's declarations in Frankfurt in 1951 and Oslo in 1962. Produced at the height of the cold war, these 'symbols of faith' of Right-wing Social-Democracy abound in malicious attacks on Communists.

The stale air of yesteryear seemed to waft through the hall when the floor was given to the delegate of the so-called Socialist Union of Central Eastern Europe. This spokesman of counter-revolutionary emigres decried detente in Europe, cooperation between the two parts of Europe, and the immunity of frontiers – everything, in brief, that comprises the essence of the present battle for European security – and also opposed contacts between Socialists of Western Europe and Communists of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The appearance on the rostrum of this cold-war ghost was not, of course, fortuitous, any more than his anti-communist disquisitions were a simple demonstration of the 'freedom of speech.' It appears that the leaders of the Socialist International are not yet ready to renounce their association with run-aways and intend to hold them in reserve for intrigues against the socialist countries. Though it was rumored that a resolution in the spirit of this speech was sure to come up, none appeared. It was evidently deemed too inappropriate in the present times.

Noting the new processes in the Socialist International and the affiliated parties, we should not forget that it is now nursing subtler anti-Communist plans and professing to be a force that will 'ideologically overcome' communism. Bruno Kreisky, regarded as one of the leading ideologists of the Socialist International, said at the congress in so many words that 'the central idea of Social-Democracy . . . becomes thus the great alternative to Communist dictatorship.' In the Socialist International's publications he and his fellows expound on tactics of 'using' the Communist parties and lay weight on 'wooing' revisionist elements in the Communist movement. Pietro Nenni, speaking at the Congress, called for solidarity with 'liberal revisionism' and support of what he described as the 'intellectual opposition' in the socialist countries.

But these men are compelled to reckon with the strong tendency in some of the parties to forge ties between the two currents in the working-class movement – the Social-Democratic and the Communist. This April in Amsterdam the bureau of the Socialist International hammered out a decision on the attitude to Communists: the Socialist parties are now free to decide for themselves whether or not they want bilateral relations with Communist parties. This, of course, is a far cry from the Bureau's scandalous 1956 directive, which declared that 'socialism and communism have nothing in common' and, consequently, no cooperation could exist between Socialist and Communist parties.

The Vienna Congress raised the matter again. 'From the point

of view of international Social-Democracy,' said the head of the Finnish delegation, 'it is most important that we take an unprejudiced attitude towards the initiatives of the leading parties of the socialist countries for discussions with us and take our own initiatives to find ways to discuss both practical and ideological questions, without being frozen down in an unfruitful negative attitude.'

Of deep interest was the speech of the First Secretary of the Socialist Party of France, F. Mitterand, who appeared at the Congress on the day following the agreement with the French Communist Party on a joint government program. He described it as the most important event in French politics since 1936, and stressed that Left unity in France was inconceivable without the alliance of Communists and Socialists wishing to build socialism in common.

This new turn to a serious meaningful dialogue with the Communists, however, has so far been accepted only by individual parties, not by the Socialist International as a whole. And while welcoming it as positive, the Communist parties have no illusions about it and are working on perseveringly for the unity of the working-class movement.

The Communists are aware that the changes in the Social-Democratic milieu are the result of the profound internal differentiation recorded by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which continues to unfold. The younger generation in the parties of the Socialist International is unable to swallow either the ideology or practice of reformism. It was no accident that the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany deleted the word 'Social-Democratic' in the name of the FRG union of students, which opted for cooperation with the Communists. Neither was it accidental that one of the leaders of the Socialist International complained recently that young people 'have a habit of turning into Judases and then into Spartacists and then into Communists.'

Y. Kharitonov, L. Sheidin

Vienna-Prague



Common regularities and national specifics in building socialism

The question of the common essence and multiplicity of forms in building socialism has aroused much interest. First, because upon its correct solution depends correct formulation of the concrete tasks in perfecting the existing socialism, which has now gone beyond the bounds of one country and has been translated into the social practice of millions. Second, because with the socialist world system becoming the cardinal factor of international development, the prospect is more real than ever of more countries breaking out of capitalism. We must therefore clearly see how socialism will assert itself in the coming decades, what forms the process will take in countries at differing levels of social, economic and cultural development, and, last but not least, how the experience accumulated by the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries will be utilized in building the new social system.

The theoretical and practical political implications are obvious. Their Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis is basic to the revolutionary parties' strategy and tactics and to the struggle against falsification of socialist theory and practice.

Creative application of the common principles of socialism in different historical and national conditions holds a prominent place in the theoretical and practical work of the international communist movement and its national contingents. The Marxist-Leninist concept of the dialectics of the general and particular in building the new society and the principles of proletarian socialist internationalism have been creatively developed and concretized in the programmatic statements of the 1957, 1960, and 1969 International Conferences and in the statements of a number of fraternal Parties.

No less significantly, these questions have been raised and elucidated by Communist parties in capitalist countries. The new program of the Communist Party of Canada, 'The Road to Socialism in Canada,' says the Party will be guided by the general regularities

*This continues our series in Nos. 7, 9, 12, 1971; 3, 6, 8, 1972.

of building socialism, but with due account to national characteristics. Likewise, the U.S. Communist Party program says that socialism in America will fully reflect the distinctive features of its historical development, experience and traditions. In explaining the joint government program of the French Communists and Socialists, Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the French CP, stated that consistent operation of this program 'can open the road to socialism in forms and with features peculiar to our country.'

And so, the Communists are searching for the most effective ways of socialist transformation corresponding to national specificities.

The anti-socialists – bourgeois sociologists and historians, Right and 'Left' revisionists – challenge, or wholly repudiate, the Marxist-Leninist dialectic of the general and particular, the national and international, in the rise and development of the communist formation. Methods differ, but not the aim: destroy the unity of the socialist world system, split the international Communist movement.

And along with the traditional idealistic arguments vindicating capitalism – negation of the law-governed objective process of change of social formations, interpretation of history as the history of fundamentally different and isolated civilizations, etc. – there are conceptions which distort the process of socialist development. They deny or obscure the general regularities of socialism and exaggerate, even absolutise, national specifics, and forms employed in different countries. In the final analysis, the 'models' of socialism thus evolved are the negation of socialism, its very substance, main, determinative elements. We are even told that different socialisms are 'legitimate.' Some Right revisionist theoreticians, for instance, have sought to discredit Soviet experience by alleging that the 'Soviet model' is today suitable only for underdeveloped (colonial and semi-colonial) countries. And to it they oppose an 'industrial' model suitable for highly developed countries, though everyone knows, of course, that the USSR has attained a very high level of economic and cultural development. On this point 'Left' revisionists see eye to eye with their Right brethren: they metaphysically divide the socialist countries into 'rich' and 'poor.' Secondary features of the new system are trotted out as determinative, and the dynamism of socialism is deliberately ignored. That kind of 'modelling' has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism or proletarian internationalism, for it is anti-dialectical and anti-scientific. It is designed to incite nationalism and tension in relations between fraternal peoples and is damaging to all the forces of socialism.

The numerous concepts of non-Marxist socialism – 'Christian,' 'humane' or 'democratic' and diverse variants of 'national' socialism (in developing countries) – all of which have gained currency in recent years, are absolutely unrelated to a scientific understanding of the dialectic of the general and particular in building the new

society. Behind all these concepts are social forces widely differing, even contradictory, in their attitudes to the socialist countries and Marxism-Leninism. Examination of these concepts does not come within the purview of this article.*

Without laying claim to an exhaustive examination of our complex subject, we wish to deal with some of its aspects, mainly relating to the experience of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries.

I

Basic to the Marxist-Leninist understanding of history is the theory of objective regularities in the development of socio-economic formations. This is one of the greatest discoveries of Marx and Engels, and in emphasizing its implications Lenin wrote: 'Hitherto, sociologists had found it difficult to distinguish the important and the unimportant in the complex network of social phenomena (that is the root of subjectivism in sociology) and had been unable to discover any objective criterion for such a demarcation. Materialism provided an absolutely objective criterion by singling out *production relations* as the structure of society, and by making it possible to apply to these relations that general scientific criterion of recurrence whose applicability to sociology the subjectivists denied . . .

' . . . Analysis of material social relations at once made it possible to observe recurrence and regularity and to generalize the systems of the various countries in the single fundamental concept: *social formation* . . . that made it possible to proceed from the description of social phenomena . . . to their strictly scientific analysis, which isolates, let us say by way of example, that which distinguishes one capitalist country from another and investigates that which is common to all of them.' (Coll. Works, Vol. 1, p. 140).

It will thus be seen that the socialist system is not unique in possessing general regularities. The same applies to the capitalist formation – its objective laws are operative in all capitalist countries. That, however, has not led any Marxist to question the universality of Marx's analysis of capitalism, in *Capital*, on the grounds that it applies mainly to Britain. Capitalism is an international phenomenon and in every one of its countries production relations are of one and the same type and to them corresponds one and the same type of political and ideological superstructure. Of course, capitalist society in the U.S. has its national-historical characteristics differing from those in, say, Sweden, Paraguay or Italy. But this does not mean that there is a fundamental difference between their social systems.

The main, determinative regularities of socialism – social, economic, political and ideological – are also objective and general. They are international and their operation is not confined to one country or region. This was how Comrade L. I. Brezhnev defined these

*They are analyzed in our series, 'Modern Non-Marxist Socialism,' WMR Nos. 6, 12, 1971, and No. 5, 1972.

regularities in the light of Marxism-Leninism and the propositions formulated at international Communist forums: socialist revolution in one or another form, including the demolition and change of the exploiters' machinery of government; the establishment, in one or another form, of proletarian dictatorship working in alliance with other sections of the working people, elimination of exploitive classes; socialization of the means of production and establishment of socialist production and other social relations in town and country; bringing the values of culture to the masses, i.e., a cultural revolution in its true, Leninist understanding. And these are the inalienable features of socialism already built: power of the working people with the vanguard role of the working class; Marxist-Leninist party leadership of social development; public property of the means of production and, on that basis, planned development of the entire national economy at a higher technical level to promote the wellbeing of the people; the principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work;' educating the people in the spirit of scientific communism and friendship with the peoples of other socialist countries and the working people everywhere; a foreign policy based on proletarian socialist internationalism.

The experience of Parties in fraternal countries has shown that successful socialist construction is largely determined by a correct understanding of the relation between the general and the particular in social development, an understanding of the dialectic of the law and the appearance.

This, briefly, is the essence of this dialectic. The law is expressive of the general and essential link, independent of man's will, between things, phenomena and the systems of objective reality, and this link is constant and recurrent. In his conspectus of Hegel's 'Science of Logic,' Lenin emphasized: 'Law is the enduring (persisting) in appearances.' Cognition of law, as compared with observation of phenomena, leads to a deeper and fuller understanding of the world. At the same time, 'appearance is richer than law,' for apart from the fact that 'it contains law,' it also has many individual traits (Vol. 38, pp. 151-152).

From this follows a number of conclusions highly relevant to the subject under discussion:

- The general and particular, law and appearance, cannot be examined in isolation from each other;

- General laws express the essence of social phenomena and are therefore primary to specific national features. He who leaves this out of consideration can find himself captive to day-to-day developments in the political struggle and in danger of losing his sense of perspective, his contact with our basic aim.

- One-sided orientation on national peculiarities and interests may entail harmful consequences; the specifically national is that which *distinguishes* one country from another; to make an absolute of this, therefore, impairs the cohesion of the socialist countries,

and contradicts the basic interests of the entire Communist and working-class movement, the basic principle of which is proletarian, socialist internationalism;

– Like any other objective law, the common regularities of socialist development operate not 'purely,' but through concrete processes and phenomena, including historical national peculiarities; hence, Marxist-Leninist parties must study and reckon with national peculiarities.

A few examples from practice.

A cardinal law of socialist revolution is that the working class overthrows the political power of the exploiting classes, tears down the old state machine and establishes its own political power. The substance of this law is unaffected by the concrete historical circumstances. All the same, the Marxist-Leninist party must take them into account, because *how, in what form* the operation of this law should be propelled in this or that country depends precisely on circumstances. Here is Lenin on this score, in *The State and Revolution*: 'The essence of Marx's theory of the state has been mastered only by those who realize that the dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from "classless society," from communism. . . . The transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*' (Vol. 25, p. 413).

Proletarian dictatorship signifies that when building socialism the working class exercises political power undividedly, that it does not and cannot share power with any other class, because, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, it is the only class that can go the whole length in building the new society. However, alliance with other strata, their participation in the exercise of power, is a vitally necessary element of proletarian dictatorship. Essentially the same in all countries, proletarian dictatorship operates dissimilarly in each, depending on the relation of class forces at home and on the international scene. The forms of the workers' alliance with other strata, for example, may differ. In the Soviet Union, socialism was built under the guidance of one party. Yet in the early months following the October Revolution the Bolsheviks were prepared to cooperate with the Left wing of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, members of which were in the government and the local Soviets. But racked by internal conflicts, it chose to break up its bloc with the Bolsheviks, and started an armed rebellion against Soviet power.

After the Second World War, when the relation of forces changed in favor of peace, democracy and socialism, proletarian dictatorship could be forged into a multi-party arrangement in a number of European countries, with the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class performing the leading role. In the German Democratic Republic, for example, five parties have been active in socialist construc-

tion. Small and middle entrepreneurs entered the alliance led by the working class, turning gradually into laboring elements of the socialist society. Yet the pillars of the Marxist-Leninist policy of alliances in socialist construction – proletarian dictatorship, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party – are the same in the GDR and the Soviet Union, and in all the other countries of the socialist community.

One more example. As a rule, the European states which embarked on socialism after the Second World War passed through a stage of revolutionary people's democratic changes. In the east of Germany, the present-day GDR, this stage assumed the specific form of a democratic anti-fascist overturn, which was objectively necessary to root out Hitler fascism.

There are also national peculiarities in the structure of the socialist state. The Soviet Union being a federative state comprising 15 Union and 20 Autonomous republics and 10 National areas, its top representative body – the Supreme Soviet – in conformance with the country's multinational composition consists of two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. Czechoslovakia, too, is a federative republic, whereas the GDR, the Polish People's Republic, and other socialist countries, which have a different national structure, do not require federalism. But in all cases the essential element is that all socialist states are fashioned to conform with the principle of democratic centralism.

The difference in starting points of economic development at the beginning of the revolution is another substantial factor. Socialist industrialization is naturally far more arduous in a backward agrarian country, requiring other sources of accumulation than in countries with a developed industry built under capitalist conditions.

The Mongolian People's Republic, for example, where feudal relations still reigned, took the non-capitalist way and thus directly passed to socialist construction. Inevitably, this required a different approach than in the European socialist countries. While the latest congresses of the fraternal Parties in the latter (excluding the Soviet Union, which is at a higher level of development) set the objective of building developed socialist society, the 16th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party described the stage from 1971 to 1975 as an important period of building the material and technical basis of socialism.

Yet the common regularities and trends of socialist development operate in the MPR just as they do in the other countries.

Such factors as population density, the geographic environment, and the like, are also liable to impart certain specifics to the building of socialism and its rate.

Yet public ownership of the means of production and planned development of the entire economy are a law for all socialist countries. The trend prevailing in the socialist world system is to balance out the economic, socio-political and cultural levels.

II

Unlike the preceding formations, socialism neither originates nor develops spontaneously. Its objective regularities operate and attain effectiveness only by virtue of the conscious activity of the working class and its allies, with the Marxist-Leninist party in the leading role. That is a necessary precondition for the leap from 'the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom,' which applies not only to the existing socialism, but also to future socialist transformations.

In each country, the socialist revolution is part of the world revolutionary process. It is a single process, and universal regularities are at the root of it. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels described the distinctive trait of Communists as follows:

'In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. . . . In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole. . . . Theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.'

This advantage has now materialized in a conscious building of the new social system in keeping with the objective laws of history apprehended by Marxism-Leninism. That the moulding of this system in different countries is acquiring an increasingly international identity is therefore natural. Hence the Communists' obligation, as Lenin pointed out, to fight against national 'narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interests. (Vol. 22, p. 347).

Socialism opens up the way to fundamentally new relations among nations and nationalities. Fraternal cooperation and proletarian internationalism replace bourgeois nationalism. New socialist nations develop, and economic, social and cultural advancement occurs at an unheard of rate, giving rise to legitimate national pride and socialist patriotism. This is accompanied by a merging process in all spheres, and by technico-economic integration. As the socialist system affirms itself, the identity of the socialist countries increases, and their mutual understanding and cooperation become deeper. The fraternal parties, and the community of socialist states are aware of, and give practical impulse to, these objective tendencies. Socialist economic integration is expanding on the basis of the Comprehensive Program of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; foreign policy is coordinated in the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty; the forms of multilateral cooperation are proliferating, and exchanges of Party, government and cultural delegations are more and more a matter of course.

The experience of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Union is of special significance. 'The Russian model,' Lenin pointed

out, '... reveals to all countries something – and something highly significant – of their near and inevitable future' (Vol. 31, p. 22). The Soviet Union is the first country where the common laws of the new social formation are being put into practice. It has vast and varied experience in building developed socialism and the material and technical basis of communism. Study of this experience does not suppress the creative activity of the other Marxist-Leninist parties. Quite the contrary. Analyzing the historic decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the impact of which reaches far beyond the boundaries of the USSR, Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, said at the 8th Congress of our Party: 'We always avail ourselves of the tremendous theoretical and practical experience of the Soviet Union, applying it in accordance with our concrete conditions. By so doing, we assure full harmony between the primacy of the common principles of socialist construction and consideration for the specific conditions in each country.'

The facts refute the Right revisionist charge of the 'unification' of socialism imposed on other countries by the Soviet Union. However, the experience of history shows that the potentialities of socialism do not materialize automatically; to put them into practice we require an appropriate line by the party exercising leadership. Fraternal relations can thrive among the socialist peoples and countries only as a result of a consequent Marxist-Leninist policy of the Communist and Workers' parties, of educating working people in the internationalist spirit, and resolutely combatting all nationalism and chauvinism. Failing this, as the example of present-day China shows, there may be a resurgence of nationalism, even a confrontation with the socialist community. The policy of the present Peking leaders, their renunciation of proletarian internationalism, are damaging to the socialist world system. More, they jeopardize the socialist gains of the Chinese people. So, struggle against nationalist and chauvinist tendencies in ideology and politics is, as the facts show, a necessary condition for the further success of world socialism.

'All nations will arrive at socialism – this is inevitable,' Lenin wrote, '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). That Lenin's forecast is perfectly correct is seen clearly from the socialist system on three continents, encompassing countries that at the beginning of the revolution differed in economic levels, maturity of their proletariat and its class consciousness, the experience of their Communist parties, national traditions and the international situation. In the future as well, peoples will doubtless embark on the socialist way at different points of their social development. This is why, searching for the optimum forms of socialist reconstruction, Marxist-Leninist parties study and reckon with the national peculiarities, bearing in mind firmly that there is and can be no socialism without its specific universal and necessary properties.

Erich Glueckauf



At Fourth Congress of Comintern

Interview with Friedl Fuernberg

It is fifty years since the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. Friedl Fuernberg, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC CP of Austria, who took part in it and later worked in the Comintern, has kindly consented to tell us of his recollections.

Present at the interview was Comrade E. Zucker-Schilling, CP of Austria representative on this journal, who had also once worked in the Comintern.

Q: Comrade Fuernberg, please tell us how you, still a very young man, were sent by your Party to the Fourth Comintern Congress in Moscow.

A: The Fourth Congress and the trip to Moscow – the first I ever made – were for me such extraordinary events that I remember most of the details.

By the way, it was not the Party that delegated me, but the Communist Youth of Austria, which was allowed one delegate. The fact that it chose me, one of the youngest in its leadership (I was a little over twenty), was not due to any special services I had performed. It was more a stroke of luck.

The journey to Soviet Russia presented many difficulties. To begin with, it was my first trip to a far-away country. Then, compare the two hours and twenty minutes that it takes now to get from Vienna to Moscow with the time – almost a week – and effort it took in those days, and you will see how things have changed – not just the travel arrangements, but the political situation, too. I could not take the direct route to Moscow, via Poland. I went a round-about way via Berlin, Lithuania and Latvia. To save the cost of a hotel, I left Vienna by night train, and in Berlin bought a second-class ticket, imagining that I would be travelling in style. But when I got into the car at the Friedrichstrasse Bahnhof I discovered that it was filled to overflowing and, in fact, despite my relatively expensive ticket I spent the night perched on my little suitcase.

On the border, nearly all passengers were inspected by the

German police, and then had to change to another train. The officer who had searched me – and naturally found no arms – asked testily, 'Going to the congress?' Since I was travelling legally and had no reason to conceal the purpose of my trip, I nodded. He waved his arm deprecatingly and showed me where to change trains.

In Riga we were met by Soviet comrades with several motorcars. Nearly the whole train, we discovered, was occupied by congress delegates. We were put up at the Soviet Trade Mission offices, for the trains to Moscow went twice a week only. Here I first met some top comrades from other Communist parties, whose names, of course, were already known to me – Bohumir Smeral of the CP of Czechoslovakia, Marcel Cachin of the French CP, and others. As far as I remember, the delegations consisted of some twenty people each, because the Congress agenda contained items relating to the situation in some of the parties, and spokesmen of disparate viewpoints had come along to state their case.

I was desperately afraid that I would miss the opening of the Congress (November 5) and the big meeting on the 5th anniversary of the Soviet Republic on November 7. Luckily, I met the four-man CP of Austria delegation, which had left Vienna earlier and had tickets for the next train. They offered me the space between the berths in their compartment, and I accepted gratefully. We arrived in Moscow on November 6.

Crossing the frontier was for all delegates a really joyous moment. The train pulled up and Soviet soldiers with red stars on their helmets entered and bid us a hearty welcome. Stretched over the railway track – I shall never forget this – was a streamer: 'Workers of the World, Unite!'

Q: The next question concerns the proceedings of the Fourth Comintern Congress. Would you say that it has any significance for us today, considering the experience of the past fifty years?

A: As I see it, it was a most significant event in the history of our great movement. As you know, some of the sittings were attended by Lenin, who made an exceedingly important report, 'Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution.'

In some countries, the time of the Congress was still a time of revolutionary ferment, but the process of capitalist stabilization had begun and reaction and fascism were on the rise (by the way, the Fourth Congress analyzed fascism and warned of the need to combat it). The Communist parties in Europe were relatively new, not all had yet charted their course, and the opportunity of discussing matters of prime importance could not have been more timely.

If I were asked which of the then important problems retained their theoretical relevance later, and are in a way still relevant now, I should say that this applies chiefly to the issues raised in Lenin's report and the main Congress resolutions on working-class unity

and the united anti-imperialist front. We still continuously refer to Lenin's report – not just to compare the Soviet land of five and of fifty-five years after the Revolution, but also because it deals with a number of common fundamental problems of the Communist movement.

Working-class unity – both national and international – was the central political issue. The drive for unity was at once a drive to lead the mass of workers in the European capitalist countries to the proletarian revolution. In 1922 there had even been negotiations between the three Internationals – the 2nd, 2½ and 3rd. But nothing came of it, because the positive results sought by the Comintern – definitive united action by the international working-class movement – encountered innumerable obstructions from the Social-Democratic parties of the 2nd International.

Most of the delegates at the Congress were convinced that the revolutionary movement had to forge a united workers' front and launch a joint battle for state power. Yet it was not easy in those days to convince the workers of the necessity of united action. In Germany, Czechoslovakia and other countries reformists and revolutionaries were locked in a bitter, sometimes even bloody, struggle.

Following drawn-up debates in working commissions and plenary sessions, the Congress produced the characteristics of possible types of worker or worker-peasant governments. You will see from the pertinent resolution that its purpose was to help the parties lead the masses towards a revolutionary struggle for power, for proletarian dictatorship. True, there also surfaced opinions that subsequently developed into ultra-Left deviations in Germany and elsewhere. Some tended to identify the call for a worker-peasant government with that for proletarian dictatorship, overlooking the fact that these formulas applied to different phases of the revolutionary movement and forgetting that slogans should be in harmony with the concrete situation.

In other words, we had to give the workers an opportunity to judge of things by their own experience, to become convinced of the necessity of the revolutionary way of overthrowing capitalism and winning hegemony.

The Congress discussed the problems and perspectives of the national-liberation movement and the emergence of Communist parties in the East, and substantiated the slogan of a united anti-imperialist front. This was one of the remarkable things about the Comintern (as distinct from the 2nd International) – it was always conscious of, and never neglected, the national-liberation movement.

In sum, the Fourth Congress was clearly concentrated on defining concrete approaches for effectuating Lenin's call underlying the work of the Comintern since its foundation – to go to the masses, to find ways of leading them to revolution in the colonial and dependent countries, as well as the capitalist. This idea ran through all the discussions of the activity of Communists in labor unions, among women, about the Young Communist International, the cooperative movement, and the parties' educational work.

Q: You have just mentioned the attitude of the Right-wing leaders of the 2nd International, who blocked militant working-class unity. Shortly before coming to see you, we were at a press conference by Hans Janitschek, General Secretary of the Socialist International. He claimed that none but his organization was the true successor of the 1st International organized by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Have you anything to say about this claim?

A: It is certainly more than audacious, and could only come from someone who has forgotten the facts of history. The 2nd International fell to pieces during the war, and has never recovered. By the end of the First World War its survival was questioned even by leading exponents of reformism. Then the 3rd International was formed at its first World Congress in 1919. Certainly, there were attempts to revive the Second International, and there was also the 2½ International which proposed to occupy a political position mid-way between the two other international bodies.

By 1922 the Communist International had won the alligance of a substantial mass of workers. It was backed by the majority in the former Socialist and Social-Democratic parties of Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, and those in Bulgaria and other Balkan countries, whereas the Second International in effect comprised only the German so-called 'majority Socialists' (and whether or not the majority of German workers really accepted them, is doubtful), the British Labor Party and the Scandinavian Social-Democrats, though in all these parties, too, a strong minority favored the Comintern.

But quite clearly the incomparably more important criterion is that of the prevailing theory and the political aims. Those who have in effect abandoned Marxism, who have given up the revolutionary aims of the working-class movement – how can these people claim to be the successors of the International founded by Marx and Engels? Quite obviously – both in theory and politically – it was the 3rd, Communist International which – after the wretched collapse of the 2nd – was the successor of the First.

Q: Now a personal question. What was the deepest impression you bore away from the Fourth Congress?

A: Seeing Lenin. As you know, he was sick and could not come to all the sittings. But his influence on the Congress was decisive, and he did talk to many delegations. All of us naturally could not wait to hear his main report.

The day finally came. Understandably, we, the young delegates from various countries, tried to occupy seats closer to the platform, so as to see and hear the leader more clearly. In those days, congresses were quite different from the smoothly-run forums of more recent times. For one thing, people found their own seats. I had luck and got a place on a step of the staircase leading to the stage, facing the stand from which Lenin spoke.

Need I say that Lenin's appearance on the platform was greeted with heated enthusiasm and that the stormy ovation also gave

expression to the wish that he should recover quickly from his illness. I found Lenin's report profound, but supremely clear, logical, and comprehensible. He spoke in German. And when he could not find the appropriate word, he would use a Russian one. Instantly suggestions of the German were shouted from all parts of the conference hall, and he picked the most accurate one.

The report was a proud account of the economic rehabilitation under way in the Soviet land since the Civil War and the intervention – a period microscopically short in terms of history. Lenin also named the sum of money the country had managed to save up for economic development. In effect, the report outlined the general plan of building socialism.

Q: You could no doubt tell us what Moscow looked like in those days, where you had been lodged, and about life in general?

A: We, the young people, were put in the building then occupied by the Comintern – in the Mokhovaya, opposite the Kremlin gate. What we had was something like a hostel – thirty beds lining the walls of a basement (its windows showed just a bit above street level). But the bulk of the delegates lived at the Lux Hotel in what is now Gorky Street, then Tverskaya.

But, honestly, it did not matter to us that we were living in a hostel and that what we were given to eat was no better and no worse than the difficult post-Civil War economic situation. No one cared, for the revolution was uppermost in our minds and, besides, we knew what tremendous sacrifices had fallen to the Russian people.

Now, about what Moscow looked like. The Rizhsky Railway Station, by which we arrived, was then on the outskirts of the city. And riding from the station to the center we could see that it really was a 'big village,' just as Muscovites called it. It consisted mainly of small log houses and here and there a building of seven or eight stories rising above them like a tower. Mind you, this did not apply to the old centre with its magnificent architecture. Some of the houses were being repaired, and people were proud of it as evidence of the starting reconstruction. Comparing this to the present-day Moscow, one realizes how fantastically everything has changed. By way of contrast I might say that during a recent visit to the part of Vienna where I grew up, I discovered that in the past fifty years they had built only four new houses there. True, this does not go to say that nothing has been built elsewhere in Vienna. Yet the city is, by and large, still the same. Whereas the Moscow of today is really an entirely new city.

Q: A more general question now. You worked in the Comintern for a number of years. What was the atmosphere there?

A: Yes, apart from coming to conferences and congresses, I worked in Moscow for fairly long periods at a stretch since the end of 1926 – first in the Young Communist International, then in the Comintern.

The Comintern, as I see it, played a really decisive role in the development of Communist parties. It was very difficult to build up a truly stable party with a firm grip on Marxist-Leninist theory on one's own in the rigorous and highly fluid situation between the two world wars. Communists in many countries required the assistance of their world organization to chart the right course.

The discussions of those days – in the Comintern and the Young Communist International – probably differed in some ways from those of today in the world Communist movement. They were frank, often incisive and, most important, imbued with the spirit of unity.

Q: Where they reported in the press or were they held behind closed doors?

A: That is an interesting and very important question. The discussions were not secret and everything went to the newspapers. We should bear in mind, however, that in a certain sense neither the bourgeoisie, nor the Social-Democracy drifting in its wake, took them very seriously. In any case, it was not the same as now, when they instantly seize on every word pronounced by a Communist and exploit against the world Communist movement the least hint of a debate between fraternal parties. In those days, we may say, they underrated the movement and did not really care about our internal affairs.

Mind you, it would never occur to me to call for an end to all discussion.

Progress would then stop too. But we should reckon with the realities and bear in mind that our class enemies are eager to seize on every possible opportunity of discrediting communism.

Q: Since we are on the subject, our foes say that the Comintern was a militarized organization always acting on orders, that 'Moscow' had the last say in every party's affairs. Tell us how things were really run, what ties there were with the parties, and what the relations were among comrades?

A: To begin with, we should remember that the 3rd International was not simply a continuation of the First. The Comintern was patterned on the experience already acquired by the international working-class movement, and was aware of the sad example of the 2nd International. The parties in the Comintern were not only obliged to call themselves Communist, but also to emphasize that they were its sections. International discipline was thus one of the principal gains acquired through the Comintern.

Nowadays, with the parties grown up and solid, the question of international discipline should be seen in a different way, as a freely accepted responsibility to the international working-class movement.

Lenin and the Soviet Communists have always known that it is impossible to build a powerful working-class movement if all solutions come from one centre. The Comintern dealt only with matters

of principle, leaving a broad field for the independence of each national contingent of our movement.

Q: Could you give us a concrete example?

A: There are many examples, and most of them stem from the same situation. Due to the historical background and the varying conditions of operation, differences of opinion arose inside the parties over theoretical, tactical and political issues. And if, as it frequently happened, a party was unable on its own to find a sound solution acceptable to all concerned, one of the sides, and sometimes the others too, asked the International to join in the discussion, so that parties which in a way personified the experience of the international working-class movement should help hammer out the final solution.

This kind of thing occurred in the CP of Austria and in the Communist parties of France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and others. It was understood, of course, that soliciting the aid of the Comintern went with the commitment of abiding by the decision of the international body in order to preserve or in any case restore more quickly, the unity of the party in question.

It stands to reason that the International was liable to make a mistake. We should not picture it as a body that had always, on every occasion, produced nothing but flawless solutions. Practice showed, however, that we were able to rectify our errors, and, the main thing, they were never of a kind that led the Communist movement into a blind alley. Incomparably more numerous were the potential mistakes avoided by the collective approach, Marxist thought, and the solidarity of the Communists of different countries working together in the Comintern.

Thanks for your interview, Comrade Fuernberg. We are sure our readers will find it rewarding. In conclusion, we take this opportunity to congratulate you heartily on your 70th birthday and on being decorated with the Order of the October Revolution, to wish you health, good work for the benefit of the Communist movement, and many many happy returns of the day.

IMPORTANCE OF STUDY

I am sure that in this connection we must tell not only the Russians, but the foreign comrades as well, that the most important thing in the period we are now entering is to study. We are studying in the general sense. They, however, must study in the special sense, in order that they may really understand the organization, structure, method and content of revolutionary work. If they do that, I am sure the prospects of the world revolution will be not only good, but excellent.

—V. I. Lenin

—*From Report to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, 'Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution.'* Coll. Works, Vol. 33, pp. 431-432.

THE UNITED FRONT

The tactics of the united front is the call for the united struggle of Communists and of all other workers, either belonging to other parties and groups, or belonging to no party whatever, for the defense of the elementary and vital interests of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Every struggle, even for the most trifling everyday demand, is a source of revolutionary education and revolutionary training; for the experience of the struggle will convince the workers of the inevitability of revolution and of the importance of communism.

—*From Theses on the Tactics of the Communist International*

UNITED WORKING-CLASS FRONT

The Executive Committee of the Communist International finds that the watchword of the Third World Congress of the Communist International 'To the Masses' and the interests of the Communist movement in general, demand from the Communist parties and from the Communist International as a whole *support of the watchword of a united working-class front* and the taking of the initiative in this question into their hands. To this end it is necessary, of course, to formulate the policy in concrete terms according to the conditions and circumstances obtaining in each country.

—*From Resolution on the United Workers' Front*

COLONIAL WORLD

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries the task of the Communist International is twofold. Firstly, to establish and consolidate nuclei of Communist parties which will stand up for the interests of communism as a whole and, secondly, to give the utmost support to the national revolutionary movement directed against imperialism, and to become the vanguard of the movement, arousing and developing the social movement within the national movement.

—*From Resolution on the Russian Revolution*

SOVIET POWER AND WORLD CAPITALISM

The five years' existence of Soviet Russia is the greatest blow which world capitalism has as yet received, and which it cannot overcome.

—*From Resolution on the Russian Revolution*

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Communist International represents the revolutionary workers and peasants of the entire world in their struggle against imperialist domination; it is an organization not only of the enslaved white workers of Europe and America, but equally of the oppressed colored peoples of the entire world.

—*From Resolution on the Negro Question*

'Great Proletariat' Party and Polish Communist traditions

Henryk Jablonski

Far-seeing realism is at the basis of Poland's development program adopted late last year by the Sixth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. And strongly emphasized in the program is its continuation of the finest progressive traditions of the people, of socialist Poland and the Polish Communists. These progressive traditions will be highlighted in the two anniversaries we are celebrating this year — 30 years of the Polish Workers' Party and 90 years of the Proletariat Party. Both are of vast social and political significance for the Party and the people, and especially for the education of our young generation. The Proletariat is relatively little known to the foreign and, for that matter also the Polish, reader. Yet the history of its organization, its struggle and traditions, fully merits wide interest.

At the close of the 18th century when capitalism was taking structural shape in Poland, our people lost their independence — the country was divided among three neighboring states. And though economic and cultural ties were retained, partition hampered progress, created and accentuated socio-economic disparities. This, of course, was bound to affect the character and forms of the workers' movement. True, Poles were active in the revolutionary proletarian movement in other parts of Europe long before it took shape in their own country. To understand that we must briefly review the social character of the 19th century Polish national-liberation movement.

There were two distinct mutually-opposed trends. The conservatives shunned all contact with the people of Poland or other countries, looking for support to the European governments which, to one or another degree, were at loggerheads with the occupying powers against whom the people were in revolt. The progressives, on the other hand, linked the national-liberation struggle with the people's fight for social emancipation. The progressives were fighting not only the governments of the occupying powers, but the classes and social system that served them. The progressives, too, sought outside assistance, from the social movements in Europe, the liberation struggle in the three annexing powers.

That explains why the question: 'Governments or peoples'? was a pervading theme in all Polish political writing of the time. It was eagerly discussed by public personalities, especially at the time of the 1846 Krakow revolt against Austria. Though restricted to a small area and short-lived, it equated, in the words of Marx,

'the national cause with the cause of democracy and liberation of the oppressed class.' '. . . Thanks to the Krakow revolt,' Engels wrote, 'the Polish cause was transformed from the national one it had been into the cause of all the peoples, from a matter of sympathy, as it had been, into a matter in which all democrats were interested.'

The history of Poland's liberation movement since then was closely tied in with the history of European revolution, though the conservatives still looked to the 'governments' for guarantees of success. But the people had made their choice. And the man who spoke for Polish democracy, Joachim Lelewel, a world-renowned scholar, proclaimed his acceptance of the *Communist Manifesto*, and Poland's great poet, Adam Mickiewicz, took up direction of the revolutionary journal *La Tribune de Peuples* (*The Peoples' Tribune*). During the famous Spring of 1848 Poles were conspicuous wherever the battle for liberation was being fought.

The last 19th century popular rising, in the Russian-held part of Poland in 1863-64, resolved the long controversy and gave a definite answer to the vexing question: 'government or peoples'?

The rising was begun by the revolutionary democrats' organization, the 'Reds.' Within a few weeks it was joined by the 'Whites,' an organization of the landlord and bourgeois element bent on developing it into a major armed demonstration to provoke intervention by the Western powers. Accordingly, the 'Whites' obstructed the spread of the revolutionary insurgent movement. There were also contradictions within the movement. The defeat of the rising was followed by serious changes in the ranks of its progressive participants, changes that had been building up for a long time.

Many supporters of the 'Reds' had received their revolutionary initiation in Russia. Herten and other Russian revolutionaries gave them wholehearted support, as did Marx and Engels. But in the West the survivors of 1863-64 were given a markedly cool reception, for capitalist Europe distrusted these Polish revolutionary exiles as men dangerous to its own order. They found genuine friends only among those who, led by Marx and Engels, were fighting to overthrow capitalism.

In this situation, there was a parting of the ways among the Left forces, a process that contributed to the founding of the International Working Men's Association. Marx and Engels wrote: 'The Polish rising of 1863, which evoked such a unanimous protest from British and French workers against the international crimes of their governments, served as the starting point of the International, founded with the participation of Polish exiles.'

Among the many Poles gathered around Marx and Engels were such acknowledged leaders as Konstanty Bobczynski, Teofil Dabrowski, Antoni Zabicki, Wlodzimierz Rozalowski, Josef Rozwadowski, Josef Cwierciakiewicz (Card), Jaroslaw Dabrowski the chief organizer of the 'Reds,' and Walery Wroblewski, military leader of the rising and later one of the secretaries of the First International General Council. Both were to become heroic figures of the Paris Commune.

And so, active Polish participation in the international revolutionary movement preceded the rise of that movement in Poland itself. But not for long. Spontaneous resistance to capitalist exploitation, particularly in the Russian and Prussian annexed parts of Poland, was a sure portent of a growing organized movement. It was helped by the propaganda filtering in from Polish emigres in the West, but a more decisive factor was contact with Russia.

Polish students returning from Russia in 1876, where they had been associated with the Narodniks, were quick to make contact with industrial workers and played a big part in organizing the first socialist circles. The formation of these early workers' organizations was facilitated, in particular, by the return to Warsaw, in 1877, of Ludwik Warynski, expelled from the St. Petersburg Technological Institute for his part in student actions. He found work as a mechanic at the Lilpopa factory, which a year earlier had been the scene of a hard-fought strike. Warynski was soon organizing a 'resistance fund' to finance future strike actions. The more forward-looking workers joined the 'Socialist circles' and work was begun on a Program of the Polish Socialists.

It proclaimed solidarity with the First International and consistently upheld its class and internationalist principles, though it was not free of anarchistic survivals. It did not as much as mention the proletariat's fight for political power, believed in early victory of the 'social revolution' throughout Europe and did not advance vital partial demands, nor present a minimum program.

For all its shortcomings, however, the program was a big step towards an organized workers' movement in Russian-held Poland. And it should be emphasized that, though the bourgeoisie exploited Poland's partition to boost its slogan of 'national solidarity,' the program's class and internationalist ideas met with wide response and understanding among the workers. By advocating nationalistic views, and appealing to national traditions, the bourgeois ideologues wanted to inculcate the idea that every Russian and every German was a sworn enemy of Poland and its people. And though this first socialist program was immature, it performed a great service in combating these ideas, patently hostile to the working class.

The year 1879 began with mass arrests, harsh prison sentences and deportations to Siberia. The authorities believed the socialist movement had been strangled once and for all. But the few who survived the terror worked on, organizing new circles, new seats of socialist propaganda.

But the centre of socialist thought was for a time to remain abroad. Socialist circles in Russia and Poland contacted the young labor movement in Austria-annexed territory. Many of the movement's leaders were active in Galicia, among them Jozef Daniluk, the poet Boleslaw Czerwinski, author of the *Red Flag* song. They were joined by prominent Ukrainian liberation fighters, among them Ivan Franko and Michal Pawlik. In the autumn of 1878 Ludwik Warynski arrived in Galicia and expedited organization of

clandestine socialist circles. Arrested and expelled from Austria, he joined the emigre group in Geneva in 1880 where, in October 1879, publication was begun to the socialist journal *Rownosc* (Equality).

Its editors and supporters elaborated the program drawn up earlier in Poland to bring it nearer to Marxism. But this was not an easy evolution. The main concern was to wrest the proletariat from the influence of the bourgeoisie and its fallacious national solidarity slogan. But this could not be done simply by discarding patriotic slogans; they had to be given a new, class meaning. In fact, this led to an open conflict between the Warynski group and Marx and Engels. However, the group finally shed its lingering anarchistic views, and the first issue of the new journal, *Przedswicie* (Dawn), which replaced *Rownosc* in August 1881, stressed the role of political struggle in mobilizing the masses. The Geneva group formed close contacts with the socialist movement in other parts of Europe, with Plekhanov and other Russian revolutionaries.

It was in this atmosphere of internationalism that members of the former *Rownosc* group and the editors of *Przedswicie* formulated an appeal to the Russian Socialists. In it they set out the new organizational program of the Polish socialist movement. It contained these points:

'I. Organization of a socialist party uniting all the socialist organizations of the various nationalities of the Russian state;

'II. Organizations which hitherto fought in isolation on the economic and political fronts shall unite for joint action;

'III. Formulation of a political program for Socialists in all parts of the Russian state that would fully accord with our demands.'

Such a program was drawn up in 1881, at a time when the socialist movement in Poland and Russia vitally needed a uniform policy and a united organization. Both were proposed by the Geneva group, which thus contributed one of the finest chapters in the history of the Polish revolutionary movement.

Warynski returned to Warsaw at the close of 1881 and immediately began uniting the Socialists working in various parts of the country. The mounting militancy among the workers, highlighted in the victorious 1882 strike by 2,000 railwaymen, helped Warynski convince his friends of the need to unite the Socialist groups into a single close-knit, disciplined party.

That party was the Proletariat – its full name was Proletariat, International Social-Revolutionary Party. On September 1, 1882, it issued an appeal setting out the party's program.

It showed that the Polish revolutionary workers' movement now firmly abided by the principles of scientific socialism. The program's opening chapter analyzed the historical development of society, the general situation of the Polish proletariat and resolutely rejected the bourgeois slogan of national solidarity in favor of proletarian internationalism. Its clear formulation of the party's ultimate revolutionary aim was supplemented by an equally clear formula-

tion of immediate political and economic demands. True, some of the formulations were still hazy, others were tinged with anarchism. But the tenor of the document was evidence of the growing maturity of the Polish revolutionary movement.

Significantly, the Proletariat acknowledged the primacy of the Russian revolutionary movement and emphasized its link with the socialist movement in other parts of divided Poland and with the Polish Socialist centres in Geneva, Paris and other European capitals.

From its very inception the new party was associated with the *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will) in Russia and early in 1884 concluded a formal alliance with its Executive Committee. In one of its 1884 appeals it said: 'The Central Committee will join the revolution only when the signal is given by the Executive Committee (of *Narodnaya Volya*), at a time when the latter begins the revolution in Russia.' On the other hand, the *Narodnaya Volya* Executive Committee considered the Proletariat leader of the Polish working class and recognized its independence and responsibility for revolutionary action in Poland. Both organizations believed that 'the common foe must be faced by our united forces.'

In practice, some Proletariat members were also members of *Narodnaya Volya* and the Warsaw apartment of Piotr Bardowski, a Russian, was the clandestine headquarters of the Proletariat. The latter's internationalism was not confined to principles, but found concrete expression in practical activity.

It was not long before the Proletariat became the ideological and organizational vanguard of the Polish working class in Russian-held territory. In the teeth of continued repression, throughout the years of terror preceding its organization, the Proletariat was able to bring into its ranks all the old revolutionary forces and recruit new members among industrial workers, artisans and young revolutionary-minded intellectuals. Its propaganda reached into every industrial centre, largely through the leaflets and appeals it itself published or received from Geneva. But more important still was oral propaganda and agitation, which the Proletariat leaders conducted at great risk.

The bourgeoisie, of course, denounced this propaganda. One bourgeois publicist tried to prove that the very idea of socialism would find no response among the workers because of their good living conditions – they were working no more (!) than 11 or 12 hours a day, and even the unskilled 'though not living in luxury, were not dying of hunger' . . . 'Even if they were,' he wrote, 'the propagandists are only a handful and cannot dream of victory over the vast armies that stand guard for the present order of things. The Socialists are hardly likely to go against a stone wall.'

A few months after that was written the custodian of this 'present order of things' had to reckon with the Proletariat when it made its first serious attempts to organize mass action.

In February 1883, the Warsaw Chief of Police ordered that all women workers in factories, shops, warehouses, etc., be subjected

to the same police medical examination as prostitutes. Exemption was made for those who could produce a 'moral rectitude' certificate from their employer.

The Proletariat reacted with an appeal to all workers: 'Workers! You have been insulted, humiliated, they want to test your patience, make you submissive. . . . You must resist! Show them that you are capable of standing up for your dignity, that you are undaunted by persecution. They want war, and they shall have it!' The powerful wave of protest forced the repeal of the police order. The Proletariat addressed a new appeal to working women: '. . . Supported by all the workers, you have won the first battle. We were the only ones to speak up for you. Response came only from those who, like you, are workers, and like you are exploited and oppressed. . . . The world rests on us, but we have no rights; our lot is misery and oppression. Keep up the fight against all who oppress and exploit you. Fight in our ranks, in the ranks of the workers, until all insults are erased, and all rights won.'

This raised the influence of the Proletariat immeasurably. It gave the working class a new sense of strength and confidence in its struggle. In April 1883 women workers at Poland's biggest linen mills, at Zyrardow, struck in protest against a wage cut. There were 500 of them and they were soon joined by the rest of the 8,000 workers. Armed force was used against them—three were killed, fifteen more injured. But the strike continued until management was forced to yield.

The party decided to strengthen its growing influence among the urban proletariat by winning allies among the peasants. Its Peasant Manifesto (June 1883) concluded with these words: 'You will always recognize us, for we alone want the land to belong to those who till it and the factories to those who work in them. Join us in the struggle, for victory will be won quicker if we fight together.'

Against the police resorted to repression. Many Proletariat supporters were arrested, but this did not halt the party's growth. In September 1883 it put out the first issue of its journal *The Proletariat*. Warynski, the Party's chief organizer, its theoretician and fearless leader, was arrested.

The new leader, Stanislawie Kunicki, worked hard to rebuild the organization and revive its propaganda despite the terror and the loss of experienced cadres. He helped found the party's theoretical organ, *Walka Klas* (*Class Struggle*), the first issue of which was put out in Geneva in May 1884. Two months later Kunicki and many other leading functionaries were arrested.

Though weakened, the party continued its activity. It was now led by one of its youngest activists, Maria Bohuszewicz. The new leadership was arrested in September 1885, and there were more arrests in the summer of 1886. The Proletariat party had finally been crushed. Four of its heroic fighters, Stanislawie Kunicki, Michal Ossowski, Janie Pietrusinski and Piotr Bardowski, a Russian who gave his life for liberation of the Polish working class, were

executed in the Warsaw Citadel. Warynski was imprisoned in the infamous Schlisselburg Fortress, where he died in March 1889. Up to the very last days of his life he secretly sent out letters from prison urging his comrades to continue the struggle: 'Let the enemy know that the working people, once awakened, will not give up the struggle until victory is won.'

And the orientation of that struggle was now clear. The party's theoretical journal was still published abroad. In an article paying homage to the four martyrs it wrote: 'We shall search, as we have hitherto, for allies among those who are fighting under the same banner. That is the kind of allies we want, for working only on a small territory in one part of the country, we cannot isolate ourselves from the other parts subjected to the same sufferings. Our policy and the international character of our activity call for a firm alliance and joint action with other social-revolutionary organizations in Russia.'

Succeeding generations of Polish revolutionaries remain true to the traditions set by this party, fondly referred to as the 'Great Proletariat,' and our revolutionary organizations have always been true to its class and internationalist principles.

There was a revival of the labor movement at the close of 1887 and the early months of 1888 – more strikes, new political organizations. A new party, the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland was founded in 1893 (renamed the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania – SDKPL in 1900). It continued the finest traditions of the Polish workers' movement and gathered in its ranks the consistent revolutionary and internationalist forces of the Polish proletariat. Its leaders, Felix Dzerzhinsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Julian Marchlewski, Cezaryna Wojnarowska, Adolf Warski and many others hold a place of their own in the history of the revolutionary struggle in Poland and far beyond.

No account would be complete without mentioning the role of the SDKPL in the national-liberation struggle of the working class and the people. It should be perfectly obvious that a free Poland would never have arisen without a free Russia, for the destinies of our people were intimately tied in with the destinies of the revolution in Eastern Europe. He who helped that revolution helped bring about conditions in which the Polish people regained their independence. That was the role of the SDKPL. Its revolutionary and internationalist traditions were inherited by its successor, the Communist Party of Poland (CPP).

Its historic role lay in the fact that it injected Leninism into the theory and practice of our revolutionary movement. And this helped it bring the progressive forces of the peasantry and intelligentsia into the revolutionary working-class struggle, and strongly influence the youth. With war imminent, the CPP stood at the head of all the patriotic forces. It trained a cadre of militants who, in the grim years of Nazi occupation, created the Polish Workers' Party which drew up the only correct program of national and social emancipation.

By its activity, the PWP proved that the working class was the leader of the people. Linked by strong bonds of friendship with the state born of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Polish Workers' Party was able, for the first time, to assure Poland real, unshakeable independence, and opened a new stage in its history, the stage of socialist construction.

The trying ordeals of the past and the conclusions drawn after the triumph of the revolution induced the majority of the former reformist wing of the Polish socialist movement to accept (partly during the war and fully and unconditionally after liberation) Marxism-Leninism and the PWP program, and recognize the incontestible truth that only in close fraternity and alliance with the Land of Soviets can the Polish working class assure our people a socialist future.

But to do that, it had first to liberate itself of bourgeois ideological and political influence, acquire class consciousness, take the path of proletarian internationalism and, as it grew in maturity and in accordance with changing conditions, master the principles of the only correct revolutionary theory. For only along this path could it realize its historic mission, become the leading force of the people and bring it into the great socialist family.

That path was blazed by the Great Proletariat. In commemorating its 90th anniversary and in studying its history, the Polish United Workers' Party more profoundly realizes how inseparable is its destiny from that of its people, from fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, from inviolable alliance with the entire socialist camp and, above all, with its main force, the Soviet Union and the CPSU.



John Marks



Comrade John Marks, who died on August 1 last, was an outstanding leader of the African and international Communist, working-class and national liberation movement, a loyal Leninist.

Chairman of the South African Communist Party, member of the National Executive of the African National Congress of South Africa, member of the World Peace Council, he travelled the glorious path from active member of the SACP to its recognized leader whose name is inseparable from the Party's heroic history. His experience, extraordinary organizing talent and dedication to the fight for the national and social emancipation of South Africa's peoples earned him prestige and esteem far beyond his country and continent.

In the face of brutal terror and persecution, the SACP preserved and increased its membership and, moreover, extended its influence among the working people. Much of the credit for this was due to Comrade Marks.

John Marks was born on March 21, 1903, in Potchefstroom, Transvaal. A worker's son, he joined in the national liberation movement in his early youth. He joined the Communist Party in 1928 and was elected to its Central Committee three years later. In 1934 he became secretary of the CC SACP and member of its Political Bureau.

In the forties Comrade Marks carried on extensive organizing work among the African proletariat as Chairman of the African Miners' Union and subsequently as Vice-Chairman of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions.

In 1946 he led a strike in Transvaal involving 100,000 African miners. In the fifties, reaction intensified and the SACP went underground. John Marks, who was elected Chairman of the Transvaal Section and member of the National Executive of the African National Congress in 1952, was one of the leaders in the fight against

the fascist apartheid regime. He was coopted to the CC SACP in 1960 and became Party Chairman in October 1962.

The Party owed it largely to Comrade Marks' activity that in spite of terror and persecution a ramified illegal Party apparatus was set up. It was due to his efforts that the Party retained its influence in legal mass organizations uniting members of all racial groups and every category of working people.

Comrade Marks made an important contribution to the unity of the international working-class and Communist movement as leader of SACP delegations to international forums. His was a life dedicated to the noble cause of peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

John Marks will always be remembered by all fighters for the just cause of the peoples of South Africa, by all progressives, as a consistent and staunch Leninist internationalist.

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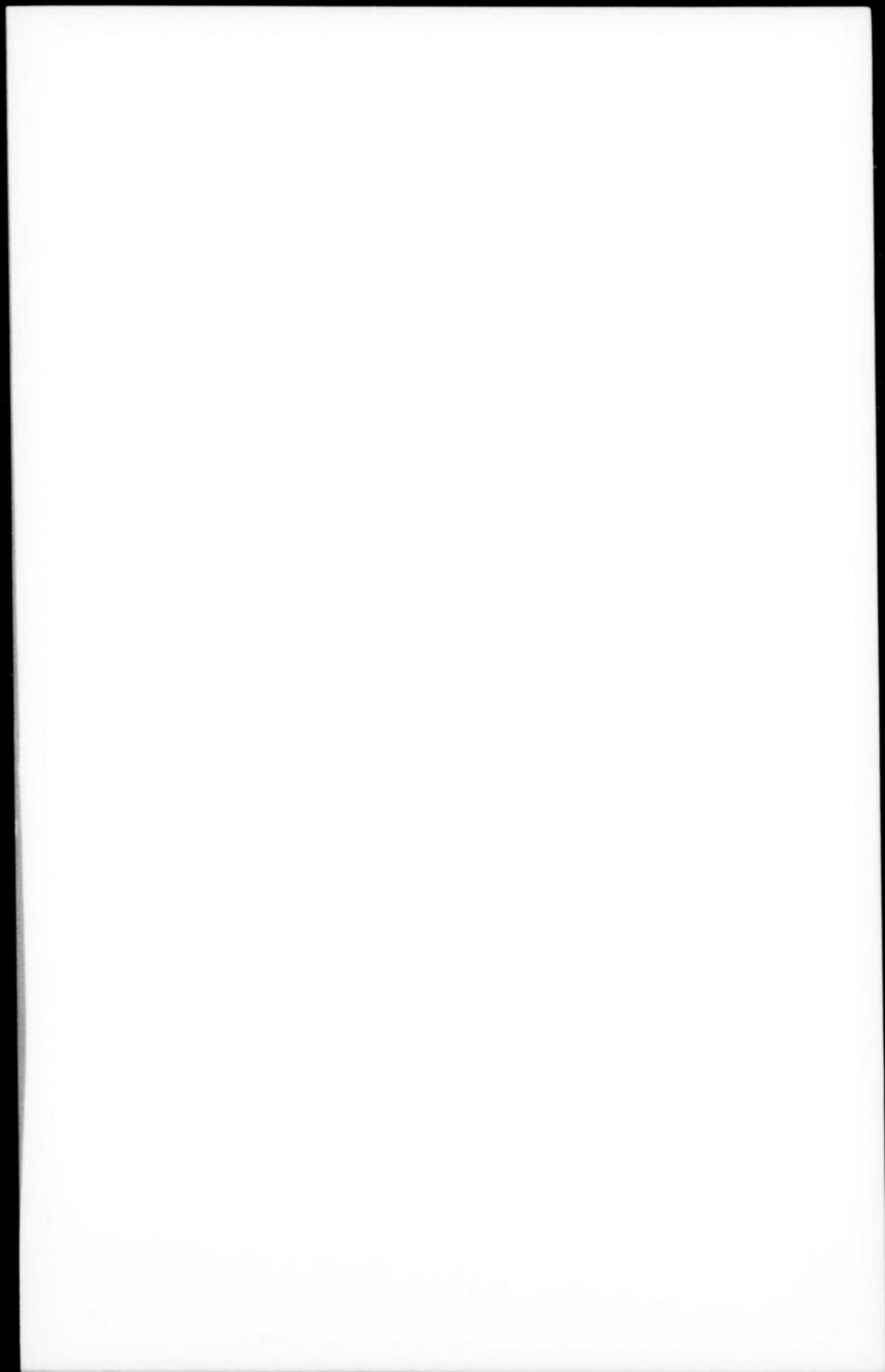
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