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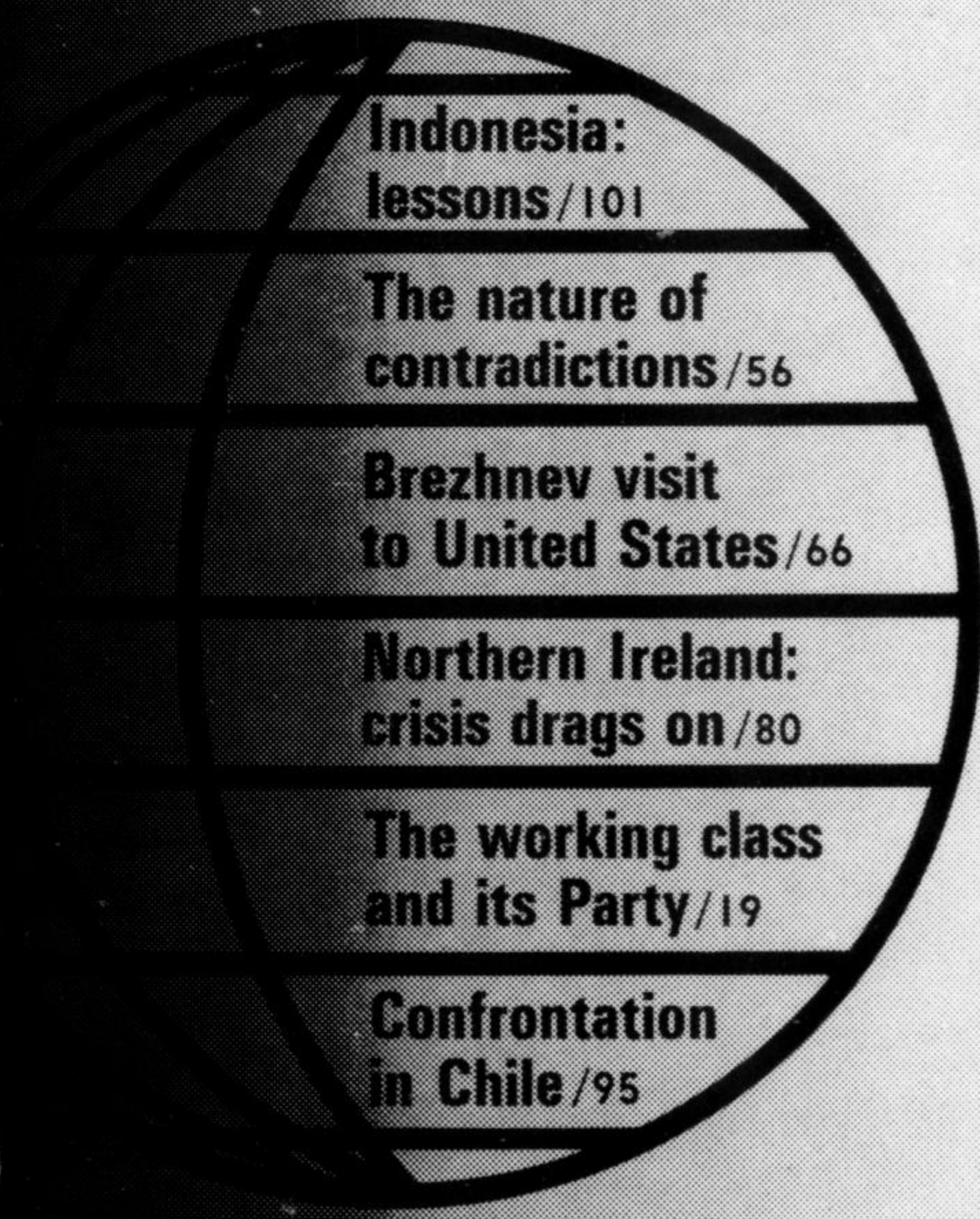
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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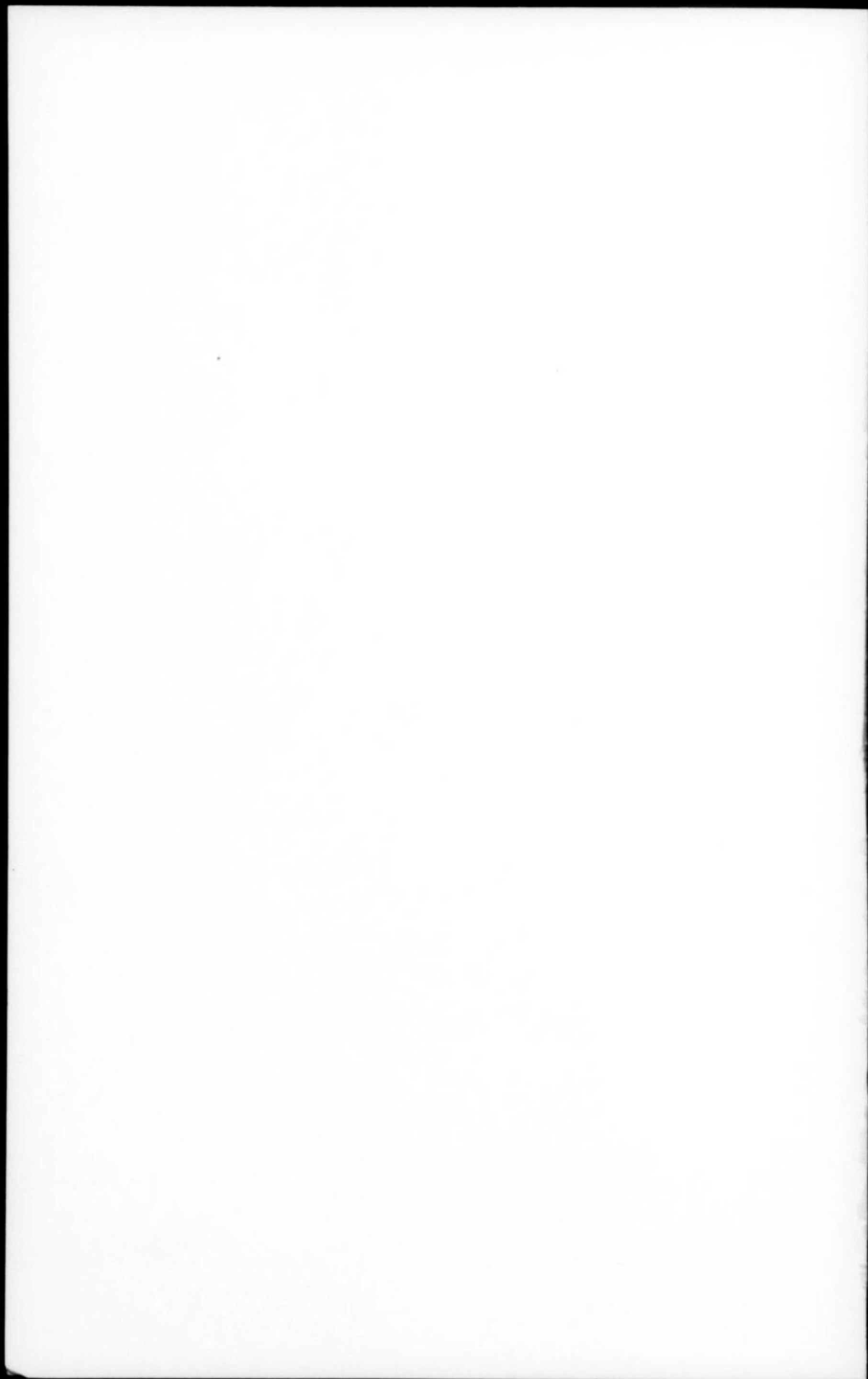
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Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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For peace and socialism

Fifteen years ago, in September 1958, newsstands displayed the first issue of a magazine the name of which contained two words cherished by progressive men and women the world over: Peace and Socialism. No other concepts in the political vocabulary are so interlinked, so consonant with the times, so in keeping with the most cherished aspirations of all people, so fully expressive of Communist revolutionary ideals. For ours is the era of transition from capitalism to socialism, and preservation and consolidation of peace is the key problem of the day.

The world Communist press boasts a noble history and fine revolutionary traditions. From Marx's and Engels' *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, through Lenin's *Iskra* and *Pravda*, to the publications of the Communist International and tens and hundreds of militant periodicals of the fraternal parties—these are the historical landmarks of the Communist press.

Time changes many things and new tasks arise at every new stage in the revolutionary struggle. What never changes is the Communist press' loyalty to the cause of the working class and all toiling people, its unswerving fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The voice of truth, it is a collective propagandist, organizer of the masses and weapon in the revolutionary struggle. This is the mission of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (*World Marxist Review*), theoretical and information magazine of Communist and Workers' parties.

Necessitated by the new needs of the international Communist movement, *Problems of Peace and Socialism* was launched by decision of a conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties held in Prague in March 1958. Its basic tasks and objectives were defined as:

- Propaganda and further elaboration of problems of Marxist-Leninist theory;

- Promoting exchanges of opinion on questions of the international workers' and Communist movement; reporting the activities of Communist and Workers' parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, against the forces of imperialism and manifestations of bourgeois ideology, providing information on the strategy and tactics of fraternal parties;

– Analyzing theoretical problems relating to the transition of different countries to socialism, the experience of combining the general principles of building socialism with the national specifics of individual countries, questions of economic, political and cultural cooperation of socialist countries;

– Fostering proletarian internationalism and promoting the cohesion of all peace-loving, democratic forces.

Problems of Peace and Socialism is committed to:

– Exposing revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the international workers' movement;

– Fighting for joint working-class action and promoting contacts and cooperation between Communist and Social-Democratic parties;

– Elaborating questions of the national-liberation, anti-imperialist movement and the prospects of social and political development of dependent countries and colonies.

The unanimous resolution launching it emphasized that, as a joint publication of Communist and Workers' parties, *Problems of Peace and Socialism* was envisaged not as a decision-making body but as an international forum of the fraternal parties.

Since that first conference representatives of Communist and Workers' parties have met three times in Prague to discuss the work of the journal. Their decisions provide the guidelines for the editorial staff. Set up by Marxist-Leninist parties, *Problems of Peace and Socialism* has grown and advanced together with the world Communist movement, in line with the ideas expressed by international and regional meetings and program documents of the fraternal parties. In all its work the journal relies on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Today, as before, its prime tasks, as defined by the Communist and Workers' parties, are to elaborate and elucidate questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and the main problems raised by the development of the world revolutionary process, and to publicize Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific communism, showing the lasting relevance and all-conquering force of the scientific theory which is the Communists' guide to action. This task is closely linked with an argued, scientifically grounded criticism of bourgeois ideology, reformist and pseudo-revolutionary doctrines, with the consistent exposing of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, Right and 'Left' opportunism.

The international détente and the general improvement of the political climate brought about in decisive measure by the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist states unswervingly implementing Lenin's principles of peaceful coexistence provide a new wide range of topical subject matter. The fraternal parties' experience in working out their strategies and tactics in the new conditions helps show the advantages that the mass revolutionary struggle can derive from the change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism and the easing of international tensions.

The progress of world socialism poses many new theoretical

and practical questions of socialist and communist construction. The documents of congresses of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries and other documents reflect intensive quests of the ways and means of improving the planned organization of social production and raising its effectiveness, combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, improving the forms and methods of participation in the international division of labor, perfecting social relations, and creating the most favorable conditions for the all-round development of the individual. At the stage of developed socialism achieved in the USSR and being built in the other countries of the socialist community, it becomes especially important to give extensive coverage to such problems as socialist economic integration, the interaction of politics and economics, the development of statehood and democracy.

Standing side by side with world socialism on all the main fronts of the great class struggles of the age is the proletariat of the capitalist world. As stressed in fraternal Party documents, imperialism has lost its historical initiative. In its attempts to prolong its existence it strives to adapt to the confrontation between the two systems and the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution. Today's imperialism possesses certain new traits, most notably its increasingly state-monopoly character. To tackle the urgent problems involved in the revolutionary transformation of the world, Communists need Marxist-Leninist analyses of processes of state regulations of the economy, the development of international monopolies, capitalist integration across national frontiers and many other specific features of present-day imperialism and its steadily mounting contradictions. The questions of strategy and tactics of the fraternal parties operating in the citadels of capitalism include combining the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism, strengthening working-class unity, and bringing together all anti-monopoly democratic forces.

Many new questions are posed by the revolutionary changes taking place in Asia, Africa and Latin America, by the national-liberation movement, which is becoming increasingly anti-capitalist in content. Analyses of this new stage in the development of many former colonies and semi-colonies, exposure of neo-colonialism and the repressive policies in some countries, accounts of practical advances along the non-capitalist road, and generalization of the experience of Communist parties and revolutionary-democratic forces are of great theoretical and practical importance.

The tasks posed by the struggle against imperialism, that common enemy of all mankind, make it objectively necessary to seek new opportunities for greater cooperation between the socialist world system, the international working class and the national-liberation movement and to strengthen the anti-imperialist alliance of the three greatest revolutionary forces of our time.

Closer unity of the Communist movement is the key prerequisite for multiplying the contributions Communist and Workers' parties

can make towards resolving the problems concerning all mankind. In recent years the fraternal parties have accumulated new experience of joint action; there have been more bilateral and multilateral contacts and consultations. A searching analysis of this experience can further the Communist movement's cohesion.

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties who decided fifteen years ago to start publishing *Problems of Peace and Socialism* also invited all fraternal parties to join the magazine's founders as equals or participate in its making and publication in any other suitable way, and there has been good response to that invitation.

Twenty parties were present at the birth of the journal. Today its Editorial Council includes representatives of 45 parties, and 30 more are regular contributors. Thus, more than 70 parties take an active part in putting out *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. It is thanks to the help of these parties' Central Committees that the journal can cope with its tasks. For 15 years the international editorial staff has been enjoying the hospitality of its Czechoslovak friends.

The facts and figures cited at the end of this issue trace the road travelled by the journal in this decade and a half to assert itself as a genuinely international publication. At its inception there were 22 national editions of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and it was circulated in 19 languages in 80 countries. Today there are 39 national editions, it is read in 142 countries in 26 languages, and its aggregate circulation is around 450,000 copies.

The address, THAKUROVA 3, PRAGUE 6, is well known to Communists and their friends in all parts of the globe. At congresses and Central Committee meetings of fraternal parties and in statements of their leaders, it has been repeatedly noted that *Problems of Peace and Socialism* offers a permanent meeting ground for representatives of fraternal parties, providing them with an opportunity to exchange views and opinions and to engage in joint theoretical and ideological work.

The journal regularly sponsors theoretical conferences, symposiums and research groups which provide a forum for collective Marxist thought where creative debate makes it possible to compare different points of view and work out a consensus concerning various problems. 'No movement, including the working-class movement,' Lenin teaches us, 'is possible without debates, controversy and conflict of opinions' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 492). The journal has sponsored more than 70 collective theoretical discussions in Prague and many other cities all over the world.

Fraternal parties operating in different conditions, at different stages in the revolutionary struggle, possess invaluable theoretical, political and organizational experience. The experience of each Party is the common asset of the whole Communist movement. In their efforts to broaden the exchange of this experience on the pages of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and to internationalize it as far as possible, the editors are guided by Lenin's words that

the lessons of today's struggle will be useful tomorrow, in another place.

Other important aspects of the fraternal parties' theoretical and ideological work are: showing the relevance of the fundamental works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, studying the history of the international Communist movement and carrying forward its heroic traditions. *Problems of Peace and Socialism* has given extensive coverage to the 50th anniversary of the Comintern and the Paris Commune centenary, the 100th birth anniversary of V. I. Lenin and the 150th birth anniversaries of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the 50th anniversary of the USSR and the half-century anniversaries of many parties.

The work of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council is based on collectivism. In their approach to all questions they are guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, fraternal solidarity and mutual support.

The representatives of parties on the journal attend Party congresses and conferences and scientific symposiums, they travel to different countries to prepare material for publication and meet the journal's readers. Leaders of the fraternal parties frequently visit the editorial offices and address meetings of the Editorial Council.

The journal regularly publishes analytical articles by the General Secretaries and other leading functionaries of fraternal parties. Its authors include veterans of the Communist and labor movement and prominent public figures, statesmen, scientists and journalists, and its pages are not restricted to Communists alone. In accordance with Communist Party policy, the journal advocates the cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces, extends its hand to all the revolutionary detachments of our time and invites them to take part in joint actions.

Fifteen years – 180 issues. They are testimony to the viability of the world Communist press and the contributions to its traditions. Every issue is the fruit of the joint work, the joint efforts of Communist and Workers' parties, which is added proof of our movement's growing unity.

The heightened 'interest' in *Problems of Peace and Socialism* on the part of people on the other side of the class barricade is not accidental. Many of its articles have triggered virulent attacks in the bourgeois press. There are countries where people are jailed for distributing, reading or just possessing the journal.

The subject matter appearing in *Problems of Peace and Socialism* originates at the front lines of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism that run across all continents. This impregnates every issue of the collective journal of fraternal parties with the spirit of the time, the march of history working for communism.

As they mark the 15th anniversary of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, the Editorial Board, Editorial Council and the international collective fully realize that there is still much to be done to fulfil Lenin's behest 'to write the history of the present day, and

to try to write in such a way that our chronicles will give the greatest possible help to the direct participants in the movement and to the heroic proletarians there, on the scene of action—to write it in such a way as to promote the spread of the movement, the conscious selection of means, ways, and methods of struggle. . . .’ (Coll. Works, Vol. 8, p. 104).



Revolutionary experience, weapon of the working class

TODOR ZHIVKOV, First Secretary Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman, State Council People's Republic of Bulgaria, answers questions put by **World Marxist Review**.

As leader of a ruling Party you naturally concentrate on socialist construction. We want to ask you to go back to the problems of socialist revolution. A Party in power is, evidently, the best judge of its decisions and policy statements in the fight for power, in preparing for the crucial battles, in consolidating the workers' victory and in launching out on the building of the new society. With all that in mind, and in connection with the 50th anniversary of the September 1923 anti-fascist rising in Bulgaria — which at the time riveted the attention of Communists throughout the world and the lessons of which were profoundly analyzed by the BCP and the Comintern — we would like to put several questions, convinced that the answers will be of great interest to our readers. For the revolutionary experience of every contingent of the world Communist movement belongs to the entire movement. It is a potent weapon of the working class.

Zhivkov: First of all I want to thank the Editors of *World Marxist Review* for this opportunity to address its readers.

Consistent internationalist policy requires that every Communist Party take careful account of two objective tendencies: first, the tendency towards accelerated internationalization of liberating revolutionary processes, and second, the vast difference in the concrete-historical conditions of the class struggle in the various countries.

Accordingly, the Marxist-Leninist parties must pool their efforts

creatively to develop our revolutionary theory, share their revolutionary experience and collectively assess crucial, turning-point events in the world and in the international Communist movement. They must combat every attempt to contrast its national to its international experience. And exchange of experience is especially important in relation to historic events that exert a decisive influence on the development of the Communist parties, their Marxist-Leninist maturity, the forms and methods of class struggle.

The September 1923 workers' and peasants' rising in Bulgaria, the world's first Communist-organized anti-fascist rising, was such a historic event.

Question: Our first question concerns the party of the new type. It is no chance accident that the early years of the century saw the rise of such parties, beginning with Lenin's Bolshevik organization, which dates back to 1903. This was the proletariat's inevitable reaction to the conditions of class struggle in the age of imperialism. In analyzing the causes of the September defeat, Georgi Dimitrov emphasized that the Bulgarian Communist Party had not yet become a Party of the new type. What were the Party's mistakes before the September rising and what new elements did the Party introduce in preparing and carrying through the rising?

Answer: The shift from pre-monopoly capitalism to imperialism confronted the international working-class movement with tasks and problems requiring further development of revolutionary Marxist theory and substantial changes in tactics and in the forms and methods of struggle – in short, a radical change in the movement's development and activity. The Bolsheviks were the first and the only ones to give a correct answer to the questions posed by revolutionary practice, and the first to found a revolutionary Marxist party capable of coping with the tasks of the new era. We are now celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Second RSDLP Congress, the birth of the Party of the new Leninist type.

The tragedy of the Second International lay not only, and not so much, in the inability of its leading Parties to cope with the new tasks, but rather in the fact that they had succumbed to revisionism and abandoned revolutionary Marxism. This was due largely to the centrist attitude that opportunism could be tolerated within the proletarian party, to reluctance to purge its ranks of elements alien to the proletarian cause, to making a fetish of 'unity,' the desire at any price to reconcile and unite widely differing trends. And it is no accident that in the early Comintern years, when Communist parties were being formed, the great Lenin wrote that a full and unconditional break with opportunism was an indispensable condition of genuine communism.

Georgi Dimitrov was absolutely right when he pointed out that the Bulgarian revolutionary Social-Democratic Party founded by Dimitr Blagoyev, the Tesniaki Socialists, was very close to the Bolshevik Party. What distinguished it from the Second International parties was its fidelity to the ideas and principles of

Marxism, devotion to the working class and irreconcilable hostility to the bourgeoisie, unalterable adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism and consistent struggle against bourgeois nationalism, social-chauvinism, opportunism and revisionism. The Tesniaki upheld the Marxist theory of revolution and its core, proletarian dictatorship, in battle against internal and international revisionism.

The Bulgarian revolutionary Marxist party carried the fight against opportunism to its logical conclusion. In 1903 it expelled the revisionists, the Bulgarian Bernsteinians. Defying the Second International leadership, it upheld its right to be an independent revolutionary proletarian party and refused to allow the expelled opportunists to rejoin its ranks. In 1906 and 1908 it purged itself also of opportunist groups, anarcho-liberals and 'progressists.'

The revolutionary spirit of the Tesniaki Socialists found its fullest expression during the first world imperialist war. Together with the Bolsheviks and other Left trends in the international workers' movement, they took a clear-cut internationalist stand, fought social-chauvinism and worked for a new, revolutionary International. They enthusiastically welcomed the Great October Socialist Revolution and became ardent defenders of the world's first proletarian fatherland.

Of course, our Party was not without its shortcomings – that is why we say it was not really a party of the new type. And these shortcomings made themselves felt at the end of the world imperialist war and in the postwar revolutionary crisis, when the abolition of capitalism had become a practical task in Bulgaria. But the Tesniaki had not mastered Lenin's theory of imperialism and socialist revolution. They persisted in the belief that proletarian revolution was something realistic only for the working class of developed capitalist countries. This prevented them from detecting the 'subterranean tremors' of the maturing revolution in their own country and properly prepare its working class. The result was the Party's rather passive attitude during the 1918 army mutiny when, under the influence of the revolution in Russia and Tesniaki propaganda, the soldiers tried to turn the imperialist war into civil war and overthrow the ruling bourgeoisie and the monarchy.

The agrarian question was the Achilles heel of Tesniaki socialism. Before the October Revolution they did not appreciate – did not really understand – the decisive role of the worker-peasant alliance for the triumph of the socialist revolution in an agrarian country. And there were also elements of dogmatism in the Party's theory and practice. It lacked the tactical flexibility that was part of Bolshevism and without which no revolutionary struggle could hope for success. Of course, the Tesniaki were right in their tactics of irreconcilable class struggle, but they were wrong in rejecting, as a matter of principle, all compromise. All this prevented the Party from becoming the hegemon in the fight against reaction and capitalism.

The Bulgarian Communists gradually overcame these shortcom-

ings after the October Revolution under the influence of Lenin's ideas and the revolutionary struggle of the Bulgarian and international proletariat.

In May 1919, the Tesniaki Socialist party was renamed the Communist Party. It adopted an essentially new program and confidently embarked on the Leninist road. The postwar revolutionary crisis was a period of theoretical rearmament for the Bulgarian Communist Party. It mastered Lenin's teaching on socialist revolution and began to reorganize its work accordingly. Of particular importance in this respect was the theory of the worker-peasant alliance. The Party correctly assessed the importance of the Leninist united front policy and the slogan of worker-peasant government advanced by the Comintern and sought creatively to apply both.

But conversion into a party of the new, Leninist type was a difficult and complex process. For besides mastering Leninism there had to be ability and experience in creatively applying it as a guide to action in Bulgarian conditions. The Party still lacked such experience and was therefore not always able to formulate the necessary tactical slogans. For instance, it did not take a correct attitude towards the petty-bourgeois Bulgarian Popular Agrarian Union, which enjoyed much influence among laboring peasants but which the Party treated as a tool of the rural bourgeoisie. It could have joined forces with it against the reactionary bourgeoisie. The absence of such cooperation played into the hands of the reactionaries, and on June 9, 1923 they staged a military-fascist coup. The Agrarian Union government was overthrown. At this critical moment, with mass struggles developing in a number of areas, the BCP Central Committee declared that the Communists would have no part in the fight between the urban and rural bourgeoisie.

The advent to power of fascism made things extremely difficult for our Party. The new, reactionary government, anxious to camouflage its fascist image, posed as a democratic government, a champion of law and order against peasant anarchy. It was anxious, also, to maintain the division between the workers and peasants, the Communists and the Agrarian Union. Its policy was piecemeal destruction of the popular forces, and to this end it persecuted the Agrarian Union and did not touch the Communists, but a vicious anti-Communist campaign began the day after the Agrarian Union was crushed.

The Comintern helped our Party understand the mistakes it had made in the June 9 events. The Communists became the organizers of popular resistance to fascism, the leaders of the world's first anti-fascist rising, in September 1923.

We in Bulgaria regard that rising as a turning point in the Bolshevization of our Party. And for the following two reasons.

First, the Party acted as the supreme form of proletarian organization, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. The September rising was the first instance of our Party preparing and leading an armed rising, the first attempt to apply the new, Leninist ideological weapon and Bolshevik experience, assimilated after the October Revolution, to revolutionary practice.

Second, the BCP showed that it was the leader of the broad masses, of all the country's democratic and anti-fascist forces. Correctly assessing the objective conditions, the mood and combat readiness of the masses, it set the immediate goal of capturing power through revolution and setting up a democratic worker-peasant government. Our Party approached the Agrarian Union, the Social-Democratic Party and other labor organizations for a united front against reaction. The offer was accepted by the Agrarian Union, with which we concluded an agreement for joint action. The worker and peasant alliance was the greatest gain of September 1923. It was sealed by the blood shed by the workers and peasants in common struggle.

The September rising taught our Party much. The most important lesson for the Bulgarian working class was that the decisive condition of victory was the existence of a party of the new Leninist type. Our experience proved anew that the working-class party can lead the masses only if it has itself mastered Marxism-Leninism and creatively applies and develops Leninism in the concrete conditions of a given country, with all its nationally specific features, traditions and experience of the workers' movement. The Party can successfully carry on the fight if it has in its ranks the most conscious, active and dedicated representatives of the class and if it is itself a militant, closely knit and disciplined organization. We learned and will never forget, that alone, the vanguard of the class cannot carry the revolution to victory. To do that it must be in the closest contact with the masses, win them over to its side, make them see the need for revolution. A Communist Party that has not learned how to use all forms of the class struggle – legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful – and how to change them to meet the changing situation, is doomed to limp in the wake of events. In those heroic and difficult days, the Bulgarian Communists were keenly aware of the meaning of international solidarity.

And so, the history of our Party has reaffirmed that all the features of the party of the new type, scientifically substantiated by Lenin, are essential – I would even say objectively indispensable – for victory.

Question: You have discussed the positive aspects of the 1923 events. The September rising was the first popular anti-fascist rising, and the Party drew the necessary lessons, reorganized its work and forged ahead. But ordeal by defeat is one of the most difficult ordeals a revolutionary party can experience. It can undermine the moral strength of the proletariat, lead to the loss of Party cadres. What, in your opinion, determines a Party's ability to overcome the consequences of defeat and continue the revolutionary struggle?

Answer: It is very important for a Party to draw the necessary conclusions from temporary defeats, with their heavy casualties, disorganization of the Party ranks and loss of valuable cadres. The

conclusions drawn from defeat can help to overcome defects in Party strategy and tactics, keep the Party loyal to its ideals, preserve its cadres and marshal all its forces for new battles. But there can also be conclusions of a capitulationist character that go against the Party's revolutionary spirit and unity and do immense damage to the liberation struggle.

One might recall the controversy between Plekhanov and Lenin, the differences between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in assessing the December 1905 armed rising in Russia. Plekhanov maintained that the Russian proletariat should not have taken up arms. To this capitulationist view Lenin opposed his own view, that the proletariat should have been even more energetic and resolute in the armed struggle. That conclusion proved of immense value for the future.

In the sharp and irreconcilable struggle against the opportunists, our Party leadership, as represented by Vasil Kolarov and Georgi Dimitrov, made a profound and self-critical analysis of the defeat. This was fully in keeping with Lenin's teachings. The leadership worked on the premise that the Party must uphold its revolutionary character, aims and ideals, not fall into despondency, preserve its cadres and ties with the masses and never lose faith in victory in the future. That was the tenor of the Open Letter Kolarov and Dimitrov addressed to the workers and peasants of Bulgaria on October 27, 1923. They wrote: 'Let us hold our heads high. . . . Defeat teaches us how to win! Despite everything, worker-peasant government will be established in Bulgaria!'

The Communist Party must be able to organize the masses for offensive operations, but also for withdrawal of the revolutionary forces at times of temporary reverses and low tide of the revolution – it must master the Leninist tactic of orderly retreat.

In the period of temporary and partial stabilization of capitalism, the BCP followed the Lenin policy of accumulating forces, combining legal with illegal work, illegal forms of struggle with legal. The Party and YCL were reorganized for illegal work, but at the same time we built such legal class organizations as independent trade unions, the Workers' Party and the Young Workers' League. We also started a legal Party press, an important weapon in the battle for the masses and a means of closer contact with them. We used the bourgeois parliament for revolutionary agitation and propaganda. And I can definitely say that our Revolutionary experience fully confirms Lenin's proposition that a party driven into clandestinity must have the ability and flexibility to utilize all available legal facilities, perseveringly and persistently working in all mass organizations.

Coming to grips with Right opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism, the Party remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the working class. The sacrifices were not in vain. The September 1923 uprising was the 'Bulgarian 1905,' a rich source of positive and negative experience, which helped the Party in forging the nation's historic victory of September 9, 1944.

Question: Our next question concerns a fundamental strategic problem. Your battle against fascism and the monarchy confirmed the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the working class must work with the other laboring classes and democratic groups in a progressive united front. The Bulgarian Communist Party's success in welding the worker-peasant alliance (as we know, Georgi Dimitrov set this most important task on the basis of the lessons of the uprising) paid off during the subsequent struggle for power, and particularly in the partisan war under the Fatherland Front banner, and also at other times. The need for the worker-peasant alliance was also confirmed in the period of socialist construction. Suffice it to recall that Bulgaria was second only to the Soviet Union in converting to cooperative farming. Another proof is the Communist Party's present cooperation with the Agrarian Union. Could you amplify on the worker-peasant alliance in the light of your Party's experience, on the forms and methods of work among farmers and the ways of integrating them in the revolutionary struggle and, subsequently, in socialist reconstruction?

Answer: The Bulgarian CP adopted the Leninist teaching on the workers' alliance with the peasants under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia. It based its program papers on the revolutionary strategy of the Soviet Communist Party, and framed its new agrarian policy accordingly. The September uprising contributed decisively to our anything-but-easy passage to a concrete and creative approach from its mere acknowledgement in principle.

As a result, we worked out a new approach to the Agrarian Union, to its democratic program and the reform policy of the independent Agrarian Union government, cut short by the fascist military coup. We set our sights on long-term strategic as well as tactical united action with the Agrarian Union, and framed the program for a worker-peasant government to replace the military-fascist regime set up after the June coup.

The September uprising, Dimitrov pointed out, had helped forge the anti-fascist unity of the people. It cemented the militant alliance of the workers and peasants – the foundation of that unity. This is why the defeat of the uprising did not yield a lasting victory to the fascists.

Following the collapse of the uprising, the Party's policy was to defend and project the September course of fortifying the worker-peasant alliance and uniting the democratic and progressive forces. The objective of a popular front (set in the wake of the historic resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International) furnished a still more definite perspective. Responding to the new national and international conditions of the 30s, the Party brought its democratic platform up to date, complementing it with new, broader demands. This widened the social foundation of the anti-fascist united front. And during the Second World War, the Party amplified on the popular front tactics, with its Fatherland Front program acting as a powerful factor of anti-fascist unity. The

worker-peasant alliance was the backbone of the Fatherland Front and the class mainspring of the socialist revolution of September 9, 1944, which triumphed with the decisive aid of the liberating Soviet Army.

A glance at our Party's history, strategy and tactics will show that our approach to the various rural social groups was always a class approach. The Party struck deep root in the village during the underground struggle, gained strong influence among the farmers and built up a far-flung network of rural Party and YCL branches. It was the main political party not only for the workers, but also for the peasant poor. Communist ideas and the inspiring example of the Soviet collective farm system caught on. Combating the rural bourgeoisie, we gained ever greater support among the poor and forged diverse forms of alliance with the middle peasants. We used cooperatives as a lawful battlefield against the predatory economic policy of the fascist state, and also as a vehicle for political work among the rural population. Cooperatives, reading-rooms and similar organizations helped very effectively in shaping and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. Also immensely useful was the political cooperation and united action with the Left elements in the Agrarian Union who had comprehended the fallacy of independent peasant power. They joined us in building a broad anti-fascist and anti-capitalist front under the Party's leadership, and fought by our side for worker-peasant power.

The revolutionary impact of the worker-peasant alliance was also felt when we were building socialism, which swiftly transformed backward agrarian Bulgaria into a modern industrial-agrarian state.

The basic stages passed by our socialist society were also stages of development and consolidation for the worker-peasant alliance. During the passage from capitalism to socialism it was an alliance of two different classes. Its aim was to build socialism as an integral social system, eliminate the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man, perform a cultural revolution, and raise the standard of living. Cooperating closely with the Agrarian Union, the Party centered its economic policy and its varied organizational and ideological work on winning the peasants for socialist forms of farming. It did its utmost to promote the growth and consolidation of farming cooperatives, which, with truly Leninist insight, were defined as the most suitable form for reconstructing the country's agriculture along socialist lines; the land was not directly nationalized, and was left in the possession of the working peasants.

Taking Lenin's ideas of cooperation as the theoretical basis and acting on the Soviet experience of collective farm development (a classical example of converting small-scale farming into large-scale socialist agriculture), but also complying with Bulgaria's historical and national features, the Communist Party placed agriculture on socialist rails, which, as we know, is the most complicated and crucial task of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The passage to large-scale socialized farming and the rapid

socialist industrialization saw masses of former peasants joining the working class. Those who remained on the land formed the new class of cooperative farmers. The cooperative system of farming put the worker-peasant alliance on a new foundation and became a key factor in the country's socialist growth. The identity of the workers' and cooperative peasants' economic, social and political interests became the determining factor of the relationship between these two friendly classes.

In the present period of building developed socialist society the socio-political and ideological unity of the people continues to be a central issue in the policy and activity of the Communist Party and our People's Democracy. Now, it is of crucial importance to eliminate the class distinctions between industrial workers and cooperative farmers by approximating state and cooperative socialist property, and the working conditions and earning forms in industrial and agricultural enterprises.

The further development of agriculture gives rise to new complicated and varied problems, some of them directly related to continued consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance.

Following the latest consolidation of our agricultural cooperatives, the constitution of agrarian-industrial complexes, comprehensive mechanization, and the like, we entered on a new stage in socialist agriculture, with farming gradually turning into a variety of industrial labor.

The worker-peasant alliance also continues to develop politically. The leading role of the working class and the Communist Party is ever stronger. The alliance is cemented by the larger participation of the Agrarian Union in the country's administration and in extending socialist democracy.

Question: Our last question concerns the working class party's revolutionary preparedness. Could you by virtue of the experience of the BCP, and your own as a veteran of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, tell us what is meant by a party's preparedness to start a revolution and establish working-class power? What is the essence and the criteria of preparedness? How is it achieved?

Answer: How mature the Communist Party is in terms of theory is the prime and decisive measure of its revolutionary preparedness. This is borne out by many facts. Lenin's teaching on the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the imperialist epoch, for example, was the foundation for the strategy and tactics, and thus for the revolutionary preparedness, of the Bolsheviks in both the first (1905-1907) and second (February 1917) revolutions in Russia. And his teaching on socialist revolution was the basis for the revolutionary preparedness of the Russian workers and peasants in the subsequent period, showing the way to victory in the 1917 October Revolution.

A generalization of the revolutionary experience of many centuries, and first and foremost of the epoch of proletarian revolutions, of the passage from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, the Marxist-Leninist teaching helps the working-class party

to find its bearings in any situation, no matter how complicated, and to pick the right course of revolutionary action, no matter how swift the change of conditions may be. A clear historical perspective, accurate knowledge of the immediate and future tasks, realistic appraisal of the relation of class and political forces, of the factors of the revolutionary process, and precise choice of the course of action by the workers' revolutionary vanguard—these are the decisive conditions for revolutionary theory to develop into a guide to action, to seize hold of the masses and become a material force.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has been legal and illegal at different times, has organized risings and parliamentary campaigns, has produced maximum programs and democratic platforms, has suffered smashing attacks and come back fighting, its men faced firing squads and went to the gallows, and were replaced by others. The Bulgarian Communists were active under fascism, and under bourgeois democratic regimes. They passed decisions on immediate action both in a revolutionary situation, but also at low tides in the movement. As a result, the Party gathered experience grain by grain and acquired revolutionary preparedness for action in all possible conditions.

The Party has suffered setbacks that were due to its falling behind the revolutionary events, but also due to premature action. It did not succeed in assuming leadership over the rebelling soldiers in September 1918 and failed to transform the imperialist into a civil war. And on June 9, 1923, when a fascist coup overthrew the Agrarian Union government and a rising erupted in which members of the BCP and Agrarian Union acted hand in hand, the Central Committee took a neutral stand. At the time of the 1929-1933 economic crisis, on the other hand, the Central Committee fell prey to the revolutionary impatience of the petty bourgeoisie, and, expecting a new tide of world revolution, set the aim of immediately establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a result, the Party was politically isolated, so that on May 19, 1934, following a military coup, the masses would not react to its appeals for revolutionary action. All that time the BCP assimilated the theoretical, strategic and tactical equipment of Leninism, though the development of a party of the new, Leninist type, had not yet run its course.

Whether or not to take action, whether or not to use a specific form of struggle, frequently depends not on just the internal economic, social and political situation, but also on the state of the world revolutionary process. There was no revolutionary situation in our country following Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. More, the monarcho-fascist regime was Germany's ally and retained its state machinery and repressive apparatus. But in spite of this the Communist Party set the sights on armed struggle. It knew that casualties were unavoidable, but in the name of its internationalist duty of defending the world's first socialist state, confident in victory, organized a strong resistance movement—one of the main reasons why the Bulgarian fascist

government would not risk sending any armed forces to the Eastern Front.

The BCP made a thorough analysis of the political forces. Prior to the fascist coup of June 9, 1923, its relations with the Agrarian Union had been strained, frequently even hostile. But in the wake of the coup, priming for the September uprising, the Party displayed its readiness to form a united front with the Left elements of the Agrarian Union. And in the 30s, when working for a popular front, it was prepared to join action with 'Zveno,' a political group that participated in the May 19, 1934 coup d'état and subsequently turned against the monarchy. This made a tremendous impact on the ideological and political evolution of the Agrarian Union and the Zveno group.

In 1942, acting on recommendations of the Communist International, we issued the Fatherland Front program to rally all the democratic forces. Authored by Georgi Dimitrov, this democratic plan won over a part of the bourgeois opposition, however inconsistent its behavior. And in 1943-44 the growth of the revolutionary process was so great, and the balance of forces was changed so drastically by the Soviet military gains, that the September 9, 1944 rising opened up new vistas. The Party proved its revolutionary preparedness by instantly altering the political line, setting new democratic and social tasks, and repulsing the ultra-Left idea of an exclusively Communist seizure of power. People's Democracy, a new form of proletarian dictatorship, came into being, shaping new relations between the working class and the other social groups, and between the Communist Party and the other political forces.

The Communist Party also requires revolutionary preparedness when building socialism. It plays the leading role in rebuilding capitalist into socialist society, creating the material and technical base, the social structure and the spiritual culture of socialism. This is why red tape, conservatism, naked pragmatism and adventurism, and all other departures from the Leninist principles and methods of action and leadership, are likely to paralyze the revolutionary activity of the Communist Party, isolate it from the masses, and retard the development of society. The BCP has never failed to follow the basic objective laws of building socialist society. Yet its determination and willingness to find and apply the most suitable forms, methods, means and rates of socialist construction have always been a conspicuous factor in all its program documents.

A working-class party's revolutionary preparedness reflects its theoretical maturity, ideological firmness, and ability to change forms, means and methods of the revolutionary struggle at a moment's notice. Its revolutionary preparedness reflects the merits, the material and spiritual strength of the working class, and its potential of revolutionary action. We have learned from experience that a working-class party's revolutionary preparedness is highly significant for the implementation of its decisions and programs. It reflects the ability to link up revolutionary theory with communist revolutionary practice.

The working class and its party in contemporary socialist society

That was the subject of a theoretical conference in Warsaw organized by this journal jointly with the Higher Social Sciences School of the Polish United Workers' Party and the latter's theoretical journal **Nowe Drogi**. It was attended by Party delegations from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the USSR and by representatives of the two journals mentioned above, the PUWP Higher Social Science School and other Polish research centers.

The Marxist-Leninist teaching on the proletariat's historic liberating mission finds ample confirmation today in the leading role of the working class in the world revolutionary process, *F. Szlachcic*, Political Bureau Member and Secretary, CC PUWP, said in his opening remarks. The Communist and Workers parties organize and lead the working class in its advance to socialism and communism. This year we are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Second RSDLP Congress, at which a party of the new type was formed, the inseparable vanguard of the working class, the embodiment of its revolutionary consciousness. Strengthening the leading position of the working class and the leading role of the Party is essential to the building of socialism and its development, and to the fight against revisionism and diverse forms of anti-communism, chauvinism and nationalism.

The socialist community and its mainstay, the Soviet Union, are the decisive factor in the historic process of transforming the world. By opening new paths, we Communists in the socialist countries serve our peoples and the international working class. This imposes a special responsibility on us. We want to discharge our mission to the best of our ability and strengthen unity and fraternal cooperation in every field of endeavor. The PUWP devotes special attention to promoting closer unity with fraternal parties, with the Party of Lenin, which has the richest experience in building socialism and communism.

The program for Poland's continued socialist development adopted by the Sixth PUWP Congress is attuned to the requirements of our working class and people: a program for the masses and implemented by the masses. Exchange of experience with fraternal parties will help us strengthen and further develop socialism in Poland.

The Communist movement is now entering an era of new and momentous achievements. Initiated by the Soviet Union and supported by the Parties in all our countries, the peace offensive is gaining strength and scope. The pace has been quickened of our countries' social, economic, scientifico-technical and cultural devel-

opment. The Communist parties play a bigger role also in capitalist and developing countries. Our movement is in the lead of the revolutionary struggle for a new world. This is a time when the development and enrichment of our revolutionary theory acquires special importance.

THE WORKING CLASS TODAY

The most numerous and progressive class

To understand how and why the historic role of the working class in society has changed, we must carefully examine how the working class itself is changing.

K. F. Katushev, Secretary, CC CPSU, noted that the profound changes in social structure, the process of convergence of all classes and social groups, the Soviet people's singleness of purpose, all tend to strengthen, not weaken, the leading role of the working class. Representing today 60 per cent (together with families) of the country's population, the Soviet working class is the most numerous class of our time. The five-year plans have increased the number of workers in the USSR nearly ninefold, to 68 million. In the early stages of socialist construction, the growth of the working class was due mainly to expansion of heavy industry. Today, there are large contingents of workers in practically every branch of the economy: they make up more than one-third of total employment in agriculture, more than 70 per cent in trade, public catering and the service industry.

The working class was and remains the main productive force of society, Comrade Katushev continued, but the whole of society shares in solving the cardinal problem of uniting the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. The scientific-technical intelligentsia is making an immense contribution, but, obviously, success depends to a very great degree on the effort and talent of the workers, their skills, ability and initiative in translating scientific ideas into production techniques. And our working class is fully prepared to accomplish this momentous task. Suffice to cite these figures: the number of workers with full or incomplete secondary education rose from 8.4 per cent in 1939 to 64 per cent in 1972. The technological revolution makes ever new demands on industrial skills, so that some professions disappear and others, more sophisticated, emerge. Nor is the Party oblivious to the fact that even now a considerable part of our workers are engaged in low-productive physical labor. The problem is being solved through comprehensive mechanization and automation.

Today's Soviet worker differs not only from his pre-revolutionary counterpart, but also from the worker of the early five-year plans. For he is a man of versatile knowledge, broad cultural vision and with a conscientious and creative approach to his job. He knows that he is master of industry and as such he has a stake in every-

thing that happens in the country. He is politically active, intolerant of lax and irresponsible attitudes, of shortcomings in the running of industry. He is an irreconcilable foe of everything philistine, of all survivals of the past in people's thinking and behavior. The ideals of the Party, of communism, have become the very essence of his world outlook, they govern his conduct, his relations with others, his way of life.

The intensive process of convergence of all classes and social groups, obliteration of class differences, is the key feature of mature socialism. Politically, the dominant feature of this process is the united effort of the Soviet people to further perfect developed socialism and build the material and technical basis of communism. One form of this process is the coming closer together of the working class and collective farmers, based on continued expansion of the material and technical potential of agriculture, convergence of the two forms of public property, constant rise in educational and cultural levels and improvement of rural life.

In mature socialism, the scientific and technological revolution intensifies the process of convergence of the intelligentsia, particularly its technical cadres, with the working class and the collective farmers. This is largely conditioned by the intellectuals' role in production, their working-class background, their ideological and political community with the working class and collective farmers. Some seven million specialists—more than 40 per cent of the total—are directly employed in material production. The big research and industrial complexes, in which research and production units not only exist side by side, but make up an integral whole, tend to accelerate the convergence process.

Another characteristic feature of the present development stage of Soviet socialist society is the emergence and rapid growth of a stratum of worker intellectuals, men and women in charge of sophisticated technology requiring, in some cases, the knowledge of a trained engineer. In fact, there are about 700,000 of these worker-intellectuals with an engineer's or technician's diploma, and the number is rapidly increasing, so that by 1990 it should reach several million. More and more persons will combine high-skilled manual with complex mental work.

Structural changes in Polish society resulting from fundamental socio-economic transformations and socialist industrialization were discussed in the report delivered by A. Werblan, Central Committee Secretary, PUWP. He cited these figures on the growth of the working class and the intellectual professions: in 1970 there were seven million workers in the public sector of the economy, or 66 per cent of its total employment, compared with about 3.5 million (including unemployed), or approximately 25 per cent of the active population, in 1931. In bourgeois Poland workers in big industry were in the minority. In 1971, 82 per cent of all industrial workers were in factories employing more than 500, that is, in modern and rapidly developing industries.

The number of workers with eight-year schooling and secondary

occupational education doubled over the past ten years, and the number of workers with less than eight years' schooling declined from 38 to 20 per cent. Practically all young workers have gone through the eight-year and occupational training school.

Growing cultural standards of industrial workers is one of the most characteristic features of socialism. And the growth is measurable not only in skill and education levels, but also in better living and general conditions and access to culture. Improvement of workers' conditions has progressed much faster, and has been much more profound, than in the case of all other social groups. Furthermore, progress has been attended by a drastic narrowing of social disparities in material and cultural conditions and in status and way of life. We have done away with isolation of the laboring classes and the hardened, ossified social structure. Part of our workers are joining the ranks of the technical intelligentsia or are taking up leading posts in the Party and the State administration.

The alliance of the working class and the intelligentsia – likewise one of the most rapidly growing social groups – plays an increasing part in society. All intellectuals are employed in the public sector or in the institutions of our people's state, and their social status does not differ from that of the working class. Our intellectuals were educated and trained in People's Poland and most of them are of working-class or peasant background. Their mentality and outlook have changed. They are closely linked to the working-class party, accept the socialist ideals and have an active share in socialist construction.

Of course, there are still social and world-outlook distinctions, traceable, in particular, to the fact that the intellectual is not so directly involved in material production. His functions are of a more individual nature, and he is more vulnerable to the influence of group interests and centrifugal tendencies. However, social change and purposive ideological work by the Party are steadily promoting a more socialist outlook.

The working class is the progenitor of a new model of the scientific and technological revolution. Projected into the future, it is free of contradictions and inseparably linked with the socialist revolution. The scientific and technological revolution makes for rapid expansion of the production potential, places powerful constructive forces at the disposal of mankind, but it also poses serious social, cultural and other problems. Their solution lies not in Leftist opposition to scientific and technical progress, allegedly in the name of 'humane' aims and values, but through subordinating material progress to the humans aims of socialism.

Prof. Hanna Wolf, rector of the Karl Marx Higher Party School and CC member, SUPG: Our workers are gaining a better understanding that they will benefit more from their work if the advantages of socialism are combined with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. This finds expression, in particular, in a growing desire to acquire more technical and

political knowledge. Indeed, spiritual development is in no small degree responsible for the fact that most of our intellectuals and production managers are former workers or come from working class families.

Steady improvement of educational levels makes for a closer alliance of workers and intellectuals, as evidenced by their joint work in a growing number of production and research groups.

Manual labor is steadily being eliminated. The number of workers operating machines and other mechanisms increased from 44.1 per cent in 1961 to 53.2 per cent in 1971; workers on control and supervisory jobs comprise 6.5 per cent and those on non-manual machine operations 12.3 per cent.

Socialist society changes the mentality of the worker, develops the revolutionary traits of the working class. Its internationalist essence stands out more clearly. For our workers, the Soviet working class and the CPSU continue to be a model of internationalism.

Much of our research, S. Jakab, CC member, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and head of a CC department, said, centers on changes in the structure of the working class resulting from technological modernization. And that is correct, for the tempestuous expansion of the productive forces, technological progress and its impact on the social structure are all part of a worldwide process. But the fundamental social-structure changes in the socialist countries are the result of the socialist revolution, of changed property relations. The sources of economic development are changing, too, with more emphasis on such intensive factors as more technology, new, dynamically developing industries, higher skills, more service facilities. All this makes for a new division of labor, and should always be taken into account. But all too often, in surveying these structural changes in the working class, we do not properly gauge its intrinsic characteristics which, despite all changes, and possibly due to these changes, remain constant.

The greater bulk of our workers are in big industry, one of the reasons why the working class is the dominating factor of social development. For the workers are primarily interested in safeguarding and consolidating their power. Because of its social position, high degree of organization and discipline, and concentration in industry, the working class is the main political force both in the fight against external and internal enemies and in the continued development and strengthening of the socialist system. The working class has an objective interest in consistent application of the socialist principle of remuneration according to work done and in preventing unearned income. It is the main vehicle of the ideas and moral standards of socialism and collectivism. It is least of all susceptible to the survivals of petty-bourgeois ideas and petty-bourgeois morality. And it is among the workers that Party principles and policies find their staunchest supporters.

What are the boundaries of the working class, what new groups are joining it — these questions have in recent years been the subject of debate. However, we should first of all deal with the most

important political question of all: what part of the working class is its core, determining its way of life, class consciousness, political activity, and giving the fullest expression to its interests? What sections of the working class should we primarily rely upon? Hungary's 50 biggest enterprises account for 43 per cent of the industrial work force, 55 percent of output and nearly two-thirds of exports. The concrete tasks of socialist construction are most closely linked with the conditions and interests of workers in big industry. They directly benefit from international division of labor, socialist economic integration and other factors that help their factory, make for a higher standard of living and provide more scope for creative abilities.

Workers in big industry are distinguished by their socialist consciousness, political activity and the critical spirit essential to development. That has to be stressed because in the last 15-20 years the number of industrial workers has grown very rapidly, with about half coming from other classes and social strata. It will require time for them to merge with the core of the working class and clearly understand their new class interests.

Young workers: problems and perspectives

K. Giaurov, alternate Political Bureau member, CC Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the Central Trades Union Council: Only 26.4 per cent of Bulgarian workers come from working-class families. Asked how this affects the Party's ideological work, the speaker noted that the new, young worker (a former peasant or artisan) does not at once become a worker in the full meaning of the word. For he still lacks class consciousness, the psychology, habits and feelings of collectivism and discipline that distinguish a full-fledged member of the working class. More than two million people employed in industry have come from the farms. The second source of new recruits is the young urban generation, mainly of non-proletarian origin. On the eve of the socialist revolution our working class numbered about 360,000, the figure today is over 1,800,000. We are working to bring socialist, communist consciousness to the workers. Factory collectives can help to instil new social attitudes, higher labor discipline and collectivist habits.

We are providing the facilities for every worker to study while continuing in his job, and there is a wide range of moral incentives both for young and adult workers. The Socialist emulation movement plays a bigger part in raising the socialist, communist consciousness of the masses. A new labor code setting out the rights and obligations of work collectives will be enacted in the near future.

In some countries the working class still bears the imprint of the relatively recent historical past. That was noted by A. Owieczko, researcher at the CC PUWP Higher Social Sciences School. There is differentiation within the working class in terms of tradition, identification with the historic mission of the proletariat, under-

standing of class interests, level of technical culture, political activity and attitude to one's work. Analysis of this internal differentiation is of decisive importance for social and political practice. Statistics for 1969 show that only 11 per cent of Polish workers had begun work before the war, about 50 per cent industrial and 60 per cent building workers lived on farms up to the age of 14, and 25 per cent still have small farms. This virtually new composition of the working class calls for intensive political educational work by the Party.

I. Herzkova, CC member, CP Slovakia and faculty head at the Higher Party Political School: The building of socialism has consolidated the social and political leading role of the working class. But in its ideological work the Party has to reckon with certain specifics of the Slovak working class. It is a young class, and most of its members have had no experience of class struggle against capitalism. True, there is this advantage: the young workers have grown up in the new, socialist setting. But most of the new recruits come from the peasantry or from artisan families and cannot immediately shed their petty-bourgeois views and behavior.

With an uninterrupted growth of the working class, part of the politically developed workers, those who entered industry before the socialist revolution, have left their jobs for executive posts in political, economic and public organizations.

B. Tudev, Cand. Hist., staff member, Mongolian People's Republic Academy of Sciences: The early 60s ushered in a new stage in Mongolia's development, completion of the material and technical basis of socialism. This has meant rapid industrial expansion, a change in the industrial structure and a sharp increase in employment: from 25.9 per cent of the population (including families) in 1956, the proportion of industrial and office workers rose to 56.6 per cent in 1970. This has been accompanied by a decline in the number of *arats* turned workers and a rise in the number of workers with secondary, technical, occupational or higher education. Similarly, the share of unskilled workers is declining, while top-skilled categories account for 30 per cent and medium-skilled for 50 per cent of the work force. More than 20,000 secondary school-leavers took jobs in industry in 1966-1970. Besides, young workers can study, and are studying, in short-term, seasonal, evening courses, and many are being trained in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and other socialist countries. The gap between technical-equipment and skill levels is steadily being bridged.

S. Voicu, Central Committee member, Rumanian Communist Party, Vice-President of the RCP Academy of Social Sciences and editor of *Socialist Era* magazine: Basing itself on analysis of the present position of Rumania as a developing socialist country and on realistic prospects of its socialist development, the 10th Communist Party Congress set the objective central task of building a comprehensively developed socialist society, a complex process that will probably require four or five five-year plans.

Exceptionally rapid and far-reaching changes are characteristic

of Rumania's class structure. First, there is the rapid quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class. These are the figures: the number of industrial workers increased from 1,223,000 (12 per cent) to 4,081,000 (24.7 per cent) from 1950 to 1971, and according to some estimates they will make up approximately half of the national work force in 1975 and approximately two-thirds in 1990.

For some time to come the new workers will be drawn from other classes and social groups. About 100,000 peasants join the industrial work force every year. This is of fundamental importance in restructuring society, but it tends to create certain growth difficulties and non-antagonistic contradictions.

The speaker was asked: What are the distinguishing features of a developing socialist country? Comrade Voicu replied: Rumania is a socialist country and its progressive social system is in all respects superior to capitalism. We cannot be content with the tremendous strides made in the socialist years: economically, Rumania still lags behind developed countries. I need only say that per capita national income is about 600-700 dollars a year, much lower than in other socialist countries. We have to frankly admit that ours is a developing country.

Ts. Namsarai, Cand. Phil., alternate CC member, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and its representative on the journal, remarked that Comrade Voicu's reply does not alter our understanding of developed socialist society or of developing countries. For if a country launches out on building developed socialist society, it obviously has already passed the stage of a developing country. Socialist countries have the most progressive social system. Besides, from the economic standpoint, socialist industrialization and co-operative farming put them far ahead of most developing countries. More important still, we are dealing not only with economic, but also with socio-political factors, and the two should not be separated.

Voicu: Evidently, our views on this question do not coincide. Time will show which is nearer to the truth.

Prof. R. Weidig of the CC SUPG Institute of Social Sciences, drew attention to the fact that in countries where the shift of the main mass of the active population from agriculture to industry, building and transport had been completed some time ago, workers of the second and third generation already make up the majority of the class. Consequently, in the GDR continued growth through the influx of peasants and women not employed in social production, etc., is limited. This means that the SUPG must concentrate on qualitative processes in the development of the working class. With the expansion of productive forces, the tendency towards internal synthesis of physical and mental labor predominates over the historically-evolved tendency towards division of the two. In a capitalist society this is an expression of its sharp antagonism. We must study the degree to which this basic tendency manifests itself in practice. So far, physical effort accounts for a relatively high share in the jobs of most of our workers. We must also bear

in mind that we cannot confine our investigation to purely labor functions, for the workers play an increasing part in management and planning. Soviet and GDR sociological studies have demonstrated the close link between the nature of a man's job in the factory and his part in social life.

Prof. M. Lange, member CC, SUPG and instructor at the Karl Marx Higher Party School: Injecting elements of mental work into the job helps to cultivate a correct attitude to one's work and enterprise, encourages initiative, study, and so on. But this social and ideological maturity does not come spontaneously. Science and technology must be so used in industry that, besides optimal economic effect, they help to raise the workers' general standards and improve work culture. She then described how workers' cultural standards were being raised in the GDR. In 1972, 82 per cent of all entrants in occupational and technical schools had a full 10-year education. The proportion of occupational and technical-school graduates increased from 25.6 per cent of total industrial employment in 1955 to 50 per cent in 1970. One-quarter of the national work force are involved in one or another study program.

Convergence of laboring classes

K. Giaurov: The initial successes of socialist industrialization led to a quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class. The completion stage in building socialist society sets new tasks in developing the material and technical basis. They were formulated by the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and their solution has given rise to new processes in the development of the socio-class structure of society. The conditions are maturing for gradual obliteration of intra-class and inter-class differences. Changes within the working class, the cooperative farmers and intellectuals are closely related to their cooperation and interaction and their convergence on the basis of the ultimate aim of the working class, the building of a classless society.

Actually, there are two interconnected processes: gradual obliteration of class and social boundaries, with society approaching the threshold of social homogeneity, which will be achieved under communism; and, on the other hand, the strengthening of the ideological, moral and political unity of the classes and social groups existing under socialism. In both processes all social groups and classes acquire the characteristic traits and qualities of the working class.

Convergence of classes is achieved through continued socialization of the means of production. In Bulgaria this implies expansion, absolute and relative, of state property and increased employment in state enterprises. Class homogeneity is progressing in terms of relation to means of production, the main class-forming criterion. Specialization and concentration have led to the emergence of bigger production units, the State Economic Amalgamations. The working class thus acquires a keener feeling that it represents the most influential and closely-knit forces of society.

Cooperative property is also developing through continued socialization. In agriculture this takes the form of agrarian-industrial complexes, combining both cooperative and state farms, and their growth is bound substantially to change economic management and planning.

'State and cooperative property,' the 10th BCP Congress stressed, 'will gradually converge through the socialization of production and the deeper and improved division of labor.' Slowly but surely, this will convert the economy into a single, integrated organism.

The social border lines created by disparities in the nature of labor are disappearing, and the essential distinctions between mental and manual labor are decreasing. The main factor is the increase of mental elements in the labor of all workers. The number of workers operating automated units or controlling machines and mechanisms, is rising steadily; in their work the share of skilled mental operations exceeds 50 per cent, and is as high as 80-85 per cent in some cases. However, the level of automation and mechanization is still low. The Party has therefore set the sights on comprehensive mechanization and extensive automation. Workers with a secondary and secondary specialized education are growing in number. The Party and government are taking steps to improve education.

The convergence of classes and social groups is also seen in the levelling out of living and cultural standards. In 1971, for example, the average annual income of a working-class family was 3,363 leva, an office worker's 3,568, and a cooperative farmer's 3,458. The structure of expenditures, too, speaks of a converging life style.

Just as in the other socialist countries, said S. Voicu, far-reaching changes are occurring in the social structure of Socialist Rumania under the impact of the scientific-technical revolution. Therefore, the classical concept of the worker must be revised. Some technicians directly involved in production are now legitimately part of the working class, for their social position and that of industrial workers are increasingly more alike. The number of cooperative farmers engaged in specifically working-class trades – operating machines, building, and the like – is growing rapidly, and many could now qualify as workers. The development of socialist society thus witnesses an expansion in the composition of the working class. This is part of the general historical process in which the essential differences between mental and manual labor, between industrial labor and farming, are obliterated. To be sure, since the process is a long one it is still too early to draw lines of distinction.

M. N. Rutkevich, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Director of the Social Research Institute: The essence of changes in the social structure of developed socialist society is best reflected in the increasing convergence of classes and social groups, implying a gradual elimination of social distinctions. Fusion, on the other hand, is the ultimate result and will not be attained until communist society is fully built and the 'abolition of classes' process is consummated.

The relation to the means of production is not the only class criterion. Lenin listed two more: the distinctive part played in the social organization of labor, and the dimensions of the share of the social wealth and form of acquiring it (see Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421). The correlation of these criteria is historical. In a society of antagonistic classes, the relation to the means of production is doubtlessly the predominant criterion and affects all the other social disparities. In the socialist environment, however, it is no longer the main criterion distinguishing industrial and white-collar workers and intellectuals, whose work is based on publicly-owned property. Differences in the nature of their labor and their place in the social division of labor forge into first place, for they are not simply technical or professional differences and for some time still retain their social character. The third class-forming criterion is determined by the first two: the distinctions between workers, other employees and intellectuals in how much they are paid for their labor stem first and foremost from their different roles in the social organization of labor. It would therefore be wrong, Rutkevich said, to identify the worker as a person performing exclusively physical labor, and equally wrong to identify any substantial section of the intelligentsia with the working class.

T. Halai, Deputy Director of the HSWP Social Sciences Institute, maintained that the relation to property is the prime criterion also in socialist society, though any conclusive definition of the limits of the working class must be based on the sum of criteria. This comprehensive approach, he said, is suggested by Lenin's well-known definition of classes. The question should be put as follows: Are Lenin's criteria valid for socialist society in the age of the scientific-technical revolution? As we see it, he said, they are entirely valid, and are the only ones to yield a true picture of the structure of society.

Prof. S. Widerszpil, head of the Sociology Department of the Higher School of Social Sciences, Polish United Workers' Party CC: Only the combination of scientific-technical progress and socialist reconstruction can gradually eliminate the essential distinctions between physical and mental labor and assure the full development of the personality. Technological advance is not enough to overcome the objective contradictions in the worker's situation. This also requires technico-organizational changes altering the worker's relation to technical processes, and his role in production, coupled with the development of different forms of self-management in enterprises. Eliminating excessive differences in the payment for labor and the distribution of incomes, and narrowing the social gap between the different groups play a big part, too.

The integration of the working class and intelligentsia is a dual process, which should, under the Party's guidance, result in acquisition, by groups and collectives, of the finest qualities and features of the working class and the intelligentsia, with working class features predominating.

E. Ciepelewski, Dr. Hist., Higher School of Social Science, CC

PUWP, examined some of the general features of the working class in socialist countries – a class that took shape in the process of intensive industrialization. The growth of the number of people employed in production in general, and of workers in particular, slowed down somewhat after 1960 as a result of the intensification of socio-economic development. All the same, the number of factory and office workers in the CMEA countries, excluding Cuba, climbed from 88 million in 1960 to 127 million in 1970, and specifically in industry from 37 million to 46.6 million. This vast force is determinative not only in material production, but also, and principally, in shaping the socio-political fabric of the socialist countries.

In the CMEA countries the formative stage of the working class and the stage of recasting the social and professional structures is essentially over. At present, a process of stabilization is under way, accompanied by a levelling out of the general and cultural levels of classes and strata. The ties between different social groups are growing stronger; new social relations are taking shape and classes and groups are becoming more conscious of their role in socio-economic development. The class-conscious, highly-skilled worker is now an inevitable element of socio-economic development.

THE HEGEMON IN SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION

The conference devoted much of its attention to examining the objective factors behind the leading position of the working class in present-day socialist construction, and the ways and means of increasing its influence on the dynamics of the new society.

An objective regularity of the present time

The leading role of the working class is rooted first of all in the objective regularities of the class struggle in the present stage of socialist construction and the present international situation, said A. Werblan. The gradual disappearance of the direct survivals of capitalism in the economy does not mean that class contradictions are also disappearing. They have their social roots in the surviving elements of the private owner mentality and the influence of bourgeois mores, customs and morality. This gives impulse to views contrary to the socialist principles, to an egoistic approach to the affairs of the state and the norms of distribution. In certain conditions this may serve as a nutritive medium for anti-socialist activity, which imperialist centres go out of their way to incite.

So long as there is a basis for the revival of bourgeois views in the public mind, it will be the prime task of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard to abide by class principles. This is yet another reason why the leading role of the working class must be fortified. By virtue of its social position and its traditions of class struggle it renders the strongest resistance to anti-socialist ideology and exercises a positive effect on other sections of the laboring masses.

In connection with the scientific and technical revolution bourgeois researchers have conceived various theories about the declining role of the working class, swiftly seized upon by revisionists. Some revisionist 'theorists' even contend that in the new situation the working class is becoming a conservative force and has lost its role of vanguard of social progress to what Roger Garaudy describes as a 'new historical bloc' directed by managers, technocrats, and intellectuals.

The incongruity of all this theorizing is obvious. A closer look will show that the role of the working class is growing, not declining, under the impact of the scientific-technical revolution.

The Polish United Workers' Party holds that every new numerical increase of the working class, the growth of its professional skill, its higher educational and cultural standard and its deeper political consciousness, are creating the compulsion for broader workers' participation in public and political affairs.

The workers of the big industrial centers are our Party's main pillar of support. They have the richest traditions of class struggle, and the highest political and industrial culture. In the past, the importance of the big industrial working-class centers was not always sufficiently appreciated. The Party's Sixth Congress set the objective of turning the leading enterprises and the working-class centers into the main citadel of socialism and Poland's economic power, into a source of Party cadres and civic leaders.

The working class performs its world-historical mission in all the stages of revolutionary reconstruction, K. F. Katushev pointed out, until the achievement of full communism. The emergence of socialism beyond the boundaries of one country, its growth into a world system, and the scale and impact of the tasks performed in developed socialist society, broaden the objective premises for a continuous strengthening of the leading position of the working class, headed by its Marxist-Leninist party. The growth of the constructive and transforming role of the working class is an objective law governing the development and consolidation of the new socio-economic formation. This fundamental proposition was the basis for the conclusions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU concerning the place of the working class and the Communist Party in Soviet society in the present stage.

The practice of class struggle and revolutionary reconstruction provide more than enough evidence of the irrelevance of the anti-Marxist theories that belittle or deny the leading social position of the working class. All the major and substantial processes of our time—the social revolutions, the formation of the socialist world system, the collapse of the colonial system and the progressive development of many of the liberated countries, and the considerable radicalization of the masses in the capitalist states—would have been inconceivable without the determining influence of the international working class.

These days, no political trend can expect lasting success if, in one way or another, it does not lean for support on the mighty

shoulders of the proletariat. 'No other class, no other social stratum of society,' L. I. Brezhnev said at the 1969 International Meeting, 'is as organized and strong. The numerical strength of the working class is enormous. Its revolutionary experience is exceptionally rich. Its ideological, cultural and spiritual level has been rising from year to year. The political and moral prestige enjoyed by it in society has grown immeasurably.'

However, the leading role of the working class is not entirely the same in different periods. This is why at every new stage in history the CPSU turns to the teaching of the proletariat's historic mission, relating its essence to the concrete objective conditions and possibilities, and enriching Marxist-Leninist theory with the constructive experience of the masses.

After developed socialism had been built in the Soviet Union, the dictatorship of the proletariat grew into a state of the whole people. The dependable socio-political unity of society, the fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation of the nations and nationalities of our country, resulted in the formation of a new historical community of people—the Soviet people. Neither the deep-going changes in the social structure nor the identity of the aspirations of the Soviet people have in the least reduced the leading position of the working class. On the contrary, it is the dialectics of social development that the influence of the working class on all areas of life increases in the process of the elimination of class distinctions.

The growing role of the working class in a developed socialist society is determined, first, by its growing numbers, second, by its leading place in the system of social production (it was and remains the productive force of society) and, third, by its political maturity, organization and collectivism. All this makes the working-class the social core of the Soviet people, and its moral qualities, forms of labor and everyday life, culture and behavior are the basis of the formation of an integral Soviet way of life.

Prof. V. Kves, member of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CP of Czechoslovakia and Rector of the CC CPC Higher Political School, said there was no direct connection between the magnitude of a country's industrial potential and the class-consciousness of its workers or their ability to occupy a leading political place in society. The working class must be appropriately prepared, because building developed socialism requires that the leading role of Marxist-Leninist parties should grow, and that workers are more broadly included in the system of administration.

The concept of the working class as the creator of the new society, said *Hanna Wolf*, concerns man's entire future. Giving its due to the role of other classes and groups in socialist construction, it should be stressed that the main line of social progress depends first and foremost on the leading role of the working class. And the premises for its growth, connected with the scientific-technical revolution, the changes in the social structure, and the like, are proliferating. The greater influence of the working class is also

traceable to the improvements in the mechanism of socialist democracy, the ever broader enlistment of working people, primarily workers' representatives, in the administration of society.

The speaker was asked what place the socialist intelligentsia occupies in relation to the leading role of the working class, and how its role may be expected to change in the foreseeable future. The fact that the Eighth SUPG Congress laid special stress on the role of the working class in developed socialist society, Wolf replied, was on no account an act of discrimination or underestimation of the role of the intelligentsia. Never before in the history of our people have intellectuals occupied so honorable a place as they do under socialism. And in the developed socialist society their role will continue to rise.

As in all the other socialist countries, our intelligentsia comes mainly from the working class and farmers. In the enterprises, workers and technicians (the technical intelligentsia) work hand in hand to rationalize and intensify production. Naturally, the working class expects the technical specialists to live up to its requirements. It expects the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution to be introduced in production more rapidly. These difficult tasks are set because the working class and its party have confidence in, and appreciate the creative potential of, the intelligentsia.

Technocratic revisionism, which makes an absolute of technology, which it regards as the decisive factor of social progress, said A. I. Sobolev, Editor-in-Chief of the Moscow journal, *The Working Class and the Modern World*, ascribes to the intelligentsia the leading role in modern society. The intelligentsia does play an immense part in the advancement of science, technology, education and culture. But this does not mean that the working class loses its leading position. Large-scale machine production is the core of socialism's material and technical basis. And it is the worker who assures its operation. The general tendency of social change in developed socialist society is towards further numerical and qualitative growth of the working class, towards its still greater influence on all society. Experience shows that the creative potential of the intelligentsia is best brought out in the framework of cooperation with the working class.

G. Chimid, member of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Party Life*, and B. Khurmetbek, member of the Party's Central Committee and Rector of the Higher Party School of the CC MPRP, said in their contributions that from its inception the Mongolian working class had close ties with the Soviet working class, benefited from the latter's rich experience, and cultivated a spirit of discipline and organization, learning the use of modern technology, and developing into a class in its own right.

In Mongolia the working class came into being as a class owning the means of production, and has never experienced capitalist exploitation. The Party's ideological, political and educational work has been determinative in bringing home to the young Mongolian

working class its class interests and its role in the country's life, and moulded its qualities as the vanguard of the people.

While the new social structure was still in the formative stage, the leading role of the working class was based on international factors. In the specific conditions of Mongolia then, this was the only way to effectuate the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the leading position of the working class, which also applies to backward countries. In other words, experience shows that a fundamentally proletarian line can be pursued in a peasant country as well.

This should be most emphatically stressed, Chimid said, because latter-day Right and 'Left' opportunists are trying to deny this, and counterpose to the working class the revolutionism of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry. 'Left' opportunists, especially the Maoists, spread lies about the embourgeoisement of the working class in the socialist countries, contending that it has lost its revolutionary spirit. They allege that the role of hegemon in the revolution has been taken over by the national liberation movement, in which peasant China must occupy the dominant position. Defying the dialectical essence of the present revolutionary process and substituting the false counterposition of 'rich' and 'poor' states, the 'world city' and the 'world village,' for the contradiction between labor and capital, between the socialist and capitalist world systems, the Maoists have turned their back on Marxism-Leninism, and espoused great-power chauvinism and struggle against the international working-class and Communist movement.

In the present stage, the conference stressed, the unfolding socialist economic integration is stimulating the international factors in the development of the working class of the socialist countries. K. Giaurov pointed out that specialization and cooperation in production and the establishment of joint economic organizations fortifies the leading position of the working class and promotes greater closeness among the socialist states on the basis of the workers' interests and aims. Socialist property is gradually crossing national frontiers. There are now elements of international socialist property – a new thing in fraternal cooperation. The working class, which stands in the center of these new developments, will therefore operate still more definitely as an international force.

Progress towards still closer unity of socialist states is directly proportionate to the success in inculcating the spirit of proletarian internationalism in the people and vitalizing the working class as the cementing factor of the entire system of fraternal cooperation. Asked what new tasks are arising in this area in the present stage of building developed socialism and integrational convergence, K. F. Katushev said: It is hardly right to speak of new tasks, but certainly appropriate to draw attention to the following points:

First, the importance of all-round material and spiritual cooperation among fraternal countries, the importance of consolidating the friendship of the peoples. Unity is necessitated by the objective of further changes in the relation of world forces favoring socialism, the national-liberation and anti-imperialist movement, and by factors

beneficial for socialist and communist construction in the fraternal countries and for the revolutionizing impact of their successes on the peoples of the world.

Second, the importance of understanding that closer unity of the socialist countries requires an appropriate balance between national and international interests on the political scene, and the ability to overcome elements of national exclusiveness and egoism in the name of the common good.

Third, the importance of understanding that internationalization of economic activity, socialist economic integration and international division of labor, are objectively necessary processes that help to raise the effectiveness of social production. This will guarantee that the aim of elevating living standards will be successfully achieved.

Fourth, the importance of inculcating the spirit of proletarian internationalism in the new man. Moulding the spiritually rich personality that accepts and uses international experience, the achievements of the socialist culture of other peoples and nations, is one of our key tasks.

The success of integration rests on the mutual confidence of the socialist peoples and their profound appreciation that they have identical interests and aims, and the same lofty responsibility of living up to commitments.

The class approach to solving contradictions

The working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard play the decisive part in resolving the contradictions of socialist development. The only way to resolve them successfully is on a class basis.

The convergence of various categories of working people gains pace with the building of developed socialist society and the passage to communism, stimulating the evolution of the new type of personality, S. Voicu said. Certainly, this is a long process that has only just begun. The different social strata of the modern socialist society still have particular interests that must be considered in policy-making. Neglecting this objective fact can be extremely harmful. Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian CP, said: 'Life has shown time and again that contradictions exist and develop under socialism as well, and that if they are not spotted and understood in time and if no conscious measures are taken to overcome them, they may become antagonistic and even lead to conflicts.'

Replying to a question, Voicu said that there is no basis for the growth of non-antagonistic into antagonistic contradictions, because there are no antagonistic classes in socialist society. At one time, however, he said, propaganda tended to deny or minimize contradictions under socialism. Yet the existence of contradictions is a universal objective law of development in nature and society. In the present stage of socialist construction some contradictions operate as the motive force of social progress, and some that arise

from mistakes made by the Party or state. If a party fails to take into account the objective laws of social development or resolve arising contradictions, especially between private and public interests, this can lead to antagonisms and even violent confrontations.

Under socialism, noted A. Dobieszewski, department head at the Higher School of Social Sciences of the CC PUWP, social relations are characterized by a fundamental sameness of the basic interests of all classes, strata and groups, but the continued heterogeneity of society is a source of special interests which motivate the attitudes of people, classes, social strategy and groups. It has been shown by experience that either overestimating or underestimating the new society's degree of integration can become a brake on socialist construction. Idealization of unity can revitalize the conservative, nationalistic, revisionist forces still latent within the socialist society. As long as the two social systems – capitalism and socialism – determining the structural, antagonistic conflict of the world today continue to exist side by side these forces are a threat to socialism. On the other hand, underestimation of the continued processes of integration can impede the satisfaction of the material requirements of social life by failing to fully utilize opportunities for encouraging mass initiative and activity, restricting ideological and moral incentives and retarding the natural process of creating new social ties and new regulators of social life in the shape of different institutions of socialist democracy.

It is essential to resolutely oppose revisionist, nationalist, liberal bourgeois concepts whose authors vulgarize or exaggerate contradictions under socialism, blow them up, treat them fatalistically and one-sidedly and deny the objective, constantly growing unity of the socialist society. When we speak of the leading role of the working class, said M. N. Rutkevich, we should not forget that although the economy is the basis of social life, it does not exhaust it completely. Social structures rest on economic foundations, but they are reflected and continued in politics and ideology. In socialist society, where class antagonisms have been overcome but differences between classes and sections of the working people remain, the unity of classes and social groups is an expression of the unity of their economic interests, of their political and ideological unity. And the remaining social differences, like the process of overcoming them, should be seen as permeating all spheres of life.

Realization of the growing socio-political potential of the working class, stressed A. I. Sobolev, helps to narrow the sphere of spontaneous, subjective action. In a socialist society there are at least three types of contradictions: those that nurture the normal socio-historical process of socialist development; contradictions inherited from the old system of relations, from social backwardness and economic immaturity; contradictions bred by violating the dialectics of the objective and the subjective, and they can be very painful and involve acute conflicts.

Socialism does not breed antagonistic contradictions. Acute contradictions can arise as a result of mistakes or failure to reckon

with the laws of social development or, especially, if the political leadership moves away from Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism and slides into opportunism and nationalism. Contradictions can and do become antagonistic ones if the nation's leading political forces persist in their mistakes. The result is a deformation of socialism and departure from its basic laws. The situation grows worse when internal reaction gangs up one way or another with the forces of capitalism. Then the contradictions acquire an openly antagonistic character.

Mature socialism imposes higher demands on the working class and its parties, which makes it essential scientifically to substantiate every domestic and foreign political move and resolve difficulties and contradictions as soon as they appear.

Prime force of society

The working class owes its leading position in socialist society not only to the place it occupies in social production and the system of class relations. It also stems from its being the prime force in running the state and the economy.

At every historical stage, said K. F. Katushev, the CPSU gives primary attention to the all-round development and perfection of the mechanism through which the working class exercises its function of the social vanguard. The arsenal of socialist democracy includes tested forms of mass worker participation in the country's social and political life. Of the 1,517 deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in 1970, 481, or almost one-third, are workers; 1,742 of the deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics elected in 1971 – almost 30 per cent of the total – are workers; and workers account for 36.5 per cent of the deputies of local Soviets.

Worker participation in industrial management is an inalienable part of socialist democracy. At present more than 15 million industrial workers take an active part in the functioning of factory trade union committees, and six million are members of standing production conferences.

Social and political activity of workers (and, of course, peasants too) is a new field for the application and development of individual capabilities and the moulding of statesmanlike qualities in every Soviet person. It is only natural that the working class should head the nationwide socialist emulation movement for the successful implementation of the ninth five-year plan and for meeting the targets of its third, decisive year, set an example in Leninist *subbotniks* and participate actively in the movement for a communist attitude towards work.

On the basis of the decisions of its Sixth Congress, said A. Werblan, the PUWP has drawn up and is consistently implementing a series of measures aimed at enhancing the activity and expanding the participation of workers in the life of the Party and functioning of its bodies. Of the members and candidate members of the Central Committee elected at the Fourth Congress (1964), nine were

factory-floor workers. After the Fifth Congress (1968) their number grew to 31. At the Sixth Congress (1971), 63 workers were elected to the Central Committee, mainly representing major industrial centers. In the last few years the proportion of workers has also increased in provincial, urban and district Party committees where it is now 36 per cent.

The political activity of the working class is growing together with its realization of its role as master of the country. Workers are gaining a greater and greater say in the operation of industrial enterprises. The trade unions and the worker self-management system are consolidating their positions as a school of socialist economic management.

The socialist state is the main tool for realizing the leading role of the working class and Communist Party in the society. The Polish people's state performs the functions of dictatorship of the proletariat. The steadily growing significance of the socialist state's economic-organizational and ideological-educational functions is a law of its evolution. The Sixth PUWP Congress drew up a program providing for improving the organization of state power, enhancing the effectiveness of the state apparatus and the qualifications of its personnel, perfecting the legal system and strengthening state discipline. At the same time it envisages consistent implementation of the principles of socialist democracy and the expansion of public control.

Every socio-economic system creates the political and state mechanism corresponding to its nature. The working class led by the Communist Party creates the mechanisms of political life and democratic forms suited to socialism. The distinguishing feature of socialist democracy is that it unites society instead of dividing it, that it concentrates public energy on promoting development instead of dissipating it on fruitless struggle and argument. The arguments and debates in which bourgeois parties engage rarely aim at producing better solutions, and more often than not their purpose is to win better positions. Discussions in the framework of socialist democracy, both within the Party and representative bodies and in nationwide debates, are aimed at working out the best possible solutions and achieving a consensus on them. Essentially these discussions are like the mechanism for attaining the truth in science. These are all features of our system and are totally unlike, are indeed opposed to, anything the bourgeois system can offer, and they must be valued and strengthened.

One of the ways in which the working class exercises its leading role said S. Jakab, is by bringing other sections of the working people abreast of the consciousness of its own advanced detachments. Realization of this role is promoted by worker participation in representative and executive political bodies. Our experience in strengthening Party links with the working class indicates that it is necessary to encourage worker participation in elective bodies, in management, to promote workers to executive posts.

To ensure the socialist character of leadership and realism in

decision-making it is essential for the workers, by virtue of the place they occupy in the social structure, to have a weighty say in government, be politically active and exercise direct control. Although there is no direct dependence between the social composition of a political body and the consistency of its working-class positions, it cannot be said that there is no connection at all. When there are few representatives of the working class in leading political bodies there exists the danger that decisions will be one-sided and reflect group interests.

A special role in strengthening the Party's ties with the working class belongs to the trade unions. They uphold the political power of the working class, the common interests of the people and, at the same time, the material, social, and cultural interests of individual workers.

Of tremendous importance for consolidating the leading positions of the working class is factory democracy. A factory or enterprise is more than a production unit, it is a socio-political unit in which the destiny, relations and views of people are moulded. The HSWP takes great pains to foster in workers the sense of being master of the enterprise and draw them more actively into participation in its management.

K. Giaurov spoke of the great importance of trade unions as a school of socialist economics and management. The growth of the working class' political activity and its leading role is greatly promoted by the expansion of the rights of the trade unions and the enhancement of their part in the system of social administration. They organize direct worker participation in management through general meetings, production conferences, economic committees, foremen's councils, collective bargaining, etc. In Bulgaria the unions' functions in defending working people's rights and interests are steadily expanding. For example, this year control over industrial safety has been vested completely in the unions. They also handle questions of social security and rest and recreation. They exercise control in determining consumer goods prices. The organization of the socialist emulation movement is being steadily improved.

Worker democracy does not follow automatically in the wake of socialization of the means of production, said A. Owieczko. It comes as a result of the conscious efforts of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, and in Poland today, it finds expression in the activities of worker self-management bodies.

Politically, worker democracy contributes, on the basis of democratic centralism, to the expansion of worker influence over decision-making; in the economic aspect, it must promote the growing effectiveness of production.

Greater factory independence expands the scope of worker self-management and at the same time demands improvement of the mechanisms of public control over administration. The PUWP resolutely opposes views claiming that the principles of worker democracy clash with the requirements of effective management.

Our country's experience emphasizes the importance of consistent adherence to the principle of partnership between the administrative apparatus and the system of social management. Administrative management and worker self-government bodies are partners in the drive to achieve common goals and enhance the common weal. They are both important factors in overcoming bureaucracy in economic administration. However, these bodies can function successfully only if they rely constantly on worker initiative and experience. Participation in tackling day-to-day problems shows workers the interdependence of their personal interests and those of the factory and the society as a whole and teaches them to think in social categories.

G. Surpat, department head at the Institute of Historical and Socio-political Research of the CC RCP, also pointed out the importance of expanding democracy at factory level. In Rumania there is a system of committees of workers or their representatives for the management of enterprises, and of worker councils for industrial amalgamations. These committees and councils are collective management bodies in which workers are broadly represented alongside engineers, technicians and Party, trade union and youth functionaries. They have consultative and administrative status and, within the framework of the law, resolve key questions of economic activity.

With the aim of expanding worker democracy, a central and district councils of worker control over economic and social activity were set up, and worker control councils are being set up locally at enterprises to function as public bodies of worker committees.

Alliance of workers and peasants

Of great importance for enhancing the leading position of the working class is the strengthening of its alliance with the peasants and other sections of the working people.

The working class and cooperative peasants are the main classes in Bulgaria's socialist society, said docent B. Boyev, research worker of the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration. They are both linked with socialist ownership and share common interests and the common goal of building developed socialism and communism. The swift growth of the republic's industrial potential enhances the working class' leading role in economic development, notably, in the intensification of agriculture and its development on an industrial basis. The measures taken by the Party and government to accelerate economic development, complete the establishment of the material and technical base of socialism, improve socialist social relations, promote the cultural revolution and educate the new type of man, serve to cement the alliance of workers and cooperated peasants.

In response to a question on the effect the existence of a private sector in Poland's agriculture has on the leading role of the working class and its alliance with the working peasants, A. Werblan

stressed that socialist reconstruction of the countryside is a general law of socialism. In the PUWP's view there is no specific Polish way in agriculture; the specifics end at the rate of rural reconstruction. As is known, in the latter half of the 50s the process of socialist transformation in small-commodity peasant agriculture slowed down and in some cases was even reversed. For several years agrarian policy was aimed at freeing and utilizing the reserves latent in peasant farms, and this was correct. At the same time, however, sight was lost of the perspectives, and problems of future developments were not analyzed, and this was wrong.

A comprehensive approach towards the accelerated growth of farm production and socialist transformation of the village was elaborated in 1971 and subsequently endorsed by the Sixth PUWP Congress. This comprehensive approach to both problems is essential. The present situation demands consistency in action: the small private-ownership structure creates barriers for the modernization of agriculture and social progress in the countryside. The PUWP's agrarian policy is determined by the course charted by the congress and distinguished by flexibility of methods. Its main lines are, firstly, to raise the efficiency of state farms and farming cooperatives and, secondly, to strengthen the links between private farms and the socialist sector. (As a matter of fact the peasants already sell practically all their marketable produce to the state, mostly on a contract basis.)

These measures are not a substitute for socialist rebuilding of the village, but they provide a basis which facilitates it. The PUWP's policy is aimed at consistently consolidating all forms of public organization of production. The most widespread of these are agricultural circles, which play an ever greater role in the socialization of the means of production. The Party's policy is yielding positive results. The working class' alliance with the peasants is growing stronger.

LEADING AND GUIDING FORCE

Consistent realization of the historical mission of the working class is ensured by the activities of its Communist vanguard. The conference discussed a number of outstanding problems of improving Party leadership.

Vital center of the political system

What are the objective prerequisites for strengthening the leading role of Communist parties at the present stage of socialist development?

Noting that the leading role of the working class finds the fullest and most consistent manifestation in the activities of its vanguard, the Communist Party, K. F. Katushev pointed out that at the stage of developed socialism there are greater possibilities, and at the same time a greater need, for scientific management of society

and the conscious utilization of the laws of social development. With socialist relations of production reigning supreme it becomes possible to select the most effective forms of social development. The absence of antagonistic classes and groups creates an entirely new basis for resolving contradictions through the purposeful coordination of diverse interests in keeping with the scientifically cognized objective laws of history. Human consciousness and will become an important factor of planned social development in its own right.

The growing complexities of managing social processes and the tasks of communist education of Soviet people impose new and higher demands on all aspects of Party activity. Every final decision – a responsible political act affecting the interests of the masses of the people – is preceded by scientific analysis, quest and consideration of variants based on experience and objective possibilities. It is this combination of scientific approach and political responsibility that lies at the root of all major CPSU documents defining the Soviet society's prospects of social and political development and its foreign policy strategy.

All of this makes for the growing role of the Party as the only organization capable of guiding social processes towards a common goal and coordinating the activities of all the classes and social groups of developed socialist society, all the echelons of its political system. The leading bodies and organizations of the CPSU at all levels are a prestigious political force that ensures the effective, organic combination of the advantages of centralized planned economic management with mass creative initiative.

The Communist Party guides the whole spiritual life of the society, fostering and moulding the new man on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the norms of Communist ethics. Fast changes in material production do not automatically bring about equally fast changes in social consciousness. The lag of consciousness behind social existence and the need to combat bourgeois ideology demand continued perfection of the Party's ideological and propaganda work and, as Lenin taught, the active fostering of communist consciousness in the masses.

In our time this is of special importance. Imperialist reaction beguiles itself with hopes that international détente will make people in the socialist countries more 'perceptive' to hostile ideology and, especially, bourgeois nationalism. The experience of our and other parties of the socialist community indicates that the efficacy of Communist ideological influence is in direct relation to the level of the Party's theoretical work. Closer and deeper ideological cooperation, coordinated action, the pooling of theoretical capabilities of the fraternal parties, make for a higher level.

The growth of the Communist Party's leading role in socialist society and its ability to speak for the interests of all classes and sections of the population depend to a decisive degree on the continued perfection of its social structure, qualitative composition and cadres policy. The CPSU has always oriented on drawing its

membership primarily from the advanced, most conscious sections of the working class. In 1972, workers accounted for 57.3 per cent of all new candidate members, the highest proportion in the last 40 years.

In all fraternal socialist countries the working class and its Communist parties are the main bearers of proletarian internationalism. This is only natural. Nothing is more conducive to bringing revolutionary classes and parties closer together than joint struggle for common socialist goals and the practical efforts to build up a new world. The CPSU sees its duty in further strengthening the international friendship of working people and welding together the socialist countries. This is complemented by the development of socialist economic integration, which also makes for the growing leading role of Communist parties, the makers of new international relations based on the unshakeable principles of socialist internationalism, complete equality, respect of sovereignty, mutual assistance, fraternal cooperation and close coordination of foreign policy.

The Party's leading role, said A. Werblan, rests on the correctness of its political course, the extent to which it is in accord with the universal laws of socialism and the concrete conditions of place and time. The Party's prime task is to formulate policies reflecting the requirements of social development and harmoniously combining the interests of different classes and social groups. The main criterion for judging the correctness of Party policies is their correspondence to the interests of the working class which, by virtue of its position in the society, more than any other class seeks to achieve the socialist objectives of the people as a whole.

The main line of the socio-economic program adopted by the Sixth PUWP Congress coincides with the political course of the fraternal parties of all CMEA member-countries. The most consistent expression of this course can be found in the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Its characteristic feature is systematic betterment of the living standards of the working people. The priority of socio-economic policy is a law of the present stage in the development of socialism, a law that accords both with the new requirements and the new opportunities.

Our Party's experience shows that any weakening of its ties with the working class or underestimation of its role and requirements has a negative effect on the development of the society and the state. The PUWP's Sixth Congress made a thorough and correct assessment of the difficulties and social conflicts of the end of 1970.

Answering a question concerning the importance of unity of economic and social policy in implementing the Party's leading role, A. Werblan recalled that at the root of the difficulties experienced by Poland in 1970 was a contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the requirements of the society, on the one hand, and the violation of the Leninist principles of leadership, on the other. This tended to weaken the Party's leading role, and led to voluntarist decisions in social and economic

policy which disrupted the natural connection between the development of the economy and the satisfaction of social requirements, and, in the final analysis, to the weakening of the Party's ties with the working class. The PUWP overcame the difficulties, found a correct way out of the situation, relying on the working class. Especially valuable were meetings of members of the Party leadership and Comrade Gierek personally with factory workers. Resolute rectification of the consequences of voluntarism in wages and prices, made possible primarily by the fraternal help of the Soviet Union, was of key importance in overcoming the socio-economic tensions.

The fact that, long before the December period, the Party and working class had defeated revisionism and deprived it of a field of action, was, of course, of immense importance. The revisionists could not exploit symptoms of public discontent to sow confusion and impose their counter-revolutionary ideology on the disoriented part of the working people.

The main conclusions to be drawn from all this were set out in the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress. And these decisions were premised on the understanding that economic and social policy are closely interrelated. The Party is working towards a faster rate of economic development, full use of all the advantages of socialism and of the vast opportunities offered by socialist integration. Central to all its endeavors is improvement of living standards. In the 60s, wage increases in Poland were lower than in other CMEA countries. The Sixth Congress decided on a 17-18 per cent wage increase in 1971-75, and real wages rose nearly 13 per cent in 1971-72, and the increase has been consolidated by stable living costs. Social policy is closely tied in with systematic heightening of productivity, better work discipline, higher efficiency and growing political and production activity of our working people.

In a socialist society there are many mechanisms whereby the Party and the state maintain close ties with the people. In recent years our Party has been consulting public circles on all major political, social and economic problems. They add to our knowledge of life and help adopt correct decisions, while at the same time liberating the tremendous creative forces of society.

Our Party attaches primary importance to the direct influence Communists exert on the working people. The Sixth Congress instructions on the composition of the Party and the style and methods of work are aimed at enhancing this influence. The Party has the important tasks of improving the qualitative composition of its ranks, imposing higher demands on its members, enlisting the best representatives of the working people, and improving its work among candidate members.

The main prerequisite for the leading position of the working class and the guiding role of its party is the dominance of Marxism-Leninism in the spiritual life of the society. The fact that socialist ideology is part of social consciousness is a reflection of the stability of socialist relations. The moulding of that ideology is a

long historical process demanding special efforts from the party. In his report at the Sixth PUWP Congress, Comrade Gierek said: 'In our time ideological struggle has become an arena of the class struggle between the two systems, socialism and capitalism, between antagonistic classes, between the new and the old. It is a struggle of ideas, a struggle for people's minds and attitudes. There never has been and never will be a cease-fire.'

The PUWP had to wage a protracted struggle against revisionism, which challenged the general laws of socialism and joined hands with anti-Soviet nationalism and pro-western cosmopolitanism. The Party's policy elaborated prior to the Sixth Congress and developed in its decisions dealt a crushing blow to revisionism.

Anti-Marxist, opportunist views concentrate on denying the universal values of Leninism, the international significance of the experience and road of the October Revolution, the principles of building socialism worked out by the CPSU, confirmed and developed by the experience of other fraternal parties. Today Maoism has become communism's most dangerous ideological opponent. The PUWP sees analyzing and explaining the anti-Marxist essence of Maoism as an important ideological task.

Internationalism is the fundamental principle on which the ideology and policy of the working class are based. The PUWP is guided in all its policies by the principle of internationalism and works unswervingly to promote Poland's unity and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

I. Sedivy, *Cand. Hist.*, (Prague): The scientific-technological revolution does not detract from the role of the Party in directing socialist society. There can be no 'kingdom of technocrats,' no 'government by computer.' All the problems of society have to be solved by consolidating the class alliance of workers and other strata of the working people, and the convergence of classes and social groups. This requires political leadership by the Communist Party. With the internationalization of economic, political and spiritual life, no major problem involved in the building of the new society in any country can be solved without international cooperation of the working class and Communist parties of the socialist countries.

Our international aims and tasks are determined by the objective regularities of anti-imperialist struggle, socialist revolution and socialist construction. Proletarian internationalism is not merely solidarity in the joint struggle. It is also a law governing the development of each socialist country, a precondition of its progress. The Party of Lenin, the Soviet working class, the Soviet state, are an example of socialist internationalism. And cooperation with the USSR helps the socialist countries build the new society, consolidate their sovereignty and power of the people led by the working class.

The 1968 events in Czechoslovakia demonstrated, V. Kves said, that the successes of socialist construction cannot be simplistically regarded as an automatic guarantee of continued development. They

have to be consolidated, and this requires constant strengthening of the Party, consistent application of Leninist principles in political, ideological and cadre work. This is especially important because imperialism is making every effort to erode the socialist system from within.

In Czechoslovakia, revisionist concepts negating the leading role of the Party were being spread even before 1968. There was, for instance, the contention that the working class was sufficiently educated to dispense with Party leadership. Others alleged that the intelligentsia now played the leading role in society, and there was no need for leadership by the Party. Still another revisionist concept did not negate the Leninist doctrine on relations between working class and Party, but maintained that the technological revolution had made the intelligentsia, above all the technical intelligentsia, part of the working class and its new revolutionary core, and consequently the core of the Party. All these theories were aimed at turning the revolutionary working-class party into a reformist one.

And still another variety of revisionism: idealization of the 'cultural revolution' in China which, it was claimed, was expressive of the initiative of the masses and their negative attitude towards centralized administration. Actually, it was a cover for the so-called barrack socialism, when a handful of Party bureaucrats impose their will on the Party and people.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has drawn lessons from the past. It now pays special attention to regulating the composition of the Party, strengthening its worker core, improving political education and Party work among the masses. On January 1, 1973, the Party had more than 1.2 million members and candidate members, of whom 44.1 per cent were workers, and 68.9 per cent came from working-class families.

G. Chimid said imperialist propaganda and Right and 'Left' opportunists were spearheading their 'criticism' against the leading role of the working class and its Party. The Maoists approach the problem from the positions of the petty bourgeoisie and lumpen-proletariat. What they want is to substitute for the organized working-class movement a system based on violence, plots and revolts. They have put out the subjectivist formula: 'Politics means commanding,' in total disregard of the objective laws and conditions of social development.

Having abandoned working-class positions, the Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism, the Mao group used the 'cultural revolution' to smash the working-class political organization. This was done with the help of the 'Red Guards' and the army. Party and state organizations built on the principle of democratic centralism were replaced by a military-bureaucratic dictatorship. The Maoists' anti-Sovietism determines their attitude to the international working class and socialism. The Maoists have thus become active helpers of anti-communism and imperialism.

The Communist vanguard of the working class, the founders of

scientific communism stressed, must, above all, be a party of proletarian internationalism. The close ties of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party with the CPSU and the international proletarian movement made for the success of our anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, enabling Mongolia to by-pass capitalism in its advance to socialism. Today, too, fraternal assistance by CMEA countries is accelerating Mongolia's conversion into an industrial-agrarian country.

Vanguard of the class and of the entire people

The conference devoted special attention to the present development stage of fraternal parties and the factors that go into strengthening their vanguard role.

K. Giaurov emphasized that strengthening the leading position of the working class and the leading role of the Communist Party are two objective and dialectically interdependent regularities. In Bulgaria, their realization is assisted by the Party's vast experience and the high degree of ideological and political unity of the working people. The historic April 1956 CC plenum eliminated all manifestations of the personality cult. Creatively applying the Leninist principles of socialist construction, it drew up a correct political line, elaborated and enriched by subsequent Party congresses and CC plenums in the course of theoretical generalization of experience. The April decisions, the basis of Party work, are largely responsible for our achievements in building socialist society.

Changes in the composition of the working class are reflected in the Party's development. The 10th Party Congress stressed that the social composition of the Party has to be regulated in order that it more fully reflect the social structure of society, strengthen the Party's working-class core and enhance its leading role. Workers make up over 47 per cent of new members admitted since the Congress, and today one industrial worker in nine is a Party member, one in 15 is in the building trades, one in seven in transport and trade, and one in 11 in the farming cooperatives. About 43 per cent of Party members have a higher or secondary education.

The convergence process and society's strengthening ideological and political unity gradually elevate the party of the working class into a party of the entire people, as other social groups accept and assimilate working-class ideology.

Consistent development and improvement of the administration of society enhances the vanguard role of the working class and the Party. Public organizations are more closely drawn into the work of government agencies. In fact, some government functions, together with appropriate legislative initiative, are being delegated to public organizations. Several government committees operate on this public-cum-state pattern.

Our Party is working on the premise that the general, internationalist, and the particular, national, do not combine automatically, but as a result of constructive effort. In building develop-

ed socialist society our Party always seeks to make maximum use of CPSU and international communist experience, combining it with our national traditions. The Party considers it a sacred duty to combat all manifestations of nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

Hanna Wolf: The history of socialism will show how important it is to be guided by Lenin's idea that the 'Party is the leader, the vanguard of the proletariat, which rules directly' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 98). The role of the working class under socialism cannot be understood in isolation from the role of the Party. History has confirmed Lenin's idea of close contact between Party, class and people. This has found expression in the socio-economic program adopted by the Eighth SUPG Congress and approved by our working class as conforming to its interests. Thus, confidence in the Party, and consequently contact with it, have been enhanced.

Social composition is a key factor in promoting the Party's vanguard role. The SUPG now has more than 1,950,000 members and candidate members. A bigger membership is not an aim in itself—we try to bring in more workers, who make up 56.6 per cent of the membership and 79.5 per cent of candidate members admitted in 1972.

S. Jakab: Through its policy the Party ensures realization of the working-class's interests and long-range aims. The Hungarian Party drew the proper lessons from the 1956 counter-revolution and is devoting special attention to strengthening and extending its working class ties, the cardinal condition for successful construction of socialism.

Social composition does not of itself determine the class character of a party. Its policy is of decisive importance: if a party upholds the interests of the working class, it is a workers' party. And this holds good even if there is a growing proportion of non-worker elements in the membership. However, from the standpoint of the party's class character we cannot be indifferent to how its social composition takes shape. For the membership exerts a decisive influence on policy and the way it is carried out. That is why the proportion of workers in the membership is of such crucial importance, and our Party is constantly concerned to increase that proportion.

Asked about the interconnection between the Party's vanguard role and the size of its membership, Jakab replied: The Party's vanguard role implies that it unites in its ranks the best elements of society, Marxist-Leninists dedicating all their energy to carrying out Party policy and helping it exercise its leading role. Bringing in the foremost representatives of the working class and other sections of the working people is, doubtlessly, a positive development. Of course, the Lenin norms of building the Party have to be stringently observed, and its worker core strengthened. But if the foremost representatives of non-worker strata fully accept the working class's historic mission, actively work in its interests, the influx of such persons, far from weakening, actually strengthens the Party. If these conditions are observed, a mass party does not lose its vanguard role.

F. F. Petrenko, Cand. Hist., (Moscow): The development of the Party follows definite regularities. Only a mass party can direct far-reaching social transformations. Besides, the growing socio-political maturity of the working class, farming population and intelligentsia has greatly increased Party membership in the socialist countries. But this mass influx and the objective need to extend Party influence pose complex problems and make it necessary to regulate Party growth. But under all conditions, the Party must remain the political vanguard, the leader. And that is possible only if it draws its new members from among the finest representatives of the working class and other sections of the working people.

The CPSU accounts for nine per cent of the Soviet adult population; every 11th adult above the age of 18 is a Party member. But the Party sees to it that membership growth is not prodded and orients its organizations on careful individual approach, so that the Party takes in front-rank workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, and so that its qualitative composition is steadily improved. In social composition, aims, ideals and organizational forms, the CPSU was founded as a party of the working class, and this played a decisive part in the victory of socialism.

It is only natural that the proportion of workers in the Party should correspond to their proportion in society. CPSU worker membership increased from 32 per cent in 1952-58 to 40.7 per cent in 1972. This accent on priority recruitment of workers does not preclude, but presupposes, an individual approach.

Admission of the more politically mature representatives of the working class, collective farmers and intelligentsia assures that Party members have the necessary knowledge for the work assigned them. The share of Party members with higher or incomplete higher education increased from 16.2 per cent in 1961 to about 23 per cent in 1972, and those with secondary education from 26.2 to 35 per cent. About 15,600 Party members hold doctoral and 132,700 candidate degrees.

Y. Serkedjiev, researcher at the Bulgarian Party Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management, was asked about the working class party becoming, at the same time, a party of the entire people. In replying, he emphasized that this is a characteristic process in all countries building developed socialism. The following major criteria determine a Party's class character: first, ideology; second, organizational principles; third, social composition. What changes occur at the stage of building developed socialism? Working-class socialist ideology and its scientific expression, Marxism-Leninism, gradually become the ideology of the entire people. Democratic centralism, the cardinal principle of party organization and activity, means extending inner-Party democracy; the Party forms still closer ties with the people. The convergence of classes and social groups finds expression in the Party's social composition. Hence, without losing its class character, the Party increasingly becomes a party of all the working people, of the entire people.

Forms and methods of party leadership

S. Voicu: The methods the Party uses in exercising its leading role depend on specific class relations, on the conditions in one or another country, and are determined by the working-class party and other political forces interested in the socialist refashioning of society.

The Party's main function at the present stage is drawing up the strategy of social development, and introduction of political, socio-economic, organizational and ideological measures necessary to build a developed socialist society. In Rumanian conditions, the leading role of the Party extends to every area, is actively manifested in all spheres of social life. The Party's guidance of society cannot be reduced to ideological influence alone; any weakening of its political and organizational activity can create a receptive soil for spontaneity. However, the Party cannot perform its leading role by employing administrative methods; that would be tantamount to voluntarism.

The higher level of leadership of social life has required, in the speaker's view, a certain intertwining of the activities of Party, government and non-government bodies. This has found expression in the merger of some Party and government posts, the creation of Party-government bodies, introduction of the principle of alternating personnel engaged in Party and government work, representation of public organizations in government bodies, etc. But of course, the merger of offices does not mean a merger of government and Party bodies or that they employ the same forms and methods of work. What we have is a dialectical process, interpenetration of functions of Party and government.

By the end of 1972, the Rumanian Communist Party had 2,280,000 members, 22 per cent of the country's active population. More than one million members are workers, and over 70 per cent of the Party membership is engaged in material production.

The last few years have seen more public discussion, at all levels, of draft decisions on all major matters. Dialogue and interaction are fostered between Party leadership and membership, Party and class, Party and people.

The speaker was asked to what extent the practice of combining the functions of regional Party committee secretary with those of head of local government, introduced a few years ago, had justified itself. We evaluate it positively, said S. Voicu. Such a combining of functions raises the responsibility of Party committees for the work of government bodies, and Party leadership and control become more concrete. At the same time, it does away with formalism, duplication and bureaucracy in those spheres of socio-economic life in which both Party and government bodies are engaged. However, this does not mean removing the boundaries between Party and state; they perform different functions and use different methods.

In formulating its policy, said S. Jakab, the HSWP proceeds from

the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the experience of the Hungarian and international worker movement, and the rich, invaluable historical experience of the Soviet people.

The Party exercises ideological and political leadership. The decisive factor in implementing its policy is the continued effort for a uniform understanding of decisions and closer ideological cohesion. The Party respects the jurisdiction of state and non-government organizations: each does the work for which it was set up.

We seek to do away with duplication. On the basis of the ideological and political principles laid down by the HSWP, government and economic bodies and public organizations independently work out and adopt decisions and determine how to put them into effect. This does not mean that the Party has relinquished its operational leadership. If a question acquires major political significance the Party promptly steps in.

Uniform understanding and implementation of Party policy demand consistent and strict Party control. Accounting for fulfilled decisions—from Party branches to the highest bodies—is the cornerstone of control. It is especially important to expand the control functions of primary Party branches. Every Party member, whether factory director or factory-floor worker, is politically accountable first and foremost to his Party branch, where there is no distinction by position. Our experience shows that the effectiveness of Party leadership depends on whether it is exercised at branch level as consistently as at higher levels.

In its leadership of the society the Party relies on an extensive system of mass organizations. Since the mechanism of proletarian dictatorship operates, in our case, in conditions of a one-party system, the HSWP relies greatly on the support of mass organizations and movements, takes their views into account, and draws them into policy making.

The higher stage of development of socialism, said *F. F. Petrenko*, calls for a clearcut separation of the functions of Party, state and non-government organizations and certain adjustments in the methods of Party leadership. The need for Party interference to make good deficiencies in the work of government or economic bodies due to the inadequacy of some officials has largely passed. As a consequence, the Party can concentrate more on long-term social-development planning, fundamental problems, concerting the efforts of government and non-government organizations.

Party control should not be confused with administrative control. Stemming from the very meaning of Party leadership, it is control over the implementation of policies, over the realization of the ideals of the working class and the norms and principles of socialism in every domain. Hence, when Party bodies assume state, economic or public functions lying outside their domain they deprive themselves of the possibility of exercising such control and thereby reduce the Party's leading role.

The MPRP, noted *B. Khurmetbek*, employs various forms and

methods of organizational and political work among the masses and does everything to strengthen its links with them. Regular meetings between leading functionaries and worker collectives and accountability of deputies to their constituencies make for better knowledge of people's needs, reveal unused reserves and help more efficiently resolve economic and social problems. In recent years Party organizations have been giving special consideration to concrete sociological research, which helps determine worker moods and attitudes. An important way of strengthening the Party's ties with the masses is through expanding their participation in public affairs. We are raising the role of the trade unions, production conferences and worker meetings.

A political and scientific approach is the essence and basic feature of Party leadership, Y. *Serkedjiev* emphasized. Under a decision of the CC Secretariat, the Party is sponsoring a theoretical conference on 'Raising the Scientific Standards of Party Organizational Work.' And at its first stage, in 1972, 34,000 meetings of branch organizations and several hundred conferences of Party activists were held. In the second stage, this year, five zone conferences were held. The result has been greater activity of Communists, the establishment of a number of scientific-methodological councils and sociological research centers. A new structure of Party organizations at agrarian-industrial complexes is going through experimental verification. The final stage will be a national conference at Varna. It will promote the development of Party organization as a science.

Professor W. Zastawny, member of the CC PUWP and rector of its Higher School of Social Sciences, spoke of the experience of Party work at large industrial enterprises. In mid-1971, the CC Secretariat decided to assume patronage over the Party branches of 163 large enterprises, but without over-riding the responsibilities of province and district committees. These factories account for one-quarter of the whole industrial work force.

There are many forms of CC patronage: consultations with activists on important problems of the enterprise and the country, meetings between CC leaders and secretaries of factory Party branch committees, help in ideological and political work. Every once in a while the CC Secretariat analyzes the Party work of some of these branch organizations. Workers' views are taken into account in preparing decisions of the Central Committee and other Party and state bodies. The positive experience of work of big enterprises is disseminated among other factories. All this serves to strengthen the ties of the Party and its leadership with the working class.

J. Baran, research worker of the Higher School of Social Sciences of the CC PUWP, discussed ideological and educational work as an important form of exercising Party leadership. Building socialism, he said, involves not only the creation of its material base and socio-economic and political changes, but also the moulding of a new social consciousness. The man of the socialist world, the man of the epoch of scientific and technological revolution is a compre-

hensively developed individual whose work combines with creative participation in socio-political and cultural life.

Socialist multi-party system

Some participants in the conference spoke of the specific features of the Communist Party's leading role in a socialist multi-party system.

In Poland, A. Werblan noted, as in some other socialist countries, the working-class party, while working closely with non-party people, at the same times operates with allied parties in the Popular Unity Front: the United Peasants' Party (UPP) and the Democratic Party (DP). The multi-party system in our country differs fundamentally from the bourgeois multi-party system. It formed in conditions of socialist construction. The UPP and DP accept the Marxist program of socialist construction and the leading role of the working-class party.

The PUWP is recognized by the nation and the allied parties as the leading force of the society, the main center of political initiative and political decision-making. With more than 2.2 million members and candidates, the Party relies on the working class, but it speaks for the interests of all working people and is a party of the whole people. The allied parties take part in the implementation of national objectives, but they concentrate on the specific spheres with which they are historically associated. The active base of the UPP, which has 400,000 members, is the section of the rural population traditionally linked with the peasant movement. The Democratic Party, with 90,000 members, is active mainly among artisans and a section of the intelligentsia associated in the past with the liberal professions.

Our Party works together with the UPP and DP to strengthen the people's unity on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist program of Poland's development. They jointly oppose the tendencies and forces undermining that unity, including all attempts to deform the socialist principles of a multi-party system and attempts to undermine or challenge the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, said B. Boyev, heads the building of developed socialist society in close cooperation with the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, which has 120,000 members, mainly cooperative farmers. The Agrarian Union is active among those sections of the peasants who had fought under its leadership against fascism and later for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Such cooperation extends the influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, as the Agrarian Union accepts the BCP program as its own and works to promote its implementation. As representative of a section of the cooperative farmers, the Union helps the Communist Party draw them into active participation in building mature socialism. Social changes in the countryside affect the composition of the Agrarian Union, promoting its activity

and role and strengthening the ideological and political unity of the people.

At a joint meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC BCP and the Union leadership in the spring of 1971, a protocol on joint action was adopted. It states that the Agrarian Union, its organizations and members should participate not only in carrying out Communist Party decisions but also in shaping its policy and drafting decisions.

All participants agreed that the growing leading role of Marxist-Leninist parties and the strengthening of their ties with the masses is a decisive prerequisite of success in building a developed socialist society.

In his concluding remarks, K. I. Zarodov, D.Sc. Hist., Editor-in-Chief of *World Marxist Review*, dwelt on the role of the working class and Communist parties of socialist countries in three spheres: organization of socialist construction, establishment of social links within the socialist community, strengthening of the alliance of the socialist world system with all revolutionary forces of the globe.

Speaking of the first sphere, Comrade Zarodov pointed out the entirely new character of economic organization under socialism, which gradually turns labor into man's primary, vital requirement and hence changes both the process of labor and man himself. The working class is capable of performing its leading role in the new conditions because it has developed and grown stronger politically and organizationally, created its socialist intelligentsia and itself become a highly educated segment of society. Important questions were raised at the conference concerning the forms and methods whereby the working class and its party exercise their leading role in the conditions of developed socialism and the scientific and technological revolution.

Taking up the second sphere of problems, the speaker asked: why is the working class also the decisive force in strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, just as it is in solving the domestic problems of each country? Because, firstly, it takes the high consciousness and discipline of the working class to successfully develop cooperation between countries with different levels of economic development and national specifics and to provide economic assistance. Secondly, it takes the creative energy and wisdom of the working class to resolve the new problems of joint, planned organization of production within a large group of countries. Thirdly, it takes the stamina of the working class to pursue a class line in face of difficulties in establishing the new type of relations between countries.

The force that cements the socialist countries' unity is the organizing, highly important activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties. It is the Party's policy that gives expression to the internationalism inherent in the working class, to its devotion to class ideals unfettered by great-power, parochial or egoistical prejudices.

All this, in the speaker's view, confronts social science with the

important task of continuing to study the development and role of the working class of the socialist countries as a new socio-historical formation, the role of Marxist-Leninist parties in achieving the economic and political unity of these countries.

On the other hand, there arise such problems as the socialist countries' application of the principles of proletarian internationalism in a world divided into two systems, with integration processes at work in the world and the socialist community; questions of the strategy and tactics of the joint struggle of fraternal countries and parties to prevent the appearance of weak links in the socialist system; questions of the best way of linking the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialist economic cooperation.

Finally, when we speak of such an important task of the socialist countries as the strengthening of their ties with the world revolutionary process, the leading role of the working class and its party is as essential as ever.

For the international working class and its party the most important task of the revolutionary struggle today is to deepen the positive changes in the international climate that are compelling the leaders of the capitalist world to accept a measure of détente. Communists have always proceeded from the fact that the worst hit by war and the arms race is the working class, that none can gain more from the international détente than the working class. The fraternal parties in the capitalist countries know that the effort to consolidate and widen the present change in international relations is a key component of the general democratic struggle of the peoples, which, in turn, is closely linked to the revolutionary socialist movement.

In this field, too, there are many problems that must be dealt with, notably new ways of developing the revolutionary process in conditions when the socialist world system has become the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle; international détente and working-class unity; proletarian criteria in approaching relations between countries with different social systems, and others

The experience of the working class of the socialist countries, the experience of their Marxist-Leninist parties, K. I. Zarodov said in conclusion, are universal in character, and he loses much who rejects or underestimates them, or explores ground already trodden. As for us, living and working in the socialist countries, it is our duty to sum up the achievements of real socialism creatively and comprehensively popularize them.

The nature of contradictions today

Acad. N. Inozemtsev, USSR

The social contradictions of today's world are a vastly important and highly complex theme. Our epoch is unmatched in dynamism and social conflict. Political, economic, scientific, technological, ecological and other factors intertwine and interact much more than ever in the various countries belonging to one social and economic system, between the socialist and the capitalist systems and in international relations.

I would like to comment on some aspects of the problem, first of all on the nature and interrelation of diverse groups of contradictions. Discussion of this problem in an international Marxist-Leninist journal is all the more timely because many non-Marxist works, including books by prominent bourgeois scholars, have been published in recent years alongside Marxist writings. Some of these works are prompted by sincere concern for mankind, the desire to see the lag of developing countries eliminated as speedily as possible, or by preoccupation over the environment. Other works are aimed at preserving the capitalist system and present the class antagonisms of today as contradictions born of the technological revolution. While some of the latter works contain useful factual data, their socio-political tendency and overall concept are untenable.

I. The distinctive features of the world of today (and they are significant), new phenomena of capitalism, the transformation of victorious socialism into a major factor of human progress – these new global processes of the closing third of the century all require creative analysis. This is the attitude of Marxist scholars and it is typical of the theoretical thought of brother parties and the world Communist movement.

Dialectical materialism regards contradictions as an internal source of movement and development and sees general laws of development in the unity and struggle of opposites, the transformation of quantitative into qualitative changes, the negation of the negation, and the inseparable interconnection and interdependence of the different aspects of every phenomenon. While applying dialectical laws to social development and stressing that development is attended by and passes through contradictions, Marxism-Leninism underlines the fundamental and primary role of *class contradictions*. It considers the history of existing societies (except pre-class society) to be primarily history of the class struggle and regards the worldwide historical process as a logical replacement of social and economic formations by objectively higher and more progressive ones.

Rapid and deep-going changes in the world and the contradictions involved demonstrate again and again the tremendous creative power of Marxism-Leninism and the indefensibility of its bourgeois, reformist and revisionist critics, and confirm the necessity for special attention to class contradictions.

This is attested, first of all, by so decisive an objective law of modern history as the victory of socialist revolutions in the Soviet Union, several other European and Asian countries and subsequently Latin American countries, and by the rise and development of the socialist world system. Socialism steadily consolidates its positions in world politics and international relations, in the world economy and world economic relations, in science, technology and culture. A synthesized index, the socialist countries' share in world industrial production increased from 10 per cent in 1937 to roughly 20 per cent in 1950 and almost 39 per cent in 1972.

Needless to say, the progress of world socialism, like any other development process, encounters certain difficulties and must overcome some contradictions. However, both the nature of these contradictions, which are not antagonistic, and the ways and means of resolving them are fundamentally different from those under capitalism. The socialist countries' far-reaching social and economic gains, promotion of genuine democracy for the working people, achievements in science, technology and culture, and rising standards of life have a revolutionizing effect on the rest of the world and speed the course of world history.

The fundamental tenets of historical materialism regarding the contradictions of social development, and the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of classes and class struggle are also proved correct by processes taking place in the capitalist world and by the steady deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

Rapid and comprehensive socialization of production is a salient feature of contemporary imperialism. It expresses itself in unprecedented concentration and centralization of production and capital and in expanding activity by monopolies – 'national,' 'transnational' (belonging to the capitalists of one country but operating through their branches in many countries) and multinational (owned by the capitalists of one or more countries). A further indication is the growing role of the state, its interference in, and partly regulation of, the economy. The capitalist countries' increasing economic integration points in the same direction.

Nevertheless, monopoly expansion, the increasing strength of state-monopoly capitalism and capitalist integration do not eliminate but aggravate the fundamental contradiction of bourgeois society, that between the social character of production and private capitalist appropriation of its results. Growing state-monopoly capitalism, in which Lenin saw a development stage of the world economy and the 'threshold' of socialism (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 359), helps to build up the material prerequisites of socialism.

Changes in the social structure of developed capitalist countries, speeded by the current technological revolution, extend the social

basis for transforming society on revolutionary lines. Typical of industrial countries of the capitalist world are not only rapid progress in science and technology and a higher rate of economic growth than in the past, but a growing and increasingly well-organized working-class movement, a stronger desire for democracy on the part of the people, including the fast-growing intelligentsia, a more rapid differentiation of the peasantry and a high degree of militancy among youth. Many capitalist countries are in the throes of acute social and political crises of nationwide dimensions. These consecutive crises are evidence of the exacerbation of state-monopoly capitalism's contradictions.

Numerous developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, for their part, are rent by social conflicts and class battles. While some of them have chosen a socialist orientation, others are locked in debate on the course of further development and still others are developing on capitalist lines. In a number of developing countries, social life is particularly involved, inasmuch as class contradictions are aggravated by national, tribal, religious and other differences and by internal struggles against the background of continuous national liberation movements against imperialism and its neo-colonialist policies, for greater political and economic independence.

The intensity and protracted character of these struggles are compounded by the economic gap between industrial capitalist countries and developing countries, a gap due largely to a colonial past and certain present-day factors. The developing countries, which account for about 70 per cent of the population of the non-socialist world, supply roughly 10 per cent of the world industrial output. By 1972 their national income averaged \$208 a year per inhabitant against \$2,420 in highly developed capitalist countries. As for the future, the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economics and International Relations estimates that the gross national product in these countries may average only \$320-\$370 per capita by 1990 (given a five or six per cent increase in gross output against five per cent in the 1950-1970 period, and a population increase to 3,000 million).^{*} All this spells a further sharpening and deepening of contradictions between developing and imperialist countries.

In Asia, Africa and some countries of Latin America the problem of nationalism is becoming more acute, or, to be precise, the contest between its two trends – the progressive, anti-imperialist trend towards the national liberation of these countries and, on the other hand, the reactionary trend due to nationalism, which is given a definite content by the bourgeoisie and is associated with inflated religious or other factors.

^{*}These figures in themselves reveal the utopian nature of the solutions proposed in various forms by Professor J. Forrester, D. Meadows and some other authors linked with the Roman Club, a large group of noted scholars of various countries. Some bourgeois authors, who point, with good reason, to a steep uptrend in the birth rate, the rapid depletion of certain natural resources and the increasing pollution of the environment, see a way out in freezing development levels in the United States and other highly developed capitalist countries, on the one hand, and in the socialist and developing countries, on the other. But, of course, recipes of this kind are contrary to the laws of history, the principles of its progressive development and common sense.

It follows that class antagonisms and struggle have been, are and will be there and are inevitable as long as antagonistic classes, diverse modes of production and opposed social systems exist.

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when capitalism ceased to be a global system ruling the whole of mankind, the character of the world began, as Lenin had foreseen, to be increasingly determined by the contest between 'two methods, two political and economic systems – the communist and the capitalist' (Vol. 31, p. 456).

The contradiction between the two systems has become the fundamental and decisive contradiction of today. As program documents of the CPSU, other fraternal parties and the world Communist movement rightly note, it covers every sphere of social life – the economy, politics, ideology and culture – and affects every region of the world. It has a considerable impact on the fundamental internal processes going on in socialist countries (cf. the need for these countries to spend considerable funds on defense), capitalist countries (competition between the two systems has a notable effect on the capitalist economy, and the processes taking place in the socialist countries have their effect on the social policies of bourgeois governments) and developing countries (this manifests itself in emulation of the socialist countries' example, the economic assistance they offer, helping to reorganize foreign economic relations on a sound basis, and in numerous other ways).

The contradictions and struggle between the two opposed social systems, the class struggle in capitalist countries, the contradictions and struggle between imperialism and the national liberation movement, the deep inter-imperialist antagonisms and rivalry between capitalist powers – all of which is inevitable under imperialism – undoubtedly have an effect on the foreign policy of diverse classes, the action of individual states or groups of states and find reflection throughout the system of international relations. This manifests itself, in particular, in various international conflicts and crises.

The postwar period has seen a series of different conflicts: conflicts directly reflecting the struggle of world capitalism against world socialism, such as the wars of aggression waged by the United States in Korea and Vietnam, the Caribbean crisis and others; conflicts touched off by imperialist attempts to crush national liberation struggles (the wars waged by imperialist powers in Algeria and Indochina, the attack on Egypt in 1956, the Israeli aggression against Arab countries in 1967 and the present Middle East crisis, the intervention in the Dominican Republic, and so on); sharp contradictions and conflicts caused by inter-imperialist struggles – between the three main 'power centers' of contemporary capitalism (USA, Western Europe and Japan), between French, West German and British imperialism for leadership in the Common Market, and between all countries in this group; contradictions inside NATO and the withdrawal of France from the military organization of NATO; a deepening monetary crisis and an intensifying trade war in the capitalist world.

It would be wrong to ignore certain other contradictions of today. For a number of reasons, and not without the involvement of imperialist powers, there were two serious conflicts which tended to develop into an armed showdown between two developing countries, India and Pakistan. There is also the possibility of conflict situations resulting from a certain deformation of foreign policy by a socialist state, as is the case in China today, from abandonment of the peaceful, internationalist substance of this policy, which is inherent in its class nature, from chauvinist and hegemonist claims which may lead to a confrontation with other countries (as in the case of India in 1962) and increased international tensions.

II. However important, indeed crucial, now and in future, are the contradictions between world socialism and world capitalism, labor and capital, imperialism and the national-liberation movement, it would be wrong to disregard other contradictions of today's world. In real life, political, economic, ideological and military factors clash and interlock with one another, forming an intricate complex; international relations of the past, brought into being by the exploiter classes' policy of aggression, with a new type of international relations born of socialism; contradictions directly caused by the class struggle, with contradictions caused by general democratic demands.

Marx said that the bourgeois period of history must, in particular, develop 'the universal intercourse founded upon the mutual dependence of mankind' (*The Future Results of British Rule in India*) and Engels, speaking to British workers, noted the coincidence of their interests 'with the interests of all humanity.'

The lessons of the 20th century, for which mankind has paid so dearly indicate that at certain stages in history problems affecting all classes and social strata, all states and nations may come to the fore – problems deriving, broadly speaking, from contradictions in the development of the human race as a whole.

Contradictions of this kind came into their own at the time of World War I, which began on a purely class basis, as an immediate result of the development of capitalism and its contradictions, as an outgrowth of competition between the monopoly bourgeoisie of a few countries. But once it drew all classes and peoples of many nations into its orbit, involving non-belligerents as well as belligerents, it became a fulcrum around which the policies of all countries revolved.

The contradiction between the impressive advances of science and technology and their application for destruction instead of creation had the gravest consequences. Speaking on June 4, 1918, Lenin stressed, that, as Socialists had predicted, the war 'might, that, in fact, it inevitably would, undermine the very foundations of human society' (Vol. 27, p. 422). Not only Russia, but other countries, too, were in the throes of a vast crisis; war had exhausted and undermined the productive forces, it had brought hunger, dislocation and poverty, which spread to all the countries of contem-

porary capitalist civilization. This posed the fundamental task, in Lenin's words, of preserving human society. (Ibid., p. 425).

Such were the harsh lessons of World War I. But they were lost on the ruling classes of the main capitalist powers, and it was not long before the world was engulfed in a second, even more devastating holocaust which killed 50 million people and maimed 35 million, compared with 10 and 20 million respectively in World War I.

By now the threat to the very conditions of human existence mentioned by Lenin has become a distinct possibility. Never before has the contradiction between the vast, truly boundless opportunities opened up by scientific and technological progress and the dangers inherent in their being used for military purposes, to the detriment of society, been so acute. An inalienable component of the scientific and technological revolution is the revolution in the means of waging war. The manufacture, stockpiling and continued perfection of thermonuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation could well bring the death count of a new war into the hundreds of millions, making no difference between front and rear, obliterating major centers of world industry and culture, nay, whole nations, and poisoning the atmosphere, with incalculable genetic consequences for future generations. Nor is all this the fruit of idle fantasy: it is a conclusion based on scientific fact.

The prevention of a new world war is the prime task of all mankind, on it depends 'the preservation of human society.' That is why Communists have proclaimed the fight against the threat of world thermonuclear war the major issue of our time, why they have led the fight for peace with unflagging perseverance, for they have no higher purpose than to serve man, human society.

To stop a potential aggressor armed with nuclear bombs and missiles, he must be confronted with a force at least equal to his. The Soviet Union, the world's first land of triumphant socialism, acting in the interests of all mankind, as well as its own, did just that—at the cost of tremendous efforts and many sacrifices by the Soviet people. A result was the sharp contradiction between the inordinately inflated war machine built up by imperialism and the possibilities for its practical utilization—given the Soviet Union's huge defence potential, unleashing a new war could prove suicidal for imperialism. Besides, Soviet measures to undermine imperialism's 'positions of strength' policy in the material sphere were accompanied by an active, purposeful, peaceful foreign policy.

An important factor, which had a tremendous impact on the international situation, was that all the main anti-imperialist detachments—the socialist countries, the international working class, the national-liberation movements, all peace-loving, democratic forces—joined the fight for peace and international security.

This struggle has not been in vain. A marked change has occurred in the international situation in the early 1970s. The imperialist aggression in Vietnam, which threatened to expand into a conflict of worldwide proportions, has been stopped. A healthier climate

has evolved in Europe, as witnessed by the convocation of the all-European security and cooperation conference. Some practical steps have been taken to reduce the threat of nuclear war, restrain the strategic arms race and facilitate progress in further talks on these problems.

Political activity directly involving the Soviet Union and the international policy of the CPSU have also yielded important advances in the last few years. Cooperation between the USSR and France is progressing on a firm footing. A marked change has taken place in relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the one hand, and the FRG, on the other. Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are going through a process of normalization and improvement. The Agreement on Basic Principles of Relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America declares that both sides 'will proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence.' Several important agreements contributing substantially to international security were signed during the recent visits of General Secretary of the CC CPSU L. I. Brezhnev to the FRG, USA and France. Contacts are expanding between the Soviet Union and Japan. Friendly cooperation is progressing with India, neighboring European countries, many Asian countries, progressive Arab regimes, and a number of Latin American countries, all of which bespeaks the successful implementation of the Peace Program put forward by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The struggle for peace and international security is a general-democratic one, but it is fully in accord with the communist ideals of the socialist states and the class interests of the workers and other toiling people in capitalist countries. Not only does it help prevent war (the burden of which, it has been amply shown, falls squarely on the working class) but it favors an international atmosphere, an international climate conducive to more successful proletarian action against the most reactionary, adventurist militarist groups of the ruling camp in capitalist countries. Representatives of different classes and social strata join hands in this struggle, which is in many ways linked with the fight for better living conditions, democratic rights and freedoms.

Thus do things stand with one of the main contradictions of mankind as a whole: the contradiction arising from the potential effects of the scientific and technological revolution on the issue of war and peace. But this revolution also confronts mankind with another important problem, less dramatic in its immediate consequences, yet of greatest import from the point of view of future prospects: the problem of relations between man and the environment.

This is, first and foremost, a problem of overcoming the contradiction between galloping scientific and technological progress and the limits of the world's resources, which are being expended at a

rate threatening their total depletion; the contradiction between present-day forms of industrial development and the dangerous pollution of the environment with its threat of biological imbalance. Thus, in the last 150 years the earth's population has about trebled, whereas areas of vegetation, the source of 'new' oxygen in the atmosphere, have shrunk by one-third. The carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere has increased more than 10-fold over the last 100 years, climbing steeply in the last few decades. Pollution of rivers and lakes and, lately, the world ocean, is attaining dangerous proportions; in industrial areas drinking water is at a premium.

The Communist and Workers' Parties and the international Communist movement as a whole take an extremely serious view of the situation. The CPSU regards efforts to rectify it as one of the prime elements of its social, economic, scientific and technological policy. In his report 'Fifty Years of Great Victories of Socialism,' L. I. Brezhnev pointed out: 'The rapid advance of science and technology has brought to the fore the eternal problem of relations between man and nature. The first socialists held that an important aspect of the future society would be man's merger with nature. Centuries have passed since then. We have built a new society embodying much of what the precursors of scientific socialism could only dream of. But nature remains an invaluable source of material wealth, an inexhaustible source of health, happiness, love of life and spiritual wealth of every person.'

Thus, in this sphere of world contradictions, too – between human society and nature – there exist quite a few problems and difficulties. There is no reason, however, to regard them as insuperable. Scientific and technological progress itself continuously creates qualitatively new possibilities for developing energy supplies, replacing natural raw materials with synthetic, man-made ones, using 'closed processes' in industry (which make for a substantial saving of natural resources at higher energy expenditure), trapping various pollutants, etc.*

Despite the importance of scientific and technological progress and the new opportunities it may provide, there is much more to the problem, for besides technology and economics there are also social factors of no less, if not greater, importance. To these belong, firstly, progress in building communism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the expansion of public ownership and economic planning, and economic integration of the countries of the socialist community, which opens up fundamentally new pro-

*In this connection, the following is noteworthy. The principal elements in models of the future constructed by the scientists mentioned before, notably D. Meadows and J. Forrester, are population, natural resources, fixed assets in industry and industrial production, deterioration of the environment, agriculture. Some models provide for the development of nuclear power, a specified level (75 per cent) of re-cycling of primary products, a three-quarters reduction in environmental pollution. At the same time, however, in considering energy potentialities up to the year 2000, Meadows confines himself to power production based on present-day nuclear capabilities, whereas experts see the future in fast-neutron reactors, to say nothing of controlled thermonuclear synthesis. In agriculture, he largely reduces his considerations to the amount of cultivated land. In respect of productivity, he envisages its doubling in 30 years, which certainly underestimates the considerable achievements of the 'green revolution' of recent years or, even more so, the potentialities suggested, in particular, by the great strides in biology.

spects in international relations. Other social factors to be reckoned with include social progress and revolutionary change in capitalist and developing countries, greater international cooperation, etc.

III. In our time there is an especially close connection between the problems of humanity as a whole and social and class problems. This, and the mingling of the contradictions between the two systems with the contradictions between nature and society, between the opportunities and the dangers bred by the scientific and technological revolution, reflects on relations between states with different social systems. The essence of these relations is a *dialectical intertwining and organic correlationship of confrontation and cooperation*.

Confrontation – because involved are different modes of production, systems of property ownership based on entirely different principles, socio-economic systems of a diametrically opposed character. But cooperation, too, because there are tasks that confront humanity as a whole and demand the collective effort of all nations.

The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have always held that the objectively inevitable struggle between the two opposing social systems, socialism and capitalism, should be peaceful, precluding the use of force for promoting ideas or establishing one system or another. The socialist countries are in principle opposed to the export of revolution, but, of course, they are equally opposed to the export of counter-revolution. As for the merits or demerits of one system or another, the modern world offers adequate scope and opportunity for them to display themselves to the fullest, in the sphere of economic competition, in the scientific and technological sphere, in the cultural sphere, in the sphere of ideological struggle. The important thing is for the competition and struggle in all these spheres to be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and conducted in a way which would not lead to dangerous confrontations of states and systems of states or a revival of the bitterness of the cold war era.

Cooperation between countries with different social systems is an integral part of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence. Its prime purpose is to prevent the outbreak of a new world war and ensure international security, but it also includes mutually beneficial economic cooperation, for which there exist a number of favorable factors.

Firstly, there is the existence of a system of world economic relations. The two world markets, the two world economies, socialist and capitalist, are linked by diverse economic ties and comprise (together with the developing countries) a world economic system. Every country feels the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, for science is, by its very nature, international (the socio-economic consequences of the revolution are, of course, widely different in countries with different socio-economic systems). Today changes in the tools and means of production, materials and technologies take place so fast that no country, however big and ad-

vanced, can hope to be equally effective in developing the manufacture of all products without exception. Hence the need of all states for external links.

Secondly, there is the continued growth of the scale and scope of economic, scientific and technological tasks facing mankind, the need for huge financial outlays, material and manpower resources for their practical realization. This is true of the developing countries seeking to overcome their economic backwardness, and of the problems of man and his environment mentioned before. This is true of problems involved in tapping new energy and other natural resources, developing modern means of transport and communication, exploring outer space and the world's oceans, preventing and wiping out the most dangerous diseases, and many other things affecting the lives of existing and future generations.

Thirdly, there is the close interdependence, working both ways, between economic cooperation and international security. The détente of the last few years has been accompanied by a marked expansion of economic links between the states of the two systems, including some major business deals (i.g., in the case of the Soviet Union, the participation of Western firms in building the automobile plants at Togliatti and on the Kama River, deliveries of Soviet gas to the FRG, Italy and other countries, the participation of American companies in building chemical complexes. Under discussion at present are such major projects as supplying large quantities of Siberian gas and oil to the United States and Japan, cooperation with the FRG in building an integrated iron and steel works at Kursk, and others). Firm economic ties, in turn, facilitate political cooperation between states, serving as it were as the economic basis of peaceful coexistence.

To conclude these observations about some of the main contradictions of the world today and the ways in which they manifest themselves, I should like to stress that despite their multiplicity and diversity, in real life they intertwine and interact, frequently in unexpected ways, mutually influencing the ways and forms of resolving them. All of which again reaffirms the Marxist-Leninist thesis concerning the decisive role of class struggle in social life and that the development of the world revolutionary process and realization of the class goals of progressive social forces is increasingly in keeping with the common interests of all mankind.



A correct policy at the right time

Gus Hall
General Secretary, CP USA

The series of summit conferences of the 70s between the representatives of the socialist and capitalist countries reflects the new level of acceptance of the policies of peaceful coexistence. They also mirror the new state of affairs in the balance of relationships between the two main world forces—world socialist and world capitalist.

It is the recognition of these relationships and the realization of the futility of their entire policies based on the myths of past relationships that leads the spokesmen of imperialism to more realistic assessments and thus through the acceptance of policies based on peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

In projecting the policies of peaceful coexistence Lenin clearly foresaw the inevitable shift in the balance of world forces turning against imperialism. He viewed the policies of peaceful coexistence as an integral part of the overall struggle against the policies of imperialism. He saw these policies as policies of the turning point in history. In Lenin's views they were moves that would checkmate and scatter the forces of imperialist aggression. Life is witness to the correctness of Lenin's views.

The policies of peaceful coexistence have become a determining factor in world affairs. It is holding in check and diffusion the nuclear stockpile of imperialism. It has become a critical factor in the struggle for national liberation. They are policies of the working class at a moment in history when as a class it determines the direction of life.

It is in this context that one must view the history-making visit of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CPSU, to the United States.

The Soviet-United States summit conference was propelled and sustained by the basic processes that make up the hard reality of the present moment in world affairs. The agreements that were signed are an accurate reflection of the present world relationship of forces.

The Summit was a consultation, a conference, but it was also a confrontation. It was a confrontation of the spokesmen of the central forces in the world arena. It was a confrontation of a socialist force and a capitalist force; it was a confrontation between imperialism and anti-imperialism; it was a class confrontation, between the working class and the capitalist class; it was a confrontation between a spokesman for human progress and a spokesman for the generally reactionary policies of imperialism.

Comrade Brezhnev's visit and the agreements have been welcomed with joy and enthusiasm by the people in the USA. A fog of fear was lifted by the signing of the agreement on prevention of nuclear war and the directions for the SALT talks on control of nuclear weapons. The agreements on trade, the establishment of joint research programs in the field of medicine, ecology, sources of energy, etc., have great immediate meaning for the great majority.

Workers whose representatives take part in conferences of confrontation and sign labor-management agreements, understand the dialectics of a Summit conference between the spokesmen of two different social and economic systems, between the spokesmen of two classes.

Their representatives meet at the negotiating table when the opposition is forced to retreat. Workers also know that the signing of agreements does not end the class struggle. They know the agreements will be lived up to only if the working class maintains a class vigilance. They know the struggle will go on. They view the Summit from the viewpoint of their own experiences.

Workers understand that such conferences do not in any way eliminate or soften the struggle in the field of ideology. They see the dialectical connection between struggle and negotiations.

Workers see their immediate and long-range interests being affected by the Summit conferences that reflect the policies of peaceful coexistence. They see the possibility of jobs, they are interested in the relaxation of world tensions, their self-interests as a class are affected by the agreed upon safeguards against a nuclear war, in the exchanges in the field of science, technology and culture.

For United States imperialism the Summit is a reflection of a historic turning point in its relationships with the socialist world. It is a more realistic estimate of these relationships.

Since the October Revolution United States imperialism has been the most stubborn and the most active opponent against normalizing relations with the socialist countries. It has been the most consistent opponent of the policies of peaceful coexistence. It countered such policies with the cold war. It has been the organizer, ideological center in the struggle against trade with the socialist countries. It reluctantly established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union 16 years after the Soviet state was established. It has never had normal trade relations with the Soviet Union.

The United States has always based its relationships on a long-range class policy. U.S. monopoly capitalism has always viewed the

October Revolution as an 'accident of history' that life would some day correct. Its basic policy has been one of aggression. This basic outlook has been expressed in the policy of economic blockade, in the policy of 'containment' and 'roll-back' of the borders of socialism. It was reflected in the concept of 'dealing from a position of strength.' This policy continues in the total economic blockade against the Republic of Cuba.

In the pursuance of its long-range class objective U.S. capitalism has been willing to forego the profits it could have received from trade with the socialist countries. This has been the basic guideline for its relationships with the socialist countries with the exception of a short period during the Second World War. Following the end of the Second World War the old policy was reinstituted with a vengeance. It became the framework for the cold war. The Soviet Union became the central roadblock to U.S. imperialism's postwar plans to dominate and rule the world. The United States government was able to get the other capitalist countries to adopt the economic blockade concept by accepting the 'embargo of strategic goods.'

U.S. imperialism became the capitalist world center for the policies of aggression. It carefully built a new capitalist world structure based on these concepts. This became the historic format in which the struggle between the two world forces has taken place.

But it was a structure based on a myth. The world capitalist structure had a built-in contradiction. Before long the structure began to crumble. More and more the junior partners broke ranks and made their own deals. United States imperialism got bogged down in Indochina in a war it could not win. More and more it was left holding the cold war bag. It got stuck with the bills of holding the world capitalist structure together. More and more it was alone paying the cost of the economic blockade. This orientation has led U.S. imperialism from one crisis to another.

The pressures for ending policies that become more and more unrealistic mounted. As the corporations of the other capitalist countries built up their trade with the socialist countries, the corporate executives in the United States became more restless. The old policies based on the old relationship of world forces were bound to collapse. So the cold war iceberg began to melt, and with it went the policy of blockade.

The Soviet-United States summit agreements are a reflection of this historic shift in the outlook of U.S. imperialism.

Thus the Soviet-United States Summit is of special historic significance because it takes place as a result of a significant shift in the approach of a leading imperialist power. It reflects the new balance of power between the two world systems.

Because the Soviet Union was and is the main roadblock to the policies of U.S. aggression and because anti-Sovietism has been the main ideological instrument of U.S. imperialism, the Summit is all the more significant.

Since the Second World War U.S. imperialism has worked to split the socialist world by offering preferential treatment to any who went along with its anti-Soviet policies. This policy was a factor in the development of opportunistic policies in some quarters. Some began to act as ideological brokers—using the differences between countries of socialism and capitalism. The direct Summit relationship between governments undermines the sand on which the petty brokers stand.

Who opposes the Summit? While there is unprecedented public support for the Brezhnev visit and the Summit agreements there is also opposition. The opposition has a very special flavor. It represents a very specific ideological grouping. It is an unprincipled merging of a number of forces each motivated by their own pet interests. Some, of course, overlap.

Some represent monopoly class interests who want to maintain the old cold war stance. This is one of the influences on the editors of the *New York Times*. They took the lead in trying to block the Summit. The events tore big holes into their facade of liberalism.

The other base of the opposition was Right-wing Social-Democracy. Many of these forces rose from their ideological graves. The melting of the cold war threatens their position as political brokers. They took over the cold war barricades.

A third center of the opposition is the topmost reactionary leadership of the AFL-CIO. George Meany, the aged reactionary Social-Democrat David Dubinsky* and the CIA police agent, Jay Lovestone** became hysterical as the date of the Summit approached.

The fourth center of the opposition was the leadership of the Zionist movement. They became the only force that gave rise to instigation of violence against the meeting.

Each of these forces spewed their own venom. But most represented more than one current. The Zionist and the Right-wing Social-Democrat currents overlap. They both have an influence in the top trade union leadership. The editors of the *New York Times* also take the Zionist position in defense of Israel's policies of aggression in the Mid-East. These currents together became the force that opposed Brezhnev's visit and the agreements reached. They took to the cold war barricades.

These forces are not against all Summit conferences. In fact they advocate certain kinds of Summits. The *New York Times* did its best to smash the Soviet-U.S. conference. But at the same time it waged editorially: 'A visit by Chairman Mao, or Premier Chou would be an appropriate act of diplomacy as well as a historic occasion.' Visits by Golda Meir were also seen as 'historic occasions,' by the *New York Times*

The decision of the 24th Congress of the CPSU to put the struggle for world peace on the front burner is victorious because it was based on the realities of the historic moment. It has won breakthroughs because it correctly assessed the present relationship

*Vice-President of the AFL-CIO. — Ed.

**Director of the AFL-CIO International Department. — Ed.

of world forces. It was a correct policy at the right time. It has won successes because there has been a correct struggle for its implementation.

For his great contribution in the struggle, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev has deservedly received the Lenin Peace Prize.

The results of the Soviet-United States Summit cannot be summarized by totaling the agreements. Comrade Brezhnev's visit left a very favorable impression. It is personal, but it is also ideological. The existence of socialism becomes a live issue. The comparisons between the two systems came closer to home. These are important changes but there is an even more democratic effect.

What class represents the best self-interests of all of society – is an important question in the mass mind. Closely related and parallel with the shift in the balance of world forces there is a shift in how the broad masses see the role of classes in the overall struggle for progress. More and more they are identifying the working class and socialism with the positive and capitalism with the negative. This shift reflects the class balance of the moment. Karl Marx talked about the shift:

'No class in civil society can play this part (the dominant role) unless it calls forth a phase of enthusiasm in its own ranks and those of the masses. A phase when it fraternalizes and intermingles with society in general; is identified with society; is felt and recognized to be the *universal representative* of society. And when its own demands and rights are really the demands and rights of society itself and it is in truth the social head and the social heart. Only in the name of society and its rights in general can a particular class vindicate its general domination. The position of the liberator cannot be taken by storm, simply by revolutionary energy and intellectual self-confidence. If the *emancipation of a particular class* is to be identified with the *revolution of a people*; if *one* social class is to be treated as the whole social order, then on the other hand, all the deficiencies of a society must be concentrated in another class – the embodiment of universal fetters, the universal stumbling block . . . If *one* class is to be the liberating force par excellence, then another class must counter-wise be the obvious subjugator' (*Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*. Introduction).

The visit of Comrade Brezhnev became a factor in helping this shift in the minds of broad masses. In the eyes of masses socialism emerged as the fighter for a progressive direction in human affairs. This is a historic contribution.

Some on the Left end of the political spectrum have raised questions about whether this was the right moment for the Brezhnev visit. Their reasoning is that the visit came at a critical moment in the internal politics of the Nixon Administration. The question must be placed in a more general framework. The question is, should the socialist countries take advantage of a crisis in a capitalist country? The answer is obvious. That's what the struggle between the two systems is all about.

The Summit conferences between the capitalist and socialist powers are now possible because the balance of power has shifted. They are taking place because the general crisis of capitalism has developed to a new stage. There is a new stage because the postwar world capitalist structure has collapsed. The cold war that sustained the structure is thawing, the capitalist world monetary system is in shambles. The capitalist world has not been able to overcome its inner contradictions and is not able to present a unified front in any areas. This new stage of the general crisis has its most dramatic expression in the acute internal crisis in the United States. The new stage is reflected in the fact that United States imperialism is forced to withdraw from Indochina.

It is a new stage in the influence and power of the forces propelling the world revolutionary processes and a new stage in the decay of world capitalism.

In a real sense the Soviet-United States Summit conference is a sign-post marking the new stage in world balance relationships.

Socialist industry on the upgrade

This is a report on Czechoslovakia's industrial development by representatives of Communist and Workers' parties of Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Denmark, FRG, France, GDR, Greece, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Mongolia, Paraguay, Philippines, Rumania, Senegal, Sudan, South Africa, Sweden, USA, USSR.

Groups from among the representatives of the parties indicated visited different enterprises in the Czech Socialist Republic. All the representatives visited the Slovak Socialist Republic with the exception of representatives of the Communist parties of Greece, Denmark, Paraguay and Sweden.

They say there is a greater value in seeing something once than in hearing about it a hundred times. We were able to see and hear a great deal about the fruits of 25 years of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia during our visits to enterprises in several towns organized after a 'round table' meeting of our journal. We met Party and Government leaders and scientists: much of what they said has already been published in the journal* and we shall not dwell again on the successes and problems of the country as a whole, but will endeavor to relate what we saw and learned from conversations at enterprises.

We come from different parts of the world and our experiences of life and politics are different. But if we were asked what im-

*World Marxist Review, No. 8, 1973.

pressed us most during our trip we would all unhesitatingly answer – the May Day demonstration in Bratislava at the commencement of our visit to Slovakia. It is difficult to describe that four-hour long flood of people. Not just because of its spring beauty, or the displays by thousands of gymnasts, or the dancing of amateur groups; no, what amazed us above all else was its gaiety and the enormous number of young people taking part. No one could doubt that the whole of Bratislava was on the streets that day, and that this was a genuine people's holiday. The May Day greetings, the salutes to socialism, to the Communist Party and to friendship with the Soviet Union came not only from the platform, but from the columns of marchers and were taken up by all entering the square. And one could not help asking what achievements of socialism and of the socialist way of life had aroused such emotions amongst thousands of people.

Born of socialism

Bourgeois propagandists frequently state that Czechoslovakia's economic success is due to its having been a developed industrialized society prior to the socialist revolution. At the car factory in Mlada Boleslav we were interested to know to what extent technical equipment in use prior to socialist construction was of value in present-day production. Judge for yourselves, the managers replied: the largest prewar annual output had been barely 6,000 cars, now it has reached nearly 150,000. A new factory was built during the 50s and 60s to replace the old one, or it would be more correct to say the rebuilt one, for the original factory had been destroyed during the war. Naturally, the original technical basis of production is of great importance in the development of industry and, judged by prewar standards, it was comparatively well developed in Czechoslovakia. However, socialist society does not 'capitalize' the fruits of workers' labor under capitalism, but also creates a new economy, and at a rate unknown in the country under capitalism.

More or less the same story emerged at the plant producing 'Tatra' heavy trucks at Kopřivnice, at the electric-motor factory in Mohelnice, and at other 'old' works, which can be referred to as 'old' with reservation: socialism has given them new life.

However, in the main we saw enterprises, and extremely large ones at that, modern enterprises, literally built on virgin soil during the past quarter of a century. This applies not only to Slovakia, whose economic backwardness during the time of the bourgeois Republic no one will deny. Previous industrial development in Czechoslovakia had been selective and geared only to likely profitability for the owners, for the social aspects of industrialization do not interest bourgeois governments. Hence, the Czech regions too had their own 'mezzogiorno'* as they say in Italy, to this day a country which is both highly developed as well as backward.

*Mezzogiorno (literally 'south') signifying the backward regions of Southern Italy.

We visited one of the formerly backward regions in the eastern part of the Czech Socialist Republic. Here, amid hilly woodlands nestles the small town of Roznov; its population, then 3,000, had no hope of work. There had not been a single factory in the area. Now the only reminder of former times is the delightful Roznov Museum of Wooden Architecture. It is expected that within the next decade not a single wooden house will be left throughout the area, not even in villages. Present-day Roznov is a town with multi-storey buildings and a population of 12,000, sprawling around the large factory belonging to the well-known 'Tesla' concern. The factory produces high quality transistors and television tubes. We saw the most up-to-date equipment, met specialists from other socialist countries, and in one section saw a group of Vietnamese workers who had come here for training. Roznov, a former backwoods, was now not only learning, but also teaching.

But, of course, there have been even more striking changes in Slovakia during the years of socialism. Previously, millions of Slovaks left the country, dispersing far and wide. Work at home was to be found only in small sawmills, flour mills or repair shops. Twenty years of existence within one bourgeois republic side-by-side with the highly developed Czech region had left things practically unchanged. Twenty-five years of existence in a socialist state and in unity with the socialist world system have changed everything. Here is but one example: in 1971, Slovakia (like the whole of Czechoslovakia) produced more steel per capita than the USA. The main flow of metal comes from the East Slovakian Metallurgical Combine at Kosice, which we visited.

We will not dwell on what we saw in its various shops. All who have visited modern metallurgical enterprises will be familiar with the set-up. Huge blast furnaces producing 3,000 tons of cast iron in twenty-four hours; the most efficient steel producing methods—oxygen converters, and highly automated rolling mills. By 1975 its steel production will reach an annual 3.5 million tons, and the plan envisages further growth to 7-8 million tons. The enterprise is large by any country's standards today. But in order to appreciate the significance of this combine near Kosice which started producing metal only 12 years ago, while the decision to build it had been taken only three years before that, it is necessary to have a general idea of the life and history of Eastern Slovakia in the 20th century.

Comrade Jan Pirc, who is a member of the CC and the CPC, and the first Secretary of the East Slovakian Regional Party Committee, told us that formerly the eastern part of Slovakia was the poorest and most backward. It suffered greater illiteracy, the highest degree of unemployment and the highest emigration rate. In 1945 workers engaged in industry totalled 22,000, as much as in the metallurgical combine today. But may be after all the bourgeois Republic did concern itself with some form of development? By no means, for the only existing small metallurgical plant was closed down in 1923, whereas, in the years of the people's rule 120 enterprises have been constructed, employing 530,000 workers out of a total regional population of 1,250,000.

Bourgeois critics of Czechoslovakia's socialist development describe the construction of the East Slovakian Combine as 'non-effective.' They ask was a new combine really necessary? The reply lies in the modern trends of machine-building development; there is a far greater demand for steel sheeting, and Czechoslovakia had hitherto produced very little. The new combine specializes exclusively in this product and the fact that it is exported to 45 countries, including 10 socialist, speaks volumes for its quality. But was it necessary to set up a new industry in Slovakia or could the old metallurgical factories in the Czech regions have been expanded instead? If we remember that all the ore for the Combine comes from the East, a glance at the map will show that it would need to be transported hundreds of kilometers farther to the factories in the Czech regions. Of course, building a factory on a new site is more difficult than in an old industrial region. But it is precisely the determination to overcome such difficulties for the good of all, and not merely for gain that distinguishes socialism from capitalism.

We, representatives of many Communist and Workers' parties, in assessing the successes of the socialist industrialization of Slovakia, see in the achievements of this Republic the future of our countries if they take to the socialist path of development.

Fruits of the friendship of the peoples

The economic life of the country was of great interest to us, but we could not fail to observe other aspects.

The Slavin Memorial, for instance, where 6,000 Soviet fighters lie who fell in the battle to free Slovakia from fascism. Dukla, where more than 80,000 Soviet and more than 6,000 Czechs and Slovaks fell while breaking across the mountains to aid the partisans who were fighting the fascists. The Museum of the Slovak National Uprising in the former capital of the partisans, Banka Bystrica, where for two months they had been fighting back Nazi attacks; the rising was followed by a fresh wave of Hitler terror. People of 22 European nations had fought side by side in the partisan brigades. One has to see this land which had been drenched in blood to understand that friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples, between the peoples of the socialist community, had been forged long before there had been economic cooperation, and its strength lies in far more than economic considerations.

But, of course, this does not exclude the need for even more effective economic cooperation between the socialist countries, and we saw much to confirm this.

Slovakia's 'economic miracle' has continued uninterrupted for 25 years since the early days of socialist construction. The capitalist world can boast of no such prolonged and swift growth. What is the secret of this success? The short answer is: the advantages of socialism. If we wish to define these advantages, then amongst others we must name the social effect of socialism in

general. Having become their own masters and masters of all the natural resources of their Republic, the people of Slovakia work in a harmonious and dedicated manner impossible under capitalism. We saw proof of this in many examples of workers' initiative in the course of socialist emulation.

However, this backward agrarian Republic would not have succeeded in becoming an advanced industrial-agrarian area in such a short space of time, unaided. The Czech working class did what the Czech bourgeoisie was not prepared to do, and for decades gave enormous assistance to the industrial and socio-cultural growth of Slovakia. Thanks to the efforts of all Czechoslovak people the difference in the levels of development of both Republics has become minimal.

But it is not their efforts alone that have brought about this change. The Kosice Combine was Soviet-planned and built with the aid of Soviet specialists. Equipment came mainly from Czech and Soviet factories. Ninety per cent of the iron ore used by the combine is transported by a rail line from the Soviet Union, built for this purpose from the Soviet frontier. Had it not been for Soviet aid, the combine would not exist.

When we were in Bratislava, we visited 'Slovnaft,' the largest oil processing and chemical combine in Czechoslovakia. After the war this had been an oil refinery of 100,000 ton annual capacity, an amount which cannot be regarded seriously either from the point of view of the country's needs or from the point of view of the possibilities opened up through the application of modern technology. Now 'Slovnaft' processes 100,000 tons of crude oil in four days, and is expanding all the time. A plant of these dimensions could only be built after the signing of a long-term agreement on oil supplies from the Soviet Union. The oil pipeline 'Friendship' whose starting point is thousands of kilometres away in the East and which passes through Bratislava, was opened in 1962.

Vladimir Pirošik, member of the CC CPC and First Secretary of the Central-Slovak Regional Party Committee, whom we met in Banská Bystrica, told us that more than half the 100 or so plants built in this region under socialism applied Soviet methods. And all these large enterprises participate in specialization within the CMEA framework. Near Banská Bystrica we saw another new plant, the pharmaceutical works 'Biotika.' It was built in the 50s, employing what were then the latest Soviet techniques in the production of penicillin, and from then on it made its own rapid advances. The factory's specialists invented the highest quality lizin, used in cattle-breeding.

In Ziar nad Hronom we went to the only aluminum factory in Czechoslovakia. During the days of the bourgeois republic this industry did not exist. It was built in the 50s jointly by Soviet and Hungarian specialists, the bauxite being supplied by Hungary. This factory, too, could not have been erected and operated without the cooperation and aid of the socialist countries.

We heard of dozens more such instances, but are only mention-

ing the plants we ourselves saw. We wish to emphasize that this is not some kind of total dependence on others. It is not a one-way process, but mutual aid. Slovakia, as part of an industrially developed Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, helps build modern enterprises in other socialist countries too. The Slovaks are building up their own industries, but socialist mutual aid speeds this work.

There is now a higher level of cooperation, its chief form being socialist economic integration. A revealing example of the mechanics and advantages of socialist integration could be gleaned from the details we were given in Mlada Boleslav and Bratislava of a plan for building a new car plant in Slovakia. We asked why it was to be built in Slovakia? We understood that by present-day standards, an output of at least 300,000 cars annually is regarded as sufficiently profitable, and that some types of modern technology were applicable only if 600,000 or more were produced annually. Czechoslovakia's car industry, meanwhile, concentrated in Mlada Boleslav, has an annual output of 150,000. So why disperse it?

With the exception of the Soviet Union, we were told, not one European socialist country was capable of erecting a sufficiently large car plant. That was why the plan for joint production of 600,000 cars annually in Czechoslovakia and the GDR, with the aid of Hungary had been agreed on. Mlada Boleslav will produce 600,000 motors annually employing the very latest methods, and 600,000 rear axles will be produced elsewhere. Joint deliveries of components and parts between the GDR and Czechoslovakia will be of equal value, and the assembling of the cars will be divided equally between them. The two assembly points will be in Czechoslovakia: Mlada Boleslav and the new factory in Slovakia. Hungary will do no assembling but in return for producing some components and parts will receive the finished product. One plant with 'shops' in three fraternal countries — such is the effect of socialist integration.

The 'Tatra' works has expanded and now specializes in heavy-duty trucks to meet the demand of all the CMEA countries. The CMEA International Investment Bank gave Czechoslovakia long-term credits amounting to 77.5 million transferable roubles, including 25.3 million in convertible currency. This is how the mechanism of economic socialist integration works.

The concepts of international friendship and proletarian internationalism influence not only economics and external relations, but permeate everyday life in Czechoslovakia. In the Slovak Republic, for example, there are not only Slovaks, but Czechs, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Poles and other nationalities. We know that they are all equal under the law. But is there the material basis for this equality? Can, for example, children of Hungarian origin study in their own language? And, on the other hand, can they learn the Slovak or Czech languages and have equal opportunities for a higher education, or participation in public life? We learned that there are now more Hungarian schools in East Slovakia than during the Horthy occupation. In comparison with the population there are

actually more Hungarian schools than Slovak. The rights of the other nationalities are equally well assured. People of all nationalities participate equally in the economic, cultural and public life of the country.

In many bourgeois countries, whose Communist parties we represent, the national question remains a source of sharp conflicts leading to political upheavals and in some cases to armed struggle. The course taken by Czechoslovakia following the example of the Soviet Union shows how socialist society can solve the national problem.

New times, new cares

Statistics prove that the economy of Czechoslovakia is on the upgrade. And this is confirmed by the facts. The present forward surge results from the enormous work of the CPC in consolidating the economy, strengthening planning and economic management during the past three to four years. Time is needed for other factors of economic growth to have their effect – factors resulting from the use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. As Comrade Husak said at the 14th Party Congress, the full effect will only be felt by the end of the 70s. We were able to see, when visiting the enterprises, what a big task lies ahead and how the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is tackling the problem.

The creation of an industrial base in formerly backward regions can be regarded as completed in all essentials, and in a historically short space of time. The next task is its modernization and learning how to make it more effective.

Our Czechoslovak comrades made no attempt to hide the complexities of some problems, due partly to the fact that in the past sometimes the execution of pressing solutions had been put off. We saw an example of this sort of problem at the aluminum works in Ziar-nad-Hronom.

As a country where machine-building was highly developed, Czechoslovakia needed a great deal of aluminum which was imported from capitalist countries since in the absence of raw materials, it could not be produced at home. But then the USA placed an embargo on certain goods to socialist countries, including aluminum. The country's industry faced considerable difficulties requiring emergency measures. In 1951 it was decided to construct a new factory and within two years it went into production. The then latest techniques were used in the project, but 20 years have elapsed since then, and the industry has made considerable technical progress. During these years equipment had been renewed, but it is no longer feasible to improve things any further. A complete reconstruction of the factory is required and a decision to this end has already been adopted. The reconstruction plans envisage a 2-2.5-fold increase in production and improvements in working conditions.

Wherever we went we were conscious of the great attention devoted to the social requirements of the workers, whether these related to working conditions, opportunities for rest, or improvement of their skill. The new factory rest home in the woods near Roznov, the Kosice metallurgical workers' Palace of Culture, the night sanatorium attached to the aluminum works, the remarkable technical school of the 'Slovnaft' Combine, with its laboratories, gymnasium and swimming pool—all this and much else are witness to the unceasing care taken to give the worker a better life.

Strictly speaking, 'care' is not a very fitting term. After all, it is not someone from outside who is pouring blessings on the workers. They are their own masters and they decide what they want. The care of the Communist Party and the socialist government amounts to guaranteeing the workers the right and the material basis for applying practical decisions relating to their social needs. The considerable trade union funds, as well as the resources allotted to enterprises, serve to finance these schemes.

The 'Tesla' Rest Home, a modern well-equipped building catering for over 100 persons, and situated in a beautiful wooded gorge, was quite costly. This is how it was built. The trade union had to pay about four million crowns for the materials alone. The workers built it themselves in their free time, with the assistance of the factory administration. Now the trade union committee has decided to subsidize the cost of a stay at the rest home, which actually amounts to a token payment: 10 crowns (approximately 1.7 dollars at the official rate of exchange) per person per day, including meals. Naturally, this is not the only rest home available to the workers of this factory. Last year, nearly 800 (out of 7,500) obtained places in sanatoria and rest homes in Czechoslovakia through their trade union, and 500 went abroad. Their children holiday in the GDR while the German children are welcomed here. The trade union also arranges tourist trips to the USSR, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Belgium and Italy.

More or less, the same situation obtained in the other enterprises we visited. For instance, at the Kosice Metallurgical Combine the average benefits and allowances paid out to the workers from enterprise funds, over and above wages, amount to 8,800 crowns per person per year. This is in addition to a variety of free services.

Social problems change with the times. Improvement of material conditions remains at the center of attention, and we have spoken in brief of some ways in which this is tackled. Some problems disappear and new ones take their place, often far more complicated.

The Deputy Director of the Metallurgical Combine, Emil Rego, responsible for personnel, who is a member of the Czechoslovak Party's CC, explained that one of their most recent and biggest tasks had been transforming the East Slovakian peasant into a steel worker. Hundreds had been sent for special training to Ostrava (Czech region), Zaporozhye (USSR), and Nowa Huta (Poland). There are 2,000 pupils taking a three-five year course at the plant's

factory technical college, mainly youngsters who had finished the normal nine-year school course. The best are sent to secondary specialist and higher educational establishments which means that the factory's engineers are mainly local people.

There are new demands needing a socialist solution. The Mlada Boleslav car factory has all kinds of conveyors, characteristic of mass production. This brought to mind the present recurring theme in the West European and American press on 'conveyor boredom,' allegedly the cause of widespread dissatisfaction amongst the workers. Even higher wages do not always compensate for this discontent. We enquired whether they too, faced this problem and also asked about the speed of the conveyor belt. It is worth recording in detail the replies of Comrade Sulc, Chairman of the Works' Party Committee, and the technical manager, Engineer Jan Banyr.

Yes, this was a familiar problem. The young worker who has completed his nine-year school course and in many cases continues his studies at a three-five year technical college or high school, is not satisfied with monotonous or unskilled work; he wants to apply and add to his knowledge. He works not only to have money, but because work in itself is a source of satisfaction. This is a problem common to all developed industrial societies, but manifests itself, and is solved differently under socialism. Firstly, in relation to capitalist enterprises it would be wrong to separate the comparatively new problem of 'conveyor boredom' from the old well-known problem of the 'conveyor race.' Mlada Boleslav engineers had visited the Renault Works in Billancourt, France, where young workers, after three-five years on a conveyor, are discharged because they can no longer stand the pace. Immigrants, not Frenchmen, do this work. As we have seen here in a socialist enterprise, the speed is slower, and after every two hours there is a 7-10-minute interval, not counting the dinner break.

Nevertheless, added Engineer Banyr, there is a problem of 'conveyor boredom,' although not a critical one, and we apply preventive measures. To a certain degree equipment plays its part. For example, in due course we intend to eliminate the conveyor welding of car bodies, and this process will be automated. That is what took place at the new Soviet Togliatti Works. This will release workers, of whom there is a great shortage. But it is impossible to eliminate in one fell swoop all the boring conveyor and other processes. For this reason we try to diversify and improve workers' qualifications. There are many operations to be carried out on a conveyor and we consider it unsatisfactory for both the worker and the factory if he is able to perform only one or two. Wherever possible he should master them all. Another and even more important factor is that a worker must know he has a future. A young worker starts on a conveyor but in time, having achieved higher qualifications, goes on to other work. Material incentives encourage additional training. Incidentally, all these and other problems have been taken into account in the plan for social progress of the fac-

tory up to 1980, recognized as a model throughout Czechoslovakia.

New times bring new cares. One of the main problems of the day is how to organize the system of planning and management, and change people's outlook so as better to accomplish the objectives of socialist economic integration without which Czechoslovakia's economic success would be inconceivable. These tasks, new in content, demand a new approach and the ability to look at things from the viewpoint of the general interests of the socialist world. At the 'Tesla' and 'Biotika' factories there had been changes following the adoption by socialist countries of joint decisions in recent years on specialization within the CMEA framework. Neither factory now produces certain items which are now made in factories of other socialist countries. In its turn, Czechoslovakia now specializes in the production of goods not produced by other socialist countries. The reconstruction of an established industry involves a great deal of work, but the narrowing of the range of products and more massive production of what is more advantageous for the enterprise, benefits every country individually, and all countries collectively. The worker gains because mass production means introducing the latest technical methods; it leads to higher skills and improved working conditions, and the recognition that all this is for the common good helps to overcome all difficulties.

We have become convinced as a result of our visits that the working class knows how to solve its economic problems and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, is solving them with confidence.

Northern Ireland: the crisis drags on

James Stewart
Assistant General Secretary,
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It will be five years this autumn since the beginning of the current dramatic events in Northern Ireland. When the participants in the Civil Rights movement first took to the streets with their slogans in peaceful demonstrations it was hard to envisage where it would lead. But experience has reaffirmed once again that timely democratic demands supported by the working class possess tremendous mobilizing and explosive force.

Collapse of the Unionist regime

By now it is obvious that the fight for democracy in Northern Ireland since 1968 has sparked the *deepest crisis of British imperialist policy in the area since the partition of Ireland* at the beginning

of the 20s. These five years have seen the collapse of much of what the imperialists and their Ulster allies had built up over half a century. Before our very eyes the Unionist Party – bulwark of the oppressive regime – has disintegrated from an all-class monolith into a series of warring factions, each struggling for the monopoly of Unionist ideology. The whole power structure in the 'self-governing province' has collapsed, burying the last appearance of 'self-government.'

The ruling Unionist Party's inability to cope with the situation led to the Heath Government's suspension of the Stormont (the Parliament of Northern Ireland), the removal of the Faulkner Cabinet from office and imposition of 'direct rule' from London. Mr. William Whitelaw was appointed Secretary of State for Northern Ireland – actually, its military governor, with almost 30,000 British troops at his disposal, twice as many as had been concentrated there during the forced partition.

British imperialism has been compelled to abandon the fiction of Ulster's 'independence' by openly meddling in its affairs. The suspension of the Stormont and its rule was recognition of the bankruptcy of the traditional alliance of imperialists and the Unionist Party. It is an irony of fate that the alliance had to be abandoned by a government of the Conservatives, with whom the Ulster Unionists have been closely linked for many decades, both politically and organizationally. London was also faced with the need to recognize openly that the solution of the question of Northern Ireland rested in its hands, something it had avoided doing for almost 50 years, claiming that the initiative should come from Stormont. Thus appeared the British 'Green Paper' on 'The Future of Northern Ireland' (autumn 1972), followed by the 'White Paper' (March 1973) on 'Northern Ireland: Constitutional Proposals.'

At the end of May and the end of June of this year, with an interval of only one month, the long-delayed elections were held for local government and the new Assembly designed to replace the old parliament, although without its powers. For the first time the elections were on the basis of proportional representation – concession to the Civil Rights Association. But the short time allowed for the election campaign, together with the fact that it took place under the guns of British troops, doubtlessly affected the results and prevented the elections from being a truly democratic expression of will.

In spite of the great changes in the political situation, Ulster remains far from the goals set by the Civil Rights movement. The Communist Party of Ireland had every justification to declare on July 2, that 'the results of the Assembly elections have in no way solved the basic question for the entire people of Northern Ireland, which is that of creating a democratic society. . . . Through the Assembly the British government intends to continue its rule in Northern Ireland. . . . The issues for the people of the North that existed before the elections remain – the winning of democratic and civil rights for all citizens, an end to the situation that has

given rise to the violence, the harassment of the working people by the British army, internment and mass jailings. . . . The designs of the British government for the new Assembly must be countered by fighting for powers for that Assembly, to carry through those measures which will be in the interests of the ordinary people and not the monopolies.'

'New order'

Since direct rule was imposed in 1972, the British Government has, alongside its military policy, been working out programs and structures with the objective of creating a new order in the North more in keeping with the interests of big business. One shouldn't forget that the Heath government abandoned its old allies not because it objected to their ideology or reactionary policy, but because the Unionists' brute tactics became a barrier to British plans of resolving the Ulster crisis and to London's Irish policy in general. The Unionists are committed to the idea of a divided Ireland, whereas British capitalism, especially since joining the Common Market, sees the Green Isle as a single target of economic exploitation and political control. In these circumstances Unionism's sectarian extremes and the policy of discriminating against the Catholic minority became an obstacle in the way of furthering the deal between London and the Irish Republic, another new EEC affiliate and Britain's third largest market in the world.

Hence Whitelaw's task was to create a new, more flexible force to replace the old alliance and prepared to be a tool of British control over Ulster and to meet the needs of British monopoly capitalism within the conditions of the second half of the 20th century. To achieve this he had to: (1) Break up the front for democracy; (2) Accelerate the break-up of Unionist power; (3) Create allies from the middle ground of both Catholics and Protestants. The building of this center grouping and ensuring its representatives a working majority in the new assembly became the primary political task of the British 'gauleiter' in Northern Ireland. That British politicians were little concerned with democracy as such is demonstrated by the fact that the removal of the Unionists and introduction of 'direct rule' did not add to the people's rights. On the contrary, the province has probably never seen such restrictions on civil liberties as under the British administration.

Characteristically, the 'first democratic elections' were held in conditions where hundreds of men were imprisoned without trial, where the streets were swamped with British troops and brutal murders continued. Since Heath came to power there have been over 800 deaths in Ulster, 550 of them since the imposition of 'direct rule'! All this has, naturally, increased the sectarian-political polarization in the population, which is clearly reflected in the election returns. The British government actually nurtured and sustained the politico-religious divisions; one of its methods is to carefully 'dose out' the violence and direct the main blows of its

machinery of force against the Catholic minority while sheltering armed Right-wing Protestant groups.

The elections have reflected these processes, but first and foremost the disintegration of the Unionist Party. Characteristically, for the first time in 50 years the Protestant majority, instead of supporting a united pro-Unionist slate, has divided its sympathies (and votes!) among the several factions into which the former ruling party has broken up. The Official Unionists (Faulknerites), who support the White Paper proposals, won 22 seats (out of 78 in the Assembly), the Non-Official Unionists, 10 seats, the Democratic Unionists (Paisleyites), 8 seats, Craig's Vanguard group (Progressive Unionists), 7 seats, other shades of Unionists, 3 seats, the Alliance Party (uniting 'moderate' Protestants and Catholics), 8 seats, the Northern Ireland Labor Party, 1 seat, the Social-Democratic and Labor Party, 19 seats.

Thus Tory hopes of a workable center majority have been jeopardized. The dissident Unionist groups, continuing to insist on a restoration of the Stormont regime, are pledged to make the assembly 'unworkable.' This is not an empty threat, for the loyalty of many Faulknerites will doubtlessly be seriously tested in future. On the other hand, the Social-Democratic Labor Party, which won the majority of the Catholic vote, has conditioned its readiness to cooperate on the repeal of internment-without-trial. Thus, even the formation of a weak local administration as envisaged by the White Paper will be no easy task, especially so as the armed groups in the province have not laid down their arms. Sectarian bombings and murders have continued, as has the British army terror.

Mounting contradictions

There can be no doubt that the shift in the Unionist Party is of major significance to the future of Northern Ireland and deserves a special analysis. What on the surface appears as power struggles between personalities and political groupings is a reflection of deeper tensions and confrontations within the class alliances of Unionism. For a long time this party of cooperation with British imperialism managed to hold together the most heterogeneous elements under the flag of Protestant religious fanaticism and 'harnessing' the Catholic minority: the landed aristocracy, big and small business, big and small farmers, workers and intellectuals. Loyalty to the British crown played the part of a perverted, inside-out nationalism. Lately, though, the alliance began to crack under the impact of the mass struggle for democratic rights, on the one hand, and, on the other, mounting contradictions of interests of different social strata in Northern Ireland, coupled with the demands of British monopoly capitalism.

These contradictions did not appear today or yesterday, but somewhere in the second half of the 60s. They began with initial distrust in the Unionist leadership, which at the time consisted almost exclusively of the landed aristocracy and big businessmen

closely linked with British monopoly capital. Its policy of encouraging British and foreign concerns and big commercial houses to set up subsidiaries in Ulster began to clash with the interests of local capital, as it led to the absorption or closure of many local industries. The 'wind of dissatisfaction,' primarily among small businessmen, small farmers and sections of the working class, was caught in the sails of the reactionary movement launched by Paisley. After Faulkner took office a substantial section of the Protestant workers deserted the Unionist leadership; a contribution to this was the anti-worker policies of the Heath government in London. For all this, it should be remembered that the ideology of Unionism with all its prejudices continues to have a firm hold over the masses of Protestant workers.

The imposition of 'direct rule' threw the Unionist leadership into confusion. This show of no confidence from London not only caused dismay among the leadership but also aroused bitter feelings among its supporters that the Tories had betrayed them. The shock must have proved useful to some, as it helped them understand that British monopolies always rank their own interests first. Whatever happens from now on, Unionism will never be the same.

A real opportunity for advance was created for the entire democratic front because British imperialism had been forced to give up its alliance with the Unionist Party as an instrument for control of Northern Ireland at a time when it had not created a force to replace it. Unfortunately, the reaction was able to exploit the atmosphere of fear and hysteria created by the Provisional IRA's sustained bombing campaign to regroup and reorganize its supporters. This was done around three organizations: Vanguard, led by a former Unionist Minister of Home Affairs – William Craig, was an attempt to organize a basis of working class support behind Unionist ideas; the Ulster Defense Association, which was also aimed at establishing a para-military force to replace the Unionist Party's 'private armies' – the police and their auxiliaries and the B-Specials; and the Loyalist Workers Association, whose aim is not only to harness working class support (including sectarian strikes) but also to combat and weaken the trade union movement which does not recognize sectarian divisions.

Thus, with all its varieties Unionism still has adequate means for manipulating the Protestant masses. In particular, it ably plays on petty-bourgeois and worker fears that an end to discrimination and equal rights for the Catholic minority could lead to the worsening of their own positions. Unfortunately, in Northern Ireland, with its chronic unemployment, permanent housing crises and lower living standards than in Great Britain, it is not hard to use minor privileges and cheap handouts to create an appearance of privileged status for the Protestant majority and thus keep it under Unionist ideology and prevent a decisive political awakening. The supporters of Paisley and Craig advocate nothing short of restoration of the situation as it was before the civil rights movement began. But even the hard-headed politicians in London realize by now that such a demand is but a reactionary utopia.

What does the White Paper provide for?

Concessions are made resulting from the pressure of the mass movement for civil rights – concessions which affect Unionist power, but in essence strengthen the power of the British Government. Thus we find the clear declaration that there will be no return to the old Unionist monopoly of power. This is not only emphasized in the proposals of structure and power for the new Assembly and the granting of proportional representation in elections, but also by the fact that under the proposed new conditions the Unionists would never again have control over a private army such as the police and B-Specials. The Unionist power base is further eroded by the declaration that control over appointments to the Law Courts is being removed from their sphere of influence.

There should be no illusions about the motives of the Tory Government. It agreed to these concessions with great reluctance, and only because the mass struggle had rendered the former methods of administration in Northern Ireland unworkable. If London were really concerned for democracy it would not have taken 50 long years for these timid reforms to be introduced. In the final count, they were necessitated by the struggle, the Irish and British Trades Union Congresses campaign for a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland. Besides, the boycott of the recent Border Poll clearly demonstrated that over 41 per cent of the Ulster population are not prepared to accept the return of a Unionist oligarchy.

And it has to be emphasized that in venturing on a conflict with their former ally, the Unionist Party, the Tory policy makers have not conceded any of British imperialism's interests, which are paramount in all their thinking. All real power in the province remains vested in Westminster: *'Whatever powers to legislate may be devolved upon a regional law-making authority in Northern Ireland, it must be made clear that such devolution does not diminish in any way the right of the United Kingdom Parliament to legislate for Northern Ireland, as for any other part of the United Kingdom, in relation to any matter whatever'* (Para. 54. . . . White Paper).

And then there is para 114: even within their 'devolved' powers, 'North Ireland institutions will have to be guided by the interests of the United Kingdom and its international obligations, including those arising from EEC membership.'

In its early stages the Assembly will simply be a consultative body, while concrete power is exercised by the Parliament in London through the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. Whitelaw. The Assembly will have to negotiate with him as to the range and content of its 'devolved' power. In other words, it will serve a period (unspecified) of probation to see if it can operate in the interests of British imperialism.

And what of democratic rights? The pressure of the mass movement has forced the British government to devote a section of the White Paper to a Charter of Human Rights. To say the least,

it is extremely ambiguous. It does, however, admit the obvious that political and religious discrimination has been practised in Northern Ireland. But what is not clear at this stage is the effectiveness of the proposed machinery to deal with discrimination in housing and in employment, particularly in the private sector.

Whitelaw, the reputed author of the White Paper, makes great play on the need to ensure certain basic standards, and Para 91 lists (a) 'the right to freedom within the law, including freedom to advance any political or constitutional cause by non-violent means; (b) the right to protection under the law, so that freedom is not taken away or diminished by violence, oppression or intimidation by others; and (c) the right to equality of benefits and opportunities, so that society will deal in an equitable and even-handed way as between one citizen and another, without violence or prejudice . . .'

All very admirable, but the sting comes in the British Government's conditions. Whitelaw takes the traditional Conservative attitude to strikes and boycotts. In other words, those who oppose a bad law by these means are outside the law and deserve no democratic rights. It is hardly surprising, coming from a source which is hell-bent on suppressing the democratic rights of the British working class through the Industrial Relations Act.

Again, it would appear from the White Paper that the IRA Provisionals are still to be denied the right of free, peaceful political expression. Much play has been made of the statement that the White Paper proposes abolition of the Special Powers Act, the basis for Unionist arbitrariness. And it does abolish it, but the most anti-democratic provisions of the Act – imprisonment without trial, special courts, arbitrary arrests, etc., are now retained by the London government in a new Act which will apply *only* to Northern Ireland.

Exposing the intentions of the Tory government, the Communist Party National Executive Committee said in a statement of March 5: 'Behind the White Paper's language of "isolating the extremists in both communities" is the real aim of continuing the British Tory political and economic domination in the North (which is now demoted to colonial status) . . .' This is the real position in Northern Ireland today. Through the proposed machinery of the White Paper proposals the British Government hopes to increase its power in Northern Ireland, strengthen the 'Centre' forces such as Alliance, the remainder of the Unionist Party and the Social Democratic and Labor Party, the 'middle-of-the-road' forces, take politics out of the hands of the mass movement and put Ulster political life into the strait-jacket of 'parliamentary' talking shops.

Mass action, not the bomb and the bullet

The Communist Party of Ireland is firmly resisting this attempt by British imperialism to remove the political struggle from the mass organizations of the working people. At the same time we are fight-

ing imperialism's policy of attempting to maintain sectarian divisions amongst the working class. Our two immediate objectives are unity of the working class, and winning the basis for democratic rights through the enactment of a Bill of Rights for the entire people of Northern Ireland. Notwithstanding its opposition to the political aims behind the White Paper, in the recent elections the Communist Party called upon all democratic organizations to use the election campaign to pursue the interests of the working people. While harboring no illusions about the White Paper, the working people, Protestant and Catholic, must struggle together for their place in the new situation that is opening up.

The Communist Party has consistently opposed the violence of the Security Forces and the British Army. It has also opposed the aggressive bombing campaign launched by the Provisionals and the actions of armed Right-wing groups. The victims have been ordinary workers, Catholic and Protestant alike. We call for a cease-fire between all these forces and the withdrawal of the British troops to barracks. There must be full support for the policy of the trade union movement in providing a working class leadership for the ending of violence and sectarianism.

In the present situation, this clear position on the violence issue required political courage and a principled Marxist-Leninist stand. For in the eyes of many in Ireland (and elsewhere) these bombings, raids and shoot-outs still have a romantic halo. The Leftist elements maintain that only armed anti-imperialist struggle merits consideration. On the other hand, reactionary British and Unionist propaganda, in furtherance of its own ends, has likewise concentrated attention on the violence and its perpetrators, creating the impression that the whole fight for civil rights is one long round of terrorism.

This is a false impression. For the crisis of the Unionist regime and British policy vis-a-vis Ulster in general was not precipitated by bomb explosions, though they have taken a heavy toll of life and caused much damage. If the outcome of the struggle depended on the bomb and the bullet, British imperialism could certainly have mustered enough fire power to suppress individual IRA armed groups. But the crisis is due to the *mass actions* of the working people. 'Direct rule' had to be introduced not because bombs were exploding in Northern Ireland, but because there was a broad movement of civil disobedience. Well over one-third of the population had withdrawn its consent to be governed any more by the Unionist regime; all anti-Unionist MPs had withdrawn from Parliament; this was followed by the boycotting of local government bodies by anti-Unionist councillors, the withdrawal of leading personalities from public office, and, most significant of all, by a mass rent and rates strike. The catalyst for a kind of united front had been the introduction of imprisonment-without-trial by the Faulknerite Unionist Government.

There are those who would have us believe that the way of advance, the way toward a 'revolutionary solution' is through armed

military tactics. And there have been appeals: 'Arm the Workers!' But to make that demand in the concrete conditions of Ulster is to drag and discredit that honorable revolutionary slogan in the dust of infantile cant. Revolutionary slogans, if not mounted in the correct context, fitting the real conditions of life, are empty and dangerous. Far from advancing the interests of the working class and its allies, they can contribute to the isolation of the revolutionary forces and the defeat of the working class.

A distinctive feature of the situation in Northern Ireland today is that *large sections of the workers are already armed*. But unfortunately they are divided in opposite camps and in danger of engaging each other in a bloody, sterile civil war that would only play into the hands of British imperialism. The proponents of a 'military solution' do not take into consideration either this division within the working class or the real alignment of forces. Yet to defeat the plans of British monopoly capital, win democracy and real measures to improve the conditions of the working people, there must be unity of our working class. This means that all actions which divide the working class, whether they come from the imperialist or anti-imperialist camp, must be resolutely and consistently rejected and opposed. No one can believe for one moment that bombings or assassinations can unite the workers — time has proved the opposite.

An examination of the 'political strikes' organized by the Loyalist Workers' Association or by Craig's Vanguard will show that on each occasion they were timed around the emotional reaction to some bombing outrage. Indeed, some bombings, the Abercorn disaster in particular, bear the hallmarks of political provocations in order to whip up hysteria and justify the terror of Right-wing Protestant groups.

Whitelaw and the British Tory Government found in practice that violence operated, in the final analysis, in their interests because it obscured the correct democratic demands of the mass movement for civil rights, created splits in that movement, and above all weakened the entire anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland by maintaining and widening the sectarian division in the working class. Bombings carried out by the Provisionals were copied by the Unionist Right Wing and the British authorities when it suited them. Sectarian assassinations developed and showed that none of the para-military organizations that claimed to protect the working people could in fact do so. These assassinations again resulted in the political trend which the British Government wanted to maintain, an emphasis on violence and a weakening of mass working class political activity.

Through their emphasis on 'military aspects,' violence by troops, courts, police, and imprisonment-without-trial, plus the manipulation of the divisions among the working class into sectarian confrontations, the Tory government was able to ease the pressure of British public opinion for a democratic solution. At the same time it was able to give its policy a bi-partisan character by con-

tinuing the closer cooperation with the British Labor Parliamentary Party. In other words, with the violence continuing, they were able to pass themselves off as peacemakers and not the real villains of the piece. Also, the bombings and assassinations made it easier for the Government in the Republic of Ireland to retreat on its former (unwilling) support for the democratic struggle in the North and to attack democracy in the South of Ireland. This process has been continued under the new Dublin Coalition Government.

That is why the Irish Communists attach so much importance to working out correct strategy and tactics. For we are fighting on two fronts, against 'Left' adventurism with its absolute reliance on violence, and the Rights prepared to rig up a deal with British imperialism and the reactionary Unionists. The key to success in this struggle lies in patient work to unite the working class, overcome sectarianism within its ranks, eliminate the mutual distrust and suspicion cultivated by the Unionists over so many years.

The recent history of Northern Ireland has shaped out in a way that, in the main, the Catholic section of the working class became the most advanced section of the movement against imperialism, with the Protestant section playing at the best a quiescent role and at the worst a reactionary role in adherence to Right-wing Unionism. But the Protestant masses are increasingly resentful at their conditions and the mounting British monopoly offensive. This is an earnest that the present situation will not last long. The working class of Ulster, with its militant tradition, will show that in the battle for its interests and democratic rights it can rise above religious differences, as it did in the days of Connolly and Larkin. We Communists look to the future with confidence. Better than ever before our Party is prepared to fight for the cause of the working class in the complex tangle of Irish reality. We are the only political party active on both sides of the border, in the North and the South. We are a Party in which members of the Catholic and Protestant communities, sons and daughters of the working class, farmers and intellectuals, cooperate in fraternity. We are a Party guided by the most progressive ideas of our time, the ideas of scientific Communism, and by the most progressive revolutionary theory, Marxism-Leninism.

Infamy

The Portuguese colonialists have perpetrated another heinous crime – the massacre of over 400 inhabitants of Wiriyamu village in Mozambique. More and more facts of colonialist crimes in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) are being brought to light.

Massacre of civilians has become a policy of the fascist regime. It is denounced by Communists and people of diverse convictions, by world opinion. Even some of Portugal's NATO allies have had to condemn it under the pressure of public protests. And protest statements have come from the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, British Labor Party, Catholic People's Party of Holland and other organizations, which in the past avoided involvement in such issues. Influential spokesmen of the Catholic Church, whose missionaries informed the press of the crime, have criticized the wanton terror of the Portuguese authorities.

The events in Wiriyamu have caused deep anger in the African countries, which firmly support the national-liberation fight in the Portuguese colonies, and there have been energetic protests against Lisbon's genocide policy.

The day is not far off when, in spite of attempts to conceal the facts, people in Portugal itself will learn the truth about the colonial peoples' struggle for freedom. The masses oppose the colonial policy of the fascist regime and will overthrow it. The regime's social and political basis is steadily shrinking while the democratic forces and the Communist Party are gaining influence. This is only natural, for the Portuguese Communist Party, which works in close alliance with the world Communist movement, has for years been fighting, consistently and perseveringly, against the fascist dictatorship and its colonial wars in Africa.

The Communist Party demands an end to these wars. It demands recognition of the people's right to independence, and a negotiated political settlement.

No amount of brutal repression, demagoguery or neo-colonialist effort can rescue Portuguese colonialism.

C.M.



The triumph of Lenin's doctrine of the Party

*Seventieth anniversary of
Second RSDLP Congress*

**. . . AS A CURRENT OF POLITICAL THOUGHT AND AS A
POLITICAL PARTY, BOLSHEVISM HAS EXISTED SINCE 1903.**

LENIN

**ONLY THE COMMUNIST PARTY, IF IT IS REALLY THE VAN-
GUARD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS, IF IT REALLY COM-
PRISES ALL THE FINEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THAT CLASS,
IF IT CONSISTS OF FULLY CONSCIOUS AND STAUNCH
COMMUNISTS WHO HAVE BEEN EDUCATED AND STEELED
BY THE EXPERIENCE OF A PERSISTENT REVOLUTIONARY
STRUGGLE, AND IF IT HAS SUCCEEDED IN LINKING ITSELF
INSEPARABLY WITH THE WHOLE OF LIFE OF ITS CLASS
AND, THROUGH IT, WITH THE WHOLE MASS OF THE EX-
PLOITED, AND IN COMPLETELY WINNING THE CONFIDENCE
OF THIS CLASS AND THIS MASS – ONLY SUCH A PARTY IS
CAPABLE OF LEADING THE PROLETARIAT IN A FINAL, MOST
RUTHLESS AND DECISIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL THE
FORCES OF CAPITALISM. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS ONLY
UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF SUCH A PARTY THAT THE PRO-
LETARIAT IS CAPABLE OF DISPLAYING THE FULL MIGHT OF
THE REVOLUTIONARY ONSLAUGHT. . . .**

LENIN

**In July and August, the Soviet Communist Party and people cele-
brated the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Rus-
sian Social-Democratic Labor Party. The congress was the triumph
of Lenin's doctrine of the revolutionary working-class party, a doc-
trine that has become the patrimony of the entire Communist move-
ment.**

**A commemorative meeting was held in Moscow of representatives
of Party, government and public organizations and the working
people of the Soviet capital.**

In opening it, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, said that the outstanding role the Second Congress played in the great struggle for the victory of the revolution and of socialism lies, to put it briefly, in that it founded the Bolshevik Party, our glorious Leninist Party.

Looking back today at this distant event, but one always so near to us, we are moved to admiration at the work of Lenin and his associates in creating our Party, the first party of the new type, and leading it, through ordeals and against heavy odds, through the barricades of 1905 and the February Revolution of 1917 to the triumph of the Great October Revolution.

And one feels impelled to recall what Lenin wrote in the early years of the century: 'We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance almost constantly under their fire' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 355). Yes, only men of courage and principle, daunted neither by hardship nor police terror, and placing the happiness of the working people above all else – only men of that mould could accomplish what was accomplished by the first, Leninist generation of the Communists of our country.

For us, Bolsheviks of the epoch of socialist and communist construction, Lenin and those who fought and won together with him will always be an inspiring and never-fading ideal. And today, when Party cards are being exchanged, every Communist must again and again ask himself: have I done everything to be worthy of the title of member of the Leninist Party? Have I done everything to measure up to the demands made on every member of the CPSU by its history and traditions and by creative, revolutionary Soviet reality.

Membership in the Leninist Party is an honor, but one that carries many obligations. And we are convinced that the members of our nearly 15 million strong Party will now, as always, bear high the Red Banner of October, the banner of communism, which we took over from Lenin.

Our Party, L. I. Brezhnev continued, has travelled a long and glorious road. It was not an easy or straight road. We had to overcome incredible difficulties, nor was it always easy to find correct solutions for the problems facing us. We lost many sterling Leninist-Communists in the fight for the victory of the revolution and socialism. Their memory is sacred for our people.

Our Party proved equal to its tasks. It blazed the trail from capitalism to socialism. And having won the boundless confidence of the working class, of all the working people, it built a developed socialist society, a state of all the people, and led the world's biggest country on to the high road of communism.

It achieved all this primarily because of its unswerving fidelity to Marxism-Leninism.

Ever since its founding by Lenin, the Communist Party has considered the mastery of revolutionary theory, its creative develop-

ment and consistent defense against all enemies, an important and essential task. This approach to theory enabled the Party to score the victories of which we are justifiably proud, and is the guarantee of new, splendid successes in the years ahead.

In the concluding part of his speech, L. I. Brezhnev noted that life itself has proved the correctness of the 24th CPSU Congress decisions taken a little more than two years ago.

The Congress goal of heightening economic effectiveness as the basis for higher prosperity and cultural standards is being successfully attained. The country has become substantially richer and stronger since the Congress. The inner unity of Soviet society, the unity of our people around the Party and its Central Committee, is constantly strengthening.

The CPSU has made truly impressive progress in international affairs. The course mapped out by the 24th Congress is having a beneficial influence on the entire international situation. The international prestige and influence of our socialist state is steadily growing.

Our policy makes for closer fraternal relations with other socialist countries and helps to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement and of all the anti-imperialist forces.

Realization of the Soviet Peace Program is bringing mankind to frontiers at which the menace of war will be lessened and the nations enabled to develop in peace.

Convinced of the correctness of our course, we shall persist in our efforts to uphold peace and the freedom and security of the peoples.

In noting all these changes, which give cause for legitimate satisfaction, we do not forget, we shall never forget, that the path leading to the heights we have now scaled began at the Second RSDLP Congress and with the first, Leninist, program of our Party. It was carried out in full, just as the second program adopted at the Eighth Party Congress after October Revolution. The third Party program, the program building a communist society in our country, is likewise being carried out — our present achievements are proof of that.

Bright vistas, the vistas of communism, open to us, L. I. Brezhnev said in conclusion. We are confident in our strength. The world working class, all laboring mankind, are on our side. The cause begun by Lenin will triumph!

The report The Second RSDLP Congress and Its Epochal Significance was made by M. A. Suslov, Political Bureau member and Secretary, CC CPSU.

The Bolshevik Party, he said, entered the arena of political struggle at a time when world capitalism had gone into its last, imperialist stage.

Lenin was the first Russian and international workers' leader to understand and scientifically prove that, in this age of imperialism, the working class needs a new type of party, fundamentally differing from the parties of the Second International, a party of

social revolution and proletarian dictatorship. And Lenin was able theoretically to formulate and solve in practice the problem of building such a party in Russia.

M. A. Suslov singled out the following as the most important features of the party of the new type:

The ideological and theoretical basis of the party of the new type is Marxism-Leninism, notably the doctrine of socialist revolution, the historic mission and dictatorship of the proletariat;

The Party is the advanced detachment of the working class, the supreme form of organization of the proletariat, its political leader at all stages of its revolutionary activity, from preparing and carrying out the revolution to the building of a communist society;

The Party represents the merger of Marxism with the mass labor movement, and expansion of its ties with the worker masses, with all working people, is a prime source of its strength;

The revolutionary vanguard's battleworthiness is ensured by unity of theory and practice, by the Party's class character, ideological and political cohesion and organizational unity on the basis of democratic centralism, firm discipline, the political consciousness, activity and high sense of responsibility of every member for carrying out its policies;

A truly revolutionary Party is irreconcilable to all divisive activity, political opportunism and theoretical revisionism;

The Leninist Party is a Party of consistent internationalism.

The emergence of the Bolshevik Party was of world-historic significance. It ushered in a new stage in the Russian and world labor movement; it signalled a radical turn, internationally, from the old Social-Democratic parties to the proletarian party of the new type. Under the powerful impact of the October Revolution, in response to the vital needs of the labor movement, on the initiative of the Marxists of each country, and with the theoretical, internationalist support of Lenin, Communist parties were founded in one capitalist country after another. The theory, strategy and tactics of the Communist movement, the ideological, political and organizational principles of Party building and activity, were worked out under Lenin's direct leadership, as were also the preconditions for the growth and strengthening of the fraternal Communist parties of the new, Marxist-Leninist type. In this way the ideological and political foundations were laid for the Communist movement of today.

Together with all Marxist-Leninist parties, the CPSU sees its internationalist duty in upholding, advancing and asserting Lenin's time-tested doctrine of the Party.

International developments over the past few years, M. A. Suslov said in conclusion, provide clear evidence that our Party's Leninist policy is becoming an ever more powerful and effective factor in world affairs. The Peace Program formulated by the 24th Congress and being carried out by the CPSU and the Soviet state is having a tremendous positive impact on world affairs. The April

plenum of the CC CPSU highly assessed the great constructive work of the Political Bureau and the personal contribution of General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev to our foreign policy and international relations. This assessment is supported by the nation, by progressive forces all over the world.

Fraternal Communist and Workers' parties have sent messages of greetings to the CPSU on the 70th anniversary of the Second RSDLP Congress. An international symposium of scientists from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia on The International Significance of Leninism and the Ideological Struggle was held in Berlin. In their papers participants noted the outstanding part played by the congress in promoting the theory and practice of the international Communist and workers' movement.

The Communist press and leading figures in the fraternal parties, have repeatedly stressed the permanent value of the experience of Lenin's party, a party of consistent proletarian internationalists, an inalienable component of the international army of proletarian revolutionaries.

M. Aleksandrov

Chile: continuing confrontation

Alexandro Yanez

Member CC, CP Chile

Gabriel Banhero

Alternate Member CC, CP Chile

The Popular Unity bloc won the September 4, 1970 presidential elections and the government it formed two months later energetically began carrying out a program of anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic transformations. Three years separate us from those significant days, three years full of intense class struggles. Not for one minute have the reactionaries reconciled themselves to the people's power. They long for their lost privileges and will use every means, fair and foul, to recover them: parliament, instigation of anti-government actions, provocation, murder, plots, attempts to overthrow the government. No holds are barred so long as they can overthrow the popular government before it is able to cope with the inevitable difficulties, and before the revolutionary process has become irreversible. The struggle centers on the question of power, the main issue of the revolution. In these circumstances one of the chief tasks is to strengthen the ruling bloc of the Left forces.

A number of factors have to be borne in mind when considering the situation in our country. The 1970 election victory and three years of government activity have not given the Popular Unity bloc absolute political and economic power. The positions of the oligarchy have been undermined, but not destroyed. The oligarchy still possesses considerable material resources and many enterprises. The forces of the old world control most newspapers, journals, radio stations, and use the mass media for ideological subversion. One must always remember the political ingenuity of the Chilean bourgeoisie and its ability to maneuver and curry favor with the masses.

The special feature of the revolutionary process is that it takes place within the old constitutional structure.

Despite positive advances favoring Popular Unity after the March parliamentary elections, the National Congress still remains the focal point of anti-government actions. The Right deputies and senators flout the will of the Chilean people who elected them to parliament and who pay for their legislative activities. Instead of defending the interests of the electors they sabotage the measures of the popular government, cynically accusing ministers and the administration of violating the constitution and attacking the prerogative of executive power. The judiciary, that outpost of reaction, actively participates in escalating anti-government activities. They endeavor to justify the illegal activities of the Right which is responsible for opposition to and crimes against people's power, and blame the popular government for the country's economic difficulties.

But have the advocates of the oligarchy and North American imperialism the moral right to criticize? Is it not they who, for decades, squandered our resources and betrayed the sovereignty and independence of our country; who left us with a more than \$4 billion external debt; who left their fertile land fallow, forcing previous governments to import more grain, meat, milk and other products? Whose fault was it that 300,000 unemployed roamed the country in search of work, and that half a million families were homeless?

Chilean reaction enjoys the unfailing support of North American imperialism. This has been proved by the U.S. Senate investigations into the subversive plans of the International Telegraph and Telephone Company and the CIA. To prevent Dr. Allende's election, they intended to land U.S. Marines in Chile, as happened in Santo Domingo. And the ITT admitted that U.S. Ambassador Edward Korry gave the green light for such action. In addition, Jorge Alessandri, the Rightist presidential candidate, was offered economic aid running into seven figures.

Imperialist interference in the affairs of our country is no figment of the imagination as the reactionaries claim. It has been evident in various forms during the three years of the popular government. There were cutoffs of credit, an embargo on the purchase of copper, a ban on the sale of spare parts and equipment, the financing of

adventurist actions by the ousted oligarchy and fascist elements. And all this to prevent normal functioning of the Allende government and to put a brake on the revolutionary process.

The opposition does not confine itself to parliament. It is exploiting economic difficulties and some mistakes of the popular forces in an attempt to expand its social base. 'A Marxist revolution, such as the one taking place in Chile, cannot be halted by a propaganda campaign or normal party activities,' wrote the mouth-piece of reaction, the newspaper *Mercurio* after the defeat of the opposition in the March elections. This was a call to a frontal assault on the government, and swift, thorough preparations for a coup commenced.

Reaction understands only too well that if its plans are to succeed it must deprive the government of popular support, particularly that of the working people. Having decided to strike the main blow in the harsh Chilean winter months (June and July), it stepped up its press and radio campaign, encouraging the patently unrealistic demands of some backward elements. Demagogically, the Christian-Democrat, National Party and ultra-'Left' leaders proposed a steep rise in wages. They tried to incite discontent among the people, and sabotage the government's economic plans.

The strike at the El-Teniente mine was to have acted as a detonator. The Right press exploited this action, exaggerating its scope and trying to extract the maximum political gain from it.* A 'strike fund' was opened, and there were dollar contributions from abroad, also society ladies collected donations to help the 'unfortunate strikers.' The opposition parties organized street demonstrations, but there were few workers among the demonstrators. To make up for this, however, there were plenty of fascist provocateurs, members of the semi-military detachments of the *Patria y Libertad*.

The next step of the reactionaries was an attempt to spread the strike to the other copper mines and paralyze production of the country's main source of wealth. However, the members of all the copper trade unions voted (by secret ballot) against strike action. Defeated, the putschist leaders provoked a strike of bus drivers, but they returned to work very speedily.

Events in the past few months have shown up the hideous hypocrisy of the deposed oligarchial groups. Men who only three years ago ordered police attacks on striking workers and students and never showed even a glimmer of sympathy for the workers, have now become their fervent supporters, are even organizing 'solidarity' actions with striking workers. One is led to ask: Who benefits from these strikes?

No other government in the whole of Chile's history has shown such respect for the rights of the working people and such concern for their interests. And no other government has given the workers

*Actually only 30 per cent of the workers took part in the strike inspired by reactionaries at the El Teniente mine. The remaining 70 per cent continued to work, appreciating that every wasted hour would mean a colossal loss to the country.

such an active and increasing share in shaping their destinies. Government control of monopoly enterprises, abolition of the latifundia and solution of the agrarian problem, the return to the people of the country's national wealth—copper, sulphur, iron mines—reduction of unemployment and growing worker incomes—they are all part of the popular government's record; they are gains won in battle, and the Chilean people will never surrender them.

And the people know only too well that the capitalist wolves, for all their disguises, are not their friends. That is why the reactionaries are increasingly resorting to outright terror. Brazilian student Milton da Silva was assassinated on a street in Santiago. There was a bandit raid on the home of progressive journalist Jose Miguel Varas. There were attempts to blow up a high-voltage line in order to paralyze the El Teniente mine. Dynamite is being used in a desperate bid to achieve what could not be achieved by political strikes. Such is the logic of the criminals behind the terror.

Two members of the Socialist Party were fired upon in Antofagasta. Dragomir Moretic, a YCL member, was severely wounded. A bandit group attacked Gladys Marin, General Secretary of the YCL and member of Parliament. There were several attacks on representatives of the armed forces.

Raids on Communist and Socialist Party offices have become a daily occurrence. And there have been repeated attacks on the Gabriela Mistral Palace of Culture. What a revealing historical parallel: in 1936 the fascists killed the great Spanish poet Federico Garcia Lorca, now their Chilean followers are demonstrating their hatred of culture and democracy by throwing stones at the building that bears the name of the great Chilean poetess and Nobel Prize laureate.

The people are raising their powerful voice against this reactionary scum. Tens of thousands of women demonstrated in Santiago and voiced their resolute 'no' to the reactionaries. 'We Chilean women,' Virginia Vidal declared, 'do not raise our children to become martyrs. We do not want to see them crippled; we do not want to see them die, even as heroes. We want them to study and work, attend meetings and demonstrations, sing and dance. Let them love and raise families. All roads should be open to them, but not the road to death at the hands of the fascists.'

The youth march against civil war lasted a whole month, with columns of young men and women marching from north and south, braving cold and rain, to meet in Santiago in the biggest demonstration the country has ever seen.

The United Trade Union Center (CUT) called on the working class to exercise the utmost vigilance in the factories and mines and be prepared to fulfil any assignment of the Popular Government. On June 21 the CUT called a national strike in support of the Allende government. Mass meetings were held throughout the country and about one million demonstrated against the reactionaries in Santiago. The people reaffirmed their unswerving support for the popular government and President Allende.

But this time, too, the reactionaries did not heed the stern warning. Blinded by their hatred of the people, they continued their frenzied preparations for a coup d'état. Pablo Rodriguez, the head of Patria y Libertad, said: 'Allende must be overthrown today, not tomorrow. If presidential elections are held in 1976, Popular Unity will poll 80 per cent of the vote.' And yet the Right-wing press and radio kept on repeating that all the talk about a coup d'état and civil war comes from the government. And as always, the ultra-Left played into the hands of the conspirators by their irresponsible slogans.

On the morning of June 29, 12 tanks and armored cars of the Second Tank Regiment surrounded and fired upon the presidential palace and the Ministry of Defense. The palace guards were told to surrender. Their commander replied: 'Guardsmen die but never surrender!', words once used by an officer of Napoleon's guard. General Carlos Prats, the army Commander-in-Chief, and the General Staff immediately drew up a plan for suppressing the mutiny. The Buin and Tacna regiments, cadets, communication and paratroops and infantry were brought in and the mutiny was put down within a few hours. All its leaders (including several civilians) were arrested and will be court-martialled.

The workers reacted by immediately putting into effect the instructions of the CUT. They took over the factories, communication facilities, municipal enterprises, banks, peasant cooperatives, schools and universities. By noon June 29, hundreds of thousands had assembled at the presidential palace to voice their support for the government, President Allende, the armed forces and the police for having remained loyal to their duty and the Constitution. Rank-and-file Christian Democrats and people of no party affiliation took part in the demonstration alongside members of the Popular Unity parties.

The people and the army won an important victory. They defended the government, disarmed the adventurist and criminal elements who were sowing death on the streets of the capital and who had betrayed the glorious traditions of our armed forces. The Chilean soldiers displayed their unswerving determination to defend the government elected by the people. Patriotism and courage triumphed. And this is the earnest that the revolutionary process, which has already dealt telling blows at the oligarchy and North American imperialism, at the forces behind the bloody gamble, will continue to develop.

In the 1970 presidential elections, the Rights tried to intimidate the electorate by statements that if Allende won Soviet tanks would devastate Chile. Three years later tanks appeared in Santiago, bringing death to innocent people. But they were tanks driven by rebels. So much for the words and deeds of the reactionaries! And in dealing with them our people are always ready for action, for repetition of similar sorties cannot be ruled out.

Comrade Luis Corvalan has emphasized that we have always maintained – and despite the recent events have reaffirmed – that

in Chilean conditions the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchial revolution can be carried out by peaceful means; that socialism can be achieved without civil war, though, of course, there is bound to be a sharp class struggle. And as long as there is the slightest possibility of implementing progressive transformations by peaceful means, we shall resist all attempts to unleash civil war. That does not imply acceptance of 'social peace,' for there can be no agreement with the die-hard reactionaries who are bent on using force to hold back the process of progressive transformations. We must be prepared for every exigency, and if the reactionaries do unleash an armed struggle, they will be defeated. Of that there cannot be the slightest doubt, for the people will rise to a man to crush the enemy.

The Chilean events show that the revolutionary process is not a romantic interlude. It develops in sharp class confrontations between the forces of progress and those who would drag us back to the past. The enemy is still strong, and it would be equally dangerous to underestimate or overestimate his potential.

Consequently, along with decisive action to scotch reactionary anti-constitutional and subversive activities, the Popular Unity forces are extending and perfecting their policy of alliances. Comrade Corvalan has emphasized the need for a dialogue with opposition circles who do not fully support the Popular Unity government, but appreciate the necessity for change and do not want a return to the past.

The Popular Unity parties carefully weigh all criticism of mistakes, weak points and shortcomings of the revolutionary process and do everything to overcome them. They are working to eliminate sectarianism, that breeder of division and irresponsibility, root out bureaucracy and red tape, replace incompetent officials who only discredit the revolution, put an end to low labor discipline and tendencies to contrast group interests to those of the working class as a whole, to the interests of the country.

The First National Congress of the Federation of Popular Unity parties held in June adopted a number of important decisions. They call for a higher level of political leadership, higher quality of leading cadres and higher membership standards. The decisions also visualize development of all the organs of centralized and united popular rule, which together with working-class organizations and the government should organize control of production, food distribution, protection of the means of production against the fascists, launch a decisive offensive against inflation, eliminate shortages, the black market, and sabotage in industry.

The Congress emphasized that solution of production problems and economic development require nationalization of all monopoly enterprises still in private hands and expropriation of all abandoned, unused and inadequately cultivated land and land surpluses. A national economic plan is to be drawn up to accomplish these tasks.

Social transformations have widespread support. But there are

also untapped reserves, the social groups still under the influence of the class enemy. They can and should be drawn into the revolution. This means working to unite the majority of the population around the working class for resolute support of the Popular Unity government. That is the basic condition for the victory of the revolution and the defeat of the counter-revolutionaries.

Bernardo O'Higgins, the 'father of our country,' wrote that Chile is a free, independent and sovereign state, liberated once and for all from subjection to the Spanish monarchy and from all other tutelage. It has a full right to choose a form of government best suited to the interests of its people. The government of Salvador Allende and the Popular Unity parties are true to the behests of O'Higgins and are consistently upholding Chile's interests. The clock of history cannot be turned back.

Santiago-Prague

July 1973

Struggle for unity

Tomas Sinuraja

A FEW LESSONS FROM HISTORY OF CP OF INDONESIA

Since its foundation in 1920 the CP of Indonesia (PKI) has had considerable experience in fighting for national patriotic unity in the different stages of the liberation revolution. Now again unity is a prime issue, for the mass movement is reviving and discontent with the reactionary regime is running high. More people are beginning to realize that its anti-communist and pro-imperialist course is doomed. Moved by patriotic feeling and true to the ideals of democracy, justice and humanism, they have begun to articulate their opposition to the Rightist military government.

The Indonesian Communists are aware of these positive changes. They are working for a national unity front on an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist platform, in which the Communist Party would retain its ideological and organizational independence. The national-patriotic forces opposing the dictatorship and neo-colonial domination must close their ranks.

Framing the long-term strategy of class alliances, it is essential to look back again on past experience – both positive and negative. This must be done to avoid old mistakes.

First step to unity

The alliance of national-patriotic forces first took shape on the eve of the Second World War. Gerindo, the Movement of the Indo-

nesian People, formed in 1937, encompassed Left nationalists and Communists. Its aim was to repulse the fascist danger, work for deep-going democratic reforms, and, principally, win self-government for Indonesia. Its program envisaged cooperation with the Dutch authorities in combating the peril of fascism.

Subsequently, Gerindo was among the chief initiators of a broader national coalition – the Political Association of Indonesia (GAPI), formed in 1939, which embraced all the main parties and mass organizations, secular, Left-nationalist and religious (Moslem and Christian) alike. They demanded self-determination for our people, an Indonesian parliament, and resistance against fascism, first and foremost Japanese fascism.

In 1939, GAPI convened the First All-Indonesian People's Congress, which was soon constituted as a standing body that became a truly national force.

But its program was not destined to be realized. The Dutch authorities turned down the demands of the national liberation movement, and left the country defenseless in face of the Japanese imperialist expansion.

The failure of the early national-front organizations may be traced to the fact that they had been largely top-crust bodies, and the cooperation of the leaders of parties and organizations was not buttressed by sufficient mass support of their joint program. In many ways, this indifference of the masses helped the Japanese occupy our country. They seized the Indonesian archipelago in 1942 without any serious resistance.

The weakness of the early national-front bodies may also be traced to the inconsistency of the national bourgeoisie. Prior to the war, the anti-fascist front was supported not only by the national bourgeoisie, but also by a section of the compradore element. But as the Japanese armies rolled closer, various of its groups began to lose heart. And once they were convinced that the popular forces were insufficiently prepared to resist an aggression, the national bourgeoisie bowed before the invaders, collaborated with them, and put faith in their promise of 'independence.'

The grim three-and-a-half years of occupation dispelled all illusions. As the popular anti-fascist movement gathered impetus, peasant actions and student demonstrations multiplied, and the bourgeoisie began to display growing anti-Japanese feelings. Its patriotic sentiment was aroused by the armed resistance to Japanese rule by, among others, the officers and men of the Home Defence Army.* Many bourgeois personalities contacted Communists and other patriots working in the anti-fascist underground. And the resulting cooperation between the underground and the anti-Japanese elements of the national bourgeoisie, played a significant part in the preparations for the August 1945 revolution. The decisive

*An army formed by the Japanese occupation authorities of Indonesians to repulse the Allied offensive. Anti-Japanese feeling spread swiftly in its ranks.

factors in its success were the Soviet victory over fascism and the defeat of Japanese imperialism in which the Soviet Army played a crucial part.

Choosing the right way

Following the defeat of imperialist Japan and the winning of independence, the Communist Party gained a good opportunity for shaping a united national front. Its resolute resistance to Japanese fascism and then against the Anglo-Dutch colonial aggression had won the Communists influence, prestige and respect, which compelled the nationalists to seek an alliance with them. Cooperation between Communists and Left bourgeois elements made good progress in the representative bodies and the first republican governments (1945-1947), in which CP members held many high posts. The Communist Amir Sjarifuddin, for example, was Prime Minister in one of the cabinets, and Defense Minister throughout the early years of independence. Weakness had compelled the national bourgeoisie to join the anti-imperialist front and cooperate with the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat in order to repulse Dutch and British colonial expansion, though, admittedly, the front did not acquire any stable organizational form.

The Right wing of the bourgeoisie, especially its Islamic section represented by the Masjumi Party, was disturbed by the growing strength of the Left. Too weak to act on its own, it tried to win over other nationalist groups, and was largely successful. In the beginning of 1948 the Rightists precipitated a split by exploiting some of the nationalists' anti-communist prejudices and their fear of the expanding Left influence in the state machinery.

The CP leadership responded by forming a National-Democratic Front, which embraced the Communist Party and its associated organizations. This was in many ways a forced move, necessitated by the mounting political struggle following the advent of the reactionary Hatta government. However, the new Front failed to take in other national-patriotic forces, with the result that the Communists stood alone against the class enemy.

In the autumn of 1948 the Rightist cabinet mounted a campaign of provocations against the Left, culminating in outright anti-Communist terrorism.* The Party, the foremost echelon of the national liberation movement, was badly injured, which weakened the Republic's stand against imperialism.

Analyzing the failure of the national front in the early years after independence, we should remember the conditions of that period. For a number of years, the PKI had been cut off from the working-class centers, which were under Dutch occupation. This vastly reduced the opportunities for drawing the proletariat into the struggle for unity. But the main reasons for the failure were subjective. The Party leadership had not yet sufficiently mastered

*See WMR, June 1972.

Marxist-Leninist theory; it lacked a clear view of the motive forces of the Indonesian revolution, was remiss in its work among the peasants, and had only a foggy idea of the character of our society. As a result, it underestimated the role of the national bourgeoisie, its progressive anti-imperialist groups, in a country where nationalism was still the dominant political and ideological trend, while overestimating the capability of the Communists, who tried to go it alone in fighting reaction.

The reassessment of Party strategy that began in the 50s resulted in new fundamental guidelines. In 1954 the Fifth PKI Congress made an exhaustive study of the motive forces of the Indonesian revolution and emphasized the necessity of a national front of workers, peasants, and the petty and national bourgeoisie, and then also of a national front government based on the support of the masses. The worker-peasant alliance was defined as the cornerstone for this coalition. The Sixth Congress (1959) called on Communists to combat two pernicious trends – surrenderism and adventurism, both rooted in the class nature of the petty bourgeoisie.

The Communists' efforts to forge unity of the progressive forces was acclaimed in many quarters of our society. There was a growing awareness among the national bourgeoisie of the need for cooperating with the PKI to repulse imperialism and home reaction. In the environment of mounting anti-imperialist sentiment, many of the nationalist parties, both bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, demanded the scrapping of the unequal economic and political agreements imposed on the country by the Dutch imperialists after independence. And the Communist Party, which followed the most consistent anti-imperialist course, was among the first to campaign for these legitimate demands. The big PKI victory in the 1955 parliamentary election was evidence of its growing influence and confirmed the policy framed by the Fifth Congress. The success was consolidated in the 1957-1958 elections to local legislatures, in which the Communists polled more votes than any other party.

The roots of opportunism

Complicated and contradictory processes operated in Indonesia in 1956-1965. At first, the progressive trend continued. Having rectified their mistakes and accepting the national bourgeoisie as an ally in the general-democratic stage of the revolution, the Communists followed the national-front strategy and not only recovered their strength (following the 1948 terror), but also increased it several-fold.

The National Party of Indonesia gained much influence in the early 50s and its leader, Ali Sastroamidjojo, formed a progressive government in 1953. Rightist groups were markedly weakened by the split in the Masjumi party. Its breakaway, Nahdatul Ulama, followed an avowedly nationalist course. Reactionary influence was steadily declining in Java, the country's main political center. The

Right bourgeois and compradore elements, having tried parliamentary and other peaceful means and aware of their rapidly weakening position, decided on armed action to overthrow the bourgeois-democratic government and set up a totalitarian regime. They relied mainly on army officers who for a long time had been secretly cooperating with Masjumi and the Right-wing Socialists. There were counter-revolutionary risings on Sumatra, Sulawesi and other islands.

The vital interests of the republic demanded consolidation of all the patriotic forces. The urge for unity found expression in attempts to organize a national front against the armed counter-revolution and its imperialist backers. In line with this, the government founded the National Front for the Liberation of Western Irian. The fight to win back this legitimate Indonesian territory from the Dutch colonialists was closely intertwined with the mass anti-imperialist movement, which supported the central government against the rebels. Dependent as never before on support by the Left and democratic forces, President Sukarno shifted to more radical positions in home and foreign policy. There was much talk of agrarian reform and of long-range economic development plans.

But negative tendencies in government policy were making themselves felt. They came to the fore as the government consolidated its position (especially after the defeat of the 1961 counter-revolutionary revolts).

The concentration of vast power in Sukarno led to results directly opposite to those the masses expected and desired, for in their eyes Sukarno was a progressive anti-imperialist leader. With the introduction of 'guided democracy' (1959-65) the positive features of presidential policy steadily gave way to negative ones. In the closing years of his rule Sukarno was virtually isolated from the people, relying solely on the 'elite,' the capitalist elements in the military and civilian bureaucracy. And though it was only with the support of the people that the regime had managed to put down the counter-revolutionary revolts, it depended entirely on the reactionary government machine and on the part of the top army officers who, out of tactical differences with the counter-revolutionary forces, for a time preferred to support the government. In the late 60s foreign policy shifted from an independent neutralist course to the 'Djakarta-Peking axis.'

If the Party leadership had remained true to the policy formulated at its Fifth and elaborated at its Sixth congresses, it would have avoided the mistakes that so tragically affected the Party's destiny. However, in gross violation of class policy, the leadership's attitude towards 'guided democracy' factually deprived it of ideological and political independence. Cooperation with the bourgeoisie and Sukarno was little short of a 'love affair': everything was done to keep it that way. The Seventh Extraordinary Party Congress (1962) decided to incorporate the regime's ideological credo, Pancha Shila, in the Party's constitution and its policy declaration, the Political

Manifesto, in the Party program. A new formula was coined: 'National interests take precedence over class interests.'

The 1966 appeal of the PKI Marxist-Leninist group* sharply criticized these basically Right-opportunist theses, which tied the Party hand and foot. That is evident from the Communist record in the National Front, an amorphous amalgamation of widely different political forces.** By remaining in it, the PKI could not fully exercise its class militancy. For example, it could not secure repeal of the strike ban and other anti-democratic legislation. In fact, the regime used the Front to impose its will on the Communist Party.

Somewhat later the regime proclaimed the NASAKOM*** policy of unity of nationalists, religious circles and Communists to strengthen 'guided democracy.' The NASAKOM slogan was wholly contrary to the class approach and had absolutely nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the united front, for unprincipled 'unity for the sake of unity' is alien to the Communists. Hence, Sukarno's partial 'Nasakomization' of the government by including PKI representatives was anything but a gain for our Party. For a party that bends to the will of the bourgeoisie out of 'tactical considerations' or because of the 'need for unity' cannot remain a really revolutionary party.

The opportunist malaise, which had so deeply affected the PKI, was caused by the mounting influence of petty-bourgeois ideology, the weakening of the Party's class basis and increasing penetration of non-proletarian elements.

There was also an external factor: the strong influence of Maoism, primarily in the Party leadership. Peking tried to exploit 'guided democracy' for its great-power, chauvinist aims. It therefore had a direct interest in Communist cooperation with Sukarno, at a definite stage, and in Communist support of his pro-Peking foreign policy. Maoist revisionism went hand in hand with outright adventurism, with calls to create 'hot points' in the zone of the national-liberation movement. Under Maoist pressure, the Right opportunist trends in the PKI degenerated into Left opportunism. The Second CC Plenum (1963) made an absolute of armed struggle for power. This Leftist position, which took no account of the real alignment of forces or the Party's preparedness for armed action, was, in a way, the theatrical prelude to the gamble that came to be known as the 'September 30 Movement.' It was carried out by Leftist officers and supported by part of the PKI leadership.

Lessons to remember

Certain lessons which Communists should always remember have to be drawn from the Party's experience prior to the tragic events of 1965. Briefly, they can be summarized as follows.

*For a Correct Path of the Indonesian Revolution (now an official PKI document).

**In 1960 the National Front replaced the National Front for the Liberation of Western Irian.

***NASAKOM - an acronym for nationalist, religious and Communist forces.

A national united front can be durable and strong only if it has the support of the workers and peasants and is expressive of their will. A front built from 'above,' without any effort to unite the rank and file of patriotic parties and organizations around progressive slogans, will not have firm roots among the people and can only discredit the unity idea.

The working-class party should oppose all attempts to involve it in formal alliances which, though professing loyalty to the unity ideal, might well prove to be tools used by the regime to bring heterogeneous, even antagonistic, forces under its control. Participation in such 'alliances' leads to loss of ideological and political independence, to the Party's dilution within the regime.

Cooperation with the national bourgeoisie at various stages of the struggle shows that it seeks alliance with the progressive forces when the popular movement is on the upgrade. Conversely, the decline of mass activity, weakening of the patriotic forces, lead to demoralization of the national bourgeoisie. This is clearly evidenced by developments in Indonesia after 1965: all the groups that had worked in alliance with the Communists were in a state of paralysis, and the centrist elements, the 'middle road' advocates, veered to the Right.

Lastly, there is this important lesson: in a peasant country with a relatively weak proletariat, the Communist Party cannot carry out the democratic revolution alone, without allies. That should be especially borne in mind now, when Indonesia is ruled by the big bourgeoisie, the capitalist elements in the top military and civil bureaucracy, the landlords and compradores. Closely tied to imperialism economically and politically, they represent a very real force, for in their hands is the machinery of government, the army, the police and the intelligence service. To fight such an enemy – especially at low tide of the national-liberation movement – the Party must carefully and methodically muster its forces and build up unity of all patriotic elements for the battles ahead.

The record of the 'new order'* in Indonesia shows that the present regime is directed not only against the Communists, but against the mass of the Indonesian people, the working class, peasantry, a large segment of the national bourgeoisie, middle strata and intelligentsia. All these groups want to see the present reactionary regime replaced by a democratic anti-imperialist government. That is why now, with the Communist Party of Indonesia re-established on a Marxist-Leninist basis and with more and more groups and individuals coming out against the regime, the time is ripe for a national unity front.

Indeed, an alliance of the national-patriotic forces would be in the interests of all Indonesians opposed to the 'new order.' For there is widespread and mounting resentment at government policy, even among the national bourgeoisie. Towards the end of last year

*The term the generals use to describe their regime in contrast to Sukarno's so-called 'old order.'

several parliamentarians denounced repressions against demonstrators demanding an end to corruption and lower food prices. Students and young people generally are especially active in such demonstrations. Last year there was a strike of hundreds of Bata shoe-shop workers in Djakarta. Peasant protests against the tyranny of landlords and the military are not infrequent. A peasant revolt flared up on Sumba island in 1972 for better conditions and democratic local government. People from all walks of life are being involved in the movement against the reactionary regime, which is riding roughshod over the people's anti-imperialist and liberative ideals. Imbued with a feeling of national pride, Indonesians are raising their voice against foreign tutelage. Many representatives of the national bourgeoisie are protesting against the high-handed practices of the imperialist monopolies.

The 1969 Statement of the PKI Marxist-Leninist group* formulates the main demands of the present, national-democratic stage of our struggle. The social classes and groups whose discontent has so far lacked organized expression should be brought into a national unity front. Its key aim will be to win over the masses now under reactionary influence. From the very outset it should give a bigger role to the workers and peasants, for that alone will make it a truly militant movement.

In advocating a national united front, the PKI takes a realistic view of the situation in Indonesia: at the present stage the front would concentrate on general democratic tasks.

Our just cause will triumph if the party of the working people is consistently guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, is able to apply it to concrete conditions, has the support of the people, primarily the working class and peasantry, holds aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism and works in close cooperation with fraternal parties and the international Communist movement.

*Urgent Tasks of the Communist Movement in Indonesia. (now official PKI document).



Communists, intellectuals, culture

*Scanning pages of books
and journals*

The role of intellectuals, of science and culture, in modern society is being widely discussed in Marxist literature. Among other things, stress is laid on the interest of the working class in involving intellectuals in the struggle against monopoly and imperialism and in the construction of socialism and communism. Attention is also drawn to the fact that their own professional and creative interests objectively attract intellectuals to the sole scientific, Marxist-Leninist, outlook. And since their soul-searching is linked with the ideals of social justice they must inevitably choose in favor of the working class and of socialism. These factors dictate the Communist parties' policy towards intellectuals in capitalist countries and towards science and culture in socialist countries. Some aspects of this policy are examined in the books and journals reviewed below.

CPSU LEADS CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE USSR

This is the title of a book prepared by a group of researchers at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU.* The transformation of Russia, where previously three out of four of our inhabitants could not read or write, into a 100 per cent literate country is indeed a historical step forward in the life of the peoples of the USSR. But this is not all that was achieved during that intense and profound process which for the first time in history made culture the property of the people and is quite justifiably named a cultural revolution. The materials brought together in this book are a striking description of the achievements of socialist society in education and science, the flowering of literature and art, the upsurge and convergence of national cultures, and the enrichment of the spiritual life of the Soviet citizen.

The book is permeated throughout with the idea that these successes in the cultural field would not have been possible without the guidance of the Communist Party, without its constant concern for providing conditions essential to the creative work of intellectuals and for affording the people access to general and special

*KPSS vo glave kulturnoi revoliutsii v SSSR. Moscow, Politizdat, 1972. 375 pp.

knowledge. Therefore, it is perfectly legitimate to conclude that 'the victory of the cultural revolution in the USSR marks the victory of the ideas of the Communist Party and the triumph of its policies founded on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism' (p. 350).

The book details the enormous work carried out by the CPSU to involve the old pre-October intellectuals in socialist construction, as well as to train new highly qualified and highly educated cadres of working class and peasant origin, through the establishment of a wide system of higher education.

'There will come a day when monuments will be erected in front of the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Arts to the Russian proletarian. In his hour of crisis, despite hunger and cold, although because of his unhappy past he knew nothing of science and art, he did not allow these rare, and for us delicate, plants to perish, but cherished and nurtured them for future generations.' The authors quote these words of the eminent historian M. N. Pokrovsky as a striking description of the very essence of the attitude of the revolutionary working class and its Party to the cultural heritage of artistic and scientific treasures amassed by mankind. In the struggle against the ideology, morals and tastes of the deposed exploiting classes of Russia, the correct solution of this problem required the most competent and thought-out approach, and such indeed was the approach of the Leninist Party. It strove for the all-round development of a new, socialist culture, freed of hostile bourgeois influence while carefully retaining all that was most progressive in the national tradition of literature, art and all spheres of creative activity. Naturally, this was only one of the aspects of the cultural transformation where the experience of the CPSU is of lasting significance.

R. Dubov

FOR MARXISM AND AGAINST MARXIST PHRASEMONGERING

The achievement of the integration of scientific socialism with the working-class movement has always been one of the most important aims of the Communist parties. In modern times the introduction of the Marxist outlook amongst various sections of intellectuals assumes great importance. The Canadian journal *Communist Viewpoint** has recently published an article by Dr. John B. Fraser, 'Intellectuals and the Party,' dealing with the need for the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas amongst intellectuals.

The objective ground for this is that an increasing proportion of intellectuals are becoming salary-earners and so getting closer to the working class. Generally speaking, however, writes the author, intellectuals 'lack the sense of being an organic product of a class which has achieved some measure of consciousness of its historical and structural position.' In this sense, the intellectuals themselves still need to be enlightened.

*'Intellectuals and the Party,' by John B. Fraser. *Communist Viewpoint*, Vol. 5, No. 3, May-June 1973.

The class struggle against imperialist monopoly demands that intellectuals absorb the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Furthermore, in the opinion of the author, Marxist debate in Canadian universities, i.e., 'in the very labor-processing plants of capitalism,' could become a 'scientific attack on capitalism with a dynamism much harder to counter than is "physical activism" rooted in dogmatic ultra-Leftism.'

On the other hand, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, the intellectual can rid himself of 'professional' weaknesses, due to which, under pressure of bourgeois ideology, he devotes himself to 'technical' and 'positivist' research and assessments, loses integrity of outlook and is consequently impotent in face of the enormous synthetic problems of the epoch, society and science.

Dr. John Fraser points out that the Canadian university intellectuals feel less alienated from the interests of the ruling class than is the case in the USA and elsewhere. This erects a definite barrier to their acceptance of Marxism, even though radical views and tendencies are now becoming more widely spread amongst them. These radical trends to the Left often adopt Marxist terminology, but not its substance. 'Fossilized Marxisms,' such as Trotskyism, Maoism and various ultra-Leftisms - gain currency. But they do not have any roots in the Canadian working-class movement. 'In fetishizing "theory," they distort and dogmatize Marx's principles of scientific analysis. They present to the section of the working class with which they come in contact an ahistorical and non-analytical anti-Marxism.' The author remarks that a first acquaintance with these concepts of Marxism is only likely to frighten off serious thinking people among the intellectuals.

There is also a tendency, John Fraser continues, 'peculiarly attractive to those who find the organization and discipline of a working-class movement irksome, and carry the same lack of principle to their intellectual pursuits. Cults of Marxist humanism, Freudian Marxism, Marxist phenomenology, and, no doubt, soon Marxist structuralism, flare and die.' In these cases, according to the author, we have not 'variations on Marxist themes,' but 'tendencies within other philosophies.'

The author considers that all these factors erect barriers which must be removed in order that Canadian intellectuals become involved in a 'theoretical discussion' on a genuinely Marxist basis. The aim of such a discussion is 'to win a section of intellectuals capable not merely of radical critiques of the standing rules of their discipline, but of understanding the nature of the political struggle of Marxists and for Marxism.' Further, he writes: 'Finally, it may be possible to organize theoretical and analytical work more systematically, and to give to intellectuals that sense of urgency and responsibility which should prompt their work if their priorities are set according to the needs of the working-class movement. This does not imply directed research, but demands that the highest standards of theoretical rigor be combined with an awareness of the practical needs of the class for which the work is intended. It is

at this point that the experience and leadership of Canadian Communists is of the greatest significance.' S. Coro

THE FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Two journals, the *Hungarian Philosophical Review* and *Sociology*,* have recently published a document entitled 'The Viewpoint of the Working Group on the Cultural Policy of the CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, on the Anti-Marxist Views of Some Sociologists.' This document refers, in particular, to the decision of the November 1972 Plenum, which stated: 'We must do more to stimulate the social sciences to study and find answers to the existing problems of our developing society.' Further, the document of the Working Group states that 'the fulfilment of these tasks is promoted by the principles unequivocally laid down by the CC of the Party in its directives on its policy on science.'** This refers in the first place to the principle that 'the Party guarantees the freedom of creative research also in the field of the social sciences. There are no banned subjects and dictated conclusions.' In keeping with the need to enrich Marxism-Leninism and the principle of freedom of research, the directives lay down the principle of freedom of scientific discussion and point out that 'the emergence of scientific schools and new trends in research based on a Marxist approach, the comparison of different points of view, and an atmosphere of free scientific discussion make for the development of Marxism-Leninism.'

The Working Group also draws attention to the fact that the Party directives say that 'the variety of trends and schools in scientific research becomes politically and ideologically dangerous when it constitutes an ideological-political platform or current which questions, emasculates, or denies the theoretical system of Marxism-Leninism.' Such dangerous trends, says the document, have latterly found reflection in the works of some Hungarian sociologists.

The concepts they put forward 'suggest the clear conclusion that . . . the East European countries can be regarded as socialist only by virtue of the dominant "official ideology".' Completely ignoring the historical approach, these authors 'present the development of these countries as if their future outlook lay merely in the reproduction of the standard of living and way of life which accord with the consumer model of development of capitalist countries.'

In proposing their own 'socialist' alternative for the countries of Eastern Europe they were unable to venture beyond general and hazy utopian phrases borrowed from the vocabulary of the Right revisionists and the so-called New Left. They consider that their alternative is realizable through processes called 'the evolution of bureaucracy towards pluralism,' 'the emergence of particular interests,' and so on. 'In the final analysis,' says the document,

**Magyar Filozofiai Szemle* No. 1-2, 1973, pp. 159-169; *Szociologia* No. 1, 1973, pp. 45-56.

**See WMR No. 11, 1970.

'they link their hopes with the same tendencies of the "evolution" of socialism as its enemies: decline of the influence of Communist parties in the socialist countries among the masses, the masses moving away from the programs for socialist construction adopted in those countries, the appearance and strengthening of contradictions within socialist society, the evolution of "bureaucracy" towards pluralism, and the formation of a relation of forces internationally that would favor the development and exploitation of internal contradictions.'

The books reviewed in the document draw a distinction between 'political revolutions' and 'revolutions embracing the whole of society,' asserting that 'so far history has not known a revolution of the latter category.' 'In other words,' the document states in this connection, 'the Great October Socialist Revolution and the world-historical socialist revolutions of our century were not "revolutions embracing the whole of society".' Generally speaking, socialist revolutions 'meant no more than a change in the holding of political power, could not lead to the revolutionary transformation of society as a whole, and did not lead to a revolution in the way of life.'

One of these works contains the idea that 'there is no "authentic Marxism" and that many different interpretations or different types of Marxism are possible. This concept is directed not only against Marxism, but against science in general.' The document further quotes this view of the author: which of the two theories, bourgeois or Marxist, 'each of which considers the other to be wrong, will be proved historically true, will be determined not by which of them correctly reflects the existing social situation. The truth of the one or the other of these theories can only be determined in the struggle of the forces which they represent. In effect, this means that truth is a question of practice.' 'After such a rejection of the basic condition for the existence of science, a denial that in a particular question there can only be one truth, one can no longer be surprised at the assertion that "human behavior and, consequently, the whole course of history have no laws." Neither is it surprising that the same author "denies the necessity for the emergence of socialist society," but includes it in the realm of possibilities which . . . lays open to doubt the socialist nature of present-day and future socialism.'

The Working Group concludes that 'the essence of this platform is an appeal on behalf of a "Marxism" reduced to a petty-bourgeois humanist phrase, against Marxism and the working-class movement, on behalf of a "socialist alternative" to the really existing socialism - against all the forms of socialism which have been built in practice.' This platform serves the purpose of 'theoretically "rejecting" past socialist revolutions of world significance, disputing the role of the leading forces in the world revolutionary process of our epoch, the role of the socialist countries and international working-class movement; discrediting the development of the East European socialist countries and, consequently, disavowing the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. It serves the purpose

of elaborating a political line and program which departs from the general strategic line of the international working-class movement, breaking with all hitherto known practical paths and with the theory of socialist construction.'

'Identifying capitalism with socialism, and the "theoretical rejection" of the socialist revolutions have nothing in common with historical processes and, at the most, are proof that the exponents of these ideas willy-nilly assume the same platform as the bourgeois theoreticians who oppose socialism and the revolutionary working-class movement.'

'The views of the authors, which had been controversial in the past as well, have undergone a change; lately they have acquired a single, summarized, and, although to a different degree, politically oriented nature.'

The concluding section of the document emphasizes that the directives of the Party on its policy on science express confidence that 'the essential condition for the development of science is a correctly interpreted freedom of scientific research. In our social practice and the development of our society there are no scientific problems, the study and analysis of which, from the ideological point of view, conflict with the interests of the people building socialism.' It is also stated that 'scientists have a duty to their people and country. The Hungarian people, building socialism, rightly expects from its men of science loyalty to socialism and social progress. We strive to ensure that the theory and methods of Marxism-Leninism should be universally accepted by our scientists. The scientist must recognize the demands of society, take into account the country's possibilities and be guided by them when selecting problems for research.'

In discussing the works of the above authors, the sociologists expressed the conviction that the policy of the HSWP in the domain of research guarantees it complete freedom and thereby guarantees fruitful research of a high standard. Naturally, the Party, being a voluntary association of likeminded people, cannot have within its ranks people who do not recognize and do not wish to recognize their responsibility for carrying out Party policy, nor their duty to consistently uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism as a world outlook and the methodological foundation for scientific research.

The journal *Party Life** published the decision of the Secretariat of the CC HSWP adopted on May 14, 1973. It states that the Working Group on Cultural Policy and broad sections of sociologists of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences have discussed recent works of some philosophers and sociologists.

The authors of these works were invited to take part in the discussion in order to express their viewpoints and eliminate possible misunderstandings. However, they did not avail themselves of this invitation.

**Partelet*, No. 6, 1973, p. 44.

In view of the fact that the Party members amongst these authors, such as A. Hegediis, J. Kiss and M. Vajda, had adopted positions incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and the policy of the HSWP, and bearing in mind too their non-Party behavior and their unwillingness to correct their ideological and political errors, the Secretariat has expelled them from the ranks of the Party. L. Nagy

An inside view of Social Democratic policy

Literary survey

The Right Social-Democrats have long been trying to emasculate the concept of socialism and to propagate cooperation with the big bourgeoisie in reforms that leave intact the essence of the capitalist system. This line has often aroused discontent, and triggered controversies within the Social-Democratic movement. Opposite attitudes come to view, with undisguised apologia of opportunism on one side, and criticism of this apologia, on the other, frequently couched in language borrowed from Marxists.

This disparity of standpoints is illustrated by some recently published books by both Social-Democratic and bourgeois authors.

Ralph Miliband, a Left Laborite, an editor of the *Socialist Register* and London School of Economics lecturer. His book, *The State in Capitalist Society*,¹ has gone through several editions.

Wolfgang Abendroth, an FRG historian of Left views. His book² deals with the working-class movement in Europe.

Gunnar Gunnarson, a theoretician of the SDP of Sweden, an advocate of a 'return to Marxism' and critic of Bernstein, Kautsky and, of all things, Marxism-Leninism. His book, *The Social-Democratic Idea*,³ bears on the ideology and policy of the movement, mainly with reference to his own Party.

Dorothy Pickles, radio editor, author of books on the political organization of society, in her *Democracy*,⁴ examines the 'sophisticated machinery of modern parliamentary practice' in a search for a remedy for the ills of the bourgeois system.

Julius Braunthal, a leader of the Socialist International (he was its secretary from 1950 to 1956) and a rabid anti-Communist. His three-volume *History of the International*,⁵ is a eulogy of Social-Democracy (the reference here is to the last of the three volumes). The same is true of *Socialism in Germany* by Cordula Koepcke.⁶ And Peregrine Worsthorne, assistant editor of the Conservative *Sunday Telegraph*, attacks Labor Party policies from the Tory standpoint in *The Socialist Myth*.⁷

To begin with, a few words about these authors' angle of approach to the essence of Social-Democratic policy. Lenin, it may be recalled, defined it as management of the affairs of capitalists. In substance, Miliband and Abendroth agree: Right-wing Social-Democrats are against socialism; they neither change, nor want to change capitalist society; all they want are reforms that would not transcend the existing system. For Worsthorne the aim of reform is to improve that system, nothing more. Labor, he holds, has given up the idea of a classless society, and is, indeed, incapable of a radical policy, by virtue of its . . . 'democratic character' (p. 7). Pickles amplifies: 'democratic socialism' is as much a form of 'liberal democracy' as political conservatism or radical reformism (p. 68).

The Right Social-Democrats are not in the least offended by the fact that their professions of 'socialism' are not taken seriously. What in the first place, they ask, made people think we are for radical change? Social-Democratic policy is not radical, Braunthal explains, because it has long since departed from Marxism (p. 581). Koepcke adds: gone are the days when policy reposed on a world outlook; nowadays, it rests on ethics, on simple and comprehensible notions cherished by capitalist and worker alike, such as 'good' and 'evil,' 'honesty,' 'freedom,' etc. The time for radical change is over: why change anything, Pickles writes, if everything has already been changed? Present-day 'welfare society' is neither capitalist nor socialist (p. 89); it embodies the fundamental ideas of socialism, says Braunthal (p. 586). True, elsewhere he admits that economic and political power is still, generally speaking, controlled by the monopolies, but 'the political power of the propertied classes is balanced by the political power of the working class, the power of capital by the power of the trade unions' (p. 590). What does he mean? Could he be referring to the activity of Social-Democratic cabinets that style themselves 'workers' governments, or the big unions?

Admittedly, several countries have Social-Democratic cabinets and strong trade-union organizations. But are they able to direct their policy against capital, or impose their terms on capitalism? Let's leave the answer to some of the books under review. Workers' organizations controlled by Social-Democrats, like governments controlled by them, do not attack capital. Social-Democratic leaders are integrated in capitalism and stand for partial reforms only (Miliband). They try to follow capitalist and socialist principles simultaneously, says Conservative Worsthorne. And Pickles: The Right Social-Democrats are barely distinguishable from the bourgeoisie; the distinction between Laborite and Conservative is growing fainter.

To be sure, as Miliband sees it, Social-Democratic policy is not the same as bourgeois policy. It would be a mistake to apply the idea of their essential resemblance to all concrete political actions. One cannot say, he adds, that 'governments of the Left have not done many things which were strongly and even bitterly resented and opposed by the dominant classes and the business elites.' The

recent moves of some Social-Democratic parties show a realistic approach to international policy, promoting peace and détente. Though admitting that 'all governments, however conservative, have at one time or another been compelled to do such things,' he concedes that Social-Democratic governments 'have tended to do more than others' (p. 102).

What is at the bottom of the pro-capitalist orientation of Social-Democratic policy? Abendroth traces it to Social-Democrats' erroneous appraisal of the present-day East-West balance of forces, the balance between capitalism and socialism. They pin faith on the deliverance of capitalism from its built-in contradictions. But this is only partly true: it leaves many questions unanswered and breeds new ones. Social-Democrats—as the books under review attest—had tried to adapt to capitalism in days gone by, too, when it was anything but 'stable.' Pickles prefers to trace the moderation of, say, British 'socialism' not to any new aspects, but to its traditional features. She singles out three: 'negligible influence of Marxist theories, the common background of Protestantism, and perhaps especially of Methodism, and, most important of all, the predominant interest . . . in practical reforms' (p. 71).

This is a reminder of the fact that the reasons for such Social-Democratic behavior differ, and that apart from universal factors we should reckon with the specific situation in each country. The facts cited in the books under review bear this out. Take Britain's Labor Party: it flirts with socialism; the SDP of Germany, on the other hand, has essentially 'overcome' socialism, while the Scandinavian Social-Democrats are 'putting finishing touches' to socialism, and setting new guidelines, such as 'levelling out' and 'economic democracy.' Yet unity over political issues is conspicuously absent; the differentiation is more profound.

But back to the universal sources of opportunism, and their interpretation by the authors reviewed. Some name the 'benevolence' of the bourgeoisie towards Social-Democrats as one of these sources. What is behind this? For one thing, the capitalists have found that Social-Democratic policy is wholly innocuous; Social-Democrats would not think of objecting, or taking offence, at offers of 'aid' in building . . . socialism (Worsthorne, for one, addresses such an offer to the Laborites). On the other hand, the bourgeoisie is eager to prevent any radicalization of the working-class movement, fearing, among other things, the revolutionizing influence of the socialist countries. This point is made by Abendroth.

'Even . . . a brief survey of the European working-class movement and its organizations in the capitalist states in the past half decade suggests,' he writes, 'how strongly they are influenced by developments in the socialist countries of Europe. The current standard of living of the working class, which is much higher than in earlier periods, could not have been attained in any of the European countries without the rival existence of the socialist states. After the Second World War the capitalist classes were convinced that the only way to regain the loyalty of the working

classes and prevent them from being influenced by the politics of socialist countries was to grant them concessions. This also accounts for the extent of democratic rights still enjoyed by the working-class movement in many countries. The October revolution and the other socialist revolutions which arose in the wake of the Second World War thus remain a vital factor in the struggle of the working class, although this is seldom realized by the reformists' (p. 185).

And so, the books show, Social-Democracy seeks at best to 'balance' rather than overthrow the power of capital. This shapes the attitude of Right Social-Democrats towards the state and the political structures. They hold mostly that the present-day state has changed and responds to the interests of all society. Their aim is to 'guide the state beyond class boundaries.' The Bonn state, Koepcke maintains, already 'reposes on the unalterable principles of democratic socialism' (p. 253). Worsthorne takes the opposite view. As he sees it, the march of events is heading away from 'democratic socialism.' But he, too, observes that the bourgeois state reciprocates. Sure of its strength, it suffers the 'power' of Social-Democratic governments with the utmost equanimity. The fact that Labor was able to become a ruling party in Britain, Worsthorne holds, is proof of the strength of the existing system, which has nothing to fear from such 'labor' cabinets. The Conservative author is not in the least daunted by 'socialism à la Labor' and even maintains that precisely the present-day state will create Labor socialism. Besides, he is aware that 'the more a socialist government seeks to intervene in the affairs of Big Business, the more Big Business is in a position to interfere in the affairs of the socialist government' (p. 12).

The Social-Democrats' determination to operate within the framework of the capitalist system leaves a mark on all aspects of their policy. Take the economy. The Social-Democrats, with just few exceptions, have abandoned the slogan of nationalization. It is quite sufficient, they hold, to establish 'effective democratic control over the economy' (Braunthal, p. 587). The main purpose, as they see it, is to boost production, and appeal to working-class organizations for support. But economic growth, Worsthorne observes, is not a synonym for socialism.

Not even nationalization or a 'mixed economy,' some of the Social Democratic authors say, can secure relations of justice in the framework of the capitalist system. Gunnarson produces a striking picture of economic relations under 'Swedish socialism': Social-Democratic policy has not 'redistributed' economic power; exploitation has increased; 'all the big and world-famous Swedish industries are controlled by influential groups, and the degree of concentration is higher than in West Germany or the United States' (p. 184).

Now take social policy. Braunthal contends that the condition of wage and salary earners has changed radically thanks to this policy, and 'socialist ideals' have been put into practice. But we may as well see what the others say on this score. Pickles: 'Over the 15

years between 1955 and 1970, British Conservative and Labor policies in the fields of social security, health and education policies, and wages and prices policies, have not differed significantly enough to provide any clear-cut line between them insofar as social levelling is concerned' (p. 91). And referring to the Federal Republic of Germany, she adds on the same pages, that 'it was difficult to understand exactly where socialist and non-socialist partners in the governmental coalition of 1966 to 1969 parted company.' Now Gunnarson: 'The social levelling that has been the ideal of Socialists at all times and in all countries, is still far from achieved. . . . How can Big Business power blend with the socialist and democratic ideal?' (pp. 153-154).

He could not have spoken a truer word. They are unblendable. The Right Social-Democratic leaders try to make them so, but are concerned most of all for the interests of their capitalist partners. Abendroth, too, cites numerous examples of this, and among others the fact that in September 1969 the FRG Minister of Economics, a Social-Democrat, pleaded 'the interests of the employers and of stability' in rejecting workers' wage demands (p. 177).

Right Social-Democracy, as we see, coexists peacefully with the bourgeoisie and has not the slightest intention of working for radical social changes. But why do the masses support Social-Democrats in so many countries? Do they also want to perpetuate the capitalist order? Or is there something else to it?

None of the authors under review touches on the matter at any length. But a definite viewpoint may still be pieced together from some of their passages.

It goes without saying that workers are much more radical than the Social-Democratic leaders. The support that the latter brag about, Gunnarson notes, is precisely a proof that the masses want change, and socialism. And the fact that Social-Democrats 'are voted into power' (Abendroth) also reflects the mass craving for change. However, in most cases Social-Democrats get votes for being the 'lesser evil.' Though shaky and timid, many electors hold, a Social-Democratic government at least goes through the motions of protecting workers' interests, and is better than a cabinet fronting for Big Business.

But after getting the workers' votes, Social-Democrats are as a rule remiss in keeping their pledges. Like the bourgeois parties, they come under the 'unbendable law of oligarchy' and become more moderate than their followers. The longer they stay in power, the more they so become. 'Social-Democratic governments have seldom if ever begun very boldly,' Miliband concurs, 'but their later stages have generally been still more cautious and orthodox' (p. 101).

It stands to reason that the speculation on the traditional gravitation of the working-class voter towards the Social-Democrats in the developed capitalist countries, will not last forever. This is why, the authors of some of the books explain, Social-Democratic parties are eager to broaden their social base. Many of them declare

these days that they represent not the working class, but the 'whole people.' And, indicatively, Conservative Worsthorne concurs that the Labor Party is much less a working-class party, but rather a party of the middle classes (though, in fact, workers still constitute the majority of its membership). The percentage of workers among its MPs, he notes, has declined. The SDP of Germany, Koepcke claims meanwhile, is a 'people's party' (p. 264). And Miliband and Abendroth note that Social-Democracy is flouting the interests of the working class.

Addressing the working class or speaking in its behalf, the books under review show, Right Social-Democrats concentrate mainly on its passive more backward section, which is prone to reformist illusions, especially at times of good business. It would not occur to the Right-wing leaders to elevate the workers' political consciousness; this they regard as arm-wrenching. Besides, it would rob them of their 'alibi.' Now they are at least able to say, as Gunnarson does, that the present-day working-class movement is not ripe for socialism. Braunthal commends the Social-Democrats for suiting their policy 'to the level of the socialist consciousness of the masses' (p. 584). Their line, Koepcke agrees, is centered on 'the yesteryear and the day after tomorrow,' which, as she sees it, means fidelity to tradition and at once to 'modern notions of social development.' But she also writes: 'Democratic policy . . . should never overlook or scorn the great mass of citizens who are moved by sentiment rather than consciousness' (p. 249) (she means Social-Democratic consciousness, of course).

However, the Social-Democrats are often forced to comply with the pressure of the working class and to radicalize their policy. Suffice it to refer to the radicalization of the Scandinavian Social-Democrats' stand on a number of issues, as listed by Abendroth. He notes the greater militancy of the working class, whose interests are coming into ever sharper collision with the postures of the Social-Democratic leadership. Abendroth recalls the differences between the leadership of the Labor Party and the trade unions, and workers' actions against the policy of the Social-Democratic leadership in the FRG, and so on.

This survey lays no claim to being an exhaustive study of Social-Democratic policy and its results. We deliberately limited it to the range of issues raised in the books under review or those for which they provide the basic material. The criticism of some aspects of modern reformism, it seemed to us, would be more trenchant if based on studies made by the Social-Democrats themselves (Right, as well as Left), and on the works of bourgeois students of the subject. Doubly so, since these concern the most influential of the parties, parties that have achieved the greatest success, and that have frequently formed their own cabinets.

The range of views concerning Social-Democratic policy is very broad. The darkest pole is represented by the philosophy of Conservative Worsthorne. The Tories, he says, know Britain's needs

best of all, and are closer to socialism; but to function properly, socialism wants the capitalists to take a hand. The Right Socialist protagonists of a 'mixed economy' are not very far removed from the same outlook. Braunthal and Koepcke are more than pleased with the prevailing state of affairs in capitalist society, and enjoin the workers to engage in moral improvement. And Gunnarson, abiding by his party's conception, regards 'social levelling' as the prime objective, but offers no radical means, even in theory, for achieving it.

Abendroth and Miliband, who represent the feeling of the Left-wing, are the only two who call for mass struggle against monopoly power, and for the unity of the working class and the other anti-monopoly forces. And their standpoint is the one that reflects more consistently the objective changes transpiring in the world under the impact of the successes of the socialist countries. Their outlook, like that of other clear-thinking people, shows that there is a realistic basis for both a dialogue and for joint action by Social-Democrats and Communists, that on some of the issues of cardinal significance for the working class they can definitely find common ground. Constructive criticism of opportunist, reformist conceptions should not stand in the way of this process, since objections to cooperating with the big bourgeoisie are mounting within the Social-Democratic movement, the differentiation is more intensive and a battle is on for more radical positions worthy of being called socialist.

E. Luan

1. Ralph Miliband, *The State in Capitalist Society*. London, 1972.
2. Wolfgang Abendroth, *A Short History of the European Working Class*. London, 1972.
3. Gunnar Gunnarson, *Socialdemokratiskt idearv*. Malmö, 1971.
4. Dorothy Pickles, *Democracy*. London, 1971.
5. Julius Braunthal, *Geschichte der Internationale*. Band 3. Hannover, 1971.
6. Cordula Koepcke, *Sozialismus in Deutschland*. Munich, 1970.
7. Peregrine Worsthorne, *The Socialist Myth*. London, 1971.



Women in the first socialist state

The report of the international conference on the position of women in capitalist countries held under the journal's auspices, which appeared in our June issue, aroused considerable interest, and in their comments readers asked us for information on life and work of women in the socialist countries, in the first place the Soviet Union. After grouping together the questions we forwarded them to the Soviet Women's Committee. **Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova**, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, the world's first woman cosmonaut, Hero of the Soviet Union, answers the questions below.

Question: To what extent do women participate in the economic life of the country and what are the trends in the pay and employment of women in the various professions?

Answer: The Soviet Union was the first socialist country in the world which, in undertaking the great task of constructing a new society, provided an example of genuine equality of men and women. Had there been no emancipation of women, had women not been drawn into production, it would have been impossible for socialist democracy to grow, to realize the imposing economic plans requiring the full utilization of all the productive forces of society.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government have always regarded the solution of the women's question as a state responsibility. The first decrees of Soviet power did away with all their legal inequalities. The Soviet Constitution guaranteed women equality with men in educational opportunities, work, rest, wages, welfare benefits and political rights. The most important conditions for the social liberation of women were provided by guaranteeing employment, with labor protection and maternity facilities, participation in the administration of the state, elimination of inequality in family and the home, and the formation of a scientific world outlook in women.

The number of women engaged in the national economy has grown yearly and they now constitute half the country's labor force; in some sectors of industry they are in the majority. In the educational and cultural sphere women make up 71 per cent and in medicine 72 per cent.

As a result of rapid technical progress the scope for women's

employment is constantly growing. At present 32.1 per cent of working women are employed in industry, and their numbers in modern industries employing advanced technology are increasing at a higher rate.

The number of women in the professions is growing rapidly too. Among specialists with higher or secondary specialized education women number 10.5 million or 59 per cent. Every third engineer in our country is a woman. Soviet women are taking an ever greater part in scientific development. There are now 3.6 times more women scientific workers than 15 years ago. Sixty-eight thousand women hold candidate and 3,500 doctoral degrees (out of a total, for both sexes, of 275,000).

Greater employment of women has meant a bigger share in the management of industry. Over half a million women are heads of industrial enterprises, collective and state farms, research institutes and other scientific and medical institutions, schools and higher educational establishments.

Modern, technically equipped industry demands specialized knowledge, high professional standards and a higher level of culture. In the current five-year plan period, the Government has set the important task of completing the change-over to secondary education for all young people. And as far as technical schools are concerned, 53 per cent of those attending them are girls; in the higher educational establishments girls constitute 49 per cent.

Skilled workers are trained in various types of schools, at courses, or individually in the factory, with annually 18 million workers and employees, approximately half of them women, acquiring new skills. It should be noted that the collective agreements specify the number of women to be trained, or retrained, or put through special courses for job advancement.

The socialist system of economy which guarantees women the right to work, completely excludes any kind of discrimination in pay. More, the law allows for certain advantages. For instance, if women are transferred to lighter work for health or maternity reasons, they continue to receive their regular pay.

In accordance with the directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU on the ninth five-year plan, measures are being introduced to improve living standards, notably by raising wages. In 1972, for example, wages of doctors and teachers were raised by more than 20 per cent, and nursery school teachers received a 29 per cent increase. Women predominate in these professions.

Bearing in mind the biological makeup of women, the interests of the mother and child, and women's role in the family, there are legal provisions covering women's labor. The trade unions not only see that these provisions are carried out, but also exercise their rights of legislative initiative in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the government and other agencies, for improving the conditions of labor, life, rest and medical care of working women.

A few words as to the reason for such widespread participation of women in production. Naturally, material incentives play their part, but one should not conclude that this is the sole reason. Work

gives a woman moral satisfaction, adds to her dignity as a member of society, and gives her assurance of her future.

Question: In the early years of Soviet power, Lenin in speaking of the heritage of the past, remarked that women are 'the most backward and conservative section of the population,' that in all countries one of the hardest things was 'to stir the women into action.' What are the political and social activities of Soviet women today?

Answer: The principles of socialist democracy in our state system and socio-political life are consistently put into effect and are based on the active participation of broad sections of the population, including women, in state management. Women's involvement in state and social life benefits the country as a whole.

Not only are women on an equal footing with men in the national economy, but play an active part in the administration of the state. As many as 992,247 deputies of local Soviets are women, nearly half the total. In the Supreme Soviets of Union and Autonomous Republics more than 3,000 deputies are women, which is 36 per cent of the total. The present Supreme Soviet of the USSR includes 463 women, or 31 per cent of the total number of deputies.

Thousands of women hold leading positions in the executive bodies of the local Soviets; they are chairmen, deputy chairmen, or heads of departments. Women deputies to local Soviets undertake hundreds of assignments annually, study and put into practice the instructions of the electorate relating to the health service, education, social security, cultural-educational work, housing and other matters, and millions more women are actively involved in the work of local Soviets.

Women hold important positions in the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, where women are deputy premiers and ministers.

Another sphere in which more women now work is the judiciary. In the latest elections to the People's Courts, 2,668 or 31.9 per cent of those elected as judges, were women.

Women working in the state apparatus and economic management comprise 62 per cent of the total, and doubtlessly the number involved in state and socio-political affairs will steadily increase.

The role of women in the life of the Party and in social organizations is considerable. There are now almost 15 million members of the CPSU and over three million are women. Many women occupy leading positions in the Party. They are members of the CC CPSU and the Central Auditing Commission. Ibodat Rakhimova is Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Tadjikistan, and quite recently Victoria Siradze was elected Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Georgia. Thousands of women have been elected secretaries of district, town and regional Party committees.

Women are also active trade unionists. Half of the 98 million trade union members are women and many hold leading trade union positions. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions includes 34.5 per cent women, and girls make up half of the 30 million

members of the Lenin YCL. Many women are members of the writers,' artists' and other creative unions. For instance, in the Writers' Union there are 700 women, and 4,000 in the Union of Journalists.

The moral and political qualities of Soviet women are formed in the process of their active participation in the building of communism and their efforts to work for the good of society is evidence of this.

Question: Many of our readers are interested in the problem of the family and its care. How do things stand in the Soviet Union?

Answer: While attaching great importance to the active participation of women in the construction of communism and management of all affairs of socialist society, we by no means minimize the role of the family as a most important unit in this society and the role of women in the family.

From the very beginning of Soviet power the young socialist republic established equality of men and women in marriage, the family, divorce. There is no such thing as 'illegitimate' children. A wife is free to choose her own profession, place of residence, name, and has the same property rights as men.

The new legal provisions introduced in 1968 on marriage and the family reflect the changes which have taken place over the years in a growing socialist society. Marriage relations are based on love, mutual respect, equality of husband and wife, mutual help in family life and joint responsibility for the upbringing of the children.

Soviet women exert an increasingly greater influence on the formation of the views, character and habits of the members of the family and on the nature of family relations.

The Soviet government and the Communist Party take measures to improve the position of women as mothers; are concerned for their health and try to create conditions which enable them to combine the role of mother and worker.

And to make this possible, we are developing public facilities for the upbringing of children. In 1972 there were 9.6 million children in pre-school establishments and, in addition, 4.6 million were cared for in seasonal kindergartens, and creches in the rural areas. The ninth five-year plan provides for increasing the number of places in children's pre-school establishments by two million.

Enormous sums are collected for the building and organization of children's pre-school establishments. Besides, parents cover only about one-fifth of the maintenance cost of a child in a kindergarten or creche. Thus it can be seen that this service is within the means of the great mass of the population.*

*There is a very poor network of state nurseries in capitalist countries. The majority are privately-owned and are, therefore, not within the means of the vast majority of the workers. For instance, according to official statistics, in the FRG in 1964 the whole range of children's institutions (creches, nurseries, etc.) catered for 124,500 children, while there were seven million working women. Only one per cent of the children of British working mothers are guaranteed places in nursery schools, although half the number of working women have children. In 1966 and 1970 there were in France 588 and 660 creches respectively, while the country needed 4,500. - Ed.

Extra-school establishments are an important element in the social upbringing of children. These include Pioneer Palaces, children's theatres, technical centers, stadiums, libraries, tourist clubs as well as extended-day schools and groups. There are now seven million children in these extended-day groups, and their numbers will increase significantly in the course of the current five-year plan; after school the children receive a meal, rest, do their homework, and play, all under teacher supervision. The cost is defrayed by the state.

We have a unified system of mother and child care. The state covers the full cost of the medical care of mothers and infants. Soviet women enjoy a total of four months' paid leave before and after confinement, and can take another full year without pay and without loss of seniority; their jobs . . . are kept open for them.

In the current five-year plan period the social consumption funds (financing of medical care, education, and many other related facilities) will increase to 90 billion rubles. The construction of new housing has grown at a rapid pace; every year nearly 11 million Soviet families have a house-warming. Many measures are being introduced to lighten domestic work. There are improvements in such services as shopping, catering and transport. Service facilities will be built up into a modern industry.

The fulfilment of the social program to raise the living standards of Soviet people envisaged by the 24th Party Congress will give Soviet women still better conditions for combining work in industry with running the home and the noble task of bringing up children. As L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, said in his report to the 24th Congress, 'the object of the Party's policy is to ensure that Soviet woman has new opportunities for both bringing up her children and greater participation in social life, for rest and study, for a wider cultural life.'

Question: What part does your Committee play in strengthening the international solidarity of women?

Answer: The Committee of Soviet Women is proud of the award made this year, of the Order of Friendship of the Peoples, proof of the high regard in which the CPSU and the Soviet Government hold the contribution made by our women to communist construction and to the growth and strengthening of friendship with peoples of other countries.

In playing an active part in the Women's International Democratic Federation, Soviet women strive to make their contribution to uniting all progressive anti-imperialist forces against racism and apartheid, against fascism, and in solidarity with the victims of imperialist aggression. They constantly strengthen their friendly ties with the working women of the world and their proletarian solidarity with everyone subjected to oppression and exploitation. Our women take an active part in the solidarity movement with the peoples of Indochina and support the Arab countries subjected to Israeli aggression. Our ties with the independent states of Africa

and Asia are becoming stronger. We assist these countries in eliminating illiteracy, training personnel, organizing kindergartens and women's centers. Our Committee has provided 152 scholarships for girl students from the developing countries.

The Committee also devotes considerable attention to the development of cooperation with European women for peace and security on this continent, which has twice been the scene of world wars.

The opportunities for social organizations and mass movements in promoting peace are steadily increasing. A most important event, in which our women will take a prominent part, is the forthcoming World Congress of Peace Forces to be held in Moscow in October.

Experience has shown that the socialist countries have much in common in solving problems relating to the role of women in society and the family: mass involvement of women in production, their growing political awareness and social activity, their wide participation in the country's administration and the life of society. We welcome the expanding cooperation and exchange of experience between women of all the socialist countries.

The Program for Peace adopted at the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the constructive and realistic steps of our Party and the Soviet government to lessen international tension, are welcomed by Soviet women.

Soviet women will continue to make their contribution to strengthening the socialist community, to the struggle of the peoples for peace and mutual respect and friendship, for improving the lot of working people and social progress for all mankind.

SHARING EXPERIENCE

Dear Comrades,

Your articles on Marxist-Leninist theory and the ideological struggle, Communist Party policy and organizational activity are of much help for our work here in Finland.

At present we are concentrating on building the Party in the factories, and we would greatly benefit from articles on experience of Party work in industry, its methods and forms, ideological content and results. We feel that more coverage of the achievements and experience of fraternal parties can be a new and important stimulus towards improving the work of leading bodies and primary units of the CPF.

Fraternally,
Aarne Saarinen,
Chairman, CP of Finland

Dear Comrade Saarinen,

Thank you for your letter. It is good to know that the magazine helps the Finnish Communists in their work. We fully agree with you that exchange of experience by fraternal parties is highly valuable.

Providing information and analysis on Party work in industry is a major function of a theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Workers' parties. And your letter, we think, will be taken as an invitation to readers to share their experience in the pages of WMR. Its Commission on exchange of Party experience has, in line with your suggestion, made plans for wider coverage of the subject.

Freedom for Paraguayan patriots!

An international week of solidarity with Paraguayan political prisoners, August 7-12, was held in many countries. At mass meetings and through other actions, progressives demonstrated anew their fraternal solidarity with a people battling against one of the most oppressive dictatorships in Latin America. In publishing two letters from former inmates of Paraguayan prisons, this journal associates itself with the international solidarity campaign and with the insistent demand for an end to the heinous crimes of the Stroessner regime.

AGAINST VIOLATING HUMAN RIGHTS

I, a former Paraguayan political prisoner, appeal to all democratic, public and mass organizations, to all people with a sense of justice and respect for freedom who value the human rights provided for by the constitutions of all countries, numerous international treaties and the United Nations Charter. I appeal to you to show your solidarity and demand humane treatment of numerous Paraguayan citizens, men and women, incarcerated in dungeons without trial or sentence, denied the right to defend themselves in a court of law.

For more than 19 years Paraguay has been in the grip of a reign of violence and terror. Anti-popular laws perpetuating social injustice have been passed in violation of the Constitution. The ruling clique has trampled underfoot basic human rights and freedoms, the accepted principles of democracy and habeas corpus, it has made a mockery of the people's aspirations for justice and happiness.

The dark dungeons of Asuncion and concentration camps in the remotest part of Chaco hold more than 300 political prisoners, some of them detained for a longer time than anyone anywhere in Latin America. The police and prison authorities periodically subject political prisoners to torture and engineer provocations with the aim of murdering them en masse. The lives of imprisoned patriots are in constant danger. Thus, not long ago the president's son, Alfredo Stroessner, Jr., entered the cells of the 3rd Police Commissariat, shouting insults and threats against political prisoners, notably teacher Antonio Maidana, whom he threatened next time to shoot with his own hand.

The government uses the continued state of emergency and the repressive Laws No. 294 and 209, as well as other decrees and police ordinances which have nothing in common with the Constitution and run contrary to all legal norms, to perpetrate lawlessness, mass repression and murder. Many Paraguayan patriots were murdered in the last few years. Julia Solalinde de Vazquez, Antonia Perrucino and Juana Peralta were hacked down with machetes on orders of General Patricio Colman. Antonio Alonso Ramires was done to death following brutal tortures. Vilfredo Alvarez was killed by thugs of the 7th Police Commissariat brigade of Asuncion. Norberto Martinez, Alberto Miers, Juan Ojeda, Juan Carlos Rivas, Lieutenants Avalos Carisimo and Prieto, Marcial Arce, Juan Jose Rotela, Acevado Coronel, Alvarenga, and Jose Martinez were tortured to death. Juan Jose Faria was killed after being subjected to brutal torture in the capital's police investigation department and his body thrown into the street. Gumersindo Gamarra died after a 50-day hunger strike declared to protest his detention in jail for six years in inhuman conditions. All these men belonged to different political parties, including the ruling one.

The list of political prisoners is a long one. It includes the school teachers Antonio Maidana and Julio Rojas and economist Alfredo Alcorta, in prison 15 years now. Peasant Ignacio Chamorro has been in jail for more than 14 years; Anibal Garcete, leader of the Paraguayan Sugar Association, for 9 years; teacher Ananias Maidana Palacios, for 11 years; Eliodoro Ireneo Aveiro,* for 9 years, and many, many others. Maria Elina Rodas, Idalina Gaona, Saturnina Almado, Oilda Recalde, Isolina de Acosta, Petrona de Yegros and many other mothers of families have been in jail for several years. The whereabouts of Faustina de Quintana, whose husband was killed by the police, is unknown. Two years ago she had been in the dungeons of the Technical Department of the Interior Ministry.

All honest people in our country are resolutely fighting for the freedom of political prisoners. This struggle is a broad movement in which almost all political parties, progressive representatives of the Catholic Church, the Paraguayan University Federation, the Christian Labor Confederation, the Paraguayan Bar Association, the National Human Rights Commission, youth and cultural organizations, agrarian leagues and many others are taking part. A campaign of international solidarity for the liberation of Paraguay's political prisoners has been underway for several years. Solidarity committees have been set up in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Venezuela, France, Italy and other countries. My freedom, as well as that of other prisoners, is the result of such joint action.

I appeal to all democratic, trade union, women's, youth, scientific, cultural and professional organizations of the world, to all national peace committees, human rights commissions, to all people of good

*Since released together with several other political prisoners, following strong public pressure at home and abroad. - Ed.

will, for even broader support for the restoration of human rights and dignity in our country. I also call for greater pressure to be brought on the Paraguayan government to bring about the release of all political prisoners through statements, meetings, the press and telegrams and letters to the Paraguayan authorities.

I deeply believe that an international campaign for the freedom of political prisoners in our country can produce positive results.

With feelings of deep gratitude,

ANTONIO SOTOMAYOR

former prisoner of 3rd Police

Commissariat, Asuncion

THE CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

The world press has reported extensively on political persecution in Paraguay and the situation of political prisoners. The cells in which they are kept are really tombs for the living. They are unbearably crowded, with usually more than 15 and hardly ever less than 12 inmates. The walls are of cement. There are no windows, just a narrow densely grilled opening that does not let in much light. This affects the health of the prisoners, and most of them gradually lose their eyesight. There is no regular door. Instead, there is a double row of iron bars, with two small barred and locked openings at the bottom, with a hole over each, through which food is passed in for the prisoners. There is electric lighting, but it is seldom switched on, because the guards have explicit orders to make life as miserable as possible for the prisoners. This is also the reason why the guards frequently turn off the water supply for hours on end, and sometimes even for days, making the prisoners suffer thirst in the hot and stuffy cell. The cells are moist. Besides, the prison guards are likely, for purely sadistic pleasure, to splash pails of water on the floor of the cells. So it is not surprising that all prisoners have rheumatism.

Those are the conditions in the 3rd Police Commissariat of Asuncion, on Chile Street, near the Supreme Court, opposite the Technical Department of the Interior Ministry where FBI and CIA agents train the Stroessner thugs in refined methods of torture and also take part in torturing political prisoners. The building contains cells crowded with prisoners. There is evidence that the basements of the Government Palace and the National Defense Ministry, and some army barracks, have also been converted into prisons.

A few words about the repressive system of the Stroessner dictatorship. First of all, the detainee is brought to the investigation department of the Asuncion police. Interrogations are usually accompanied by beatings, kicks, pulling out of finger nails, cigarette burns on the most sensitive parts of the body, and the like. The torture usually lasts at least two hours. The most cruel of the tortures applied by the Stroessner police is known as 'the bath.' A radio is put on at full blast to drown the prisoner's cries. His hands are tied behind his back and he is seated on the edge of a

bath filled with urine and excrement. A policeman punches him in the stomach, while the others seize his legs and lower his head into the bath. He is held in this position until he begins to suffocate. Then he is lifted and beaten again, and then again lowered head down into the bath. Many died under this torture. Even women have been subjected to it. Let me list a few names. Juan Jose Faria, a member of the Liberal-Radical Party, was killed in this manner in 1969. In 1970 we learned of the case of Miglioniko, from Uruguay, who tried to commit suicide to escape the 'bath.' Oberfil Monzon, a padre, was arrested in 1971 and subjected to the 'bath' treatment for ten days, after which he was taken to a police hospital in serious condition.

The torture teams are headed by Raimundi, Budi Hellman, Erasmo Candia, Salvador Ibarrola, Franco Vargas, Victor Martinez, Augusto Moreno, Lovera and others. The heads of the Technical Department of the Interior Ministry are Antonio Campos Alum, specialist in psychological torture, and the aforementioned Budi Hellman, a Paraguayan of German extraction. These two men and the deputy secretary of the Interior Ministry maintain the liaison between the political department of the U.S. Embassy and the government of Paraguay. All information about political prisoners, members of the opposition and leaders of political parties, etc., reaches CIA agents through them.

Another punitive unit is the Secret Police, whose agents are permitted to break into homes, perform acts of violence, and murders. They are subordinated to the investigation department of the Asuncion police and the Interior Ministry. In addition, there is also a special secret police directly under the president, Stroessner. Its headquarters are near the U.S. Embassy. Its chief, Erasmo Candia, is a drug trafficker and an addict and runs a chain of brothels.

Our people are fighting staunchly for the release of political prisoners. And here international solidarity can be of the utmost significance. The help of all honest people, fighters for freedom and justice throughout the world, will doubtless bring nearer the release of these Paraguayan patriots.

JUAN JOSE PENAYO
former prisoner of 3rd Police
Commissariat of Asuncion



World Marxist Review – first 15 years

September 1958. First issue of Problems of Peace and Socialism (World Marxist Review).

1958. WMR published in 22 national editions, circulated in 80 countries, put out in 19 languages.

1973. WMR published in 39 national editions, circulated in 142 countries. Comes out in 26 languages: Arabic, Bengali, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Singhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, and Vietnamese.

Six new editions were started in the past two years – in Venezuela, Arab Republic of Egypt, Israel, India (English and Bengali) and Iraq. In the last five years (1969-73) circulation increased by nearly 100,000.

The magazine was founded by 20 Communist and Workers' parties, and by 1969, 36 parties were represented on its Editorial Council; this year the figure is 45. In addition, some 30 parties regularly cooperate with it, so that more than 70 parties participate in the work of *World Marxist Review*.

More parties are contributing to the magazine: From 41 in 1958, the figure increased to 50 in 1963, 54 in 1968 and 59 in 1972. The scope of coverage has broadened, too: in 1958-59 the magazine carried articles on 56 countries, and on 74 in 1972-73.

Three times, in 1960, 1969 and 1971, the Editorial Board and Editorial Council reported on the work of the magazine to conferences of Communist and Workers' parties.

About 100 general (first) secretaries and chairmen of Communist and Workers' parties have contributed analytical articles dealing with topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement, the struggle for peace and security, Party building (36 in the first four years of the magazine and 48 in the last four). All told they contributed more than 300 articles and other items.

The journal has carried articles by leading functionaries of fraternal parties, veterans of the Communist and working-class

movement. Among its contributors are prominent statesmen, public figures and leading Marxist scholars.

Contributors include leading personalities of progressive parties and national-liberation movements. In 1971-73 WMR carried contributions from leaders of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGK); National Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA); Madagascar Independence Congress Party (AKFM); Democratic Party of Guinea; Arab Socialist Union (Egypt); Democratic Party of Kurdistan (Iraq); Arab Baath Socialist Party (Iraq); Arab Baath Socialist Party (Syria); Southwest Africa People's Organization (Namibia); Zimbabwe African People's Union; Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO); African National Congress (South Africa); Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic.

Members of the Editorial Council attended congresses of Communist and Workers' parties, at the invitation of their Central Committees in the following 17 countries from 1971 to July 1973: Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, GDR, India, FRG, Poland, Lebanon, United States, Italy, Finland, Israel, West Berlin, Sweden, France and Denmark. A WMR delegation also attended the congress of the Madagascar Independence Congress Party.

In 1972-73 representatives of fraternal parties on the magazine visited 28 countries: Austria, Arab Republic of Egypt, Bangladesh, Britain, Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, FRG, GDR, Hungary, India, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, Soviet Union, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Venezuela, Vietnam. They took part in various Party and public forums, acquainted themselves with the life of the people and the activities of the Communist and Workers' parties. Reports of these trips appeared on the pages of WMR.

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST DISCUSSIONS

International Marxist discussions – conferences, symposiums, study groups, etc. – are an important form of the magazine's activity. There have been more than 70 such discussions (18 in the first five years and 38 in the last five years). They dealt with topical problems of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, the world revolutionary process and the work of Communist and Workers' parties.

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS: The struggle for working-class unity (No. 2, 1960); Communists and democracy (Nos. 4-7, 1963); They gave their lives for the cause (No. 5, 1964); Unity of the working-class and democratic movement (Nos. 1-2, 4, 1965); The role of the Communist parties in some developed capitalist countries (No. 7, 1965); the ideas of internationalism – an invincible force. International meeting held on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of

the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (No. 12, 1965); The Communists of the advanced capitalist countries discuss their problems. Fight against state-monopoly capitalism, for peace, democracy and socialism, and the place of reforms (No. 12, 1966); The historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution (Nos. 8-11, 1967); Leninism and our time (Nos. 2 and 3, 1970); Frederick Engels and the Communist movement (No. 9, 1970); The Paris Commune. 1871-1971 (No. 2, 1971).

LENINISM, THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION (materials on present-day relevance of Lenin's fundamental works and ideas); Uniting scientific socialism with the social activity of the working people (research group on Lenin's *What Is to Be Done* (No. 5, 1972); Organized and organizing force (research group on Lenin's *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*) (No. 9, 1972); Consistent democracy in the passage to socialism (research group on Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*) (No. 1, 1973); Scientific analysis, Communist partisanship (research group on Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*) (No. 3, 1973); The theoretical basis of the anti-imperialist struggle (research group on Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*) (No. 5, 1973); The cardinal issue of the revolution (research group on Lenin's *The State and Revolution*) (No. 8, 1973). Our forthcoming issues will deal with 'Left'-Wing Communism - an Infantile Disorder and Lenin's last works).

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION: The economic role of the state under socialism (Nos. 7-8, 1960); The socialist world system and the laws governing its development (Nos. 4, 6, 1964); The Soviet working class today (workers of Leningrad speaking) (No. 4, 1969); Socialism and the peasantry (Bulgarian cooperative farmers speak) (No. 6, 1969); Socialism and the intelligentsia (views from the GDR) (No. 9, 1969); Socialism's place in history, stages and criteria of its development (No. 12, 1970); Organization and guidance of industry in socialist Rumania (No. 5, 1971); Mongolia's path from feudalism to socialism (No. 4, 1971); The socialist state and democracy (No. 8, 1971); Laws governing the development of the socialist world system (No. 10, 1971); The dialectics of the national and international in the socialist world system (No. 7, 1972); The achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism (No. 8, 1972); The Soviet experience of building socialism and its world-historic significance. International theoretical conference on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR (No. 10, 1972); The dialectics of progress. Research group examines results of discussion of contradictions in socialist society (No. 4, 1973); The Czechoslovak economy: achievements, problems, prospects (No. 8, 1973); The working class and its party in contemporary society (No. 9, 1973).

IMPERIALISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE: Economic crisis and the working class (No. 1, 1958); Modern forms and methods

of exploitation in capitalist enterprises (No. 1, 1959); European 'integration' and contradictions of capitalism and the working class (Nos. 10-12, 1959); What are the changes in the structure of the working class? (Nos. 4-6, 9, 1961); Features and forms of modern crises and economic cycles (No. 3, 1962); Problems of modern capitalism (Nos. 11-12, 1962); Finance capital today (Nos. 10, 12, 1964); Whither modern capitalism? A round-table discussion to mark the centenary of Marx's *Capital* and the half-centenary of Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (No. 12, 1967; No. 1, 1968); The workers of Turin speaking: economic demands, political tasks (No. 3, 1968); Upsurge of the youth movement in the capitalist countries: present features and outlook (Nos. 7-8, 1968); For social rights, democracy and socialism (meeting with Mannheim workers) (No. 12, 1968); Modern capitalism, the technological revolution and the working class (Nos. 1-2, 1969); Imperialism in the 70s: deepening crisis of the system. New features of state-monopoly capitalism and the class struggle in developed capitalist countries (No. 2, 1973); The reality of the fascist menace. New forms of the fascist menace, intensified reaction and ways and means of combating them (Nos. 4-5, 1973); Women in the fight against capital (No. 6, 1973); Foreign workers in Western Europe (No. 7, 1973).

THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT: The national bourgeoisie and the liberation movement (Nos. 8-9, 1959); The agrarian problem and the national-liberation movement (Nos. 1-3, 1961); Paths of development of newly emergent countries (Nos. 4-7, 1962); Building a united anti-imperialist front (No. 1, 1963); The socialist world system and the national-liberation movement (No. 3, 1963); The present stage of the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples (No. 10, 1963); Problems of the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples (Nos. 7, 9, 1964); Africa: national and social revolution (Nos. 1-3, 1967); Asian and African youth: building a new life (No. 9, 1968); Latin America: economic integration and the working class (No. 11, 1969); Latin America: the liberation struggle and the working class (No. 7, 1971); For land, bread and freedom (Latin America's agrarian problems) (No. 6, 1972); Asia and Africa on the road of progress. New stage in the national-liberation movement; problems of anti-imperialist unity (No. 11, 1972); Land that has to be won. New stage in the struggle for agrarian change in Latin America (No. 12, 1972).

EXPERIENCE OF PARTY WORK: The Communist movement and the youth (Nos. 10-11, 1961; Nos. 1-2, 1962); Work among the masses (from the experience of the Polish United Workers' Party) (No. 12, 1969); France: Communist municipal activity (No. 2, 1970); Ideological work of the Bulgarian Communist Party (No. 12, 1971); Communists and the youth movement in capitalist countries (Nos. 1-2, 1972).

THE BATTLE OF IDEOLOGIES: The struggle of the Communist and Workers' parties against revisionism (No. 1, 1960); Anti-

communism – the enemy of mankind (Nos. 8-11, 1962); Latin America: the ideological front (No. 4, 1972).

SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS: Man and his future (Nos. 10-12, 1961); Conference of Marxist sociologists (No. 2, 1962); The role of women in modern society (Nos. 7-8, 10, 1962); Protecting the environment. Marxism-Leninism and problems of environmental protection (No. 6, 1972).

International meetings were held in Prague and also in Bulgaria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, France, FRG, GDR, Egypt, Hungary, Italy, Mongolia, Peru, Poland, Rumania, USSR.

BOOKS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Peace and Socialism Publishers have put out a number of books and pamphlets, mostly materials of discussions on theoretical and political problems arranged by the magazine, and collections of articles that appeared in the magazine. The list includes 'Leninism in Action,' 'Man and His Future,' 'Anti-Communism – the Enemy of Mankind,' 'Problems of Modern Capitalism and the Working Class.' Other books deal with the Seventh Comintern Congress (put out on the 30th anniversary), the working class in capitalist countries and the technological revolution, development of newly-independent countries and world socialism, central problems of the socialist world economic system.

The materials of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties have been put out in six language editions. Speeches by representatives of 40 Communist and Workers' parties at the international Lenin Centenary conference form part of the book, 'Leninism and the Revolutionary Process.' The materials of the international theoretical conference on the 50th anniversary of the USSR, at which 47 Communist and Workers' parties were represented, have been collected in the book 'The Soviet Union and the Contemporary World.'

Among other popular titles are 'Problems of Socialist Development,' 'Frederick Engels – Thinker and Revolutionary,' 'Ecology and Politics' and other books.

A book now in process of publication, 'The Working Class and Its Party in Contemporary Socialist Society,' contains a report of the theoretical conference on the subject, in which delegations from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the USSR took part.

In these 15 years, 74 books and pamphlets have been put out in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Arabic and other languages in a total printing of about 1.5 million copies.

Brief information on Communist and Workers' Parties

COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

The Communist Party of Belgium was founded on September 4, 1921, when Communist groups fused with the Left opposition of the Belgian Workers' Party.

In 1972 the Party had 15,000 members.

The Party's structure is the same as that of most other Communist parties: cells, sections, federations, and the Central Committee. But the existence of two communities – the French and the Flemish-speaking – is naturally reflected in the structure. Recently, regional councils of a consultative type were formed in Flanders and the Walloon areas, and also in Brussels, to adapt the single line of the CPB Central Committee to the concrete conditions of each region.

The Party Press:

The CPB publishes two weeklies: *Drapeau Rouge*, in French, and *Rode Vaan*, in Flemish. On January 1, 1974, the *Drapeau Rouge* will become a daily.

The CPB also has two theoretical periodicals: the *Vlaamse Marxistische Tijdschrift*, in Flemish, and *Cahiers Marxistes*, in French. *Faits et arguments*, a periodical for Party activists appearing in French and Flemish, presents information and comment on topical issues of the political struggle. Local and regional organizations publish some twenty newspapers (most of them six times yearly), which are distributed gratis.

Research Centers:

The Joseph Jacquemotte Fund and the recently founded Masereel Fund collect material relating to the history of the CP of Belgium, attend to the Party's archives, conduct research, and publish texts concerning Party activity.

The CP of Belgium has only one Senator and five Deputies, is represented in just three of the nine provincial councils, and holds several dozen seats in the municipalities. However, the Party's influence on the political struggle, especially that of the working class, is far greater than these modest figures may indicate.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF BOLIVIA

The formative stage of the CP of Bolivia was much longer than in the case of the other Latin American parties. The small anti-

imperialist revolutionary groups active since the early 30s did not unite until 1940, when they formed the Revolutionary Left Party. Though promoting the propagation of Marxism in Bolivia, it did not follow a consistently Marxist-Leninist, internationalist line, and drifted into opportunism and nationalism.

The CP of Bolivia was founded on January 17, 1950 (absorbing Marxist-Leninists of the Revolutionary Left Party).

The basic organizations of the Party (cells) consist of not less than three Party members, and operate on the residential or industrial principle. District committees, elected at congresses, exist in each department and in the most important mining centers. They appoint a secretariat and working commissions.

The National Congress, delegates to which are elected at district congresses, is the Party's supreme body. The CP of Bolivia has held three National Congresses since its foundation, the latest in June 1971. The program theses underlying CPB activity today top the list of documents adopted by the Third CPB Congress.

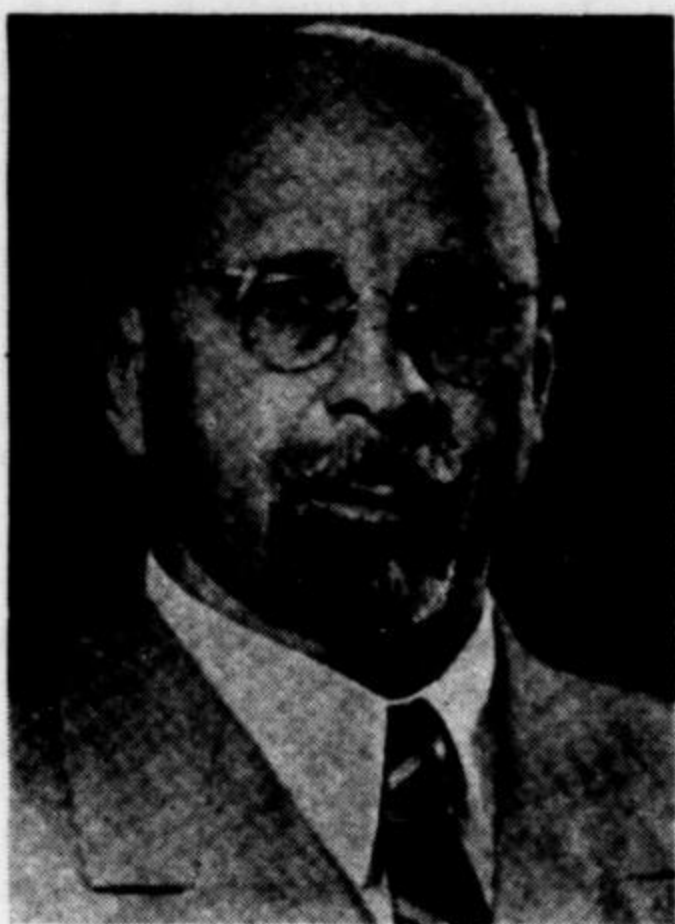
The National Congress elects the Central Committee which guides the Party's work between congresses. The CC elects the Political and the Control-Auditing Commissions and the First Secretary of the Party. It convenes National Conferences to discuss current organizational and political affairs not requiring the convocation of the National Congress. District committees may hold district conferences, provided they obtain the approval of the CC.

By and large, the Party has been operating underground. Only during a few of the elections was the CPB able to participate in the country's political life publicly. At present, the CP is again underground.

The Party publishes a weekly newspaper, *Unitad*, and bulletins, which are distributed among trade union members and peasants.



Walter Ulbricht



A close associate of Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, and a prominent figure in the German and international Communist movement, Walter Ulbricht died at the age of 80.

The son of a tailor, Ulbricht was apprenticed to a carpenter at 14, joined the young workers' movement a year later and the Social-Democratic Party at 19.

From his youth, he was in the front ranks of the fight for the interests of the working class and against imperialism. In World War I, he sided with Karl Liebknecht against the betrayal by the Social-Democrat leaders. He joined the Spartacus League and conducted anti-war propaganda among the troops. He en-

thusiastically welcomed the October Revolution, and during the November 1918 revolution in Germany was active in the Leipzig workers' and soldiers' council. One of the founders of the German Communist Party, he was elected to its Central Committee in 1923.

In 1925-1929 Ulbricht represented his Party at the Communist International and at its Seventh Congress, in 1935, was elected an alternate member of the Comintern Executive Committee. Ulbricht made a significant contribution to closer international Communist ties and to the unity of the democratic and anti-fascist forces. He was a dedicated fighter against Nazi tyranny and for the German people's freedom from fascism. In World War II, he was a member of the Free Germany Committee and participated in anti-fascist propaganda among German soldiers.

He returned to Germany after the defeat of the Nazis and played an important part in the 1946 merger of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Together with Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, he worked consistently to extirpate the roots of imperialism and militarism and abolish the monopolies and the big estates.

At the merger Congress Ulbricht was elected Vice-Chairman of the SUPG Central Board; in 1949 he was elected to the Party's Political Bureau, was its General Secretary and First Secretary from 1950 to 1971, and from 1960 to his death was Chairman of the GDR State Council. As a member of the collective Party leadership he made a substantial contribution to building the foundations of socialism and to the continued socialist development of the German Democratic Republic.

Ulbricht's was a life dedicated to the struggle against fascism and war, for peace and socialism, for the strengthening and defense of the first workers' state on German soil, for friendship with the Soviet Union and unity of the international Communist and workers' movement.

He contributed a number of articles to *World Marxist Review*.

Communists will always cherish the memory of this loyal son of the German working class, staunch fighter for peace, democracy and socialism and consistent proletarian internationalist.

DIARY

The first issue of the Indian edition of *World Marxist Review* (in English and Bengali) came out in August.

Another Arab edition was started in August, too. Items from *World Marxist Review* will appear in the Iraqi Communist monthly *Eth-Thaqafa el-Jadida* (New Culture) to keep Iraqi readers in touch with current problems of the Communist and national-liberation movements.

WMR is also being published in Hebrew in Israel, and publication has been resumed in Singhalese in Sri Lanka.

In response to an invitation from the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar (AKFM), WMR delegated A. Dansoko, representative on the journal of the Senegal African Independence Party, to attend the AKFM Congress. The WMR stand at the Congress attracted much attention, and Dansoko discussed with AKFM leaders ways of increasing circulations, and met with readers of the magazine. In a letter to WMR, the Party General Secretary, Gisele Rabesahala, sent best wishes to the magazine and stressed its important role in promoting closer solidarity of the world anti-imperialist movement.

FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY, PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

This was the motto of the Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students, held in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, July 28-August 5, in which thousands of young people from more than 140 countries participated.

Representatives of a wide range of youth movements gathered under the Festival banners. Preparing for the Festival and taking part in it, young Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Radicals, Conservatives, Christian-Democrats and pacifists – people of different views and convictions – provided yet another example of effective united action anchored in anti-imperialist solidarity.

The success of the world youth forum was greatly enhanced by the background of international détente and the progressive elimination of the consequences of the cold war. Conversely, the Festival itself contributed to the consolidation of world peace.

Among the Festival guests were representatives of Communist and Workers' parties on our journal, T. Wrebiak (Polish United Workers' Party), A. Dansoko (African Independence Party of Senegal), and C. Alba (CP of Bolivia). In Berlin the journal interviewed many young people of different countries and organized exchanges of opinion on youth participation in the peace struggle and the national-liberation movement, a survey of which will appear in the coming issues.

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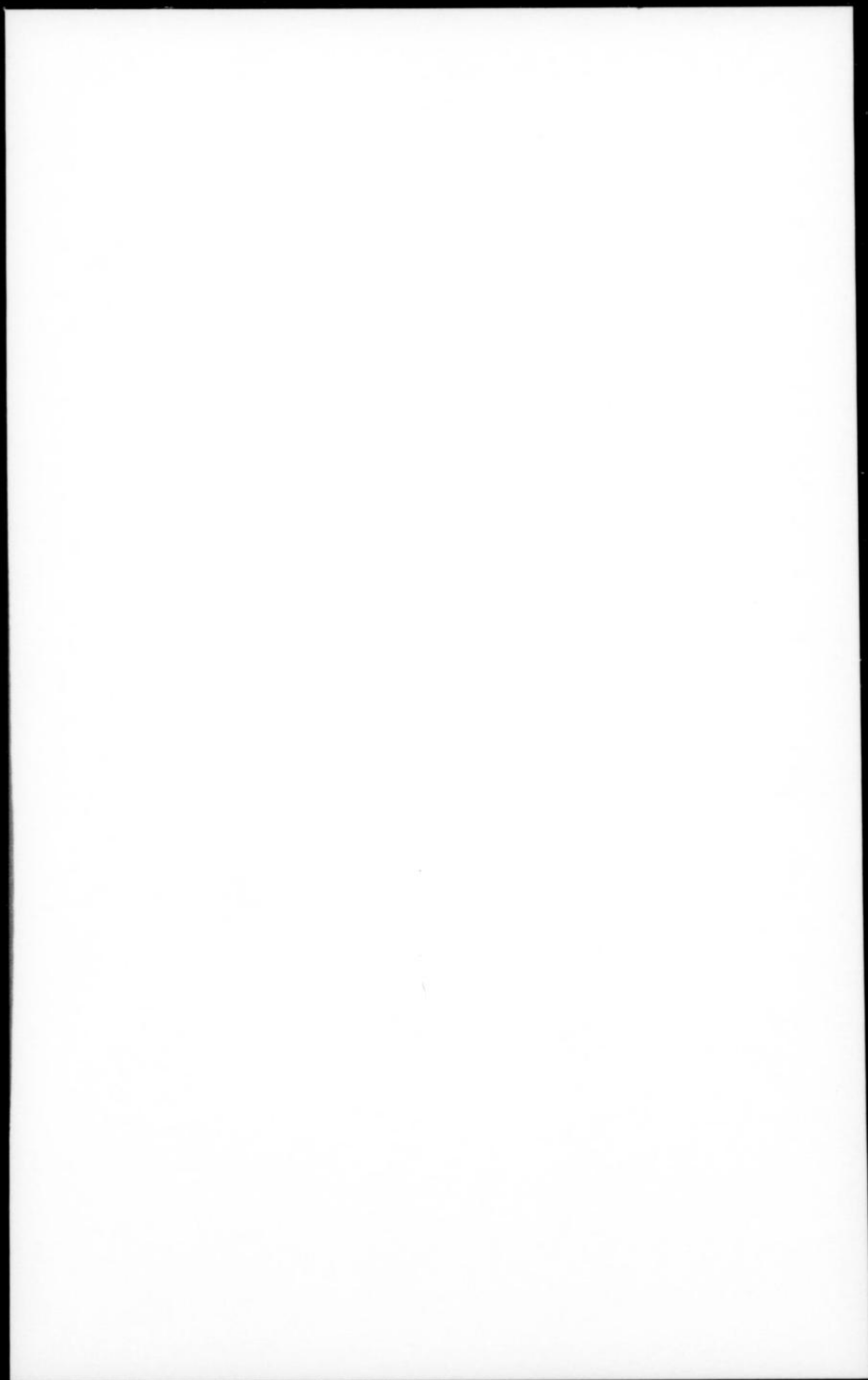
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