

WORLD

Problems of

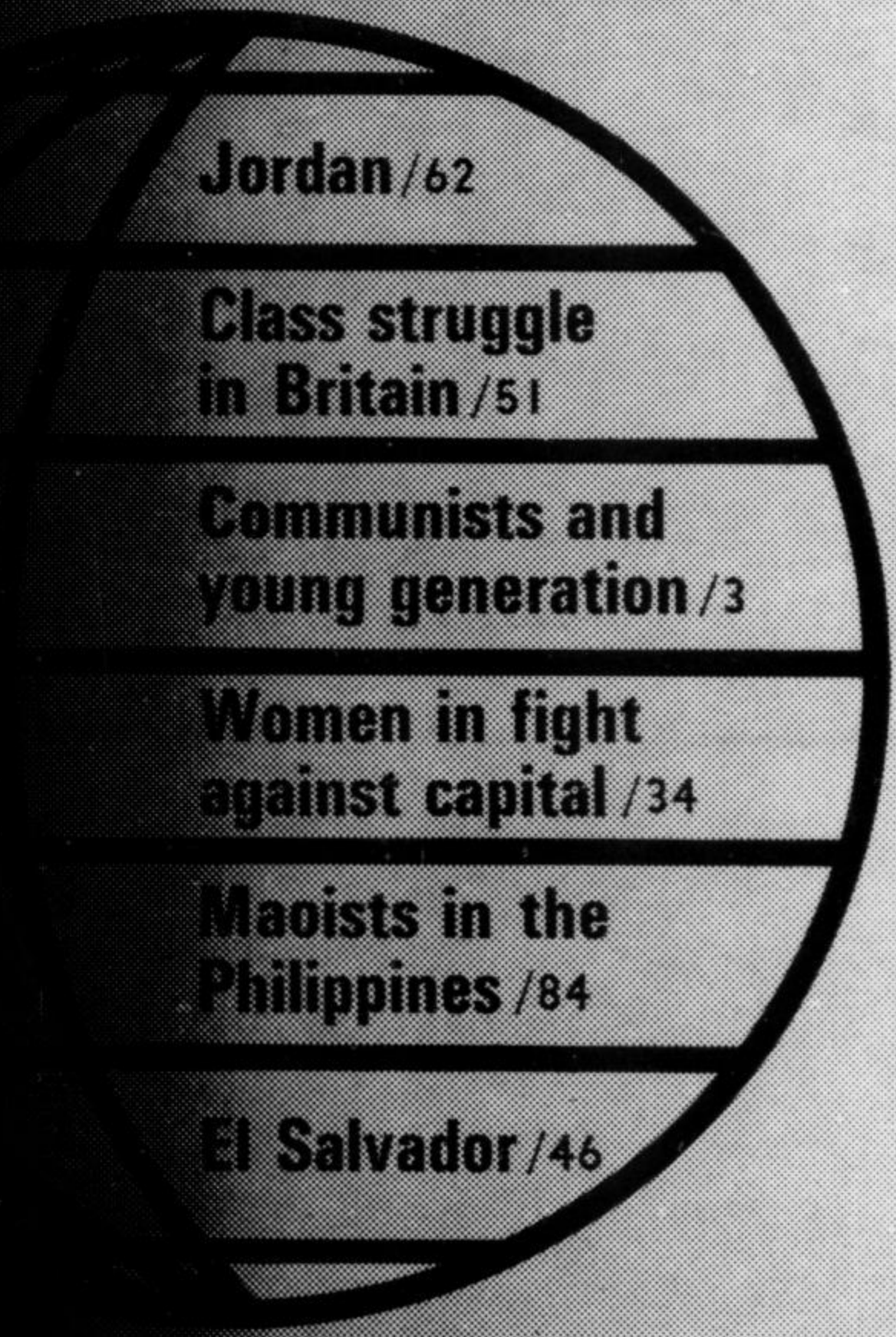
MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

June 1973, Vol. 16, No. 6

50¢



Jordan /62

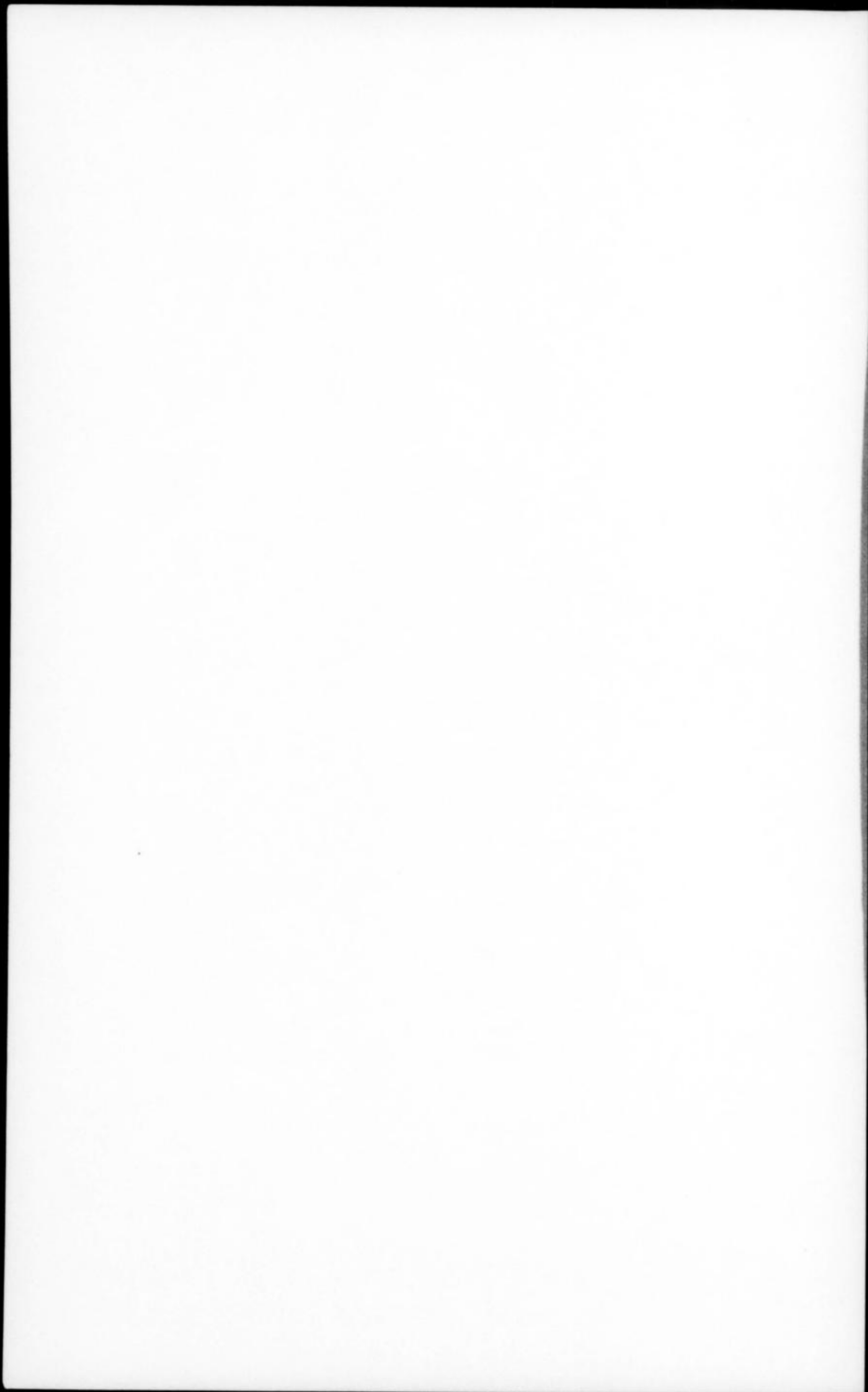
**Class struggle
in Britain /51**

**Communists and
young generation /3**

**Women in fight
against capital /34**

**Maoists in the
Philippines /84**

El Salvador /46





WORLD Problems of MARXIST Peace and Socialism REVIEW

Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

June 1973, Vol. 16, No. 6

Theory

- 3 Communists and the young generation
B. Ponomaryov
- 13 Effectiveness, planning, growth
J. Balint
- 21 Marxist understanding of social administration
B. Marx, I. Pozgay

Politics

- 34 Women in the fight against capital
(International Marxist discussion)
- 46 El Salvador: a precarious balance
S. J. Handal
- 51 Class struggle in Britain
B. Ramelson
- 59 Victorious Vietnam
M. Warnenska
- 62 The land we are fighting for
S. Khalil

- 70 Direction of socialist society
C. Vlad, D. Mazilu
- 78 World youth forum
S. Lorenz
- 84 The Maoists in the Philippines
F. Balagtas

The Party

- 90 Proletarian internationalism – past and present
F. Fuernberg
- 99 Fight for popular unity and lessons of the French elections
C. Poperen
- 106 Communist gains in elections and a new situation in Japan
J. Geshi
- 114 United against the monopolies
R. Urbany

(continued next page)

(cont'd)

The press

- 119 Trends, motive forces
of national-liberation
revolution
V. Tyagunenko
- 126 Communist factory
newspapers
M. Kapluck
- 130 The face of
present-day Marxism
(Four reviews of books)

Readers' column

- 137 Lenin's Party card
K. Bogdanova
- 140 School unions
P. Courtieu

Data

- 141 Brief information on
Communist and Workers'
Parties: SUPG, CPUSA
- 143 In brief

Second class mail registration number
2352. Printed in Canada.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal Problems of Peace and Socialism published in Prague.

Microfilm edition available through University Microfilms Library Service.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$5.00 a year, \$9.00 for two years. Single copies 50 cents. Overseas: \$8.00 a year.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in Arabic, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese,

Rumanian, Russian, Singhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions to these may be obtained through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE, 487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto. M5V 1T4

Or, in USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, 320 West Ohio St., Chicago, Ill. 60610

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. M5V 1T4

Copyright © 1968 by
Progress Books, Canada.
All Rights Reserved.





Communists and the young generation

Boris Ponomaryov
Alternate PB Member
and CC Secretary, CPSU

Work among the youth, that active political force and reserve of the Communist movement, has always had an important place in Communist activity. And this work is much more important today. For young people are more educated and professionally trained, and take an interest in politics at an earlier age. Youth's way of life is changing, too. Young men and women are being subjected to more ideological influences.

Half of the world's population is under 24. Recent years have seen the youth play a bigger part in politics and the class struggle, the anti-imperialist movement, and in socialist and communist construction.

Of course, the youth problem is differently solved in differing social settings. In the socialist countries the future of the young generation is inseparable from the effort to bring to reality the ideals of Marxism-Leninism. Needless to say, this poses its own problems. Bringing the youth into the building of the new society, its assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the emergence of the new personality—all this does not come of itself; it requires much work by the Party and Komsomol.

In the capitalist countries there are other problems: the youth must be brought into the fight against the war danger, against imperialism, brought closer to the positions of the working class and socialism, and trained in the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

I. All the differences in the conditions and character of youth work notwithstanding, the Communist movement has the common task of drawing the young generation into the revolutionary refashioning of the world. And in this respect some aspects of CPSU youth work are of undoubted interest.

The very composition of the young Soviet generation (the 16 to 30 age group) is significant: it accounts for about one-fifth of the population, over 30 per cent of the gainfully employed, and over 40 per cent of employment in the economy. And these figures on

youth organization: 31 million young people are in the Komsomol, 28 million in the trade unions, and 2 million in the Party.

The character of our youth, its spiritual make-up, were shaped in the milieu of Soviet society, but also as a result of the Communist Party's purposive effort. Socialism frees the youth of exploitation and inequality, guarantees its socio-political rights, gives it confidence in the future, presents boundless opportunities for constructive work, education and culture. Socialism eliminates the age-old disparity between proclaimed aims and reality, removes the social causes of disenchantment, of escape into one's personal life and interests, into concern only for one's well-being.

Socialism offers challenging aims worthy of youth's seething energy. The present young generation continues the traditions born in the self-sacrificing heroism of the Civil and Great Patriotic wars and in the labor effort that laid the foundations of socialist society. The CPSU has implicit faith in the Soviet youth, in which it sees its reliable helper.

This should not be taken to mean that youth work is free of problems or difficulties. The Party and Komsomol speak of them openly and find good solutions, removing the snags and resolving the problems. Their timely solution is all the more important because the youth of today will play a big part in Soviet society's advance to the highest, communist phase of development and will make a big contribution to the worldwide confrontation of the forces of peace, progress and socialism and those of reaction, aggression and imperialism.

The 24th CPSU Congress devoted much attention to the growing generation. Addressing the All-USSR Students' Rally in October 1971, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized: 'The 24th Congress decisions entrust to the Soviet youth continuation of our scientific, technological and social progress. The Congress called on our young men and women to be in the front ranks of the fighters for a high culture in production and life, for making communist standards an intrinsic part of our reality.'

Our Party is working to imbue all young people with communist convictions, make them their guide in life and work, and teach them independent ideological and political orientation.

The CPSU gives the young generation a feeling of civic responsibility for safeguarding and multiplying our socialist gains in the social, economic and political fields. It teaches the youth to draw correct conclusions from the difficulties and shortcomings they at times have to contend with. Otherwise there might develop such traits as social passivity, indifference, even susceptibility to influences alien to socialism.

The Party encourages the youth to apply its creative energy and initiative to constructive endeavor. We attach much importance to increasing the influence of the collective on the formation of personality. For the growing generation has not experienced class oppression and exploitation, has not gone through the trying

ordeal of war nor the difficulties of reconstruction and post-war rehabilitation. This is why the CPSU encourages the study and propaganda of the Soviet people's revolutionary and labor traditions.

Our Party consistently adheres to the Leninist principle of combining ideologico-political training of the youth with its practical participation in communist construction.

Soviet youth has an active part in the nationwide emulation drive for fulfilment of the five-year plan, with its emphasis on the factors that make for intensive economic development and higher production effectiveness. Millions of young workers and specialists are making a valuable contribution by their rationalization proposals and new inventions, by their effort in the front ranks of the scientific-technical revolution. The Komsomol has assumed patronage over the chief projects of the current, ninth five-year plan. There are more than 150 such priority construction projects at which the youth is setting an example of labor enthusiasm and heroism. By their self-sacrificing work and initiative, by work in the student building brigades, young people are acquiring such splendid qualities as ideological staunchness, collectivism, diligence, concern for public property, socialist patriotism, a sense of duty, ability to overcome difficulties.

The CPSU gives every support and encouragement to youth's socio-political activity, its participation in administering the affairs of society. More than 550,000 members of local Soviets (over 25 per cent of the total) are under 30, among them 320,000 Komsomol members. Nearly one-fifth of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies are under 30. The Komsomol is represented at various levels of government and in public organizations. This trains young people to think in terms of the community, the whole country, and to take a practical part in administering it.

The CPSU devotes special attention to measures designed to bring closer together the various social strata of our youth. This problem is of fundamental importance both in terms of our gradual advance to a classless communist society and in terms of educating all young people in a spirit of the communist ideals. How is it being solved?

Let us take education. The USSR is completing the transition to universal compulsory secondary education. In higher education, the aim is to make it accessible to young people from all classes and social groups on a basis of factual and not merely formal equality. To that end, preparatory courses for young workers have been started at higher educational establishments. Priority is given to those who have worked or are working in industry. Young workers and peasants are chosen for study. Branches of higher educational institutions are organized at the bigger factories. Lately, material and housing conditions of students are being improved.

The coming together of various social groups of the Soviet young generation is being achieved in other ways too. For instance, student building brigades working on various projects during the summer holidays come into closer contact with the life and problems

of young workers and peasants. Mention should also be made of the Soviet Army's role in this process. As a rule it not only provides specialized and general education, but also brings young men of different social groups and nationalities into closer association.

Representatives of the worker and peasant youth who reveal the qualities needed for political work are encouraged to take up such work after completing their higher education. That has always been CPSU policy. This gives them an active part in the leadership of society, and they can develop into state and Party cadres. This process is important not only for today, but for our future social development as well.

Internationalist education is one of the key directions of CPSU youth work. And such education is made all the easier by the internationalist climate that is part of Soviet life. Our young generation has grown as an organic part of the new historic community, the Soviet people. From early years it is taught to respect the culture and democratic heritage of all the Soviet nations. The Komsomol construction projects, where youngsters from dozens of nationalities work side by side, epitomize and develop the traditions of friendship and brotherhood of all peoples. In our schools and universities, in vocational training schools and in industry, in the Komsomol and other public organizations – everywhere young people from the many Soviet nationalities work and live as members of one big family.

The CPSU considers it its duty to educate the Soviet youth in a spirit of fraternal friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries, and of class solidarity with workers in the capitalist and developing countries. The mass media carry extensive information about the life and struggle of the working people in capitalist countries, the revolutionary activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the Communist youth leagues, all the anti-imperialist forces.

II. Our Party attaches much importance to ideologico-political work among the young generation. Experience has shown that success depends largely on the way this work is organized, on the methods employed.

'The middle-aged and the aged often do not know how to approach the youth,' Lenin wrote, 'for the youth must of necessity advance to socialism in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances than their fathers' (Coll. Works, Vol. 23, p. 164). That is why set, rigid formulas are intolerable in working with the youth.

The Party's leading role in relation to the young has nothing in common with administrative methods. The CPSU directs the many-faceted political, organizational and ideological work among the youth conducted by the many nuclei of our society. This is done in full conformity with the young generation's interests and requirements and with the active participation of its representatives. There are permanent youth commissions in the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and Union Republics, in all local Soviets, trade unions,

the writers, journalists, artists, composers unions, also youth committees in the rationalizers' and inventors' societies. Their job is to study youth problems, devise solutions, satisfy the needs of different strata of the growing generation.

Whole branches of culture in the Soviet Union cater to the youth. Suffice it to say that last year three Komsomol publishing houses put out nearly 700 books for young readers in a total printing of 41 million copies, and there were more than 2,500 books for school-children in a total printing of about 350 million copies. There are 274 youth radio and TV programs, dozens of films on youth themes, youth theatres in many of our cities.

Special mention should be made of the Komsomol press - 226 newspapers and magazines with a total circulation of some 70 million. All of them, and notably *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, which has the biggest youth readership, reflect the energy and activity of Soviet youth.

We attach much importance to the Young Pioneer Palaces, youth clubs, science circles and societies, amateur art collectives and sports organizations. Under socialism, sport is not only an important means of physical, but also of aesthetic and moral development of the young generation, cultivating willpower and collectivism. That is why our Party and state devote so much attention to sports.

Naturally, the main role in youth work belongs to the youth organizations functioning under Party leadership. The two biggest, of course, are the Komsomol and the Young Pioneers. The Komsomol enjoys extensive rights and independence. It has an active share in all our undertakings. The Party has a high regard for its work, supports its initiatives, helps to overcome difficulties that crop up in its activities. And difficulties are inevitable. For instance, everyone accepts the principle that young people should harmonize their personal with public interests. Similarly, everyone agrees that recreation should be combined with tasks of an ideologico-political character. But it is not easy to devise concrete, rational, balanced, and, at the same time, attractive ways of combining the two. Bold creative solutions have to be worked out and Komsomol organizations are doing just that, naturally with the help of the Party.

In its work with the Komsomol, the CPSU makes a point of encouraging its initiative. Excessive supervision and formalism have no place in work among the youth, and the Party rejects petty guardianship and everything that tends to hold back Komsomol initiative.

But the CPSU has always opposed making an absolute of the independence of youth organizations. Our experience has convinced us that, in a socialist society, youth enthusiasm becomes a potent constructive force only if combined with the revolutionary political experience of the Communist Party.

III. Some ten-fifteen years ago, Communists, like all other progres-

sives, were troubled by the political apathy of a considerable section of the younger generation in the capitalist world. At present, revolutionary ferment is running high and the youth is displaying its will to participate in resolving the social-political problems. Now the main thing is to help it find its effective place in the struggle against imperialism and for its own vital interests. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stressed the Communists' approval of, and active participation in, the upswing of the youth movement.

The present-day youth is entering life at a time of profound revolutionary transformations. Capitalist exploitation and national oppression have been wiped out in a large part of the world, socialist society has become a reality, the organized working class in the capitalist countries has grown into a mighty social force to be reckoned with by employers and governments, and the imperialist colonial system has crumbled. The youth is taking part in the changes, and naturally experiences their tremendous impact.

The objective condition and interest of the vast majority of the youth is inclining it towards the working class and the Communist parties, and towards Marxist ideas. The youth is attracted by the consistent revolutionism of Marxism-Leninism, its strictly scientific and creative character, and the close links between theory and the practice of class struggle. On entering life, the youth encounters the acute contradictions bred by the deepening general crisis of capitalism. The problems of employment and satisfaction of material and growing spiritual demands rouse the youth against the basic principles of the present-day capitalism, which is unable to meet their needs. The actual state of affairs, as stressed in many statements of the fraternal parties, falls far short of the scientific-technical and cultural progress and the opportunities this affords for the all-round development of the individual, calling for a radical re-patterning of education, upbringing, and professional training. More and more young people are joining the protest movement against the licentious monopoly rule and imperialism's acts of aggression. Socio-politically, it is part of the broad anti-imperialist movement, of which the working class is the unifying core and hegemon, for in these days all progressive movements interweave organically with the working-class struggle.

But the younger generation does not develop in an ideological vacuum. A struggle for influence rages in the capitalist world, made all the more acute by the objective gravitation of large sections of the youth towards Marxism-Leninism.

The ruling class employs the state, the Church, the mass media and every other possible channel to influence young people and divert them from politics and ideology. Communists in many countries note that proponents of reformism and clericalism have become visibly more active. The young generation's sense of alienation and discontent with its role in society and the place capitalism allots the individual in production, generate disenchantment with social ideals, breeding such perverse forms of social

protest as the 'hippie' movement and, at the other extreme, a spurious anarchistic radicalism, which Right and 'Left' extremists exploit for their own ends. This is helping the ruling class to direct the young people's social protest into a safe, even for them profitable, channel by counterposing it to the organized working-class movement and turning the youth against the socialist countries.

However, the political situation in the world offers Communists abundant objective opportunities to step up their youth work. The influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas, in fact, is not to be measured solely by the numerical strength of the young Communist leagues. In many countries, young men and women join the Communist Party directly. Furthermore, Marxism-Leninism is exercising an ever greater influence on the activity of other youth organizations.

The whole world gives great credit to the CPSU, the Soviet Union, the other socialist states, and the international Communist movement, for promoting international détente, helping to stop the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and settling many of the other major international problems covered by the Peace Program in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Report to the 24th CPSU Congress. As stressed by the CC CPSU April meeting, that Program is being put into effect with good results. This conforms with the interests of the broad masses, including the youth.

Communism offers a clear, pure and lofty perspective consonant with the aspirations of the youth. Communism, and the real socialism embodied in the socialist community, has remarkable achievements. Using these to the maximum, we Communists can exercise an ever stronger influence on the minds and feelings of the younger generation throughout the world.

Understandably, the action plans of each party are drawn up to suit the concrete local conditions. But much depends on international cooperation. The CPSU regards the youth movement in the USSR as a part of the worldwide movement, and therefore attaches special significance to expanding the contacts of our Lenin Young Communist League with the fraternal Communist youth leagues. This, the Party holds, is an important means of instilling proletarian internationalism in our own younger generation. The further expansion and consolidation of such contacts is highly important in many other ways, and particularly for the further consolidation of the international youth movement on an anti-imperialist platform.

IV. Youth participation in the massive Vietnam solidarity movement, the struggle for security in Europe and other regions, and actions supporting the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples and in the Portuguese colonies, speak of the youth's deep interest in international affairs. Understandably so, because the question of war and peace has a direct bearing on the future of the younger generation. The youth anti-war movements are a sign of the times, and can help greatly in infusing new strength into the general anti-imperialist struggle. Such international democratic youth organizations as the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students should play a big part in this.

Europe is no longer the same. The main elements of the program framed by the Karlovy Vary Conference have been achieved thanks to the foreign-policy initiatives of the USSR, the other socialist countries and the fraternal Communist parties. And fighting for further relaxation of tension, we Communists keep watch on all the sides of the process.

There are new opportunities for expanding and vitalizing the democratic movements and promoting cooperation of different political currents. Most of all this applies to the youth movement.

Nowadays, we hold, there could be contacts not only with forces close to us Communists, but also with more distant forces which would never have thought of sitting at the same table with Communists in the recent past. Despite anti-Communist and anti-Soviet prejudices, young Social-Democrats, Demochristians and Liberals are compelled by the very realities of life to seek contact with the youth in the socialist countries and, in some cases, also with the Communist youth organizations in their own countries. International cooperation among the youth organizations of different political trends has become more lively. Such broadly representative actions as, say, the youth and students European security conferences in Florence and Helsinki, were inconceivable only a few years ago.

On the other hand, the weaker position of militarist and revenge-seeking forces may nourish complacency among some sections of the public. Yet in the present conditions such complacency is impermissible. On the contrary, a further uplift is needed. Lapse of political vigilance can only harm détente. Despite the declining tension in Europe and the termination of the Vietnam aggression, the arms race continues unabated, mass annihilation weapons continue to be improved, the military budgets of the USA and other NATO countries continue to grow, seats of danger to peace, as in the Middle East, continue to exist, and, last but not least, the reactionary forces are going out of their way to keep up the climate of psychological warfare. Many people in the capitalist world still need to learn what Communists know for an obvious fact – that the new realistic attitudes of some Western governments are not simply tokens of goodwill, but a result of the changed relation of strength on the international scene and in the separate countries a result of the struggle of the masses, their political parties and public organizations.

To develop effectively, the youth movement requires a sound and clear definition of its objectives, and must learn to harmonize its needs with the interests of the working-class and national-liberation movement. It may be useful to bring home to the youth the Marxist approach to the correlation of general-democratic and socialist tasks, that is, Lenin's call 'to combine the struggle for democracy and the struggle for the socialist revolution' (Vol. 35, p. 267). In this Communists can render the youth invaluable help. Take the World Rally of Working Youth, held in Moscow in November 1972. It proved that nowadays discussions of the Marxist-

Leninist approach to the major social-economic problems at broadly representative forums (as many as 115 countries sent representatives to the Moscow rally) can be fruitful and constructive.

The international democratic organizations need a dynamic policy of cooperation with other political trends on an anti-imperialist platform. The progressive and democratic youth organizations should not stand aloof as youth exchanges develop along government channels.

Seeking broader cooperation with other trends, young Communists are aware of the new forms of ideological struggle; these may not be as sharp on the surface, but require as much, and possibly more, political acumen and insight. Having failed to 'roll back' communism, our adversaries will doubtless try to exploit the detente process to promote what they openly style as their 'flexible policy' of 'eroding' socialism. Some want to use the greater exchange of people and ideas for new acts of ideological diversion. And we must keep a sharp eye on these attempts at neutralizing the class approach and peddling 'convergence,' 'ideological peace' and other such bourgeois-liberal and reformist concepts.

On the other hand, we know the harm done to the youth movement by the Trotskyite, Maoist and other ultra-Left trends. True, the bid to create a worldwide Maoist movement has collapsed. But extreme leftist propaganda may now become more active due to the developing détente and the headway in establishing a dependable European security system. It is therefore especially urgent to show the danger of the various pseudo-revolutionary ideas liable to influence the youth.

Despite the variety and continuous renewal of our concrete slogans and demands, the facts and the revolutionary practice of the fraternal parties show that there are some unchanging and common features.

Firstly, the maximum effort goes into developing the youth movement as an active and conscious participant in the great class battle for the interests of the working class, for peace and socialism. To quote the resolution submitted by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg to the Stuttgart Congress, the Communists must 'act in such a way as to educate working class youth in the spirit of socialism and an awareness of the brotherhood of nations' (Lenin, Vol. 41, p. 200).

Secondly, the younger generation is rallied to tackle its specific problems arising from the requirements of different social groups. Equal pay for equal work, professional and technical training, access to higher education, and other social-economic and academic problems occupy an ever more conspicuous place in the programs and daily activity of Communists, and their propaganda shows the connection between the specific youth demands and the general struggle of the progressive forces against monopoly and the military-industrial complex, for far-reaching democratic and social change.

Thirdly, fuller satisfaction is sought of the young people's inter-

est in world problems and their urge to participate in resolving them. This is facilitated by showing the abyss between the anti-popular substance of imperialist rule and the interests of the youth and the masses in general.

While rousing the youth for the battle for European security and cooperation, and the democratic alternative to the 'Europe of the trusts,' Communists are aware of the mounting Euro-centrist sentiment. The youth movement of Europe cannot exist in isolation from the youth organizations on other continents. Solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people, as we know, was one of the principal stimuli of the European progressive youth movement, of its united action.

The agreement terminating the Vietnam war should give impulse to youth and other mass movements in pressing for other urgent international solutions, and liberating the peoples from all forms of national and social oppression. Much could be accomplished by the 10th World Festival of Youth and Students in Berlin under the motto, 'For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, and for Peace and Friendship'!

Finally, we must not overlook the basic importance of explaining the policy of the socialist countries, and countering slander and misinformation on this score, whoever it may come from. Young people should understand what the socialist countries mean historically for their own future and the future of the whole world, for this adds considerably to the influence of Marxism-Leninism. The attitude to the socialist countries, locked in tense struggle with imperialism as they effectuate the ideals of the working class, is the focal point of our ideological work among the youth and of its revolutionary education.

The development of the youth movement has given rise to many serious political and theoretical problems, which the Communist parties can resolve jointly. Undertakings such as the recent Moscow conference of European Communist and Workers' parties on youth work, and further cooperation in this sphere, will produce important stimuli for drawing the youth into the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Effectiveness, planning, growth

Jozsef Balint

Member CC, HSWP, Head of
CC Economic Policy Department

CONTINUING OUR SERIES ON DEVELOPED SOCIALISM*

In 1962, the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party recorded that the country had laid the basis of socialism and had started the building of developed socialist society.

The present stage differs substantially from the preceding one. In laying the foundations of socialism our central aim was dominance of socialist property relations. Nationalization of industry and co-operative reorganization of small enterprises plus planning set the economy on a dynamic path. Priority was given to socialist industrialization. Heavy industry became the mainstay of the economy. Large-scale socialist agriculture became a reality. Production assets increased 150 per cent. Employment rose. Science played a more important economic and social role. All this enabled us considerably to raise living standards. Such, in brief, was the economic basis for the new stage in socialist construction.

An analysis of the objective economic regularities operating in Hungary suggests that they are part of a trend common to all the socialist countries that have reached a stage similar to ours. And the trend is towards progressive restructuring of the economy and its component branches, new economic proportions, bigger role of intensive-growth and effectiveness factors, more reliance on the international socialist division of labor, including integration, more rational management based on better planning combined with use of the market mechanism and economic incentives, accelerated improvement of living standards. This article examines the distinctive economic-development features at this new stage from the standpoint of changes in the material-technical basis, perfection of the management mechanism, and the rise of living standards.

Building a developed socialist society is a long and complex process. It involves a higher level of technology, higher skill of workers and engineers, and better organization of production. Of course, efforts towards better economic performance were made at preceding stages, too, and in many areas the results were outstanding, but priority was given to expansion through quantitative growth. This no longer accords with the objective conditions of today, namely, rising social requirements and the two-system economic competition. The accent now has to be on higher labor productivity.

*See articles by P. Demichev in No. 1 and H. Warnke in No. 3 of WMR, 1973.

In other words, expansion of the productive forces now has to be based on *intensive* growth. That common regularity, which applies to Hungary as to all other socialist countries, lays a definite imprint on technology, training of industrial personnel and on basic economic proportions.

In 1960, 24.7 per cent of the gainfully employed population had an elementary eight-year education. In 1970 the proportion was 42.3 per cent, and the figures for secondary education were 7.2 and 13.8 per cent respectively. The proportion of white-collar workers and professionals increased over the same period from 17 to 26 per cent, and the share of skilled workers in total blue-collar employment from 53 to 60 per cent.

Accelerated socialist industrialization required concentrated accumulation, chiefly for investment in industry: 25-30 per cent of the national income went into accumulation. Today, too, we are striving for an optimal rate of economic growth, but also for systematic growth of consumption. Accordingly, the 1971-1975 plan sets accumulation at 23-25 per cent of national income, with a bigger share earmarked for the non-productive branches to accelerate the rise in living standards.

Last year, total value of industrial plant amounted to 343 billion forints, 108 billion more than in 1967. Per-worker consumption of electric power rose from 5,332 kwh in 1960 to 8,814 kwh in 1970. However, the proportion of manual labor is still high, especially in loading and unloading and handling of materials.

The factors that go into an *optimal economic structure* are gradually being extended. The two most important in Hungary are balanced development of industry and agriculture, and international socialist division of labor.

For 10 years now, agriculture has been getting an average of 16 per cent of all capital investment. Growth rates between the two basic economic departments are evening out: industry is growing approximately twice as fast as agriculture and this, we believe, is normal. Rapid consolidation of our socialist agriculture plus state credits and subsidies have made for wide use of more efficient methods in both crop and animal farming. The following figures are indicative of what we have accomplished: high-grade sorts make up 100 per cent of the corn and 85 per cent of the wheat harvest; large scale factory-type farms produce 60 per cent of poultry, 13-15 per cent of eggs, 18-20 of pork, 15-18 of milk. In the second half of the 60s we were able to give the country a stable supply of cereals. Now, in the 70s, we are working on a balanced and effective supply of meat and other animal products.

Refashioning of the industrial structure became a pressing problem in the late 50s and early 60s. We gradually started new lines of production, and now these hold a prominent place in our five-year plans. One of the most far-reaching measures was re-patterning of the energy structure. In 1965-72, work stopped in half of the coal mines, and deep-mine operations were reduced; the general technical level of the industry has risen appreciably. All this

was possible thanks to oil deliveries from the USSR – 5.2 million tons in 1972. Electric power output was increased and made cheaper by using bigger and more economical generating units and by Hungary's inclusion in the CMEA grid.

We are making more rational use of our prime raw material, bauxites. With a limited power supply, we are not in a position to process all our aluminums. We are doing that in cooperation with the USSR, which takes our aluminums and supplies us the finished product.

The chemical industry is developing dynamically, with much of the new plant producing fertilizer and other products for agriculture. On a per capita basis, Hungary is the world's fifth biggest producer and second biggest exporter of medicines. Petrochemicals are making good headway too and the current five-year plan calls for an industrial complex operating in cooperation with Soviet industry.

Engineering plays a special role in shaping our progressive industrial structure. It accounts for one-third of all industry, but modernization is impeded by a too-wide range of products, so that goods are produced in relatively small quantities. We are eliminating this by a series of measures. First, by discontinuing production of goods it is more rational to import (passenger cars, for instance), and second, by boosting serial production, with plants abandoning output of tractors, general-purpose trucks, motorcycles, ships, and shifting to mass output of other items. By concentrating investments, we have developed, in cooperation with the USSR, serial output of buses – in 1975 we shall produce 10,500, a figure inconceivable for a small country like ours working on its own. That method is being followed in a number of other industries.

The *infrastructure* – roads, modern transport facilities, storage capacities, in particular refrigerating from farm to consumer, diverse service enterprises – holds an important place in building the material and technical basis of mature socialism. Among other things, this makes for more rational use of plant and working time.

In accordance with Party directives on science, we have worked out an imposing 15-year research plan that will bring us up to world standards or very close to them and will assure closer interaction of research and the economy. We can already speak of the first achievements in carrying out this program.

The growth of national income is now at a higher and more stable rate, 6 per cent in 1968-72 compared with 5.2 per cent in 1961-67. Year-to-year growth-rate fluctuations have been narrowed down, though temporary imbalances have occurred. Economic growth is fully in line with our potentialities: raw material supply, effectiveness level, investment funds, production structure. We feel that there is no margin for a substantially higher growth rate.

Hungary holds 28th place in the world in per capita national income. Three-quarters of the world's population live in countries where economic levels are lower than ours. Measured against the 27 countries with higher per capita indicators, Hungary can be rated among the average.

In common with other socialist countries that have passed the accelerated-industrialization stage, industry is the main producer of national income, accounting for no less than 43 per cent. Building, transport, communications and trade are now contributing more, while the share of agriculture has dropped from 21.8 to 18.2 per cent.

The two sensitive areas affecting balanced economic development are agriculture, still largely dependent on weather conditions, and capital investments, where over-ambitious projects and slow construction can at times adversely affect allocation of national income. Such was the case in 1971, and we had to take special measures to prevent a repetition in 1972 and keep investment within planned parameters. This we successfully accomplished.

The 1971 and 1972 increase in national income came entirely from higher productivity, that key factor of intensive development. This was achieved with a lesser inflow of labor power, through better equipment and technology. Production plant per worker increased 7.1 per cent in 1971 and 8 per cent in 1972.

One of the characteristics of developed socialism is strengthening the *socialist forms of property*, which reached dominance throughout the economy in the preceding period. The socialist sector accounts for 98 per cent of national income. We do not think it advisable to push ahead with elimination of the survivals of non-socialist property relations, though politically this would present no problem. Small private industries and artisan enterprises, which account for about one per cent of industrial output, and private retail trade, which accounts for even less, offer services to the population and operate within a government-set framework. In agriculture, 94 per cent of the land is worked by socialist farms, and about 8 per cent of this figure is in household plots of cooperative farmers and state-farm employees.

After laying the basis of socialism we had to solve two problems of property relations, namely, cooperative ownership of the land and the amount of property allowed each citizen. On joining the cooperative, the peasant remained owner of his plot and was entitled to receive rent. At that time this flexible measure helped the transition to cooperative farming, but it no longer fits in with developed socialist relations. Under a law passed a few years ago, the land became cooperative property. Plots abandoned by persons taking up work outside agriculture became part of the cooperatives, which also received the state lands they were cultivating. Cooperative members can turn their land over to the cooperative for compensation equal to 5-6 years' rent. In the past five years cooperative land nearly doubled and there is no need to prod the process.

Mention should be made also of this peculiar feature of our agriculture: nearly 35 per cent of its product comes from non-cooperative producers (22 per cent from cooperative farmers' household plots, 9-10 per cent from those of persons employed outside agriculture, and 3-4 per cent from individual peasant farms), and we

shall need these sources of supply for a long time to come. This small commodity production is economically regulated by the state and the cooperatives.

Personal property makes up 17 per cent of the national wealth. This applies to flats, country cottages, plots of land, the size of all of which is regulated by the state. All other personal property is not subject to state regulation.

The development of socialist relations is no longer expressed in expansion of the socialist sector. Our main aim now is more effectively to utilize the productive forces for all-round economic development. Accordingly we have concentrated on harmonizing the interests of production collectives and individual workers, devising ways and means of combining the advantages of socialist planned management with initiative at factory level.

The transition to developed socialism poses not only new problems in building up our material and technical basis. It requires *overall perfection of industrial management*, as the economic reforms in the socialist countries have shown. In 1966, the Party's Central Committee adopted measures to improve economic management, and in 1968 this was followed by the introduction of our economic reform. In terms of political significance we rank it second to such developments as consolidation of working people's power and socialist reorganization of agriculture.

The way for the new system of economic management was paved by the preceding development of the productive forces and relations of production. The economy had become a highly diversified and complicated mechanism requiring ever greater international division of labor. No longer could it count on any numerical increase of workers: that previously so important source of growth had gradually run dry. Efficiency, rapid technical progress and flexible adaptation to requirements became the order of the day. The home market demand increased. So did the role of foreign trade. Foreign markets had to be correctly assessed.

Nowadays, production assets represent a fabulous value, and it is important to use them in strict accordance with the plan. Well-balanced proportions are vital. The deficits that survive in many of the economic sectors since the accelerated growth of the early period of socialist construction must be eliminated. We reduced them substantially in the 60s by introducing commercial distribution of means of production and establishing direct ties between supplier and user. The same principles, it may be noted, began to be introduced at about the same time in a few other socialist countries.

Naturally, we learned what we could from the experience of the brother countries and also acquainted ourselves with their future intentions. Our approach was wholly attuned to the present objective tendency of perfecting planning, commodity-money relations, and material incentives. Yet our specific methods of management took account of local conditions and national features.

Drawing up their plan, enterprises are obliged to consider the economic levers of the state; but they do so independently and operate the plan on their own, but under state control. They dovetail their production targets with the national economic plan, international trade commitments, their own knowledge of the market, and with the various government regulations. Enterprises thus participate in the attainment of national plan targets, and receive added encouragement through material incentives.

Profit has been made the principal measure. Higher incomes for the personnel (profit-sharing) and the size of the enterprise development fund, depend on profits. The centralization of the net proceeds is high: about 72 per cent go to the state, while 35-40 per cent remain with the enterprise (under norms set beforehand). The correlation of production, procurement and consumer prices has changed substantially, and is still changing. Now, it reflects the social outlays more closely. There are three kinds of prices: fixed, ceiling and free. The prices of the essential commodities, including about half the consumer goods, are fixed.

We have special coefficients to square domestic with export and import prices: this is an incentive for enterprises producing for export (about 40 per cent of the nation's income is derived from foreign trade), of which the bigger ones conduct their own foreign trade. They are of course obliged to meet their share of the inter-state commitments and are subject to government monetary control.

Enterprises have been granted greater scope and responsibility in planning technical progress and investments. These are financed - 44 per cent out of the budget, 35 per cent by the enterprise development fund, and 21 per cent by bank credits. The bulk of applied research and technical development is paid for by enterprises out of their own resources. Here enterprises and research institutions collaborate on a contractual basis.

In November 1972, reviewing the five preceding years of the new economic management system, the HSWP Central Committee stressed its viability and commended it for promoting balanced economic growth in the best interest of socialist construction.

The effects of the reform are gradual. Its implementation is not yet complete. The process requires continuous analysis, critical assessment, constant improvement, and correctives. The Central Committee noted in its review that in some sectors the results have fallen short of expectations - partly due to objective reasons and partly to flaws in management and implementation. Constant evaluation of management and experience is therefore a standing necessity. Measures have been framed to introduce correctives in regulation, though its essentials are to remain intact. Much the same thing was done after 1968, when some of the elements, parameters and methods were modified. And we shall do so again when needed.

The Party's evaluation of the present system, based on our past experience, is objective and impartial. We should be the last to

maintain that our way of tying up centralized direction with local independence is suitable in all conditions. But we hold that in our own case it is yielding the best possible solutions. The primacy of the national economic plan, framed with full consideration for our economic realities, is a decisive provision in socialist commodity-money relations. In the distribution process, tendencies contrary to socialist principles should never be allowed to invade the sphere of conflicting interests and stimuli. Such transgressions are sooner or later bound to breed social tensions, and this the Party must in no case permit.

It is safe to say – on the basis of our 25 years of experience – that economic management devoid of contradictions can exist only on paper. There are bound to be collisions of interest, non-professionalism, misunderstanding, deficient socialist consciousness, even violations of socialist ethics. If wages and salaries were excessively centralized, for example, there would be less room for disputes but a greater margin of error. If wages were set with a greater degree of local initiative, on the other hand, there would be more local disputes but more justified distribution. And if the pricing system were completely pegged down, the economy would operate with ‘concealed’ but often serious errors. If we used a combination of fixed and free prices, there would be favored and less favored enterprises, production would adapt itself more quickly to technical progress and the consumer demand, but prices would frequently be questionable and there could also be unjustifiable price increases. The advantages of pegging workers’ incomes to the profit of their enterprise, the essence of collective stimulation, are beyond question. What is open to question and requires a more accurate assessment, is the degree of this arrangement, for an excess may lead to disproportions in wages and salaries.

An all-embracing analysis of our past five years’ experience will help work out the economic management objectives for the fifth five-year plan (1976-1980). The norms must be aligned with the plan targets. The most important objectives: further stimulation of technical progress, a better balanced correlation of incomes and lesser dependence of wages on profit, further improvement of the correlation of prices to assure a more accurate reflection of social outlays, greater incentives to economize labor and release manpower, more support to promising enterprises, and, last but not least, early termination of unprofitable operations.

The *living standard* is of objective significance in the stage of building developed socialism. And the opportunities for elevating it are also more abundant. For more than 15 years the HSWP has consistently followed the principle that socialist development must go hand in hand with steadily rising material and cultural standards for all sections of the nation.

In the early stage of socialist construction the decisive factor was to increase the number of employed per family, on the one hand, and to expand the system of free social services, on the other. Now, the decisive factor is to increase real wages.

All our able-bodied male population is securely employed. Women's employment is higher than in most economically developed capitalist states and approximately the same as in the other socialist countries. Women account for 42 per cent of wage-earners. Rising cash incomes are accompanied by a corresponding growth of commodity supplies. Our consumer prices are designed to assure relative stability, but when rational management so requires are modified according to plan. House rents have been raised to cover the immediate maintenance costs (not including depreciation and profit). The retail price of milk and other dairy products has been balanced with production costs. Meat prices will be raised in 1976, while the price of most other commodities, such as garments, will be substantially lowered. Government and public control is being stiffened in the sphere of the so-called free prices, the formation of which, though not the level, is state-regulated. The reduction of working hours in industry and building in 1968-69 is to be followed by the introduction of a 44-hour week in the remaining sections of the economy.

In the first two years of the fourth five-year plan period the real per capita income has gone up five per cent as planned, chiefly by virtue of wage and salary increases. Average monthly earnings in the socialist sector have risen from 1,933 forints in 1967 to 2,496 in 1972. Teachers' salaries were raised on average 19-20 per cent in 1971, and those of medical personnel 8-34 per cent. Some industries (building, transport, and the like) were able to make somewhat higher wage increases. By a Central Committee decision, the wages of workers and foremen in industry were raised an average of eight per cent, and in building six per cent as of March 1, 1973. This rise is augmented by wage increases out of resources of the enterprise. As a result, this year's wage increase amounts to approximately 10-12 per cent. The centralized wage hike was motivated by the fact that workers' wages in mainly the big industries had gone up less rapidly than the earnings of other sections of the population. Yet incomes of workers associated with the most highly developed productive forces should on no account tail behind.

In the present stage, distribution according to work requires a greater differentiation of earnings: they must reflect more fully the quantity, quality and social value of the work performed. Skill and competence should receive more palpable acknowledgement. And the manpower shortage also requires that the pay for hard manual labor should be higher. Meanwhile, the Party and government have taken action against disproportionately high incomes incommensurate with the work performed.

Public funds, which grow at a substantially higher rate than the national income, help to balance out family incomes. We are determined to increase the allowances to large families and improve the living conditions of aged people. The children's allowance was boosted many times in the past seven or eight years, and additional benefits have been introduced for infants. Pensions have been raised

and are automatically increased two per cent annually to retain their real value.

In 1971, the average income per member of a worker's family was 1,738 forints, farmer's 1,735, mental worker's 2,343, independent producer's 1,936 and pensioner's 1,379. The range, as we see, is not wide. And, we may add, the most significant achievement of the past 6-8 years is that farmers' incomes have practically balanced out with those of workers. The large-scale socialist farms are economically stronger, labor productivity has gone up steeply, farmers' social maintenance essentially equals that of blue- and white-collar workers, and the output of the farmers' own plots has increased. True, the annual total of working hours is still somewhat higher in farming than in industry.

The nation is eating better. Consumption of proteins of animal origin is approaching that of the economically developed European countries. Industrial food processing has expanded rapidly. And people are also better clothed. The spread of consumer durables has changed our life style. Domestic machines are available in almost every household, television is practically universal, there are many more privately-owned motor cars, and the burdens of house-keeping are considerably lighter.

A 15-year building program (1960-1975) envisaging a total of one million new homes, is well on the way to ending the housing shortage. We are approaching the economically developed countries for house-building per 1,000 population.

Surveys of basic economic trends in the period of the full-scale building of socialism have revealed distinctly new problems that require new solutions. All the same, this period is part of the general process of building the new system. The way for it was paved by the gains made in the period of building the foundations of socialism, and, in its turn, it is laying the groundwork for the next stage of our social development.

Marxist understanding of social administration

Marxist-Leninists are deeply interested in everything related to social administration. True, the problems facing the ruling Communist parties which organize life in socialist society differ from those of Communists working in the capitalist environment. In both cases, however, the merit of the solution hinges on the theoretical grasp of the subject.

Seeing the importance of the matter, the journal's Commission for

General Theory has, for a start, singled out the most topical aspects and invited Marxist scholars Imre Pozgay, Deputy Editor of *Társadalmi Szemle* (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party) and Bernard Marx, member of the editorial board of *Economie et politique* (French Communist Party), to our Prague offices to discuss them.

A transcript of their discussion follows.

WHAT ARE THE MOST TOPICAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION? WHAT ARE ITS NEW FACTORS AND OBJECTIVE REQUIREMENTS?

Pozgay: Administration, as we know, is a necessary functional element of any organized system, including the social. However, the term 'social administration' is not yet clear and is still debated in Marxist literature. But it is probably safe to assume that it amounts to conscious and purposive influence on social relations and processes. It is an objective requirement stemming from the joint activity of individuals, the social nature of human existence, and the coordination of individual efforts in labor and community life. And the core of social administration is the managing of production and influencing economic relations, which are the basis of all social relations.

The subjective factor has come to play a greater part in organizing social life since production is more socialized and closer links have appeared between its economic, socio-political, and spiritual sphere. Their administration has tended to blend more and more into one whole. And the complicated set of issues described as 'problems of administration' occupies specialists in different fields — engineers, economists, sociologists, jurists. It is therefore very important to analyze these problems from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, with an eye on the interaction of classes and social groups, and the role of the state in socialist and capitalist society. The Communist Party's place in social administration and the place of administration in the Party's policy is another important point. This approach could also probably profit our discussion.

Bernard Marx. It is certainly too ambitious to tackle all aspects of social administration. Let us take just the basic points. In capitalist society social administration is a sphere of interminable class struggle in theory as well as practice, and in society generally as well as in the enterprises, and new factors have appeared to make it more acute. In France, for example, the battle rages over the common Left government program.

There is no social administration in general any more than there is production in general. We cannot analyze the mechanisms of administration in a class society until we answer the main questions: who owns the means of production and who holds power? This shows whose interests are prompted in the process of administration and the functions of the administrative mechanism of the state and other social institutions, the relation between the authority and the masses, the governing and governed, at all levels.

The functions of administering production are conditioned by the social nature of labor, but also by the motives and aims of production. In capitalist society, therefore, it is associated with exploitation and is subordinate to the profit motive and to capitalist, now monopolistic, accumulation. For the working man the organization of his labor is an act of an alien and hostile will subjugating him to its own aims.

This, in the final analysis, determines the content and method of monopolistic administration.

Pozgay. Under socialism, too, administration is dual, though in an entirely different sense: it is not simply coordination of social labor, but also promotes the workers' rights as collective proprietors of the means of production. It is therefore subordinate to the interests of the working people, assuring 'full well-being and free, all-round development for all members of society' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 54),

Among the new factors spurring improvements in administration, we should probably concentrate first and foremost on the following.

The scientific-technical revolution creates new economic requirements. The big programs involve terrific outlays, accelerate concentration and socialization, and lay emphasis on centralized planned economic management on a national scale under capitalism, and on better planning under socialism. The worker, too, faces new compulsions as regards his skill and attitude to labor. Administration has to cope with new problems arising from the 'human factor': development of the main productive force follows new lines, and so do interaction of the productive and non-productive spheres and development of the object of administration; participation of workers in managing production and administering social affairs is a more compelling objective necessity than before. But it will be easily seen that these objective requirements are contradictory (e.g., centralized professional administration contradicts democratization); the contradictions develop and are resolved in different ways, depending on the social conditions.

The economy of Hungary has now passed the period of extensive development. Growth by expansion of the labor force is, in effect, exhausted. The only way is to raise labor productivity, chiefly through the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution. For us, therefore, accumulation has become a top objective. But it must go hand in hand with ever rising living standards and broader opportunities for the all-round development of the individual. Implicit in the very nature of socialist society, this aim coincides with the need of modern production for skilled, socially conscious operators. But in practice numerous problems arise that we could put under the head of 'man in the system of administration.'

The individual's role in production is greater, for he deals with a much greater volume of labor materialized in means of production. Consequently, society is now more concerned about his relation to labor and about his options — where, at what enterprise, he wishes

to work, in town or in country, for how long, what education he means to get and what skills to acquire. On the other hand, it is increasingly difficult to influence his options and behavior. Administrative measures are not always effective and not always suitable. Neither are material incentives. Once there is a definite degree of well-being, the individual may give preference to other things over higher wages, such as simpler, less exacting, though also less remunerative work; or he may prefer leisure to evening study. Besides, incomes are being levelled by raising wages and salaries in the low and middle brackets, creating the need to combine different levers: economic, social, ethical, and others.

I should mention at least two points that depend on administration. Conversely, the success of administration, too, depends on how it copes with them. These are, firstly, harmonizing public and particular (group or individual) interests, and, secondly, mass participation in elaborating and passing decisions, controlling their fulfilment and the professional administrators. Experience shows that the individual functions best in an administered system, an enterprise or society generally, if he has a stake in its aims and is in some way involved in the system of administration (at enterprise, district, or some other level). Under socialism the masses do have a stake in society's aims and participate in administration. This is a typical feature of socialism and its important advantage over capitalism, put into effect through continuous improvement of the mechanics of administration. But this, I feel, is a point that should be dealt with separately.

Bernard Marx. In capitalist society new problems arise with the growth of the productive forces impelled by the scientific-technical revolution. The evolution of social administration promoted by modern technology and its socialization, is also inevitably oriented on safeguarding monopoly profit.

There comes a time, however, when the situation cannot be accommodated by merely improving the administrative apparatus. Radical social change becomes inevitable, because the very levers of regulation were shaped by a system that is no longer able to function normally. Such is the situation in present-day France, gripped by a crisis engulfing all areas of social life. And in this situation everything the ruling class may do to resolve the contradictions only makes them more acute.

Under capitalism, production management has undergone an evolution. No longer can we speak of independent production at enterprises and of its spontaneous regulation on a national scale. Nowadays, production is organized by monopolies of an international scale in ever closer cooperation with the state. The state no longer confines its regulation to the domain of law and intervenes more and more directly in economic and social relations, striving to influence all areas of social life. This process is traceable to the growing contradictions, the socialization of the productive forces, but also to the struggles of the working class, and the economic competition of the two systems.

The monopolies require state involvement: it facilitates concentration and centralization of capital, supports the monopoly profit motive, ensures monopolies against losses, helps train skilled labor, maintains the political climate, defends their interests internationally, and the like. So, the main features of social administration in modern capitalist society are traceable chiefly to the growing role of the state. But in the setting of a structural crisis highlighted by extensive and permanent unemployment, by mounting inflation, etc., the ideological factor is gaining increasing importance. Hence the attempts – and this is another feature of present-day administration – to delude the workers into thinking that they participate in management while withholding real rights from them in production and distribution.

HOW ARE CLASS INTERESTS, PROPERTY RIGHTS AND POWER PROMOTED THROUGH ADMINISTRATION? WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE STATE? WHAT ARE THE SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST ANSWERS TO THE OBJECTIVE NEED FOR CENTRALIZED AND PLANNED ADMINISTRATION?

Bernard Marx: Let us look at the role of the present-day capitalist state, at its centralized intervention in economy and other areas. First and foremost, take state-monopoly planning and programming of economic and social development – an important element and characteristic feature of social administration in capitalist countries. France, for example, is in the midst of her sixth five-year economic and social development plan. In effect, it is an embodiment of state interference in economic and social processes at all levels. It is expected to 'coordinate' the interests of competing groups of industrial and financial capital, and the closely related political recommendations of respective government bodies. The plan encompasses the entire economy, but its effectiveness is an illusion, for it is not obligatory for monopoly enterprises. Besides, the state departs from it as often as the relation of forces changes. Everything contrary to monopoly interests is readily sacrificed. Community building targets, for example, are rarely met. The main purpose of the plan is to keep the French monopolies competitive on the world market. In fact, the sixth plan singled out enterprises competing internationally under a special head.

Our planning experts have been very inventive, but their schemes differ radically in purpose, method, and effect from socialist planning.

Pozgay: Is there a class principle in methods and techniques of planning and administration?

Bernard Marx: Monopolists and their ideologues try to create the impression that administration has no class undertones. But as I see it there is no such thing as neutral methods at the level of either enterprise or society. Whether or not some of the capitalist forms and methods of administration can be used in socialist conditions, is another matter. Much of the experience in France would

probably be useful in the conditions of advanced democracy and, later, in socialist society. But much will have to be changed, or aligned with the new economic relationships. The planning techniques, I think, will not have to be cast overboard completely, though the technical apparatus will have to be expanded, and, most important, planning methods will have to be made more democratic. They cannot be the same, of course, for administration of exploited wage-earners and administration of free associated producers differ in method and technique, as well as in substance.

The state's economic decisions are now principally designed to stimulate state-monopoly accumulation. Take the system of taxes, which shifts the expenditure burden from the monopolies to the people. The state favors 'accelerated depreciation,' not short of doubling the depreciation of the means of production in their first year of operation. As a result of this artificial acceleration of the movement of capital, profits tend to increase, leading ultimately to a tremendous squandering of resources. In general, however, monopoly accumulation is financed not only by profit, but also by refunnelling incomes through taxation. Thus, helping direct monopoly exploitation and organizing indirect exploitation, the state acts as a collective exploiter of the working people.

Social administration, particularly planning that benefits the monopoly, cannot resolve capitalist contradictions. It only makes them more acute and breeds new ones.

Take the contradiction between the imperatives of the scientific-technical revolution and state-monopoly regulation. Among other things, it tends to deform the structure of research. Science is expensive and its costs are not quickly recouped. Hence financing by the state, though monopoly is reluctant to let it pass completely out of its hands. It wants to participate, and control, research. This causes a considerable waste of state funds due to competition, hoarding of secrets and information, and the like. While concentrating on research yielding relatively quick returns, monopoly neglects certain important areas of science. State allocations are used irrationally, and investments in research, especially fundamental research, prove insufficient. The pharmaceutical industry, for example, spends twice as much on advertising as on research (17 and 8 per cent of the commercial turnover respectively).

In its drive for profit capitalism wreaks havoc with the labor force: professional training is subordinated to the short-term demand, while the long-term needs of the scientific-technical revolution are neglected. A few facts: 80 per cent of the personnel in automated production are specialized workers (who perform strictly specified operations requiring a minimum of skill); their number is growing more rapidly than that of skilled workers. Between 1954 and 1968, for example, the percentage of skilled workers dropped 2.3 points, while that of specialized workers went up 4 and of unskilled workers 1.6.*

*Figures of the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Research. See *Economie et politique*, 1971, No. 200-201, p. 71.

Monopoly falls back on state aid also in pursuing political aims. But its political base, and its ability to win over non-monopoly sections of the population, is declining. This explains the non-democratic, authoritarian methods, defying the objective need for democratizing administration. Personal power is increased, that of deputies in parliaments and municipalities curtailed. Never before have the content and resources of planning been as anti-democratic as now.

On the other hand, the opportunities are much greater now for uniting the non-monopoly strata around the working class. Objectively, they have both identical and diverging interests. The Communist Party must therefore point up the common interests of the country's working population, and show the potential of the working class.

The Party does not confine itself to criticizing the existing system or showing the masses the objective tendencies and perspectives. It has put forward a program for a radical refashioning of society, with a stage of general democratic development as the probable starting point. We are enlightening the masses on this score, winning them for our cause and rallying ever broader groups around the Left program. For the present, this is the best basis for uniting all the forces that could effect the required changes. The Party's demands and slogans express the interest of working people, are concrete and comprehensible. It has always fought and will fight on for democracy and socialism, lacking which genuine economic and social progress is inconceivable no matter how much the capitalist forms of administration are improved.

Pozgay: The socialist system of administration consists of the state, the system of socialist democracy, public organizations and other social institutions. But let us take first things first. Its main element is the leading role of the Party.

Our society is socially heterogeneous. And only the political party of the working class is able to direct the interests of different classes and strata along one channel, combining long-term and current interests. Only Marxist-Leninist parties have been able to organize society in the form known as socialism. No other parties that proclaimed it as their aim, were able to do so.

The Party defines the economic and social policy – the basis of effective social administration – and its main aims and means. It exercises the decisive influence on the selection and education of personnel at all administrative levels, controls the administrators, aligns their activity with the vital interests of the people, and directs the state and all public organizations. It is the concern of the working-class party, as Marx put it, to prevent the state, which administers the economy and other spheres of social life, from being a body super-imposed on society. Every possible thing is done to develop socialist democracy. The Ninth and Tenth Congresses of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party devoted much of their time to this objective.

The accent is on representative democracy, of which we have two forms: state organs (parliament and local councils) and public organizations. All executive bodies, the Party holds, should be under the control of the masses, exercised both within and outside the machinery of state. This dual form of representation guarantees respect for the people's interests.

In recent years social administration has been improved in two closely related directions: centralized planning, on the one hand, and initiative by the masses, collectives, by all echelons of the administration, on the other. This is the crux of the economic reform launched in 1968 and which is making good headway. Gaining new experience, we introduce improvements, as may be seen from the recent Party and government decisions and laws, which heighten the role of local councils, as well as Parliament. The rights of trade unions and other public organizations, have been extended both centrally and locally.

The new dimensions of our economy, the changing social structure and human needs, the greater complexity of our economic options from the standpoint of their social consequences and the people's reaction to our decisions, are a spur to improving our planning methods. A bigger role has been assigned to the central plan, which deals with the main issues – the relation of accumulation to consumption, proportions of investment, location of the productive forces, build-up of social and cultural institutions, and the like. However, all enterprises and councils have their own, independently-framed plans. Work has begun on a scientifically grounded state plan and on developing programs for longer terms. Economic regulation of the dimensions and conditions of the market mechanism is squared with the plan targets, assuring a more flexible adaptation to demand. Central planning is the primary factor, while the market helps assess the quality of the plans and pinpoint miscalculations (always possible, especially if the demand is dynamic). To stimulate production is part of our planning. And practice has shown that commodity relations, coupled with economic levers in production, assure more successful plan fulfilment.

There are still unsettled issues, of course. A countrywide study of the system of administration and planning is now under way, with all Party branches and the masses taking part. Its results are sure to help us improve our methods of economic management.

The level at which decisions are taken is important in this context. And a key requirement here is that the decision-maker have adequate information and an interest in the solution he suggests. In other words, correct and consistent application of democratic centralism in the now more complex structure of the economy and of social relations. What we are discussing is the determining feature of socialist administration, one that makes it possible to resolve contradictions between the requirements of production and

human behavior, cultivate the qualities of the socialist worker and assure all-round development of the personality.

WHAT PLACE DOES THE WORKER HOLD IN THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM? HOW DOES 'PARTICIPATION' WORK, AND TO WHOSE ADVANTAGE?

Pozgay: Worker participation is sometimes seen as applying only to factory level. But nothing accomplished at that level can give the worker a meaningful part in solving the fundamental problems of production, distribution, and public life. The worker must have a share in influencing basic economic and social relations. A while ago, *World Marxist Review* reprinted and commented on a *Time* item to the effect that the workers of a U.S. plant of Kaiser Steel Corp., which boasts of a participation system, made a special effort to cut production costs and prevent closure of the plant. It didn't help — they still face the threat of unemployment.*

The November 1972 Central Committee Plenum of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party singled out as a central aim the strengthening of socialist democracy to give the people a bigger part in the country's life and development. The Party wants all the people to have an active share in administration at all levels, so that every citizen feels himself master of his country. Forms of participation and their correspondence to changing social conditions merit special consideration. We have recently perfected the electoral system, given factory collectives more rights in operating the economic reform, improved mass information on economic and social processes and trends, and extended dissemination of popular economics.

Through the factory Party organization and union branches, the workers can effectively influence planning, working conditions and wages. In certain circumstances the trade unions have veto rights. For instance, if management deviates from the labor laws, the union can stop operation of the collective agreement. The same if management raises work norms for individual workers without introducing new technology or improving working conditions.

Bernard Marx: Is the veto used?

Pozgay: Yes, the unions have used it. But as a rule managers clear all questions with the unions before making decisions.

To this might be added that broader democracy does not mean relaxed labor discipline. On the contrary, material and moral incentives tend to raise discipline; democracy helps to train conscious discipline.

Bernard Marx: Effective worker participation is secured not by some new invention or some new mechanism; it is determined by the pattern of socio-economic relations. If these are based on private property, then any invention will only intensify exploitation — in fact that is its purpose.

There is much talk in France of a crisis of the Taylor system resulting from the objective need to democratize management. But there is also the question of how to make wages match productivity.

**World Marxist Review*, March 1973.

As a result, we have a whole catalogue of theories, all of them designed to further the interests of the government and the monopolies.

Some of these theories are of American origin, modernized and adapted to French conditions. But France has its own theoreticians, Oscar Gelinier and Giscard d'Estaing, for instance. One of the latest concepts is *Le Direction participative par objectifs* (DPO). This is how it works: the work force is divided into a vertical system of job units. Each such unit receives its production target and budget and thus becomes an autonomous nucleus. It can choose its own method of attaining its target and increasing profit. Wages are fixed for each individual worker. The idea is to create the impression that the worker is part of a collective in which everyone, from boss to common laborer, is working towards one and the same goal. What we have, in other words, is an attempt to raise productivity by so to say integrating the worker in the collective, exploiting not only his material interests but also his desire to be part of management, have a say in decision making, bear responsibility, etc. This can rightly be described as cultivating self-exploitation. However, the monopolists are not finding it easy to operate the DPO system. The labor movement is steadily exposing this particular piece of self-exploitation too.

Another technique, profit-sharing, makes wages dependent on the results achieved by the entire enterprise. Still another is giving the workers company shares. These methods should not be underestimated, but it has to be said that most workers regard profit-sharing, company stocks, etc., merely as a bonus and do not consider themselves 'co-owners' of the enterprise.*

And still another technique: 'total-wages,' applied mostly in nationalized industry. Management or the state defines the total payroll for a year ahead and the workers are invited to discuss it and share it out. This breeds rivalry, for the worker knows that if he gets more it is only at the expense of his comrades. Needless to say, the labor movement is vehemently opposed to this scheme.

Closely associated with participation schemes are the company newspapers, which concentrate on labor-employer solidarity propaganda. Then there are endless in-factory meetings which, together with the company-run press, are meant to create the illusion that the worker has a real share in management. As a rule these meetings discuss production goals – as laid down by management – and never such vital issues as wages and trade union demands.

Bourgeois science is thinking up more refined methods of exploitation, for many of the old ones no longer produce results. And it should not be difficult to see how these new methods, including wage schemes, are tied in with ideological conditioning, with

**L'Humanite* (Feb. 14, 1973) carried a brief item about 'profit-sharing': 'On January 18, 1973, Mme. Georgette C., an employee of Cedis de Besancon (Doubs), received this note from the personnel department: "Enclosed please find a statement on your share in Company profits for 1968 and 1970. . . . The results for 1969 do not enable us to determine your share in profits." And the note went on: "1968: Your share of profit is 7.34 francs. Inasmuch as this is less than 20 francs, you can receive it now in cash. 1970: Your share is 38.14 francs and is payable on or after April 1, 1976." Let us hope that when Mme. Georgette C. comes to collect her share, she will not find that it was all an April Fool trick. Incidentally, Cedis' gross profits for 1971 amounted to 22,496,000 francs. So much for participation!"

manipulation of the worker's thinking. But this requires special investigation.

WHAT IS THE TIE-UP BETWEEN ADMINISTRATION AND IDEOLOGY? WHAT DO BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGISTS AND THE REVISIONISTS PROPAGATE? WHAT IS THE MARXISTS' POSITION?

Bernard Marx: To one or another degree, exploitation always needs an ideological cover. In the capitalist society of today, ideology has, in a way, acquired an economic function. This can be seen not only at factory level: state-monopoly capitalism needs the 'class collaboration' ideology as a tool of economic management. New bourgeois management concepts all have the dual function of adapting to the new realities and ideologically conditioning the masses.

Characteristic of all these conceptions is the effort to prove that capitalism is 'viable,' that it can develop into a 'welfare society.' And each new theory has its own ideological overtones. The technocratic theory of 'scientific management' promises material benefits to all, but is premised on the contention that management must be confined to the experts and that production must have a hierarchical structure. This is used as a counterweight to democratic management.

We have not touched on the role of the new office technology. But I would like to remark that the use of computers, mathematical modelling, etc., is often held up by bourgeois ideologists as an argument against democratizing management. Proponents of other conceptions, the 'human relations' school, for instance, resort chiefly to paternalistic arguments. Then there is a variety of 'empiricist' theories meant to prove that management is a neutral function dictated by the need to organize production. The exploitive element in management is carefully disguised.

The quest for efficient management forms is attended by social demagogy on an unparalleled scale. Fine words are said about the need to do away with monotonous work on the conveyor, excessive job detailization, and alienation. The Communist Party has consistently exposed this demagogy as a means of concealing intensified exploitation.

The common Left program has introduced a new dimension: the problems of administration, in their broader implications, have now become the subject of discussion. People are taking a keener interest in political economy, the laws that govern the functioning of the capitalist system, socialism, and how it can be built. This is not altogether new, but of late interest in all these problems has increased markedly.

To reactionary social utopias and ideological demagogy our Party opposes a realistic program of action. The common Left program accords with the aspirations of the working people and with the interests of the nation. Its purpose is to satisfy the requirements of the people; its principle is intervention by the working people in all fields of social endeavor and at all levels - state,

enterprise, municipality, department, region. It is both realistic and consistent, for social progress is the key to economic progress, and the fundamental repatterning of political and economic institutions is a precondition of progress.

Reactionary criticism of our program is based on the allegation that socialism means stringent state control of all aspects of social life, even of private life, in a totalitarian state (curiously enough, that argument comes from ardent supporters of the present authoritarian regime). That's the kind of socialism we want, our opponents say. Not true. Comrade Marchais, our Party's General Secretary, declared at the Central Committee meeting on March 28: 'We do not want the state to dominate everything and everywhere, to interfere in everything. The common program makes it perfectly clear that the nationalized industries must be under independent management, that is, independently draw up their plans, choose markets, work out their budget. The national plan will be elaborated with broad participation of the workers and the population generally. Its drafting will be decentralized to give factory collectives, regional and local authorities, consumers' societies, etc., a full share in its formulation. . . . Subsequently, under socialism – which will not be 'centralized' – the share of workers, all working people, in decision-making will be substantially expanded.'

We consider advanced democracy a transition form to socialism. And in the process of building this new democracy, the people will acquire a deeper interest in its extension. This will enhance the leading role of the working class in economic and social life. Our immediate task is set out in the slogan issued by the 20th Party Congress: The Communist Party is the vanguard of the effort for popular unity around the common program. And in working for unity, for realization of the common program, the Party can demonstrate its ability to direct society. Our Party can and should become the ruling party.

Pozgay: Our Party appreciates the importance of the worldwide ideological struggle over the issue of social administration. Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists criticize socialist administration and suggest diverse ways of 'improving' the existing socialism. To it they contrast what they believe to be ideal models. Exposure of their anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and unpractical substance is one of the conditions for rallying the masses in support of the Party's policy. That is all the more important, since our society is politically united but not ideologically homogeneous. Alien ideology can exert a definite influence – if it is not combated – even on some sections of the working class, which has grown very rapidly with the influx of recruits from other classes and strata.

Bourgeois and revisionist propaganda is directed against the leading role of the Party in socialist society. Our critics use such slogans as 'free production from political supervision.' Latterly they have been popularizing Max Weber and his illusory theory of the ideal state apparatus completely isolated from politics. The functions of the state are reduced to what might be described as a service industry, like laundries, say, or repair shops. An illusion,

yes, but a harmful one, for it distracts attention from the cardinal issue, the class aims of social administration.

Socialism is being attacked from the right and the left, particularly in connection with the economic reform. Some hoped that it would lead to a revival of capitalism in Hungary. These sorry theoreticians have probably realized that that will never be.

The 'Left' revisionists speculate on socialism not having found solutions for all the difficult problems facing society and try to show, by tricky reasoning, that these problems could have been solved long ago.

Bernard Marx: Do leftist views enjoy currency among intellectuals and students of Hungary? Are they influenced by modish bourgeois management concepts?

Pozgay: The answer to both questions is No. Of course, this concerns persons better informed about these new concepts, sometimes by the nature of their work. In this context we should reckon with the possibility of two errors: a nihilist attitude to capitalist experience, and uncritical acceptance of some capitalist management methods. The Party warns us against both. If we are to speak of the epistemological roots of these mistakes, it has to be said that they arise when some achievement of bourgeois scientists is elevated to a general theory and the results of limited investigation are applied to the whole of society. Mistakes are inevitable if we forget about class concepts and are carried away by bourgeois sociological terminology, in which society is treated as a collection of strata or small groups. Mistakes may also occur if technological development is given primacy and socio-economic relations are relegated to the background. There is the illusion that the main thing in social administration is to find the key to human psychology and use it to stimulate behavior and action along desired lines. Man is thus reduced to an object of management and manipulation.

I might also add that interest in one or another social administration theory is often aroused not because some one has taken it into his head to implant bourgeois ideology. No, economic executives are merely interested in everything new and want to explore possibilities of applying some technical and organizational innovations in our conditions and for our aims. If a capitalist paints his factory in a new color scheme and we do the same, that does not mean that the purpose is the same. This is all the more true of such concepts as the 'human factor,' 'human relations,' which have an entirely different meaning with us.

The Party pays special attention to studying the immense experience of social administration accumulated in the USSR and other socialist countries. And this experience confirms that the political character of social administration, the leading role of the Party, democratic centralism, are objective regularities of socialist government and our Party faithfully upholds them. Knowledge of the objective laws of social development, scientific formulation of social policy, perfection of the social administration system—these are all guarantees of the successful building of socialism and communism.



Women in fight against capital

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST DISCUSSION

The position and struggle of women in developed capitalist countries was the subject of a symposium arranged by this journal.

Taking part in the discussions were representatives from the following countries: Argentina, Bulgaria, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, FRG, France, Great Britain, GDR, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Jordan, Japan, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Soviet Union, Sweden, USA.

The discussion was opened by *Bistra Avramova*, alternate CC member, Bulgarian Communist Party and member of the WMR Editorial Board. The question of women's role in society, she said, holds an important place in the theory and practice of the revolutionary and democratic movement. Citing the experience of the liberation struggle, Lenin noted that participation of women was a factor of success in any revolution. The question is even more important now, for women make up a third of the work force in developed capitalist countries, and their part in the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle largely determines its scope and character.

The position of women is a measure of a country's democracy. Fourier is known to have said that the degree of women's emancipation is a natural measure of the emancipation of society. What is the position of women in developed capitalist society?

The things that immediately come to mind are unequal pay, lower skill standards and less opportunity to acquire skills, employment limited to certain industries and certain jobs.

Women are the first victims of unemployment, notably technological unemployment, for their unskilled jobs become redundant. Bourgeois propaganda has tried to play down the real causes of unemployment among women and to legitimate discrimination by contending that they compete with men on the labor market.

Technological progress has made things easier for the housewife. But speedup on the job makes it hard for woman to perform her noble function of mother and educator of her children.

Progressive-minded women see the way out in building a new society free of exploitation and based on the humanist principles of socialism.

We Communists have always stressed that final solution largely depends on the success of the class struggle, but we have also always devoted special attention to work among women and for women, and in this respect the Communist parties have accumulated rich experience. How effective their work has been is measurable in increased women membership and participation in the Party leadership and day-to-day activity.

Marxism-Leninism gives us the theoretical, and the experience of the socialist countries also, in many respects, the practical basis for resolving the problems of family, upbringing of children, and the position of women. In the revolutionary movement, particularly among the youth, we encounter all manner of leftist 'theories' of love and the family. The Communists explain why such views emerge, and oppose them, upholding the nobleness of love, the interests of woman as mother and personality, the interests of the family.

Millions of working women, the speaker said, have an active part in the fight against monopoly oppression, for a better life, for equal rights. Mass participation of women in the class struggle, in the anti-imperialist movement and the effort for peace, can powerfully influence the tempo and depth of revolutionary processes.

The discussion concentrated on two main subjects:

- *the position of woman in capitalist society;*
- *ideological and political struggle for influence among women.*

Women at work

The share of women in the gainfully employed population has been steadily increasing. The causes and consequences of this were examined by many of the speakers.

Alva Buxenbaum (Political Committee member, CC CPUSA and head of its National Committee on the Problems of Women) pointed out that most working-class families need more than one wage earner. Economic necessity is thus moving women into industry. To live modestly a family of four now needs from \$11,000 to \$15,000 a year, depending on the age of the children. Yet in 1970, out of 5.5 million families, 30 per cent earned less than \$10,000. Since then prices have risen sharply while wages have remained frozen. The U.S. Bureau of the Census reports that between 1960 and 1970 nearly 12 million people were added to the work force, 65 per cent of them women, and it is currently estimated that women make up about 43 per cent of the total U.S. work force.

Economic necessity is changing the traditional notion of man as the only breadwinner, Rodny Oehman (representative on WMR of the Left Party - Communists of Sweden) told the forum. In the past three years, inflation and other economic factors, forced 88,000 women to take jobs. Incidentally, food prices rose nearly 30 per cent during the same period.

Many women, of course, go to work to assert their equality. There is also another reason: the life span of men in Sweden is declining due to speed-up. Their place is taken by women: in 1971 they made up 40 per cent of the work force, compared with 25 per cent in 1950. True, not all women work a full day.

In our country, *Catarina Mendes* (representative of Portuguese CP on WMR) said, the demand for female labor has increased due to growth of the colonial armed forces and growing emigration to Western Europe (women emigrate, too, but in smaller numbers.). The following figures are characteristic: from 41 per cent in 1960 the share of women in manufacturing rose to 46 per cent in 1969, with an even steeper increase, from 10 to 20 per cent, in the white-collar professions.

The profit drive largely determines where the monopolies use more female labor. Other factors are the technological revolution and the growing demand among women for access to privileged 'male' jobs.

Though women still dominate the traditional 'female' industries, light manufacturing, services, etc., more and more are being drawn into heavy industry, Buxenbaum said. Take these figures: the number of operators, i.e., semi-skilled or unskilled workers, increased by 1.5 million in 1960-70, with 58 per cent of the new recruits women. In the aluminum industry women make up from 20 to 60 per cent of total employment, with even higher percentages in automobiles.

Colette Culon (CC member, French CP and head of its Women's Commission - her contribution was sent in in written form) cited the following figures for France: eight million women at work, of whom about six million wage and salary workers, comprising one-third of total.

Of all women employed, 34.3 per cent are in blue-collar professions, 28.5 in industry, of whom 8.5 are common laborers, 11.8 specialized workers, 7.7 skilled workers and 0.5 apprentices; 17.1 per cent in domestic service; 8.4 schoolteachers, of whom 6.6 per cent in primary schools; 4.9 administrative staffs; 2.6 in medical and social services; 1.1 agricultural workers; 1.1 technicians; 1.1 senior administrative staffs; 0.5 shop foremen; 0.2 actors, 0.1 serving in army or police; 0.1 engineers. To this should be added 922,000 small farmers, 90,500 artisans and 512,000 small shopkeepers.

The process of bringing women into industry is expressive of the general contradictions of capitalist society. Women are the first to suffer from lay-offs, unemployment, economic disproportions, anti-labor legislation, etc.

O. Menabue (Secretariat member, Emilia Provincial Committee, Italian CP) said that crisis developments in the Common Market countries are especially painfully felt by low-category workers and those in industries where restructuring has been slow. This gives the lie to the contention that capitalism has reached a stage at which it can provide jobs for all.

The facts are that 1,300,000 women lost their jobs in 1961-71.

Total employment dropped from 18.9 million in July 1971 to 18.4 million in July 1972, with women accounting for most of the decline. A woman who has lost her job does not just go back to house-keeping, but joins the vast army of what we in Italy call 'black' or 'underground' workers. There are about 3,000,000 of these women working at home, and for them there are no collective agreements, no unemployment benefits, no social insurance; they work 8 to 12, sometimes 14 to 16 hours a day.

Hertta Kuusinen (Honorary President, CP Finland, President of International Democratic Women's Federation) said women made up nearly 40 per cent of Finland's work force, but automation is reducing the demand for female labor and increasing unemployment. One example: an experienced woman crane operator who has been on the job for 15 years finds that at 45 she is 'redundant': a new type of crane is introduced, she is transferred to a cleaning job, which means her pension will probably be cut in half (pensions are based on earnings for the last two years). At 45, a woman stands little chance of finding a job, though many at this age desperately need jobs, either because they are the only breadwinners or for other reasons. Some factories and offices will not take women over 35; even 25 is sometimes considered 'too old.'

We Marxist-Leninists regard women's participation in social production as something positive and progressive. But women keenly feel all the contradictions, crises and evils of the capitalist system. They are always faced with the need to uphold their economic and social rights, both common and specifically women's.

In his *Condition of the Working Class in England* (*Hertta Kuusinen* continued) Engels formulated the labor movement's basic demands for women: equal pay for equal work, special health safeguards for women workers, recognition of motherhood as a social function and measures to enable women to combine motherhood with work. That was written more than one hundred years ago, but how little things have changed in capitalist countries! The program formulated by Engels is still the basis of our emancipation efforts.

Yielding to mass pressure, capitalist governments have from time to time passed laws on women's rights and have repealed some of the more discriminatory practices.

In postwar Italy, Menabue told the forum, the women's question has become a national issue, along with the problem of the South and the agrarian question. By dint of persistent campaigning, the democratic movement has secured the passage of laws protecting women's rights. They deal with such matters as mother and child welfare, equal pay, a ban on dismissal of married women, etc.

But speakers emphasized that much of this legislation remains on paper. The disparity between proclaimed principles and their realization, so typical of bourgeois democracy, is especially glaring when it comes to women's rights.

Unequal pay

This is a common type of discrimination, and many examples were cited in the discussion.

Irene Brennan (member, London Committee, CP Great Britain): although the Trades Union Congress first demanded equal pay for women in 1880, the Equal Pay Act was not passed until 1968 and is not to be implemented until 1975. The average wage of a woman worker remains just over half that of a man. In 1970, men were earning, at an average, £28.05 and women £13.99 a week, while in 1972 the figures were respectively £35.82 and £18.30. The Industrial Relations Act has made it much more difficult for women to fight for equal pay, while so-called 'job evaluation' has been used by employers to introduce what would have been an illegal 'women's rate.' For many women, the fate of the Equal Pay Act has highlighted the contradictions within the social and economic relations of capitalism, and there is a growing realization that change of existing social relations cannot be brought about through Parliamentary legislation alone.

Anette Nielsen (member Women's Commission, CC CP Denmark). In 1919, the Danish government accepted the principle of equal pay for equal work, but only the principle. Now, 54 years after, equal pay is a constant and major issue in all trade union contract negotiations. Women trade unionists get an average hourly wage of 15.61 crowns compared with 20.20 crowns for men.

Culon (France). The law provides for equal pay but there is a differential of 6.6 per cent in hourly pay and 33 per cent in average earnings. One reason is that women are mostly in unskilled and consequently low-paid trades, another is that they are denied proper training, and still another is that ingrained notion (adroitly exploited by employers) that woman's earnings are but an extra contribution to the family budget.

Marianne Konze (Head of Women's Commission, German Communist Party). In West Germany women earn, on an average, 31.3 per cent less than men. An inquiry into the conditions of 178,000 women in engineering and kindred trades showed that 93 per cent were in the low-pay categories.

And yet, flouting all the facts, Social-Democrat Labor Minister Arendt says: 'Inadequate professional training bars the way to women to skilled and higher-paid jobs. Besides, in industries where female labor is widely used, wages are lower than in others. Whether this is deliberate discrimination, has still to be established.'

For us Communists equal pay is a cardinal principle of equality of the sexes. We do not deny, of course, that equal pay requires higher skills. But is that the only factor?

A recent study of 700 factories has shown that women having the same qualifications and doing the same work as men still get 21 per cent less. What other evidence of discrimination is needed? Deliberate discrimination is denied only by those who stand with the employers, and the employers make a handsome profit – up to

10 billion marks a year! – by underpaying their women workers.

Buxenbaum (USA). According to the Committee of Economic Advisors, the average pay for men is now 66 per cent more than the average pay for women. Although unorganized shops account for some of this disparity, discrimination is the main cause. Furthermore, Black women get about half of what is paid white women and 25 per cent of what male workers earn. Superprofits from unequal pay to women amount to \$63 billion a year.

Social discrimination

Discrimination, many speakers pointed out, extends to education, occupational training, participation in public life.

The fascist regime in Spain, *S. Zapirain* (member CC, CP Spain and its representative on WMR) said, has made it a point to keep women out of public life. The only vocational training that girls get is in such traditional 'women's' trades as garments, hairdressing, and married women are denied even that. As a result, 60 per cent of women workers in the manufacturing and service industries have had no training at all. But even women who, after surmounting all manner of difficulties, manage to obtain a university diploma stand little or no chance of becoming judges, notaries or entering other professions. The position of schoolteachers is very hard.

One can readily imagine, *Catarina Mendes* remarked, what chance the Portuguese woman has of mastering a profession if, even according to deliberately falsified statistics, 48 per cent of the women are illiterate.

In 1970, women made up only 28 per cent of British university students, *Irene Brennan* said, and in medical colleges there is still a quota system for women.

The ruling circles, *Marianne Konze* remarked, have always professed support for equality of the sexes. But there is this revealing statement by *Hans Preiss*, a metalworkers' union leader: 'No other constitutional provision has been so flagrantly ignored, is in so crying contradiction to reality, and the subject of so much lying, as equality for women.' To this might be added the following example: in the last Bundestag women made up 11 per cent, but only 5.5 per cent in the present one. The figure is still less for Land and city parliaments and less than one per cent for municipal councils.

Family discrimination

One of the conditions enabling women to have a part in public life and industry is freedom from her monotonous household duties, provision of more child-care facilities, etc.

This was discussed by *Irene Brennan*. The capitalist form of family as an economic unit (she said) is typified by the economic dependence of women and children on an individual male wage-earner or property owner. The 'simplicity' of this relation is becoming more and more undermined as the contradictions of state-

monopoly capitalism make themselves felt. Nowadays the state is forced to give more and more economic support to the family. At the same time, the character of the family structure has been changing as women obtain more legal and economic independence as the result of the general struggle for democratic rights. Nevertheless, the economic dependence of women and children on men is a basic tenet of capitalist economics. This is illustrated by the proposal that mothers should be deprived of their family allowances and that instead a form of tax allowance should be given to the husband. The same philosophy lies behind the attempt to deprive strikers' families of social security benefits. Economic dependence of the family on the individual wage earner is used as a method of breaking trade union militancy. This dependence is, of course, reflected and legitimated in the capitalist cultural and ethical attitudes and ideology which, in turn, affect the form of the family.

In bourgeois society, the family is in a state of crisis. Take the birth rate. In Sweden, said Rodny Oehman, it is lower now than during the big economic crisis of the 30s. Yet the family aid scheme is better than in any other developed capitalist country: children get grants until they are 18 if they study, the mother and infant care is splendid, the maternity leave is long and fully paid, school meals and textbooks are free, and unmarried mothers receive a cash and housing allowance.

Women have been asked in various polls why they are reluctant to have babies. Here are the two most typical answers: too expensive, and, men won't help look after them. Most families cannot have more than two children. Only those with a higher-than-average income can afford it. Besides, many Swedes are not sure their children will get good care and an education. Many, therefore, avoid having them.

Bourgeois propaganda portrays the woman as housewife and family mother, concealing the true state of affairs.

To think that the 'consumer society' gives women the opportunity to occupy themselves wholly with their family, Nielsen said, is more than naive. The wife who spends the day gossiping on the telephone, is a fiction and insult for the thousands upon thousands of Danish women coming home after a hard day's work only to take up their duties of housewife and mother.

Many capitalist countries have no mother-and-child legislation; pre- and post-natal, as well as infant, care are sorely lacking.

Portugal, said Catarina Mendes, has the dubious distinction of the highest child death rate in Europe. Absence of mother-and-child care, aggravated by almost wholesale poverty, costs the country some 20,000 children's lives annually.

A society divided into antagonistic classes is liable to ostracize women merely for their child-bearing. In Brazil, said L. Ribeiro (member of CC, Brazilian CP, and its representative on the journal), married women have trouble finding employment. To get a work permit they often conceal their marital status. And the chances of pregnant women and young mothers are practically nil. Most em-

employers fire women the moment they get married. An unfairly dismissed pregnant woman's complaint to the law is sure to be shelved. This is true in at least 90 cases out of a hundred. Even though the employer may lose the case when it finally comes up, his punishment amounts to paying a maternity grant equal to 84 days' pay. The victim is not reinstated in her job.

France, Culon said, lacks child-care institutions and legislation protecting working mothers. In the case of the 350,000 working mothers with children under three years of age, accommodation in nurseries is available only for 35,000. Very few kindergartens admit children of three. Nannies or nurses have to be employed, though with a nanny's average pay being 400 francs, this is beyond the means of many working women, 54 per cent of whom earn less than 1,000 francs monthly.

Kuusinen said that in 1970 Finland had 160,000 children under school age, whose one or both parents either worked or studied. Yet kindergartens and nurseries are virtually non-existent. The available ones can take in no more than 16,000 children. Years of campaigning culminated in the adoption of a public child-care law, but the need for children's institutions will not be palpably met before 1990.

In many countries campaigns demand free termination of pregnancy, which would end the discrimination against low-income families.

The women's demand that motherhood should be voluntary, Nielsen stressed, goes back hundreds of years. A government bill to this effect has been put before the Danish Parliament under pressure of progressive opinion.

Ribeiro referred to the family-planning campaign launched in Brazil. We should not overlook the fact, he said, that, among other things, it is designed by North American imperialism and local reaction to escape blame for the widespread poverty, suffering and starvation. Yet who else bears the responsibility for the virtual murder of children? Is it not their fault, for example, that in Sergipe State annually 367 per 1,000 children do not live to their first birthday?

The discussion also took up other issues. Under capitalism, said Irene Brennan, for example, sexual and financial success are continuously equated, so that sexuality becomes a commodity or a method of sales promotion. Instead of sexuality being seen as a way in which people relate to one another as free individuals, it is seen as a means of having and controlling another person. Small wonder, therefore, that the campaign against lewd advertising and permissiveness is gathering momentum.

These days, all speakers agreed, flexible, refined and better masked forms of exploiting women have appeared alongside the old ones. The extraordinary intensification of labor, lack of rest facilities after a hard day's work, and the difficulty of bringing up children are contributing to growing discontent. And the influx of women into social production has tended to vitalize their struggle

for their rights, against monopoly oppression. The symposium fully agreed with the 1969 Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that 'an important feature of our epoch is the large-scale participation of women in the class struggle, the anti-imperialist movement and, in particular, the struggle for peace.'

Women's struggle and the communists

Ideology The ruling classes try to keep women out of socio-political life. One of the main areas of the struggle for influence among women, speakers pointed out, is the ideological.

Among the many diverse conceptions about woman's role in society current in the capitalist countries, Rodney Oehman said, there are mystical notions about female intuition and the old natural law garnished with elements of the motherhood cult and romantic ideas about the strong male's calling to protect the 'weaker' sex. The real reason is rooted in the social system. Communists diligently expose all the false concepts.

Bourgeois ideological influence on women, Nielsen stressed, may be described as a deliberate blunting of their spirit and intelligence. Thereupon this artificial constraint is passed off as evidence of the woman's biological inferiority.

Konze drew attention to the widespread bourgeois propaganda ploy of claiming that modern society is afflicted by a 'much too rapid emancipation' of women. Having learned to smoke and having unlearned cooking, the emancipated 20th century female is said to be incapable and unwilling to raise a family, depresses the natural abilities of males and hinders the free development of children. Females are said to be unsuitable for high office, because the prevalence of emotion over logic prevents them from being impartial and rational leaders. These constructions are put forward, among others, by the American sociologist J. Moge, and will also be found in the much-bruited book, 'The Tamed Male.' Esther Vilar, its author, delves into political economy to argue that women are out-and-out exploiters of men.

American bourgeois propaganda is peddling the idea that 'sex rather than class is the main social contradiction,' said Buxenbaum. Yet in the United States, the ideology of male supremacy (the opposite to female exploitation of men) has permeated every institution, every level of society. It is a deliberate tool introduced and fostered to protect private property.

By drumming up these ideas and laying stress on the antagonism of sexes, capitalism sets roadblocks to women's economic and political equality and distracts attention from the class struggle.

Capitalist propaganda tells women that their interests conflict with those of the working male, said Brennan. In fact, some women, mostly housewives outside the trade union movement, have been persuaded to believe that higher wages mean inflation and higher prices. At the same time, it must be admitted that trade unions do not always appear to fight as hard as they might do for equal

pay, often because they are ignorant of the implications of the women's movement.

Enlisting women in the trade unions is important, said Nielsen, especially at times of intensive class struggle. Women fight well for their rights, but strikes often result in dismissals, which are especially painful for mothers, who must think of their children. Besides, women are often reluctant strikers, because the strike may prove long.

Nonetheless, the mass participation of women in the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly movement, and in the struggle for peace, has become a powerful factor in the political reality of our time.

Politics Nielsen referred to the conspicuous role Danish women played in the movement against joining the Common Market. Denmark became an EEC member in the end, and the women were the first to feel the effects: the price of dairy products, for example, went up 20 per cent. Once again they entered the struggle: 126,000 signatures were collected in just a few days under a protest declaration.

In the United States, Buxenbaum said, mass actions around peace and the war in Indochina, grew to tremendous proportions, and women played the leading role. In the Black community the question of the Vietnam aggression was linked to racism against Blacks at home. Demands were made to declare 'war on poverty, not the Vietnamese.' A major victory was won in the fight to free Angela Davis – a fight in which American women played a leading and very militant role. The experienced and class-conscious Black women, who have been struggling for a very long time for Welfare Rights, distinguished themselves in this battle.

Some of the speakers referred to the positive influence of the socialist community on the emancipation of women in capitalist society.

The women's question – part of the question of the reserves and motive forces of revolution, of building socialist and communist society – is of cardinal significance these days. And Party work among women is therefore an urgent challenge.

The symposium discussed the existing women's mass organizations and movements. In Northern Europe, it was noted, some Communists question the need for a special women's movement. If the woman can be involved in social activity, they argue, she should join the democratic organizations, work in the unions, in the Communist Party.

Coming to grips with this view Kuusinen recalled Lenin's idea that Communists should be where the masses are. They must not abandon working women to the bourgeois women's organizations that have proliferated in the West. There is also the other extreme, she said, when women members of Communist parties relegate all work to women's democratic organizations. No matter how strong a national organization may be, the ideological work must be directed by the Communist Party.

French Communists regard work among women as, mainly, an area of mass work for democratic unity. Stressing the fairness of women's demands, Culon said, the Communists show that a real solution of women's problems depends first and foremost on deep-going political and economic change.

Recently, the French Communist Party has taken steps to enliven work among women. A quarterly journal with a circulation of 500,000 has been founded for this purpose, and is disseminated chiefly in enterprises and residential areas. Rallies were held to help women learn about the common program of the Left forces, and hundreds of meetings with Communist candidates preceded the recent elections. The Party helps women get a political education. Weekend novice courses have been organized for working women, while the courses for housewives are held at hours when children are in school. The CP federations have special week-long courses, and the Central Party School sponsors one-month and five-month courses. Women are given every opportunity to hold office at all levels. The Party sees to this, and, without in any way denigrating the political responsibility of women Communists, estimates the maximum practical 'load' each of them can carry.

The Central Committee, most of the federations and some sections of the FCP have commissions to direct work among women.

The difficulties Communists encounter in women's organizations, Brennan said, are the same as in any other broad movement. The first thing to do is to 'raise political consciousness,' and help women see themselves as part of their class. The Communist Party has launched discussions about the reasons for the oppressed condition of women, and has succeeded in recruiting activists of the Women's Lib movement. Our national and district women's advisory committees work with other organizations in the women's movement around specific campaigns.

Some of the activists of the women's movement, Nielsen said, have contacts with factory workers in the fight for their rights, and gradually gravitate to the policy of the Communist Party. Thereupon, they join its ranks. In 1969, for example, women made up about 25 per cent of Party members, and 33.1 per cent by 1973. Most of this reinforcement comes from the Young Communist League.

Describing the Communists' work among women, Konze said that the German CP mainly stresses the connection between the struggle for the emancipation of the working class and the struggle for the liberation of women. Factory newspapers and specially put out literature explain the importance of women's participation in the battle for workers' rights and higher wages. Special actions are organized, such as discussions of the reasons behind rent increases.

The symposium dealt with the place and role in the Party of women Communists. The distorted view of women prevailing in Danish society, Nielsen said, has to some extent affected Party work. It is the women who stay at home while the men go to

Party meetings or courses. Women take no part in mass work. Unconsciously, Communists have reconciled themselves to the idea that housekeeping hinders women's participation in public activity. At the latest CP of Denmark Congress, the Party was asked to conduct systematic work among women.

The Congress resolution says: 'Despite the somewhat greater admission of women, they are still not playing an adequate role in the Party, either from the numerical standpoint or their weight in Party work. The equality of women is taken for granted by the Communist Party. But it must be carried into practice. It will not be prejudiced by the wish that women Communists should occupy themselves with questions and problems of special interest for women. On the contrary, this will only enhance their equality and bring them into the party.'

The burden of house and job, Buxenbaum said, is a major obstacle to consistent participation in Party work. The majority of women recruited to the CP USA in the recent period are from 20 to 40 years old, the child-bearing years. We have a number of women in leadership who have young children. We know, however, that the political passiveness of women Communists, and working-class women as a whole, will not be overcome until we are well into a socialist USA. The CP USA has begun to take the internal organizational steps to free women in the Party to enable them to participate in the ranks and in the leadership.

Idris Cox (CP of Great Britain representative on the journal) said there were still Communists not fully conscious of the need to assist women to become full partners in their common struggle. I doubt, he said, whether the majority of Communists in Britain (and this may apply to other capitalist countries) realize the scale of the double exploitation of women. Marx often stressed that 'tradition weighs like an Alp on the human mind.' Men Communists should help their wives at home and with the children.

Women Communists, Mendes said, experience all the difficulties that fall to Communists in capitalist countries; they are persecuted for their convictions, dismissed from jobs, prosecuted and even imprisoned. But this does not stop them. Many women in the history of the world Communist movement became prominent leaders of their Parties. Still more important, however, is that the movement has developed thousands upon thousands of active women members devoted to the great common cause.

Communists, the symposium noted, have always regarded the battle for women's liberation as part of the struggle of the working class and its allies against the capitalist system of exploitation and for the new, socialist system. Taking guidance in Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Parties are helping unite the women's movement and redoubling their influence on the mass of women. The unity of the women's movement and the working-class struggle, Communist leadership and internationalism, are factors assuring the success of the worldwide women's struggle for social emancipation.

The concluding remarks at the symposium were by E. Glueckauf,

member of the WMR Editorial Board (Head of Department, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany). The discussions, he said among other things, centered on the thought that the role of women in the economic, social, political and other domains is growing in all countries. The Communist parties are therefore examining the theoretical and practical aspects of the women's question. And considering the ever-lasting relevance of the objective of winning women for the working class, for socialism, the journal will continue to devote deep attention to the women's movement.

El Salvador: a precarious balance

Shafik Jorge Handal
Political Commission member
and CC Secretary, CP of
El Salvador

CONTINUING OUR SERIES 'POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF LATIN AMERICA'

Recent developments in our country are indicative of its many and tangled contradictions. Colonel Arturo Armando Molina, who came to power last year, met with resistance from the army and a growing anti-imperialist, democratic movement of the people. The regime's instability is heightened by the conflict between two groups of exploiters: the big landed oligarchy intent on preserving the status quo at all costs and the relatively young bourgeoisie, which believes the country's problems can be solved through reform.

In choosing tactics and estimating the outlook for the revolutionary movement, El Salvador's Communists take into account the political situation, the mood of the masses, the positive changes in the army and the contradictions in the class enemy's ranks.

El Salvador, a small Central American state, has an area slightly exceeding 21,000 sq. km. and a population of 3.5 million. Its unbalanced economy is based on export of coffee, cotton, sugar and sisal hemp, all controlled by 14 feudal oligarchic families, whose henchmen—reactionary army officers—have run the country for over 40 years. They obediently serve the U.S. monopolies, which determine the country's home and foreign policy. Economic backwardness, appalling poverty and lack of civil rights are direct consequences of land-owner and monopoly rule. The Communist Party has repeatedly emphasized that the existing socio-economic structure backed by a military-police regime is the main obstacle to progress.

It would be wrong to say that El Salvador's governments, including the present, have not tried to deal with the crisis. But their efforts have either resulted in the U.S. monopolies thrusting deeper into the Salvadoran economy or failed altogether.

The anti-popular and anti-national policy of the oligarchy and the inability of the bourgeoisie to solve the country's problems have generated widespread discontent and aroused the workers' class consciousness. The late 60s saw powerful popular actions. The strikes of 1968 and 1971 seriously shook the regime.

In view of the people's increasing social awareness, imperialism and the oligarchy in recent years have avoided a direct confrontation with the masses. They have tried to prevent conflicts from developing into large-scale political struggles and to block the formation of a united opposition front. That is why they resort to maneuver, though by no means renouncing 'traditional' methods of quelling popular movements.

Roughly a year before the last presidential elections a group of top army officers speaking for the Right wing proposed that the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) make a political pact with the ruling National Conciliation Party (NCP) and that the two parties nominate an 'independent' civilian candidate.

The choice of the Christian Democrats was not accidental. El Salvador is a Catholic country. The CDP enjoys considerable influence. It includes many working people (chiefly in the countryside) and members of the urban middle strata. Its leaders, mostly petty-bourgeois intellectuals, are seasoned politicians.

For some time after it was founded (1960), the CDP adopted an extreme Right, anti-Communist position. But the crisis of Catholicism and the spread of social doctrines advocating a revolution on the continent along 'Christian' lines prompted the CDP to reappraise its policy, take a stand against the regime and abandon militant anti-communism. Its positive statements on social issues and its action for the country's democratization earned it popularity.

The object of the proposed NCP-CDP alliance was contrary to the interests of the revolutionary and democratic movement.

But reaction's plan was defeated. In May 1971 the absolute majority of the CDP congress voted against a bloc with the NCP. This was largely due to the trend already evident among Christian Democrats towards unity of action with the parties favoring far-reaching social, economic and political changes, democracy and independent national development.

The rise of the National Opposition Union (NOU) in October 1971 brought about a notable change in the alignment of political forces. Besides the CDP, the NOU was joined by two legal democratic parties – the National Revolutionary Movement and the National Democratic Union. The underground Communist Party ranged itself with this progressive bloc and called on the electorate to vote for Jose Napoleon Duarte, the bloc's Christian Democratic candidate for the presidency.

The NOU carried on its election campaign under the slogan 'Democratic government, reform and progress.'* Despite the frantic resistance of the reactionaries and the boycott by the ultra-Rightists, Duarte won an impressive victory on February 20, 1972. The foreign press noted that the regime's nominee, Arturo Armando Molina, had polled substantially fewer votes.

To retain power, the ruling camarilla took prompt action. A 're-count' was ordered, and in many towns polling stations were raided in the next 24 hours. After a doctoring of election returns Molina was declared the winner by a majority of 9,000 votes. The Congress voting machine, dominated by deputies of the ruling party, was set in motion and Molina became President 'in conformity with the Constitution.'

Three weeks later, parliamentary and municipal elections were held. This time reaction was better prepared, with police patrolling the streets and the country under virtual martial law. The ruling party managed to win a majority.

The elections were a farce. This raises the question whether those who wanted them boycotted were not right after all. We Communists answer no. In appraising developments, it should be remembered that unlike earlier years, when no more than 41 per cent of the voters went to the polls, political activity was very high in last year's campaign, with 70 per cent voting and the majority backing the NOU.

The significance of the democratic forces' participation in the elections is beyond question even though reaction had its own way in the end. First of all, the campaign revealed a favorable realignment of political forces. Secondly, it demonstrated the vitality of the broad front policy. Thirdly, it made for the people's political awakening and helped them to realize their potentialities.

The authorities' disregard of the law gave rise to deep discontent. Antagonisms in the army sharpened and numerous servicemen voiced their disapproval of Colonel Molina's appointment to the Presidency. Shortly after the elections, in the small hours of March 25, a group of young army officers revolted against the government. In 18 hours of fighting over 200 were killed and more than 1,000 wounded. The odds against the insurgents were too heavy and the revolt was crushed.

Mention should be made of the sinister role of the Pentagon-controlled Central American Defense Council. It was on the Council's orders that Guatemalan aircraft with Salvadoran markings bombed the barracks of the insurgent units and certain civilian objectives in the capital. Arana Osorio, butcher of the Guatemalan people, and Somoza, the Nicaraguan dictator, readied their armies for action. In the Canal Zone, U.S. troops stood by to be flown to El Salvador to keep the newly installed President in power. Not

*The NOU advanced a program for anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist changes, for a democratic government guaranteeing civil rights. The program condemns the U.S. monopoly domination of Central America's common market.

a bad illustration, this, of what the Pentagon is after in forming joint forces: on the pretext of safeguarding Central America against 'foreign aggression,' it created an airborne police force to put down revolutionary and democratic movements in our countries.

The March revolt showed that the army can no longer be fully relied on to back the ruling classes and that Salvadoran servicemen are not immune to the democratic sentiments rife in the armed forces of some Latin American countries. The young insurgents came out against the regime's abuses and the punitive functions assigned to the army. They wanted the Rightists out of the army.

The revolt was doomed due to both the numerical superiority of the reactionary forces backed from without and the sectarian attitude of the leaders of the revolt. The leaders imagined that they alone should rule the country. They had no links with the democratic movement.

And so, on assuming power the present government was faced with a difficult situation. Mass action by the working people aggravated the regime's instability. The July-August 1972 general teachers' strike was supported by a broad solidarity movement. The regime retaliated with terror: it banished opposition spokesmen, drew up black lists, arrested trade union and student leaders, who were tortured, and troops occupied the national university. A state of emergency was declared. In short, Molina did all he could to win the approval of the oligarchy and the bourgeoisie to which he owed his accession to power, and to stabilize the situation.

But the vicious circle of internal contradictions remained. The bourgeoisie, gaining strength and backed by certain imperialist monopolies, is out to undercut the big landed proprietors and effect certain reforms that would at once promote capitalist development and give the people an illusion of change.

The bourgeoisie is pressing Molina for reform, especially agrarian reform, which the big landowners reject out of hand. As a result, the government, which depends on both groups for its existence, finds itself between two millstones. It wants to please the bourgeoisie but dreads a conflict with the landed oligarchy. By delaying reform, it aggravates contradictions and generates political tension.

Casting about for a solution, Molina has increased investments in public works. This may give more jobs and expand the home market, but once the boom is spent—as it is bound to be—the situation will be worse still.

Salvation, our Party stresses, lies in reshaping the antiquated social and economic structures. Any other solution would give only temporary relief.

The experience of the past two years has shown our people that they need unity to be strong. Popular unity committees sprang up shortly after the elections. They compromise Christian Democrats and Communists, trade unionists, students, spokesmen of peasant organizations and progressive clergymen. During the teachers'

strike, a broadly based united front in the capital coordinated solidarity actions of the proletariat and students.

Reaction robbed the democratic forces of their election victory, but the NOU is still there. The government is losing control of the Trade Union Center and there are possibilities for strengthening the position of the working class. Farm laborers and peasants are campaigning to form their own organizations. The growing movement for democratic unity is a big gain—it releases the energy of the masses, opens up new perspectives.

Last year's events showed that our Party was right in stressing that only political struggle involving large sections of the working people and middle strata could change the status quo.

Last year the subjective conditions for revolution had not yet matured. The people's organizations failed to make full use of the heightened mass activity to carry the movement to victory. But the experience of last year will undoubtedly help towards better organization, and a higher degree of militancy in preparing for the decisive show-down with reaction.

Every passing day brings proof that with the revolutionary movement in Latin America on the rise, Central America is being drawn into a powerful struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy. This struggle varies from country to country. In some circumstances, social changes might come about under the leadership of forces other than the proletariat and its party, for the working class is still split, and the Communists cannot influence developments everywhere or always.

What, then, are the Communist Party's tasks today? To begin with, we must play a bigger role in the country's life. And to do that we must strengthen the Party organizationally and ideologically and form closer ties with various sections of the people, primarily the urban and rural proletariat. We can contribute to working-class unity by fostering the working people's class awareness and giving their economic struggles a political orientation.

The Party urges the democratic forces to rely on the masses and organize them against imperialism and the oligarchy instead of dissociating from them in the name of 'vanguard' actions. Not until sectarianism has been defeated will it be possible to establish a genuinely popular democratic front as the alternative to the present regime. We persevere in this line of action, upholding it against attacks from 'Left' extremists and Right opportunists.

In campaigning for a broad front, we are always in touch with reality, follow a flexible alliance policy, take advantage of discord within the reactionary camp, and use every opportunity to consolidate the democratic forces. We also take account of the international situation, the alignment of forces in Central America and of imperialist and oligarchic attempts to check the revolutionary movement through economic and military integration.

Our Party is working to bring home to the people the meaning of our slogan of an anti-imperialist, agrarian, people's democratic revolution, the initial stage on Salvador's road to socialism.

Class struggle in Britain

Bert Ramelson

Member Executive Committee,
CP of Great Britain

Britain has an inspiring history of working class struggle. Early in the 19th century the British workers won the right to form trade unions to wage their daily struggle against the capitalist employers, and this made an important impact on the growth of trade unions throughout the capitalist world.

New features of strikes

The class battles in Britain in recent years are in many ways unprecedented. Not only have they raised the level of class consciousness in Britain, but made a profound impact in many countries.

The number of days lost in strikes is often used as a measuring rod of class struggle. This is obviously only a rough guide. By itself it will not explain the nature and significance of the mass struggle or whether this will have a lasting effect on the working class movement. But it is a useful starting-point.

Table I, published in the official Gazette of the Government Department of Employment (January 1973), provides us with a picture of the number of strikes and work-days lost over a period of ten years 1963-1972.

Stoppages in the Years 1963-1972

Year	Number of stoppages beginning in year	Number of workers involved in stoppages (000)	Aggregate number of working days lost in stoppages (100)
1963	2,068	593	1,755
1964	2,524	883	2,277
1965	2,354	876	2,925
1966	1,937	544	2,398
1967	2,116	734	2,787
1968	2,378	2,258	4,690
1969	3,116	1,665	6,846
1970	3,906	1,801	10,980
1971	2,228	1,178	13,551
1972	2,470	1,714	23,904

This table is by no means a complete picture. It excludes the big variety of industrial action short of strikes: bans on overtime, 'blacking,' go-slows, work-to-rule, and the new form of action of 'working-in.'

However, it provides us with a rough survey of the rising strike struggle in the past five years. For six out of the last ten years the number of work-days lost in strikes were the highest since the 1926 General Strike. It also shows that the duration of strikes has increased, for the actual number of strikes did not rise at the same rate as work-days lost, and in some years was even less.

But it is not only figures that speak of the changing political scene in Britain.

In the past, strike struggles were waged mainly by the well-organized miners, engineers, and dockers, but now involve the whole of the working class. The lower-paid, badly-organized, the white collar and less militant workers in the past are not only taking action, but in some ways have even become the pace-setters in the struggle for increased wages and higher living standards. Thus, it was the 'dirty work' strike in 1970, which involved the sewage workers and gardeners, cemetery workers and dustmen, whose long and bitter struggle inflicted the first defeat on the new Tory Government, which marked a new turn. They won a wage increase even in excess of the original demand of the trade unions.

Likewise, early in March the gas workers, teachers, hospital ancillary workers, and civil servants (750,000 in all) were on strike against the Government's wage freeze policy. The strike action of the civil servants (nearly 300,000) was the first in trade union history, and (except for the 1926 General Strike) the first in the 20th century for gas and hospital workers.

Another important feature (not disclosed in official Government statistics) is most significant. Most of the strikes since 1968 have been official trade union strikes. Before then the majority of strikes were 'unofficial,' organized by the rank-and-file and local trade union leaders in the industry or enterprise without the approval of the national trade union leaders, and often against their direct instructions.

The Government-appointed Donovan Royal Commission made its report in 1968 concluding that 95 per cent of the strikes were unofficial. The situation is now completely changed. Probably 95 per cent are official and only 5 per cent unofficial. This reveals that the mass pressure from below has reached the stage when the official leaders can no longer avoid official strikes. And this naturally extended the front of the class confrontation. In mining and construction, for example, the number of working days lost jumped from 63 thousand and 225 thousand in 1971 to 10.8 million and 4.18 million respectively in 1972. For the first time since 1926 the union leaders permitted national strikes in these two industries.

This new situation is extremely important for the British working class. Unlike some other countries, Britain has no history of

political strikes. Even the short-lived 1926 General Strike was primarily in solidarity with the miners in their struggle against wage-cuts, and the moment it began to assume political implications it was betrayed by the TUC leaders.

However, since 1968 there have been a number of unofficial and official strikes that were entirely, or to a large extent, political in character. They were directed against the Government rather than particular employers. The various strikes against the Labor Government policy 'In Place of Strife,' and the Industrial Relations Act of the Tory Government, the threat to call a General Strike (which forced the release of five imprisoned dockers), the national miners' strike (which was not settled at the head office of the Coal Board, but with the Prime Minister in Downing Street), the series of strikes by engineers in support of the decision of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) to defy the law by refusing to appear in Court or to pay the £55,000 fine – all these can be described as nothing else but political strikes.

What is outstanding is not only the increased number of strikes, but their changed character. There has been a qualitative political change in the attitude of millions of British workers, and this has made a strong impact within the former reformist-dominated leadership of the trade unions, and even within the Labor Party and its members of Parliament.

Crisis for ruling class

Any analysis which seeks to explain these tremendous changes must start with the change in the balance of class forces in Britain. While Britain is an island in geographical terms, it cannot isolate itself from the rest of the capitalist world. It emerged from the Second World War considerably weakened as an imperialist power, and soon after was stripped of its colonial empire – a process which was largely completed in the early 1960s.

In its desperation to restore Britain to its former leading position the ruling class pursued the dual policies of vast capital exports, a costly arms program and foreign military bases beyond its economic capacity, and hoped to become competitive in the world market, not by modernizing and restructuring its industry, but by forcing down the living standards of the working class.

In the past decade the essence of successive Government policies has been to establish an 'incomes policy,' to restrict wages to a level predetermined by the Government, and considerably below what could be achieved by collective bargaining and organized trade union action against the employers.

The struggle against this developed on two levels; to win the official trade union movement to reject this policy, and to use its organized strength to raise wages and improve working conditions. However, the most advanced workers did not wait to win over trade union leaders to accept this view, but waged an active struggle at the shop floor in various enterprises and industries to win im-

mediate advances. This was led mainly by the shop stewards' movement, leaders elected by the workers and responsible to them.

The victories won on the shop floor served a double purpose. They raised the confidence of the workers in their militant shop stewards, enhanced their standing and authority, and regained for the workers what the reformist union leaders on a national level had conceded by giving in to the Government wage-freeze policy.

The failure of successive Governments to persuade workers to voluntarily accept lower living standards to solve the aggravated economic crisis in Britain led to a number of new developments. On the one hand, the Government deliberately slowed down economic activity in the hope that this would lead to a reduction in imports, and that a growth in unemployment would compel the workers to accept cuts in wages, thus improving the competitive ability of British capitalism, slowing down the rate of inflation, and achieving a favorable balance in her overseas payments.

However, the ruling class underestimated the degree of the militancy of the British workers, stimulated by the growing influence of the Communists, and the increasing unity of the Left forces, especially at the factory, mine, and enterprise level.

Despite the re-emergence of large-scale unemployment, the organized workers refused to ease up the struggle for maintaining and improving their living standards. Instead, they strengthened their pressure for wage increases and began to develop the struggle against unemployment.

Faced with a determined working class, which was not only pursuing the class struggle through industrial action at the level of the enterprise, led by a militant shop stewards' movement, but also, as a result of this united action beginning to make important changes in the official leadership of some of the main trade unions (T & GWU, AUEW) – the ruling class began to recognize that the trade unions were the main obstacle to realizing their strategic objective.

The trend towards authoritarianism, to impose an incomes policy by force upon the working class, has its origin in the failure to trick the workers into voluntarily accepting the burden of capitalism's crisis. The first attempt in peacetime to use State sanctions to replace collective bargaining by State-regulated wages was tried by the Wilson Labor Government in 1965 with the enactment of the first Prices and Incomes Act, to be followed by its renewal in subsequent years.

Far from achieving its objective, it had the opposite effect. Led by the shop stewards, and influenced by the agitation of the Communist Party and its paper *Morning Star*, industrial strikes increased in many enterprises in defiance of the law. The rank-and-file movement led by the shop stewards began to exert a major influence on the official trade union leaders, and the Trades Union Congress for the first time rejected any State interference in col-

lective bargaining, and demanded the repeal of the Prices and Incomes Act.

Scale of mass action

Official strikes began to take place, and the Government realized it was no longer the unofficial shop stewards' movement alone, but also the official trade unions that were the main obstacle, and so began the plot to destroy the power of the trade unions. This aim was clear in the Bill which the Wilson Labor Government, entitled 'In Place of Strife,' presented in Parliament in 1969. A protest campaign was launched by shop stewards committees. The response surpassed all expectations; the TUC also began actively to oppose the Bill and to demand its withdrawal. History was made. For the first time a Government was forced to withdraw a Bill already introduced in Parliament.

The trade union movement at every level emerged more confident and militant. The Labor Government, by its attack on the trade unions, had alienated the workers. At the 1970 elections it was a low poll, with many trade union members abstaining, and the Tories managed to get a majority of seats in Parliament.

However, the Tory Government, too, was determined to achieve a reduction in every successive wage claim settlement by the policy of confrontation in the nationalized sector, and so encourage private employers also to resist wage claims. The magnificent seven-week strike of the miners early in 1972 for a 20-30 per cent wage rise forced the Government to capitulate, and its so-called incomes policy by 'confrontation' lay in ruins.

Despite considerable mass action, including official and unofficial industrial action, the Tories rushed through Parliament their Industrial Relations Act, an even more reactionary measure than the defunct 'In Place of Strife.' The Act makes strikes and other forms of industrial action illegal, outlaws such trade union achievements as the 'closed shop,' and provides for the registration of trade unions with a State-appointed Registrar to approve their rules.

It was the fear displayed by the Right-wing leaders of the General Council of the TUC of a total confrontation that encouraged the Government to push the Act through Parliament. Though the TUC declined to call a General Strike, pressure compelled it not to cooperate with the Government and to instruct trade unions not to register or to recognize the Courts set up by the Act. A handful of small trade unions, with less than seven per cent of the members of unions affiliated to the TUC, were expelled for ignoring these instructions.

The first action against a trade union under this vicious Act was the imposition of a £55,000 fine against the largest union, the T & GWU, arising out of the blacking by dockers of a container firm. At first the union refused to pay the fine. However, faced with

this challenge, the Right wing on the General Council of the TUC retreated and changed its attitude, allowing the union to attend the Court and 'defend' itself, and pay the fine. The T & GWU accepted this instruction, attended the Court and paid the fine, and urged the dockers to stop blacking the firm.

The dockers, led by the Communist shop steward Bernie Steer, refused to bow to the Court's diktat, and continued to picket the container firm. The result was that five of the dockers, including Bernie Steer, were arrested and put in prison. This gave rise to a stormy protest throughout the trade union movement. The Communist Party, and the Liaison Committee for the Defense of Trade Unions, immediately called for a General Strike to demand their release from prison.

Within a few hours tens of thousands of workers took strike action, and within one day the number rose to hundreds of thousands. The mass pressure for industrial action forced the General Council of the TUC on July 26 to call an official one-day General Strike five days later. On July 27 the Government capitulated. After four days in prison the dockers were released and carried shoulder high in a victory march through the streets of London.

Since then, the second largest union, the AUEW, had a fine of £55,000 imposed for refusing to carry out a Court Order to enrol a scab in its ranks. True to its policy, the AUEW refused to attend the Court or to pay the fine. The membership responded to this firm stand, and 750,000 engineering workers went on strike for one day. However, the Court's agents later extracted £55,000 from the union's funds.

Unity is guarantee of success

Frustrated by the victorious strikes of the miners and building workers last year, the Tories are now resorting (as the Labor Government did) to legally enforceable State-regulated wages and the outlawing of collective bargaining and strikes in support of wage claims higher than decreed by the Government.

In fact of this situation the British trade unions and the whole Labor movement developed a mighty campaign for an emergency Trade Union Congress to plan a counter-offensive against the Government attack, and for a one-day General Strike as the first step to force the Government to retreat or to declare a new General Election.

The first call for these measures was made on January 13 at a National Executive meeting of the Communist Party. The *Morning Star* has since waged a consistent campaign in support of these measures, and many trade union leaders have written in the *Morning Star* to support the campaign.

On March 5 the General Council of the TUC convened a special Congress. The delegates were determined they would not be fobbed off with speeches which did not advocate industrial action. They foiled the procedural attempts of the General Council to avoid this

issue. The final resolution agreed upon was carried overwhelmingly, with a double instruction to the General Council to organize and lead coordinated action in support of trade unions engaged in struggle and strike action against the Government; to invite all trade unions to participate in a day of protest and stoppage against the Government's wage controls and increases in prices.

The intention of the delegates was clear. They demanded a one-day General Strike as a first step in a continuous campaign until the Government was forced to change its policy or to resign. On March 31 the Liaison Committee for the Defense of Trade Unions organized another mass conference to stimulate this continuous campaign. Later, the General Council of the TUC chose May First as the date for the national stoppage and protest.*

The Right and ultra-Left combined in opposition to a one-day General Strike as inadequate and ineffective. What was our answer? The TUC call for a one-day General Strike opened the prison gates and freed the dockers. The one-day engineering stoppages have restrained the National Industrial Registration Court (NIRC) from imposing further fines on trade unions or putting their members in prison. It's true that action for only one day will not solve the problem, but it can stimulate a more continuous struggle.

United and determined action of the working class can compel the Government to retreat, as did the miners and the Upper Clyde shipyard workers. The Upper Clyde workers devised a new strategy of struggle, led by Communist shop stewards. Faced with dismissal they carried on normal work, and prevented the employers using their legal right to move anything out of the shipyard without permission of the workers, or to declare anyone redundant.

They took over control of the gates of exit and entry. As the aim of the struggle was to prevent the closure of the yards, the strategy was to prevent the dispersal of the labor force by dismissals, and to resist the disposal of the highly expensive equipment. By controlling the exit the equipment could not be moved; by controlling the entry workers made redundant were admitted to the yards, 'hired' by the shop stewards and paid by a levy on the workers, supplemented by a flood of financial support from workers all over Britain and the world.

This unprecedented solidarity was expressed in many forms: stoppages, marches, and conferences. It became a national issue, and the TUC itself endorsed what had started as an unofficial action. After 18 months the Government capitulated. It agreed upon a £36 million subsidy (having earlier refused a £6½ million loan) and by doing so assured the viability of the yards and the security of the jobs of all the workers.

Support for this action may be gauged from the published balance sheet. After paying full wages to all shipyard workers made redundant and the expenses of an extensive campaign, there was £70,000 left over in the Work-In Fund, which is now being used to give generous aid to other workers fighting for the 'right to work.'

*Millions took part in strikes and demonstrations on May Day.

The Upper Clyde struggle has inspired workers in scores of other factories threatened with closures. During and since the Upper Clyde 'work-in' over 60 other enterprises scheduled for closure were occupied by the workers and forced to remain open.

Briant Color, a printing enterprise made bankrupt and due to close down six months ago, was occupied by the workers for nine months, who operated the plant and produced printed material for the Labor movement. This ended in a victory for the workers, and the decision to close the plant has now been cancelled. Throughout this period workers expressed their solidarity, joined in the picket lines, and have given financial support by weekly levies on their wages. The Upper Clyde workers have pledged to contribute £2,000 a week out of their funds.

Steel workers threatened with dismissal are now planning to occupy the steel works and to organize strikes. They are determined to prevent the operation of Government-inspired plans to contract the steel industry in Wales and north-east England, where there is already a high rate of unemployment.

There are new forms of the struggle for the 'right to work.' This slogan has now assumed great political significance. When the struggle is successful it weakens the ruling class. But whether successful or not, the slogan is one which raises the political sights of the workers, exposes the bankruptcy of capitalism, and the need to change a system which cannot provide work. Together with the fight to increase wages this struggle for the 'right to work' is having a big effect on the whole Labor and trade union movement.

Workers are becoming more convinced that the State, far from being 'neutral,' is openly acting as the agent of the employers, and that political struggle cannot be separated from the economic struggle, and must become an inseparable function of the trade unions.

The mass movement in defense of the trade unions, against wage restraint, and for the 'right to work' is also making its impact within the Labor Party – in Parliament as well as the local constituencies. The result has been a trend to the Left, not only in the National Executive of the Labor Party but also in the Parliamentary Labor Party – the Labor members in Parliament.

The joint statement of the TUC and Labor Party in support of the national day of stoppage and protest on May First is indicative of this.

Wilson & Co. were compelled to drop their demand for a voluntary incomes policy. For the first time the Labor Party has publicly declared there is no contradiction between rigid price control and free collective bargaining. The rest of the joint program contains many progressive proposals on social matters, taxation, investment, regional development, and full employment. But it suffers from a major weakness which is typical of reformism – it lacks a revolutionary strategy which can achieve the aims set out. A new Labor Government would still stand in danger of throwing overboard its

well-meaning policies, as all previous Labor Governments have done.

There is no way of preventing inflation, planning the growth of investment, or of preventing the 'flight of capital' abroad without taking over the big monopolies, the owners of the vast investment funds, into public ownership. There is no other way to weaken the economic and political basis of capitalism. And it is precisely this which is missing in the present joint program of the TUC and Labor Party.

This underlines the political and economic importance of the growing mass movement in Britain, based on the struggle for higher living standards and the defense of the trade unions, for democracy against authoritarianism, for this creates the conditions for the development of the revolutionary struggle for socialism. Whether this will lead to revolutionary change depends on the existence of a strong and effective revolutionary Communist Party. The achievement of this aim is now an open challenge to all those who favor a genuine socialist program and the advance towards socialism in Britain.

Victorious Vietnam

Monika Warnenska
Polish Writer

HANOI, Spring, 1973. Attractive girls in conical hats; spreading old trees near the hotel where most foreigners stay; the measured whirr of bicycles; cinemas, theatres and shops open; bustling streets that grow still at noon, the 'siesta' time. At moments it seems that the recent war was no more than a bad dream.

But a walk through the city quickly reveals its still smouldering traces. Kham Thien Street, razed on December 26 of last year during a murderous raid by B-52 flying fortresses; Hanoi's largest Bach Mai hospital reduced to ruins; An Duong district levelled to the ground; piles of rubble where the 8th of March textile mill and a food factory once stood . . .

To comprehend the reality of present-day Vietnam one must go back to the recent past. Many bombs had fallen on the DRV capital before. The spring of 1972 saw a second escalation of raids from which Hanoi and Haiphong suffered greatly. But last December's bombing surpassed everything in ferocity and destruction. That was the first time the enemy had sent his B-52s over the capital.

Although in the three years between the first and second escala-

tions of the air war there had been no significant letting up of the bombing in the 'fourth zone,' the country lying between the 17th and 19th parallels, there had been no attacks against Hanoi or the DRV's largest port, Haiphong. Not surprisingly, many of the children, students and old people evacuated from Hanoi in 1965 had returned to the city. The direct military threat seemed remote, and children played in the small, one-man open shelters in the streets. Grass sprouted in the larger ones in the city centre . . .

Then, in the spring of 1972, air-raid sirens wailed again in Hanoi. Once more the word evacuation came into use. Only those whose presence was essential to the city's industries and defenses remained. The people of Hanoi and Haiphong did not flinch in the face of the most sophisticated means of destruction. I can testify to this as an eye-witness.

The DRV was not forced to its knees, American attempts to speak 'from positions of strength' failed. To get the suspended peace talks resumed the U.S. was compelled to accede to the DRV demand to halt the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. The days in which the republic's two largest cities had heroically passed the test of fortitude and courage were the eve of a new era, an era of rehabilitation.

Rehabilitation has only just begun and it is hard to measure it in statistical terms. But the scenes of those unforgettable days when war was retreating, when the shoots of new, peaceful life began to sprout among the ruins, are more eloquent than figures.

The news of the Paris agreement reached me in the country near Hanoi, and I hastened to the capital. The evacuees were coming back. They could be seen on every road, pushing carts or leading bicycles loaded with blankets, mats, pots and pans, all the things they managed to take when evacuated. Others had hitched rides with passing trucks. It brought back to mind the return to Warsaw after its liberation in January of 1945.

Machine tools, hospital equipment, libraries, study aids, all that had been salvaged and removed, was now being brought back to Hanoi . . .

In the streets people were filling in shelters and levelling pavements in which shallow well-like slots had been dug a few steps apart to provide protection from death-dealing bomb and rocket fragments.

I recall how, a few hours after one December raid, I came upon DRV Premier Pham Van Dong on the smouldering ruins of the 8th of March textile mill. Together with the other leaders of this embattled people, he had remained in the capital during those trying days. The Vietnamese comrade guiding me through the devastated district had remarked then, 'It took five years to build these factories, but only half an hour to level them to the ground.' I don't know how much time it will take to raise this and other mills and factories from the ruins. The future will show. But I do know for sure that rehabilitation has begun wherever possible and will

proceed as fast as possible. In the very first days of peace restoration began of a textile mill in Nam Dinh, food factories in Hanoi, and power plants in several cities.

At the bomb-wrecked Hanoi railway station, repairs were already under way, and chalked on a board was the timetable: trains twice daily to Thanh Hoa, twice daily farther on to Vinh, and soon there would be one to Haiphong. The terminal was in ruins, but people were already buying tickets in a makeshift booking booth.

Haiphong, too, was settling down to peaceful times. Before my trip to Vietnam I had been frequently asked how the mining of coastal waters and the blockade of ports was affecting the republic. Was Haiphong really isolated from the world? I was able to see it for myself before the ceasefire. The time has not come to tell in detail how the people of Haiphong coped with the blockade during the 'second escalation.' All I can say is that, although the blockade hampered life in the port and the city, it failed to cut Haiphong off from the rest of the world. The Americans laid the mines from the air while the Vietnamese ceaselessly cleared corridors for motor launches and junks. Fishermen used them to sail out to sea. I saw Polish and Soviet ships and ships of other countries lying idle. But I also saw some of them leave port.

The ruins were being cleared around the port and in other areas. I shall never forget a Vietnamese family in a destroyed Haiphong street, a young and an old woman, a young man and a baby. They were making a home for themselves—four bamboo poles hammered into the ground and mats stretched between them. Life was going on!

Phy Ly, Ninh Binh, Thanh Hoa and other towns along the road to the fourth zone that had been reduced to rubble are returning to life. Stacks of bricks and boards, piles of bamboo poles surround the ruins. I watched workers putting up roofs, and soon bombed-out families would move into new homes.

Children have returned to school after a two-month break caused by the war. I saw senior pupils and their teachers carrying just-made bamboo desks and benches into brand new temporary premises, also built of bamboo.

Many sections of Highway No. 1 leading south from Hanoi are being repaired by teams made up mostly of girls and young women. The temporary bridges thrown across rivers are a testimonial to the skill and ingenuity of their builders. The stream of traffic can, in a way, be likened to the strengthening flow of blood in a recuperating organism.

All along the road from Hanoi to Vinh Linh on the 17th parallel, and on to Quang Tri to the south, one sees examples of the combat and labor heroism of people whose bravery brought closer the hour of victory. And now one sees the equally devoted industriousness with which they have begun building anew on the still warm ruins.

Girls who only yesterday had been delivering crates of ammunition for the territorial self-defense fighters are now carrying newly repaired furniture for kindergartens. Peasants who had voluntarily torn down their houses to pave a bomb-pitted road to let trucks reach the front are now laying the foundations of a new school.

Wherever one goes one sees countless signs of the solidarity of other countries with heroic Vietnam, the solidarity which helped the Vietnamese people stand fast in the most difficult, most critical days of both escalations, and which now helps them be equally firm and persevering in this, the most difficult initial period of rehabilitation. Soviet trucks and Polish bicycles on Vietnamese roads, medical equipment from the GDR and Bulgarian drugs in hospitals, Hungarian pumps in the rice paddies, are all testimony to the fraternal help of the socialist countries. People of good will, progressive organizations in capitalist countries, are also hastening to the aid of Vietnam: Danes will help rebuild Kham Thien Street in the centre of Hanoi, Swedes will help restore and equip the Bach Mai hospital.

Every day brings new facts about the life of the Vietnam I know so well and yet each time get to know anew, the Vietnam which has, from one end to the other, embarked on a new stage of its history.

The prophetic words of President Ho Chi Minh resound with new force: 'Our rivers, our hills, our people will withstand. After victory we shall rebuild our country and make it even more beautiful.'

North Vietnam — Liberated areas of
South Vietnam, December 1972-March 1973.

The land we are fighting for

Salem Khalil
Jordanian Communist

Results of dependence

The dependence of many former colonies on imperialism hinges on the single-crop character of their economies: they specialize in one or two kinds of primary products, exports of which on the world capitalist market account for the bulk of their earnings. In Jordan,

however, the main source of income is foreign financial 'aid.'*

Internal sources provide an insignificant part of state budgetary expenditure. The steadily growing deficit is covered by foreign subsidies and loans, which account for more than 70 per cent of the budget revenue:

	1970-71	<i>Fiscal Year</i> 1971-72 million dinars	1972-73
Internal Sources	37	40	44.2
Foreign 'Aid'	70	84.86	114.992

At the end of 1972, the so-called three-year economic development plan for the years 1973-1975 was adopted. Drawn up by experts from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, the Ford Foundation, the Arab-American Chamber of Commerce and similar imperialist organizations, it is based wholly on foreign capital.

Not surprisingly, the guidelines for Jordan's domestic and foreign policies are laid down by imperialist 'donor' states. Thus, when Jordan came out on the side of the Arab countries in June 1967, the United States immediately suspended its 'aid,' which was resumed only after the Government suppressed the Palestine resistance movement on its territory in September 1970 and refused to honor its commitments under Arab unity treaties and agreements.

Jordan's dependence on imperialism hampers its economic development, which has become extremely lopsided. Thus, a huge increase in state spending for non-productive purposes has inflated the service sphere, which now accounts for 68 per cent of the national income.

In 1955, industry accounted for 5 per cent of the national income; almost twenty years later its share was still only 10 per cent. Predominant in industry are semi-artisan workshops with few machines. Only 7,000 workers, 1.4 per cent of the total work force, are engaged at comparatively large enterprises (by Jordanian standards) employing more than 25 persons. Workers in all other industrial-handicraft enterprises constitute 15 per cent of the work force.

Agriculture, in which 45 per cent of the gainfully employed population is occupied, is the key sector of Jordan's economy, and accounts for more than half the exports (but only 20 per cent of

*The British protectorate of Transjordan was officially proclaimed an independent state on May 5, 1946. The act was preceded by a treaty between Britain and the puppet ruler Abdullah, which guaranteed the military-feudal clique continued financial 'aid' to maintain its bureaucratic and punitive machinery in exchange for the preservation of military bases and the stationing of troops. A new treaty signed in 1948 reaffirmed the country's total political and economic dependence on Britain. In 1955, British 'aid' accounted for 10 million of the 17 million dinars on the credit side of Jordan's budget.

The Jordanian Communist Party and other patriotic forces put forward alternative development plans based on the rejection of British subsidies and the rational utilization of natural resources with help from other Arab states.

However, after public pressure forced the abrogation of the shackling agreement in March 1957, Britain's place as the main supplier of 'aid' was occupied by American imperialism. Already in April, 1957, the U.S. granted Jordan a credit of 10 million dollars mainly to maintain punitive forces.

the national income). An agrarian policy geared to preserving the tribal structure of the rural population and perpetuating existing social relations and farming methods has doomed the countryside to extreme backwardness. Primitive farming and obsolete implements make for low productivity and low per capita incomes. There is also an acute land shortage, yet out of more than 13 million dunams* of arable land not more than three million are cultivated.

Even in the fertile lands in the Jordan valley (the Ghor Depression) farming began only recently. Fragmentation of peasant holdings goes along with concentration of land in the hands of the big farmers. As a result poor peasants are forced to hire out for seasonal jobs, join the army or migrate to the cities, where they swell the ranks of the unemployed.

The three-year plan makes no provisions for a healthier economy through production growth and expansion: its emphasis is again on the services, where it provides for an increase of 18,000 jobs, as against 11,000 jobs in the production sectors. The planned increase in internal state revenues is to be achieved primarily through higher taxation, with provisions for almost doubling direct taxes and increasing indirect taxes by 35.4 per cent, which will affect mainly the working people.

The low standards of agriculture and industry compel Jordan to import mainly food and consumer goods. In 1970, imports totalled 67.8 million dinars, with a balance-of-trade deficit of 51 million. The three-year plan provides for a huge foreign trade deficit. By 1975, imports are to reach 102 million dinars, whereas exports will increase to only 23 million (as compared with 15 million in 1972). The deficit is to be covered by foreign 'aid.'

The power base

So far no minerals or other natural resources capable of whetting imperialist appetites have been discovered in Jordan, and considerations of economic exploitation never played an important part in the policies of colonialism and, later, neo-colonialism. Jordan's importance derives from its strategic situation in the very heart of the Middle East with its huge oil reserves. And that is just why imperialism spends more on our country than it takes out.

Imperialist money has been used to build up an army far in excess of the needs of Jordan's defenses. The United States, main creditor of the Jordanian military, views Jordan as a 'deterrent' against progressive Arab regimes. As noted recently by *Time* magazine, King Hussein's standing in the eyes of ruling circles in the U.S., which he visited last February, was strengthened by his refusal to allow Palestine guerrilla units back into the country. This explains the promise he received in Washington of help in building up his repressive machinery, especially the army. Jordan's Communists hold that large expenditures to maintain an army are justified only if they are meant to build up its strength to defend the country, contribute to the struggle, together with other Arab coun-

*One dunam = 0.1 hectare.

tries, against imperialism, for the liberation of Israeli-occupied Arab lands. The Jordanian army's main function, however, is to suppress opposition to the regime. That is why about one-third of the budget is designated for maintaining the army and internal security forces, which aggravates the country's economic difficulties. In 1972, these expenditures totalled 53.6 million dinars – as much as the combined investment in agriculture (27.6 million) and industry (26.1 million).

True, dissatisfaction with the mercenary regime has infected even the army and is responsible for periodic 'purges.' Thus, in the autumn of 1972, a hundred officers, mainly Palestinians, were discharged. Still, the army, which is linked with the tribal and bourgeois elite, remains the throne's power base.

As a rule, in former colonies the big landlords profit from imperialist-imposed programs aimed at exploiting the country (irrigation projects, road construction, etc.). In our country the absence of such opportunities is compensated in other ways.

Most of the big landowners are sheikhs, tribal chiefs. Traditionally, the state allocates them large sums and supplies ostensibly to meet the needs of their tribes and maintain an 'equilibrium' between them. Formerly this aid was dispensed by the British Chief-of-Staff of the Armed Forces; today it is provided through organizations such as the Tribal Council, the Farm Credit Society, and others.

Sheikhs and members of their families are given lucrative positions in the administrative apparatus and the army, thus consolidating the feudal elite's hold on the armed forces and the government.

State support for big landlords is portrayed as aid to the tribe as a whole. A result of this has been the slow pace of class differentiation in the Jordanian countryside. The concentration of property in agriculture has also taken peculiar forms. As the tribal chiefs receive considerable financial help from the state they are not interested in expanding their land holdings and some have even given up agriculture altogether. This explains why most of the land in Jordan is in the hands of smallholders. Big landowners, who constitute 0.29 per cent of the population, own no more than four per cent of the land under use,* a unique situation for an underdeveloped country.

The neo-colonialist policies of imperialist powers have promoted the growth of the local bourgeoisie, which acts as middleman and junior partner of foreign capital. A certain section of the bourgeoisie owns small enterprises which process imported semi-finished products or operate under foreign license. Others are engaged in construction, mainly as sub-contractors for foreign firms filling state orders. As the state gives local businesses direct help and favored status, this section of the bourgeoisie is, naturally, most interested in the regime's pro-imperialist policies. Like the land-

*Naturally, these are the best lands, pasture and watered land, which is why they account for 17 per cent of the total income in agriculture.

owner sheikhs, the bourgeoisie provides much of the military and administrative personnel.

Such is the power base of the regime. Its cementing force has become the burgeoning bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which is increasingly coming to the fore in both political and socio-economic life.

Bureaucratic bourgeoisie in power

In the last 15 years the state apparatus and army became even more unwieldy. The state is the biggest employer, providing jobs for more than 37 per cent of the work force. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie's influence is extending to the tribes through their representatives in the government machinery. All this enables it to keep different social strata from coming together on a common platform of dissatisfaction with the regime.

The power and livelihood of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie derives from the state budget. And what it gets out of the budget is invested in land, other real estate and business. Since foreign 'aid' accounts for most of the budget income, the ruling circles have a vested interest in maintaining close ties with the countries that subsidize Jordan. In carrying out its pro-imperialist policies, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie readily adopts any measures involving greater budget outlays as this helps it get richer.

The reactionary domestic policy line is based on exploitation of what is called in Jordan the 'territorial factor.' What is involved is the fanning of hostility between the indigenous Transjordan (East Bank) partly Bedouin population and the Palestinians of the West Bank who, together with the refugees, constitute the majority of the population.

Since 1950, when the West Bank territories were incorporated in the state of Jordan, the authorities have invariably discriminated against Palestinians. No national consolidation occurred, and two groups based on the territorial division formed within each social stratum.

The Palestinian bourgeoisie, though it thrived in industry and trade, was relegated to second-class status in the bureaucratic and military hierarchy, and its political weight is much inferior to that of its counterparts from the East Bank. Several factors contributed to the regime's policy of discrimination against the Palestinian bourgeoisie. It lacks influence among the masses, even on the West Bank, because Palestinian society is much more advanced socially and tribal ties have all but disappeared. Besides, imperialism had always resisted the promotion of Palestinians to important political posts.

As a consequence the bureaucratic bourgeoisie consists almost exclusively of East-Bankers. The ruling elite has also drawn large sections of the East-Bank petty bourgeoisie into the civil service and the army, thereby additionally strengthening the state's links with the rural population and the tribes.*

*The urban petty bourgeoisie preserves close tribal and family ties with the peasants of the East Bank and supports them. For most peasants with poor, inefficient farms, this is the main source of income.

The peculiar position of the Jordanian petty bourgeoisie reduces its revolutionary potential as an ally of the working class and poor peasants in the struggle for democratic socio-economic change and in the national movement as a whole.

By contrast, the Palestinian urban middle and petty bourgeoisie participate actively in the national struggle. They do not belong to the bureaucratic hierarchy, and therefore their attitude toward the state is determined by their own interests, which demand participation in the struggle against imperialism, for independence and progress.

Differences in attitudes toward the state can be observed among the peasants, too. On the West Bank the peasants, unlike those of the East Bank, had no help from the state, no guaranteed prices for agricultural produce. Most farms were able to make ends meet only with help from relatives working in other Arab countries.

It would be wrong, of course, to imagine that government policy genuinely serves the interests of the Transjordanian peasants, but nevertheless, geographical discrimination has bred differences in the contradictions between the state and the population on either bank of the Jordan. And these differences are an obstacle for effective united action by a given social stratum. Moreover, the reactionaries set one section of the same social stratum against the other. Nor is Jordan's small working class (mostly Palestinians) an exception.

All of which suits the ruling circles, insofar as it allows them to obfuscate the class objectives of their policy with talk of 'national' problems and reduce the national struggle to the level of a territorial issue. This policy has undoubtedly distorted the class struggle, restricted its influence on the national movement and fostered Right-wing tendencies.

At the same time the policy has contributed to a leftward shift among Palestinians and to the spread of anti-imperialist and democratic attitudes. Sharpened reaction to geographical discrimination has accelerated the growth of political consciousness among Palestinians, whose confidence was strengthened by the intensified struggle against the Israeli occupation of Arab territories. The Palestine Resistance Movement (PRM) became a real force. In these circumstances the bureaucratic bourgeoisie decided to buttress its positions by striking at the PRM and the national movement as a whole. Exploiting territorial discord, it organized a bloodbath of Palestinian and Jordanian patriots in September 1970.*

A new alignment of forces have developed. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie no longer cares to remain a mere partner of feudal-bourgeois circles, it is no longer satisfied with positions of influence in the executive apparatus as in the 60s, and seeks to gain *de facto* and *de jure* political leadership of the society.

Attempting to fill the political vacuum following the rout of the PRM, King Hussein's regime decided to set up a mass political

*See N. Ashhab, *To Overcome the Crisis of the Palestine Resistance Movement*, WMR, May, 1972.

organization, the Jordanian National Union (JNU). Parading as spokesman of the people, its real aim is to promote the interests of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and tribal leaders and be a faithful support of the royal regime.

In mid-1971, a committee consisting of ministers, senators, MPs, mayors, municipal councilmen and business leaders was set up to prepare the organization of the JNU.

The constituent congress was held in Amman on November 25, 1971. The West Bank was represented by Palestinians who had long since lost all touch with the people and faithfully supported the regime. The majority of delegates came from the East Bank. The congress declared King Hussein general president of the JNU. He appoints all 36 members of the Supreme Executive Committee (SEC) and the General Secretary of the Leading Bureau. The JNU Rules (modelled on the country's reactionary Constitution) and its structure are designed to establish even more rigid control over the nation's social and political life while creating an illusion of national unity, absence of antagonistic classes and class struggle. Its purpose is to mislead the masses, keep them, by demagoguery and deceit, from gravitating towards revolutionary parties of progressive Arab regimes and the socialist countries.

Steadfast vanguard

These are the extremely difficult conditions, with socio-economic and 'territorial' contradictions aggravated by the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, in which the Communist Party of Jordan, constantly harassed by the authorities, must fight. The JCP has always been guided by the desire for unity of all the country's healthy, democratic anti-imperialist forces.

In 1954, our Party initiated the formation of a National Anti-Imperialist Front of Communists, petty-bourgeois democrats and progressive representatives of the national bourgeoisie. It should be mentioned that cooperation was facilitated by the fact that all patriotic parties regardless of their class nature proclaimed their acceptance of the ideals of socialism. This was a reflection of the mood of the masses, who saw social progress as the only means of ensuring genuine independence.

Joint actions by the opposition parties brought down the reactionary government in December 1955. However, lacking experience in political struggle, the progressive forces were unable to make use of the change to achieve a fundamental advance in national development. Taking advantage of this, Jordanian reaction, helped by U.S. imperialism, toppled the progressive government in spring 1957. Exploiting the disunity that followed the split in the anti-imperialist forces in 1959, Jordanian reaction, supported by imperialism, American in the first place, launched an all-out offensive against the Communists and all democrats to shore up the pro-imperialist, feudal, tribalist regime. The Party was driven even deeper underground.

Since the June 1967 war our Party has set itself two tasks: first

and foremost, to liquidate the consequences of the Zionist imperialist aggression and ensure the return of all occupied Arab territories; second, to fight Jordanian reaction, which is following in the wake of imperialism and Zionism and is flouting the legitimate interests of Arab countries and, especially, the national rights of the Palestinian people. Thus, our Party exposed the proposal for the creation of a so-called 'United Arab Kingdom' put forward by Jordanian ruling circles in March 1972. Its implementation would not only reduce to naught the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, but would also serve the expansionist objectives of Israel's leaders with their plans of dominating a West Bank formally controlled by Jordan.

After the liquidation of PRM bases in Jordan our Party emerged as the only organized political force upholding the interests of the working people; the correctness and realism of its policies has been confirmed by the course of events. This imposes additional obligations on us in the fight to resolve the problems facing the people and the country, while at the same time promoting the Party's prestige and influence among the masses.

In the summer of 1971 the CP proposed the creation of a broad united national front of all anti-imperialist forces opposed to the Israeli occupation. It could become a basis for the formation of a government of national concord capable of mobilizing the nation's manpower, political, economic and military reserves for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories, overcoming the conflict with the Palestine Liberation Organization and the PRM by allowing them to fight the occupation forces from Jordanian territory, and take an active part in the movement for Arab unity on a democratic basis. The government would maintain close relations with all genuine friends of the Arab people, the socialist countries in the first place.

The Communist Party's mounting political activity and the masses' growing confidence in it and its program has infuriated Jordanian reaction, which has thrown its punitive apparatus against the Party, its activists and leaders. It is stepping up repression, organizing raids, kidnapping activists, who are thrown into jail and tortured. Communist Party membership or 'communist activity' can be punished by jail sentences of three to 15 years.

Despite all trials the Party is stepping up the struggle. Publication of its illegal newspaper continues, and leaflets explaining the Party's policy on the issues of the day or exposing the anti-popular regime are distributed regularly. In the occupied Arab territories our Party fights tirelessly for the unity of all patriotic forces and the expansion of resistance in different forms. The Party does everything to achieve understanding with different PRM detachments and bring about their unification. Having purged its ranks of Right-wing opportunist splitters, the Jordanian Communist Party is taking part in armed resistance.

Its great experience of struggle will help it to surmount all obstacles and faithfully carry out its duty as revolutionary vanguard of two fraternal Arab peoples, Jordanian and Palestinians.

Direction of socialist society

*Constantin Vlad, Ph.D.,
Dumitru Mazilu, LL.D.
(Rumania)*

Rumania's advance along the road of socialism calls for better work standards in every sphere of public life, better functioning of the whole social organism. It is a continuous process with such important landmarks as the Ninth (1965) and Tenth (1969) Congresses of the Rumanian Communist Party and its 1967 and 1972 National Conferences.

The work to improve the organization and direction of socialist society is led by the Communist Party, which creatively applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism to Rumanian conditions. It carefully studies the experience of other socialist countries and keeps close watch over the achievements of world science and practice in the sphere of management. The Party holds that the forms and methods of government are not immutable and their continued adaptation to changing conditions is an objective prerequisite of the new system's success. Today, this is an integral part of the national effort for a comprehensively developed socialist society based on the 20th RCP Congress program and 1972 National Conference decisions.

The improvement of organization and management extends into various spheres of public life. First and foremost, there is the *economic sphere*. Rumania is a developing country, and social progress rests on the expansion of the material and technical base of socialism through further industrialization, the expansion of key industries and diversified, intensive agriculture. The republic promotes economic ties and cooperation with all socialist countries, as well as commercial exchange with all other countries on mutually advantageous terms.

Our aim is for the efforts of the working class and the people as a whole to propel Rumania into the ranks of the economically, scientifically and technologically advanced nations and with high material and cultural standards. More than 30 per cent of the national income is channeled every year into accumulation. One of our main tasks in this connection is to raise the efficiency of our economy by improving management methods.

Measures adopted by the Party provide for better economic planning on the basis of democratic centralism, notably, enhancement of the regulatory functions of the state plan, which defines the main proportions and trends of economic development, coupled with simultaneous enhancement of the role of local government and economic bodies. Enterprises increasingly act on their own where concrete production questions are concerned. The economic

management machinery is being made more flexible and responsive to the needs of economic development. Planning methods are being improved and ministerial activity rationalized. To remove excessive centralism and enhance efficiency and responsibility, duties extraneous to the terms of reference of central authorities are being handed over to economic organizations.

The 1972 national conference of the RCP stressed that improvement of the economic mechanism at every level – ministry, amalgamation, enterprise – requires greater specialization and cooperation and the creation of conditions for highly efficient, large-scale serial production. The immediate responsibility for running enterprises has been vested in industrial amalgamations and combines, whose duty is to ensure dynamic production expansion, from realistic planning and necessary material and technical supplies to the marketing of the end product. Worker councils, as collective bodies of economic management, handle such important day-to-day tasks as rational utilization of manpower and material resources, with emphasis on increasing production through higher labor productivity.

The reorganization of economic management has, on the whole, been completed and is now in line with present requirements. True, there remain some shortcomings, notably in the functioning of amalgamations and their relations with enterprises and ministries. This prompted the RCP national conference to pass a decision giving the amalgamations full authority. Steps have also been taken to simplify the organizational structure of amalgamations, which should, as a rule, be based on one of their major economic units. Central departments and other intermediate levels in the ministries have been abolished to ensure direct ties between amalgamations and ministry executives; in those ministries where departments have been retained their functions have been elaborated with an eye to facilitating the speedy solution of arising problems; measures have been outlined to rationalize and simplify management and reduce administrative staffs in ministries and amalgamations; many engineers currently holding administrative jobs are being transferred to factories and design offices, and other specialists are being more suitably employed.

To improve collective leadership in ministries, the national conference decided to replace the ministerial collegium with an executive council to include the heads of the ministry, its amalgamations and research institutes and some workers of the ministerial apparatus. Taking into account the objective process of concentration, specialization and cooperation in the engineering industry, the conference decided to set up a coordinating council consisting of representatives from all ministries with machine-building sectors. If the need arises, such councils will be set up in other industries.

Mindful that better management requires the prognostication and determination of future trends of development, the 1972 national RCP conference decided to set up a supreme council for economic and social development as a permanent organization for research

and suggestions concerning the nation's prospects. The supreme council must operate in close contact with Party and government bodies to elaborate forecasts, five-year and annual plans. To cope with its tasks, this very important organization must draw upon the best executives, scientists and engineers, as well as ordinary workers.

Production relations, in particular relations of distribution, are continuously perfected in the course of economic development. The principle of material incentive, while preserving a rational degree of income differentiation depending on the quantity, quality and social value of labor, should not produce an unjustified income gap. Accordingly, on the one hand, wages of low-paid categories of workers are being raised and child benefits increased, while, on the other, steps are being taken against individuals drawing several pay cheques or having several sources of income, as well as to verify the sources of means for acquiring property.

Recent years saw the promulgation of important decisions aimed at improving the management of agriculture.* Outlays for strengthening its material and technical base have been increased, state farms strengthened, and labor organization and remuneration in cooperatives improved. Decisions promoting cooperative democracy were also passed. They provide for general membership meetings to discuss questions of production, labor organization, remuneration and all other economic and social problems that have a bearing on cooperative development. The role of inter-cooperative councils in improving production coordination and distribution is being enhanced, and greater cooperation is being fostered between district associations and the National Cooperative Alliance, on the one hand, and district agricultural bodies and the ministries of agriculture, food and water supply, on the other.

The achievements in industry and agriculture are testimony to the correctness of the Party's political course and the fruitfulness of its efforts.

The social structure of society and relations between classes and social groups are perfected in the course of socialist development. Rumania is a socialist country whose social structure comprises the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. All of them, irrespective of nationality, are closely rallied around the Communist Party. The unity and brotherhood of Rumanians and members of other ethnic groups – Hungarians, Germans, Serbians, etc. – makes for the new social system's inviolable strength.

The Communist Party's policy is aimed at enhancing the role of the working class as the leading force of society. Concentrated as it is in the key, most dynamic branches of the national economy, the working class is the producer of the greater part of the national income. It is a progressive social force, consistent bearer of socialist and communist ideas, and the leading class in the state, the economy, all social and political life. Our society's development pro-

*See *World Marxist Review*, May 1972. – Ed.

motes the numerical growth and educational standards of the working class, making it capable of controlling complex technological and social processes. From its ranks have come a large proportion of the Communist Party's membership and the overwhelming majority of Party functionaries, administrative and economic executives and public figures.

The alliance of the working class and peasantry is now stronger than ever before; development of the social structure further strengthens the unity of the nation, the people; it facilitates the coming together of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. This, of course, is not a spontaneous process. Difficulties and contradictions exist in socialist society, but they can be overcome without upheavals and their aggravation can be prevented. Most important here is a correct, realistic Party policy and close ties with the people. The Rumanian Communist Party carefully studies the problem arising with changes in the class structure, resolving them in such a way as to ensure that the development of social relations promotes the strength of the socialist system.

Our Party attaches great importance to *education, science and culture* in their broad implications. Universal ten-year education has been introduced, and more than half of our boys and girls finish the twelve-year course. In level of higher education Rumania ranks among the leading countries of the world.

The Communist Party gives exceptional attention to the school system, regarding it as the basic factor of education and culture. A primary task of the present is the integration of education, research and production by bringing the school closer to practice and strengthening the ties of education with scientific research. Vocational classes have been introduced in general educational schools, pupils work at industrial or farming enterprises or in study workshops and are thus able to acquire a trade by the time they leave school or shortly afterwards. Vocational training is developing steadily. Specialized schools have been set up, their role is increasing, and in future they will occupy a leading place in the school system. The reorganization of instruction, better equipment of existing workshops and laboratories and creation of new ones, and improvement of production practice – all this is aimed at providing better training for young specialists in institutes of higher learning in line with the requirements of today.

The rapid development of socialist society calls for a constant flow of information about new developments in science, technology and social life. In line with this, our republic proclaims and implements the principle of continuity of education. At the beginning of 1971, the Grand National Assembly approved a comprehensive re-training system for executive personnel and all working people. Its purpose is to raise skills and qualifications to meet the demands of scientific, technological, economic and social progress.

Considering the technological revolution and its role in developing the national economy, the Party has made as one of its primary tasks *the enhancement of the role of science* in social life. Steps

have been taken to strengthen the connection between scientific research and production. Much of research is now conducted on a contract basis. Technological research institutes have been subordinated to the industrial ministries. For the more efficient management of research work, in addition to the Republican Academy of Sciences, academies have been set up in some of the major branches of scientific activity. The Academy of Social and Political Sciences, which functions directly under the Party CC, comprises research institutes and departments of institutes of higher learning in philosophy, sociology, economics, law, political science, ethics, psychology, education, history and archaeology, aesthetics, and the theory and history of literature and the arts. Party policy is aimed at utilizing our society's rich scientific potential, stimulating original thinking among scientists, drawing executives and workers in different branches of the economy and culture into broad participation in scientific progress, thus fostering the creative energy of the whole people.

It is of special importance to introduce the achievements of managerial science in all spheres of activity. As Comrade Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the opening of a colloquium on problems of management, 'the enhancement of ideological and political standards, the fostering of a precise Marxist-Leninist concept of managerial science, are essential requirements for every Party and state worker, especially leading cadres at every level; they are the main prerequisite for successful solution of the increasingly complex tasks arising in the course of building a comprehensively developed socialist society in our country.'

Of exceptional importance for the improvement of social life is the *development of socialist consciousness*. Of late the Party has been giving more and more attention to this. In July 1971, the CC Executive Committee discussed and endorsed Comrade Ceausescu's proposals on stepping up ideological work and the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists and all working people. This became the subject of a Party-wide discussion that culminated with a CC plenum, held November 3-5, 1971. It discussed a report of the Party General Secretary and adopted a program for improving ideological work, raising educational standards and fostering relations based on the principles of socialist and communist morality and justice.*

As society advances the role of the *socialist state* as an expression of the political power of the working class and all working people increases and its tasks become more complex. Its evolution reflects the new society's social and economic progress; the main trend is the expansion of the state's social base and the advance of socialist democracy. The RCP maintains that for some time to come the state will continue to be an important factor of social life and irreplaceable tool for the working class to exercise its leading role in society and solve the tasks of building up the new system. Our Party strives for perfection in the organization and direction of

*See *World Marxist Review*, March 1972. - Ed.

society and works indefatigably to improve the functioning of the state, expand its role in economic management and cultural affairs, in regulating social relations, ensuring democratic rights and liberties and socialist legality and defending the Rumanian people's historic gains.

In recent years continued efforts have been made to improve the work of the organs of state power. The legislative functions of the Grand National Assembly have been extended, and there has been more activity by the Council of State, the highest permanent organ of power subordinated to the Grand National Assembly. Not long ago a Legislative Council was set up as a consultative body under the Council of State; its task is to coordinate work on preparing and systematizing legislation.

An important measure that has helped to improve the functioning of the state was the territorial administration reform, carried out in 1968: regions and districts were replaced by counties directly linked with the primary communities, towns and villages. Thus, an intermediate echelon was done away with and the work of government authorities has become more concrete, relevant and effective. The 1972 Party conference endorsed directives on town and village planning and their socio-economic development. The implementation of these directives will help the gradual transformation of our villages into major economic, social and cultural units.

The Party's efforts to improve the organization and functioning of the government machinery, bring it closer to the people, and raise the ideological and political standards of administrative personnel will improve the general standard of government and promote the successful development of socialist society.

The main prerequisite for success in all the work aimed at improving social life is the *enhancement of the Communist Party's role* as the leading political organization of the society. This is a law of the new system.

The scientific and technological revolution is creating a new basis, not only for material production, but also for other spheres of public life; this makes the direction and planned development of society increasingly complex. Realization of the tremendous opportunities created by the scientific and technological revolution in the interests of socialism is a new and important task that must be faced up to in both industrial management and the direction of public life as a whole. Naturally enough, the most exacting demands are imposed on political leadership.

With this in mind, the RCP has been working ceaselessly, especially in the last few years, to improve the qualitative standards of administrative work. The Party studies processes in all spheres of public life, harmoniously blending concrete knowledge of facts with analysis of newly appearing trends, with due consideration of emerging contradictions, in every way facilitating the new and burgeoning and sweeping aside the old and obsolescent.

The Party sets itself the aim of *enhancing the effectiveness of all its work in directing society*. Many complex problems have to be

solved to achieve this, ensuring the Party's leading role in conditions where the activities of the Party, the state and public organizations are increasingly intertwined. To ensure that all participants in the management of various spheres of life fully realize their responsibilities, the RCP has recently adopted a number of important measures aimed at rationalizing administrative work both at the centre and on the local level. The specific duties of leading workers of the Party and the state and different central bodies in carrying out the Party's directives have been clearly defined.

Currently a decision is being implemented according to which one and the same comrade authorized by the Party and state leadership should be responsible for each key section of work. This serves to increase responsibility in executive work and to remove duplication that breeds bureaucracy and red tape. In some branches of the economy and in the cultural sphere bodies operate that have simultaneously Party and state status. The first secretaries of local Party committees are also the chairmen of the People's Councils, with Party and state bodies retaining all their prerogatives. This enables Party organizations to effect more concrete guidance of the state apparatus in economic and cultural questions and enhances the level and efficacy of Party control over the fulfilment of RCP decisions and the country's laws in all spheres of life and at all levels of management. The Party directs government activity with an eye to the more effective solution of important tasks in building socialism and meeting the basic interests of the working class and the people as a whole.

The RCP does not resort to petty patronage, nor does it assume specific functions or tasks assigned to state or public bodies. As the vital center of the social organism, the Party aims public activity at the fullest utilization of the opportunities provided by the socialist system, doing everything to stimulate mass initiative and the people's creative abilities. In recent years it has become common practice to discuss plans of economic development, social and cultural life, etc., with the workers, peasants and intellectuals and with experts working in different fields. Top Party functionaries and government executives meet regularly with working people to study the real state of affairs and discuss the problems put forward by life and measures to realize the plans of national development. Thus the Party engages in an extensive and constant dialogue with the people; this style of leadership ensures a steady flow of ideas and experience which represents a real political school for the masses, on the one hand, and turns the wisdom of the masses into an important source for the improvement of management, on the other.

A characteristic feature in the development of socialist democracy is the introduction of collective forms of leadership in all Party work, at ministries and other central bodies, industrial enterprises and other economic units, research establishments and institutes of higher learning, at cultural establishments and in all spheres of activity.

Standards of direction of society are enhanced due to the continuous consolidation of the Rumanian Communist Party and the improvement of its organization and activity. The RCP is the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, of all our country's working people. It has more than 2,280,000 members, foremost representatives of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia; 46.49 per cent of the membership are workers, 23.08 per cent are peasants, 22.97 per cent are intellectuals and office employees, 7.46 per cent represent other categories of working people. The country's ethnic composition is also reflected in the Party membership, with 89.45 per cent Rumanians, 8.03 per cent Hungarians, 1.19 per cent Germans, and 1.33 per cent representatives of other ethnic groups. The Party's social and national makeup enables it to maintain close ties with the whole people and directly supervise all spheres of social activity and all aspects where its political line is promoted.

In view of the leading role of Communists, the Party attaches great importance to raising the ideological and political standards of its members. Inner-Party democracy is continuously expanded, criticism and self-criticism are greatly encouraged, and work with active members is improving. Recently a reorganization was carried out of the problem commissions set up under the Central Committee and district Party committees to help Party organizations in elaborating decisions and guiding public and economic life. These commissions are also authorized to control the work of the Party apparatus: the CC departments at the center and the work of the district Party committees at local level.

At its plenary meeting held November 3-5, 1971, the Central Committee passed a resolution calling for greater control over the fulfilment of tasks, greater responsibility of Communists, and more stringent demands in Party work. It was decided that the CC Executive Committee, Permanent Presidium and Secretariat must report to the Central Committee on their work at least once a year. The RCP national conference emphasized the need for the further expansion of Party democracy, greater involvement in the work of Party bodies of industrial workers and women, and, accordingly, it elected new members to the Central Committee. The conference also decreed that to improve the guidance of economic and social activity, Party bodies of different levels should rely more on the numerous active members and involve more Communists from among factory-floor workers.

A more active style of work creates greater possibilities for more intensive Party life and mobilization of the initiative and energy of all Communists, Party bodies and organizations for continued strengthening of the Party and its leading role; this is an inexhaustible source of strength and stability of the socialist system.

World youth forum

Siegfried Lorenz
CC Member, SUPG

The suggestion of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students (IUS) to hold the 10th World Youth and Students Festival in Berlin was wholeheartedly supported by representatives of many international, regional and national youth and student organizations. It was enthusiastically welcomed by the 1.8 million members of the Free German Youth League (FGYL), all the young people, all the people of the GDR.

The festival movement, which involves almost all countries, has its motto 'For anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship.' This festival keynote is fully in keeping with young people's ideas and dreams of the world of tomorrow—a world without exploitation or wars, a world without national strife or oppression in any form. The festival will be a vivid expression of these progressive aspirations and it will doubtlessly contribute to the popular struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. In the words of Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG and President of the GDR National Festival Committee, 'In every part of the globe people will hear the voice of the world's youth speaking out for anti-imperialist solidarity, for peace and friendship.'

The aims of the 10th World Festival are warmly supported by broad political circles of the international youth movement. By the end of last year hundreds of youth and student organizations on all continents had already endorsed the festival's platform. National festival committees have brought together young Socialists, democrats, trade union representatives, Communists, Christians, Christian Democrats, Radicals, Liberals, pacifists, young participants in national-liberation movements, nature lovers, representatives of cultural, sports and tourist organizations. Thus, the festival movement promotes broad anti-imperialist youth fronts in separate countries and on an international scale.

Today more than half the world's population is under 25. Today, more than ever before, young people are concerned with the issues of social development. In almost all countries substantial numbers are politically organized. Parties, trade unions, popular front movements and governments increasingly reckon with the youth factor in their policies. For their part, the young people involved in the three main revolutionary currents of our time are rallying ever closer in the fight against imperialism.

Young people live and work in the most different political, social and economic conditions. The social character and class structure

of the world's countries differ, as do their national, cultural and religious traditions. The opportunities for work, study and cultural pursuits vary widely from one country to another, as does the professional, social and political experience of the youth. Accordingly, the young participants in the movements for peace and social progress are guided by different ideological, political and moral motivations. The festival will provide a forum for frank and friendly discussion in which views can be compared with the aim of establishing a common ground in the long-term struggle against imperialism. This will promote the international cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces within the youth movement.

The unity of working-class youth on a genuinely revolutionary basis is of special importance. Young workers are better prepared to promote the social and political goals, ideology, ethics and way of life of the working class and spread them among other sections of the youth. They are the vanguard of the fighters for the interests of all young people. Their concerted, class-conscious action is of key significance for the whole course of history. 'The most advanced workers fully realize,' Marx wrote in 1867, 'that the future of their class and, consequently, of all mankind, wholly depends on the education of the rising generation of workers.'

Of equal importance for the cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces in the youth movement is close unity between working-class youth and young representatives of other classes and sections of the working people. If the working class is to carry out its historic mission it must forge unity with the broad masses of the working people. The international revolutionary workers' movement today increasingly acts on the premise that the better it handles the question of its allies (and this includes unity of different youth detachments) the firmer the basis for new victories in the class struggle. That is why young Marxist-Leninists fully support the efforts of young workers aimed at joint action with young peasants, representatives of the urban middle strata, students and young intellectuals.

In the socialist countries, unity of the young generation of workers, peasants and intellectuals is an important guarantee of the moral and political unity of their peoples, the continued all-round blossoming of nations, and the even closer cohesion of the countries of the socialist community around the Soviet Union.

In capitalist countries, revolutionary youth unity is one of the mainstays of the workers' movement in the struggle against monopoly dictatorship and a prerequisite for winning broad democracy and advancing along the road to socialism.

In the new national states, the people's struggle for complete national liberation and independence, the rate of social progress, depend to a considerable degree on the youth's revolutionary unity.

On the international scale, united action of young people on an anti-imperialist basis is an important element in the acceleration of the world revolutionary process. Such unity is possible because

the young generations share common basic interests. Young people aspire to happiness and peace, to a life worthy of man in conditions of freedom, democracy and independence, to guaranteed work, comprehensive education and a cultural life. They wish to participate fully in all spheres of public life and the development of science and technology. They want to be able to vie peacefully in sports and games. They want to get to know the customs and traditions, the best there is in the life of other nations and peoples.

We young Marxist-Leninists want to use the opportunities provided by the festival movement to promote the unity of all anti-imperialist forces. The only criterion of our attitude towards non-Communist youth organizations is their stand with regard to the objectives of the 10th World Festival as formulated in the International Preparatory Committee's appeal issued in Sofia in January 1972. Our comradely attention and respect goes to all forces fighting for these aims. While standing firmly on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, we advocate the broadest possible scope of the festival movement. The broader the united anti-imperialist front of young people around the world, the greater the number of youth and student organizations working for the objectives of the festival, the greater will be the young generations' contribution to the struggle for peace and social progress.

The Communist and Workers' parties are the most consistent defenders of the interests of the rising generation. Today, more than ever before, they are concerned with youth problems. They help the young generation develop a correct idea of our world and occupy a worthy place in society.

This is not accidental. Communist policies have never been guided solely by the tasks of the present day. In elaborating the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle they always have before their eyes the proletarian movement's ultimate goal. With such an approach to politics, youth problems cannot be ignored, for the building of socialism and communism is a task for more than one generation.

Consequently, if the working class is to carry out its historic mission, Communists are duty bound to rear the rising generations in a revolutionary spirit and prepare them for carrying on their fathers' revolutionary endeavors.

What are the circumstances in which the young generations of today come into contact with the scientific Marxist world outlook? What are the factors that determine the answer to questions about the meaning of life and the historical perspective which have always fired young people?

Today the younger generation lives in an epoch of fundamental social change, an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. The balance of forces in society has changed in favor of peace, democracy and socialism. Imperialism is forced to adapt to the new international situation. The policy of peaceful coexistence, formulated by Lenin and pursued by the

Soviet Union together with other socialist countries, is winning wider and wider recognition.

The historic confrontation of the two systems, socialism and capitalism, is taking place in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, rising cultural standards of all peoples, mounting political consciousness of the masses, and an atmosphere of acute ideological struggle.

Communists are convinced that young people must not only gain a correct understanding of the complex world of today, but also take an active part in the further transformation of society. We proceed from the youth's inherent urge for innovation, from its boldness and sincerity. We do not want to force our views on others. We work by persuasion and conviction. We seek every opportunity for an honest and frank dialogue with young people and regard it as our duty to answer all questions of interest and concern to them from the positions of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Only scientific socialism is in the best fundamental interests of the younger generation, just as the goals of the working class are in the best long-term interests of all working people and, hence, of the youth. It is only from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism that the young generation can gain a thorough understanding of the substance and interconnections of the diverse processes and developments of our time, understand the trends and contradictions of the class struggle, and correctly assess its successes and temporary setbacks. Only Marxism-Leninism can imbue young people with courage, confidence and optimism.

Today more and more young people are turning to the ideas of scientific socialism and becoming their ardent supporters. This is true not only of the countries of the socialist community, where Marxism-Leninism is the dominant ideology and has a decisive influence on people's thoughts and attitudes. The socialist outlook is spreading increasingly among the youth of many capitalist and newly liberated countries. It appeals not only to the young generation of the working class but to students and young intellectuals as well. And this is only natural.

Imperialism and its 'theoreticians' are incapable of offering the youth any realistic prospects in keeping with its best interests, or the pattern of a society in which there is no exploitation of man by man, in which wars, terror and oppression, want, disease and social insecurity have been done away with, a society in which man is truly free, able to fully develop all his talents and abilities.

That is why young people increasingly turn to the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Not only do they come to realize ever more clearly that their ideas represent a great, internationally logical and boldly revolutionary system of social thought. They also see that in the Soviet Union and other socialist states these ideas have become a mighty driving force of social development, the basis of the day-to-day practical endeavor of millions. The existence of the

socialist world system, its social and economic advantages, its internal stability and dynamic development, its decisive role in world politics, offer young people a convincing answer to the question: under what social system does life have meaning and young people a promising future?

Understandably, in these circumstances imperialism uses every means to prevent the socialist ideology from spreading. To this end it spreads nationalism, racism, Zionism, chauvinism and other brands of reactionary bourgeois ideology.

In recent years the ideologues of imperialism have been strenuously trying to reduce the impact of the working-class' revolutionary outlook by a sustained propaganda of pragmatism, that philosophy of capitalist managers which would rehabilitate and stimulate everything serving bourgeois interests. They preach individualism, a life devoid of social aspirations, and concern for personal philistine welfare in an effort to divert young people from the revolutionary goals of the working class and participation in the class struggle. The cruelty cult, pornography, pop art and drugs are all methods of demoralizing the young generation and preparing the ground for its acceptance of imperialism.

Imperialism also promotes the propaganda of opportunism among the youth. New-fangled 'refuters' of Marx are striving to foist upon young people notions of a 'democratic socialism' as the alternative to the existing socialism of today. The Right-wing Social Democratic leaders, who lack the desire or the ability to resolve a single fundamental question of socialist revolution, like to flaunt their 'modern' approach, which is, in fact, no more than a rehash of time-worn opportunist and revisionist ideas.

The propaganda of Maoism, that nationalistic distortion of Marxism-Leninism, is another attempt to use 'revolutionary' rhetoric to mislead young people about the true aims, ways, and means of the class struggle. Therein lies its danger. However, the Maoists' anti-Soviet, great-power, chauvinistic ideas are being increasingly rejected by the youth of many countries. More and more, Maoism is revealing its ideological insolvency, for it most obviously serves the interests of imperialism.

The GDR has thrown its doors wide open to the envoys of the world's youth. For many of them our country will be their first acquaintance with the socialist world. They will see a state that is a component of the fraternal socialist community firmly united around the Soviet Union, a state in which, under the leadership of the SUPG, the working class and its allies are successfully building a developed socialist society. They will see a country actively contributing to the struggle for a lasting peace and the security and cooperation of peoples. They will see a state that is a firm factor for peace in the center of Europe and which, with the help of its friends, has broken out of the imperialist blockade of more than two decades and today takes part in international life as a sovereign, equal and esteemed partner.

The Festival participants will doubtlessly sense the socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism inherent in our youth. The young citizens of the GDR are proud of their socialist motherland because it provides them with opportunities for equal participation in work and in running the state, because concern for their basic rights – to work and learn a trade, to education and advanced training, recreation and sports – has been elevated to the status of government policy.

The young people's socialist patriotism was formed and is developing on the firm basis of socialist production relations, it is fostered by the consistent education of the young generation in a communist spirit promoted by the SUPG. It derives from the youth's active participation in the struggle of the working class and the people as a whole for the creation and all-round development of a socialist society.

Socialism forges a unity of public and personal interests. The goals of the revolution, the policies of the Party and the socialist state, are in the basic interests of the young generation. The young men and women of the GDR know from their own experience that they need socialism as much as socialism needs them. Their energy and initiative help build up and strengthen the GDR, a country in which all roads are open to them. The German Democratic Republic is the fruit of inspired creative effort of old and young revolutionary fighters. We have no generation gap, we have no basis for it.

Our young people realize only too well that the prosperity of the socialist family of nations depends directly on their joint, concerted efforts. To them the Party's thesis that 'the introduction of socialist economic integration, the strengthening of our fraternal alliance, both in day-to-day work and in personal contacts, is the duty of all, the revolutionary task of our time,' is a program of action.

Friendship, cooperation and active solidarity with the progressive youth of our planet – this is what characterizes the proletarian internationalism of the GDR's young citizens. With every means at their disposal they help the peoples of Indochina. They give active support to the peoples of the Arab countries in their struggle against the aggression of Israel. With the same selflessness they extend a helping hand to the liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to all patriots persecuted and jailed by fascist and imperialist regimes. Racism and apartheid, nationalism and chauvinism are deeply alien to our youth, who reject and denounce them.

The Free German Youth League has contributed enormously to everything that has been done to bring up the younger generation of the GDR, to encourage the public activity of its young citizens, to ensure high standards of education, professional training, culture and social confidence. The Republic's unified mass socialist youth organization has become a prestigious spokesmen of youthful in-

terests, true helper of the SUPG, militant detachment of the international progressive youth movement.

As hosts of the 10th Festival, we see our internationalist duty in creating the necessary conditions for the success of this magnificent get-together of young people. The organizers enjoy the full support of the Party, the state and the people, they receive help from many friends around the world.

In preparing for the festival we have gratefully accepted the suggestions, advice and wishes of our friends abroad and done our best to take them into account. We realize that every good idea, every good initiative, from whatever country it comes, can contribute to the festival's success. The better it is prepared the greater and more weighty its contribution will be to the worldwide unity of all peace-loving forces.

The Maoists in the Philippines

Francisco Balagtas
CC Member, CP Philippines

U.S. IMPERIALISM USES 'MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT PARTY' AGAINST NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Target of provocations: the Communist Party

The imposition of martial law in the Philippines last September and the difficulties it has created for the anti-imperialist liberation movement make imperative the exposure of the role which the Maoist party played and continues to play in the country. U.S. imperialism uses the Maoists against the Filipino struggle to achieve its main aim of isolating, and eventually crushing, the CPP-led national liberation movement – a militant detachment of the world anti-imperialist forces.

Words and deeds

The Maoist Party was organized in December 1968, illegitimately appropriating the name 'Communist Party of the Philippines,' and falsely claiming continuity with the original CPP founded by Crisanto Evangelista in 1930. Its founder is a former member of the CC of the CPP who was expelled in 1967 for factionalist and splitting activities. He attempted to capture the leadership of the CPP and, failing this, he intrigued among the young members of the

CPP's youth organization, Kabataang Makabayan (KM),* and succeeded in winning its trust. With the help of his dubious connections with Filipino CIA agents and prominent anti-Marcos landlord-politicians he established contacts between the KM and a small armed group which splintered from the remnants of the HMB,** Agreement was forged between the two groups, by which the Communist Party was purportedly reestablished under the name 'CPP (Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought).' The leader of the KM became the chairman of the 'reestablished CPP' and the commander of the splinter armed group was designated commander-in-chief of the New People's Army (NPA).*** Many of the CC members of the Maoist party did not participate in the founding conference, but were merely designated during the conference and subsequently notified of their membership.

A wide gap separates theory and practice within the Maoist party. In theory it claims to be the vanguard of the proletariat and speaks of the leading role of the working class, while in practice its membership and leadership are mainly recruited from the students and intellectuals, and it has no roots in the trade union movement where its role is more divisive than constructive. It resorted to splitting activities among the rank and file of the National Association of Trade Unions (NATU) on the alleged ground of opportunism of its leadership. The real reason was the NATU leaders' reception for invited representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

In theory the Maoist party considers the peasantry as the main force of the national-democratic revolution. In practice, it has slandered and alienated the biggest and most experienced organization of the peasantry, Malayang Samahan ng Magsasaka (MASAKA), which refused to support it in its infantile, adventurist 'armed struggle,' and instead continues to engage in the day-to-day, non-spectacular organizational and political work among the peasant masses. Consequently, it had to rely on the backward peasant followers of reactionary landlord-politicians, out to embarrass and eventually overthrow Marcos and his ruling clique in their bid to replace them as the new puppets of the U.S. monopolists.

Paying lip service to the need for forging the broadest front of unity of all progressive and patriotic elements around the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the Maoist party actually prevents and destroys such unity. It conducts an aggressive campaign of slanders, lies and distortions against the CPP and the mass organizations it is leading, as well as against the Soviet Union, the socialist community and the international Communist movement.

Intolerant of views at variance with their own, the Filipino Maoists withdrew from the anti-imperialist Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN) for its advocacy of trade and diplo-

*'Nationalist Youth.'

**'Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan' - the CPP-led national liberation armed forces. Subsequently, their remnants earned themselves the reputation of a Filipino Mafia.

***The son of a tenant of a landlord politician closely linked to the Maoists, he has since dropped out of sight and been replaced by Victor Corpus, a former Special Forces officer of the Armed Forces of the Philippines trained in the imperialist art of counter-insurgency before he dramatically 'defected' to the NPA in 1970.

matic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They favor trade and diplomatic relations only with China. They attack the CPP, which supports relations with all socialist countries as a means to lessen the U.S. monopoly stranglehold over the Philippines.

However, in assessing the Maoist movement in the Philippines, it would be wrong not to distinguish between the Maoist leaders and the rank and file and isolate the CPP from the latter, the majority of whom are undoubtedly motivated by patriotism and are desirous of bringing about a socialist society. Idealistic, high-minded, self confident but inexperienced, and mostly of petty-bourgeois origin, they are impatient in effecting a drastic transformation of society. These young people are prodded by a sense of despair and a feeling of being trapped in a corner. They are looking for decisive leadership, and temporarily, they seem to find it in the demagogic and ultra-revolutionist leadership of the Maoist party, with its simplistic slogan of 'power from the barrel of a gun.' The very inadequacies of the CPP-led liberation movement to cope with the deteriorating situation contribute to their impatience and recklessness, and they fall easy prey to Maoist propaganda.

Class stand against gauchism

Long isolation of the CPP from the international Communist movement resulted in its delayed recognition of the real motivations of the Maoist Party's leadership. The Party leadership tended to view its activities as merely the result of the impatience, arrogance and impulsiveness of youth in general. Illusions were entertained about the possibilities of being able to work and lead the struggle together, even of eventual reconciliation, after a principled ideological confrontation. The erroneousness of this approach became apparent in the aftermath of the Presidential election of 1969.

The U.S. monopolists, true to their policy of abandoning discredited or wilful puppets and supporting new political personalities, supported the political opposition.* Nevertheless, Marcos was re-elected. The monopolists immediately intensified their campaign to discredit the Marcos regime. In this campaign, they attempted to enlist all parties, groups and elements with conflicting class interests, discontented landlords, compradors, bureaucratic capitalists, national bourgeoisie and other reactionary elements whose interests had ceased to be well served by the ruling regime. The Americans also enlisted the support of the Christian Social Movement advocating 'peaceful revolution' and the Maoist movement shouting 'armed revolution' to high heaven, to give a 'progressive,' 'revolutionary' color to their campaign.

U.S. agents instigated anti-imperialist parties and groups to stage mass demonstrations, hoping to use them to discredit the regime still further. Such demonstrations were launched in early 1970 by

*See article by F. Balagtas, 'The Philippines at the Crossroads,' WMR, No. 11, 1971, and also his article 'American Imperialism in the Philippines,' published in No. 4 of the journal for 1972. - Ed.

the Maoists and their Movement for a Democratic Philippines (MDP) organized to counterpose to the MAN.

The CPP-led mass movement initially participated in it and in the demonstrations. In the discussions preceding and following such demonstrations, the CPP leaders and the Maoists clashed on two basic issues: aim of the demonstrations and the manner of holding them. The Maoists were out to demand the resignation of Marcos as if the main cause of the basic problems of Philippine society is the malfeasance in office of individual Presidents, and not its neo-colonial character. The CPP wanted demonstrations directed against U.S. imperialism, in which the role of its puppets (open and concealed) will be linked and exposed. The Maoists provoked the police and the military as a means to invite retaliation, allegedly to give 'revolutionary' experience to the masses. The CPP sought to win over the rank and file of the military and police as class brothers and potential allies, even as it was prepared to take defensive measures against police abuses. The Maoists engaged in looting stores, burning cars and other acts of vandalism from which the CPP dissociated itself.

May 1, 1970, demonstrations were held separately by the CPP-led liberation movement and the Maoist-led MDP. The bourgeois newspapers which gave the Maoist demonstration full coverage, including pictures of the marchers, estimated the demonstrators at less than 1,000. They credited the CPP-led demonstration with an attendance of 10,000, but gave it a two-paragraph treatment, without pictures. The comparison exposed the false claim of the Maoists of a mass following among workers and peasants.

The adverse comparison infuriated the Maoists, who launched an all-out attack against the CPP. Under the guise of settling a political controversy they even mentioned specific names of underground CPP leaders whom they happened to know during their brief membership in the CPP. Having already acted as enemy informers, they issued a leaflet exposing the identity of almost the entire membership of the CC of the CPP which led the enemy to hunt for the most important leaders thus exposed.

This prodded the CPP leadership to re-examine its previously conciliatory, defensive policy, in favor of taking the offensive against the Filipino Maoists. The CPP pointed out that the Filipino Maoists were being used as pawns in the squabbles of reactionary groups, as a tool for provocations against the forces of democracy and social progress. The correctness of this assessment was soon confirmed by the events of 1971 and, especially, 1972.

For unity in the struggle against dictatorship

In the 1971 elections, notwithstanding resort to the traditional weapons of lavish expenditure of funds for bribery and terrorism to cow the electorate, the Marcos-picked senatorial candidates were defeated. The anti-Marcos bourgeois opposition (including even prominent leaders of the Nacionalista Party of which Marcos is the titular head) encouraged by their electoral victory, intensi-

fied their all-out anti-Marcos campaign to cut short, or, at the least, to prevent Marcos from prolonging his tenure beyond December, 1973, the constitutional terminal date of his two terms in office as President. The Americans, playing all sides of the power struggle, but leaning toward the anti-Marcos opposition, continued their back-stage masterminding of the anti-Marcos campaign.

In 1972 events took a dramatic turn. The all-out power struggle was conducted with no holds barred, on all fronts and at all levels: in the various branches of government, in the Constitutional Convention, within the government armed and police forces and intelligence agencies, in the mass media and educational institutions, in the business and financial world, within political parties, mass organizations, religious and civic associations, in the streets, factories, fields and jungles at both local and national levels. The Maoist party's well-funded student and youth organizations* launched an aggressive organizational and propaganda campaign all over the country.

The acuteness of the power struggle reached such a point in the middle of 1972 that natural calamities, which in the past were occasions for suspending hostilities to join forces in alleviating the sufferings of the victims, became the signal for sharpening and hastening the increasingly bitter power struggle. The typhoons, torrential rains and resulting flood, the most destructive in living memory, resulting in losses estimated at two billion pesos, seriously aggravated the already extremely miserable conditions of existence of the overwhelming mass of the population.

Getting wise to the tactics of his opponents of utilizing the Maoists to create a psychological climate of anarchy, chaos and terrorism, Marcos decided to take over the initiative. His propaganda machine reversed gears concerning the Maoists. Instead of claiming, as in the past, the isolation and weakening of the Maoist party and its NPA, it joined the anti-Marcos mass media in grossly exaggerating their strength and influence, calculated to project the 'imminent danger of Communist revolution.' It even surpassed the anti-Marcos media, attributing to the Maoists terroristic actions executed by Marcos supporters and the smuggling of arms designed to create the impression of foreign support to the Maoist 'armed rebellion.'

At this juncture, Marcos seriously considered the necessity of imposing martial law. He and his most trusted advisers carefully prepared the list of organizations to outlaw, the persons to be arrested, mass media and educational institutions to be closed, privately-owned public utilities and other enterprises belonging to opposition leaders to be taken over.

A plan of terrorist acts was drawn up to supplement similar acts expected from Marcos' bourgeois opponents and the Maoists, to reinforce the justification they would invoke to win popular acceptance of martial law imposition. Even before the announcement

*Many of their leaders are sons or nephews of retired or active officers of government armed and police forces and intelligence agencies.

of the proclamation of martial law, Marcos had already ordered the arrest of those he considered the most dangerous, including prominent politicians, publishers and owners of mass media, journalists, trade union, peasant and student leaders of all political persuasions (Right, Left and extreme Left) and from all political parties, including his own NP.

There is no question that the pretext for the installation of the dictatorial regime in September 1972 was provided by the adventurist acts of the Filipino Maoists, who seem to welcome the dictatorship as a development which will hasten the rallying of the masses to their 'armed struggle' under conditions they describe as a 'revolutionary situation.'

The CPP was not taken by surprise by this development. It had for some time been warning against the eventuality of the imposition of a military dictatorship, which both Marcos and his bourgeois opponents were maneuvering to establish with U.S. support and encouragement. With the outlawing of the CPP-associated mass organizations and the arrest of their leaders, the CPP was compelled to operate deeper underground and to adapt the forms of organization and methods of struggle to the new realities.

In its statement of October 7, 1972, issued in Manila, our Central Committee emphasized: 'The conditions of struggle for national and social liberation of the Filipino people from the stranglehold of foreign capital have been extremely difficult. As it goes through the present political crisis, the liberation movement is faced with even greater sacrifices. But the struggle must continue. No persecution, no prison, not even death, can frighten us. Our cause is just because we are fighting for the freedom and the future of the Filipino working people.'

The CPP is determined to maintain and expand its links with the mass of exploited workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, as well as individual patriotic and democratic elements from other strata of the population.

The measures which Marcos promised to implement under his 'New Society' fall short of really solving the problems of poverty, rising unemployment, galloping inflation (inevitable under neo-colonial society) which continue to plague the long-suffering masses of working people, even while such measures alienate the reactionary classes.

The suppression of civil liberties is compelling patriotic and democratic elements from all political parties to re-examine their previous positions of relative passivity and non-involvement.

Rank-and-file members of the Maoist party are beginning not only to question its leadership's adventurist tactics, but also to realize its true role, especially in the light of disclosures that some Maoist leaders turned out to be government agents.

Opportunities are developing in the Philippines for the creation of a broad anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorship united front. 'The Partido Komunista ng Filipinas,' the CC statement says, 'appeals for unity, unity and greater unity.'



Proletarian internationalism— past and present

Friedl Fuernberg
Member of PB, CC, CP of Austria

Looking back on the past 20 years, we can see that, alongside all that was positive, the relations between the Communist Parties were also subjected to serious trials. Anti-Communists thought that an end had come to the unity and firm ties of the international Communist movement, and the Right and 'Left' critics of Marxism-Leninism did all in their power to strengthen this notion. In reality, however, events developed and are shaping quite differently; the overwhelming majority of brother parties stubbornly and constantly strive towards unity and much has been achieved.

At times, there are, of course, various interpretations of current political matters, differing views on ideological issues or other subjective reactions which have a negative effect on the relations between the parties. But concurrently, there are also specific objective factors, far more vital than any subjective divergences which continue to assist proletarian internationalism and to advance the cause of unity. These tendencies are becoming more firmly established, although sometimes, from the viewpoint of the needs of the class struggle, more slowly than we would like. Objective factors have played their part in the past, they do so today, and in the future their effect will become even more apparent.

I think that Comrade Tellalov* is absolutely right in emphasizing that the desire for unity and cohesion is an inner need and natural to the development of the Communist movement. He is also right when he says that at every historical stage unity is brought about according to particular circumstances and in different ways.

Consequently, I believe a historical appraisal of certain problems of proletarian internationalism is needed. Possibly there are some who may not regard this as justified or useful, although there can be no doubt that each new generation, whether it does so consciously or not, is influenced by the past. Experience confirms that it is important, not only to stress and uphold the continuity of the Communist movement, but that an analysis of past experiences, achievements and imperfections will contain much of value for us today.

*World Marxist Review, May, 1973.

And firstly, I would like to deal with the Comintern which during a period of several decades was closely linked with the activities of many Communist parties.

Proletarian internationalism has passed through several phases of development; its content has continually deepened, it has injected into the working-class movement new strength and helped the development of unity.

One of the turning-points in the development of proletarian internationalism is bound up with the break-up of the Second International, the victory of the October Revolution in Russia and the subsequent formation of the Third International.

The Comintern developed as a centralized world Party. The daily work was carried out under the guidance of an Executive Committee whose decisions were binding on all its constituent parties, each country having only one party as a section of the Comintern. A number of factors led to this organizational form of unity.

In the first place, amongst the masses of the revolutionary working class there was a tremendous desire for real proletarian internationalism, arising from the betrayal of the leaders of the Second International during the First World War.

For more than 40 years before this hundreds of thousands of socialists of all lands had sung 'The International Unites the Human Race.' But the opportunists destroyed the international unity of the workers. The imperialist war, unprecedented in scale and consequences, led to the bankruptcy of the mass Social-Democratic parties. In such conditions the supporters of scientific socialism were more than ever aware of the vital necessity to defend the common interests of the world's working class based on proletarian internationalism. Naturally they sought for practical ways to achieve this cohesion. They knew from experience that they needed an organized international association with binding rules.

Secondly, the influence of the October Revolution had a profoundly revolutionary effect on the working class and peoples of the whole world. A powerful movement arose to defend Soviet Russia. So, from the moment of their birth the policies of many Communist parties were determined by active proletarian internationalism.

Thirdly, the newly-formed parties realized quite clearly, when comparing their experience with what had been accomplished by the Bolsheviks, that they had to 'catch up' a great deal in theory, in experience of political warfare, and the ability to lead the masses. The revolutionary workers, organized in the Communist parties, were fully determined to learn from the victorious Bolsheviks, from Lenin. An appropriate international organizational form, therefore, was needed, since this 'learning' obviously did not mean book-learning, but practical determined battle against both Right and 'Left' revisionists.

Hence the Communist International, with its Constitution and organizational structure, the necessary form of unity that corresponded to the prevailing conditions. There could be no doubting

the assumption (more especially because every Communist was aware of this through bitter experience) that proletarian internationalism is one of the most powerful sources of strength of the revolutionary movement, and the highest form of international revolutionary struggle for the ultimate socialist (communist) aim.

From its inception the Comintern understood the basis of proletarian internationalism in action as solidarity of the working class and Communists with the Soviet Union. Speaking at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, Lenin said in connection with an assessment of the New Economic Policy: 'Has this retreat been of any benefit to us? Has it really saved us, or is the result still indefinite? This is the main question that I put to myself, and I think that *this main question is also of first-rate importance to all Communist parties; for if the reply is in the negative, we are all doomed.*' (Collected Works, Vol. 33, p. 422). (My italics, E. F.)

The close dependence of the fate of Communist parties on that of the Soviet Union, on its gains and setbacks, was frequently referred to by Lenin ('... then we would all be doomed to perish.) He emphasized that if the socialist revolution in Russia miscarried, the international working-class movement would also suffer a defeat that would be felt for decades. It is noteworthy that there was not the slightest hint of a difference of views or reservations on this matter amongst the Communist parties. Historical developments justified to the hilt the correctness of Lenin's words.

Without the assistance of the Comintern or the CPSU, it would not have been possible for Communists in a number of countries, in a comparatively short space of time, to build strong parties, overcome their lag in theoretical work and their organizational weaknesses, that pernicious aftermath of Social Democracy, and defeat Right opportunism and 'Left' phrasemongering. Lenin's speeches, articles and letters dealing with the problems of the international working-class movement and of individual parties retain their significance to this day. I am deeply convinced that this 'interference' by Lenin and the Comintern in important questions under dispute helped the parties to absorb the experience of the Bolsheviks and international working-class experience, and use it appropriately in their own countries.

Anti-Soviet propaganda invented the story that the Comintern acted as dictator vis-à-vis the parties. We can say categorically, however, that no important Comintern decisions were ever arrived at without a basic study of all the circumstances and without the widest discussion with the parties and within them. These decisions of a collective body were usually of great assistance in the development of the parties. There is no need to cite actual examples; they are recorded in the histories of many parties and are incorporated in the minutes of meetings and documents of the Comintern, articles and reminiscences of leaders of brother parties.

In 1920, Lenin was of the opinion that the organization into Communist parties of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class of the most important countries was a great achievement. 'The

proletarian vanguard has been won over ideologically' (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92.) At the same time he emphasized that the most immediate task facing Communists was to bring over the widest masses to the ideological positions of the vanguard. It is necessary '... to be able to lead not only their own Party, but also these masses in their advance and transition to the new position' (Vol. 31, p. 93).

We learned how difficult it was to do this during many years and decades of hard work. Matters were complicated by the fact that the revolutionary upsurge which took place in some countries after the war, was of short duration. The Parties, which had not yet gained strength, had to reorientate themselves, specifically to learn anew, in the heat of the battle against mounting reaction. The Social-Democratic leadership consolidated itself and declared that with the decline in the revolutionary wave the era of the Communists had come to an end.

Without the ideological and practical aid of the Comintern the parties would not have been able to withstand the onslaught of the enemy, strengthen their ranks and build up a reliable leadership of workers, well versed in theory.

The growing threat of fascism and war increased the importance of international solidarity, of proletarian internationalism. The national struggle for independence and the democratic rights of the people merged with the fight of the Communists in support of the Soviet Union as the main pillar guaranteeing freedom. This struggle helped to overcome the existing widespread narrow, sectarian views and errors, and led to a strengthening of unity with all democratic anti-fascist elements.

Only the Comintern could make this policy the main line in the struggle; the parties could hardly have coped with the job on their own. It alone had the prestige for it. Georgi Dimitrov, ardent internationalist and hero of the Leipzig Trial, was then at its head, and his was the main report given to its Seventh Congress.

Internationalism was expressed in different ways at the time, but its main pivot was solidarity and unity with the Soviet Union, which increasingly became the bulwark against Hitler fascism, then striving for world domination. The working class and democratic forces of the world could rely on the armed forces of the USSR to guarantee defense. That was why the Comintern saw its main task in making Communists and the people understand that everything must be done to support the Soviet Union and its army in the war being prepared by imperialism. Simultaneously this was also the best real defense of the national interests and democratic rights of the people.

The organizational ties between the Communist parties within the Comintern weakened. This was not only because parties frequently had to work in difficult illegal conditions, but also due to their growth; it was becoming ever more difficult to overlook the greatly expanded movement from one point. Furthermore, the parties were now more mature and there was no longer the need

for organizational interference. Nor was it helpful. In its last years, the main role of the Comintern was as the chief ideological centre of the struggle of the international working class, although we must not underestimate the organizational and practical aid which it continued to give Communist parties and the working class in different countries.

The dissolution of the Comintern took place in 1943 when victory over Hitler fascism was already in sight. The bourgeois and Social-Democratic press sought an explanation for this in the prevailing political situation and drew the absurd conclusion that the Soviet Union was no longer interested in the development of the world revolutionary process and was only concerned with promoting its own state interests. Reactionaries of all colors pronounced the dissolution of the Third International as a deception, because despite everything the 'hand of Moscow' would still 'conduct' the Communist parties. Both these lines of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda, in diverse variations, may be traced to the time following the October Revolution.

There was a theoretical basis for the dissolution of the Comintern; the stage of development reached, the concrete situation, and the future interests of the Communist parties, were all taken into account. The situation at the end of the Second World War was very different from that during the foundation and period of activity of the Comintern. Apart from the factors already mentioned (inability to overlook the international working-class movement and to analyze its problems, let alone lead it from one centre, and also the maturing of the majority of the Communist parties) there were other, new ones.

During the struggle against fascism, for their countries' national independence, the Communists, who had by then won considerable prestige, were able to strongly influence the masses. It was not difficult to foresee that the parties' responsibilities to the people would grow, and that the Communists could and would play a bigger and more decisive role in shaping the fate of their countries. This did, in fact, take place. And here I mean not only those countries which took the socialist path through people's democracy, but also the present-day imperialist states and the countries where the people had thrown off the colonial yoke.

Now Communist parties had to learn to harmonize, each on its own, their national and specific tasks with the common internationalist objectives, with proletarian internationalism. This has been one of the main tasks of all Communist parties ever since. Their successes, as well as the achievements of the international Communist and workers' movement, depend to a great extent on the solution of this problem.

At that historical meeting which decided on the dissolution of the Comintern (in which the participants were Georgi Dimitrov, D. Manuilsky, Wilhelm Pieck, Maurice Thorez, I. Koplenig, Dolores Ibarruri, Jan Sverma, I. Lehtinen and others) all were convinced that the new forms of relations between the Communist parties,

already evident, would not lead to a weakening or to a 'freezing' of unity. The overwhelming majority of Parties declared that the dissolution of the Comintern did not mean a weakening of the general ideological ties of the world Communist movement and proletarian solidarity. They were confident that on the basis of proletarian internationalism, unity in struggle and ideological agreement on the cardinal questions of Marxism-Leninism, matters would lead to a consolidation of inter-Party relations.

What actually took place?

During the past 20 years, as I have already indicated, the Communist movement has, despite difficulties, steadily grown. Convincing proof of this are the three international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties, a new form of expression of the international solidarity and unity of Communists.

This period, difficult and contradictory, has again and again confirmed the value of the truths and principles, lacking which the world Communist movement is inconceivable. I will only deal with one aspect.

Nothing can alter the fact that the Soviet Union is the main force of the international revolutionary movement, and the CPSU a body with great revolutionary experience. After the dissolution of the Comintern the opponents of communism took advantage of each and every opportunity to sow distrust amongst the Communist parties, and in the first place towards the Soviet Union. Their purpose was always the same: to weaken the influence of the CPSU, in order then to strike against all Communist parties, large and small. This is the aim, incidentally, of the hackneyed and shopworn 'warnings' about Stalinism which, even 20 years after his death and liquidation of the results of the personality cult, allegedly still threatens us and against which none other than our most malicious enemies try to shield us. In reality, their sole aim is to at least retard, if not block, any further strengthening of unity in the Communist movement.

Last year I took part in an international conference held in Sofia in honor of the 90th birthday of Georgi Dimitrov. Many speakers referred to the relevance of Dimitrov's words to the situation today: namely that the attitude towards the USSR and the CPSU is the touchstone of proletarian internationalism. I am in complete agreement with this.

The revolutionary process today is rich in content and many-sided. And Marxist-Leninists always bear this in mind. However, in recent decades this worldwide diversity has not developed into something discordant with the basic forecasts of the classics of scientific socialism.

Why is it that despite the objective process of internationalization of life on our planet, the new demands of the class struggle, the new possibilities and new atmosphere within the Communist movement itself, there are difficulties in maintaining, developing and strengthening the unity of the parties, in the practical realization of proletarian internationalism?

I will not be disclosing any secret if, in the first place, I refer to nationalism. The dangers which accompany it are great. In essence, origin and political influence, petty-bourgeois nationalism is in direct opposition to proletarian internationalism.

Predicting the winning of power by the working class in a number of countries, Lenin emphasized: 'The struggle . . . against the most deep-rooted petty-bourgeois national prejudices . . . looms ever larger' (Vol. 31, p. 148). Further, he categorically stated that ' . . . proletarian internationalism demands . . . that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a worldwide scale . . . ' (Vol. 31, p. 148).

The experience of the last decades has confirmed Lenin's words. It has shown that any violation of these principles harms not only the whole movement, but the Party concerned.

Why does nationalism still present a danger at a time when the world Communist movement has reached such a high stage of development?

These days, many Communist parties are the governing force in their countries, or wield decisive influence. Naturally, they are guided in the first place by the interests of their own working people and want to improve their conditions as speedily as possible, i.e., endeavor to gain more advantages for the people of their country. This is quite in order, but only so long as they take into account the differences in principle between the world systems of capitalism and socialism.

In an exploitative society the strengthening of individual capitalist countries does not necessarily imply a strengthening of the system as a whole. It leads to more intensive competition and, in the final analysis, to a weakening of the capitalist system. This has been sufficiently proved by history, and in essence remains true today when the question of war, the most acute form of competitive struggle, has for a variety of reasons taken on a new complexion.

Socialism is in quite a different category. This could be recognized even at the dawn of the international working-class movement and scientific socialism. Now we are justified in stating quite definitely that the strengthening of the Communist parties in both socialist and capitalist countries also signifies a strengthening of the entire movement. But under what circumstances can this be achieved?

A Party's every success or mistake has an effect on the movement as a whole, depending, of course, on the degree of its importance and the weight of its country. In our opinion it is a profound error to imagine that, as our opponents say, one-sided gains or benefits may be derived from acts that ignore their effect on other Communist parties and the working class of other countries. Imperialism is prepared to go to the utmost lengths to encourage Communists in such one-sided activities. However, here we are faced with a cardinal question of Marxism-Leninism: can the downfall of capitalism and the winning of socialism be achieved by acting together or separately? Any concession to imperialism which

weakens the international solidarity of Communists, will eventually boomerang against those responsible.

There is still another important factor. Petty-bourgeois nationalism has again become a real and serious danger because, in a sense, it has taken on a new guise, its colors, so to speak, have changed. In Austria, for instance, we have been slow to recognize this in our ideological struggle. Formerly, nationalism proclaimed its aims openly. Fascism equated it with racism. Nowadays, in capitalist countries it hides under the cloak of democracy and appears to insist only on independence and the right to self-determination. There is also frequent talk about these being threatened by socialism and the socialist countries. Again, the chief target of these attacks is the Soviet Union. In this way they endeavor to whitewash imperialist states which are conducting a bitter fight against the national-liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin-America.

In this context, Right and 'Left' revisionists render imperialism invaluable aid. They distort natural patriotic feelings, or concern for the working class of one's own country, maintaining that both are possible only if one isolates oneself from, or is even hostile to, other Communist parties and the socialist countries. It is vitally important to expose the new forms of nationalism, and the ill-intentioned use of the term 'super-power' when, without a glance at their class nature, the socialist Soviet Union and imperialist United States are equated.

The unity of the Communist movement can grow stronger if every party follows the principles of Marxism-Leninism and aligns its activity with a class analysis and the general struggle in the world arena, pursuing a policy which at the same time strengthens not only its own ranks, but helps to strengthen the international movement as a whole.

In connection with this I should like to give my opinion on the question of 'interference' or 'non-interference' in the affairs of parties. Lenin, we may recall, stressed that the specific and the particular of every country should be unfailingly and independently considered in politics. Yet, as we know, he constantly emphasized that it is essential to subordinate the interests of the struggle in one country to those of the struggle on the world arena.

It is clear that the Communist parties nowadays effectively take into account their national specifics, enjoy complete independence in making and implementing policy, failing which they would be unable to function effectively. On this plane, all parties reject interference in their affairs in any shape or form, and also refrain from imposing their views on other parties.

Let us now leave out what I call the 'legal' side of the question (and we are entitled to do so), bearing in mind that the relations between Communist parties have not and could not be built on the 'principles' of isolation and aloofness. Since relations between parties are based on a common ideology, we will try to look at the matter fundamentally.

The problem of 'non-interference' cannot be approached in the

abstract, in isolation from the principles of proletarian internationalism, for otherwise things could be reduced to absurdity. As soon as our opponents engage in a discussion of 'independence' and 'interference' they immediately put all their cards on the table: relations between Communist parties are not necessary, exchanges of experience are superfluous, comradely discussions are not needed (all this apparently being regarded as 'interference!'). Straightaway their political objective is obvious: to deal a blow at the movement of international proletarian solidarity, and so carry out more effectively their own interference, the oppression of peoples.

In the broad sense, there is no such thing as absolute aloofness or isolation. Especially in our epoch of the scientific-technical revolution, when many factors interact more closely, when something taking place in one part of the world speedily becomes a form of interference in the affairs of others.

The Communist movement is no exception. Hence, it is not only a privilege, but also a duty to learn from mistakes and achievements of other parties. This can only happen if there is free expression of opinion, if there is discussion.

There can be temporary differences between parties due to different assessments of a situation in which they are operating, their different history and traditions, their differing position in society, and to other reasons. Lenin pointed out that '... only by a series of attempts – each of which, taken by itself, will be onesided and will suffer from certain inconsistencies – will complete socialism be created by the revolutionary cooperation of the proletarians of all countries' (Vol. 27, p. 346).

This applies not only to countries and parties which have already built or are building socialism, but also to those which are still fighting to achieve socialism. Lenin correctly spoke not only about specific 'one-sidedness' and about 'inconsistencies,' but also about 'revolutionary cooperation,' since they are all interconnected. His words make it clear that revolutionary cooperation can overcome one-sidedness. It also helps to eliminate errors. Consequently, we must – and experience has borne this out time and again – strive for, and cherish, cooperation.

It should also be borne in mind and emphasized that, in pursuance of its aims, imperialism and its ideological supporters, more than ever before endeavor to exaggerate every difference and widen any split within the ranks of the Communist movement. Lenin warned that 'every critic must see to it that the form of his criticism takes account of the position of the Party, surrounded as it is by a ring of enemies' (Vol. 32, p. 243). Although in many countries we are surrounded by friends, as well as enemies, and millions are drawn towards Communism, it is precisely in relation to the latter that we must take into account the situation of each Party and appreciate that imperialism, aided by modern means of propaganda, is able to blow up every event to unheard of proportions to discredit the Communists. We must never forget that the imperialists have far greater propaganda resources than the explanatory work of even the strongest of the Communist parties.

Communists cannot be silent about their differences or hide them from the working people; this would not help our cause. However, they have to, and do, demonstrate that differences do not lead to a split and will be overcome. Whenever such differences arise they must be examined from the angle of the common struggle, from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism.

Recent experience proves once again that it is the growing might of the Soviet Union, of the socialist camp as a whole, the growing influence of the world Communist and working-class movement, and their joint and consistent struggle, which made it possible to reverse the cold war (which Churchill advocated in the wake of Hitler's defeat and which the most powerful imperialist powers waged for more than a quarter of a century) and go over at last to a period when the real situation on our planet is increasingly recognized and the world can deal with its most crucial problems. Proletarian internationalism in action has been the deciding factor in the Communist movement in the past, and remains so today. The more clearly we realize this, and act accordingly, the better for all of us. Communists are convinced, as the 1969 International Meeting pointed out, that the difficulties in our movement will be overcome. 'This belief,' the Document of the Meeting says, 'is based on the fact that the international working class has common long-term objectives . . . on the will of Communists for cohesion on an international scale.'

Fight for popular unity and lessons of the French elections

Claude Poperen

Politbureau member, FCP

For ten years the French Communist Party had been fighting ceaselessly for an alliance of Left parties based on a government program of advanced social content opening the road to socialism. Such an alliance was finally concluded on June 27, 1972, between the FCP, the Socialist Party and the Left Radicals. The elections to the National Assembly were held on March 4 and 11, 1973.

The results of the election campaign must be viewed primarily in the light of this new factor and the entirely new situation in the country. For the six months preceding the voting the Common Government Program was the focus of all political debates in France.

The Left parties subscribing to it obtained 10 million votes —

42.11 per cent of the valid ballots, as compared with 36.55 per cent in 1968 and 41.47 per cent in 1967.* In the presidential elections of 1965 and 1969, the Left candidates also had fewer votes. In 1973, all the Left forces, including the United Socialist Party and various candidates claiming to belong to the Left camp, received some 11 million votes.

The parties of the old government majority polled 8,650,000 votes, losing 1.3 per cent of the 1967 ballot and 6.3 per cent, or one million votes, of the 1968 ballot.

The Centre parties claiming to be in opposition to the government were supported by a mere 12.5 per cent of the electorate representing those sections of society who would have liked to see change but had feared that the Left alliance's Common Program went too far.

It was the deal struck by the centrist leaders with the parties of the majority between the two voting rounds that enabled the latter to escape defeat. Nevertheless, an analysis of the elections shows that the Left forces emerged stronger and the Right considerably weaker, and that there is no solution in centrism or a 'third force' in sight.

A thoughtful analysis of the situation, however, cannot be based only on simple arithmetical deduction. The 1973 elections differed fundamentally from previous ones. *For the first time the French people were offered to define their attitude towards a consistently anti-capitalist government program with the declared objective of opening the road for a transition to socialism.* Its preamble is unequivocal on this score:

'In putting forward their Common Government Program, the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party realize that they are performing an act of great political significance. They jointly proclaim their resolve to put an end to the injustices and inconsistencies of the present regime. To achieve this and open the road to socialism, fundamental changes are needed in the political, economic and social life of France.'

Furthermore, success for the Common Program would have meant the return of Communist ministers to the government.

One need not, therefore, go into conjectures as to why the big bourgeoisie launched an all-out campaign to remain in power, why all reactionary forces joined to bar the road to the parties supporting the Common Program. All means – economic, political, ideological – were committed to action. The big bourgeoisie launched a campaign of distortion and falsification of the Common Program – an anti-communist campaign the likes of which had not been seen in the past 50 years. Leaders of the National Council of French Employers openly took part in election machinations, resorting to various forms of pressure to force their employees to vote against the Common Program. Nor did the 'reformateurs' of the centrist camp remain idle.

*Parliamentary elections were held in France in 1967 and then in 1968 following the May-June events.

The President of the Republic personally intervened in the election campaign to speak of the need to combat 'collectivism.' He dubbed socialism a totalitarian regime, drew a crude caricature of life in the socialist countries and then compared our proposals with it.

A thorough analysis of the election results leads the FCP Central Committee to the conclusion that 'in these circumstances the fact that 11 million voters opted for the decisive political changes proposed by the Left unity parties is of tremendous political significance. This is the basic meaning of the elections and an entirely new foundation for continuing the democratic struggle.'* The elections represent an extremely important landmark for our Party. The first major political campaign for the Common Government Program has resulted in a major step forward.

The FCP retains its position as the major Left party, having polled 5,156,619 votes (21.25 per cent of the valid ballots), winning 720,000 new voters, and increasing its representation in the National Assembly by 40 seats. Today the Communist parliamentary group numbers 73 deputies.

Taking into account the size of the stakes and the ferocity of the anti-communist campaign, it can be claimed that the five million French men and women who cast their votes for the Communists displayed a higher degree of political consciousness this time than in the previous election. The resistance to anti-communism was most resolute and the increase in FCP votes greatest in regions with a high percentage of working-class population and Left leanings of long standing and in areas with democratic traditions among the peasants.

Compared with the 1968 elections, the combined Socialists and Left Radicals received an additional 1.2 million votes and 53 new seats in the National Assembly.

Although the Central Committee holds that, on the whole, our Party's showing was good, it notes that for the first time the Socialist Party benefited more from the alliance than we. Why?

Answering this question, the CC pointed out that our struggle had been correctly oriented and on the whole correctly conducted. It fell into two stages.

When the Common Government Program was signed we immediately concentrated on acquainting the people at large with it and securing their endorsement. Later, during the period immediately preceding the elections, the Party's efforts centered on explaining to the masses why they should vote Communist. Our emphasis was three-pronged: Voting Communist means voting for the success of the Common Program, voting for its undiluted implementation, voting for strengthening Left unity.

There were difficulties and misunderstandings, because the orientation we adopted had to be driven home in the short time at our

*From report by FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais at the CC Plenum on March 28, 1973.

disposal. In the first place, it was essential to draw literally the whole Party into the struggle to give the needed scope to the alliance formed on the basis of the Common Program. But at the same time we also had to convince people that they should vote for the Communists.

For the FCP it was a delicate and entirely new situation due to the fact that the Left parties had, for the first time, put forward a common program. Add to this the atmosphere of acute ideological and political struggle. It should be remembered that the big bourgeoisie in power in France possesses an almost complete monopoly over the mass information media and the society is dominated by the ideas of the ruling class.

These difficulties should not, however, obscure the main fact that the Party on the whole waged its struggle successfully and was able to make a major step forward in the March elections.

We scored marked success in drawing factory Party branches into the election campaign, that is to say, in carrying out mass work among the working class and all working people. Active propaganda campaigns were carried out in the working-class neighborhoods of big cities, among the sections of the population suffering most from the policy of the big monopolies. These efforts were not in vain and they must, of course, be continued and developed.

To answer the question posed above it is also necessary to take into account the attitudes of other forces in the political confrontation.

The bourgeoisie's attitude towards the Socialist Party was markedly different from that towards the FCP. Reaction's tactics pursued the dual goal of doing everything possible to salvage the parties of the majority and, at the same time, weaken the Communists' positions and as far as possible push them into second place behind the Socialists. This was to create a situation favoring a split in the Left alliance, jeopardizing its very existence and preventing the implementation of its ideas.

A rabid anti-communist campaign was launched in the hope of scaring voters away from the FCP. Our Central Committee views that campaign as having been essentially defensive. Driven into a corner by their own policy, the parties of the government majority sought not so much the electorate's endorsement as its opposition to the Common Program and the participation of Communist ministers in the government.

It became apparent that the response to anti-communism was proportionate to apprehensions over bold advances towards new solutions and the persistence of reformist illusions regarding the possibility of improving living conditions without embarking on substantial political change.

The Socialist Party benefited from this campaign insofar as it endeavored to weaken the FCP along the same lines as the big bourgeoisie. Thus, they resorted to some of the pet themes of anti-

communism, presenting themselves as the 'guarantors of freedoms.'

At the same time it should be taken into account that by signing the Common Program the Socialist Party acquired the new image of a party that had concluded an alliance with the Communists and was working to carry it out. This drew to it those voters who had forsaken the Right but were reluctant to vote for the FCP.

When adopting the Common Program and when our CC and the National Conference in July 1972 analyzed the prospects of political development in the coming months, we anticipated this possibility. And we opted in favor of participation in the struggle for deep political change, for the advent to power of the Left parties together with the Communists.

The CC holds that the election results fully confirm the correctness of our decision and the need to continue this strategy, which is based on an analysis of the situation in the country and on the conclusion that capitalism in France is in the throes of a deep political, economic, social and moral crisis which creates the urgent necessity for change aimed at a marked and lasting improvement of living conditions for the majority of the French people.

Proceeding from this analysis, and viewing the Party's strategy and struggle, we can say that we have achieved considerable progress.

In order to go forward and make the Common Program a success, all Communists must redouble their efforts to ensure the consistent, creative implementation of the policy advanced by the Manifesto, 'For an Advanced Democracy, For a Socialist France,' and by the 19th and 20th Party Congresses.

We see the Common Government Program not as just an election platform or exigency document. It offers the best basis for uniting the forces capable of carrying out needed changes in the country for the whole of the coming period. It should be realized that so far only the easiest part has been achieved: the winning of the support of the most advanced sections of the people.

Among the waverers who did not support the Common Program there were factory and office workers, especially in small enterprises, whose employers were able to convince them that the democratic nationalization and other social undertakings envisaged in the Program would lead to their ruin and cause economic chaos and added difficulties.

We must explain to these workers that there was no such danger, that, on the contrary, it is now that the existence of these enterprises is in jeopardy. Success of the Common Program would have provided the people engaged in small businesses with advantages and social benefits they do not now enjoy.

It is our duty to show engineers, technical and administrative personnel that the Common Program does not envisage crude wage-leveiling, that, on the contrary, it provides scope for the creative abilities of every person. We must drive home to the peasants

that its implementation would help put an end to policies which have resulted in the liquidation of 700,000 farms since 1958.

We must show that socialism has nothing in common with what the bourgeoisie calls 'collectivism,' implying the state's smothering domination over all aspects of social and private life. Rather, this is a description that fits the France of 1973. We, for our part, hold that 'in the transition of France to socialism, the broad development of all forms of mass activity must be accompanied by a simultaneous democratization of the representative institutions that are traditional factors in our country's political and social life.*

Socialism cannot be introduced by decree; it is a vibrant, creative society, the result of the work of the masses themselves. We hold that we can benefit from the experience of the socialist countries only if we study it carefully.

While we are in full solidarity with the Communist parties and peoples that have already embarked on socialism, we want to discover France's own road to socialism in keeping with the specifics of the country and the times, taking into account the prospects created by the favorable development of the international situation. We are guided by Lenin's idea that all countries will come to socialism, but each not quite in the same way. We proceed from our conception of socialism, according to which there must be no merging of state and parties.

The CC FCP called upon all Communists to display creative, dialectical initiative sensitive to all that promotes motion and development. It has clarified the guidelines for Party activity in the coming period.

The desire for change in policy remains. The respite gained by the government of the big bourgeoisie has left all the issues unresolved. Although the politicians of the big capitalists can still resort to demagogy, they are incapable of solving any of the problems facing the people. Besides, that is not at all what they are in power for: their duty is to ensure the monopolies the greatest profits at the expense of the majority of Frenchmen. The deepening of the international monetary crisis and the government's growing accession to Nixon's demands enhances our country's economic difficulties and makes the French people their victim.

Prices are soaring. The working class daily encounters the intransigence of the authorities and the capitalists. Students are rebelling against the regime's policy of social segregation. The peasants are coming out in opposition to the prices agreements of the nine EEC member-countries.

The recently formed government, while giving lip service to some of its election promises, remains more than ever before an obedient tool in the hands of the President of the Republic, a tool of an increasingly authoritarian and anti-socialist policy. The government has even gone back on some of the positive aspects of General de Gaulle's foreign policy. All this explains the upsurge of working-class struggle, in particular the struggle of specialized workers

*From the Manifesto of the CC FCP plenum in Champigny.

subjected to the fiercest exploitation, of the students of lycees, colleges and other institutions of higher learning.

In these conditions our Party is pursuing its work in three main directions. Firstly, more active support for, and organization of, the struggle for the immediate satisfaction of the most pressing mass demands. Communists will help launch the struggle for these demands at factories, in offices, shops and educational establishments.

Secondly, acquainting the masses at large with the Common Government Program and our idea of France's road to socialism. We shall sponsor another extensive nationwide debate on the Program's main propositions and attempt to show different sections of the working people the meaning of the changes we advocate.

Thirdly, further strengthening of unity, another important battle-front. We realize only too well that while the unity of 45 per cent of all Frenchmen on a common government platform is a considerable asset, unity is not something inviolable and continued efforts of the whole Party are needed to promote and advance it.

The big bourgeoisie has no intention of reconciling itself to this unity. It will continue to pressure the Socialist Party and continue its anti-communist campaign in the hope of weakening our Party's positions and, if possible, forcing it into a secondary place.

We set ourselves a dual task:

- To continue efforts aimed at strengthening the alliance between the FCP, Socialist Party and Left Radicals and carry out joint actions among the masses and in Parliament;

- At the same time, never to lose sight of the main thing: the need to strengthen unity at grass roots. This requires bold decisions of the Communist Party and its organizations at all levels and the drawing of the masses at large into the struggle in which we hope to forge a mighty popular unity.

To respond to every change, to head all battles and make them victorious, to act thoughtfully and with a sense of responsibility in every sphere and among all sections of the population, to sponsor extensive discussions of the Common Government Program, to ensure the people's unity in the name of radical social change - these are our Party's tasks in the coming period.

We shall carry them out by relying on the indisputable success achieved in the parliamentary elections, the first stage in the struggle for the triumph of the Common Government Program.

We shall carry them out, realizing the need to continue to strengthen our French Communist Party, to draw young, dynamic forces into it, create new Party cells, especially at factories, rear young Communists, and educate all our forces in the political struggle.

Such a French Communist Party, more influential and active than ever, is essential *'for the success of the struggle of workers and democratic forces, for the preservation and strengthening of unity, for organizing a movement of the majority of our people capable of leading our country along a new road . . .'**

*From report of FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais at CC Plenum, March 28, 1973.

Communist gains in elections and a new situation in Japan

Junkichi Geshi

Member Presidium, CC CP Japan

The most remarkable feature of Japan's present-day political scene are the massive gains of the Communist Party, which has consolidated its positions, made new headway in many fields, and extended its influence.

Outcome of the elections

The general election to the House of Representatives last December had great significance for the future of Japanese politics and the entire nation. The election was a battle between the three main political forces: the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the Communist Party, a party of true progressives uncompromisingly opposed to the ruling LDP, and the Japan Socialist Party, Komeito and the Democratic Socialism Party – all of which occupy middle-of-the-way positions between the foregoing two parties.

The Communist Party told the people that they had one of three choices. First, they could vote for or against the LDP government, which maintains the military alliance with the United States, remains subordinated to the U.S. and serves the interest of monopoly capital. Second, the voters were called on to assess the opposition parties by the degree of opposition offered to the LDP's pro-monopoly policy of 'high growth rates' and 'national development.' The third choice was to let the three middle-of-the-road parties with their more or less virulent anti-communist policies, get together, or to include the Communist Party in a genuine progressive united front in order to put an end to the LDP government. The result of the elections showed the verdict of the people and marked a historic step towards a progressive government to be established in the course of the 70s.

The Communist Party won 38 of the 491 seats in the House of Representatives, as compared to the 14 won in 1969. The number of votes cast for the Party increased from 3,200,000 to 5,500,000, rising from 6.8 per cent to 10.5 per cent. These figures are the highest ever achieved by the Communists. Massive gains were registered in Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Kanagawa and other big cities. New Communist gains were made in the big farming areas. Two out of the three Communist-backed candidates were also returned to the House of Representatives. This brought to 40 the number of successful Communist and Communist-backed candidates, with

the combined Communist forces polling a total of 5,700,000 votes – a result that lays the groundwork for further CPJ progress.

The Liberal-Democratic Party obtained 271 seats, down by 26 from the 297 at the time of the Diet dissolution. The vote for the ruling party dropped from the previous election level of 47.6 per cent to 46.8 per cent. This showing came after Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, who succeeded Eisaku Sato in July 1972, promised to make up for the tangible loss of public confidence incurred by his predecessor, saying that an election victory would reinforce LDP dominance. The Liberal-Democrats played up the government's diplomatic achievement of normalizing relations between Japan and China, and claimed credit for it. Development plans designed to bring huge profits to monopoly capital were glorified as a boon for the people. Giving them the utmost publicity, the Liberal-Democrats incorporated them in what they termed the 'Remoulding of the Japanese Archipelago' program. But none of this saved the ruling party from its setback. All its efforts fell through, mostly due to strong and effective Communist criticism.

The Democratic Socialist Party, Komeito and the Japan Socialist Party won a total of 166 seats, down from the previous 169. The vote for the three intermediate parties dropped from 40.1 per cent to 37.4 per cent. The biggest drop was registered by the Democratic Socialists and Komeitoites, both of which follow a 'centrist' anti-communist course. The Socialists made a relative gain.

The Democratic Socialist Party is a grouping of Right-wing Socialists who support the existing Japan-U.S. military alliance. Relying on big business for a large portion of its political funds, the DSP has cooperated with the monopolies in the 'high growth rate' drive and spearheaded the anti-communist offensive. Its drop was from 31 to 19 seats, with votes declining from 7.7 per cent to 6.9 per cent.

Komeito, which advanced its 'centrist renovation' program as a counterweight to the program of the Communist Party, has close ties with an extreme sectarian Buddhist body. Entering the election under an arrangement of cooperation with the Democratic Socialist Party, the Komeitoites dropped from 47 seats to 29, or from 10.9 to 8.4 per cent.

Improved election tactics enabled the Socialist Party to move up from the previous 90 seats to 118. But this represented only a 60 per cent recovery of the 50 seats lost by it in the previous elections. The Socialist vote percentage was almost the same: 21.9 compared to the previous 21.4.

Factors in the Communist gain

The Communist gain in the general elections resulted, first of all, from the public's understanding of the general course set out in the Party program, and the Party's internal and external policies based on it. Daily activities and a systematic massive propaganda drive convinced large sections of the people that the Communist

Party was fighting for independence, peace and democracy, and was a genuine guardian of the people's vital interests, and that no other party was as clean and uncorrupted by ties with big business. The Communist Party had an obvious advantage in that no other party could rival it in a policy favoring the interests of the people. The Liberal-Democrats and other anti-communist political forces went all out to discourage the electorate from backing the Communist Party, describing it as an enemy of parliamentary democracy. But their scheme fell through in the face of a resolute Communist counter-attack. A progressive united front has been established in 131 local governments, including the prefectural administrations of Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto; thus, one-third of the population are living under progressive local governments. At local level the Communist Party is among the ruling parties promoting political renovation. All this is widely known and has helped the people to gain faith in the Communist Party and to understand its policy.

Another factor: the Party's independent and self-reliant stand based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism was brought home to large sections of the people. The Communist Party allows no outside interference in internal Party affairs and abides strictly by the norms of independence, equality and non-interference, which provides a basis for efforts to recover and strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement. This resolute attitude of the Party led the people to regard it as the vanguard party of the working class serving the genuine interests of the people and the nation.

In the third place, it must be noted that the last general election was held when Party strength was greater than ever before. The Communist Party's 50th founding anniversary saw a massive Party-building campaign in 1972. The campaign ended with the Party boosting its membership to more than 300,000 and its daily and weekly papers winning a total of 2,500,000 readers.

Compared with its roughly 40,000 members in the mid-1950s the Party's membership increased approximately eight-fold in 15 years. During the same period, the number of readers of the daily *Akahata* rose from 40,000 to 550,000, and in the case of its Sunday edition, which had 30,000 readers when it was first published in 1959, to 1,950,000. Communist representation in local assemblies has also increased substantially. In 1949, only three Communists were seated in the nation's prefectural assemblies, with another 400 or so holding seats in city, town or village assemblies. Now the Party has some 2,600 local assemblymen, including 124 in prefectural assemblies. Under the Japanese practice of voters forming associations to back their favorite party and candidate, the Communists at the last general elections had larger and stronger 'supporters' associations' than ever before. All these new developments enabled the Communist Party to move ahead.

Fourthly, the Communist Party has always been consistent in

evaluating the rapidly changing situation, with Party members and backers acting energetically to explain the situation to the people, thus lining up broad sections of the nation behind the Party.

The Communists worked hard in this way when the Liberal-Democratic Party supported and praised the U.S. Government policy of aggression in Vietnam as a 'peace effort' and helped the American imperialists in their global strategy. As the U.S. imperialists went ahead with their war of aggression and destruction on a level exceeding even Hitler's, the three intermediate parties chose to glorify the Nixon Doctrine and maintained that international tensions, particularly in Asia, had been lessened. The Communists were the only party to expose U.S. imperialism's 'positions of strength' policy. Warning against the dangerous role of the Japan-U.S. military alliance, the Party mapped out a specific policy calling for its abrogation to assure peace and neutrality for Japan.

The Communist Party of Japan had long sought a normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and China. The Liberal-Democratic Party's propaganda drive to gather in credit for the headway in relations between the two countries, did not impress the popular imagination for long. When the Tanaka Government came out with what it termed a 'Remoulding of the Japanese Archipelago' program, it met with vigorous Communist opposition. Acting on their experience of mass struggle and a number of specific facts, the Communists denounced the Government plan for being a ploy of monopoly capital, and showed that it would have adverse consequences for national living conditions and would aggravate environmental pollution. The Party mapped out a set of active economic policies and gave them massive publicity to convince the public of the need for a comprehensive annual plan to improve the living conditions of the people and build a land comfortable to live in. And every day the real situation demonstrated the correctness of the Communists' policy.

The Communists also denounced the three intermediate parties for collaborating with the LDP government's economic policies and development plans.

The Communist Party's active approach to the rapidly changing situation convinced broad sections of the people that the Party and its proposed progressive united front are exactly what they have long wanted to achieve – the long since due overthrow of LDP rule.

These advances are certainly valuable, but the Communists are not content with what they have achieved. A resolution by the Ninth Central Committee meeting on December 21, 1972, says:

'Though marking a new stage in Diet activity, the results achieved by our Party in the recent general elections are still elementary if viewed from the angle of the aim of a genuine reform of state politics. The Party should not be lulled into complacency by these results, nor be content with its small success, but must live up to the expectations of the people who placed their hopes on our Party

in this general election campaign, and must with all its might strive to realize the policies and commitments undertaken by our Party in the election campaign.'

The present situation and the Party's tasks

In its election campaign the Communist Party pointed out that a settlement in Vietnam was the prime international task, and did not hesitate to expose the Nixon Administration's violent 'policy of strength' and to accuse the Tanaka Government of active assistance to the U.S. imperialist genocidal war.

The 'Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam' of January 27 was welcomed by the Party, which regards it as a historic victory of the Vietnamese people. Keeping a close eye on the U.S. imperialists, who cling to their 'policy of strength,' the Japanese Communists demand that all provisions of the Vietnam agreement be fulfilled. They are appealing for support to and solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

The Nixon Administration's 'policy of strength' envisages reinforcement of the Japan-U.S. military alliance and increasing subordination to the United States. This process follows three lines. First, the *Midway*, an aircraft carrier of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, is to be furnished home port facilities at Yokosuka, and other similar moves are designed to turn Japan into a new 'forward base' under the Nixon Doctrine. Second, all U.S. air bases in Kanto have been consolidated and concentrated in Yokota Base near Tokyo, and the trend is for revamping and reinforcing U.S. war bases in Japan as a 'priority.' Third, the Self-Defense Forces are being built up, so that Japan should assume a 'larger share of the responsibility' under the Nixon Doctrine.

In its election campaign, the Communist Party called attention to the dangers of the Japan-U.S. military alliance, but the intermediate parties took a different view, albeit to varying degrees, arguing that Sino-American contacts, the normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and China and the signing of the Vietnam agreement had emasculated the military alliance between Japan and the U.S. But subsequent developments have proved that the Communists are right.

The general elections have brought no change in the Tanaka Government's plan for 'Remoulding the Japanese Archipelago' and stepping up the 'high growth rate' policy that has brought about higher prices, environmental pollution, traffic congestion, housing shortages and a vicious cycle of overpopulation and depopulation - all contributing to the aggravation of contradictions and difficulties in the life of the people. The continuing rise in wholesale prices, as well as the speculative movement of monopoly capital, boosting stock, land and lumber prices to an unusual height, is aggravating the high-price trend and inflation. The budget for fiscal 1973 amounts to more than Y14,000,000 million, allowing for the deficit

to be covered by the largest national bond issue in postwar Japan. The international monetary crisis brought about a dollar devaluation and compelled the Tanaka Government to float the Japanese yen, thus hitting the living standard of the Japanese working people and posing a serious threat to small business. Increasing its 'aid' to the anti-communist puppet regimes in Southeast Asia, the Tanaka Government is pushing ahead with an imperialist expansionist policy in subordination to the U.S.

The Communist gains in the general elections have already prompted the Government and the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party to contemplate a revision of the electoral system. From each of the voting districts into which this country is divided under the existing electoral system, three to five candidates are returned to the House of Representatives, but to make it work more in favor of the LDP they are planning to introduce a 'one constituency - one seat' system. As elections to the House of Councillors are coming up next year, and the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party faces the prospect of losing its majority position, it is openly talking about revising the electoral system of the Upper House.

These developments, as the Communists predicted rightly at their Eleventh Party Congress, are adding to the intensity of the confrontation of all forces over the choice between war and peace, dependence and independence, and between priorities for monopoly capital or the people. Standing in the forefront of the working class and all other sections of the people, our Party is striving to deal with these points along the following lines:

First of all, the Communists should meet the political and economic demands of the masses and fulfil their election pledges. Utilizing the present favorable conditions, Party members are told to devote more of their efforts to the mass movement, linking it with the Party's parliamentary activity.

It is particularly important for the Communists, in the light of the results of the general elections, to defeat the anti-communist and anti-working-class policy of the Right-wing Socialists, to develop trade union democracy on a class-oriented basis and to work hard to unify and reinforce the trade union movement.

If political renovation is to be effected at national level, it is also important to organize farmers and fishermen in a mass struggle to win their demands and change the situation in the farming and fishing districts, where the Liberal-Democrats get most of their political backing. Youth, students, women, small businessmen and intellectuals are going through changes in their respective sectors of life. This offers new prospects. In order to exploit all these possibilities, our Central Committee is taking the lead to achieve a fresh development of the mass movement.

The *second task* is to build up a progressive united front and keep up the joint struggle.

The election campaign, as already stated, provided an opportunity for all opposition parties to discuss the purpose and composition of

a new government replacing the Liberal-Democratic Party administration, and also the character of the united front that will have close links with the government.

The Socialist Party proposed a joint struggle with the Communist, Komei and Democratic Socialist parties, and refused to exclude the Democratic Socialists. Yet it is not realistic to include the Democratic Socialists in the joint struggle for a new government replacing the LDP, for they had worked for the 'defeat of the Communist Party' and went along with the LDP government in maintaining the Japan-U.S. military alliance. To do so would be to disregard the lessons learned from the victory won by the Communist and the Socialist parties and other democratic forces which were united on the basis of progressive tasks. It would be a joint struggle with no realistic chance of winning political power, a joint struggle to prevent the realization of a real joint struggle. Furthermore, Komeito and the Democratic Socialist Party are known to have insisted openly that the Socialists should join them, forming a bloc of three parties, excluding the Communist.

Stressing the need for the Communist and Socialist parties, as well as the broad democratic forces, to form a united front at national level for the establishment of a progressive administration, the Communist Party called attention to the election victories of progressive candidates for the governorships of Tokyo, Kyoto, Okinawa and Saitama prefectures. The Party said that it was realistic and necessary that these democratic forces, unanimous in their approach to progressive aims, should get together to deal with tasks on which they can agree.

Whenever a joint struggle was needed, with all opposition forces cooperating within the framework of parliamentary debate to solve vital national problems, the Communist Party was always willing to take part in such a struggle if other parties did not choose to exclude it. The election campaign dealt a telling blow to those forces which had advocated an alliance of the three intermediate parties on an anti-communist basis.

Kenji Miyamoto, Chairman of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Japan, proposed on February 16 that a joint struggle should be mounted both within and outside the Diet. Such a joint struggle was proposed to the Socialist Party and Komeito. The Socialists, despite their pledges to 'overcome communism,' as put down in their party program, have been working to abrogate the Japan-U.S. military alliance, to change the monopoly oriented LDP government, to shift the political priorities in favor of the mass of the people, and to defend parliamentary democracy and democratic rights in general – all policies with which the Communist Party can basically agree. After the last general election, the Komeitoites came closer to the Communist-Socialist policy of abrogating the Japan-U.S. military alliance and took a rather positive attitude towards waging a joint struggle together with the Communists.

In his announcement proposing 'joint struggle' with these two parties, the Communist leader said that the chairmen of the Com-

munist, Socialist and Komei parties should meet to discuss five urgent national tasks: abrogation of the Japan-U.S. military alliance, opposition to the Fourth Defense Buildup Program, full application of the Vietnam agreement, and protection of the life of the people and of democracy. The chief of the Secretariat of the Communist Party and the Secretary General of the Socialist Party agreed at their meeting in March to make common cause in and out of the Diet to solve the five tasks advanced by the Communist Party. Chairman Miyamoto also made public an open letter to the Democratic Socialist Party, asking it to explain its conception of a joint struggle. As a result, the Democratic Socialists, who still cling to their anti-communist positions, conceded that they could join forces with the Communist and Socialist parties over a limited range of common tasks. This makes it possible for all four opposition parties, including the CPJ, to make common cause in the Diet to solve tasks relating to the life of the people.

In the third place, the Communists are called on to work for a democratic reform of the Diet. The results of the last general elections have made it impossible for the major parliamentary forces to discriminate against the Communist Party and to refuse it access to transacting Diet business, as was done in the past 20 years on the grounds that the Party had less than 20 seats in the Diet. Some of the Party's proposed measures for the democratization of Diet business have already been put into effect.

The fourth mission of the Communist Party is to strive for further gains in the next national and local assembly elections. Mid-term elections, as some local elections are called when they are held separately, are scheduled this year in a number of local communities, and the Communists are told to make headway in these elections.

In the last elections, 40 Communist candidates, including some officially recommended by the Party, were returned to the House of Representatives from 39 voting districts, and in 24 other districts the Communist forces polled enough ballots to be reckoned with by law. Efforts are being made in all the other electoral districts to boost the Communist vote to a point where more Party candidates can be returned in the next elections. It will be of great and realistic significance if the Communist Party makes headway in next year's House of Councillors election and forces the Liberal-Democrats to lose their majority.

The fifth mission is to expand and reinforce Party strength and achieve the Party's three-year construction plan.

All Party members are determined to build up the Party on a lasting basis and step up their study and educational activities, learning much more about Party policies and about the fundamental ideas concerning the Party's purpose and character. They are fully aware that these efforts will make sure that their Party will win elections and fulfil its political missions. They are striving for Party construction to give it enough strength to overcome all difficulties standing in the way of the Party's historic cause in the

1970's. On March 1, a month-long campaign got under way with all the Party members asked to make a special effort to establish Party branches in those parts of the country where they are still non-existent.

The 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Japan is scheduled this year. By the middle of the year, the Party plans to fulfil its three-year plan of Party expansion. The result of the general elections has given a new dimension to the outlook and possibility of fulfilling its plan. No Party member should boast of, or be complacent about, the election results.

With the aim of fulfilling the historic mission carried on in the half century that has passed since its founding in 1922, the Communist Party has expanded and strengthened its ranks to an all-time high and has made a proud and forceful step into its second half-century.

United against the monopolies

Rene Urbany

Executive Member and CC
Secretary, CP Luxembourg

Progressive forces the world over are intensifying their offensive against the background of growing capitalist economic and social instability – that is the conclusion drawn by the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, which met on March 24-25 at Rumelange, a mining center. Social conflicts are more frequently acquiring a political character and becoming part of the mass struggle for fundamental social change. And in this struggle unity of the democratic forces is being forged and favorable conditions created for a united anti-monopoly front.

Political situation

Congress closely analyzed the workings of state-monopoly capitalism in Luxembourg. Public life is being geared to the interests of local and foreign monopolies. The big concerns, primarily the giant Arbed steel complex, are tightening their stranglehold on the country. That, too, is the policy of the subsidiaries of American corporations and banks and of the more than 4,000 holding companies operating in Luxembourg.

These big concerns, industrial and financial, with their colossal profit and accumulated wealth, stand out in sharp contrast to con-

tinuing inflation, decline of real wages and pensions, growing fear of the future and the ever-present menace of unemployment. The tax burden is becoming unbearable. Thousands must make do with beggarly pensions. The youth stands little or no chance of a proper education.

The all-out monopoly onslaught on living standards is attended by increasing encroachment on social and democratic rights. All this, Congress noted, has generated anxiety that is spreading to groups which only a while ago were considered among the privileged.

Discontent is maturing not only in industry, where it is powered by growing resentment at high living costs, speed-up and attempts to erase all of labor's gains. There is mounting protest among the middle strata, artisans and farmers, against high taxes and high-handed government. Many in these groups find themselves the victims of state-monopoly policy, and many feel that their very livelihood is being jeopardized. And with good reason: last year 89 small and medium artisan enterprises (1.8 per cent of the total) were forced out of business. Or these statistics of enterprises that 'vanished' between 1961 and 1971: 15.6 per cent in building, 17.4 in food, and 29.6 in clothing and in the private medical services. This process of eliminating small and medium proprietors is also at work in agriculture: the number of farms with two or more hectares dropped by four per cent in 1971-72, and 3,605 peasant farms have 'disappeared' since the founding of the Common Market in 1958. Many ruined farmers and artisans look for work in industry.

The discontent is rapidly spreading to intellectuals—civil servants, schoolteachers, university instructors and students. Public education is woefully inadequate and the situation is further exacerbated by the government's resistance to democratic reform of the school system.

The recent flare-up of the monetary crisis has added to the general bitterness and protest. The government's anti-inflation measures, taken in agreement with other EEC countries, are directed mainly against the working people and have therefore met with strong popular resistance.

Our Party believes that the working people and their trade unions and political organizations must come out in determined defense of living standards and press for higher wages and pensions.

Congress discussed the growing role of trade unions, emphasizing, both in the CC Report and resolutions, the need for a strong united union organization capable of repelling the capitalist offensive. This is especially important today, with collective agreements up for re-negotiation in mining and steel.

However, a more militantly-strong trade union structure requires genuine trade-union democracy, for which the Communists have consistently fought. The unions must not allow themselves to be integrated in the state-monopoly structure as part of a bogus re-

form. They must fight for the workers' right to a say in management, and not only at factory level, but in the economy as a whole, so as effectively to influence solution of economic and social problems and restrict monopoly power.

There are new processes in political life, too. The government parties are in state of crisis. The split in the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP)* has been followed by clashes within the ruling Christian-Social People's Party (CSPP) and its coalition partner, the Democratic Party (DP). Within the CSPP there is a distinct confrontation between its leaders, who speak for big business, and the rank and file, men active in the Catholic unions, youth and other organizations, who want to see a united trade union movement, a more just social policy and social reform.

Congress emphasized that events on the home front have reached a point where conditions are now ripe for a united front of all Luxembourg's progressive forces.

Basis for joint struggle

The working class and the people at large have a common interest in fighting big business and its party, the CSPP. The Communists are prepared to cooperate with every supporter of democracy and social progress.

The central factor in any alliance of Left forces, Congress concluded from its analysis, is cooperation between Communists and Socialists. And in this context, Congress generalized the experience of joint action on trade union and municipal issues. For instance, it was established that, ideological and political differences notwithstanding, such joint action was successful in Esch-sur-Alzette, the country's second biggest city. Specifically, there was a joint campaign for women's rights, in defense of the state-run schools against attacks from the reactionary clericals, and joint actions by young Communists and Socialists against monopoly capital.

Delegates criticized the Socialist Party leadership for refusing to work with Communists on national issues. The Socialist leadership says it will announce its alliance policy only after the 1974 elections. Congress pointed out that the Socialists cannot change the political climate by acting alone or by resorting to parliamentary maneuvers and election moves. Joint work with the Communists now, before the elections, will give the people a clear perspective of fundamental social change.

The action program Congress adopted (its draft was discussed by all party groups) can serve as the basis for cooperation of Communists, Socialists and all other progressives. Its axis is concerted struggle to raise living standards, secure higher wages and pensions to meet higher prices, lower the pension age, etc.

Communists suggest joint action against landlords who jack up

*See WMR, February 1972. - Ed.

rents, in defense of tenants, and for taxation of the colossal profits from land speculation. We insist on a democratic reform of taxation to lessen the burden of the lower-income groups and steeply increase taxes levied on the big concerns, banks and holding companies. Another important aim of any Left alliance should be sweeping reform of the school system to give every child access to free and modern education. United action, we believe, should extend to protection of the environment, the establishment of a modern health service, new housing financed out of the national and municipal budgets.

The action program calls for defense and extension of constitutional democratic rights and freedoms. Parliament should have wider legislative and supervisory powers, and the State Council, a non-elective body with both legislative and executive powers, should be reformed. Another demand is for restoration of communal autonomy, which the government has been systematically curtailing. The Communists attach great importance to joint struggle against attempts to repeal elections to worker representative bodies in industry, or reduce their rights to nought.

The fight for democracy and social progress is intimately associated with the fight for peace. We Communists declare: all the progressive forces must work for a fundamental change of Luxembourg's foreign policy, for a shift from support of U.S. imperialism and the NATO reactionaries to peaceful coexistence, the course followed by the socialist countries. Peaceful coexistence will strengthen Luxembourg's independence and enable its people to build a better future free of dangerous and costly NATO commitments.

In proposing united action, the Communists seek no advantages at the expense of other parties or organizations and have no intention of weakening their positions. Our aim is to give the working class more strength against big capital. But while cooperating with other parties we will, naturally, safeguard the purity of our ideology; we have no intention of abandoning our principles. 'A united front in practice,' Georgi Dimitrov said, 'entails neither retreat from our general Party principles nor submerging our Party's identity. What it does entail is acceptance of a concrete common anti-capitalist platform in defending the masses . . .'

Inviolable fidelity to Leninism

Success in organizing a united Left movement depends in no small degree on the Communist Party's ability to strengthen its own ranks organizationally and ideologically and extend its political influence among the masses. Congress devoted much attention to improving Party work at all levels, emphasized the importance of recruiting new members and increasing circulation of the Party press. Central to the discussions on this point was the question of ways and means of heightening the ideological level of Party mem-

bers and educating them in a spirit of irreconcilable struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunism.

The Central Committee Report emphasized that Marxism-Leninism, the scientific world outlook, enables Communists to expose the false 'social partnership' theories of the Right opportunists and the petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionary slogans of the Leftists. Basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, our Party indicates to the people the only correct way to socialism in Luxembourg.

While working for united action with the Left forces, the Communists do not forget their great historic aim. They will faithfully carry out the action program which, they frankly say, is but a stage in building a socialist society.

Congress stressed the need for uncompromising struggle against anti-Sovietism, that hard core of anti-communist ideology and the chief weapon of international reaction in splitting the working class. By exposing anti-Sovietism, the Communists remove the biggest obstacle to unity of all the progressive forces. The fight against anti-Sovietism will reveal to the workers the line of division in the international class struggle. For the more the workers learn of the socialist countries' magnificent achievements, the more will they appreciate the historic significance of the emergence of the socialist system, the more confidence will they have in their own forces, and the closer will they unite against the system of exploitation.

Congress was addressed by the Party's Chairman, Dominique Urbany. He reaffirmed its fidelity to the Lenin principles of proletarian internationalism. 'By fighting big capital and reaction in our country,' he said, 'we join the great international army of peace and socialism, we stand together with the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, that bastion and decisive force of peace and socialism.'

In its message to the youth the Congress said: 'Your place is with the Communist Party. Fight together with us for your demands! Help us secure united action of all the progressive forces for social and democratic progress. This will lay the groundwork for a socialist Luxembourg.'

The 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Luxembourg unanimously approved the Central Committee Report, adopted the action program and other documents and was an important event in Luxembourg's political life. It showed that the Communists approach with full responsibility the Party's tasks at this new stage in the history of the Luxembourg workers' movement.



Trends, motive forces of national-liberation revolution

Victor Tyagunenko
Corresponding Member,
USSR Academy of Sciences

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Having cast off the yoke of colonialism and gained political independence, the young national states of Asia and Africa have to choose their road of further development, and it is only natural that this key problem occupies a prominent place in the works and pronouncements of their statesmen and public figures.

Imperialism, in its attempts to maintain its positions in the former colonies and dependent countries, is increasing ideological pressure. Bourgeois sociologists offer theories and ideas to help neo-colonialism if not to prevent, then at least to slow down the development of anti-imperialist revolutions.

Marxist scientists in socialist as well as capitalist countries regard the national-liberation movement as an inalienable part of the world revolutionary process, and they seek to reveal its specifics and, at the same time, definite its general laws.

For independence and social progress

A study of the documents of congresses and Central Committee meetings of Asian and African Communist and Workers' Parties is most relevant for an understanding of the specific features of anti-imperialist revolutions and the background of the socio-political struggle. In their works and speeches the leaders of these parties present searching analyses of the internal situation in which scientific generalizations of facts combine with important theoretical and political deductions.

They emphasize that the fundamental change in the world balance of forces and the emergence of the socialist world system opened up new prospects of historical progress for the decolonized nations, of non-capitalist development and consistent political, economic, social, and cultural changes with the ultimate goal of socialism.¹

Further development is intimately linked with the problem of the motive forces of the national-liberation revolution, the present stage of which has brought important changes in the align-

ment of social forces in the newly independent states. Documents issued by Afro-Asian Communist and Workers' parties emphasize that these changes must be carefully analyzed and taken into account if correct leadership of the masses is to be ensured. Mounting class contradictions and the expansion of public movements favoring non-capitalist development provide a basis for the formation of a progressive united front of the working class, peasantry and revolutionary sections of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. The creation of such a front is one of the key tasks in the present stage of the national-liberation revolution.²

Of late there has been a spate of 'theories' and 'ideas' aimed at isolating the national-liberation movement from the other revolutionary forces of our time. In view of this it is especially important to determine the national-liberation movement's objective role and place within the world revolutionary process. Communist leaders of Eastern countries invariably stress that the deeper its social character, the closer its connection with the international revolutionary and socialist movement.³

By now most of the former colonies have achieved national liberation. On the order of the day is the struggle for their economic independence. And broader and broader sections of public opinion are coming to realize that backwardness cannot be overcome along the capitalist road, that this requires fundamental, far-reaching social and economic change. This conclusion has been emphasized by many spokesmen for and leaders of progressive regimes and movements. Thus, Kwame Nkrumah, noting that the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa persisted into the present, wrote of the growing need for profound transformations in dependent societies.⁴ And he had in mind socialist transformation, for he rejected the capitalist road. Accordingly, he wrote, now it was the proletariat, as well as the peasantry, who were coming to be the motive forces of the revolution.

The works of A. Cabral⁵ define the difficulties encountered by the revolutionary process in tropical Africa: the lack of any direct or conscious interest in the liquidation of monopoly rule among the peasant masses, the weakness of the proletariat, petty-bourgeois domination of the national leadership. The struggle for freedom from foreign capital and for economic independence, Cabral pointed out, confronts the petty-bourgeoisie with the alternative of either evolving into a revolutionary class of working people or finally joining the bourgeoisie.

Problems of non-capitalist development are discussed by the Indian author R. Das Gupta.⁶ India, he holds, is advancing along the capitalist road, but he nevertheless considers that on the whole capitalism has not yet taken firm root. He suggests as an alternative, a series of measures, from state control over grain sales to the liquidation of monopolies, which can be promoted only by a broad coalition of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, national, progressive and democratic forces based on an alliance of the working class and the peasants.

The question concerning the roads of social, economic and political progress to be followed by newly sovereign states is a fundamental one. It has shifted from the realm of theory, where it belonged before independence, to that of social and class forces and the political parties and groups speaking for them is taking place. The historical destinies of the decolonized countries are the focus of acute ideological confrontations in the world arena.

Functional approach of bourgeois sociology

The ideological and political objective of bourgeois scientists is to seek ways of controlling national-liberation revolutions and channelling them into 'evolutionary,' peaceful development.

Bourgeois authors concentrate on the investigation of 'political development' or 'political order,'⁷ that is, on establishing the conditions contributing to the 'stability or instability' of political regimes in the new national states. In their attempts to develop a model of a political system capable of standing up to revolution and controlling it 'from above,' they have embarked on analyses of the economic and social sources of revolutionary processes.⁸ Many of their researches are of an applied nature.⁹

Reality has forced them to abandon the once widespread notion that industrialization, urbanization, education and the growth of the mass media in the developing countries must necessarily contribute to a Western-style 'modernization' and an alleviation of social differences and conflicts.¹⁰ Today bourgeois literature concedes (though rather on the applied than the general theoretical level) the growth of class differentiation and the tendency of social communities to form on an economic basis. This, for example, is noted in works devoted specifically to Morocco, Thailand, East Africa and other areas.¹¹

Western ideologues have advanced a number of ideas concerning the social structures of developing countries. One of them is the 'new middle class' theory. What is meant by it may vary from one author to another. In some works it is seen as a distinct social group striving for power, in others it is a variety of the bureaucracy.¹² These authors have in common a tendency to absolutize the role of the 'new middle class' and to virtually fail to characterize it as a class community.

Increasingly popular among bourgeois ideologues is the theory of an 'elite' as a new, specific social community. The revolutionary process is treated as a conflict between the elite and the masses,¹³ leaving aside completely the question of the class nature of the conflict (as well as of the elitist communities). The struggle of organized groups (trade unions, peasant organizations) is seen as a confrontation between the 'elite' and the 'counter-elite,' while opposition demonstrations (notably by students, especially in universities) are presented as a conflict between different elites¹⁴ or between the ruling elite and 'potential' elites.

In a class of their own are ideas linking all socio-political processes with strong personalities, with leaders whose role is seen

as decisive in stabilizing regimes in developing countries. Such leaders are seen as figureheads that spawn political movements.¹⁵

Authors differ in their treatment of political leadership. Some, obviously admirers of authoritarian regimes, stress the need for a military-bureaucratic alliance. Others, taking into account that, as a rule, undisguised authoritarianism is unstable, advocate authoritarian-reformist regimes. There are those who see the only hope in Western-style party-and-parliament systems, etc.¹⁶ But despite all these differences the subjective nature of the bourgeois notions of political leadership is obvious.

And so, bourgeois sociologists investigating real social changes in developing countries concentrate on the functional differentiation of society, and virtually ignore the position of the various social groups and strata in the social reproduction process and the class nature of social conflicts. This is why they overestimate the role of the middle strata while underestimating the working class. It also explains their inability to understand the motive forces and prospects of the revolutionary process.

Marxist analysis of the problem

Many new titles have been added in recent years to Marxist literature on the national-liberation revolution.¹⁷

A sound basis for research into these problems was provided by the deduction, primarily on the part of Soviet scholars, that the national liberation revolution in Asian and African countries is no longer bourgeois democratic but national democratic. The reasons for this deduction are as follows: the bulk of the peasantry in these countries is not petty-bourgeois; secondly, when political independence has been won, the effort to solve problems of economic independence carries the national-liberation movement beyond the bounds of the bourgeois democratic revolution and brings it close to a progressive course of development leading to socialism; thirdly, this revolution goes on against the background of the struggle between the two social systems, at a time when world socialism determines the historical development of mankind.

The national-democratic revolution differs from both the socialist and the people's democratic revolution since its leadership and state power belong not to a bloc of forces led by the vanguard of the working class, but to revolutionary or national democrats, occasionally called revolutionary nationalists. They represent large social strata, primarily the peasantry, the working class, urban petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, and occasionally the patriotic-minded section of the middle bourgeoisie.

Analysis of the driving forces of the national-liberation revolution involves, first of all, a study of the multiple socio-economic structure peculiar to one-time colonies and dependencies.¹⁸ A distinguishing feature of this structure is the persistence and stability of pre-capitalist forms and the complex interaction of special types of production relations, each of which develops according to its own laws.

Analysts note the negligible role of classes of the capitalist formation – the bourgeoisie and proletariat – in the post-colonial and semi-colonial society of numerous Asian and African countries, the multiplicity and stagnation of transitional social groups and the combination of capitalist with pre-capitalist forms of exploitation. Wage workers account for not more than 35 per cent of the gainfully employed population. The numerous non-proletarians and semi-proletarians, who make up the bulk of the population and are divided by national, tribal, religious and caste barriers, are subjected to semi-feudal and semi-capitalist exploitation.

The latest investigations of the social structure in the developing countries and of the role of various classes and social groups in the national liberation revolution produce the following picture.¹⁹

The national bourgeoisie proved equal to overthrowing colonial regimes and it retains certain anti-imperialist potentialities at the stage of the struggle for economic independence, for it wants to dominate the national market. On the other hand, the big bourgeoisie tends to establish close links with imperialist monopolies within mixed companies and is gradually dissociating from the general democratic movement. By contrast, the middle and petty bourgeoisie have a stake in strengthening and expanding the anti-imperialist state sector. However, large sections of the national bourgeoisie, associated with landed property and commercial and usurer capital, and therefore fearing the working-class movement, are a counter-revolutionary force in many countries that follow the non-capitalist road.

In a number of developing countries the 'new elite' or the top bureaucracy made up of landlords and members of the big bourgeoisie and intellectuals, plays a prominent role in politics. Even though it is not a class, the 'new elite' has assumed the character of a relatively independent social and political force and generally holds reactionary positions especially in capitalist-oriented countries.

Capitalist development has hardly affected the countryside and most peasant households are in subsistence farming.²⁰ The rural population consists chiefly of small holders or tenant sharecroppers. In Tropical Africa most peasants live in a communal subsistence economy without private landownership. Pre-capitalist forms of exploitation involve one-third of the population.²¹ It follows that in numerous one-time colonies and semi-colonies the peasants have not yet become petty bourgeois. They constitute the main motive power of the national liberation movement. On the other hand, some authors note that precisely the patriarchal peasant commune does not readily accept the ideas of scientific socialism, spontaneously resists every innovation in production or the social sphere and is objectively a serious obstacle to social progress.

The industrial proletariat is still a very small group in most Asian and African countries.²² Most of the workers are employed in small enterprises. They are still closely linked with the countryside, disunited and semi-literate and many of them migrate fre-

quently. Agricultural workers, first of all day laborers some of whom retain a tiny patch of land, are still more numerous. This social group is intermediate between the proletariat and the peasantry and may be described as semi-proletarian or pre-proletarian. Potentially, however, the working class in the developing countries is the most revolutionary force. This is evident in countries where it rises to fight the bourgeoisie, putting forward both economic and political demands, and where it forms the social basis of Communist and Workers' parties. The proletariat is the only class that has a stake in every stage of the national-liberation movement up to and including the socialist revolution.²³

Investigations show that the middle and intermediate social strata play a prominent part in African and Asian politics.

The middle strata are held to comprise professional and office workers, students and most army officers, that is, people whose main source of income is not private enterprise and whose social position does not place them among the new elite. This is a highly active and heterogeneous group. Depending on position, standard of life, education and social links, one section of the middle strata is close to the working class, and the other to the exploiter classes.²⁴

Some analysts class the urban petty bourgeoisie with the middle strata, while others regard it as an intermediate stratum since the numerous handicraftsmen and traders usually belong to the more indigent part of the population. They are not really independent owners but their mentality is that of the petty-bourgeois or small proprietor, nonetheless. More than any other group, it vacillates between the proletariat and bourgeoisie and constitutes the social basis of revolution or counter-revolution as the case may be.

Much the same is true of other groups of the intermediate social strata—the urban lower classes and the unemployed or semi-employed. These groups, made up of beggars, coolies, the employees of small workshops, hawkers, and so on, are worse off than any other group. They readily respond to every call for change. They can become an important ally of the proletariat but are also vulnerable to the demagoguery of 'Left' or Right-wing extremists.

Marxist-Leninist analysis shows that as matters stand in most of the developing Asian and African countries, no social class or group can lead the process of fundamental social change single-handed. This requires a vast patriotic and anti-imperialist front uniting the workers and peasants, the middle and intermediate strata, progressive intellectuals and students.

1. See contributions at the international symposium on the 50th anniversary of the USSR (Prague, July 1972) by L. Bouhali (Algeria), G. Savvidis (Cyprus), Kh. Bagdash (Syria), Y. Demir (Turkey), Ali Yata (Morocco), M. Harmel (Tunisia), I. Iskenderi (Iran), A. Kerim (Iraq), K. Mruhe (Lebanon) and others, in WMR, October 1972.

2. This was the subject of an international and theoretical conference sponsored by WMR in June 1972. See 'Asia and Africa—Road of Progress,' WMR, November 1972.

3. See International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow 1969. Peace and Socialism Publications. Prague, 1969.

4. K. Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa*. New York, 1971.

5. A. Cabral, *A Guinée 'portugaise.'* 1970.

6. R. D. Gupta, *Problems of Economic Transition. Indian Case Study*. Calcutta, 1970. See also: N. K. Krishnan, 'The Initiative Is in the Hands of the Left and Democratic Forces,' *WMR*, April 1973.
7. See, for example, S. P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, London, 1969.
8. This review does not consider works devoted to Latin American or bourgeois studies of the problem of revolution as a whole.
9. Especially in the frame of the so-called aggregate-statistical school (S. M. Lipset, D. Lerner, and others). Works of this school can be found in the collection: C. L. Taylor (Ed.), *Aggregate Data Analysis*, Paris, 1968.
10. In literature of the 50s and 60s these views are reflected, to one extent or another, in the works of R. Bendix, B. Hoselitz, W. Moore, N. Smelser, and others.
11. T. H. Silcock (Ed.), *Social and Economic Studies in Development*. Durham, 1967; J. Vincent, *African Elite: The Big Men in a Small Town*. New York, London, 1971.
12. A. Perlmutter, *Egypt and the Myth of the New Middle Class. A Comparative Analysis*. Berkeley, 1967, and others.
13. I. V. Aboueva, R. P. Guzman (Eds.), *Foundations and Dynamics of Philippine Government and Politics*. Manila, 1969.
14. S. Nayak, *An Analytical Model of Hegemonical Tension Among Ghanaian Elites*. Brussels, 1970.
15. G. A. Almond, *Recent Trends of Political Theory. Approaches to Developmental Causation*. Brussels, 1970.
16. C. Leys (Ed.), *Politics and Change in Developing Countries*. Cambridge, 1969, and others.
17. See *Lenin i natsional'no-osvoboditel'noye dvizhenie v stranakh Vostoka* (Lenin and the National Liberation Movement in the East), Moscow, 1970; *Leninizm i revoliutsionnyi protsess* (Leninism and the Revolutionary Process), Prague, 1970; *Leninizm i natsional'nyi vopros v sovremennykh usloviakh* (Leninism and the National Question Today), Moscow, 1972; *Leninskaya teoriya sotsialisticheskoi revolyutsii i sovremennost'* (Lenin's Theory of the Socialist Revolution and Our Time), Moscow, 1972; J. Woddis, *Introduction to Neo-Colonialism*, London, 1967; D. Filipov, *Lenin i sovremennite problemi na natsionalno-osvoboditel'nata revolyutsia* (Lenin and Contemporary Problems of the National Liberation Revolution), Varna, 1970; G. Thole, R. Wuensche, *Leninismus und antiimperialistische Befreiungsbewegung heute* (Leninism and the Anti-Imperialist Liberation Movement Today), Berlin, 1970; A. Iskenderov, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'noye dvizhenie. Problemy, zakonomernosti, perspektivy* (The National Liberation Movement: Problems, Laws and Prospects), Moscow, 1970; M. Shumikhin, *Lenins'ka teoriya natsional'no-vyzvol'nykh revolyutsiy i souchasnost'* (Lenin's Theory of National Liberation Revolutions and Our Time), Kiev, 1971; *Non-Capitalist Way of Development in the Third World*, Warsaw, 1971; *Nichtkapitalistischer Entwicklungsweg. Aktuelle Probleme in Theorie und Praxis* (The Non-Capitalist Way of Development: Current Problems of Theory and Practice), Berlin, 1972; R. Ulyanovsky, *Sotsializm i osvobodivshiesya strany* (Socialism and the Liberated Countries), Moscow, 1972; K. Brutents, *Sovremenniy natsional'no-osvoboditel'niye revolyutsii. Nekotoriye voprosy teorii i ideologicheskoi bor'by* (National Liberation Revolutions Today: Some Problems of Theory and Ideological Struggle), Moscow, 1972; P. Manchka, *Avangardniye otryady revolyutsionnoi bor'by v Afrike* (The Vanguard Contingents of the Revolutionary Struggle in Africa), Moscow, 1971; V. Solodovnikov, *Problemy sovremennoi Afriki* (Problems of Africa Today), Moscow, 1973.
18. See, for example, A. Levkovsky, 'Tretiy mir' v sovremennom mire (The 'Third World' Today), Moscow, 1971.
19. The most deep-going investigation of this problem in Soviet literature is in *Klassy i klassovaya bor'ba v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh* (Classes and the Class Struggle in Developing Countries), a three-volume work by the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economy and International Relations (Moscow, 1967-1968). See also 'The Class Structure of Society in the Developing Countries' in *Politicheskaya ekonomiya sovremennogo monopolisticheskogo kapitalizma* (The Political Economy of Contemporary Monopoly Capitalism), Vol. 2. Moscow, 1970.
20. See Y. Ivanov, *Razvitie kapitalizma v afrikanskoi derevne Rodezii i Zambii* (The Development of Capitalism in the African Countryside of Rhodesia and Zambia), Moscow, 1970; V. Rastyannikov, *Agrarnaya evolyutsia v mnogoukladnom obshchestve. (Opyt nezavisimoi Indii)* (Agrarian Evolution in a Multiple-Structure Society: The Experience of Independent India), Moscow, 1973.
21. Some authors hold that capitalist development and the peasants' social differentiation have gone quite far. See, for example, V. Iordansky, *Tupiki i perspektivi Tropicheskoi Afriki* (The Impasses and Prospects of Tropical Africa), Moscow, 1970; R. Ulyanovsky, op. cit.
22. See *Formirovaniye rabochego klassa stran Azii i Afriki* (The Working Class in the Making in Asia and Africa), Moscow, 1971; S. Kuznetsova, *Sotsial'naya struktura afrikanskogo goroda. Problemy formirovaniya promyshlennogo proletariata Tropicheskoi Afriki* (The Social Structure of the African Town: Problems of the Formation of an Industrial Proletariat in Tropical Africa), Moscow, 1971; 'Wage Labor in the Developing Countries' (Statistical data), *WMR*, March 1973.
23. See *Rabocheye dvizhenie v stranakh Azii i Severnoi Afriki na sovremennom etape* (The Working-Class Movement in Asian and North African Countries Today), Moscow, 1969; *Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizhenie* (The International Working-Class Movement), Moscow, 1972.

24. See G. Mirsky, *Armia i politika v stranakh Azii i Afriki* (The Army and Politics in Asian and African Countries), Moscow, 1971; *Srednie (gorodskie) sloi v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh Azii i Afriki. Materiali k simpoziumu* (The Middle (Urban) Strata in Developing Asian and African Countries: Records of a Symposium), Moscow, 1972; *Kolonializm i natsional'no-osvoboditel'noye dvizhenie v stranakh Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Colonialism and the National-Liberation Movement in Southeast Asia), Moscow, 1972, etc.

Communist factory newspapers

Manfred Kapluck
Presidium Member,
GCP Executive

The capitalists are uneasy. In the four-odd years since it was founded, the German Communist Party has gained influence in the big factories, due, in part, to factory newspapers.

The German Industrial Institute, the main propaganda vehicle of the big monopolies, has sounded this warning: 'Factory papers ruthlessly seize on all foreseen and unforeseen factory conflicts... If production or personnel switches are made public by radicals instead of the enterprise, it is disagreeable to the management, a discredit to its staff, and a godsend to the Left radicals.' *Handelsblatt*, the Big Business mouthpiece, devoted a whole page to the 'Red Press in the Ruhr.' Some Red factory papers, it lamented, are read better than official factory papers which are dull and too obviously toe the management's line. The liberal bourgeois *Zeit*, on the other hand, described the GCP's factory papers as a 'brilliant idea,' closing a gap in information.

Why are GCP factory papers so troublesome for employers? What is the secret of their success? To begin with, they pull no punches, denounce mismanagement, name the culprits, show how labor is intensified by speed-up and in other ways as a direct consequence of capitalist exploitation, report strikes and their outcome, and discuss the experience of class struggle. The big corporations are hurt. The myth of 'social partnership' is exposed, and the fact that profit is the monopolies' sole motive is pointed up.

The papers are mostly tabloid-size, with four to eight pages. The make-up is attractive: clear type, bold headlines, cartoons and graphs. There are 360 of them, with circulations ranging from 500 to 2,000 copies.

Priority is given to life in the factory and to the workers' trade and social interests – wages and incomes, job distribution and secur-

ity, conflicts and disputes. This keeps workers posted on the situation in industry and gives them confidence in the Party's factory press.

Items about the experience of their mates in other factories, describing ways and forms of action with an eye to their degree of class consciousness and militancy, help the workers judge and use their own strength, encourage independence and class initiative.

Disclosures of class contradictions in production and society, showing their effect on the workers' condition, cultivate political awareness. The only way to remedy matters, they show, is to end private ownership of the means of production. The achievements in socialist countries are compared with working and living conditions in the Federal Republic, which helps to squash anti-communist prejudices.

The papers try to align the struggle for the workers' interests with the Party's overall policy. They show that to win social and economic demands, the workers must not only overcome their employers' resistance, but fight for change in government policy geared to capitalist interests.

The tasks of the factory press are dialectically connected. Information helps workers to prepare for action and generalization of experience heightens their class awareness, giving them confidence and hence spurring them to action.

'A newspaper,' Lenin wrote, 'is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 22).

This is exactly what the GCP's factory papers accomplish with timely information, mobilizing the workers.

But we are not blind to mistakes and shortcomings, due, first of all, to the insufficient ability of the papers to direct the class struggle on economic, political and ideological issues simultaneously. Production, the economy, and social, political and ideological matters are all discussed, but often in isolation from one another. Production problems are handled irrespective of their social implications and political irrespective of their practical implications.

The problems of the young workers, women workers and foreign workers require fuller coverage. The discrimination against them should be shown up in bolder relief. The nearly 2.5 million foreign workers in the country are the hardest hit by it, and are ruthlessly exploited.

When the GCP began putting out its factory papers some feared that this would jeopardize the standing of Communists in the factories, and handicap their work in the unions and enterprise councils. Reality has disproved this view.

The favorable experience of the Communist factory press prompted the Duesseldorf Party Congress in 1971 to call for 'an increase of the number of factory newspapers, and make them more effective,' thereby heightening 'GCP influence among the workers and youth.'

We are trying to mend the shortcomings and improve our papers, with editors exchanging experience and attending seminars at dis-

strict and regional level. The Party Executive puts out a monthly bulletin with articles and cartoons for the factory press and offering editors specific advice.

How effective the papers are depends largely on the GCP factory branch. The closer the link between the editors and the branch members, the better and more convincing are the reports. Conversely, contributions by Communists on topics agitating the workers, help the Party branch in its political, ideological and organizing work.

'To change the alignment of forces in the Federal Republic of Germany in favor of the working class,' the Duesseldorf Congress stated, 'requires strengthening the GCP. Workers' greater unity of action and anti-monopoly alliances depend to a decisive degree on the ideological and organizational strength of the GCP and on its influence among the masses.'

Acting on the Party's general line, our papers seek to bring all workers into joint actions for their interests. But they do not hesitate to criticize the political mistakes of the Social Democrat workers. However, the SDP Right-wing leaders' attempts to sow discord between Social-Democrats and Communists, or to impose an anti-communist policy on SDP branches at enterprises are resisted. Considerable credit for this goes to the Communist press, which combats the ideology based on 'class harmony' and anti-communism. This struggle is, indeed, a component of the united action policy.

We take a similar stand in the trade unions. Our papers back union decisions that serve the interests of the working class, and our constructive effort is gaining recognition in the unions and among workers.

The employers are trying to undermine the influence of the GCP factory papers. Before the latest elections to enterprise councils, the so-called CDU labor wing began publishing its own papers in the Ruhr factories, describing them as a counterweight to the GCP and advocating 'class harmony.' But it did not take the workers long to see through the CDU maneuver. The Social-Democrats' Friedrich-Ebert Foundation urged publication of SDP enterprise papers, and several issues were brought out, crowded with propaganda of reformist policies and 'impartial' information.

A factory paper can be a friend and comrade of the workers only if it champions their interests. We are confident, therefore, that neither the employers' flashy papers nor the anarchists' glib rhetoric can compete with our factory press.

The GCP's factory papers, though small, have considerable influence. They help strengthen GCP branches at factories politically and organizationally, and to recruit new members.

At the Essen headquarters of the Ruhr-Westphalia Executive of the GCP, a correspondent of *World Marxist Review* met with a group of Communists, who told him about the Party's factory papers. Each paper has an editorial board, usually of three or

four, headed by an editor-in-chief. The comrades gave examples illustrating their activity.

H. Draeger (Mannesmann, corporation; the GCP Party group publishes the paper *Roter Punkt* for the workers). One day stevedores unloading a cargo of iron-scales at the corporation's wharf showed symptoms of poisoning. The unloading was stopped. The enterprise council demanded that the management ascertain the cause of the poisoning. The manager, A. Wolkewitz, replied with invective – the council's chairman and 'his whole gang' were bullying the firm. Communists immediately reported the incident to the factory paper and next morning the workers had a full account.

J. Malmann (member of GCP Ruhr-Westphalia Executive; on the staff of *Unsere Zeitung*, circulated among Niederberg Schachtanlagen miners). The management cut the miners' pay per shift by DM1. The enterprise council met to discuss the matter. The paper backed the council's demands in a special issue. Three days later the management had to revoke its decision and pay out the money it had deducted.

L. Buergel (Rheinstahl, where the GCP group distributes its paper, *Stahlstimme*). Its reports, based on verified first-hand evidence, never miss the mark. I remember the management trying to abolish the enterprise council's right to a say in the corporation's affairs. The paper reported this. Next day 2,500 workers struck in protest and the management gave in.

H. Schulte (Krupp's, where the GCP group publishes *Tatsachen*). The editors make a point of linking economic with political problems. The CDU/CSU campaign to torpedo ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties coincided with economic difficulties for Krupp. The management was inclined to cut the work week with a resultant drop in wages. *Tatsachen* showed how a détente would benefit the worker. This must have been one of the important reasons why the Krupp workers were among the first to demonstrate against the CDU/CSU policy.

W. Kruschewski (secretary of the GCP Bochum District organization, staff member of *Roter Kadett*, the Opel paper). At the latest enterprise council election, splitters managed by maneuvers and threats to put up 11 different lists of candidates. We exposed this just before a general meeting. There was a heated discussion which, we believe, will help restore unity. We do not hesitate to use our trade union rights, in particular the right to criticize the union leadership, when we consider it useful. The overall attitude of the GCP and hence of the Party's factory papers to the unions was aptly described by K. G. Voelker, the Metalworkers' Union delegate in Essen, who said that Communists are the best trade unionists.

E. Wardeski (Mannesmann, the GCP group publishes *Heisser Draht*). The notorious Factory Law enacted by the Social-Democratic government prohibits political activity on the premises, naturally including publication or distribution of GCP papers. But our papers have cleared this hurdle. They are widely read, and are discussed by workers right in the shops.

W. Tewes (Schachtanlage Recklinghausen; GCP group paper, *Aktuell*). Recently a Federal labor tribunal made a ruling which forbids employees to 'injure the employer's prestige' anywhere, or, in other words, to criticize employers. A manufacturers' circular speaks of the need to identify 'through photography' those who distribute leaflets and factory papers. A factory correspondent has only to put his name to an article to be faced with immediate dismissal.

Concluding the interview, R. Konze, Secretary of the Ruhr-Westphalia Executive of the GCP, pointed out that factory papers popularize ideas of scientific socialism among the workers to show them the way to effective struggle against big capital, for their class objectives.

The face of present-day anti-Marxism

Four reviews of new books

In accordance with the conclusions drawn by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Communists have everywhere intensified the offensive against anti-Marxist ideology, particularly Right and 'Left' revisionism. The four reviews on this and the following pages deal with problems of ideological struggle; two of the books reviewed are by Marxists and two by our ideological opponents. The general theme is present-day anti-Marxism, its ideology and methods.

INSTRUCTIVE LESSONS

In his book,* Soviet Marxist S. P. Trapeznikov traces the main stages in the spread of scientific socialism in the international labor movement, its struggle against revisionist trends, and the value of CPSU experience in this struggle. The central theme is Marxist criticism of revisionism in the light of the lessons of history.

By repelling the attacks of bourgeois ideologists and thwarting Right and 'Left' revisionist subversion, Marxism-Leninism firmly established itself as the only scientific philosophy of the working class and the generally accepted ideological and theoretical basis of the international Communist movement. The achievements of the existing socialism and of the workers' anti-imperialist struggle are conclusive proof of its validity. But there is ample historical

*S. P. Trapeznikov, *Abrupt Turns of History* (Some Lessons of the Fight for Scientific Socialism and Against Revisionism), second ed., Mysl Publishers, Moscow, 1972, 365 pp. English and Spanish editions put out by Progress Publishers, Moscow.

evidence to show that revisionism presents a grave danger to the international revolutionary movement: Wherever it managed to prevail even temporarily, it had ruinous consequences. Trapeznikov describes in some detail the effect it had on one of the biggest revolutionary workers' organizations, the German Social-Democratic Party, which could not withstand the pressure of opportunism. No less dangerous is the 'Left' variety: one need only recall how the 'Lefts' jeopardized the gains of the October Revolution in the early Soviet years.

The revisionist menace, now again grown to international dimensions, creates serious difficulties for all the revolutionary forces. Trapeznikov analyzes the reasons for this revival of revisionism, its class roots, the methods and subterfuges it uses in fighting Marxism-Leninism. He traces the evolution of revisionism, disclosing the political aims of Right opportunism and 'Left' adventurism—both are out to undermine the socialist world system. 'Present-day revisionism,' the author says, 'is the synthesis of Right reformism and "Left" adventurism, the coalescence of these two revisionist trends and anti-communist ideology.'

Both negate the historic mission of the working class, vilify the existing socialism, attack the principles of proletarian internationalism. The author says that in present-day conditions, the convergence theory and the pluralism concept are especially dangerous as the ideological nutritive soil of revisionism. The convergence theory (that the two mutually-opposed socio-economic systems will eventually 'converge') is exploited by the Right revisionists to concoct all manner of recipes for 'perfecting' socialism by 'democratizing' its political system along bourgeois patterns, renouncing Leninist economics, rejecting the leading role of the working class, etc. The pluralist concept (of diverse 'variants' of Marxism and 'models' of socialist society) is dangerous because it is used to divide the revolutionary forces, justify the isolation of one or another contingent of the movement, and impede accomplishment of world socialism's international tasks.

The fight against imperialism is inseparable from the fight against opportunism. By paralyzing Right reformism and 'Left' adventurism, the author says, we help to weaken the imperialist front. And he emphasizes that exposure of revisionism is not a short-term campaign, and cannot be achieved by propaganda alone. Revisionist theories will not vanish of their own, will not quit the political scene without battle. Hence, there must be a consistent principled ideological struggle from Marxist-Leninist positions if we are to demolish revisionism.

Y. Georgiev

FALSE PROPHETS

Jack Woddis' new study* is much more than a 'commentary.' It is, in fact, a detailed in-depth investigation of the fundamental prob-

**New Theories of Revolution. A Commentary on the Views of Frantz Fanon, Regis Debray and Herbert Marcuse.* London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1972, 415 pp.

lems of the revolutionary process. Its polemics are sharp-edged against the anti-scientific, anti-Marxist concepts which of late have been taken up by the 'new Left' and by the old enemies of the Communist and workers' movement. Woddis' account is greatly helped by its topicality and lucidity.

It would be difficult to find a more dissimilar triumvirate than Fanon, Debray and Marcuse, men of different nationality and origin, with different life stories, political temperament and experience. Besides, Fanon writes of the motive forces of revolution in Africa, Debray of the struggle in Latin America and Marcuse of social change in Western industrial societies. Woddis has singled out what they hold in common.

And what they hold in common is petty-bourgeois rejection of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle and, in particular, the role of the different social classes in that struggle. Also characteristic of the three is their rejection—for different reasons, it is true—not only of the historic mission of the working class, but also of its revolutionary potential. In fact, they accuse the working class of having become 'bourgeoisified,' 'integrated' in the capitalist system. Fanon even regards the young African proletariat as a 'privileged' class. Marcuse goes further still—the workers are a 'conservative, even counter-revolutionary force.' Having thus dispensed with the working class, these 'new theoreticians of the revolution' are at pains to find other social forces to replace it. The best they can do is to trot out old anarchist and other anti-Marxist arguments. Again we are treated to boundless idealization of the peasantry or exaggerated assessment of the revolutionary potential of the students. Fanon and Marcuse look with hope to the lumpen-proletariat, to all the flotsam of capitalist society.

These new-fangled 'theoreticians' also have in common a contempt for proletarian class organizations, the trade unions among others, and (with the exception of Fanon) inveterate hatred of the Communist parties and the countries where socialism has been made a reality. Negation of the role of the working class political party, making a fetish of spontaneity, extolling violence—this, along with other features, brings them into kinship with the anarchists and makes all their disquisitions about socialist revolution so much empty phraseology.

Woddis has every right to say that 'those who turn their backs on the working class have, in reality, and whatever may be their hopes, turned their backs on their socialist revolution. And those who adopt the anti-communist mantle, even if it bears "Left" colors of the reddest hue, are only weakening the revolutionary movement. No socialist revolution has ever been carried through without the working class or under the banner of anti-communism.'

That conclusion is buttressed by careful examination of the views and arguments of Fanon, Debray and Marcuse—each of whom gets about one-third of the book. Woddis is scrupulous in his facts and figures, always making sure that his evidence is unassailable. Thus, in exposing Marcuse's anti-communist falsifications he gives the

authentic background to the May-June 1968 events in France. Similarly, in exposing Debray's fabrications, he devotes many pages to the rise and growth of the Communist Party of Cuba.

This knowledge and scrupulous treatment of the facts distinguishes the book from the writings of 'new Left' theoreticians. Though they speak with the voice of prophets, they do not take the trouble to adduce reliable evidence in support of their arguments and conclusions. No wonder some of them lapse into the most elementary mistakes, are guilty of distortion and inaccuracy.

Woddis has some biting remarks about their isolation from the revolutionary masses. Of Debray he says that, notwithstanding his misadventures in Bolivia, he 'clearly remains an intellectual outsider of the struggle . . .' That applies to Marcuse too, but not to Fanon, who spent his short life fighting for the liberation of Algeria.

There is no underestimating the harm the 'new Left' ideas can cause by confusing students and other members of the intelligentsia. But it should be noted that the popularity of these 'revolutionaries' is largely due to the efforts of the bourgeois mass media, which give much time and space to discussing their theories, and to the big publishing houses, which are all too ready to put out their books. In this context Woddis asks, in the concluding part of the book: Who is being 'integrated' in the capitalist system, the working class and the Communist parties, always maligned by the reactionaries, or the 'new Left' ideologists?

L. Din

THE LOGIC OF RENEGACY

As far as Communists are concerned, the theoretical controversy with Roger Garaudy ended long ago. His ideological positions were exposed five years ago by the French Communist Party and Marxists in other countries as revisionist and Right-opportunist. And though Garaudy persists in his attacks on Marxism-Leninism and in vilifying socialist reality, his ideological exercises carry very little political weight despite all the publicity they get from anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda.

Nonetheless, his latest book, *The Alternative*,* though it repeats many of his old ideas, should be seen as a milestone in contemporary revisionism, for it clearly shows its objective evolution and new features and methodology. It also brings out the logic of renegacy. The book is supposed to present a total alternative to the scientific theory of society, the socialist system and the anti-monopoly program.

Revisionism has always been at odds with science. Garaudy goes a step further: he wants to convert socialism from a science to a utopia. And central to his theoretical structure is the old Bernstein idea that scientific socialism is impossible. This is 'substantiated' by pleading the authority of . . . Marx! Says Garaudy: 'When Marx speaks of the future society he does not try to apply

*R. Garaudy, *L'alternative*. Editions Robert Laffont, Paris, 1972. 252 pp.

the scientific method. His forecasts proceed either from the Hegelian dialectic of negation of the negation or from the inventions of the utopians.' Not true: in his discussions of the future, Marx always – despite Garaudy – based himself on a scientific analysis of the historical process.

But according to Garaudy, Marx deduced the historic mission of the proletariat and the inevitability of capitalism's replacement by socialism through social revolution from Hegel's negation of the negation which, Garaudy would have us believe, 'is the successor to the Christian dialectic of the crucifixion and the resurrection.' That argument was used a long time ago by such critics of Marx as Duehring (who was answered by Engels), and N. Mikhailovsky. In exposing the latter, Lenin remarked that while borrowing his argument from Duehring, 'Mr. Mikhailovsky says not a word about Duehring. Perhaps, incidentally, he arrived independently at this way of garbling Marx?' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 1, p. 168). Garaudy, too, is silent about Duehring and Mikhailovsky, so that the same question can be put to him. This epigonic method of using old and discredited anti-Marxist arguments is typical of present-day revisionism.

Garaudy camouflages his break with science by talk of 'enriching' Marxism with a Christian additive: 'Marxism,' he writes, 'can really destroy the fetters if it is capable of espousing this Christian, this divine aspect of man.' Of himself Garaudy writes that at heart he is 'a Christian and perhaps has never ceased to be one. . . .' Little surprise, then, that he discusses at some length the legitimacy of faith in – of all things – resurrection. Distorting Marxism on the plea of 'synthesizing' it with religion, is still another revisionist trick.

Garaudy claims to be a revolutionary in search of a new pattern of civilization, a new 'model' of socialism in which there would be no place for the 'dualism of leaders and led.' 'We will have to begin anew,' he says, 'taking up the problems where they were left by men just out of the Neolithic Age.' An attempt to do just that, Garaudy believes, was the 'cultural revolution' in China, the prototype of his own idea of transition from the Neolithic to the utopian. This, presumably, is his alternative to the real problem of our age, the transition from capitalism to socialism. And in this, too, we have a characteristic of latter-day revisionism: revisionists of every hue and stripe are allies in the battle against Marxism-Leninism.

This is not the first time Garaudy attacks the anti-imperialist program collectively elaborated by the Marxists. To it he opposes his celebrated concept of a 'new historic bloc' built on a technico-production, rather than on a socio-class basis. And such a bloc, Garaudy intimates, will dispense with the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The vanguard will be made up of an elite engaged in 'liberatory pedagogics' and not in political class struggle. Nor does Garaudy deny that this 'bloc' concept has no relation to Marxism, but, then, he suggests 'revising the theory of value, surplus value, productive labor and exploitation.'

Garaudy's book is addressed to the youth 'in general,' regardless of class or party affiliation. And here again we have a characteristic of contemporary revisionism: it tries to corrupt the philosophically immature, it conducts its struggle against Marxism-Leninism not only within, but also outside the Communist and workers' movement.

He who sets out to revise Marxism-Leninism inevitably shares the fate of renegades to the working class and socialism, inevitably lands in the camp of reaction and anti-communism. That has always been, and always will be, the fate of renegades, for such is the logic of renegacy.

E. Yorgen

THE PARADOXES OF FALSIFICATION

The political credo of Boris Goldenberg, the author of this bulky volume, *Communism in Latin America*,* is succinctly expressed in his own words: '... the march of history has refuted the prophecies of Marx.' This latter-day refuter of Marxism counts among his kindred spirits such double-dyed anti-Communists as the Sovietologist L. Schapiro, the Trotskyist V. Alba and others, whom he describes as trail-blazers.

Goldenberg uses a very dubious methodology in his attempt to discredit the Latin American Communist Parties. Deliberately, or out of ignorance, he confuses his facts and figures and trots out the old story about 'the hand of Moscow' and 'Comintern intrigue.' There are also similarly false assertions that Latin American Communist parties are 'imported products,' and that their history is, allegedly, an uninterrupted chain of crises. But he goes beyond that to make the astounding discovery that the Latin American Communists are plagued by a 'paradox of failure.' And the paradox is that the Communist parties, 'when they were strong,' missed favorable opportunities for revolution, and now they are not in a position to direct the revolutionary process. The reason, Goldenberg continues, is the 'dogmatism' of the Communists who, he says, try to fit the Latin American reality of today into European theories of yesterday.

This 'paradox' can lay no claim to originality. Both the Right and 'Left' critics of Communism have all along alleged that Latin American Communist parties are 'unpopular' and 'weak.' But let us look at the facts: in 1924 there were only 7,500 Communists in Latin America, 15 years later the figure was 90,000, and in 1967—over 300,000. Today the Latin American Communist parties, the vanguard of the working class, have a membership of half a million.

Such is the irrefutable evidence of Communist Party strength. And Goldenberg's contention that 'the Communist parties are weaker than before,' would be simply ludicrous if it were not part of the primitive formula: 'keep on repeating a lie, some of it is bound to stick.' And the lie is complemented by cynicism. As if unaware of the many victims of anti-Communist terror, Goldenberg maintains

*B. Goldenberg, *Kommunismus in Lateinamerika*. Stuttgart, Verlag Kohlhammer, 1971, 639 pp.

that even in countries where Communist parties are outlawed, they are 'not always really persecuted.' Evidently the terror perpetrated by Stroessner, Medici, Duvalier, Osorio and Somoza is not enough for him.

Latin American Communist parties have travelled a long and difficult road. In the face of fierce repression and despite individual errors and temporary setbacks, they are growing and becoming stronger by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of their countries and enriching it by their day-to-day revolutionary practice. The victory of the Cuban revolution, the Popular Unity government in Chile and fundamental change in a number of other countries are evidence that the Communist movement has become a big and influential political force, something its enemies do not wish to acknowledge.

Goldenberg's book is one more attempt to falsify the history of the Latin American revolutionary movement. K. Kaeselitz

subscribe now...



1 year's subscription (12 issues) for **\$5.00**
(Newsstand value \$6.00)

Students and unemployed, half-price.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Workers' Parties. It features monthly economic, political and revolutionary struggles in capitalist countries; the national liberation and world peace movements; events in the socialist world.

Two year sub \$9.00
Foreign subs, except U.S.A., \$8.50/year

INFORMATION BULLETIN FREE WITH EACH SUBSCRIPTION

Name..... Address.....
City..... Zone..... Prov. or State.....
☐ RENEWAL ☐ NEW READER ☐ STUDENT ☐ UNEMPLOYED
Enclosed find \$..... Add 25 cents with U.S. cheques.

Progress Subscription Service

487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 133, Ontario, Canada



Lenin's Party card

Dear Editor,

I am a recent subscriber to your journal, and have found it greatly to my taste. It contains so many interesting articles. I have learned it will be 15 years old this autumn. So I wish it many more years, and its editors much success.

The Polish press reported on conferences of your readers in our country, and of your editors' meetings with Warsaw's Party activists, social scientists and journalists. Representatives of the Polish edition have also held readers' conferences in some of our cities. This is good to know, for meetings, conferences and the mail help extend our ties with the journal.

I too wanted to write to you, especially since there is an interesting reason – which, I feel, might also be interesting for others. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is now changing the Party cards of its members, and it has been reported that, abiding by tradition, Party card No. 1 was issued in Lenin's name.

Could you tell us more about this tradition?

Sincerely,

Stanislaw NAWROCKI

Zachelmia, woj. Kieleckie, Poland.

The Editors asked **K. Bogdanova**, senior researcher of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU, to answer the letter. Here is what she wrote:

The story of Lenin's Party card reflects the glorious history of the CPSU.

There was no such thing as membership cards until 1917. The Party worked underground, and instead of a card members carried letters of recommendation signed by reliable comrades, a parole, a coded mandate, or a Party name. And their passports were usually counterfeit.

In August 1893, en route from Samara to Petersburg, Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin) contacted local Marxists in Nizhni-Novgorod –

P. Skvortsov, M. Grigoriev and S. Mitskievich. They gave him a letter of recommendation to M. Silvin, a member of the Petersburg Marxist circle, which was soon to become the nucleus of Lenin's League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class (formed in 1895). This is why Lenin gave 1893 as the year of his joining the Party.

After the February 1917 revolution, the Party became legal. Now, it could issue membership cards. Each gubernia committee had its own type of card – its own numbering, color of cover, size, and arrangement. In content, of course, all cards essentially followed the standard established by the Bureau of the Party's Central Committee.

When the Party assumed power, it acquired new experience. On Lenin's suggestion, its Seventh Congress (1918) renamed it the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). The grim years of the civil war and foreign intervention, 1918-1919, saw a rapid growth of membership.

In March 1919 the Eighth Congress decided to hold a general re-registration, with new cards later to be exchanged for the old. The re-registration began in May 1919 and ended in October, and Party cards were exchanged in the beginning of 1920.

Lenin's Party card was issued to him by the Kremlin sub-committee of the Party's Zamoskvoretsky District Committee. (When the Soviet government moved from Petrograd to Moscow in March 1918, Lenin became a member of the Zamoskvoretsky District Party organization, and was registered there until his death).

The new Party card had a red cover. The inside front cover bore the great communist watchword, 'Workers of All Countries, Unite!', and below it, 'The Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks),' card No. – 527, and the surname, name and patronymic – Ulyanov (Lenin) Vladimir Ilyich. On the inside back cover was an excerpt from the Rules on who may be a Party member, on the procedure of admission and expulsion, and the payment of dues.

However, the Party cards issued in 1920 were not standard either.

A standard Party card was not introduced until after the Eighth All-Russia Party Conference, which adopted the first new Party Rules since the October Revolution. And it was not until the end of 1920 that, having re-registered, all members of the Party received the new standard card.

The new card issued to Lenin bore the number 224332. It contained 33 blank pages for entries relating to the member's Party and professional activity. Lenin's own signature may be found on page 11.

Like all other members, Lenin filled in a questionnaire. He put down that he was 50 years old, that he was Russian, and that he knew French, German and English (modestly he added: 'all three poorly,' though it is common knowledge that he knew them well).

Further, following the order of the questions, Lenin wrote: finished a gymnasium; passed university law examinations as external student in 1891; was political emigre in 1895, 1900-1905, 1907-1917

(Switzerland, France, England, Germany, Galicia); in Russia have resided only in the Volga area and the capitals; main profession – *writer*.

Place of work – *Council of People's Commissars*.

Date of joining RCP (B) – *since its foundation and before (1893)*.

Ever called before the Party court, when, for what? – *By the Mensheviks in the RSDLP during splits*.

What papers or evidence have you to show you were active in our underground Party organization? – *History of the Party – document*.

Which works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Kautsky and Plekhanov have you read? – *Nearly all (of the underlined authors)*.

Do you write for newspapers, on what subjects? – *Infrequently, on political subjects*.

Can you compose leaflets, proclamations, have you done so in the past? – *Yes. Too many to list*.

What field of knowledge do you know best, and on what subjects could you lecture or hold classes? – *Mainly on political matters*.

When the new economic policy and peaceful reconstruction were launched in 1921, unstable elements and careerists using the Party card for selfish ends, had to be prevented from infiltrating the Party. The political level of its members had to be raised, Party unity had to be cemented. So the Central Committee ordered a general purge. Admission to the Party was suspended, a Party census was held, and members were issued new cards in 1922.

Questionnaire No. 38 was filled out in Lenin's hand, and on May 6, 1922, the Zamoskvoretsky District Committee gave him card No. 114482, the last in his lifetime.

This is a brief account of the three Party cards of V. I. Lenin, Nos. 527, 224332 and 114482. Like the questionnaires, they have been turned over for safekeeping to the Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU.

Another exchange of Party cards followed the All-Union Party census of 1927. Alexander Mitrofanovich Stopani, a veteran professional revolutionary and Leninist, moved at a sitting of the Bureau of the Zamoskvoretsky District Committee that Party card No. 1 should be issued to Lenin. The Central Committee supported this proposal and issued Party cards numbered one to one hundred to Zamoskvoretsky District.

On March 16, 1927, Party card No. 0000001 was issued in Lenin's name.

And Party card No. 1 has been Lenin's ever since. This was the case during the Party card exchanges in 1936 and 1945. It has become a tradition. Issuing a Party card in Lenin's name is not a mere symbol, and testifies to our Party's unshakeable loyalty to his ever vital revolutionary teaching.

On March 1 the CPSU began changing Party cards. And again Party card No. 1 was issued in Lenin's name. It was signed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and turned over for safekeeping to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

School unions

An item in your journal referred to a trade-union movement of school-pupils in France. Could we have more information on this interesting subject?

V. N. STOROZHUK

Belka Village, Zhitomir Region, USSR.

Reader's question answered by

PAUL COURTIEU, CC member,

French Communist Party, and its representative on WMR.

Early this year there was a terrible disaster in Paris: a fire in a recently-built college* on the Rue Edouard-Pailleron. Most of the 23 dead were children. The tragedy was not entirely unforeseen. Last year Communist municipal councillors asked the prefect to take urgent measures to remove some of the fire hazards. Nothing was done.

Serious defects in national education are an aspect of the present crisis of French society. Shortage of schools (and many of the new buildings are fire-traps like the one on Rue Edouard Pailleron) is only part of the problem. There are not enough teachers. The curricula are hopelessly outdated. Most senior pupils look to graduation day with apprehension—finding a job is not easy. Their misgivings about the future are strengthened by the family atmosphere: the material position of the intermediate and middle strata, to which most senior pupils belong, is steadily deteriorating. Little wonder, then, that senior pupils are showing a growing interest in social and political problems and support democratic and revolutionary change.

These senior pupils, in the 15-19 age group, make up two million in France today. They had an active part in the May and June events of 1968. This taught them to fight for their rights and the need to have their own trade union organization to uphold their interests. That organization is the National Union of Lycee Action Committees (NULAC), open to all senior-class students, irrespective of religion and politics.

The NULAC is the most influential pupils' union with branches in more than 400 lycees and colleges. Its annual conferences elect the National Committee which organizes and coordinates the fight for current demands and for change of educational policy. The union tries to enlist the support of parents and teachers. In all its work it relies on the gains won in 1968: the right to elect delegates to school administrative councils, the right to have elected class leaders, the right to organize and direct extra-curricular centers, the right to advertise and hold meetings on school prem-

*The colleges are elementary schools; the lycees provide a full secondary education.

ises. All these rights are officially listed in the educational reform law enacted by the National Assembly towards the close of 1968.

In March and April this year, NULAC played an outstanding part in organizing a resistance campaign of hundreds of thousands of lycee students to the government's decision to repeal conscription exemptions.

The French Communist Party supports the NULAC. In fact the very rise of the movement was largely due to the work of young Communists. But Party work among the youth is still carried on chiefly by the Young Communist League which has branches in the schools and conducts its independent ideological and political work in the lycees and colleges.



Brief information on Communist and Workers' Parties

SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY (SUPG)

The 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Germany (founded December 30, 1918) and 40th Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SDPG) resolved to merge the two parties in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The unity congress took place April 21-22, 1946, in Berlin.

On December 31, 1972, the Party had 1,902,809 members and 47,612 candidate (probationary) members.

The Party is built on the territorial-industrial principle with over 54 thousand primary, 15 territorial, and 262 town and district organizations.

The superior Party organ is the Party meeting for primary organizations, and conference for territorial, city and regional organizations. The Party's supreme organ is its Congress.

Party meetings or conferences elect the leadership of the respective organizations.

SUPG congresses are convened not less than once every five years and elect the Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission.

The Central Committee elects a Political Bureau for political leadership between plenums, and a Secretariat for current business,

chiefly control over fulfilment of Party decisions, and selection of personnel.

The Central Committee appoints the Central Commission for Party Control.

Basic social composition: workers – 56.6 per cent; cooperative farmers – 5.7 percent; intelligentsia – 17.9 per cent; office workers – 12.8 per cent. In 1972, 79.5 per cent of those admitted as candidates for membership were workers.

Women make up 29.4 per cent of the membership. Almost half of the members are under 40. 24.7 per cent have a higher or secondary technical education.

The Party press:

Neues Deutschland, daily organ of the CC SUPG, founded 1946, circulation one million;

Neue deutsche Bauernzeitung, organ of CC SUPG, founded 1960, circulation 185 thousand;

Einheit, CC SUPG journal on theory and practice of scientific socialism, founded 1946, circulation 210 thousand;

Neuer Weg, CC SUPG organ on Party affairs, founded 1946, circulation 195 thousand;

Total circulation of dailies published by SUPG territorial committees 3.9 million.

CC SUPG theoretical and study centers:

Marxism-Leninism Institute, Institute of Social Sciences, Karl Marx Higher Party School.

127 or 25.4 per cent of deputies in People's Chamber are SUPG members, 722 or 25.4 per cent in territorial councils; 4,463 or 25.9 per cent in local councils and 60,382 or 33.3 per cent in communal bodies.

COMMUNIST PARTY USA

The Communist Party, USA, was founded in September 1919 in Chicago. Its latest national convention took place February 18-21, 1972.

The basic organization of the CP USA is the Party Club – there are shop, industrial and community clubs. There are State Committees which are elected at State Congresses. In large states there may be two District Committees within the state. County Committees comprise the organization of large cities and surrounding area.

The Party's supreme authority is the National Convention. It elects a Central Committee and a National Council.

The CC elects a Political Committee which directs Party activity between plenary meetings of the CC.

Social composition: the majority of Party members are workers, a large number of whom are employed in basic industry. Among Communists in the USA there are many Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos.

The Party publishes a daily newspaper – the *Daily World*. On the West Coast it has a weekly – the *People's World*. It also publishes a monthly journal, *Jewish Affairs*. The Spanish language is the largest and most important of foreign languages in the country. It is related to the 10-12 million Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. The *Daily World* prints a Spanish page weekly.

The November national elections (1972) created the first opportunity in over three decades for the Party to participate in the national campaign. With diverse election laws in each of the 50 states, it was required to collect signatures from large numbers to obtain a place on the ballot within each state separately. Volunteers collecting signatures spoke to an estimated four million people and obtained signatures from over 400,000. While it obtained sufficient signatures in 25 states, it actually won a ballot place in only 13 states due to the obstructive and reactionary electoral system.

In brief

ARGENTINA

The Victorio Codovilla Center for Marxist-Leninist Research, Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina, has arranged lectures on history, sociology, philosophy and political economy, and special courses, Introduction to Scientific Socialism, and the Present Situation in Latin America.

COSTA RICA

Thousands of women met in the Saida theatre in the capital to express their support for Manuel Mora Valverde, General Secretary of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica and presidential candidate of the Socialist Action Movement. The meeting called on women to take an active part in the February 1974 elections.

FRG

A Plenum of the Board of the German Communist Party has decided that as of autumn 1973 the Party weekly, *Unsere Zeit*, will become a daily newspaper for the working people. A fund-raising campaign has been launched in many GCP organizations. The West German Communists hold that the daily *Unsere Zeit* will help increase Party membership.

Student members of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties are included in the new leadership of the German Union of Students. Out of the five members of the Presidium two represent

the Marxist student organization Spartacus. The new leadership pointed out in a statement that joint action by Communists and Social-Democrats in the student and workers' movements is helping to change the political balance of forces in the FRG.

Almost 90 West German student organizations are affiliated with the German Union of Students.

INDIA

The country's first cooperative farm has been established in Ernakulam, Kerala State. The farm has 500 hectares of land, worked by 250 peasant families, which the statutes describe as its 'collective owners.' The Chief Minister of the State, A. Menon, referred to the cooperative as '. . . a sign of the desire for a revolutionary restructuring of India's entire agricultural sector.' If the experiment proves successful, similar farms will appear throughout the State.

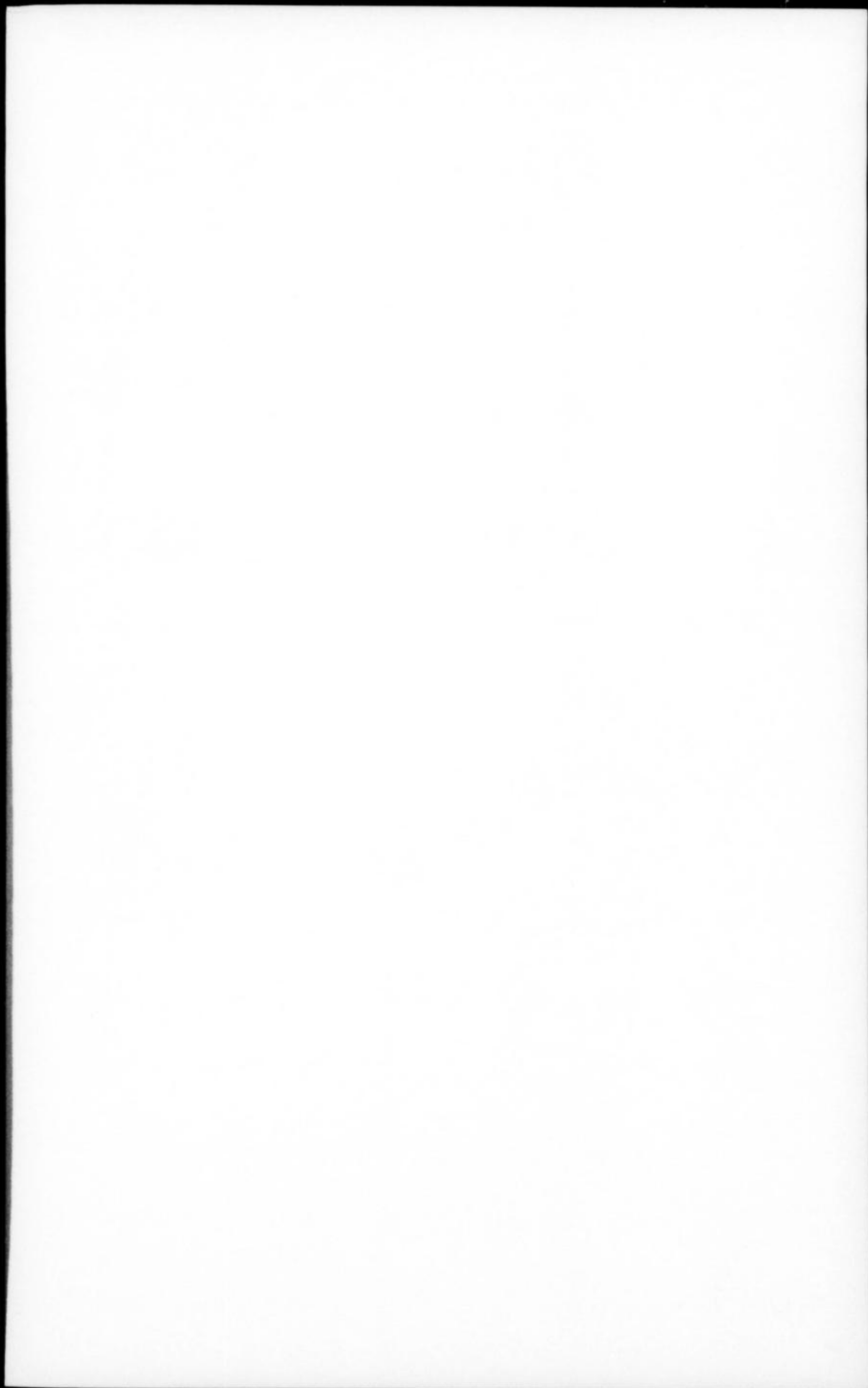
JAPAN

The People's Party of Okinawa has decided to merge with the CP of Japan. Since 1947, when it was founded, it has worked actively for the return of Okinawa to Japan, against American bases on the island, and in the interests of the working people.

USSR

A CC CPSU resolution on the 70th anniversary of the Second RSDLP Congress says that the 'world historical significance of this Congress is that it completed the process of unifying the revolutionary, Marxist organizations and established a party of the Russian working class on Lenin's ideological, political and organizational principles. Thus emerged the proletarian party of the new type, the Bolshevik party, the great Lenin party.'

The anniversary on July 30 will be marked as an important date in the history of the CPSU, the USSR and the entire international Communist and workers' movement.



Editions of the journal

'PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM'

1973

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH

(World Marxist Review):

Central Books Ltd., 37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1, England.

Progress Subscription Service, 487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 2B, Ontario,
Canada.

Imported Publications, 320 W. Ohio St.,
Chicago, Ill. 60610, USA

FRENCH EDITIONS

(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale):

Societe d'Edition et d'Information 9,
Boulevard des Italiens, Paris (2e) France.

Librairie du Monde Entier, 162 Rue du
Midi, Bruxelles (Belgique)

Librairie Rousseau, 36, rue J.-J. Rousseau,
Geneve.

RUSSIAN EDITION: Stredisko pro roz-
sirovani tisku, Praha 6, Thakurova 3,
Czechoslovakia.

BULGARIAN EDITION: 'Ruski' 6, 'Hem-
us', Sofia.

CYPRUS EDITION (in Greek): Laikon
Praktorion, Tricoupi Street, 53 r. Nicosia.

CZECH EDITION: Artia, Praha 2, Nove
Mesto, Ve smeckach 30.

DANISH EDITION: Förlaget Tiden, Dr.
Tvaergade 3, 1302 Kobenhavn K.

GERMAN EDITIONS:

Deutscher Buch-Export und Import
GmbH, Leipzig 701, Leninstrasse 16.

'Globus', Vertrieb ausländischer Zeit-
schriften, Wien XX, Höchstädtplatz 3,
Austria.

Genossenschaft Literaturbetrieb Zürich,
Zürich 4, Feldstrasse 46, Switzerland.

GREEK EDITION: Akadimias 57 (Siné
Opera) 1 etage Athènes 143.

HUNGARIAN EDITION: Kossuth Kiado,
Budapest, V, Steindl u. 6.

ITALIAN EDITION: Libreria Rinascita,
Via delle Botteghe, Oscure 4, Roma.

MONGOLIAN EDITION: Mongolgoskni-
gotorg, ul. Lenina 41, Ulan-Bator.

NORWEGIAN EDITION: Boks 3715, Oslo 1.

POLISH EDITION: P. K. W. Z. 'RUCH',
Warszawa, Wronia 23.

RUMANIAN EDITION: I.C.E. 'Libri', Ca-
lea Victoriei 126, Bucuresti.

EDITIONS IN SPANISH:

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo, Apt. Na-
cional 1253, Bogota, Colombia.

Ediciones Pueblos Unidos, Casilla Cor-
reo 589, Montevideo, Uruguay.

Fondo de Cultura Popular, Apdo. postal
2353, Mexico 1, D.F.

Empresa Editora Austral, Agustina 1101
—Local No. 6, Casilla 13201, Santiago,
Chile.

Editorial 'Anteo,' Entre Rios 1033,
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Ideologia & Politica, Jr. Moquegua 718-
203 Lima, Peru.

Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa,
Praha 6, Thakurova 3.

SWEDISH EDITION: Förlagsaktiebolaget
Internationell Revy, Kungsgatan 84, 112
#27 Stockholm.

VIETNAMESE EDITION: So'ò xuất nhập
khâu, sach bao 32, Hai Ba tru'ng,
Hà-nôi.

