WORLD
Problems of
MARXIST
Peace and Socialism
REVIEW

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REVIEW

Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

March 1974, Vol. 17, No. 3

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feature

New Lenin documents

We are publishing the following newly discovered Lenin documents: brief report of Lenin's speech at the Third ('Second All-Russia') RSDLP Conference, his report and concluding remarks at the Fourth ('Third All-Russia') RSDLP Conference, outline for articles on the 30th anniversary of Marx's death, the articles 'Liberal Politicking' and 'May Day and the Russian Labor Movement,' and two letters to V. A. Avanesov.

The report of Lenin's speech at the Third RSDLP Conference on participation in the Third Duma elections appeared in the Lettish nwespaper *Zihna*[1] (No. 82) for August 12, 1907, and is published in translation for the first time.

Lenin's report at the Fourth RSDLP Conference on the tactics of the Social-Democrat group in the Third Duma first appeared as a newspaper item.[2] The document published here is a summary of his speech as it appeared in the Conference minutes. And though far from perfect and not consecutive, it provides a much fuller version of Lenin's report. His concluding remarks are being published for the first time.

In his Conference speeches, Lenin sets out the main points of the proletarian party's parliamentary tactics, emphasizing that election boycotts should be resorted to only under certain concrete conditions. The Bolshevik attitude towards the Third State Duma and the policy of the Party's Duma group, Lenin points out, should be based on a clear analysis of the Duma's class composition, the alignment of forces and the attitudes of the political parties.

The Outline for Articles on the 30th Anniversary of Marx's Death was written at the close of February 1913, when the revolutionary Social-Democrat movement was preparing to observe the 30th anniversary of the death of the founder of scientific communism. Lenin used the outline for his widely known articles 'The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism' and 'The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx,' in which he showed the tremendous revolutionary impact of Marx's doctrine, creatively generalized the new experience of the international labor movement and elucidated the fundamentals of Marxist theory.

The articles appeared in the magazine *Prosveshcheniye* No. 3, April 1913, and in *Pravda* on the anniversary of Marx's death,

March 1 (14) 1913. On Sunday, March 3 (16) *Pravda* put out a special Marx issue containing items on the subjects listed in Lenin's outline. Lenin used it a year later for his article 'Karl Marx.'

The Outline is published according to Lenin's manuscript.

The article 'Liberal Politicking' was written on May 17 (30), 1913 and published in *Rabochaya Pravda* of July 14, 1913, from which it is here reprinted. It appeared under the signature 'N' and was listed among Lenin's unfound works. It was discovered in the course of preparing the 38th *Lenin Miscellany*. The article exposes the counter-revolutionary essence of the Cadet party which, under cover of democratic slogans, entered into deals with tsarism.

The article 'May Day and the Russian Labor Movement' was written towards the close of April 1914 at the request of Robert Grimm, a leader of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, for the May Day issue of the *Berner Tagwacht* of which he was editor. The request was addressed to F. N. Samoilov, a Bolshevik member of the Fourth Duma then undergoing medical treatment in Berne. Samoilov was too ill to write the article and it was written for him by Lenin. In an accompanying letter Lenin asked that the text be carefully considered to make it legally acceptable. It was out of these considerations apparently that a number of sentences and words were deleted (they are enclosed in square brackets). According to Samoilov, the article was received late and was not published. It first appeared in 1966 in the *Schweizerische Zeitschrift fuer Geschichte* (Swiss Historical Journal) No. 3.

The article describes the political oppression of the Russian working class under Tsarism, the difficult conditions in which the Bolsheviks conducted their many-faceted work of mustering the revolutionary forces. In analyzing Bolshevik policy in the Fourth Duma, Lenin sharply criticizes the electoral law, describing it as a 'malicious travesty of civil rights.' He demonstrates the inevitability of revolution in Russia, points to the growing class consciousness of the workers and emphasizes the leading role, or hegemony, of the proletariat in the fight for democracy and socialism.

The letters to V. A. Avanesov were written in 1920 and are characteristic of the Communist Party's immense work in improving the functioning of the state apparatus. In these letters Lenin comments on the theses drawn up by Avanesov, then Deputy People's Commissar of Workers and Peasants Inspection, for the report he was to make at the Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets in December 1920.

Lenin considered the further development of Soviet democracy and strengthening of the Soviet state a key task of the Party.

The letters are published according to Lenin's manuscript.

The documents will be published in the next, 38th *Lenin Miscellany*.

Marxism-Leninism Institute, CC CPSU

SPEECH AT THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE RSDLP[3]

Opposing boycott, *Lenin* chiefly stressed two motives, namely: boycott is justified only when the broad masses are on the move, when an armed uprising is on the order of the day. In that case, boycott is a means of combating constitutional illusions. It is totally wrong to think that boycott by itself can arouse the fighting spirit of the masses: boycott tactics can be nothing but the expression of an already existing movement of the masses. The Social-Democrats' boycott of the Bulygin and First State Duma was no more than a *side-effect* of the active struggle of the popular masses against the old order. For the Social-Democrats it was merely a means to cut short constitutional illusions among the masses and facilitate their direct struggle. At present, however, there is neither an active mass struggle nor any constitutional illusions, and therefore boycott tactics are entirely groundless.

REPORT TO THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF RSDLP ON TACTICS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN THIRD STATE DUMA

Lenin. The key to the whole question is the class composition of the Duma: how it relates to bourgeois democracy, revolution and counter-revolution. This analysis should be at the root of the policy not only of the group, but also of the Party's attitude towards the Duma. There are two majorities in the Duma. What are they? The Party's policy hinges on their analysis. First the figures for this analysis. Out of the Duma's 439 members 16 are Social-Democrats, 16 of the Left, 46 are Cadets,[5] 45 close to the Cadets, eight unaffiliated (101 liberal), 96 Octobrists,[6] 23 close to the Octobrists, and 187 of the Right. That the Duma has two majorities is evident from these figures. Liberals+Octobrists=220, Octobrists+Rightists=306. At the Petersburg Conference the Menshevik comrade maintained that an Octobrist-Cadet majority is impossible. If the Cadets and Octobrists have not joined forces yet, they may still do so, because by the nature of the classes they represent such an alliance is possible. The Octobrists are the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie of primitive accumulation. The Constitutional Democrats are the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie of later formations. The counter-revolution brings the Octobrists and Cadets, together. When it was suggested that we should support the Cadets, we always kept this bloc in mind. The crux of he question is whether Social-Democracy can support an Octobrist-Cadet bloc; all other questions are derivative. *The matter should be seen from the viewpoint of the revolutionary democracy, and not of expediency*. At the root of supporting this majority is the thought[7] that it leans on the bourgeoisie, whereas the Right lean on feudal landownership. That is what the line of supporting the Octobrist-Cadet blocs amounts to. Is it possible to support the Octobrist-Cadet bloc

from the Social-Democratic standpoint? Speaking abstractly, sometimes we cannot avoid supporting the Octobrists on some occasions. But this is not a matter that can be dealt with abstractly. Recently, the Octobrists put forward a resolution on extending the Duma's budgetary powers. If this demand were to have aroused a broad popular movement, we would have supported it. But in fact the Octobrists now follow a different policy. *If we were to assume that the Cadets represent the bourgeoisie, then, speaking abstractly,* the Social-Democrats would have had to support the policy of Napoleon III because his policy was for the bourgeoisie and against the landowners, and the same in the case of Bismarck's policy, which was against the Junkers. Concretely: the Octobrists and Cadets represent the bourgeoisie, which is against revolution. *It is in the nature of the Russian bourgeoisie to disguise counter-revolution by reforms.* Facts from the Cadet congress. When the Cadets spoke of a loan in 1901, we said that by so doing they were guilty of betrayal; we were told that it is still too early. About the betrayal of their agrarian program . . .[8] *Now the Cadets have drawn a line through the demands for democracy.* We are told that we must support the counter-revolution. This would finish Social-Democracy as Social-Democracy. *That cannot be justified by our support of the bourgeoisie against the feudal landowners.* It says in the Cadet congress report that the Cadets are shifting to legal ground. That is a prelude to agreements with the Octobrists, because the Cadets speak of the practicability of these projects, and not of tribune agitation. Yet, the Cadets say nothing of a bloc with the Octobrists. It says elsewhere that in case the Lefts renew their tactics, the Cadets will give battle. That is the condition for agreement with the Octobrists. It is almost counter-revolution. What will be the position of the Social-Democrats if they support the Octobrists + Cadets? Let us recall[9] the '61 reform, when the Liberals pointed to reforms as the opposite of revolution. The Social-Democrats in the Second Duma referred to that reform as a reform that had strengthened the counter-revolution. It was a noose round the necks of the peasants and workers. The same would be said of our supporting the Octobrists + Cadets. *The question of the Duma presidium is a lesson for us.* The Mensheviks approached the matter from the standpoint of expediency. A question of a better chairman. The Cadets maintain that in Khomyakov[10] they expected to see a better chairman. This resembles the question of chairman for the Second Duma. Then, the votes went to a Cadet, who had later to be opposed. After Khomyakov was elected, the Cadets got a speech that made no mention of a constitution, whereupon they wrote in *Rech*[11] that they had been cheated. That was no accident. In the condition of the existing Duma it was intrigue on the part of the Cadets to support Khomyakov. They assumed the political responsibility for a presidium that goes against them. The entire history of bourgeois liberalism shows that it is tied to the apron-strings of the landowners. The domination of the capitalists has assured bour-

geois liberalism. All Cadet policy is the duping of bourgeois liberalism by the counter-revolutionary landowner. By supporting the Octobrists, Social-Democracy commits a mistake not only from the standpoint of socialist, but also of democratic objectives. Our group must adopt a decision that any support of the Cadets + Octobrists is betrayal of the revolution, and must say so to the Trudoviks,[12] because it means going with the landowners. Social-Democracy must tell the Trudoviks that Social-Democracy is the ultimate defense of democracy; this was not done, and the Trudoviks came to the Cadet meeting on November 3. Our subsequent policy must materialize in deeds, not words. M.[13] says that we must split the Cadets, but for this we need a straight political line. Cadet Nikolsky writes in *Tovarishch*[14] that he regrets having voted for the Octobrists. Our firm policy will bring the Left elements to our side. A mandate would help us. Social-Democracy must come forward more boldly concerning the failure of the Social-Democrats' proposal in the Second Duma about going on to current business with censure of the 87th article[15] (? on the agrarian question) + Social-Democracy must on all occasions present ultimatums to Left democracy. Most important for Social-Democracy is a conclusive definition of the Cadet-Octobrist bloc, that this bloc is window-dressing for the counter-revolution. Even silence by Social-Democracy would be an adjunct to the liberal bourgeoisie.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON REPORT ON THE TACTICS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN THE THIRD STATE DUMA

Lenin. Lieber[16] spoke of anarchists, Socialist-Revolutionaries and others. Karl Kautsky says the Moscow rising[17] made him change his opinion that the proletariat's role is over. He also says he thinks it possible for the proletariat to win only in alliance with the peasantry. This is the root of the differences between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Lieber put forward his theses. *In reply to his first thesis, I refer to the example of Germany. The German revolution shows that the bourgeoisie has never been in power despite the rapid growth of the country's industry. Already the 1848 manifesto*[18] *said that the farther east, the worse the conditions for the triumph of he bourgeoisie.* Mehring wrote that the German liberal follows a path of wretched submission.[19] Marx said as far back as 1875 that Germany had mil. abs. polit. form — (?)[20] *The example of the bourgeois political revolution in Germany shows that we are witnessing a landowner transformation of the bourgeoisie.* Bismarck transformed Germany on bourgeois lines. What Lieber proposes could be accomplished by Stolypin[21] – it is Bismarckianism and no one in Germany spoke of supporting Bismarck. Lieber talked himself into reformism. We must back the Octobrist-Cadet bloc, he says. Surely not here in Russia, under Stolypin's regime? Lieber

is the first and last reformist in Russia. No wonder Dan[22] refuses to go along with Lieber. What Dan says is subtler. He says that the important thing is an Octobrist-Rightist bloc, and he covers up—[23] Lieber's place. He describes the Octobrist-Cadet bloc as something that has yet to be won. But it would be an Octobrist-Cadet majority which might swing to the left. The Cadets' Fifth Congress is a major event. *Dan says we are repeating the London resolution.*[24] *Not entirely. Our resolution takes into account the Cadets' Fifth Congress. The Cadets are drifting to the right and so are the Octobrists. To bring about what he wants, Lieber would have to sacrifice our program, for it speaks of reforms.* The Social-Democrats support the opposition but are against measures strengthening the positions of a police and bureaucratic institution. In the First Duma, the Cadets introduced bills which the Social-Democrats could not support. *We took into account the Fifth Congress of the Cadets in speaking of the Octobrist-Cadet bloc.* We are more practical than Dan. Yes, it was necessary to talk with the leftists about the vote on Khomyakov . . . The Black Hundreds are more likely to agree to a roll-call vote than the Cadets since the mandate is undemocratic in regard to a roll-call vote. The experience of the Second Duma showed that the mandate is good for nothing. By keeping it, you renounce a realistic policy. There should have been a protest over the Trudoviks' visit to the Cadets. *Dan said the Cadets will have to be backed on certain points. There is the agrarian draft law under Art. 87 – it is a progressive draft. Can the Social-Democrats support it now that you have clashed with the peasantry? There is bourgeois development in a Stolypin-like spirit, and there is also development in a Black Redistribution spirit.* The Social Democrats will never *back Bismarck, Napoleon, or Stolypin.*

OUTLINE FOR ARTICLES ON 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF KARL MARX

/February 1913/

④ [25]

((1) Theoretical sources and foundations of Marxism
(((Philosophy+Economics+Class Struggle). x

2) Marx's economic doctrine (Mehrwert[26]). x

3) Marxist philosophy.

4) Marx's doctrine of the class struggle.

6 — 8

5) Marxism and the workers' movement.

6) Marxism and the peasantry.

7) Marxism and social revolutions.[27]

8) Marxism and the national question.

9) Marxism and 20th century Russia.

10) The destiny of Marxism in world history.[28]

	Europe	Europe	France	America	1872[29] (32
1842—1871 (29)	1848.	1859—1871.	1870—1.	1861—5.	1904
1871—1905 (34)					1872 (27
	Russia	Persia	Turkey	China	1899 (5)
1905—	1905	1909	1909	1911	1904

Marx and the International

LIBERAL POLITICKING

May 17 (30) 1913

An important result of the budget debate has received inadequate attention, or has gone unnoticed, by our political press. Reference is to the bloc of Cadets and Octobrists in the vote on the budget debate cloture formula. The *fundamentals* involved are important and in assessing them it is not too late to look back, and one should return to the subject more often.

What happened? The nationalists proposed a cloture formula. 'In substance,' wrote *Rech* (No. 130) 'it was acceptable even to the Cadets. There was sharp condemnation of financial, economic and railway policy.'

That is an outrageous untruth. There was no sharp condemnation. The words: 'insufficient attention,' 'dangerous procrastination,' etc., are anything but sharp. Nor does condemnation of economic etc., policy figure in the formula; it is expressive only of the *longings* of the Black-Hundred landlords, resentful that capital is robbing them of a good thing.

To find this landlord formula 'acceptable,' to be unable to differentiate the source of *fundamental* criticism – from the Right or from the Left – is an example of petty and dull-minded liberal politicking.

But let us go further. If the formula is 'in substance' acceptable to you, Messrs Cadets, then where is your political honor and conscience?

Listen to this:

'Behind the Duma scenes (!!) it was being definitely (!!) said that the formula was inspired from quarters outside the Duma least of all concerned with parliamentary formulas (*Rech*, ibid.). The formula was 'a weapon of personal struggle against V. N. Kokovtsov[30] for the benefit of some favorites' (Ibid.).

It requires the astounding political boorishness of Russian liberal 'society,' or to be more correct, its century-long training in a spirit of boorishness, to tolerate such explanations!

The liberal and even the (no joking!) democratic parties are guided by *behind the-scenes reports!!* And they don't realize that they are indulging in political *foulness*, are putting themselves on a par with the Purishkeviches[31] and the servile journalism of *Novoye Vremya*. That's the worst thing of all!

First, *Rech* itself admits that the nationalists were compelled (?), albeit reluctantly, to accept Shingaryov's[32] proposal to substitute for the words 'financial department' the word 'government' — so not a shadow of anything 'personal' remains in the formula! . . .

Second. Quite clearly, the formula represents not the personal, but the *fundamental* opposition of the double-dyed Black Hundreds (it would be inaccurate to say agrarians) to capitalism.

Third, there cannot be the slightest doubt that in this world of the Markovs,[33] Antonovs[34] (Octobrist) – Shingaryovs, there is no end of personal intrigues against each other. But if the Cadets and Octobrists saw personal intrigue in the policy of Markov and Co., they *should* have said so from the Duma rostrum. The Cadets and Octobrists are the Duma majority, which means that they have a thousand ways of doing this. Politicians with a sense of *honor* and *conscience* are in duty bound to do this!

Instead the Cadets and Progressists, together with the Octobrists and the Center, cast 127 votes, against the 94 votes of the Right and the Nationalists, with 16 Social-Democrats and Trudoviks abstaining, for the Octobrist proposal to 'shelve' the formula!

What do we get?

Let us suppose that Markov and Zamyslovsky[35] were engaged in back-stage intrigues against Kokovtsov. Would that justify the Cadets intriguing *for* Kokovtsov, maintaining a cowardly silence *in* the Duma and failing to explain on what issues and why they, capitalists, support Kokovtsov *against* the diehards?

Is Markov intriguing more against Kokovtsov, or is it the other way round? We do not know.

Markov and Zamyslovsky declared from the Duma rostrum: Down with Kokovtsov, he is hurting the landowners by giving the capitalists an excessive share of the booty. The Antonovs and Shingaryovs declared from the Duma rostrum: Markov's formula is acceptable 'in substance,' but . . . let's 'shelve' it!

This fact is the best possible revelation of the esence of our politicking liberalism.

N.

MAY DAY AND THE RUSSIAN LABOR MOVEMENT

1914, after April 25

On behalf of the workers of Russia I convey to the Swiss workers greetings and ardent wishes for continued success in the struggle for socialism.

The Swiss workers have long enjoyed fairly full political freedom and it is difficult for them to visualize to what degree the Rus-

sian workers are deprived of rights. Indicative of this is the law /a malicious travesty of civil rights/ governing elections to our State Duma /under it the workers are blocked/. The workers are grouped in a special *workers' curia* and their Duma deputies are elected not by them, but by *landowners and priests!* Needlss to say, the electoral law everywhere gives the reactionaries a majority (by appointing electors). Nonetheless the workers send to the Duma *only* Social-Democrats/candidates of an illegal party/.

Why is this possible? The workers vote for *all* the Social-Democrat electors, and *all* the electors, with the exception of the Party's candidate, stand down. The workers /Social-Democrats/ thus *compel* the reactionary landowners to elect Social-Democrats to the Duma!!

In Russia, tens and hundreds of workers are arrested /without trial/ for participation in the labor movement and exiled /without trial/ by *administrative* fiat. Nevertheless, the Russian workers /the first to break through the tyranny and oppression by their great all-Russia strike and revolution of 1905/ continue /their revolutionary/ struggle with an energy no amount of persecution can break.

The /government/ administration closes down legal labor unions without trial /complete tyranny/. Undaunted, the workers found new unions. /The majority of Russia's class-conscious workers make every effort to protest their illegal Party, the RSDY Party, using all manner of legal forms of the movement to cover their illegal revolutionary activity/. At the present time /for example, now/ insurance funds are being started throughout Russia, and the workers elect to their management boards only trusted men, 'Pravdists.' The word Pravdist means a supporter of the *Pravda* group. *Pravda* is the name of Russia's first legal Marxist daily newspaper, founded April 22, 1912, at the peak of the strike movement provoked by the Lena massacre of April 4, 1912. The government banned *Pravda* – the workers started a paper of the same political orientation, *Severnaya Pravda.* That was closed and a new paper was started, *Rabochaya Pravda.* After numerous bans, fines, confiscations, there is now *Put Pravdy,* which on April 22 (old style) 1914 celebrated the second anniversary of Russia's daily workers' paper.

Russian class-conscious workers, as I could see in Vladimir Gubernia, my Duma constituency, and in St. Peterburg, where I am a member of the Duma,[36] ardently upport the Social-Democrats /their illegal Party, the RSDLP, and advance the three-in-one slogan of revolutionary struggle/. In Russia, even the bourgeoisie – including the Cadets, the Octobrists, the monarchist parties and the moderates, who are hostile to the revolution – now realize the probability and inevitability of another revolution. That is because /everywhere there is the burden of oppression and tyranny/, everywhere there is growing discontent, the appalling hunger and ruin of millions of peasants.

But of all classes of Russian society, *only one*, the proletariat, has openly raised the banner of full democratic change /of revolution, which it popularizes among the masses. The three-in-one revolutionary slogan which I encountered everywhere in Russia among class-conscious workers is: 1) a democratic republic. 2) confiscation of the landed estates in favor of the peasants. 3) the 8-hour day. The first two slogans are necessary because without political freedom and the overthrow of the power of the feudal landowners (who trample on all the laws in Russia and have a majority in the State Duma and the State Council), the workers see no way open to them for a broad class struggle for socialism/.

The Swiss workers are waging their class struggle broadly and freely and are marshalling their forces for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. And on May Day, the world-wide workers' holiday, a day for reviewing their /revolutionary/ forces, I convey to our brothers, the Swiss workers, warm greetings on behalf of all class-conscious workers in Russia.

Aufruf an die Schweizer Arbeiter[37]

LETTER TO V. A. AVANESOV[38]

1/XI/1920/

Com. Avanesov!

I think the theses should be revised.

Change the title.

Subtitle: *tentative* theses for a *report* (20.XII).

Divide into 3 parts:

I. Statement of basic principles.

II. Decree of 7.II.1920.[39]

III. Experience of Workers and Peasants Inspection.

Re. I:

select and cite points from RCP Program (§ 8, Political Section; § 5, Economic Section).

Towards end of § 8, Political Section, RCP Program	Add Bukharin's recent suggestions (*Provda*) concerning going over to productive labor. State *conditions* for this as a *result* of 'simplifying management functions' (RCP Program; Polit. § 8, end).

Consider, systematize *every* provision, single out into a separate point *every* idea of the Program.

Re. II: Analyze main ideas of the Decree of 7/II.1920, comparing with Program, etc.

I and II BRIEF

III. *Experience* of Workers and Peasants Inspection:

III — in more detail

Couldn't the *main things* be summed up or indicated briefly?
Number of workers? Moscow and provinces?
out of ≶ number of employees
courses?
Number of inspections? With worker and peasant participation?
Number of participating workers and peasants?
" of non-Party conferences?
2-3 prominent trial of cases *exposed* by workers.
Commission on simplifying bookkeeping. *Results?*
" " " accounting.
" " storage facilities?
And so on, *item by item.*
At end. Reasons for poor development. Prospects and problems of major development.
It would be good if you sent me the revised theses on Thursday (or Friday), better earlier.

Your Lenin.

(P.S. Add: People trained by W-P inspection should be assigned *management*)

LETTER TO V. A. AVANESOV

/1920, November, between 1 and 7/

Com. Avanesov!

You should *by all means* free yourself today and tomorrow.
for 2-4 hours
for attentive, unhasty work on the theses, which must be ready by 12 o'clock[40] Monday (8/XI) and be on my desk in 10-15 copies not later than 12 noon or 1 p.m.[41] 8/XI (or on *Krestinsky's*).

This is essential.

You must free yourself by all means so as to consider and go over them, without haste, once or twice.

Another revision is necessary, and after the revision call them *tentative* theses, requesting the plenum[42] to take note or endorse them as a *basis*, since you yourself will want to make more changes in them.

The following changes and polishing up are needed:

1) *Part One. Statement of basic principles.*

The RCP Program sets forth the following basic provisions on the question of combatting bureaucratism
{ list them item by item, taking quotations
{ from the RCP Program in *quotation marks*

2) (Perhaps this part 2 is unnecessary? Think about it).
Conclusions from basic principles: tasks of the fight against bureaucratism
(1) simplyfying the apparatus

(2) improving it
(3) worker-peasant control *for this*. Mass involvement
(4) transferring a portion of the bureaucrats to productive work
(5) *steps* towards the total elimination of bureaucratism: total participation of the working people themselves in management.

3) *Significance of the decree of 7/II 1920.*

reproduce its basic provisions *para by para* and then draw conclusion: that this is an important measure as a *businesslike* step towards the total elimination of bureaucratism.

That this measure has STILL yielded very few results.

Why?

Reasons: war
transport
etc. Diverted best worker forces.
(somewhat expand upon, explain, prove).

Conclusion: yet we must and will follow this path SYSTEMATICALLY, steadfastly, unswervingly.

4) EXPERIENCE of the work of the Workers and Peasants Inspection.
(1) number of non-Party conferences for electing in Petrograd, in the provinces
" Moscow.
(2) the number of workers in the W-P Insp, 'workerfying' it. 'Peasantifying' it.
(Even incomplete figures, but FIGURES, FACTS, are needed).
(3) examples (2-3) or experience of useful work of workers and peasants in the W-P Insp.
(4) some measures to: SIMPLIFY the apparatus
..... bookkeeping
..... storage
..... accounting
..... etc.
{{ Their development }}
{{ plan of development }}
(5) Plan of development (if only a couple of words) of tasks of worker and peasant supervision
(6) 2-3 examples of *wholly* exposed major cases that were brought to court

AND OF THE PART PLAYED BY WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN EXPOSING THEM

ETC.

This section, the PRACTICAL experience, must be somewhat expanded upon, *devoting 3-4* half-sheet typewritten pages.

This, I think, covers the plan for revising and polishing up the theses.

Once again: by all means, think and work. I am prepared to have another look.

With com. greet. Lenin

1. *Zihna* (The Struggle), central Latvian Social-Democrat organ, founded in March 1904.

2. See Lenin, *Complete Works* (Russ.), Vol. 16, pp. 169-71.

3. The Third Conference of the RSDLP ('Second All-Russia') was held in Kotka, Finland, on July 21-23 (August 3-5), 1907. The agenda contained the following items: participation in the elections to the Third Duma, election agreements with other parties, the election platform, and the All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions. Three reports were made on the first item: for the Bolsheviks by Lenin (against boycott) and A. Bogdanov (for boycott), and for the Mensheviks and the Bund by F. Dan. The majority voted for Lenin's resolution, calling on the Party to participate in the election campaign, and to oppose the Cadets, as well as the Right parties (see *KPSS v resolyutsiakh i resheniakh syezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1970, pp. 227-229).

For more details on the Conference see V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works* (in Russian), Vol. 16, pp. 508-509. (This and subsequent footnotes are by the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CC CPSU.)

4. The Fourth Conference of the RSDLP ('Third All-Russia') was held in Helsingfors (Helsinki) on November 5-12 (18-25), 1907.

The items on the agenda were: tactics of the Social-Democratic group in the State Duma, factional centers and closer CC ties with local organizations, and the Social-Democrats' participation in the bourgeois press.

Lenin delivered a report on the tactics of the Social-Democratic group in the Third State Duma. His evaluation of the Third Duma regime and the Party's tasks was opposed by the Mensheviks and Bundists, who urged support for the Cadets and 'left' Octobrists in the Duma. By a majority vote the Conference passed the Bolshevik resolution written by Lenin (see Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 141-143).

5. Cadets – members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the leading party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie in Russia.

6. Octobrists – members of the Octobrists' Party (or 17th October League), formed in Russia after the October 17 (30), 1905 manifesto. A counter-revolutionary party representing the interests of the big bourgeoisie and of landowners running their estates along capitalist lines.

7. Thus in the original.

8. Thus in the original.

9. The 1861 reform repealed serfdom in Russia. Was carried out by the tsarist government in the interests of the feudal landowners.

10. N. A. Khomyakov, 1850-1925 – wealthy landowner, Octobrist: with Cadet support was elected chairman of the Third Duma.

11. *Rech* – daily newspaper, central organ of the Cadet Party.

12. Trudoviks (from *trud* – 'labor') – a group of petty-bourgeois democrats formed in April 1906 of peasant deputies to the First Duma. In the Duma the Trudoviks vacillated between Cadets and Social-Democrats.

13. Presumably, a reference to L. Martov.

14. *Tovarishch* – a bourgeois daily. Not formally the organ of any party; was in fact connected with the Left Cadets. Mesheviks also collaborated with it.

15. The reference is to the agrarian laws issued by the tsarist government in November 1906.

16. Lieber, M. I. (Goldman) (1880-1937) – Bund leader. At tht Second Congress of the RSDLP he led the Bund delegation and took an extreme Rightist, anti-*Iskra* stand. After the ongress he joined the Mensheviks.

17. December 1905.

18. The *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels.

19. The reference is to Mehring's article 'Deutscher Liberalismus und russische Duma' (German Liberalism and the Russian Duma), published in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 23, 1906-1907.

20. Thus in the original.

21. Stolypin, P. A. (1862-1911) – big landowner, tsarist Russia's Premier and Minister of the interior from 1906 to 1911. One of the periods of brutal reaction, known as the 'Stolypin reaction' (1907-1910), is associated with his name.

22. Dan, F. I. (Gurvich) (1871-1947) – Menshevik leader. In the years of reaction and a new upsurge in the revolution he lived abroad where he led a group of liquidationists.

23. Thus in the original.

24. That is, the resolution of the Fifth (London) Congress of the RSDLP 'On the Attitude to Non-proletarian Parties' (see *KPSS v rezolyutsiakh i resheniakh syezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK*, Vol. 1. Moscow, 1970, pp. 212-214).

25. Figure denotes number of articles Lenin intended to write. Below, left of text, the figures 6-8 apparently denote the number of articles originally planned.

26. Surplus value.

27. This line out in manuscript.

28. This is followed by chronological notes, amplified in 'The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx.' Lenin singles out the following periods in the history of Marxism: (1) from the beginnig of Marx's transition to materialism and communism to the Paris Commune (1842-1871, 29 years); (2) from the Paris Commune to the first Russian revolution (1871-1905, 34 years) and (3) after the 1905 revolution (see also *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, pp. 582-585 and Vol. 21, p. 80). In the first period Lenin singles out as historical landmarks the 1848 revolution, the rise of the revolutionary movement in Europe (1859-1871), the Franco-Prussian war and Paris Commune (1870-1871), the American Civil War (1861-1865). In the third period, the revolutions in Russia, Persia, Turkey and China. This chronological enumeration accords with Lenin's article 'The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx,' in which he wrote: 'The Russian revolution was followed by revolutions in Turkey, Persia and China.' (Vol. 18, p. 584).

29. All these dates and figures are crossed out in the manuscript.

30. V. N. Kokovtsov (1853-1943) – prominent tsarist statesman; appointed Minister of Finance in 1904 and, while retaining that post, Prime Minister in 1911-14.

31. V. M. Purishkevich (1870-1920) – big landowner, rabid reactionary and Black Hundred spokesman, monarchist.

32. A. I. Shingaryov (1869-1918) – leader of the Cadets in the State Duma.

33. N. E. Markov (1866-?) – big landowner, leader of the Duma Right-wing.

34. N. I. Antonov (1859-?) – big landowner, member of the October 17 League (Octobrists).

35. G. G. Zamyslovsky (1872-?) – leader of the Black Hundred Union of the Russian People.

36. F. N. Samoilov, under whose signature this article was to have been published, represented the workers of Vladimir Gubernia in the Fourth Duma.

37. Appeal to Swiss Workers.

38. Avanesov, V. A. (1884-1930) – Soviet statesman, member of the RSDLP since 1903. In 1919 – beginning of 1920 was a member of the Collegium of the State Control Commission, from 1920 to 1924 – Deputy People's Commissar of Workers and Peasants Inspection, member of the Collegium of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission, then Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Trade. From 1925 – member of the Presidium of the Supreme National Economic Council.

39. I.e., the Decree (Statute) of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on the Workers and Peasants Inspection of February 7, 1920.

40. Changed in the MS from 'by evening' to 12 o'clock.'

41. Changed in the MS from '7' to '12 noon or 1 p.m.'

42. The reference is to a plenary meeting of the CC RCP held November 9, 1920. Section 3, 'On the 8th Congress of the Soviets,' of the Plenum decision stated: 'Instruct Com. Avanesov to prepare a report on the experience of the Workers and Peasants Inspection.'



Generalization of revolutionary experience is an international duty

Mel Doig
Member of CEC,
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For the Communist and Workers' parties revolutionary experience is common property, the most valuable common property they have. Communists use it as a powerful weapon in class battles, not as an academic category or sacred cow. It encompasses the fruit of revolutionary thought and action, tested in practice and obtained through arduous theoretical search and difficult struggle – everything that, to use Lenin's words, gives us 'the right to regard the working-class movement as a world-historical movement' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 261).

The world-wide revolutionary experience summed up in Marxism-Leninism has equipped us with a knowledge of the common basic principles and regularities of the struggle for socialism. It has shown that:

– there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory. The trouble with many of the old revolutionaries was that they followed theories that were not really revolutionary, and diverted the movement from the correct path. Those of them who snubbed revolutionary science were also wrong. Indifference to theory, Frederick Engels noted in 1874, 'is one of the main reasons why the English working-class movement crawls along so slowly . . .' (Supplement to the Preface of 1870 to 'The Peasant War in Germany'). Experience of search and error has helped the proletariat to understand the significance of revolutionary theory;

– that none but the working class can unite and lead the laboring masses to victory over capitalism. This, Lenin pointed out, is borne out by 'the experience of all revolutions and all movements of the oppressed classes, the experience of the world socialist movement' (Vol. 28, p. 466);

– that victory requires a revolutionary party of the working class firmly based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Lenin described the need for an independent political working-class party fighting for socialism as

the basic tenet of the world revolutionary movement (Vol. 4, p. 261);

– that if, as Lenin put it, there are opportunists and revisionists in the ranks of the Party, 'victory in the proletarian revolution *cannot* be achieved, and that revolution *cannot* be safeguarded . . . That is obvious in principle, and has been strikingly confirmed by experience . . .' (Vol. 31, pp. 383-384). Our time, too, has shown that revisionism is essentially an international thing and that struggle against revisionism, against Right and 'Left' opportunism, purification from it, is the prime condition for consolidating the Marxist-Leninist party and enabling it to perform its leading role in the revolutionary movement;

– that dictatorship of the proletariat is of decisive importance and historically necessary in all countries taking the socialist road. The peoples of the socialist world system contributed very greatly to the international experience of fighting for socialism and communism, providing practical proof of the prescience of Marx, Engels and Lenin concerning working-class power, no matter what form it would assume.

Those are just a few of the important universal conclusions of theory drawn from the experience of the world Communist and working-class movement. And it could not be clearer that our attitude to these conclusions, and to experience as such, must not be neutral. On the contrary, these conclusions and this experience have always been, and remain, the center of the acute ideological struggle.

Marxism-Leninism is an international doctrine, and revolutionary experience is its component, its material basis, as it were. Revolutionary practice continuously adds valuable elements to theory, and teaches us to use it correctly. Hence the importance of studying and generalizing the accumulating collective experience. Exchange of experience and comradely discussion of relevant tasks paves the way for closer unity of the Communist movement. Other comrades have already written in this journal extensively on the ways and means of tightening unity.* For my part, I shall deal with some of tne problems relating to the exchange of experience as a most important and necessary area of relations between Communists of different countries. This is all the more important because exchange of experience is becoming an objective factor of the ideological and political unity of Communist and Workers' parties, serving our common revolutionary aims and the development and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism.

Fusing international revolutionary practice with the practice in separate countries, which enables us to translate the communist teaching into the language of every people, is a vital question which, we hold, merits the closest attention of all Communists. So does the methodology of determining the universally applicable and law-governed elements of the present experience of individual

*See *WMR*, May, June, August, October and December, 1973.

Communist parties, and also the ways of exchanging and collectively generalizing experience. This is topical because the internationalization of liberative revolutionary processes is more rapid in the modern world, and the masses of working people in different countries have many more tasks and problems in common than they had before. Consequently, the exchange of revolutionary experience has become easier and more effective, and its lessons for the individual detachments of our movement increasingly important for common success. On the other hand, however, there is an ever greater differentiation of the concrete historical conditions, yielding an extraordinary variety of forms and methods of struggle. This enriches flexibility and greater creativity when using it.

A Marxist-Leninist party cannot but see itself as a part, as one of the detachments, of the world Communist movement. Consideration of the experience of other Communist parties is an indication of the striving for unity in the class struggle against capitalism in the international context, for agreeing on and coordinating international communist action. Speaking for the Canadian Communists, William Kashtan, the General Secretary of our Party, said: 'In the face of U.S. global strategy we see the maximum coordination of action by all Communist and Workers' Parties as a prime necessity. Any other position would be narrow-minded in the extreme. Any thought of "going it alone" in face of imperialism's "bridge-building" and subversion, on the assumption that it would bring some immediate gains to this or that Party, is indeed a shortsighted policy which will help neither the Party concerned in the long run, nor the anti-imperialist struggle.'*

The tradition, handed down by Marx, Engels and Lenin, of treating collective experience with respect and attention, is as natural as the revolutionaries' striving to learn from past examples, to update their knowledge, to master the successful forms and methods of class struggle, in order to make more effective progress and advance to victory. Skilled use of experience helps overcome difficulties, relieves us of unnecessary search, and prevents repetition of mistakes. The advantages of this will be appreciated by all those who follow the trails already blazed by the pioneers. Engels wrote that the substantial advantage of the German workers over the workers in the rest of Europe was that 'the Germans were about the last to come into the workers' novement. Just as German theoretical socialism will never forget that it rests on the shoulders of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen . . . so the practical workers' movement in Germany ought never to forget that it developed on the shoulders of the English and French movements, that it was able simply to utilize their dearly paid experience and could now avoid their mistakes, which were then mostly unavoidable. Where would we be now without the precedent of the English trade unions and French workers' political struggles, and especially without the gigantic impulse of the Paris Commune?' (Engels, Supple-

**International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow 1969.* Prague, 1969, p. 350.

ment to the Preface of 1870 to 'The Peasant War in Germany').

Knowledge of collective experience, Lenin held, is necessary to consolidate and develop the successes of the world Communist movement and the fundamental principles of the policy of each of its detachments. The scientific approach, he wrote, requires 'consideration of the experience of other countries . . .' This is no sentimental wish, but a vital necessity. Especially for those who have only just embarked on revolution and will inevitably, despite all disparities in particular points, have to do what others have essentially done before. Because, as Lenin stressed, the revolutionary working-class movement is international in substance. 'This means not only that we must combat national chauvinism,' he pointed out, 'but that an incipient movement in a young country can be successful only if it makes use of the experience of other countries' (Vol. 5, p. 370).

The revolutionary workers of Russia, the Bolsheviks, provide an example of respect for the experience and knowledge of the workers of other countries. And the educational impact of this cannot be over-exaggerated, because it benefits the ideological development of Communists – patriots and internationalists. But that is not all we must learn from the Bolsheviks, from Lenin.

Lenin's theoretical legacy and practice have equipped us with scientific methods for analyzing the international and national experience of the working-class movement integrally, as an unbreakable unity, and have taught us to apply it creatively, in conformity with the general and particular in the conditions of different countries.

Lenin called on us to master the history of world socialism, of the revolutionary movement in one's own country, and the latest experience of the working class movement, in order to work out effective organizational principles and tactics. The 'processing' of this material, he stressed however, should be done independently.

To apply the experience of other countries we need more than a casual acquaintance with it, much more than its mere abstract recognition. We must treat it critically, test it independently, and supplement and enrich it with the creativity of the masses. Those who want models of political behavior applicable in all cases open themselves up to error and may be likened to people who 'fall into slavish adoption of opportunism in its various forms' (Vol 5, p. 289).

Reciprocal and creative acceptance of revolutionary experience assures stability and continuity in the Communist movement. Continuity, however, has nothing in common with mechanical imitation. Lenin ridiculed the absurd charge of 'the Russians only wanting everyone to imitate them.' What we want, he said, is 'the very opposite. It takes more than memorizing communist resolutions and using revolutionary phrases on every possible occasion. That is not enough, and we are opposed beforehand to Communists who know this or tnat resolution by heart' (Vol. 32, p. 464).

Yet quite often it is these absurd notions which motivate a nihilistic negation of experience and scepticism about comparing, studying and generalizing experience. In trying to break the continuity of the world revolutionary process, bourgeois propagandists and Right and 'Left' revisionists attack not the real exchange of experience, designed to pinpoint the most valuable and universal, but a contrived parody of such exchange. They construct a straw man, then throw their fists at it. And if anyone should be misled by this to parade his 'independence' by rejecting revolutionary experience, the result is not a show of independence but, conversely, a show of dependence on revisionists.

The Marxist analysis of the dialectics of the general, particular and singular in history led Lenin to conclude that some of the essential features of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia are not only of local, national-particular and purely Russian, but also of international significance in the sense of their universal relevance and historical inevitability in other countries. And this has been borne out by all the subsequent socialist revolutions. Yet Lenin saw that the experience of the world's first socialist country will not be simply repeated by other peoples, that it will be enriched and developed. 'When I said to one of the best comrades among the Polish Communists, "You will do it in a different way," he replied, "No, we shall do the same thing, but better than you." To such an argument I had absolutely no objections. They must be given the opportunity of fulfilling a modest wish – to create a better Soviet power than ours' (Vol. 29, p. 175).

Re-reading Lenin or the history of the Bolshevik movement, you frequently find answers to the most burning questions of the present day, discovering that solutions already exist for many of the problems that still face the Communists in your country. Now and then you see with regret that someone has floundered where others have already laid a dependable road. You run into some situation and realize: yes, this has already happened. Is it really necessary, therefore, always, in pain and frequently with heavy losses, to invent something of your own that others have already invented? Are we making full enough use of what is already available and established by the rich revolutionary experience of the Bolshevik movement? Should we not take more frequent advantage of the experience of other Communist parties, those that have led the working class to power in their countries? Are we not wasteful in overlooking this treasure and not using it for all it can yield?

The world Communist movement's treasure store of experience is steadily growing. The revolutionary practice of the masses is continuously providing new forms, methods and ways of attaining the class aims. The working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist parties, are the main bearers of revolutionary experience both in the national and international framework.

To pinpoint and generalize the universal international features and elements of experience usable in the specific conditions of

different countries is not an easy thing, and requires collective effort by fraternal parties, because the modern working-class movement has expanded and grown tremendously. By overlooking this one is liable to misinterpret purely national experience or some of its elements as universally relevant, or go to the other extreme and cling to some unchanging scheme of transition to socialism divorced from the concrete historical and national features.

It is important to bear in mind that internationalization of experience is not a mechanical summing up, that it involves theoretical generalization, creative analysis, and collective discussion. The fruitfulness of cooperation is borne out by the facts. The 1969 International Meeting, essentially a forum for exchanging revolutionary experience, is a vivid example. Its deep-going analysis of the world revolutionary process was the basis of a joint action program for all anti-imperialist forces, and helped fortify the unity of the world Communist movement.

Much has changed in the world since the 1969 Meeting. The 1970s began with continued aggravation of the class struggle and of the capitalism-socialism confrontation. Now, however, not against the background of mounting international tension, but of the growing trend towards détente and more stable peace. The peace initiatives, the economic and social achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries together with the active anti-imperialist struggle of the working class and all democratic forces, have created more favorable conditions for the Communist movement. But there are also new problems and we in Canada are keenly aware of them and are searching for solutions. In this context, I want to draw attention to some aspects of our experience.

The turn from cold war hostility and sharp confrontations to economic, scientific, techincal and cultural cooperation of states with differing social systems raises in a new way the problem of mass ideological work and accentuates the need for profound ideologico-theoretical and political appraisal of changes on the international scene. It also requires correct presentation of the USSR's and the other socialist countries' foreign policy and of the world ccmmunist movement's strategy and tactics.

Today Canadian workers turning towards socialism want to know more about détente and its possible consequences and how peaceful coexistence can help their cause. The Party is working to give the masses a correct understanding of present-day social reality and the laws that govern it, a class understanding of détente and peaceful coexistence, their positive importance for the destinies of mankind.

In an obvious attempt to confuse the workers, the Trotskyists and Maoists, too, are discussing détente, but in a way that distorts its very essence. Their purpose is to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union's peace initiatives. How do they do it? One example: last

fall some Canadian banks joined with U.S. banks in a consortium to finance the fascist junta in Chile. At about the same time Canada and the USSR concluded business agreements as part of their developing economic cooperation. These two facts, totally unrelated, were seized upon by our ideological opponents to make out that there was no difference between the USSR and the USA.

We explain to the workers the difference between Canada's economic relations with the U.S. and with the USSR. Canadian workers know from their bitter experience how U.S. imperialism shifts onto their backs the burden of its economic crises. The ruinous effects of inflation and unemployment, those built-in evils of monopoly capitalism, are further aggravated in Canada by the stranglehold of U.S. monopoly, which controls key sectors of the economy. The U.S. imperialist attempt to drain our energy and other natural resources intensifies the threat to Canada's independence. The U.S. demand to reverse the course of our great rivers so that they flow south into the United States, and the demand to pool our vast natural wealth with the depleting resources of the U.S. – and under U.S. control – are generating increasingly active protests.

In contrast, economic cooperation with the Soviet Union means more jobs and assurance of jobs in the future, too, for socialist economy is stable, exempt from crises and unemployment, and does not 'export' inflation. The peaceful coexistence relations developing between Canada and the Soviet Union are having a beneficial effect also in the scientific and cultural fields. There is already an exchange of experience and knowhow in developing Canada's northern regions and in the further development of the Soviet north. The Communists consider it important to help Canadian workers understand the benefits of cooperation between their country and the Soviet Union.

As international strain lessens and the principles of peaceful coexistence gain scope and momentum, more and more Canadians shed their anti-Communist and anti-Soviet prejudices. And most importantly, this process extends to the organized labor movement where, for the first time after many years, Communists can be elected to trade union office. There is ample proof that the Party's Program and policy are meeting with more understanding and with a livelier response. We can work on that to extend the Party's mass influence and accumulate fresh experience of political and ideological work.

Canada has more foreign, chiefly U.S., investments than any other developed capitalist country. Its economy is increasingly controlled by international monopoly concerns, which are chiefly responsible for the intensified exploitation of Canadian workers. And the workers can clearly see how internationalization of economic life is accelerating. The Communists help them to appreciate the need for unity of the working class of all capitalist countries against the international monopolies, the need to exchange experience of

their struggle and to coordinate their actions. The Canadian workers' protests are becoming more organized and there is visibly more unity in their fight against the onslaught of the national and international monopolies.

We Canadian Communists note with interest that a number of European Communist Parties are working towards coordinated action by the working class against the international monopolies. This is an objective necessity, for the imperialists are uniting on a world scale, as evidenced by capitalist economic integration, the joint monopoly offensive against the working people in connection with inflation, the energy crisis, etc. The working class has begun to coordinate its actions to counter the international actions of the bourgeois parties.

The monopoly offensive is directed primarily against the workers, the main producers of society's material values. But not only against the workers, for as the general crisis of capitalism deepens and economic rivalry between imperialist countries becomes more intensive, the Canadian ruling class makes more strenuous efforts to shift the burden of economic difficulties on to all the working people. New sections of the population are joining the anti-monopoly fight, for they, too, are the victims of inflation and unemployment. The fight is developing around economic demands and is still mainly spontaneous, but more and more frequently the working people are brought into confrontation with the political structure of state-monopoly capitalism. The working class is at the very center of this mounting struggle. Its militant actions cement and extend the democratic forces' front against monopoly policies. Thus, what we have in Canada is the emergence of the forces for building a democratic anti-monopoly alliance, for which the Communist Party has consistently been working. In this we see the foundation of the future democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist government. This, too, is an essential feature of our new experience.

Along with the opportunities open to the Canadian working class, there exists a danger of ultra-Right elements exploiting the mounting popular resentment against the present system for their own demagogic purposes. Neo-fascist groups are building up a measure of support. Nationalism is being preached in an effort to undermine the unity of the working class, of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadian workers. Reactionary support for the so-called World Congress of Free Ukrainians held in Toronto showed that the old weapon of nationalism is being used to subvert the internationalism of the workers. With the bourgeois state increasingly interfering in public life, the democratic forces' actions are more closely intertwined with campaigns against the anti-democratic and authoritarian trends in government policy.

There are other problems, too. More and more white-collar workers, technicians and professionals are showing their opposition to monopoly capital and are coming closer to the working class. While this is a welcome development, some of these new anti-monopoly forces bring into the labor movement their petty bourgeois baggage

of 'ultra-revolutionary' ideas, their vacillation and demands for compromises with the bourgeoisie to the detriment of all the exploited.

In the battle for working-class unity as the foundation of broad democratic unity, and in exposing Right and 'Left' opportunism and revisionism, the Communists have acquired new experience that merits closer study and generalization.

Some features of this new experience, some of the problems posed by the changing conditions of struggle, should be seen as specifics of the new situation. That is borne out by the experience of other countries. For example Peru, where patriotic officers took over in October 1968. Undoubtedly Peruvian Communists have built up a fund of interesting and instructive experience in their special situation. It differs radically from the situation in Chile, with its sharp confrontation of the working-class and military junta. Things have changed also in Argentina where the Communist Party held its 14th Congress – the first legal congress in the past 27 years – in Buenos Aires last August. The Party had not only to master the forms and methods of legal work, primarily in the mass democratic movement, but to do this in an unusual and complex situation.

Communist Parties in other countries have accumulated valuable experience on which the Communist Party of Canada constantly draws. For instance, it benefits from the experience of the French Communist Party on how to combat monopoly capital, unite the Left for joint action while maintaining loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It learns from the German Communist Party how to lead the workers in the fight against national and international monopoly concerns. We appreciate the experience of the Italian Communist Party in mobilizing the democratic forces for a crushing blow at neo-fascism and the experience of the Communist Party of the USA, notably its mass work in democratic movements for peace and against racism. We are firmly convinced that better knowledge of the experience of other parties helps the struggle. Pooled experience is most valuable.

Diverse as are the conditions and experience of each of the Parties, there is a general trend common to all of them that follows from the general development laws of society, from the main contradiction of our age, between socialism and imperialism, from the historic necessity of one social formation being replaced by another.

The foregoing suggests what aspects of the new revolutionary experience of the Parties deserve closer study and generalization. First, there is the experience of rallying the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist forces in the fight for peace, democracy and freedom. There is the experience of translating into practice the program of transition to socialism, taking into account not only achievements, but also temporary reverses, and the need to shift to other forms and methods of struggle. Then there is the experience of active ideological struggle against all the forces of reaction and all varieties of Right and 'Left' opportunism, etc.

National experience does not become international and an integral

component of Marxism-Leninism without consistent, unremitting work. The Communist and Workers' Parties have already evolved many forms of exchanging and generalizing their experience. We have, for instance, the regional conferences regularly held in Latin America. This January, after a series of preliminary meetings, there was the Conference of West-European Communist Parties in Brussels. Much is being accomplished also by bilateral meetings, delegation exchanges, conferences of Party leaders and Marxist scholars, particularly those sponsored by *World Marxist Review*. New experience is also generalized and conceptualized at Party congresses, in resolutions and research summaries. This collective effort yields general principles, and methods of Party work best suited for various countries, and all this becomes the common property of the world Communist movement.

International Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties are a tried and tested form of exchanging experience, summarizing its theoretical content and collectively examining new problems. They are especially valuable since they provide a forum for discussing new phenomena and new experiences of the revolutionary movement in all their implications. It was at such broad forums that the Communists collectively analyzed the character of the present epoch, the motive forces of the world revolutionary process, the common regularities of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the new forms of class struggle, the distinguishing features of contemporary capitalism, its crisis and attempts to adapt to new conditions, the new features in the development of the national-liberation movement and other social processes.

Theoretical generalization of revolutionary experience on the basis of Marxism-Leninism will continue to be an essential condition for raising the level of unity and cohesion of the international Communist and workers' movement, the growth of its ideological maturity and political strength, the earnest of continued success of the international working class.

Party political work and socio-economic development

Gheorghe Cioara
CC Executive, Rumanian CP,
First Secretary,
Bucharest Party Committee

The history of socialist Rumania convincingly proves that the country's rapid development is insolubly linked with how the Rumanian Communist Party – the bearer of the most progressive revolutionary

traditions of our working class – solved the complex problems of refashioning society along revolutionary lines and assuring its socio-economic progress; how it fulfilled its role as the leading political force of the people in the great work of building the new system. Our development confirms the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the advance to socialism is conceivable only as a conscious historical process based on applying the general laws of socialist construction in the concrete conditions of each country.

These conditions and the forms in which the laws of social development operate in concrete-historical circumstances, can be correctly assessed only by a political force capable of profoundly analyzing national conditions and also general regularities. And such a force can only be the working class party, guided by the theory of scientific communism. For the working class is destined by history to repattern society along revolutionary lines. Moreover, its interests coincide with those of the whole of society in its progressive development. In discharging its mission, the working class is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism whch alone provide a scientific explanation cf the historical process, illuminate the path to progress, furnish correct solutions to the problems of social development at every given stage in accordance with concrete economic, social and national conditions.

The scope and depth of the revolutionary transformations in Rumania over the years of socialist construction show that the RCP has followed a correct policy. It creatively applies the general principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, carefully analyzes changes within the society and the specific operation of the new system's objective laws, the experience of world · socio-economic development, primarily the experience of other countries building socialism, and also our own experience, from which the Party draws conclusions for its political work.

In a relatively short span of history, Rumania has become a rapidly developing socialist country with a dynamic economy, powerful industry and agriculture, the latter constantly being modernized. All this makes for steady growth of the people's prosperity. Freed of exploitation and oppression, and now masters of their own future, our working people enjoy the fruits of their labor and the achievements of socialism and play an increasingly active part in the management of society. Socialist Rumania's development has been attended by the flourishing of spiritual life.

The 10th Party Congress and the National Party Conference (July 1972) made a thorough analysis of what has been accomplished in the socialist years and of the country's opportunities and requirements for continued progress. This analysis was the basis for the program of building a fully developed socialist society, which represents a qualitatively new stage in our nation's history and in the building of socialism and communism. The main course of economic growth and the characteristics of fully developed socialist society were scientifically defined. They are: an advanced econ-

omy based on a powerful industry and highly productive agriculture; wide use of all the achievements of science and technology; progress in education; steadily rising material and cultural standards; improved production relations and a higher standard of organization and management of society; deepening of socialist democracy; development of the people's socialist consciousness.

Congress and Conference decisions are premised on Rumanian conditions, take into account the present stage of Rumania's history, the fact that economically Rumania is a developing country. In the socialist years it has made remarkable progress in the economic, social and cultural fields. It has passed the underdeveloped stage, our starting point in building the new society. However, there is still a serious lag behind the economically developed countries. The Party is determined to eliminate this lag in building a fully developed socialist society. In the next 15-20 years we intend to achieve a high level in industry and agriculture, science and culture and a considerable rise in prosperity standards. This presupposes, first of all, expansion and modernization of the productive forces, that material and technical basis of society. And there is the proof of experience that only rapid expansion of productive forces, coupled with harmonious progress in all sectors of economic and social life, can bring all the advantages of socialism to bear, give us an equal share in the international division of labor and assure our independence and sovereignty.

The subjective factor, and especially the working-class party, play a much bigger role in the building of fully developed socialist society. This is so because of the increasing complexity and implications of the problems involved in social transformations. The leading political force of society, our Party has to work out the strategy and tactics of socio-economic development and set the overall targets for each stage of socialist construction. These are discussed with the working people and the Party organizes the effort for their attainment.

The far-reaching comprehensive socio-economic program – the fulfilment of which has now been taken up by all our people – calls for a higher standard of Party work. That applies to every Party organization and every Party member. In this context, I should like to quote our Party General Secretary, Comrade Ceausescu: 'Every Party organization, every Communist, is responsible for the performance of his particular factory or office. He is responsible for its plan fulfilment, its contribution to implementing the Party's general line and to the country's socio-economic development. It should be clear to all that the Party's leading role is not something abstract; it is a living reality that finds expression in how all Party committees and organizations, every Party member, marshall the efforts of the working people to cope with all the problems posed by our practical work, the concrete work of building a socialist society.'

Accordingly, the Party is working energetically, both in the political and organizational fields, to improve every aspect of the country's socio-economic life, assure scientific management of society, and adapt all our forms and methods of planning and management to the new requirements. This is the chief, determining feature of our progress, an essential source of all the renewal processes at work at this stage of socialist Rumania's history.

Fulfilment of our economic plans and of voluntary above-plan commitments has clearly demonstrated the growing influence of Party factory nuclei and the important role their political activity plays in promoting optimal use of our manpower and material potential. In fact, experience has shown that upon this work depends the Party's leading role, its ability to bring to the masses a clear understanding of its aims and mobilize them for their achievement.

Much work lies ahead for the Bucharest Party organization, with its 237,000 members. The Rumanian capital has 232 industrial enterprises employing about 378,000 and accounting for one-sixth of the country's industrial output, including more than 25 per cent in engineering, over 20 per cent in chemicals, about 27 per cent in textiles, over 22 per cent in ready-made clothes and over 50 per cent in polygraphic products.

The present five-year plan envisages a 57.3 per cent rise in gross industrial output in 1975. The annual labor productivity increase is targeted at 6.6 per cent, or an increase of 39 per cent over 1970, with higher productivity accounting for 77 per cent of the increase in output.

There has been an enthusiastic response to Comrade Ceausescu's appeal for pre-schedule fulfilment of the five-year plan to quicken the pace of Rumania's socio-economic advance. The Communists and people of Bucharest are working with vigor and dedication to bring the city's vast production potential to bear as their contribution to multiplying the country's wealth. Conscious of their place and role in society and acting as the masters of all the means of production and the creators of all material wealth, the Bucharest working people, led by the Communists, are drawing on hitherto untapped reserves and have undertaken to complete the five-year plan in four and a half years.

However, maximum use of reserves and attainment of the high growth rates set by the five-year and longer-term plans, are inconceivable without raising the effectiveness of Party work. Solution of the many complex problems requires of the city Party committee close study of the situation, objective appraisals of needs and the means of meeting them, of the goals formulated for each Party and mass organization and each industrial unit. It requires also further improvement of propaganda and political education, tying it in with the practical questions of mobilizing work-collectives for the fulfilment of economic assignments.

The city Party committee believes that the point and purpose

of political leadership is not to set general goals, but concrete work at every factory, detailed knowledge of its technology, material expenditure norms, production costs, etc. Effective Party leadership is linked with direct intervention in production and the adoption of the necessary political, economic and technical measures to assure maximum use of all available reserves. All these measures are the fruit of the thought and initiative of Party members and of the working people generally. Accordingly, to extend the democratic basis of Party leadership, they are discussed by the Party active and at workers' meetings. This allows for wider mass participation in decision-making on key problems of the economy. We have also set up advisory teams composed of engineers, economists, technicians, foremen and workers with long experience. Following the instructions of Party organizations, they studied the ways and means of ensuring the optimum utilization of available capacities and the possibility of launching new industrial projects to full capacity ahead of schedule, ensuring more efficient utilization of raw materials, primary products and manpower, modernization of industrial plant, etc. These studies were initially undertaken at only a few enterprises, but subsequently their findings were extensively applied and became part of the positive experience of Party work, experience reflecting the RCP's concern for long-term socio-economic development, as well as its ability to tap and effectively utilize manpower and material resources.

Thanks to the purposeful political work of Party organizations, the call to meet the five-year plan targets in four and a half years has been taken up as a pledge by all worker collectives of the capital.

The five-year plan has been called a quality drive, and the task of ensuring its fulfilment ahead of schedule makes it incumbent on Party organizations to do their utmost to improve the qualitative aspicts of economic activity. This should reflect in higher labor productivity, lower production costs, notably lower materials expenditure, and dovetailing output to internal and external market demand. As Comrade Ceausescu stressed, 'We hold that fulfilment of the five-year plan ahead of schedule should be achieved not through any intensification of physical effort but mainly through higher economic effectiveness, faster technological progress, extensve mechanization and automation, and scientific management and organization at every enterprise.'

Tht search for maximum economic effectiveness requires that the city Party committee encourage scientific and technological initiatives in every way. To help Party organizations and factory executives speed up modernization, the elaboration and introduction of new technological know-how and output of new goods, the Bucharest Party committee organized teams of Party functionaries, university and college teachers and other experts to seek ways of improving and expanding the range of output through better workmanship capable of ensuring a high quality standard of

finished products. Several Party branches decided to keep under review a list of those products and technological processes that had to be improved and modernized. The initiative was supported and the list was discussed by worker collectives and supplemented. Now all enterprises have drawn up specific plans of technological improvement and innovation providing for a revision of some output items and their replacement by others not stipulated in the state plan.

The city Party committee does its best to help factory branches and worker committees to enforce a strict regime of economy and back this up with political educational work. We have carried out a number of measures aimed at better utilization of research and engineering personnel; for example, many engineers have been transferred from factories to design offices where they can work on production strategy. At the same time, researchers, designers and university and college workers were brought in to study product characteristics in factory conditions with the aim of reducing expenditure of raw materials, primary products, fuel and energy, eliminating spoilage, trimming outsized products, devising recycling techniques, and rallying public sentiment against every kind of extravagance. We do our best to foster creative economic thinking, cultivating in all workers a feeling of socialist ownership. Every worker and employee should have a good idea of the design, functions and performance of the products he or she handles, the costs of manufacture and ways of reducing them, so as to take a conscious part in promoting the key task of the RCP's economic policy, that of enhancing our overall economic efficiency.

It is with these tasks and the fulfilment of pledges in mind that the Bucharest Party organization has been putting a great deal of organizational and political effort behind recruiting and training labor; every able-bodied citizen must take part in the production process. Our institutes of higher learning are oriented on the nation's manpower needs. On the other hand, we have been occupied with problems of small-scale mechanization, technological improvement and production organization to release substantial numbers of unskilled workers to learn skilled jobs. A landmark of special importance was the Central Committee meeting of February-March 1973. Implementation of its decisions helped to bring the leadership closer to local units, remove numerous intermediate links and echelons, ensure a more rational distribution of manpower between executive and administrative-managerial functions, and strengthen the production, research and design sectors. The efforts of Party bodies and organizations and of worker committees and councils to promote professional training and retraining and enhance the workers' political consciousness, have given us the labor reserves needed for ensuring the fulfilment of plans and pledges.

While concentrating on developing and modernizing the econ-

omy, the city Party committee at the same time gives much attention to further improving its work in the educational, scientific and cultural sphere, in raising the mass educational and cultural standards. The Party ideological program adopted by the November 1971 CC Plenum, is the basis for integrated measures for promoting the ideological and political education of the masses and moulding the new type of individual with the progressive communist ideology, professional training and a broad scentific and cultural outlook. We are striving to implant the principles of socialist ethics and justice in all our social life.

Emphasis in the various forms of political education, which this year involves more than 500,000 Communists and non-Party people, is placed on mastering Marxist-Leninist ideology, explaining the essence of the domestic and foreign policies of the RCP and our state, the program of further socialist construction in Rumania and world issues. The aim is to bring home the concrete tasks facing each production collective and fostering a spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, a conscious attitude towards work, public property and public duties, and a militant, revolutionary attitude towards all backward, unscientific views.

In the system of state education the Party's efforts concentrate on perfecting the educational process and achieving closer ties between schools of all levels and practical experience with the purpose of enhancing the school's role in communist education and preparing young people for a meaningful future. Books, art and the theatre are oriented on works reflecting the people's efforts and aspirations and promoting their spiritual enrichment and socialist consciousness.

This can be achieved only through the ideological, cultural and educational work of Party organizations. It must help Communists, members of the Young Communist League and all working people to gain a deeper understanding of the dynamic renovatory processes in the national life and the world at large, and so better appreciate the policy of our Party and the state and display a higher sense of responsibility for its implementation. Significant in this context are the numerous grass-roots drives and achievements in the mass emulation movement for fulfilling the five-year plan ahead of schedule. Our experience is proof of the inseparable connection between worker performance on the job and social consciousness, ideological and political awareness, civic and ethical standards.

The complexity of the tasks facing us demands further perfection of political work and continued concern for raising the role of Party organizations in the life of worker collectives. Thus, it has become common practice to start the year with a review and analysis of the most important problems. Proposals and conclusions are studied and discussed by collective bodies (at plenums, bureau or secretariat meetings, meetings of Party activists) and formulated in specific decisions.

A normal flow of information is essential for ensuring the scientific substantiation of decision-makng, as well as for raising the effectiveness of the whole process of management. Considerable attention is given to improving control of fulfilment. The city and district Party committees have annual programs for this, listing enterprises and offices, etc., to be checked, specifying special control objectives and how the results can be best utilized. This eliminates a good deal of overlapping and repetition, while extending control to a greater number of enterprises and offices.

Equally we are concerned with improving the methodology and system of control. The results of control by Party bodies and organizations, the progress in the implementation of decisions and plans, are periodically analyzed at plenary sessions and meetings of the Secretariat and the Bureau.

Much attention is given to raising the responsibility of Communists on Party Committees. They are asigned to enterprises and offices to help Party branches and worker collectives. At the same time, we strive to use the forces at the disposal of commissions formed by Party bodies to the best advantage for on-the-spot studies of various aspects of economic and social activity. Major problems are debated by the Party active and the membership.

If Bucharest is to fulfil the tasks facing it, Party and admministrative functionaries must master the science of management, and all working people must have a clear knowledge of the goals and contents of the policy of the RCP and our state. Accordingly, the city Party committee has set up a system of training workers of Party, state and economic bodies. For example, to enhance the part played by worker representatives in collective management bodies at enterprises and their contributions towards the elaboration and implementation of key decisions, we have set up special courses that deal with economic and financial problems in close connection with the concrete functioning of enterprises and industrial amalgamations. These courses also study the newest methods of production organization and management and the forms of worker participation.

There are similar courses for members of worker control councils and industry commissions at enterprises.

The economic and socio-cultural development of Bucharest is directly dependent on the ever greater activity of every Party organization as the leading political force in the functioning of economic, cultural and social units. That is why we are specially concerned with maintaining a high level of activity in inner-Party life, setrengthening inner-Party democracy and ensuring the most favorable atmosphere for broad participation of the Party active and every Communist in discussing and deciding the whole range of questions arising at the present stage of socialist construction. We strive in every way to stimulate the organizational abilities of Communists, their ability to blend the efforts of mass and public organizations and collective management bodies at enterprises

and offices, the efforts of all the working people, and to focus them on the implementation of the Party's general line.

Our achievements to date indicate that our tasks and pledges will be met. But this will require the unflagging concern of Party organizations, trade unions, youth organizations and all worker collectives for the best utilization of the resurces and reserves at our disposal. This is also necessary for the Bucharest Party organization to continue its substantial contributions towards the realization of the program of building up an all-round developed socialist society, towards the acceleration of our country's economic and social advance. We also see this as our internationalist duty, because thereby we enhance Rumania's contributions to the cause of socialism and the continued growth of its might and influence throughout the world.

Party of its class, Party of the masses

Sandor Jakab,
CC Member, HSWP

FORMATION OF THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE HSWP

Our people are working to complete the construction of socialist society. The overwhelming majority actively support the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, reaffirmed by its 10th Congress. The people's confidence in our Party may be traced to the fact that the HSWP follows a consistently Marxist-Leninist class policy and proceeds from the interests of the working class, expressing the main aspirations of the major social classes and strata.

Naturally, the Party leans primarily on the working class, the principal exponent of socialist ideas, political goals and moral principles, the leading social force with a greater stake than any other in defending and strengthening socialist rule. The organization, political awareness, firmness and discipline of the working class and the place it holds in the most progressive sphere of social production make it the mainstay of the socialist system.

Awareness of the leading role of the working class in socialist society is of decisive importance for the Party's composition. The CC HSWP harmonizes the composition of our ranks with the Party's character as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. All Party congresses concern themselves with Party growth and composition. The 10th Congress (November 1970) noted that the Party's organizational development over the past years had

been satisfactory. 'The HSWP,' its resolution said, 'unites in its ranks three generations of fighters for communism, with extensive experience of struggle and always prepared to act. As concerns Party building, the job is to continue reinforcing the Party by bringing in front-rank industrial and non-industrial workers. Along with this, we must make a special effort to enhance the Party's proletarian character by educating the most efficient workers in a communist spirit and helping them to prepare for joining the Party. A greater effort must be made to bring women and young people into the Party.'

Two years later the CC HSWP discussed the matter again and checked fulfilment of the Congress decisions. It noted that Party development was politically sound, though enrolment practices could be improved. The CC noted that recruiting should be even. From a rate of 3.3 per cent between the Ninth and 10th congresses, it had risen to 4.65 per cent since the 10th Congress. However, admission of workers had been below the annual average. In line with the decisions of the 10th Congress, the Central Committee urged *emphasis on the working-class character* of the Party in recruiting new members.

In developing the Party, we follow the fundamental Leninist principle that the Party is not an end in itself but a means of achieving the political ideals of the working class. This determines the Party's activity, composition and organzational structure.

Looking back, we see that the formation of the Party and the settlement of every problem of Party development were invariably geared to the requirements of the given historical situation and political needs. This was also the case when, after World War II, the Party became legal and grew in a few years into a mass organization with several hundred thousand members. In the struggle for power, the Party opened its doors relatively wide and, indeed, conducted enrolment campaigns from time to time. In effect, anyone except an exploiter could become a member at that time by declaring that he agreed with the Party. Party growth was speeded by competition with the Social-Democratic Party. Subsequently the two parties merged, with the result that membership exceeded 1.1 million (about 12 per cent of the population). Most members were industrial and other workers, but there was also a substantial petty-bourgeois element.

After the merger of the two working-class parties, and with state power won, the Party's excessive numbers became a hindrance in fulfilling political tasks and threatened to efface the boundary between Party and masses. A membership check in 1948-1949 reduced the Party to 880,000. This strength was retained, with minor variations, until 1956, which means that the Party was a major mass organization with a social composition reflecting the structure of society. However, certain political mistakes weakened the Party and its influence and affected its educational work. Sharp political turns caused uncertainty and reflected on the militancy and activity of the membership.

After defeating the counter-revolution, the HSWP had fewer members than before, but was stronger and more closely knit ideologically and politically. By late 1957 it had 400,000 members. In the 60s, the reorganization of agriculture and progress in socialist building as a whole enabled the Party to develop in a balanced political climate and at a sound rate.

There are 730,000 Communists in Hungary today. One in 12 workers and one in eight skilled workers is a Party member. As the working class has increased substantially over the last 10 to 15 years and its composition has been changing, this proportion of worker members may be regarded as a noteworthy achievement. This large body of worker Communists enables the Party to influence the working class as a whole, both ideologically and politically, especially because 71.5 per cent of the worker members of the HSWP are skilled personnel enjoying the greatest prestige and influence in the enterprises.

It follows that the proportion of workers in the Party meets the objective demands of today. However, we have cause for dissatisfaction. In recent years the *Party admitted more white-collar workers, managerial and other employees than industrial workers.* Unquestionably, the increased proportion of salary earners admitted to the Party is indicative of the Party's increased influence, the stability of political conditions and widespread social support for the policies of the HSWP, which responds to the varying interests of every category of working people and is free from political sectarianism. In spite of these favorable trends, however, we regard the considerable increase in the proportion of professional and office workers as a negative fact from the point of view of the Party's social composition and also because it may result in a less exacting attitude to workers. The point is that the desire to maintain the balance of statistical proporions prompts Party organizations to put greater emphasis on the enrolment of workers as yet not prepared for Party membership, which may affect the quality of Party reinforcements.

The rapid numerical growth of the Party and the undesirable change in its social composition may, if disregarded, affect the Party's vanguard character and leading role. We realize that the composition of Communist parties, the ideological training of Communists, their social behavior and the example set by each of them are of the first importance in this respect, especially when the Communist Party is in power and is building socialism. The composition of a party which plays the leading political role in society influences the character and implementation of the prevailing policy. Inconsistency and distortions which occasionally occur in practice are in most cases linked, directly or indirectly, with the Party's social composition. This explains why the HSWP today devotes greater attention to its composition. We consider it necessary to take prompt action against negative trends so as to overcome them, promote the Party's vanguard character, stop and

eventually reverse a downward trend in the proportion of worker-members.

The HSWP is both the vanguard of the working class and a mass party representing all the working classes and strata of society.

There is, of course, a close connection between the Party's social composition and its character as class vanguard. However, it is not mechanical and composition does not automatically and directly determine the character of policy. The decisive thing in the Party's class character is, in the final analysis, its political goals and Marxist-Leninist principles, as well as their translation into reality. Yet neither principles nor policy can be separated from social composition. The greater the relative proportion of worker Communists, the more favorable the social possibilities of pursuing a class policy, for workers bring a class spirit into the Party. Certain aspects of Party policy necessarily reflect the background of its members. An unfavorable social composition may become an objective source of trends at variance with the political goals and world outlook of the working class. Indeed, the coincidence of fundamental interests does not eliminate the fact that Party members inevitably bring with them the distinctive asprations, habits and sentiments of their class or stratum. No Marxist-Leninist party can ignore this reality. To foster the Party's class character implies meaningful activity helping to normalize social composition and, on the other hand, political and ideological work to bring about closer unity.

In examining our Party's social composition, we take account of the deep changes brought about in society, above all among the working class, by the socialist revolution and technological progress.

The social mobility typical of contemporary society is particularly marked in the case of the working class. Almost 300,000 former workers have become leaders in various social fields. By joining the intelligentsia, they have ceased to be workers as far as their social condition and way of life are concerned. Ideologically and politically, this segment of the socialist intelligentsia is part of the working class and hence plays an important role in attaining its political objectives. But whatever the political importance of the role of this section of former workers, its interests, which develop in specific social conditions, are not entirely identical with those of the working class. This must be taken into account even though it is precisely this section that can, due to its socialist consciousness, rise more than any other above its narrow particular interests.

The impact of social changes is even stronger with regard to the numerical growth of the working class, which has been joined by peasants and petty-bourgeois elements. Roughly two-thirds of Hungary's industrial and white-collar workers have been wage-earners for 15 to 20 years, and one-fifth, for 10 years. Over half the

workers, i.e., 36 per cent of the skilled workers, 60 per cent of the less skilled workers and two-thirds of unskilled workers, are of peasant stock. And though unquestionably the past decade has seen adaptation to working-class conditions by people coming from other classes and strata, it would be wrong to disregard the differentiation stemming from social origin. Lenin said that the worker is not separated from the old society by a 'Chinese Wall,' and this is as valid as ever.

Being a worker does not in itself make anyone eligible for Party membership, for even the working class is not exempt from petty-bourgeois ideological influences. But these influences tell much less than with other classes or strata of socialist society. The social environment at a large enterprise is still highly beneficial to the political development of the individual. Practice shows again and again that large enterprises are the most important support base of Party activity among the working class. Fifty of the country's major enterprises today employ 43 per cent of industrial job holders and account for about 55 per cent of the country's output, including almost two-thirds of exports. Workers in large enterprises set an example of socialist consciousnes, political activity, keen public interest, and a critical spirit that enhances our development. It is natural that in specifying the objectives of socialist building for the benefit of society as a whole, the Party should rely primarily on the work teams in major industrial enterprises, that is, the most politically conscious and active contingents of the working class.

Analysis of changes in society and the working class helps in balancing the Party's composition.

Various sections of our society, except youth and women, are represented in the Party in relatively greater numbers (considering their share of the population) than workers. This, we repeat, does not alter the Party's class character. It is the rule with the HSWP, and with any other Marxist-Leninist party, that whatever social stratum they may come from, Communists must adhere to the world outlook of the working class and share its political position. Objectively, this is made possible by the character of prevailing socialist relations of production, the increasing similarity of the living conditions of diverse strata and the community of basic socialist interests. Favorable conditions have been created for every segment of the population to adopt the political goals and ideas of the working class. However, the process of uniting society is not automatic; its intensity depends largely on the political awareness of the working people.

In practice we may encounter two problems. One arises when *progress in consolidating society is overrated.* Those who jump to conclusions in this respect overlook the still existing class and socal distinctions, which also make for distinctions in the degree of political development and social consciousness. A natural consequence of this is underestimation of the importance of the Party's

social composition and of the need to promote its working-class character, a fact which paves the way for opportunist tendencies and encourages fundamental concessions on various aspects of Party development. Taking a realistic view of the process of uniting society, we never forget that while basic socialist interests coincide, the divergent specific interests of classes and strata remain and may clash unless harmonized.

The other problem arises when objectively existing distinctions and conflicting interests are exaggerated. In Party development this takes the form of *pseudo-Leftist behavior, of sectarianism.* It has been said that the Party's class character does not rule out the presence of members of diverse categories of working people in its ranks. The main reason for this is the belief that both the general and particular interests of the working classes and strata can be assured with the achievement of the objectives of the working class. The presence of members of non-working class strata in the Party is politically important also because the distinctive interests, political sentiments and other characteristics of these strata are directly cognized and expressed through them. In defining its policy, the Party can take better account of the point of view of its allies and set political tasks if it has a comprehensive knowledge of social reality. It should be re-emphasized, however, that non-working class members of the Party do not represent any special interests in it and are, for their part, determined champions of working-class policy whose duty is faithfully to carry out all Party decisions. Our Party has no special policy for the peasants or intellectuals, one *independent* of the policy of the working class or different from it. *A component of the policy and leading role of the working class is the Marxist-Leninist policy of alliance of the working classes and strata, a policy which takes account of the distinctive interests, aspirations and social conditions of every category of working people.*

Working-class youth and women workers play a big social role. About 30 per cent of the working class are young people below 30 years of age and 40 per cent, women. We continuously stress the special political importance of young workers in large industrial enterprises. These young people are the most valuable reinforcement of the working class. They not only participate in the struggles of today but are a major social and political force that will engage in the struggles to come, the main factor in the complete construction of socialism. Hence the fundamental approach to Party building, to the enrolment of new members. In discussing any social or political issue, the Party unfailingly bears in mind these two important social strata. Deciding on the lines of further Party building and regulating Party growth and composition, the CC HSWP stresses the importance of educating working-class youth and women workers in a communist spirit.

We make no less effort to win over and bring into the Party prominent intellectuals, including technologists holding key positions in production.

It will be seen that in building up its class character, in particular by regulating its composition, the Party's approach is principled and that it dissociates from sectarian views in political and organzational activity.

Let us now take a closer look at the manner in which the Party's vanguard class character can be assured if it is also a mass party.

The Party's mass character finds expression in the ratio between its membership and the active population as well as in the fact that the Party's composition roughly reflects the social composition of society. As regards the Party's numerical strength, no index valid at all times and in every situation can be established. The formation of Party ranks is influenced by the social composition of society and the level of development attained by its class relations, special features of the country's history, concrete political and ideological conditions, the tasks facing society at the given moment, the Party's immediate political aims, and many other factors. Optimal numerical proportions not impairing the vanguard character of the Party are established with due regard to all these factors and their interconnection. It is also important that the Party should encompass the whole of society – all its essential political, economic and cultural institutions – assuring the exercise of its leading role and the smooth functioning of the machinery of proletarian dictatorship.

The foregoing shows that the Party's mass character does not preclude the exercise of its vanguard role. Vanguard character, our Party holds, is the main criterion of a Communist party of the Leninist type.

It is common knowledge that the vanguard character of an organization is the sum-total of a number of factors: its social composition, the class character of its policy, the socialist awareness and ideological and political training of its members, and their links with the masses (to name only the most important). From time to time, this or that component acquires added importance and must be given increased attention. The main criterion of the Party's realization of its vanguard character is *how successfully it performs the role of political leader of the working class, how correctly it is able to assess the interests of the working class and to act accordingly.*

Undoubtedly, the Party's mass character objectively provides greater opportunities for alien ideological influences and for political distortions. This may affect the Party's character as vanguard and tend to undermine its ideological, political and organizational unity. Hence the increasing importance of communist education within the Party itself. Seen also from the standpoint of communist education, the effort to heighten the Party's vanguard role is a standing task renewed from day to day.

We closely link preservation of the Party's vanguard character with the quality of recruitment. The undesirable growth rate after the 10th Congress was largely due to faulty practice in admitting

new members and to disregard of the fundamental criteria. It was this situation that the Central Committee wished to change in November 1972 by calling for a more exacting selection of prospective members. It introduced new requirements and social differentiation, which means that highly qualified professional and office workers must meet greater ideological and political demands than factory workers. This makes it possible to put realistic demands to members of diverse categories of working people and thus to increase the proportion of worker Communists.

We maintain that it is not enough for a prospective member to be a diligent worker and do his civic duty. He must stand out in his milieu in other ways. Nor is it enough for him to be familiar 'in the main' with HSWP policy and to subscribe to it. We expect him to know it throughly and, furthermore, to defend and promote it. Before he is admitted to the Party, he must study its Rules, organizational principles and disciplinary requirements and prove that he really accepts and follows them. As to world outlook, we now put higher demands in this respect as well, especially to intellectuals, for future Communists must steadfastly master the Party's scientific world outlook and strive to assimilate the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory.

It may be asked whether this does not imply that the Party is willing to admit to its ranks only 'ready-made Communists.' Though preparing to join the Party is unquestionably crucial to raising one's political consciousness, it does not mean that one becomes 'a ready-made Communst.' A characteristic of the staunchest and maturest Communist is constant effort for self-improvement, for more knowledge. We want every applicant to be prepared to act effectively and in accordance with Party policy in any situation and on any issue. It follows that the demands put to applicants are expressive of the main standards of behavior (we stress this above all in regard to professional and office workers) which guarantee a priori that those who join the Party both want to demonstrate their convictions and confirm their readiness to work and fight for its cause.

The Party does not intend to restrict these demands to applicants, but puts them to its members as well. We must be consistent in this if we want to avoid harmful tensions.

The HSWP said at a conference as far back as June 1957 that with the exception of Party posts, non-Party people in our country can qualify for any office. This is the only way to prevent people who lack communist conviction from joining the Party for selfish considerations. Ever since then our Party has consistently and effectively applied this principle and it intends to see to its strict application in the future.

The Party is a voluntary militant union of Communists. Anyone who has joined or is joining it should know the duties he is assuming and carry them out to the best of his ability. But the principle of voluntary adherence implies the possibility of withdrawing from

the Party without material or moral damage to oneself. Anyone who refuses to participate in the activities of his branch organization over a long period, is indifferent to Party life, ignores the Rules and fails to contribute to the Party's prestige by his staunchness and his entire behavior, does the Party a service by withdrawing from it.

Are voluntary membership and regulation of the Party's social composition compatible? Yes, and the contradiction is only a seeming one. The principal method of regulating social composition is consistently to apply the demands which we have listed and which vary from stratum to stratum but are essentially the same. We strive methodically to train for Party membership people eligible in terms of political convictions, character, morality and communist resolve to act. By reinforcing the Party through systematic educational work with future members, we wll reduce to the barest minimum the proportion of comrades who turn back from their chosen path and of people who do not measure up to strict Party criteria.

We take a stand against the harmful views of those who limit the concept of Party development to the more or less mechanical enrolment of new members. Party development is a highly complex activity. As well as admitting new members and educating Communists politically, it helps the Party to fulfil its tasks with optimal results. This can only be achieved by furthering the Party's ideological, political and organizational unity and unity of action and by heightening the militancy, political consciousness and educational standards of its members.

The Communist movement has a splendid and long-standing tradition of drawing the finest sons and daughters of working people into its ranks. In the Hungary of the years of underground activity, this was the most honorable and most important Party assignment, which Communists fulfilled realizing that it was part of the effort to enhance the Party's militancy and safeguard its future. Now that the demands put to the Party members are higher, it is even more natural to entrust the most experienced Communists with assignments of this nature.

This educational work, which helps to train people for Party membership, is the principal method of regulating the Party's numerical growth and social composition. An index of the maturity of any Party organization is the number of people it can train in line with the high demands put today. We must not admit people who are not mature enough for Party membership. But it would be wrong to reject suitable candidates or delay their admission endlessly by reason of some preconceived standards. In improving Party composition, we must only use the methods free from rigid stereotype.

How effective our Party development work will be depends on the internal activity of Party organizations. A prospective Communist who sees that the members of his future Party organization

perform their duties, are disciplined, fully respect Leninist standards, and live and work in accordance with the Rules, is bound to benefit from their example. A branch whose members are passive or fail to conduct systematic Party work, and where inner-Party democracy is not observed and leading functions are withheld from manual workers, cannot properly educate those who want to join the Party, nor be exacting. Militancy and dynamic Party life are therefore a most important requisite of successful Party development in any branch organization, a great force of attraction which brings workers and other working people nearer to the Party.

The situation today is most favorable to improving Party composition. The Party realizes the fundamental political importance of this matter and its close bearing on our subsequent progress in socialist building. Party organizations strive to remove shortcomings in their approach to this task, shortcomings which in the past made it difficult to apply correct principles in enrolling new members and led to imbalances in Party membership.

The steps approved by the CC HSWP (November 1972) to increase the leading role and social influence of the working class and improve its standard of living have already been carried out in part. At its session on April 18, 1973, the Central Committee noted the favorable response to this of the working class and the whole of society. The past months have seen a visible increase in the workers' activity in production and in social fields. This situation is also beneficial to our effort to improve the Party's composition by strengthening its working-class core. The Party's policy is a decisive stimulus for the finest members of the working class to join the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist vanguard of their class. This is the main guarantee that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party will continue to fulfil its mission.

Party news

INTERVIEWS

Bruno Kuster
Bureau Member, Secretary of the Board, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin.

THE PARTY GROWS YOUNGER

– What characterizes the Party's work as it approaches its congress?

– In recent years we had a marked influx of young blood from among both blue-collar and white-collar workers. This is a clear indication of growing Communist influence among sections of the society that grew up and matured during the cold war period and

were subjected to the powerful influences of Social-Democracy and anti-communism. The deepening contradictions of the ruling system have been gradually pushing young people to anti-capitalist positions. However, the thousands who have joined the Party and sincerely sympathize with the Communist movement and the Soviet Union lack an adequate knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. That is why we are concentrating on providing such knowledge, both for Party members and prospective members.

– What specifically has been done in this field?

– Four years ago the Party Board organized a Marxist Evening School. Although there is an enrolment fee, 400 students signed up the first year, 700 the second, 1,200 in the 1972-73 year, and 2,270 this year. This, I think, is convincing proof of the growing interest in Marxist philosophy, political economy and the history of the labor movement, the three subjects of the school's syllabus.

– What is the composition of the student body?

– The average age is between 25 and 35. There are workers, students, teachers, professionals. About one-half are women. And one-half are not members of the Party, which we see as indicative of the great potentialities for expanding our ranks.

– But there are other possibilities, too?

– Of course. This is where Party-sponsored mass action plays an important part. There was a time when a demonstration would draw no more than 50 people, and standers-by would often shout from the sidewalks: 'Too bad you escaped the gas chambers!' Today the Party's prestige is so much higher that we are able to organize truly mass campaigns, such as the protest movement against the aggression in Vietnam. And people no longer shout about gas chambers, although we can see among the onlookers some who probably still think so. After the fascist coup in Chile we sponsored a mass demonstration in solidarity with the Chilean people in which more than 20,000, mostly young people, took part. Two weeks later, together with Social-Democratic and Christian groups, we organized a demonstration 30,000 strong which ended in a mass rally. In short, we have good reasons to expect that the Party will come to its congress stronger in numbers, in quality and, most important, younger.

Fernando Lopez
(Colombia)

FOR AN ATTACKING PROPAGANDA

Last autumn the Communist Party held a national conference on propaganda. The very fact of a special extensive discussion of the problem (the first time ever) is indicative of the urgency we attach to it. Our propaganda efforts are being put to the test by the election campaign that will wind up in April.

It was stressed at the conference that in Colombia, unlike other countries, the propaganda efforts of the traditional ruling political groupings focus primarily on elections, lapsing into routine stereo-

types in the interim. This makes it incumbent on Communists to give special attention to the continuity and purposefulness of their propoganda and promotion work.

In spite of harassment and persecution, independent labor unions, the student movement, the Communist Party and other revolutionary and opposition organizations are holding meetings and rallies, distributing leaflets, legally and llegally painting slogans on walls, printing newspapers, magazines and booklets, and sometimes even running paid advertisements over the radio. These organizations have the appearance of legal existence (the law neither bans nor permits them), but in actual fact they are hounded by the authorities.

The Communist Party holds that in the circumstances greater mass appeal should be sought primarily through a stepped-up propaganda campaign in the press as the most effective means of cambatting the regime's powerful propaganda apparatus. We seek to use our publications to hit right on target, reach the masses and offer a clear understanding of Communist policies. This is given added importance by the fact that the ruling parties encourage the anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda emanating from ultra-Leftist splitter groups.

The Communist Party has permanent offices in the country's main centers, which distribute propaganda material extensively. We have our publishing organizations and book shops.

The Young Communist League runs cultural and sports centers. The Communist Party is the only opposition force in Colombia to publish a regular newspaper (the *Voz Proletaria* weekly) and theoretical journal (*Documentos politicos*) and to run a national school for Party cadres. Efforts to keep other revolutionary or Left-wing opposition publications alive failed in the face of financial difficulties and competition with the 'big press.' *Voz Proletaria* has survived thanks primarily to the firm basis – the help of the Party – on whch its distribution and finances rest. In 1973 its circulation was double the 1970 figure, and in most provinces and some peasant areas *Voz Proletaria* is the only periodical actually read. One of the ways we use to promote mass distribution is by regularly delivering copies to the local alcalde, police inspector and parish priest. Sales of the paper are especially brisk in the larger cities, at doorsteps in working-class neighborhoods, factory gates and entrances to schools and universities. The paper's distributors, among whom are many YCL members, talk with people and take note of their views, demands and critical remarks, which are later reflected in the paper. *Voz Proletaria* has correspondents in almost 100 communities and has lately been making headway among intellectual circles.

There is still much to be done to promote *Documentos Politicos* and the Colombian edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism.* They must be made into effective tools for the ideological educa-

tion of Party cadres and sections where the Party enjoys influence. We keep in constant touch with Party committees on building up circulation, have begun placing ads in the press, have put both journals on sale in the main bookstores of the capital, where they are prominently displayed in windows and counter layouts, and are continuing to distribute them in universities and other cultural centers. We have been able to get more and more artists, both Party members and sympathizers, to draw posters, covers and illustrations. At the conference a report was delivered – also for the first time in our Party's history – on 'The Role of Visual Impact in Revolutionary Propaganda.' In short, we see our task in making Party publications an inalienable part of day-to-day educational work both within and outside the Party, among workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals.

COMMUNISTS AT WORK

Esch-sur-Alzette is the heart of Luxembourg's industrial hinterland. But then, 'hinterland' is a relative concept for a country as small as this, and Esch lies a mere 18 kilometres from the capital. However, they separate not just two geographical locations but, one could say, two ways of life. Esch is a town of factories, a community of workers quite unlike the capital with its blend of modern bourgeois affluence and relics of age-old feudal history. And while the municipal council in the capital is dominated by Right-wing parties, Esch has a Communst mayor.

A *WMR* correspondent met in Esch with a group of activists of the Communist Party of Luxembourg who had come to attend a political education course.

'What new developments are apparent in the life of primary Party branches?' – this was the gist of the conversation that ensued. One important event was the opening of a Party Center in Esch (where, incidentally, the interview took place). This is no mean accomplishment. For one, the city branch is now able to hold general membership meetings. Regular Party education courses have been organized, and more than 70 persons have enrolled so far, many of them from surrounding worker communities and the capital. Classes are held every other Saturday, with Sunday classes for workers of the Saturday night shift at the Esch steel mills.

Although the Center has been formally opened, it is still largely unfurnished. There are few books and journals in what is intended to be a Party public library. One of the inner rooms will be made into a film auditorium and meanwhile a filmotheque is being assembled.

'Have people been assigned to work at the Center?'

'There was no need to,' came the rejoinder. 'We have plenty of volunteers to help us. Besides, we're all workers, jacks of all trades, and there's enough work to suit all tastes and choices.'

'Work at the Center and attending the courses are rewarding experiences,' says steelworker Josef Ruckert. 'Each time you go

away with new knowledge and arguments useful in the discussions that constantly develop at the factory.'

At the front doors of the Center is a stand with the current issue of the *Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek*. As often as not, relates Aloyse Bisdorf, a member of the CPL Executive, a passerby stopping to glance through our paper winds up coming in to learn first-hand about the Communist stand on issues of concern to the people of Esch. After all, this is a working-class city, and our Party's key task is to speak for workers' interests.

'The mounting labor conflict at the ARBED enterprises has helped to build up the prestige of Communists and our *Zeitung*,' says worker Camille Mueller, a member of the CP Central Committee. 'ARBED is the unchallenged owner of Luxembourg's iron and steel industry. Recently the company rejected trade union demands for higher wages. For their part the trade unions turned down the labor agreement put forward by ARBED. A subsequent compromise provided for unjustified concessions by the workers, and we rejected it. The negotiations marked a new breakthrough in our labor movement because they were brought out into the open from the closed rooms where labor leaders and management huddle together. A general ballot of the workers was sought on the issue and the overwhelming majority voted against.'

George Leick, a young teacher from Luxembourg city, spoke of how the members of his organization were promoting ideological and political work among employees of American subsidiaries. They began by distributing the Party newspaper. This immediately brought them into a confrontation with the management, which called out the police. The Communists, however, were undaunted by threats. 'The Americans now wonder, how do those damn Communists know the situation of our factories so well?' Leick remarked, laughing. 'But it's all very simple: several workers have joined the Party, others are helping distribute the paper and supply material for publication.'

Over the last two years the Esch Party branch has increased its membership 50 per cent. More important, it was pointed out, most of the new members are young workers.

'True enough,' said Babette Ruckert, from the neighboring industrial community of Differdange, 'but I would like to add another important point: Until recently I was the only woman Communist here. Now there are five of us. Working-class women are beginning to turn to the Party, too.'

Another indubitable recent success – and a new element in the life of Party branches – is the apparent breakthrough in the distribution of the Communist newspaper and the regular publication of the Party Bulletin begun last November. All Party activists are, as a rule, also indefatigable collectors of donations for the paper's fund. Many of them proudly show their subscription lists. Among them is Bernard Zenon, a young teacher and grandson of the Party's

founder.* Frequently, he says, a request to help the Party paper is the beginning of an earnest conversation in which a person gains his real first acquaintance with Communist ideas.

A subscription list is more than an enumeration of contributors of the sums they donated. Many contributors add to their signatures pungent remarks which have the quality of slogans calling for an end to the power of capital. Such a subscription sheet thus becomes a kind of political document.

At present the campaign for the Parliamentary elections in May is in full swing. Communists are convinced that the Esch Party Center will contribute substantially to this important effort.

L. Stepanov

RESOLUTIONS, STATEMENTS

SOVIET UNION

'To be always ahead, to be where the going is hard'

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted a number of important measures following from the decisions of the December 1973 Plenum of its Central Committee and aimed at supporting and encouraging initiatives prompted by these decisions among the masses.

The Central Committee of the CPSU published an Appeal to the Party and the Soviet people urging them to mark the fourth year of the five-year plan by new gains in carrying out the decisions of the 24th Party Congress. The document notes that the foreign policy of the CPSU, which it pursues in close unity with brother parties, has brought about a turn in international relations from tension and cold war to détente and peaceful cooperation between countries with different social systems, and that this provides 'favorable international conditions for the building of communism, for the Soviet people's peaceful constructive labor.'

'All that has been achieved to date,' the CC CPSU stresses, *'is the fruit of your work, dear comrades, of your able hands, your searching minds and creative effort.'* The country is rightfully proud of these achievements. On the other hand, the document states, the plan targets are exacting and highly important. 'But even the most detailed plan cannot take full account of all the immense potentialities of the socialist economy, which may be revealed and used given a creative approach.'

Communists must take the lead in the drive for more efficient production and the early application of the latest achievements of science and the ideas of innovators and inventors. The Appeal calls on Party organizations and all Communists to be always ahead, to be where the going is hard, and provide the organizational, ideological and political backing needed to attain this year's economic goals.

*A letter to *WMR* from Bernard Zenon appears elsewhere in this issue.

The Party closely links the tasks in hand with fulfilment of its internationalist duty. 'Ouar new social and economic gains,' the document says in its closing part, 'will be of tremendous international significance and will enhance the appeal of socialism . . .'

Response to the Appeal has been widespread. The press has carried numerous letters in which individuals and work teams write about their socialist commitments. The Party supported this initiative by adopting in conjunction with the Council of Ministers of the USSR, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and Central Committee of the Komsomol a decision on socialist competition in industry, construction and transport to fulfil the economic plan for 1974 ahead of schedule and on socialist competition in agriculture to achieve higher output and supply more farm produce in 1974.

Both decisions call special attention to a set of measures intended to ensure publicity of the competition and comparison of results and contribute to the popularization and widespread application of the experience of the best work teams. In rewarding competition winners the Party proceeds from the principle of combining moral and material incentives. In addition to challenge banners, diplomas and pennants, there will be cash prizes and valuable gifts. Ten more State Prizes of the USSR hav been instituted and will be awarded for outstanding achievements in labor. Besides, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR instituted new government awards for years-long devoted and conscientious labor: the order of Glory and Labor (I, II and III class) and the medal Labor Veteran. Citizens decorated with the order will be entitled to additional amenities.

FRANCE

Issuing new party cards

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party released a statement analyzing this year's campaign of exchanging membership cards and strengthening the Party.

In 1973 the FCP admitted 62,218 new members. Currently every organization contributes its share to the formation of 1,000 enterprise branches, a goal set for 1974. At public meetings which are now held, new Party cards are issued and new members admitted. The Political Bureau statement urges extending personal invitations to wage and salary earners who approve of the Communists' position and back their action to attend Party meetings. Notices of public meetings will enable all who sympathize with the Party to attend. The idea is to show the FCP as an 'open-hearted' Party, with its policies and objectives, its inner life and public activity, and thus win more and more people, above all young people, to take their place in the Party to fight for a better life all the more effectively.

The more than 20,000 branches, the Political Bureau goes on to say, can set out the Communists' views in simple terms and ex-

plain to the masses the current tasks and the outlook for the future. This year's card issuing campaign will bring new people into so vast a democratic and revolutionary an organization as the FCP. It will help to win more readers and distributors for *l'Humanité* and the weekly *Humanité Dimanche*. Every new Party member will be offered a free subscription to *l'Humanité* for three months. It is proposed actively to distribute Georges Maachais' book, *The Democratic Challenge*, in enterprises and neighborhoods during the campaign.

URUGUAY
A united people cannot be defeated

The Bordaberry dictatorship and its military accomplices commit one arbitrary act after another, trying to establish a fascist-like regime in Uruguay. The government has outlawed the Communist and Socialist parties and a number of progressive organizations, including the Federation of University Students. Communist Party premises were raided and Party publications closed. Eduardo Viera, director of *El Pppular*, is under arrest.

These developments prompted the Communist Party of Uruguay to circulate in Montevideo a statement describing Bordaberry as a typical spokesman of a venal and predatory oligarchy and a rabid anti-communist. Bordaberry protects his friends who violate the laws but holds patriotic army officers behind bars. The regime continues to detain trade union leaders whose only 'crime' is that they have devoted their lives to the working people's interests. The same lot has befallen the rector of the university and his assistants, many of whom enjoy great prestige in the academic community, both at home and abroad. Meanwhile the university, put under government control, is staffed by mediocrities. Many educational institutions are closed.

The country is in the stranglehold of inflation, the statement says. Wages fall short of even half the minimum needed by a working-class family. Unemployment has assumed disastrous proportions in some industries such as textiles. The purchasing capacity of the peso is declining fast and poverty is mounting. This hits trade and industry hard. Tens of thousands of Uruguayans leave the country because they see no other solution.

'Attempts have always been made to divert the people's attention from the real causes of their hardships by harping on the old tale about the Communist "threat." Using this tale, reaction does its utmost to split the people and cover up its outrages. That will get it nowhere. The country's problems are still unsolved and the people demand real solutions . . .

'We Communists are flesh of the flesh of the working class and the people; we are the heart of the people. No one can ever separate us from them, not even by force, intrigue, provocation or slander. We are genuine patriots invariably fighting for the people's

sacred interests. We have won the right to say so by maintaining unfailing loyalty to the cause of the working class and the people for more than half a century. We are therefore proud of being Communists, and proud of the working people's love for our Party . . .

'The Broad Front, its program for solving urgent problems and its call for the unity of Uruguayans, are more important then ever before. Let us, then, close our ranks to overthrow the dictatorship. Long live the alliance of all honest-minded Uruguayans! A united people cannot be defeated.'

THE PRESS

Paese Sera
(Italy)

A CHANGE OF SOCIAL COURSE NEEDED

Paesa Sera carried an interview with Luciano Lama, General Secretary of the General Italian Confederation of Labor, dealing with important social and economic problems, analyzing the causes of the grave general crisis in European capitalist countries and stating the position of Italy's trade unions and Left-wing forces.

The present trend of economic development, L. Lama said, ignores the needs of cultural progress and the living standard of the working people, of people generally. The question where it will get us was first asked years ago. Everybody realizes today that to gauge the standard of life by the unlimited growth of the gross national product is not merely an illusion but a mistake.

'It is necessary radically to revise policy, consider the new facts determining reality and change the system of production and consumption accordingly, in both our country and other Western countries. This is so important a matter and its implications are so vast that only a comprehensive approach can help to cope with it. We must choose a different model of consumption, that is, a more balanced course of development taking into account the limited resources of the planet and the needs of the Third World, and not based on an indefinite growth of production and consumption. Why have 20 shirts in the wardrobe (five are enough) when a thousand million people have no shirts at all?'

What we need, L. Lama continued, is social consumption, reforms, a really effective social policy and a life based on greater equality, that is, a better life for all. It is not enough for people to eat their fill. Schools, culture, leisure and the entire civil infrastructure are not only essential, but are part of consumption, the fundamental component of a new consumption system.

'Last Saturday as my wife and I were shopping there was no salt and we were offered a kilogram of sugar as a special favor. There was no milk or kerosene and there is a shortage of petrol. We can't passively regard such intolerable facts, can't put up with them. We can't be reconciled to the fact that spaghetti suddenly disappears and does not reappear until after the government has allowed a higher price. In this case we have to deal with a govern-

ment which gives in to blackmailing employers and speculators . . . How can we allow these elements to dictate the law?

'The trade unions have a weapon of their own.' L. Lama continued, 'but they want to use it in a way that will meet the interests of the country and not just the interests of those they represent. We must not allow the employers to impose higher prices, the oil companies to export oil products or the manufacturers of olive-oil to deny it to us. The working people cannot be reconciled to the government's inability to provide the necessities of life.

'The current mass movement and the 30 general strikes which took place before Christmas in Milan, Turin, Latium, Liguria, Apulia and Emilia show that the masses can no longer be made to accept an economic policy which ignores their demands.

'Capitalism is decrepit,' Luciano Lama said in conclusion. It can no longer ensure social progress even though it is still strong and capable of striking blows. The need for change and a new type of society, a new and efficiently managed system of production and consumption and a new way of life is becoming ever more imperative.

IN BRIEF

F R G

The Presidium of the GCP Executive protested against the decision of the Federal constitutional court to recognize as a 'party' the Maoist group which has arrogated to itself the name of 'CPG.' It noted that at the same time the court reaffirmed the unconstitutional prohibition of the Communist Party of Germany, an act still used for exerting pressure on democratic forces. The Maoist 'CPG,' the Presidium pointed out, is a group led by provocateurs and its activity is designed to undermine the labor movement and divide the trade unions.

SYRIA

The Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party has emphatically condemned the anti-Party activity of the group of CC members headed by F. Al Fawwaz, Y. Nimr, O. Kashshash and R. Turk. These men had ignored the agreement to end the crisis situation in the Party and boycotted the CC plenum of November 30, 1973. They had published a statement containing attacks on and falsehoods about the Central Committee, the Party's leading role and the guidelines of its Third Congress. Their anti-Party activity puts them outside the Party and, in accordance with the Rules, the Central Committee considers them to be expelled from the SCP. The CC declares that it would steadfastly uphold and promote Party unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

USA

The first Communist newspaper to be published in the United States came out in Chicago 50 years ago. It was the *Daily Worker* and its appearance was a historic political milestone, writes Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, in the *Daily World,* successor to the *Daily Worker.*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Every third young man or woman in Czechoslovakia is a member of the Young Pioneers Organization. In 1973 the SYL admitted 300,000 members and formed 10,000 new branches. One of its every three members is an industrial worker, and working youth make up 75 per cent of the League.

PERSONNEL TRAINING

The National Council of the Communist Party of *India* held a conference on the training of Party cadres. R. Rao, its General Secretary, told the conference that training had improved considerably since the Ninth Congress.

The conference approved a training program for the period before the 10th Congress, to be held in autumn.

In connection with the 10th anniversary of Palmiro Togliatti's death, all *Italian* Communist Party schools this year will study his writings and public activity.

In Havana Province, *Cuba,* 190 people were issued with diplomas on finishing the Captain Orlando Pantoja Party School. For two years they had studied political economy, philosophy and the history of Cuba and the international working-class movement. The new enrollment comprises 300 young Communists.

Conference of Communist Parties of capitalist Europe

The Communist and Workers' Parties of European capitalist countries held a conference in Brussels from January 26 to 28, 1974. The conference was attended by delegations from the Communist and Workers' Parties of Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg the Netherlands (as an observer), Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and West Berlin.

The conference discussed the present crisis of capitalism in Europe and the Communist parties' struggle for social progress, de-

mocracy, national independence, peace and socialism and for the unity of the working class and all democratic forces.

It adopted an extensive political declaration analyzing the causes of the aggravated social, economic and political situation in Western Europe and defining the main lines of the Communist Parties' activity at this stage. It also approved a special statement on energy problems. The conference adopted statements of solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam and the Chilean people.

The political declaration points, first of all, to the deep crisis involving every aspect of life in capitalist Europe. The general crisis of imperialism makes the necessity for social and political changes ever more obvious to the working people. Popular action is gaining scope throughout capitalist Europe. At the same time, conditions for political change have become more favorable. A new situation is shaping in Europe. Substantial changes have taken place in the world arena. They are due to the gains of the international policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the activity of the Communist and working-class movement and the struggle of the forces of national liberation, democracy and peace.

However, the peoples must remain vigilant, for imperialism has not renounced its objectives.

The deep crisis affecting all countries of capitalist Europe is evidence of the inability of capitalism to deal with developments and the major problems facing society in keeping with the interests, pressing demands and aspirations of the working class and other working people. The living standard of the working masses is deteriorating, becoming unbearable at times, and their exploitation is being stepped up. The main burdens are borne directly by the working class and millions of over-exploited foreign workers, by the peasants and middle strata.

The declaration draws attention to the constant threat posed to the democratic gains of the peoples of Western Europe by authoritarian tendencies, the persecution of Communists and other democrats and the persistence in Spain, Greece and Portugal of fascist regimes enjoying the support of the monopolies, NATO and the United States.

Analyzing the policy of big capital, the declaration notes that in addition to monetary upheavals and inflation, this policy breeds bitter competition between capitalist powers. Multinational companies, 75 per cent of which are dominated by U.S. monopolies, have a growing share in the economic life of Western Europe. They endanger the economic and even the political independence of West European countries, and their activity encourages reactionary trends, intensifies the monetary and trade chaos, weighs heavily on living and working conditions and affects employment.

Economic integration in the EEC is proceeding under the direction and in the interests of big capital to the detriment of other countries. The peoples resist projects and proposals aimed at forming a political alliance of Common Market countries in line with monopoly interests. The plans for a new military organization

linked with NATO and directed against socialism, if carried out, would not only have dire consequences for member countries but would make them subservient to the United States. Pointing to the increased antagonisms between West European countries and the USA, the declaration calls for resistance to U.S. imperialism's attempts to heighten its already rigid control over the economies and policies of West European countries and 'revitalize' NATO.

The declaration speaks of the attitude of West European Communist parties to the EEC. Fifteen years of Common Market membership have closely linked some countries with it, and their Communist parties are fighting against its monopoly orientation and its effects, for the democratization of the EEC. In other countries which did not join the Common Market until recently, the Communist parties insist on withdrawal from it. Lastly, in those West European countries which are neither members nor associates of the Common Market, the Communist parties resist all attempts to draw their countries into the sphere of influence of the monopolies that dominate the EEC. In spite of these diverse conditions, the Communist parties of Western Europe again expressed the view that a common reply to the policy of monopolistic integration is both possible and necessary, and they are resolved to act together so as to bring about genuinely democratic cooperation in Europe in the interests of all its peoples.

Speaking of the need to meet the pressing demands of the workers and peoples of the capitalist countries of Europe, the declaration puts first such issues as safeguarding and improving living standards, guaranteed employment, social security and social rights. The omnipotence of big capital, notably the multinational monopolies, must be ended. It is necessary to uphold the economic and political rights of the millions of immigrant workers. Far-reaching democratic changes must be carried out.

Among the urgent international tasks, the declaration lists a positive conclusion at an early date and on the highest level of the conference on European security and cooperation, the establishment of new relations between East and West, the speedy political settlement of the Middle East conflict, the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and détente, and the establishment of entirely new relations between capitalist Europe and the developing countries.

Socialism is increasingly becoming an objective requirement of progress in every sphere of life in the interests of the development of nations, in the name of the future of the planet. It is in this direction that human history has been advancing ever since 1917, when the October Revolution destroyed the absolute power of imperialism and founded, under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the world's first socialist state, which today is successfuly building the material and technical basis of communism. The experience of history shows that only socialism is capable of providing fundamental solutions to the key problems facing the masses in capitalist countries. The development of the revolution-

ary process in all countries is guided by general objective laws which find expression in different forms and methods according to concrete conditions in each country.

The concluding part of the declaration is devoted to the task of promoting the unity of the Communist movement and all democratic forces. In the face of the grave new problems the Communist parties of capitalist Europe intend to raise their unity of action to the level required by the present dimensions of the struggle. At the same time they regard this as a contribution to closer unity, solidarity and cooperation of the international Communist and working-class movement on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, of proletarian internationalism, with due regard to the independence and equality of all parties.

The declaration stresses that it is now possible to set goals in the field of democratic renovation which all the forces representing the working class and other working people and the middle strata of capitalist Europe can fight for in common. The policy of a broad alliance of the people's democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces is of lasting and fundamental importance to Communists – to the advancement of democracy and the renaissance of society today and to the construction of socialism tomorrow. To advance to socialism, it is necessary to sweep away such barriers, obstacles and prejudices as anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Among the forces with which Communists seek joint action, the declaration lists the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties, representative forces of the Christian movement and all anti-fascist and progressive forces.

The Communists of the capitalist countries of Europe, the declaration says, call for action, for the formation of an alliance of the broadest social forces, of all working-class and democratic forces, to bring about a new upsurge in their common struggle.

Conference of CC secretaries of Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries

A conference of Central Committee Secretaries of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries was held in Moscow on January 22-23. The following parties were represented: Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Cuba, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The conference was opened with an introductory speech by M. A.

Suslov, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary of the CPSU.

The following spoke at the conference: B. Velchev, Political Bureau member and Central Committee Secretary, Bulgarian Communist Party; I. Malmierca, member CC Secretariat, Communist Party of Cuba; F. Ondrich, Secretary CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; H. Dohlus, Central Committee Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; A. Pullai, Central Committee Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; S. Zhalan-Azhav, Political Bureau member and Central Committee Secretary, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party; E. Babiuch, Political Bureau member and Central Committee Secretary, Polish United Workers' Party; G. Pana, member Executive and Standing Presidium and CC Secretary, Rumanian Communist Party; I. V. Kapitonov, Central Committee Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

There was an exchange of views on topical problems of Party organization and activity and their practical solution in the fraternal Parties represented at the conference.

The entire course of historical development, speakers noted, demonstrates that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party grows with the widening scope and tasks of building socialism and communism. Fulfilment of the Party's role as political leader of the working class and all working people depends in decisive measure on its strength, the character of inner-Party relations and the effectiveness of its political and organizational work.

Much attention was devoted to growth of Party membership and further improvement of its quality. The importance was emphasized of consistently adhering to the principle of democratic centralism as the unshakeable foundation of the Party's ideological and organizational unity, the decisive condition for its action capacity. Conference participants exchanged experience on developing inner-Party democracy, collective leadership, promoting the activity of Party members and strengthening Party discipline. Also discussed were cadre policy, improving forms and methods of political leadership in the economic and cultural fields, of state and public organizations and promoting closer contact with the working class and with all working people.

Conference participants were unanimous that practice has convincingly confirmed the international character and fundamental importance of the Leninist standards of Party life and the principles of Party leadership applied by the fraternal Parties with due account to present-day requirements and concrete conditions.

The conference stressed the vast importance of expanding bilateral and multilateral ties between Communist and Workers' Parties, consultation and exchange of experience on Party organizational work, collective discussion and elaboration of pressing problems of Party organization and activity.

The conference was held in a comradely and businesslike atmo-
atmosphere.



Peaceful coexistence of states and the class struggle

Proposals for discussion drawn up by the WMR Commissions on general theoretical problems and on problems of peace and democratic movements.

In formulating the platform of united anti-imperialist action, the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties singled out as the main task the defense of peace, emphasizing that its accomplishment is insolubly linked with the struggle to impose on the imperialists peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. As a result of the peace offensive of the countries of the socialist community and the international Communist and workers' movement supported by progressive opinion, there have recently been considerable positive changes on the world scene: the principles of peaceful coexistence are taking hold as generally accepted standards of relations between states with differing social systems.

International détente – the initial stage of which we are now witnessing – does not moderate the class confrontation within a capitalist country or on the world scene generally. But it does offer new opportunities for the anti-imperialist struggle, and this calls for further theoretical elaboration of its strategy and tactics. In gauging the interntaional situation, the fraternal parties, as evidenced by their policy statements, congress and CC plenum resolutions, and by the communiques of international meetings and conferences, have come to the conclusion that a point has been reached when it is becoming possible, by countering the serious resistance of the imperialist and reactionary elements and uniting all the peace-loving forces of mankind, to consolidate détente, make it a stable and irreversible phenomenon and, building on what has been achieved, substantially activize the peoples' struggle against their main foe – imperialism.

Thus there emerges at the present stage a wide range of questions relating to consolidation of détente and disclosure and use of the new opportunities for the fight for immediate and long-range aims of the working class and for solution of pressing class, national and world problems. Discussion of these problems in the pages of the fraternal Parties' collective publication will facilitate the further elaboration of the ideological basis of the anti-imperialist struggle

in conditions of peaceful coexistence and assure unity in the political and ideological offensive against imperialism. Such a discussion is necessary in view of the need for a more vigorous rebuff to bourgeois, 'Left' and Right opportunist concepts of détente and its role in the class struggle.

These proposals, which lay no claim to full treatment of the subject, raise only some theoretical problems on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the documents of fraternal Parties.

1. *Forms of the class confrontation*

While upholding the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, the Communists believe it would be wrong to reduce them to an abstract peace with the imperialist countries on any terms or without any terms. 'The peace slogan,' Lenin wrote, 'can be advanced either in connection with definite peace terms or without any conditions at all, as a struggle, not for a definite kind of peace but for peace in general (Frieden ohne weiters). In the latter case we obviously have a slogan that is not only non-socialist, but entirely devoid of meaning and content' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 290)

Imperialist ideologists often regard peaceful coexistence as agreement by the nuclear powers to follow certain 'rules of the game' in order to avert mutual destruction. In contrast, the Communists emphasize that peaceful coexistence is not merely an alternative to global thermonuclear disaster. It presupposes the introduction of general democratic norms in international relations and creates the political basis for the development of mutually advantageous economic, scientific, technical and cultural contacts. Respect of the sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of each state, the right of all peoples freely to choose their socio-poitical system, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, settlement of all outstanding international problems by political means, through negotiations – such are the requirements and conditions of peaceful coexistence.*

Peaceful coexistence does not affect the class substance of power in any country and is therefore acceptable to countries with mutually-opposed social systems. But neither does it imply hardening the social status quo: peaceful coexistence is a specific international form of the class confrontation and is related to the peoples' struggle not only for peace, but also for the revolutionary transformation of society, to the growth of the socialist community and of mass movements.

In analyzing the role and significance of peaceful coexistence in the anti-imperialist struggle, we have to consider the concrete class aims objectively achievable through this form of the class confrontation. The international Communist movement has to wage an ideological struggle against diverse opportunist concepts. Essentially, they can all be reduced to the following: peaceful coexistence is rejected ('Left' opportunism) or is understood as (Right opportunism) reconciliation or ideological compromise with imperialism,

*See *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow, 1969*, Prague, 1969, pp. 30 et seq.

as retreat from the internationalist duty of the working class and from support of the revolutionary struggle and national-liberation movement, as defense of narrow national interests in world politics, or the interests of a 'superpower.' Hence, the 'Left' opportunist line of torpedoing détente and preventing it becoming a stable and long-term factor in world development. Oblivious to the new opportunities for active anti-imperialist struggle offered by détente, they favor keeping the world on the brink of nuclear catastrophe. Hence, also, Right opportunist attempts to exploit détente for 'convergence' of the two opposite social systems, hamper the unfolding of revolutionary processes and anti-imperialist movements as factors which, allegedly, impede détente.

Present-day opportunism exploits the apprehensions aroused in some contingents of the liberation movement by their failure to understand the benefits of détente for the world revolutionary process, notably the developing countries. It would therefore be wrong to underestimate the danger of opportunist distortions of peaceful coexistence in the present world situation. Exposure of opportunism, all-round analysis of positive changes in international relations, is a major ideological condition for consolidating détente and continuing socialism's political peace offensive, and assuring the further development of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Communists expose distortions of socialist foreign policy. The vast experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in operating the peaceful coexistence policy proves that its class aim is to assure the most favorable international conditions for all contingents of the world revolutionary movement.

Peaceful coexistence is a complex form of contention between the two social systems in the political, economic and ideological, as well as diplomatic, spheres and interacts with other international and national forms of the class struggle. In the present situation, it does not rule out local armed conflicts, survivals of the cold war or tendencies counterproductive to détente. Further exchanges of opinion would be useful concerning the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence, and the class essence and significance of détente for the revolutionary struggle of liberation.

2. *Two policies based on peaceful coexistence*

Documents of the world Communist movement describe the *socialist* policy of peaceful coexistence as a policy of peace and international friendship, and consolidation of international security. It is anti-imperialist in substance and consonant not only with the interests of the socialist states, but also with the general interests and needs of the revolutionary struggle against every form of oppression and exploitation. It is aimed at consolidating the international positions of socialism, the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle, and promotes its greater influence and prestige as the chief guarantor of peace. It enables us to bring out in full relief the advantages of the socialist system and adds to the ideological impact of the socialist way of life. It impedes imperialism's attempts to overcome

its intrinsic contradictions by stoking up international tension and creating seats of war danger. It facilitates the class struggle against imperialism on a national and world scale, isolating the most reactionary, aggressive and militarist circles, reducing the scope for imperialist armed intervention, and rallying broad sections of the public to prevent war and combat acts of aggression and *diktat*. It helps the national-liberation struggle of the peoples and the positive solution of the economic and social problems of developing countries.*

The turn to détente, its deepening, are a big success and historic gain of all the anti-imperialist forces. The experience of class struggle shows, however, that it is not enough to impose forms of struggle favorable for the revolutionary forces on the opponent. The battle has yet to be won. For this reason, Communists have set the objective of using détente effectively in the interests of the world revolutionary movement with consideration for the specific features of each of its detachments, in the interests of consolidating world peace.

The governments of the imperialist countries were compelled to agree to peaceful coexistence with socialism in view of the real correlation of class, state and public forces in the world arena, and also under the pressure of the working class, the laboring masses, the democratic public, and those capitalist quarters that have a stake in economic cooperation with the socialist world. Besides, there were the internal and external contradictions in the capitalist world, and in particular the desire of the governing or opposition parties backing the capitalist system to outstrip their political rivals in the drive for votes and consolidate their positions inside the country. The turn to détente is stimulating the differentiation processes among bourgeois political forces, as well as among Social-Democrats. The gains of the co-existence policy, the support it has won among diverse social strata, are compelling the Social-Democratic parties to react more flexibly to the current changes on the world scene. And this offers new opportunities for a dialogue between Communists and Social-Democrats.

The implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with different systems is evidence not only of a forced retreat by world reaction. The monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to use this form of contention to promote its class aims and undermine the positions of the revolutionary forces, and seeks to adapt itself to the new international conditions of the class struggle.

Imperialism's present-day strategy is oriented not on an immediate overthrow of socialism, but on its gradual 'softening up.' What the imperialist strategists are chiefly aiming at in the present stage is to divide the socialist countries and disrupt the united action of the anti-imperialist forces. For this they are using attractive economic proposals, ideological subversion and attempts to contrast national to general interests.

*Ibid., pp. 31-32.

Marxists-Leninists are aware of the great political difference between the imperialist governments' course of stoking up international tension, and the course based on recognition of peaceful coexistence principles as the norm of international relations. Every shift to the right in foreign policy not only aggravates the danger of war, but also strengthens the positions of domestic reaction, impeding the class struggle. Communists oppose imperialist attempts to torpedo détente. Yet experience and Party documents show that Communists do not abandon the struggle against bourgeois governments that have embarked on peaceful coexistence. They follow an independent class policy in all fields.

The changes in the foreign policy of capitalist governments related to détente therefore pose a new problem – that of attitude towards *bourgeois* policy based on recognition of the reality of peaceful coexistence. Is it advisable to support this policy, and to what extent? In what way can we more effectively expose its class aims, inconsistency, procrastination in resolving urgent issues of international security? How does the class enemy exploit détente for his own ends? What must be done to counter his maneuvers?

There are signs of a new tactic in ruling bourgeois quarters. positive action in the international arena to blunt criticism of imperialism and ease mass pressure on imperialist governments on world issues – in short, opening a safety-valve for releasing discontent with the cold war and imperialism's aggressive policy. The bourgeois approach to the policy of peaceful coexistence is accompanied by anti-communism at home and internationally. While by no means rejecting the long discredited ploys and methods of anti-communist policy and propaganda, in a number of developed capitalist countries the monopoly bourgeoisie resorts to more subtle means in its efforts to discredit the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and socialist construction. Notably, it is trying to exploit international détente to mislead the masses and stabilize the political situation at home. This reaffirms the need for a class approach to every foreign-political action, for exhaustive evaluations of every change in international relations from the standpoint of strengthening the positions of the anti-imperialist forces in the country and the world, and also from the standpoint of the perspectives of the anti-imperialist struggle.

3. *Compromises*

Peaceful coexistence of states with opposite social systems would be practically impossible if political compromises on concrete problems were ruled out. The limits of such compromises are fixed by the very conditions of peaceful coexistence, requiring respect for sovereignty and the interests of international security, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other peoples. In this context, the socialist countries make compromises in order to get disarmament started, settle international conflicts, expand commercial relations with capitalist countries on a basis of muual benefit, etc. It would simply be unrealistic to wait until bourgeois governments

are prepared for the unconditional solution of outstanding issues. Thus, a characteristic feature of such compromises is that, while they do not offer a total solution of the problem in hand, they nevertheless promote the leading trend in international relations towards the more comprehensive détente advocated by all progressive, peace-loving forces.

The attitude towards compromises within the framework of peaceful coexistence is one of the most difficult issues in the theory and practice of class struggle.

Peaceful coexistence does not extend to the sphere of ideology, which includes policy principles. The history of class struggle confirms that ideological compromise means, in practice, political surrender to the enemy. Yielding on ideological principles expressive of class goals and interests inevitably means, in effect, changing ideology, i.e., accepting another class position.

When they speak of 'ideological compromise' reactionary and imperialist representatives certainly have no intention of giving up any of the principles of bourgeois ideology or the class goals of monopoly capital. 'Ideological compromise' is interpreted as freedom of dissemination of bourgeois ideas in socialist countries, which would mean interference in their internal affairs and, hence, rejection of the very idea of peaceful coexistence.

4. *The 'just and democratic peace' slogan*

Peaceful coexistence is an essential part of Lenin's entire concept of international relations. The historical mission of socialism in world affairs is to transfer the *whole* system of world relations from the realm of unjust, imperialist peace with its propensity to breed wars, to that of a democratic, just peace which precludes wars. This was the task set by Lenin on the eve of the first triumphant socialist revolution, when he wrote that only a worker and peasant state could 'achieve peace, not an imperialist peace . . . , but a really lasting and democratic peace, which cannot be achieved without a proletarian revolution in a number of countries' (Vol. 23, p. 340).

The turn towards a democratic and just peace began with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It marked the beginning of the spread of democratic norms of international intercourse to a vast part of the globe, the socialist and the developing countries. International détente is opening up real opportunities for ensuring a lasting, just and democratic peace for the whole world. This was the slogan that came from the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow.

From the historical aspect, a democratic and just peace means liquidation of the last vestiges of the colonial system, doing away with imperialist forms of international exploitation, the relations of domination and subordination and the establishment of relations of good neighbors based on the national independence of all peoples.

From the economic point of view such a peace will facilitate the development of countries in keeping with their best interests and

economic cooperation based on mutual benefit and the objective requirements of international division of labor.

From the political point of view ensuring a lasting and just peace means preventing a thermonuclear holocaust, opposing imperialist aggression, eliminating hotbeds of international conflicts, and creating collective security systems in Europe and Asia. Communists resolutely support the peoples' liberation struggle, including armed struggle, against imperialist aggression and the unequal 'peace' terms usually imposed by the colonial system.

Discussion in the journal of the content of the slogan of a democratic and just peace and of the ways and means of putting it into effect in a climate of détente would also be conducive to a clearer vision of the outlook for the fight against imperialism.

5. *Détente and the outlook for anti-imperialist struggle*

Making détente a lasting, irreversible phenomenon would help to bring about a fundamentally new international situation as outlined in the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and in documents of brother Parties.

This means eliminating the threat of nuclear catastrophe, safeguarding the peoples' independence and sovereign rights and providing dependable guarantees of international security by ending the arms race. A lasting peace cannot be based on the 'balance of fear,' for this would mean perpetuating the armed confrontation, which is fraught with the danger of a world conflict, and aggravating this danger, a development which would result from the military build-up by countries.

It means extensive cooperation between countries with different social systems, not only in the economic, scientific and technological fields, but in the solution of the problems born of the progress of civilization, the ecological and energy crises, dangerous diseases and mass hunger, utilizing the resources of oceans, and so on.

Progress in détente is not determined, in the final analysis, by transient political considerations, but by durable factors which Communists take into account in evolving their policy of struggle for peace and international security: a change in the alignment of class forces in favor of socialism; growing imperialist antagonisms and the crisis of the policy of strength; greater international scientific, technological, economic and cultural exchange; the growing pressure and scale of the anti-imperialist struggle and the mounting activity of social forces championing peace and progress. The organization, tenacity and vigilance of all who seek peace, and prompt and specific initiatives on their part are vastly important.

Progress in détente does not remove the fundamental contradiction of our epoch – the contradiction between socialism and imperialism – nor the inner contradictions of the capitalist system. Documents of brother Parties stress that today the great social, political and ideological conflict between socialism and imperialism can be settled through the social revolution of the working class, a revolution which is objectively maturing within the capitalist

system. However, Communists are far from ignoring the significance of international factors in the sum total of conditions which make victory in the revolution possible.

Détente confronts Marxist-Leninist thought with new theoretical problems in estimating the role of present-day international factors in the victory of the revolution and in defeating counter-revolution. An exchange of views in the journal on these and other questions would be most useful.

Revolutionary unity of the generations

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE FORMATION OF CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS IN DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

I. In recent years the USSR and other countries of the socialist community have been devoting more attention to the problems of uniting scienific socialism with the labor and socio-political activity of the new generations of builders of socialism and communism. More and more, research studies discuss the specifics of youth in deveoped socialist society acquiring socialist class consciousness.

In terms of *internal conditions*, the topicality of the subject is due to the profound changes in the socio-economic, ideologico-political and cultural spheres stemming from the full victory of socialism and its continued, all-round development on its own basis.

The CPSU has drawn attention to the fact that the consciousness of new generations is being formed in more favorable material conditions. In the early stages of socialist construction our people had to concentrate on the most urgent problems, upon the solution of which depended the very existence of the socialist state. Not so today: it is both necessary and possible simultaneously to tackle and solve a wide range of problems. The 24th CPSU Congress singled out a substantial raise in material and cultural standards as the chief goal of the ninth five-year plan and that line will be followed in long-term economic development, too. Apart from anything else, higher prosperity standards are becoming a more insistent requirement of the country's economic development, a major economic precondition for rapid growth of production. That approach to the problems of the present development stage calls for a solution of many new problems of ideological work. This is all the more necessary in view of the substantial changes in the social and

class structure of society and the much greater education and other opportunities young people now enjoy.

We must reckon also with the *external, international aspect,* with the special nature of the ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism in conditions of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. One of its most important apects is the battle for the young generation, and bourgeois ideologists stint no effort to boost their theory of a 'generation gap' and differences between social groups *within socialist* society. Putting up a show of objectivism, they often cite Communist Party documents from the socialist countries analyzing one or another shortcoming or problem in ideological work among the youth, students or the new generation of intellectuals.

That is more than a propaganda ploy; it has far reaching philosophical connotations. The bourgeoisie feels that, with the growing achievements of the socialist countries and the rise of the revolutionary liberation movement in capitalist countries, it is steadily losing control of a progressively bigger segment of the new genrations, of people from widely different classes and social groups. This emphasizes anew that capitalism is historically doomed. Hence, the attempts of bourgeois ideologists to distort the causes and implications of the irreconcilable generation conflict and present it as something common to all classes and all countries. Bourgeois propagandists are using the wider, détente contacts between the youth of capitalist and socialist countries, to boost concepts meant to undermine contacts between the various generations of fighters in the socialist countries.

The foregoing shows how important it is to investigate the specific tasks and problems of Party and YCL ideological work in training the new generations of builders of communism.

The concept 'new generations' is now widely used by many fraternal Parties, in dealing with problems of socialist construction. That requires of workers on the theoretical front a profound analysis of relations between the different geenrations. Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the theory of the class struggle provide a firm basis for such analysis, which has a very solid tradition dating back to Marx, Engels and Lenin.

We know that Marx and Engels used the term 'generations' not only in defining such fundamental categories as world-historic connections and human history, but also (for example) in expounding the materialist understanding of history. And on many occasions they drew attention to the importance of the young generation, particularly the young workers, as the reserve of the Party, one that gives it its 'biggest replenishment' (see, e.g., 'The German Ideology,' Letter from Marx to Annenkov, 28 Dec. 1846, 'Socialism in Germany').

We know, too, that Lenin devoted much attention to the problems of revolutionary continuity, of how new generations of the working people, including young workers and students, come to socialism.

He showed, among other things, the similarities and differences in the historical role of old and new generations in building communism. 'It is clear that the generation of working people brought up in capitalist society,' Lenin said, 'can, at best, accomplish the task of destroying the foundations of the old, the capitalist way of life, which was built on exploitation. At best it will be able to accomplish the tasks of creating a social system that will help the proletariat and the working classes retain power and lay a firm foundation, which can be built on only by a generation that is starting to work under the new conditions, in a situation in which relations based on the exploitation of man no longer exist' (*Coll. Works*. Vol. 31, p. 283). Lenin presented in a scientific way the problems of revolutionary contact between the different generations of builders of the new society. And his treatment of these problems was materialistic, based on an analysis of the changing economic, politico-ideological and socio-psychological environment in which these generations develop, and which lays its imprint on them.

True to Lenin, the CPSU regards this as a central question of policy. It takes into account the interests and specific features of the classes and social groups, all the nationalities and ethnic groups of the USSR, *all generations*, and combines their interests in its policy.*

I would like to emphasize that in investigating the interaction of different generations in the revolution and in the building of a new society, we should not reduce the whole thing to the question of the youth. For that is only part (albeit an important part) of the problem of relations between the generations and their participation in building socialism and communism.

Both from the theoretical and practical-political standpoint, it is important to distinguish between the so-called generation problem and the youth problem and not confuse one with the other. For age is only one factor – and not the most important one – in one or another generation coming into its own.

In speaking of any generation of socialist society, we have in mind primarily the freely-expressed similarity of fundamental social and personal aims, common views on life, common value-orientations etc., which are determined by the objective socio-economic and political situation, by the historical development stage of the new system and the problems facing the people. Obviously, youth passes, but that does not mean that with it vanish the socio-psychological hallmarks of the generation, the sum total of its social and moral values formed under the influence of a concrete-historical period in the building of the new society. All that is valuable in the objectively dissimilar experience of different generations of the fighters for socialism, and organically linked by common fundamental ideals and aims, is welded into a single whole by the Party and used to perfect developed socialist society.

*See L. I. Brezhnev Ob aktualnikh problemakh partiinogo stroitelstva ('Topical Problems of Party Work'). Moscow, 1973.

II. In our view there is this shortcoming in treating the problems of uniting scientific socialism with the life and struggle of the new generation of developed socialist society. At times researchers and publicists center their analysis on negative phenomena. Wittingly or unwittingly, this tends to sidetrack the problem of generations, and more especially the youth problem, for this approach obscures or disregards the specific problems of the class socialist education of the new generations of builders of communism (especially the youth, students, young intellectuals) – problems posed not by some 'extraordinary circumstances' or defects in ideologico-educational work, but primarily by the *very dialectics of the development of socialist society*. I should like to dwell on the theoretical aspects of some of these questions.

In a society building socialism and communism and thereby creating a classless social structure, there are no objective causes for conflict in relations between different generations. Of course, that does not mean that the problem of interaction of the generations is automatically solved. In a *qualitatively* different form than under capitalism it will retain its political significance right up to the building of full communism. In short, in socialism the essence of the problem is to assure the *class education of the young generation* of builders of communism on the unshakeable basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which gives the youth and the laboring masses an objectively accurate picture of the world and a dependable compass for their activity; to assure the *revolutionary continuity* of generations in building the new society under differing circumstances.

Socialism provides, in principle, all the objective and subjective conditions needed for solving the problem, which is not, however, simplified with the passage of time, but acquires new aspects and overtones.

First, we should note that Lenin's idea of the need to bring the scientific proletarian ideology to the masses retains all its validity and topicality not only *before* but also *after* the victory of the socialist revolution. It is not only the first generation of fighters for socialism that has to bring this idea to reality. Nor is it achieved automatically by virtue of the fact that after the victory of socialism Marxism-Leninism is the predominant ideology. This is attributable not only (and not so much) to the way mass social consciousness develops, but rather to objective factors, to the new conditions every new generation of socialist society has to reckon with. That is why the task of uniting socialist consciousness with the labor and socio-political activity of the working people emerges anew for the Party, the YCL and the entire system of ideological institutions with the emergence of every new generation, with its different level of education, differences in psychological perception of existing social values, in attitude to history, to the past and present, etc. All these are conditioned by the new economic, socio-political and cultural relationships, higher prosperity levels, the

new requirements stemming from the scientific and technological revolution, closer foreign ties as part of the 'information explosion,' etc.

Second, from this follows that the victory of socialism does not repeal Lenin's proposition of the inevitability of different forms and ways of learning scientific socialism by representatives not only of different classes and groups, but also of different generations.

Third, and last, as the Communists approach their programmatic aim of a classless society, followed by a socially homogeneous, society, there is a natural simplification of its macrostructure (to borrow a term from the sociologists), i.e. the relative decrease of class distinctions. Accordingly growing importance (relatively) attaches not to class, but to other types of social differentiation, including differentiation in conditions of work and education of the different generations building communism.

All this makes it necessary to treat separately the generational aspect of the problem of bringing socialist ideology to the masses. It should be seen as a relatively independent problem, i.e. one that has to take into account the interests not only of one or another class or social group, but also the interests of concrete generations.

As socialism reaches its maturity stage, this characteristically dialectical contradiction comes to the surface: simultaneously and parallel with the objective process of eliminating class antagonisms and obliterating class distinctions between the working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia in developed socialist society, parallel with the gradual emergence of a *classless social structure,* there is a persisting need to train the new generation in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist *class-proletarian ideology.* This is so, among other things, because of the continuing sharp world-wide confrontation between capitalism and socialism. And such training presupposes, in Lenin's definition, a clearly-expressed understanding of the irreconcilable interests of the working class and working pecple generally, on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie on the other.

No class-oriented propaganda can achieve the desired results if it is not backed by the practical experience of the masses themselves. That is an ABC proposition of Leninism. In applying it to the formation of class consciousness in capitalist conditions, Lenin wrote: '. . . the self knowledge of the working class is indissolubly bound up, not solely with a fully clear theoretical understanding – it would be even truer to say, not much with the theoretical, as with the practical, understanding – of the relationships between *all* the various classes of modern society, acquired through the experience of political life . . . The worker must have a clear picture in his mind of the economic nature and the social and political features of the landlord and the priest, the high state official and the peasant, the student and the vagabond; he must know their strong and weak points; he must grasp the meaning of all the catchwords and sophisms by which each class and each stratum *camouflages* its

selfish strivings and its real "inner workings;" . . . But this "clear picture" cannot be obtained from any book' (Vol. 5, pp. 412-413).

Howewer, in, say, the Soviet Union there are several generations, a numerous section of the active population, who have not (and could not have) directly participated in the class struggle, save some of its ideological forms. Their class consciousness was a rule, moulded *without direct collision with the class enemy*. Out of the 250 million Soviet population, 121 million (nearly a half) were born after Victory Day 1945. More than three quarters of the CPSU membership (11,322,695) joined the Party after the war. 'We people of older age,' said L. I. Brezhnev, 'can compare the past and the present from our own experience. The youth cannot. It knows about the contrast between past and present only from books and films, and cannot picture the poverty and misery we have seen with our own eyes. It is therefore important for our youth to learn to understand and feel what we, the older people, have seen and experienced – the hard life of the working people uder tsarism, the difficult but enthusiastic years of our first five-year plan, the suffering and selfless heroism of wartime.'

Consequently, the class consciousness of the rising generations in Soviet society is moulded in a specific environment. Public consciousness embraces not only ideology, but social psychology (emotions, feelings, habits, sentiments, etc.). In capitalist society the bulk of the working people feel a spontaneous hostility towards the bourgeoisie (at the *socio-psychological* level) under the immediate impact of the material conditions of life, and the Marxist-Leninist party introduces to the thus psychologically prepared mass consciousness the *scientific socialist* ideology.

In the developed socialist society built in the USSR, the correlation of these elements of public consciousness, their interaction with each other and with the conditions of social being, are substantially different. In the sphere of material relations between the *friendly* classes and groups of socialist society inside the country *class* feeling and class interest do not spring from *spontaneous and direct confrontation with the hostile interests of the bourgeoisie* in view of the absence of exploiting classes. They enter the picture chiefly from the sphere of Marxist-Leninist science and the system of Marxist-Leninist education and mass propaganda as a result of purposive Party activity. This is why the Party is setting new, hgher demands on science and propaganda as factors shaping the class consciousness of new generations on the plane not only of ideology, but also of social psychology. In these conditions, science and propaganda must necessarily possess *emotional,* as well as logical impact. The central objective, as the 24th Congress pointed out, is to bring up the youth with firm communist convictions, loyal to our Soviet motherland, and in a spirit of internationalism, and to actively popularize the norms and spiritual values of socialist society.

It stands to reason that now, too, the decisive part in moulding

class consciousness belongs first and foremost to the new socio-political practice. Precisely for this reason, the Party's ideological activity relies increasingly on the socialist system of social relations and values, and on the absorption and – the *main* thing – affirmation by the youth in the process of its active participation in economic and cultural life of the *positive* content of socialism as a mode of production and way of life.

Absorption, maintenance and multiplication of the revolutionary, militant and labor traditions of the preceding generations is of the utmost significance for the class education of the youth. The history of our heroic Communist Party is an invaluable educational factor.

Bringing up the youth in a revolutionary spirit requires great skill, and must tie in propaganda work with the youth's every-day activity and experience. The Party stresses continuously that stereotype, a literal projection of old educational methods, no matter how good they were in the past, is insufferable. Education must be brought up to date and developed to suit the changing conditions. It is particularly important, to use Lenin's words, that the older generation should know how 'to approach the youth, for the youth must of necessity advance to socialism *in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances than their fathers'* (Vol. 23, p. 164).

In doing so the Party is combating primitive approaches to the process of socialist and communist construction and nihilistic reappraisals of entire periods of our history. It is firmly opposed, for instance, to all attempts at 'deglorifying' the history of the revolution and socialist construction or, conversely, at downgrading the significance of present-day practice in relation to past achievement, that is, at 'deglorifying' the present. Mistakes of this sort, which tend to scar the young mind, are extensively and often quite adroitly exploited by our opponents. Here we shall deal with but one of their propaganda gimmicks.

III. Capitalist ideologists, as we know, go out of their way to exploit elements of the petty-bourgeois consumer psychology that has afflicted the minds of some young people to draw politically unstable characters desiring 'gracious living' into their net. Also, they try to exploit the criticism and political and ethical 'idealism' of the youth, often maximalistic and utopian, disguising anti-Marxism as 'pure,' 'undistorted' or 'true' socialism; this is a typical feature of 'humane' socialism.* The basic purpose of this approach is to try and discredit the existing socialist society and portray the socialism built by the preceeding generations of revolutionaries as inconsistent with the theoretical thoughts and ideals of Marx and Engels, and thereby bring 'fathers' and 'sons' into collision.

*See WMR December 1971 and May 1972.

With this trend, many Marxist scholars note,* there is a new polemical method: to *'repudiate' the existing socialism by comparing it with the socialist ideal* as abstractly conceived, and then distorted bourgeois writers and Right and 'Left' revisionists often exploit the fact that the ideal, the prescience, the ultimate aims of the Communist movement and its practical materialization in various historical periods, are not, and cannot be, absolutely identical, that there is always some disparity between them, still to be overcome by the new generations.

It is easy to see that, in substance, this propaganda gimmick is designed for people with some degree of sympathy for socialism, including a definite section in the socialist countries. And, certainly, most of all for the youth. The latter's special psychological propensity for apprehending and construing the world as an ideal, perfect and just social and human arrangement, is probably a typical and, one might say, one of the most attractive features of the youth. Regrettably, it does not always lead the youth to effective struggle for a just society; on the contrary, due to efforts of spurious friends, it leads some young people astray.

Marxism does not deny the prominent part played by progressive ideals in the social and politico-ethical creativity of the masses. Serving, as it were, as 'anticipatory' reflections of reality, the social ideals of the progressive classes stimulate the thinking and practice of people oriented on altering the existing social conditions.

Coming to grips with opportunists 'who boast of their sober views,' Lenin in 'What Is to Be Done?' approvingly quoted the eminent Russian publicist and revolutionary-democrat D. Pisarev to the effect that if man were completely deprived of the ability to dream, if he could not from time to time run ahead and mentally conceive, in an entire and completed picture, the product to which his hands are only just beginning to lend shape, it would be impossible to imagine what stimulus there would be to induce him to undertake and complete extensive and strenuous works in the sphere of art, science and practical life endeavor. And Lenin came back to these ideas time and again, noting, among other things, that without dreaming and 'running ahead' it would have been impossible to start a socialist revolution in a country like Russia. He specifically emphasized the necessity of a socialist ideal for the revolutionary education of the students (see Vol. 5, p. 509; Vol. 32, p. 217; Vol. 7, p. 43).

Certainly, educating the youth in keeping with the socialist ideal is not simple. To do so takes time and effort. And it has the natural effect of heightening their expectations, their soundly critical (communist) attitude towards reality, their wish to understand the level attained and improve what has been wrought by preceding generations. This is not merely a 'concomitant' of education, and is essen-

**E.g., see R. Kosolapov, *Ni tyeni utopii* (No Sign of Utopia), Moscow, 1971; V. Wrona. *Die Offensive des Marxismus-Leninismus und die Krise der Ideologie des Imperialismus.* In: 'Einheit,' 1973, N 4.

tial for a politically conscious and creative thinking builder of the new society.

True, not all criticism of reality is a positive factor (from the standpoint of the socialist ideal). What we want is a constructive attitude towards the various aspects of the dialectical contradiction between the ideal and the reality (a contradiction bred not by 'supernatural' forces, but in the process of implementing the socialist ideal). In other words, it must be an attitude that stimulates social activity to eliminate inconsistencies or flaws in the building of the new society. We emphasize this obvious truth, because the first reaction of a *developing personality* to the inconsistencies between the ideal and reality is frequently no more than criticism of a purely contemplative nature, the posture of, so to say, an outside observer.

Sometimes this sort of thing may be traced to flaws in the educational process – to a largely rose-tinted portrayal of the complex present and future problems the youth is bound to encounter on leaving school or university. More often it may be traced to the objective difficulties arising during the transition from the *theoretical and emotional* stage of apprehending social ideals to defining one's own goals in the struggle for their *materialization.*

Precisely for this reason, the Party strives in its ideological work with all generations of the laboring classes under socialism skillfully and scientifically to show the specific way of implementing in practice the principles, norms and laws of the emerging communist formation set out as general theoretical postulates and social forecasts in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and the program documents of the CPSU. The Party and YCL see to it that the process of comparing and correlating the theoretical principles of socialism (acquired through education and political learning) with the practice of building socialism should stimulate positive effort in realizing the communist ideals.

Lenin warned at the Third YCL Congress that shaping the youth's communist class consciousness has nothing in common with memorizing what is said in the books about communism or remembering and repeating communist slogans. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the YCL working under its guidance, help the youth to conceive socialism as a system of the most advanced and truly humane social relations, and this not only by means of propaganda and instruction, but also in the process of the youth's direct participation in social labor.

Building socialism and communism, the Party relies on the strength, talent and energy of all generations. This fortifies the politico-ideological unity of the Soviet society and assures, as pointed out at the 24th CPSU Congress, the continuity of the Party's political course and revolutionary traditions.

political panorama

Achievements and difficulties of non-alignment

S. G. Sardesai
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Non-alignment as a guiding concept of foreign policy originated in the early 50s. Nehru was probably the first to coin the word, the meaning and content of which he continued to elaborate in the course of time. The main contribution to what is sometimes spoken of as the non-aligned movement has been made by progressive, anti-imperialist statesmen of the newly independent, developing countries.

A look at history

As a characterization of policy, the term non-alignment is colorless and ambiguous and open to different, including most opportunistic, interpretations. But in the given historical situation after the Second World War it could not but develop an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, liberationist content. That explains why the imperialists denounced non-alignment from the beginning as 'immoral.'

The fascist powers were defeated mainly because of the strength of the Soviet Union and the immense sacrifices made by its people. As a result, socialism became victorious in a number of countries. The entire imperialist system received a severe blow. The nations under colonial and semi-colonial subjection surged forward to achieve national freedom. They demanded genuine independence, both political and economic.

This clearly involved the working out of an independent foreign policy free from the dictates of the former rulers. With what purpose? First of all to get out of the octopus grip of the imperialist powers. Without breaking, or at least loosening, these shackles, no independent foreign policy, rather politely described as 'non-alignment,' was possible. This became all the more necessary because of the vicious efforts of the western powers to drag the Third World into the cold war. At Algiers, Indira Gandhi stated that 'non-alignment was born as an assertion of our will to be sovereign and not to be mere objects of imperial history.'

Further, the newly-independent countries did not take long to

realize that in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries they had powerful and disinterested helpmates for loosening the imperialist grip and strengthening their economic and political independence. Those were the main premises for the birth of the concept and practice of non-alignment.

Like a snowball the idea has gathered volume during the last two decades. The number of states supporting it has increased. As the policy took shape and secured wider recognition the first conference of non-aligned countries was held at Belgrade in 1961, attended by representatives of twenty-five countries. The number increased in every subsequent conference, and the fourth one, very recently held in Algiers, was joined by 76 states and representatives of 12 national liberation organizations. Together they accounted for the majority of the population and countries of the world. A concept that serves the interests of such a vast portion of humanity must obviously have a healthy, positive content. Non-alignment has no doubt stood the test of time as a factor contributing to colonial liberation and world peace.

Aid of socialist countries

What has helped to straighten the back of the developing countries is the invaluable all-round assistance received by them during the last two decades from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

First was the question of economic independence, without which political independence could only be an empty shell. This meant the building of basic and heavy industries, predominantly in the public sector. Steel, metallurgy, heavy engineering, oil, power, chemicals, only these could be the sinews of independence, and precisely in this field the socialist countries helped the young, new world. More than 700 of such projects have already been completed or are in the process of construction with the assistance of the Soviet Union alone. Forty-five countries of the Third World have agreements of cooperation with the Soviet Union. The necessary technical and managerial cadre was also trained by the socialist countries.

And all this was done not only on very favorable economic terms but in a manner that promoted internal auxiliary industries in the developing countries. The colonial character of foreign trade had to be changed. Foreign exchange problems had to be solved. Here again, the socialist countries agreed to receive payments in local currencies for the goods delivered by them as well as to purchase the new products manufactured by the developing countries.

The relations between India and the USSR are a good example of fruitful economic ties. The visit to India by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, has resulted in the increase of Soviet economic aid to India and mutual economic cooperation on a scale unprecedented in our history.

The joint India-Soviet declaration issued after Comrade Brezh-

nev's visit states: 'The Prime Minister of India highly appraised the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, consistently aimed at consolidating international peace, strengthening peaceful cooperation among states, and rendering support to the peoples struggling against colonialism and for strengthening the political and economic independence of their countries' (*Patriot*, New Delhi, December 1, 1973).

It is extremely significant that the resolutions adopted by the Algiers Conference dealing with their economic demands denounce the imperialist countries for their economic policies towards the new, young states. The demands made are directed *against* these policies. With respect to the socialist countries, however, the Algiers resolutions ask for 'more favorable terms.' The distinction is unambiguous.

As was underlined by the 'Action Program of Economic Cooperation' adopted by the Algiers Conference: 'The non-aligned countries shall step up their activity in the realm of information concerning the possibilities of developing trade and cooperation with the socialist countries by creating mixed committees, exchanging delegations, organizing fairs and exhibitions and promoting cooperation between chambers of commerce and industry and other competent institutions.'

Proceeding further, it is necessary to draw attention to a vital point, viz., that it is the socialist countries that have helped the newly independent countries to build their own defense factories. Home production of arms is one of the most important requisites of genuine independence.

Above all, there is not a single newly independent country which, when threatened by or subjected to armed aggression by an imperialist state or its stooges, has not received much-needed military and diplomatic support from the Soviet Union.

It is necessary to see, and not only to see but to recount, all these factors that have contributed to the emergence and development of non-alignment as a positive, progressive force in modern world politics. For without such a clear and explicit statement of the full truth, the internal problems of the non-alignment 'movement' cannot be effectively dealt with.

Against imperialist diktat

All in all, the gap between the national and per capita incomes of the imperialist and the developing countries has widened.

Mass starvation and famine deaths, crippled children, stagnation of industry and agriculture, such have been the fruits of imperialist economic 'aid' to the underdeveloped world, the result of the 'Development Decade' pompously announced by the 'aid givers' a dozen years ago.

The foreign debt of the developing countries, even the servicing of which can no longer be done without further borrowing, has quadrupled in the last decade and now exceeds 80 billion dollars.

Meanwhile, their share of world trade has dropped from 21.3 to 17.6 per cent. If the foreign trade of capitalist countries is considered separately, the decline is greater, because, during the same period, the trade between the developing and the socialist countries has made great strides.

Debt charges and remittances for the payment of profits made by foreign monopoly concerns in the developing countries now exceed seven billion dollars a year. This leaves out the vast profits made through unequal trade, the terms of which have hardened. On top of this, the dollar crisis has played havoc with the foreign trade of the Third World countries.

The leaders of non-aligned countries level scathing critcism at the means and methods of neo-colonialist plunder: unequal terms of trade, the exploitation of the raw material resources, the operation of multinational corporations, usurious loans under the garb of 'aid,' the manipulations of the dollar domintaed international monetary system and other pernicious economic tentacles of world imperialism, above all, U.S. imperialism.

The economic and political demands of the Third World countries are calculated to achieve the goals of genuine socio-economic progress. They are all directed against the imperialist powers. For instance, the Economic Declaration adopted by the Algiers Conference clearly states: 'Imperialism is still the greatest stumbling block to the emancipation and advancement of developing countries. . . . The developing countries as a whole are still directly or indirectly subjected to imperialist exploitation . . . Imperialism is not only opposed to the economic and social progress of developing countries, but has also adopted an aggressive attitude towards those who stand in the way of its designs and seeks to impose political, social and economic structures which facilitate foreign dominaton, dependence or neo-colonialism.'

For the first time the non-aligned states adopted an action program of economic cooperation at the Algiers conference. It is a clear expression of the realization that they have no chance of standing up to imperialist pressures and blackmail unless they form a united front against such pressure and for mutual assistance. This hardening of the position of the non-aligned countries vis-a-vis the neo-colonialist offensive of imperialism is natural.

When, in addition to all this misery and suffering the newly independent countries are constantly threatened by CIA sponsored counter-revolutionary conspiracies for subverting their hard-won independence, or by open aggression and they have to witness the death and destruction visited on Indo-China, the Arab countries, the Portuguese colonies in Africa, or the reign of terror in Chile, there is no need to wonder that non-alignment, inevitably, is developing a sharper anti-imperialist edge. This development is due to the deepening crisis of world imperialism and the accentuation of ts neo-colonialist offensive, and the non-aligned governments and the public at large have never been more conscious of the need for coopera-

tion of non-aligned countries with all countries which oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Very correctly, the poisonous cultural and ideological offensive of imperialism has also been condemned by the peoples of the newly independent countries. The developing world not only strives for political and economic independence. It rejects Watergate culture, because it yearns for a life of dignity, human equality and self-respect.

Attempts at disruption from without and within

Many overt and covert attempts are made by different quarters to divert the non-aligned movement from its anti-imperialist stand. No treatment of an international political problem is possible without reference to the role of China or, more correctly, the policies of its perverted, chauvinist, Maoist leadership. Claiming to be the most uncompromising champions of the Third World, and, in fact, having now declared that China itself is a 'developing' country, the Chinese leaders have taken to propagandizing the theory of the 'two super-powers' with a vengeance that would make the worst opportunist blush. For they have reduced it to a crudity where it is no longer even a theory of two super-powers but of only one, viz. the 'social imperialist' Soviet Union. When Chou-En-lai characterizes the Warsaw Pact as aggressive and the NATO Pact as defensive, he actually calls for an alliance with the U.S., not only against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but against all Third World countries.

It is said that one can deceive all people some of the time, some people all of the time, but not all people all of the time. That is what has happened to Chinese policies. China has hardly any supporters left in the developing countries' camp excepting, of course, those who want to join hands with it in the anti-Soviet game. That some of them shouted ultra-Left 'revolutionary' slogans at Algiers did little to hide their true role.

Apart from the external forces that seek to neutralize and destroy the positive content of non-alignment, the latter has to contend with pressures that, in a manner of speaking, come from within. Definite forces are resisting the plans and efforts to fortify the anti-imperialist trend of non-alignment. What is at the bottom of this?

The battle for the internal socio-economic transformation of the non-aligned countries can no longer be separated from a consistent implementation of the anti-imperialist character of non-aligment. In fact, it is the main lever for non-alignment to continue to play its historical role. Both have to advance together. But it is precisely the conclusion that the national freedom movement has now reached the stage of a social emancipatory struggle on a world scale, that disturbs the bourgeoisie in the developing countries.

For it is aware of the long-rang social implications of full-fledged cooperation with the socialist countries. It involves the exchange of ideas and the realization by the masses of the non-aligned coun-

tries of the superiority of the socialist system for the solution of their own socio-economic problems. Exploitative class interest is thicker than patriotic loyalty. The vested interests in the non-aligned countries want 'free enterprise' and no state control and guidance of the economy. The most powerful among them seek collaboration with foreign private capital in their own narrow interest.

It is they and their political spokesmen and pen-pushers who spawn all sorts of dubious and balancing theories about non-alignment. The 'fundamental concept put forward in this regard is that of the 'historic role of the poor, Third World countries,' who alone are supposed to be fighting for justice, equality and peace, befriending both the socialist and the imperialist countries. It is the pressure and influence of these elements over the governments of a large number of non-aligned countries that leads the latter to take compromising and ambivalent positions. Simultaneously, a philosophy of 'balanced non-alignment' is being advocated by various types of newly-rich classes, which have emerged and grown in the great majority of such countries.*

For these newly-rich strata non-alignment is a cynical and opportunist instrument for getting the best of both the worlds by an acrobatic balancing between the Soviet Union and the USA. They are fully aware of the mighty strength and industrial and scientific advance made by the Soviet Union and socialist countries, and do not hesitate to take such technological and even military assistance from the Soviet Union which they know will not be offered to their countries by the U.S. or other imperialist powers. They are prepared to use such aid as a bargaining counter to bring pressure on the Western powers to secure concessions from them. They are not averse to taking a formally correct attitude towards the Soviet Union and avoid taking blatantly pro-imperialist and anti-Soviet positions.

This venal lot is very powerful, it operates overtly or covertly according to the exigencies of the situation and is ever ready to sell the country for a mess of imperialist pottage. With the deepening crisis of the world capitalist system and the growing aspirations and militancy of the peoples of the Third World, the propensity of these elements towards economic and political compromises with imperialism has grown.

The most recent theme now being peddled by these elements is that since the process of détente has set in between the USA and the USSR and 'bi-polarism has ended,' non-alignment has lost its *raison d'être* and India and such countries should now enter into an agreement with any country 'in the national interest.' There is really no end to such types of specious and unprincipled theories.

What is the purpose of all this talk about the 'end of bi-polariza-

*The newly-rich include monopolists in industry, trade and banking; rural vested interests born of the 'green revolution'; all sorts of contractors and go-betweens who have pocketed millions from the state expenditure on economic and social development; a vastly expanded bureaucracy which has also enriched itself in the same process; urban land and housing speculators; and the omnipresent barons of black money who leave no social institution uncorrupted (*Author's Note*).

tion' opening the door for India and other non-aligned countries to 'make up' with the U.S. and other imperialist powers? It is a veiled cover for big business and vested interests in the Third World striking anti-national collaborative deals with imperialism.

Indicatively, some of the leaders of non-aligned countries are compelled to admit the existence of internal forces which impede the consistent adoption and execution of anti-imperialist policies. For instance, there is one very significant passage n the speech by Indira Gandhi at the Algiers Conference.*

Her statement brings out two points.

First, that which stands in the way of the execution of a progressive, anti-imperialist foreign policy is the colluson between the forces of imperialism and the reactionary, vested interests in the developing countries. And secondly, that if non-alignment is to pursue a consistently anti-imperialist, colonial-liberationist and peace-loving policy, it cannot be separated from the process of soco-economic transformations in these countries. A progressive foreign policy and a status quoist or reactionary internal policy cannot go together, at any rate, for long.

The urgency and importance of dealing firmly with the problems raised by this reality cannot be over-emphasized. In fact, the future of the non-aligned countries depends precisely upon the success or failure in grappling with them.

For a positive content

The internal forces trying to undermine non-alignment have been told in Algiers that their maneuvers are known. This is additional evidence of the important role of the Algiers Conference for the growth of non-alignment. A few words on this score.**

The Political Declaration of the Conference expresses the 'unanimous belief' of the participants that 'the policy of non-alignment, *together with other peaceful, democratic and progressive forces* (italics mine, SGS) was an important and irreplaceable factor in the struggle for freedom and independence of people and countries, for general peace and equal security of all states . . . for economic development and social progress.' It further stresses that 'deep changes have occurred in the general balance of power in the world, thanks to the ever greater strengthening of the forces of peace, independence and progress.'

With all the positive achievements of Algiers one cannot fail to notice that the working of the Conference was affected by the diffi-

*Indira Gandhi said, 'When we became free, it it was with high hopes of bringing about immediate changes in our society. We thought that the process of transformation, once initiated and pursued with fervor, would gather momentum. But political and economic interests, domestic as well as international, have proved to be formidable obstacles. As the economic struggle becomes more acute the long suppressed voices of the people sharpen; but with every step forward, the resistance of entrenched groups, often aligned with foreign interests, especially the faceless multinational corporations, becomes more vehement, unscrupulous and, at the same time, more subtle and even insidious, for it is no longer overt but indirectly subversive and provocative. In India we see these constraints in operation every day.'

*For an analysis of the Algiers Conference see Jan Prazsky in *WMR*, November 1973.

cult problems facing the non-aligned movement. In stating this, we do not have in view certain thoroughly discreditable anti-Soviet speeches made there. These shrill and demagogic voices could be easily discerned as imperialist Trojan horses in the non-aligned camp. They were in an insignificant minority. But even serious and prominent representatives of many states expressed dissatifaction over the lack of vigor in the non-aligned 'movement,' over its failure to implement the declarations of earlier conferences. There were voices of pessimism, of half-heartedness, of doubts regarding the future of non-alignment. And the principled and frank speeches of Fidel Castro, Nguyen Hu Tho and a few others were notable exceptions. Many also spoke about the 'super-powers' and the rest, about the rich and developing countries, and so on. The inconsistency and untenability of this approach becomes so much the more glaring considering the fact that every single specific instance referred to, whether in the speeches or documents of the Conference, is of imperialist economic or military agression against one or another country of the Third World. No one cited any such instance against the Soviet Union.

Vague and subtle fears were expressed that somehow détente and the reduction of tension between the Soviet Union and the USA may prove harmful to the countries of the Third World.

That the reduction of tensions between the Soviet Union and the USA, and the process of détente in Europe, far from being harmful to the non-aligned countries, enable the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to give still more powerful support to the strengthening of the political and economic independence of all countries of the Third World, is already becoming a proved experience of history.

It was because of improved relations between the Soviet Union and the USA that the U.S. leaders were forced to join hands with the Soviet Union in bringing about an end to the recent armed conflict between Israel and the Arab countries on the basis of an agreement providing for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from Arab territories and for the achievement of the just rights of Palestinian Arabs.

The vague attitude towards détente is clearly an illustration of the inconsistency and ambivalence which is dangerous to the historical role of the non-aligned countries, and carries with it the seeds of discord and disorientation. Their roots have to be clearly brought out and eliminated so that the 'movement' gets full clarity of aims and purpose and also develops organized striking power.

The *unity* of all the Left, democratic, progressive and genuinely patriotic forces within each country for an unrelenting struggle against neo-ocolonialism and the pro-imperialist forces within the country, for breaking away from the world capitalist system and orientating towards a non-capitalist path of development is the key to the defense of non-alignment.

Naturally and inevitably it is the Soviet Union and other socialist

countries which are the friends and supporters of this entire process.

Here the question is often raised that if the non-aligned countries were to become allies of the socialist countries then how would they be non-aligned? The quetion is not often very innocently put, but it creates a good deal of confusion among common people as well.

The reply is not difficult. The specific characterization of a non-aligned country made till now and accepted by the non-aligned conferences is that such a country must not be a member of any military alliance of the western powers or the Soviet Union. Of these, the Soviet Union has never asked for a military alliance with any non-aligned country. At the same time, every leader of a non-aligned country vigorously protests if it is suggested that non-alignment is a policy of passivity, inaction, isolation and withdrawal from world politics. He insists that it is a positive, active policy.

But this positive aspect lies precisely in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism for national liberation, peace, peaceful coexistence, social and economic justice and resistance to aggression. The non-aligned countries are surely allied to the cause of national independence, equality and mutual cooperation between nations for common progress.

There are no greater champions of these ideals than the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Allying with them in a common cause against a common enemy is, therefore, not an abjuration but the implementation of the true historical spirit of non-alignment. Not to recognize the necessity of such an alliance or to equivocate on the question is, to say the least, tantamount to compromising and watering down the positive content of non-alignment.

As pointed out earlier, a considerable amount of economic development has taken place in almost all the countries of the Third World during the last quarter of a century. This has provided a stronger base for their political independence. Non-alignment, as a policy, has reached a crucial stage. It is no longer enough to dissociate oneself from the neo-colonialist drive of imperialism and broadly support colonial liberation and peace. It is necessary to frankly recognize the unity of the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism against imperialism. And it is necessary to fight the reactionary forces within the non-aligned countries that drag them away from freedom and social progress towards a compromise with neo-colonialism. It is a new stage of the world revolutionary process.

Prelude to future victories

Many readers have asked for more detailed information about Chile. The events there raise many problems of revolutionary strategy and tactics that require deep analysis, especially in view of attempts to discredit Popular Unity policy and dismiss Chile's experience as irrelevant.

Readers' questions are answered by **Volodia Teitelboim, Political Commission Member, CC, CP Chile.**

Chile is still very much in the news, mostly in connection with the unparalleled atrocities of the military junta, the heroic resistance of the people and the massive international protest and solidarity campaign. However, the Chilean events raise many problems that go far beyond our country and have evoked unabating interest throughout the world.

I need hardly say that the Communist Party of Chile is making a critical and self-critical analysis. And not only to understand the experiences of the past, but also to draw lessons for our present struggle so that, sooner or later, our country can be freed of the fascist yoke. Analysis of Chile's problems is not the monopoly of the Chileans. It is the right of all revolutionary parties, of everyone who is not indifferent to the fate of other nations, and everyone is free to pass judgement. We do not intend to hide behind a wall of so-called ideological nationalism, maintaining that we alone are entitled to speak of our mistakes. Of course, since we are responsible for them, we are especially anxious to get down to their root causes; that is the first prerequisite for avoiding more mistakes.

False pride and belief in one's infallability are alien to true Communists. Friendly, benevolent criticism by fraternal parties only helps us.

After September 11 many have been asking: Can a people come to power without recourse to arms? Everyone is entitled to his own answer. Our Party's is: that path is not closed despite the overthrow of the popular government.

Marxism-Leninism envisages both the armed and non-armed path to power. The latter has a very definite meaning for us: all the components of socialist revolution as a process of aggravated class struggle, but without civil war. The Chilean events confirm rather than refute Marxist-Leninist theory.

The Chilean experience has clearly demonstrated the possibility of forming a people's government following on an election victory of a Left bloc led by the workers' parties and subscribing to Marxist-Leninist ideology. Life has debunked the bourgeois contention that revolution and democracy are 'incompatible' and has vindicated the idea that the struggle for democracy is an inalienable part of the struggle for socialism.

What our people has gone through suggests this conclusion: the choice of path is determined by the imperative need daily to infuse new strength into the struggle for the people's cause.

In the conditions of today as in the past, the Chilean Communists choose the forms of struggle most likely to unite all the democratic forces. At each given moment we must gauge the level of the consciousness of the masses, and the real alignment of forces in order that every step we take shall be in the interests of the people.

A statement by our Party urges avoiding dogmatic imposition on the popular movement of forms of struggle against the putschists. Some comrades of the Left are already suggesting that civil war is inevitable. It is too early to discuss that.

On the other hand, the Communists warn against the danger of individual terror or coup attempts. The junta would like nothing better – it would use them to justify the terror upon which it rests. In the past extremism and provocation were of no mean help to the enemies of the people. Today, too, rash adventurism would play into the hands of the fascist Leigh and Arellano Stark,* enabling them to impose their own 'rules of the game.'

We Chilean Communists say that under all circumstance a revolutionary must reckon with the realities of the mass struggle and be prepared for changes in the situation, and not invent artificial schemas. Most important, he must continue his day-to-day painstaking work among the thousands of working people. That is the key to success in the fight against the dictatorship.

The situation in Chile is, temporarily, not in our favor. But that should not lead us to underestimate the vast historic role of the Popular Unity government. Its thousand days were the brightest in the history of the Chilean people: for the first time they were able to shape their future and carry out important social and economic changes. Revolutionary politicians, sociologists and historians will for a very long time to come carefully study our experience so as to understand the grandure and weaknesses of this attempt to perform a revolution without recourse to arms.

What are the reasons, we are asked, for the temporary defeat of Chile's revolutionary forces? In our view there was a complex of objective and subjective factors. We have repeatedly stressed that when Popular Unity won a part of the political power in 1970, it inherited a multitude of problems. They could not be solved in three years, especially in view of opposition by the reactionary forces, who still wielded considerable power in the economic and political fields, in the legislature, judiciary and armed forces, and controlled the press.

The Popular Unity government's stay in power was a veritable kaleidoscope of subversion by the imperialist monopolies and local

*Gustavo Leigh Guzman, Airforce Commander, one of the initiators of the coup and member of the fascist junta. Sergio Arellano Stark, Commander of the Santiago Garrison, closely associated with the junta; after the punitive operations in the North he was dubbed 'death General' – *Ed.*

oligarchic groups bent on bringing back fascism and crushing the revolution, which the people wanted to carry out by relying on their democratic freedoms. The terror methods used by the putschists bear foreign trademarks. The tragedy of the Chilean people rests on the conscience of those who hampered the popular government, did everything to torpedo its program of revolutionary change, inflated the difficulties, spread chaos and supported the putschists.

The bourgeoisie, which has always claimed to be the custodian of democracy, had no compunction in killing it when the people made democracy a weapon in their advance to power. The Chilean events confirm anew the law of history: irrespective of how the revolutionary process develops, the forces of foreign and internal reaction will use every means to deprive the people of power. They will not hesitate to destroy the freedom and democracy they profess to uphold; the will stoop to any crime to achieve their selfish aims.

In analyzing the three years of popular rule, we constantly emphasize that the progressive forces must extend their influence, strengthen, with the help of the majority of the population, control over the machine of government, expel the fascists and reactionary element, above all from the armed forces. And all this must be done in good time and in a planned way, extending the organized struggle of the masses on the basis of correct and uniform policy. That is the key to resolving the main problem of the transition period, the problem of the state and power.

After the coup it become clear: Chile needs a better and more democratic state than the one destroyed by the junta. It needs a state capable of defending itself against fascist plots. Such a state will be born in the battle against the dictatorship and the people will shape it to accord with the views and interests of the majority.

In discussing the reasons for the temporary defeat, we must take into account also this negative factor: the existence of two opposite trends within the Popular Unity bloc and government, the absence of a united and consistent strategy and tactics and of a clearcut plan for the winning of full power.

The Communist Party consistently maintained that the popular movement must win over the overwhelming majority of the population so as to resolve the issue of power once and for all in favor of the people.* Guided by Leninist theory, we acted in accordance with the objective laws of social development, faithfully adhering to the Popular Unity program, which envisaged uniting the people around the working class, the mainstay of the revolution.

Representatives of the other trend, unfortunately, took a sectarian attitude and constantly hampered our work by undermining the Popular Unity bloc from within and without. Its activity was paralyzed; there were endless futile discussions. As a result, the initiative in the battle for the masses was lost to the counter-revolutionaries, and they mounted an offensive. The working class was isolated from its allies.

*The majority of the population includes, of course, the main part of the middle strata.

Reformist ideas grew and spread like poisonous weeds. There was gross underestimation of some specific Chilean features. There was the persistent belief in the immutability of existing political institutions. There was excessive reliance on the professionalism of the armed forces and their loyalty to the Constitution. It was widely believed that, at the worst, part of the army would remain loyal to the legitimate government.

Of course all these ideas and views have their historical roots, and do not properly assess the class character of Chile's institutions, they disregard the possibility that, under imperialist and reactionary pressure, these institutions would be in a state of crisis and erosion when the middle strata shift to the opposition. That was the danger, for imperialism and reaction respect these institutions only in words and are prepared to wipe them out if they do not serve to safeguard their privileges.

The end result was an unfavorable alignment of forces, exploited by the enemy to overthrow the popular government.

What kind of regime has taken over, many ask. We have already described its anti-national reactionary character.* The men in power represent the big oligarchic clans closely associated with the imperialist monopolies. Chile has again become dependent on Yankee imperialism. It is isolated from the socialist camp and the Third World and this greatly weakens its international positions and sovereignty.

The big monopolies are pressuring the junta to return nationalized industries or pay generous compensation. The junta is complying, to the detriment of Chile's interests. It pleads that this anti-patriotic policy is necessary to obtain foreign aid. But will it not be imperialist 'aid?' The country is again faced with all the problems posed by foreign investments, and their inevitable consequences, the economic backwardness and poverty that existed under bourgeois governments.

The gains and rights of the laboring masses have been wiped out. Mass dismissals have flung hundreds of thousands into the abyss of poverty. Unemployment is the lot of more than 20 per cent of the economically active population. Prices are rising steeply. Millions of Chileans are watching their living standard go down, with benefit for the rich. While requiring the people to submit without murmur to its hunger policy, the junta is in no way inclined to make sacrifices of its own: the salaries which the generals and admirals have set for themselves are extremely high.

The farmers are suffering the consequences of the reactionary agrarian policy. The former owners of estates, encouraged by the dictatorship, are returning. The large middle strata, including the entire petty bourgeoisie, are exposed to monopoly pressures. Chileans see ever more evidence of the fact that the dictators are guided from outside, and are becoming convinced that opposition

*See articles by V. Teitelboim and F. Suarez in *WMR* for November and December 1973. – *Ed.*

to the junta is tantamount to struggle for national interests.

But the regime is not simply anti-national and anti-popular. The junta has eliminated all democratic institutions, and repealed all the laws adopted in the country over the past 150 years. It maintains its absolute and merciless rule with force of arms. The path of this, the worst of all the Rightist governments that had ever held power in the country, is literally drenched with the blood of thousands of Chileans. It is a reactionary regime that suppresses every evidence of democracy. It banned popular parties, and suspended the parties of the bourgeoisie.* Freedom and democracy are dead. Chileans are even denied the right to life.

Impelled by its hatred of the working man, the regime is killing, torturing and jailing the finest sons and daughters of the working class and the people. This is present-day Hitlerism, bred by North-American imperialists in the conditions of an underdeveloped country. It is undisguised neo-fascism of the worst kind.

Fascism is a synonym for obscurantism. It is workaday practice for the junta to persecute reason. Scholars are driven out of universities and research centers, dismissed from their jobs. Entire fields of knowledge are denied development. The youth is robbed of the right to education. Thousands of students have been expelled from higher schools. Their 'crime' is that they think. Hundreds of specialists have been flung into the streets, stripped of the right to work, or forced to emigrate. The future of our country is in peril. For the sake of Chile's continued existence as a civilized land we must stop the rape of our culture.

Is there any chance to build up a broad anti-fascist front? Yes, objectively there is. It is up to us to alter the correlation of forces. And now it is quickly changing. Despite brutal repressions and the tens of thousands of killed, the junta has not succeeded in squashing the popular movement. Politically, it is on the defensive. The fascism that erupted in the 70s operates in a different climate than the fascism of the 30s.

In the new difficult conditions of clandestinity, the Communist Party is unfolding its activity at all levels, from top to bottom. It calls on the country, the people, to mount joint actions, form a united anti-fascist front in order to isolate the junta, stay the hand of the executioners, and win the release of all political prisoners, of our General Secretary, Comrade Luis Corvalan. His life, like the lives of 50 Popular Unity leaders held on Dawson Island in the Straits of Magellan near the Antarctic, is in danger. Luis Corvalan and his comrades must be released before the harsh climate destroys their health and helps the junta in their aim of killing them. They could not kill Corvalan immediately after arrest. International solidarity saved him. So they doomed Corvalan to a slow death. Now, we must get him out!

In its statements, the Party demands an end to the criminal 'state

*At the end of January 1974 the junta was reported to have 'legalized' the Rightist parties, circumscribing their activity with a number of restrictive provisions.

of internal war,' which is an excuse for shooting people 'during attempts to escape,' and for killing without trial.

In other words, the Communists have mounted a battle for the Chileans' rights to life and freedom, bread and work, a battle for culture imperilled by fascism, with its hatred of reason. These demands are shared by the majority of the nation.

The present situaeion confirms the vitality of Popular Unity as an expression of the people's aspirations to united action. But now there is the imperative of passing on to action and unity with those who had not been on the side of the popular government. The watershed between the people and its enemies should not be drawn on past evidence, but with an eye on the future, not between the government and the opposition as before the putsch, but between the fascists, the putschists, the usurpers, on the one hand, and those who are suffering the consequences of reactionary policy, who aspire to democratic revival, to progressive changes in society, and to national independence, on the other. The Communists have drawn this line between the fascist minority and the anti-fascist majority in all the institutions of the country, including the armed forces, the Church, and the political parties that had formerly been in opposition to the Popular Unity government. In particular, united action implies work among the Demochristians who have censured the putsch, and among the politically uncommitted who have now seen with horror what fascism is like.

Every decent Chilean must do everything he can to unite the millions and end the nightmare. And it depends on the determination and behavior of the patriots that this should occur as quickly as possible, so that a national democratic government expressing the interests of the majority and representing many different trends, and able to perform the revolutionary reconstruction which the country requires, should replace the tyranny. There are good opportunities to unite the vast majority of the nation against the dictatorship, because fighting against fascism is the same as defending the real interests and aspirations of the nation. This unity must take shape on the basis of equality.

The patriotic section of the armed forces will take their place on the people's side in the anti-fascist front. The putschists have made the armed forces and the carabineros serve their anti-national policy. But we continue to hold that the struggle in our society is not a collision between the civilians and the army. There are people in the services who are aware of their duty to their country. Men of democratic make-up have been made tools in the reign of terror.

The generals and officers who, yielding to pressure of home and foreign reaction, forced their subordinates to participate in the conspiracy against the country and people, assumed a role that will be condemned by history. They have injured the prestige of Chile's armed forces in the eyes of the people and the whole world, and will destroy it completely if they do not change their policy.

Flouting Chile's finest traditions, the putschists reduced the armed forces to a horde of killers and hangmen, and committed the biggest crime of all – high treason. Many soldiers and officers have been imprisoned, even shot, for their democratic sentiments. But democratic tradition, though flouted by the junta, is alive, and must be upheld by the people fighting to destroy the dictatorship.

For the sake of the country's future we must prevent the final conversion of its armed forces into menials of imperialism and the oligarchy. And if we manage to close the gaping abyss that the putschists have created between the army and people, national security will be assured. This is a challenge not only for the popular movement, but also for the democratic element among the servicemen.

What place does the fascist coup in Chile hold in imperialism's global policy? How does international solidarity help the people of Chile?

Let the whole world see: the events in Chile were the handiwork of imperialism and its creation – fascism; they were the result of imperialist strategy aimed at securing the positions of monopoly in their Latin American 'backyard.' It was the same strategy as that used with slight variations in Brazil and Paraguay, Bolivia and Uruguay. Greater pressure is being applied now on Argentina, Peru, Panama, and other Latin American countries. After their defeat in Vietnam, the Yankee imperialists are stepping up their offensive on our continent. But they have paid a high political price for their crimes. No longer can they parade before the world as standard-bearers of freedom and democracy.

The anti-imperialist consciousness of the Latin American peoples is sufficiently well developed, and we reject the pessimistic claim that imperialism should be conceded our part of the world for another decade or two. The ground of our 'volcanic continent' will continue to burn under the imperialists' feet. A titanic battle, unexampled in scope, is unfolding in Latin America. And the Latin Americans will win it. The successful building of socialism in Cuba is the earnest of victory. The Cubans have pried a precious stone out of the Yankee imperialists' colonial crown. And their example will be followed by all the other peoples of our continent.

The Communist Party of Chile appreciates the international solidarity, which facilitates the junta's isolation on the world scene. This solidarity has led the junta to despair, is becoming a catalyst of its intrinsic disintegration. And Chile's Communists are sincerely grateful to the fraternal parties, which are the prime movers of solidarity in different countries.

We shall never forget the initiative of the Soviet Union, which broke off relations with Chile when power there was seized by the gang of killers. We shall never forget that Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South

Vietnam followed suit. We are deeply grateful to them for this concrete act of solidarity. It is the symbol and expression of all-round and constant support for peoples fighting for their liberation.

At the same time, all too eloquent objective facts compel us to note with pain that the government of the Chinese People's Republic, far from helping the people of Chile in their dark hour, went to the length of supporting the fascist junta, which has been stigmatized by the entire world. Peking lost no time in expelling the representative of the lawful Popular Unity government and officially recognizing the representative of Salvador Allende's assassins, those who imprisoned Luis Corvalan.

The expressions of solidarity are like an avalanche. They are like a stormy sea driving the ship of the junta on the rocks. The movement in support of the Chilean people has helped arouse the consciousness of large sections of the public in Western Europe, on all the five continents. People of varying creeds are united by the outrage they feel against imperialist and neo-fascist crimes. The movement encompasses forces that had never before acted in unison: Marxist-Leninists and Social-Democrats, Christians, and countless people of different views and faiths.

This support of all progressives inspires in us confidence that the Chileans will regain their Chile and that the revolution in our country will continue. Our road is illumined by Lenin's immortal ideas, and we are applying them to our reality as we march forward. Like the defeat of the Russian revolution of 1905, the defeat in Chile is but a prelude to impending victories that the people will win along the arduous road of struggle.

Use the opportunities of the new situation in the Middle East

Kerim Mroué
PB Member and CC Secretary,
Lebanese CP

The Middle East war that broke out on October 6, 1973, produced important results for the Arab national-liberation movement. It revived Arab confidence in the ability not only to stand up to imperialist-Israeli aggression, but also to deal the enemy powerful blows; it dispelled the myth of the expansionists' absolute military superiority; precipitated a crisis within Israel and led to its practically complete international isolation. The Middle East problem

has been rescued from the 'no war, no peace' stalemate. All in all, it has become clear that the crisis of the Arab liberation movement was not unsolvable.

The just patriotic war the Arab peoples waged in October 1973 powerfully stimulated the national-liberation movement, bringing to its banners all the forces, including those on the Right. In these new conditions, the two main tasks stand out in sharper clarity: first, liberation of Arab territory from Israeli occupation and assurance of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arabs, including their right to self-determination in their homeland; second, development of the liberation movement to consolidate the political, economic and social gains and carry out new progressive transformations.

The military and political results of the war indicate that the Arab liberation movement has entered a new stage. True, many difficulties have still to be coped with. For objective conditions are one thing, utilizing them, which largely depends on the subjective factor, is quite another. Nor should we overlook the fact that, though subjected to hard and unexpected blows, Israel did not sustain an absolute military defeat. Besides, the United States is doing everything to place it in an advantageous position, while at the same time trying to lay the basis for a settlement that would strengthen its own position in the Arab world. Arab reaction, compelled to join in the national struggle, is dead set against any radical solution because it would benefit the anti-imperialist regimes and the liberation movement. The Right, who play a definite role in the leadership of the movement, are likewise inclined towards compromise with the reaction and imperialism.*

Under the impact of the results of the war, the Arab summit conference in Algiers last November adopted important decisions on continuation of the fight to liberate Israeli-occupied territory, recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people, on use of the oil weapon and other levers of economic pressure. The conference could have been a turning point: it could have pressured Israel and the U.S. into following a more realistic policy, thereby expediting the Geneva negotiations.

True, the U.S. and Israel have been obliged to accept, in principle, Security Council Resolution 242. The Palestine problem has been put on the agenda. For all that, however, Israel's policy vis-a-vis the Arab peoples is still based on expansion, and U.S. policy mainly on support of Israel. It is therefore hard to predict the final results of the Geneva talks, even though Tel Aviv has consented to withdraw its troops from the Suez Canal.

And so, there can be no simple, one-dimensional assessment of changes in the Arab world. The October war produced a number of positive results, but there is still a good deal of anxiety among pro-

*See author's article in *WMR*, February 1973.

gressives and the people generally, for there is no guarantee that the present opportunities to resolve the Middle East crisis will be adequately used. This is all the more so considering the negative tendencies that go back to a much earlier stage of the liberation movement and have now resurfaced. What are these tendencies?

For many years now, Arab reaction has been trying to break out of its isolation and discredit the 20-year fight of the Arab peoples and their achievements, and remove from the political scene the forces associated with these achievements. To do that the reactionaries are engineering a split in the ranks of the national liberation movement on the pretext of upholding religious values, the 'true national heritage' against what is described as 'imported ideas.' There are attempts to influence a definite segment of the people by playing on their religious and nationalist feelings. The purpose is to drive a wedge between the national-minded elements and the Left-wing of the liberation movement. The reactionary slogan, 'the national character of the battle,' is supported by the Right wing of the liberation movement, which is thereby playing into the hands of the reaction.

The reactionary forces are out to undermine Arab-Soviet friendship and isolate the main detachments of the national-liberation struggle from the socialist community. All these moves are meant to create the conditions for bringing back the privileges of the overthrown classes, reviving imperialist influence and preventing the advance of the Arab revolutionary movement.

However, there is another, revolutionary-progressive understanding of this slogan. We understand the 'national character of the battle' to mean participation of all the Arab peoples – for liquidation of the consequences of Israeli occupation is a common task. We also believe that the goals of today, viz. liberation of Israeli-captured territory and restoration of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arabs, can attract broad social forces, from the working class to the upper strata of the bourgeoisie. And these forces can and should be united by their common national interest in combatting imperialism and Zionism. This national struggle should not be open to participation by social groups which have long since thrown in their lot with imperialism and the monopolies, or which have made that choice now. This applies both to government and non-government elements. It would be fundamentally wrong, we believe, to seek cooperation or coordinated action with these reactionary forces, all the more so if such cooperation were to become, in definite circumstances, an alternative to alliance with genuinely progressive and patriotic forces and friendly states.

We are not against taking advantage of the fact that reactionary Arab regimes find themselves compelled to uphold national interests, notably on the Palestinian issue. But we should do so only if there is firm, principled unity of the basic patriotic forces. Otherwise, only the Right wing will benefit, for working with it would generate illusions among the masses about its true intentions, and

would enable the Right freely to come out against the genuine aims of the movement.

Anxious to retain their positions within that movement, the Right tried, on the eve of the October events, to resolve a veritable tangle of contradictions: between their desire to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression and their inability to achieve this; between the general slogans they advanced and the position they actually took; between attempts to form closer ties with the masses (even claiming to speak for the masses) and the inclination to yield to pressure from the reactionary bourgeoisie, to which the Right are making one concession after another; between their professed adherence to democracy and their suppression of democracy and undermining of the mass movement; between approval, in words, of ties with the Soviet Union and vilification of its attitude vis-a-vis the Arab peoples; between declarations of irreconcilable opposition to U.S. imperialism and compromise with imperialism.

The Right have found no way out of their stalemate, into which they wanted to drive everyone fighting for a just Middle East settlement. It has to be said that the Right continue their compromise policy even now in the more favorable conditions created by the objective situation and the Arab countries' preparedness to carry on the struggle in the military, economic and political spheres. To follow that policy could land us in the insidious trap set by the U.S. strategists, involve us in unprincipled compromises and, under the influence of false U.S. promises, make unwarranted concessions. In the end, this would jeopardize the opportunity that has now presented itself for finally resolving the Middle East crisis, would weaken our ties with our chief ally, the USSR, and with the world anti-imperialist movement.

It is this policy of the Right that is responsible for the split between some of the main contingents of the liberation movement.

Certain Arab circles are now trying to foster an atmosphere of absolute rejection of the Geneva peace conference, of the course the negotiations are following. They are not helping to heal the split in the liberation movement by rejecting all compromise and all concessions, but are hardening and widening it. Though vehemently opposing negotiations, they suggest no alternative. At the same time they are exerting definite pressure on the Palestine resistance movement to prevent Palestinian participation at Geneva, if and when the conditions for that arise.

This rejection of negotiations reveals a certain maximalist tendency, further strengthened as the danger grows of partial, bilateral agreements between Egypt and Israel, and also Jordan and Israel. Attempts in that direction were made even before the October war, supported and encouraged by reactionary Arab regimes. Now that they are involved in the oil offensive, and resultant on their financial contribution to the war, these regimes are using the pressure mechanism to induce acceptance of U.S. variants of a Middle East settlement. This creates additional difficulties, hampers full utiliza-

tion of the objective factors that have arisen since the October war for a new advance in the progressive development of the Arab liberation movement and a correct solution of its problems.

However, the aforementioned difficulties make up a far from complete picture of the present situation in the Arab liberation movement, which cannot be viewed in isolation from general world processes and developments. And there, as we know, important changes have been taking place in recent years, reflecting the steadily changing balance of forces to the advantage of national liberation, peace and socialism.

The progress made by the Soviet Union in implementing the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress, the agreements signed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and U.S. President Richard Nixon, and the results of other Soviet peace moves – all this is evidence of the opportunities on hand today to achieve international détente and assure new victories for the peoples fighting for liberation and social progress. The facts prove that the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence, far from contradicting the struggle, gives it new strength. This was borne out once again during the latest events in the Middle East, when the Soviet Union again rendered tremendous aid to the Arab peoples.

The class struggle is more intensive and the successes of the revolutionary forces are greater in the conditions of peaceful coexistence. All those who are fighting for socialism, for liberation from colonialism, and against socio-economic backwardness, have a stake in peaceful coexistence. The Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties says: 'The policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means it considers necessary – armed or peaceful. This policy in no way signifies support for reactionary regimes. It is equally indisputable that every people has the inalienable right to take up arms in defense against encroachments by imperialist aggressors and to avail itself of the help of other peoples in its just cause.'

The course of events has confirmed a number of incontestable facts.

First: ever since the October Revolution, the world has been an arena of ever more intensive struggle between socialism and capitalism; the victory of socialism in the world is inevitable.

Second: the capitalist world system is steadily approaching decline. At present, it is going through one of its most harrowing crises. This is evidenced by monetary convulsions, inflation, the energy crisis, growing contradictions between imperialist states, and so on.

Third: the peoples' dream of peace has become attainable. Peaceful coexistence is crucial to prevent a nuclear war. Realizing this, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are working perseveringly for elimination of hotbeds of armed conflict, for détente and appropriate international agreements; they are working for broader commercial, economic and cultural ties between states with different social systems.

It should not be forgotten, however – and this is the *fourth* point – that peaceful coexistence does not come about automatically. It is achieved in conditions of ever more intensive contention between socialism and capitalism. Every step closer to peace is the result of tenacious struggle by the peoples, of the stronger positions of the socialist community.

The *fifth* point is that the continuously changing relation of forces in favor of the world revolutionary movement is a crucial premise for achieving the national and democratic aims in each country. These are achieved, first and foremost, in the course of the national revolutionary struggle, as borne out by actual experience in different parts of the world, including the Arab East.

Those are five obvious truths. To neglect them is to lose the ability to distinguish between friend and foe. Unfortunately, there are elements in the Arab liberation movement who refuse to see the new factors in the present Mid-East situation, closely linked with the changes in the world today.

What are these new factors? In the Arab countries, the hostility of the masses towards imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, is mounting; there is evidence of a wary attitude towards the policy of compromise; pseudo-revolutionary ideas – Trotskyite and Maoist – are suffering failure. The positions of the progressive forces, especially the Communist parties, are steadily stronger: radical revolutionary ideas are winning new followers. The masses are coming to realize ever more clearly that the liberation of Israeli-occupied territories, the Palestine problem, and the unity of the liberation movement are closely linked with the struggle for social progress. For this reason, it is increasingly apparent that progressive, radical changes are necessary in the political make-up of some of the leading bodies of the Arab liberation movement, that the forces loyal to the ideals of liberation and social progress must unite on a democratic basis within the framework of a genuine national front.

Despite the temporary difficulties stemming from the complexity of the struggle in the conditions of the present crisis, and despite the conflicting influence of the home and external situation on the course of events, the urge is growing in the liberation movement for cooperation and joint action on the basis of a realistic policy, including cooperation and joint action between the main detachments of the Palestine resistance movement and some of the Arab Communist Parties; the national fronts in Iraq, Syria, and democratic Yemen are growing stronger.

Oil, the principal national wealth of the Arab countries, has become a weighty factor in the liberation movement. It is used not only as a political weapon against imperialism and Zionism, but also as a means of economic development and social advance. The reactionary regimes can no longer return to their former oil policy. After successful steps towards nationalization of oil in Iraq, and still earlier in Algeria and Libya, the question of nationalizing oil is on the order of the day more conspicuously than ever before in the Middle East. Even reactionary regimes will no longer be able to revert to their former oil policies.

The friendly and allied ties between the main detachments of the Arab liberation movement and the Soviet Union, the other countries of the socialist community, and other world revolutionary forces, are growing stronger. This process is becoming ever broader despite the attempts of reactionaries and Rightists to discredit the Soviet Union, to disrupt the Arab-Soviet friendship.

The Palestine problem is an inalienable and key elements in any Mid-East settlement. And in this, too, the Soviet Union, the GDR, Bulgaria and other socialist countries, which have always upheld the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, have played an important role. The Soviet position is spelled out in the Soviet-American communique, and it is precisely the Soviet side that insisted on the mention in the communique of the legitimate interests of the Palestine people. Comrade Brezhnev spoke in support of its national rights at the World Congress of Peace Forces.

The role of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has grown in recent years. It is recognized as the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian people by the states that participated in the conference of non-aligned countries, the participants of the Arab summit conference, and many socialist countries.

The other party to the Middle East conflict is Israel. Here, there are ever sharper contradictions over the country's future, over the role it can play in the Middle East given the correlation of forces following the October war. The voice of the critics of expansionist policy can be heard ever more loudly in Israel. The positions of the progressive forces are growing stronger, as witnessed by the latest election success of the Communist Party which increased its representation in the parliament.

There is greater resistance by the Arab masses in the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan and Gaza Strip. They firmly reject the occupation regime, but also any return of the Jordanian regime. This is borne out by the many popular actions, and by the memorandum submitted by the Palestine National Front, which includes Palestine resistance organizations and progressive parties,* to the PLO, emphatically calling for the creation of a national authority in these areas.

The positive developments in the Middle East situation can have a decisive influence on the Arab national liberation movement. As we see it, this will be possible if the following four conditions are observed:

First. Redoubled efforts to end the bickering over various issues that has again surfaced within the movement; prevention of a split, cementing the unity of the movement despite divergent views and differences.

Second. Conduct of a realistic policy that would rule out confused and vague slogans. It presupposes joint efforts in working out the basic principles of a program of united action for the present and subsequent stages of the Arab liberation struggle.

*See N. Ashhab, M. Osman, A. Haba, 'The Arab Front in the Middle East Conflict,' *WMR*, January 1974.

Third. Political and military coordination between the patriotic regimes to repulse a possible new Israeli aggression, and to resist imperialist pressure.

Fourth. Maximum use of the advantages for the Arab liberation movement of alliance with the world revolutionary movement and its mainstay, the Soviet Union, and of the new opportunities offered by the changes in the relation of forces to the disadvantage of imperialism and to the advantage of peace, liberation and socialism.

Observance of these conditions would help to overcome the difficulties facing the Arab liberation movement and give impetus and weight to the new positive tendencies that have begun to operate since the October war. Then, the feasibility of a just and durable settlement of the crisis caused by the aggression will become a reality, and the way will open up to secure the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine on an anti-imperialist basis, which will contribute to the progressive development of the national liberation revolution in the Middle East.

The struggle against racism in Britain

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The British 1971 census shows that 1,500,000 of the total population of 55 million is of Caribbean or Asian or African origin. This black minority has become the target of racist demands to stop the entry into Britain of black people, and to deport them, accompanied by propaganda which seeks to isolate them from general social life. Both Tory and Labor governments have enacted legislation which restricts the entry of workers from the new Commonwealth countries (that is, the newly independent states such as India, Pakistan, Caribbean and African states), whilst allowing free entry to white immigrants from the old Commonwealth (Australia, New Zealand, Canada).

A cycle of economic and social under-privilege is setting in for Britain's black population, of insecurity, poor employment prospects, educational difficulties, discrimination which affects adversely the total quality of their lives.

During a century and a half of industrialization, with the exception of periods of economic slump, Britain has seen the continuous immigration of workers. Traditionally, Ireland has been the source

of generations of workers moving especially into unskilled jobs and becoming, not migrant workers, but permanently settled. In the early part of the century, they were joined by immigrants escaping the persecutions of Jews under the tsarist regime. After the Second World War, for a decade, so-called displaced persons, were allowed in to relieve the acute shortage of labor.

With the exception of this last group, immigrant workers always met with hard conditions and in the case of Jewish immigrants, legislation controlling their entry. Reactionary elements from Eastern Europe were by contrast welcomed, assisted in finding trades, houses, opportunities for their own cultural development. The British ruling class had not abandoned chauvinism or a policy of divide and rule; but because these immigrants were anti-Communist and an important political force in generating a cold war atmosphere, resources were placed at their disposal.

In conditions of 'over-full' employment in the late 40s the search for labor continued and initially there came workers from the Caribbean and then from India and from Pakistan.

They were colonial subjects, or citizens of Commonwealth countries, and able to move freely in and out of Britain without restrictions on their right to find employment.

Ruthless exploitation has left the newly independent countries of the former British colonial empire a legacy of acute economic underdevelopment with its consequent chronic poverty and complex social problems. Like so many immigrant workers before them few black workers thought they would become permanent settlers. Most, especially from Pakistan and India, saw themselves as migrant workers, earning enough to return home to pay debts, buy land, provide some economic security for themselves and their families.

The first black immigrants therefore were male workers. They are not homogeneous either ethnically, or culturally. They come from many different countries, some speaking English, others not, adherents of many different religions. Many were from rural areas without experience of industrial urban life or forms of working class organization but the very fact of their immigration into Britain has converted them into proletarians.

It was government legislation restricting their movement in and out of Britain which converted them into permanent settlers and their dependents joined them.

What conditions do they meet? There is a housing shortage in Britain for all working people. For black workers these problems are even more acute. In spite of laws against discrimination, they find it difficult to obtain finances for house purchase, they have to resort to loans at very high rates of interest and consequently buy the cheapest, least desirable houses. To repay their debt, they need to rent off rooms which tends to generate over-crowding. There is plenty of evidence to show that landlords refuse to rent homes to them solely on account of color prejudice.

When they first came to Britain they were not eligible for municipal housing (a residence qualification is required), and even today there is evidence to show that they are frequently rehoused by the local authorities in the poorer areas and treated as 'problem' families. Such conditions of sub-standard housing affect general opportunities, especially for children. In these areas of poor housing in our cities, often called 'twilight' areas, schools too, are generally old and inadequate, there is often a shortage of teachers or a rapid changeover of staffs, play facilities are poor or non-existent. Such poor educational opportunities combine with other problems such as language difficulties to restrict opportunities for young black children which in turn restricts their chances of apprenticeships, skilled jobs and professions.

In the early days of black immigration, Caribbean workers tended to move into rail and road transport, Asian workers into the textile industries (some of them already familiar with this industry in their own countries). This situation is now changing and they are moving into manufacturing industry. They live, as all workers do, where their jobs are, mainly in the Midlands, South East and Northern England. These are areas where new industries have attracted workers both white and black, indigenous and foreign; or they are areas of traditional industries, e.g., textiles, now running down, deserted by indigenous male workers because of poor conditions and low wages, and employing generally today Asian and female labor. Black workers also are employed in significant numbers in heavy jobs, or with inconvenient shift working, which are shunned by the indigenous workers, who in a period of full employment have more choice of work.

There is plenty of evidence to show that the black worker suffers from discrimination in employment, training and promotion. Those who experience discrimination most sharply are the well qualified. It seems that so long as the black worker is prepared to accept the menial, undesirable jobs he meets no problems of employment, but when trained and skilled, he demands jobs that correspond to his qualifications, he meets discrimination.

Evidence of a further form of discrimination is mounting. Workers of both Caribbean and Asian origin are raising complaints about persecution by the police. Black youth of Caribbean parentage, who find apprenticeships and employment opportunities more restricted than any other section of youth, are also complaining that police detain and question them without grounds for suspicion, that there are policemen who deliberately plant evidence on them, who assume black people are given to criminality.

A recent investigation conducted by two well established organizations, one receiving government and local authority grants, has published complaints by people of Caribbean and Asian origin against the police in an area of West London where nearly one person in nine is black. Complaints make allegations that the police do not investigate crimes committed against black people and fail

to protect them against assault; others allege beatings, racial insults in police stations and the presenting of false evidence in the courts. In Britain only police officers investigate complaints against the police and, not surprisingly, generally find their personnel not guilty.

In 1962 there was a change of government policy on the admission of workers from the Commonwealth. Restrictions were imposed on them but, in theory at least, they applied equally to both the old and new Commonwealth (to white and black). There were two main motivations for this new legislation. The Tory government was opening the first round of negotiations with the European Economic Community for Britain's admission. Pressed to abandon her arrangements with the Commonwealth countries, such as trade preference, the Tories decided to demonstrate their EEC good will by abandoning the rights of Commonwealth citizens to relatively free entry into the country for jobs. The second motivation was the appeasement of racist demands for control of black immigration. Both Tory and Labor governments have introduced further legislation and regulations which discriminate against immigration by black people, and in the case of the 1969 law passed by Labor, introduced controls over the entry even of those who hold British citizenship passports.

In 1965 the Labor government, as well as tightening control over black immigration, tried to 'balance' it by introducing a Race Relations Act, making it illegal to discriminate on racial grounds in public places, in employment, housing, credit facilities and making it illegal to disseminate race hatred. Consequently, Britain has two sets of mutually contradictory laws, one forbidding racial discrimination, one actually discriminating. The Race Relations Act is very weak and there is considerable distrust of it among black people.

In 1971 the Tory government introduced a new Immigration Act, which became operative in 1973. The 1962 Act required all Commonwealth citizens to have permits, but operated mainly against black Commonwealth citizens. The new Act dropped all pretense at being non-racial. A new category of Commonwealth citizen was invented, along with a new word 'patrial.' Those Commonwealth citizens with a parent or grandparent born in Britain are called 'patrials' (and likely to be white) now have completely free entry into Britain and the right to work here without permission; those Commonwealth citizens without father or grandfather born in Britain are treated virtually as aliens; they must obtain a work permit valid for one year only; to get it renewed for a further period of three years their employer must make the request. They can be deported if they lose their jobs (and their families with them), or if they fall mentally sick.

The regulations render them dependent on the goodwill of the employers who will seek to prevent them demanding higher wages and better conditions, or from joining trade unions and participat-

ing in active union life, by the threat of the sack and the consequent possibility of deportation. A section of this Act makes a group of immigrants, previously legally settled, now 'illegal.' Once again the Tories have achieved two aims here. By drastically reducing the numbers of black workers entering they have appeased racist pressures, and they have set up labor regulations which could cut off immigrants from the militant struggles and organizations of the British working class. This latter aim complements the Industrial Relations Act which seeks to restrict Trade Union action. Through these two Acts the Tory Government seeks to attack the British working class movement as a whole, and to set foreign and black workers aside from the class struggles which are mounting daily.

It is in the severity of the present economic, political and social crisis faced by Britain that the explanation for the turn to racism by the ruling class is to be found.

There is an acute crisis of confidence in capitalism; even the Prime Minister has had to admit that there are 'ugly faces of capitalism,' but the search for an alternative is complicated by the refusal of the right-wing of the Labor Party to move onto the offensive with a democratic anti-monopoly program; its credibility is, in addition, damaged by the past performance of the Labor governments which have tried to rescue British imperialism at the expense of the working people. In such a crisis of confidence in the system, it is clear that those sections of the working class who lack class consciousness, many middle sections who resent the slipping away of privileges and the power of the organized labor movement, may turn to ideologies and politics which pin responsibility for the crisis on an easily identifiable and relatively defenseless minority, the black population.

The British people have a militant and liberal tradition in their political and cultural history, but they are also the heirs of the ideology of a colonial Empire on which the 'sun never sets.' This ideology has influenced sections of the British people, including the working class. The conquest of other peoples, their subjection by force, the looting of their natural resources and labor of their peoples, the 'civilizing missions' of eradicating their cultures and trying to replace them with subordination to British culture, are all part of the process which called on theories of racial superiority as justification. At a time of acute difficulty for the British ruling class, reactionary politicians hark back to a mythical, glorious imperialist past, when, they suggest, there were no problems, no poverty, no housing problems, no class struggle, when there was a harmony now threatened by the alien presence of black peoples.

In 1968 Enoch Powell, Right-wing Tory, aspiring to lead the Tory Party from the extreme Right, made his famous speech forecasting race riots, and 'rivers of blood' flowing in the streets, suggesting that the blame for Britain's problems lay at the door of black workers, and that inevitably, as a law of nature, white and

black sections of the population would move into violent conflict. There was no official repudiation or counter-offensive to the Powell speech; Labor spokesmen remained silent believing that a firm stand against racist opinions would lose them votes at the General Election.

There is no attempt either from the Tory government or the Right-wing Labor leadership systematically to counter the growth of racist feeling, or to suppress racist activity. The official committees set up under the Race Relations Act do not conduct political propaganda campaigns against racist ideas or activities or generate action against them.

There is, of course, a powerful progressive force in British society which rejects racist ideas and practices. United activity to resist local racist and fascist activity has been widespread; this has involved all sections of progressive opinion, from Liberals to Communists. These actions have been reinforced too by important solidarity actions in support of the heroic Vietnamese people and for the relaese of Angela Davis, against South African apartheid, in support of the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies, etc. In general however, such local actions have been of a defensive character, the problem is how to stabilize them organizationally and develop them so that they can take the offensive against racism and against governmental racist policy. Communists see the importance of all forms of united action and work to develop this.

The role of the organized working class is central to the defeat of racism and the end of discrimination. The Labor movement must be mobilized to play its full part in uniting black and white workers in common struggle and in winning the white majority to reject racist ideology and practice.

This was the central political point in the report to the 33rd Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain held in November 1973, in the debate on 'The Fight Against Racism in Britain,' one of three main debates of the Congress.

In his report to the Congress, Asquith Gibbes, a member of the Executive Committee and himself an immigrant from the Caribbean, declared that 'The defeat of racism and discrimination is fundamental to the fight for Left unity, to the liberation of the whole of the working class, to the winning of a Socialist Britain which will abolish the basis of exploitation and class society from which the ideology of racism springs.'

Stressing that the overwhelming majority of the black population is working class, the report and the resolution formulated a series of important demands which the trade unions should adopt in order to defend their black members from the effects of discrimination in employment, training and promotion.

The demands include:

– The 1971 Immigration Act, which is a racist measure, should be repealed. The next Labor government must introduce new legislation relating to immigration on a strictly non-racial basis.

– The Race Relations Act must be strengthened and prosecution should be enforced in all cases of systematic presentation of racist propaganda and incitement to race hatred. The next Labor government must be committed to this.

– End all discrimination in employment, promotion, pay and training.

– End all discrimination in housing, education and all other aspects of social life.

– Work to expose and combat police harassment and victimization of black people and insist on the full implementation of civil rights for all.

– Press the TUC to set up a race relations department, with the responsibility of advising affiliated unions on ways of promoting the unity of black, immigrant and white workers at shop floor level, improving the level of union recruitment and the participation of black and immigrant workers in union activities and on the education of shop stewards and activities for the fight against racism and discrimination. Such education should be included in TUC courses also.

– Trade Unionists should be prepared to defend, with industrial action if necessary, victims of the retrospective clauses in the 1971 Immigration Act.

Without such a fight on behalf of black and of immigrant workers, then the danger arises of separatist tendencies among black workers, and the unity of the working class is threatened.

While the unions have been slow to respond to the needs of black workers, there are signs that, as a result of work by sections of the Left, and the actions of black workers themselves, steps are now being taken to deal with this problem.

The Trades Union Congress in September 1973 unianimously deplored the new Immigration Act, called for the repeal of the retrospective clauses, and called on the Labor Party to pledge to repeal the Act when it is returned to office. Other important unions including the Transport and General Workers Union and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers have passed resolutions expressing their opposition to racism and discrimination. The Association of Supervisors, Technicians and Managerial Staffs has instructed its branches actively to investigate situations where they suspect discrimination is being practised and to take action against it.

In the Midlands, where the second largest group of black workers is to be found, the Association of Supervisors, Technicians and Managerial Staffs is conducting a survey into the job situation for black workers and it is expected that they will cite numbers of examples of discrimination and take steps to challenge it. A recent Conference of Trade Unionists and immigrant organizations was called by leading Trade Unionists in the Midlands which successfully examined the probems of black workers and resolved to conduct a campaign at factory and branch level against racism and to

mobilize trade unionists against it. It is pledged to a recall conference in six months to examine progress.

Trades Councils in three major cities, Liverpool, Birmingham and Bradford, have set up committees to take special responsibility for the struggle of trade unions against racism. In London the Trade Unionists to Combat Racism organization is conducting propaganda and activity.

Increasingly black workers are moving into action to defend themselves. In the Midlands a group of Asian hosiery workers, who were being excluded from promotion to better paid and more skilled jobs, went on strike; they were not backed by white workers, though they won part of their demands. The leadership of the union which organizes these workers is notoriously weak and backward. By contrast 8,000 workers at the Ford motor works struck in support of a Caribbean worker whom the management attempted to sack, and they won his reinstatement, though in another department. The Union organization in this factory is powerful and militant; it organizes and defends the rights of all workers, black and white. The weak reactionary unions defend none of their members, and the black member suffers most. Strong union organization, consciously fighting racism, is a powerful defender of black workers and a formative force for black and white unity.

The Communist Party is stepping up its own independent campaign against racism as well as fighting for the labor movement to develop specific policies. It is developing its appeal to black workers to become readers of the *Morning Star*, to join the Communist Party. It will continue to build fraternal relations with immigrant organizations and assist its own black members to work more effectively within them. It plays a vital part in developing the broad united movement against racism and discrimination in the knowledge that this is a major prerequisite for the defense of black people, for the defense of democratic rights, for the unity of the working class and for Left advance.

FROM THE CPGB 33rd CONGRESS RESOLUTION: 'THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM IN BRITAIN'

'. . . To ignore racism is to encourage it. Every manifestation of it must be vigorously combated.

'The capitalist press, radio and television in general contribute to the growth of racism. Racism is fostered in a number of entertainment programs. The rich cultural achievements of the black minorities are ignored. Wide publicity is given to racist speeches and at times even to racist activity, and distortions sometimes take place which introduce a racist tone into situations where race is not the issue. At the same time, the views and campaigns of black and anti-racist bodies are largely ignored. By not presenting accurate information on immigration and race the mass media fail to combat racist lies and slander.

'Fascist and other Right wing organizations, through racist propaganda, through demagogic exploitation of growing discontent, through incitement to violence against black people, are working to secure a mass basis. It is urgently necessary to expose these organizations as enemies of the working class and to defeat them. Votes received in recent elections by racist candidates should serve as a grave warning of the urgency needed to step up the struggle against racism now. . . .

'Racism is a product of colonialist exploitation and imperialism. Support for national liberation movements abroad fighting colonialism and racism contributes to our campaign against racism in Britain. . . .

'We have a special responsibility to root out racism in the labor movement and among the working class. We call on every Party member and all sections of the Party to develop our campaign at national and local levels, in the factories, trade unions, in the immigrant communities, and in the anti-racist organizations. We must win more black people to join our Party and encourage them to play their full part in it.

'We must work to win to our Party all those who wish to see a society free from racism and discrimination. Our struggle against racism today is central to our fight for democracy, for the advances of a united working class movement and for a socialist Britain.'

Outlines of the new way

Vladimir Shundeyev

On the invitation of the Democratic Party of Guinea and the Congolese Party of Labor our correspondent visited the Guinean Republic and the People's Republic of Congo. Below is the first instalment of his round-up of talks and interviews with party leaders, statesmen and public figures of the two countries.

The non-capitalist way and socialist-oriented countries are objects of close scrutiny. Marxist authors are looking into many of their economic and political aspects, and generalizing on the available, albeit still meagre, experience. Much attention is devoted to revolutionary-democratic parties and regimes in documents of the world Communist movement. Understandably so, for Communists and revolutionary democrats are in the same world-wide anti-imperialist stream. Besides, the experience of the various socialist-oriented countries, now in a transitional stage of political, social and economic development, is highly varied. So, coming to any of

these lands and seeing the life of their peoples for yourself, the first thing you do is look around and try to see how theoretical studies and generalizations fit in with the real picture.

The Guinean Republic has had fifteen years of independence. The record of the Democratic Party of Guinea (DPG), the country's leading force, goes back more than a quarter of a century. All this time has been one of vigorous struggle against international and home reaction, and of constructive labor by this nation of five million to overcome the painful legacy of colonial rule, tribal strife, parasitism and bureaucratic corruption.

You find yourself tuned in to the Republic's political wave length the moment you come to the highway leading from the airport to the capital. Along several kilometres of the road slogan-inscribed streamers say: 'The Nation Makes Revolution For Itself,' 'Democratic Guinea Will Never Accept Foreign Domination,' 'Parasitism is a Brake on Economic Growth,' 'Step Up the Class Struggle,' 'Ideology is a Stable Base For People and Nations,' 'Revolutionary Education Centers (REC) and Local Revolutionary Power (LRP) are Cornerstones of the Revolution,' etc. But more important than what the slogans say is what lies behind them. Doubly so, because some of them are bewildering to a newcomer. What are the REC and LRP, and what do they do? What is the ideology suggested as a 'base for people and nations?' What are the implications of the call to step up the class struggle in a country where the DPG has proclaimed itself a party of the whole people actuated by the idea of 'democratic dictatorship,' which its leadership defines as 'a concentration of popular power.'

Animated and noisy Conakry is a city of smiles. Some are inclined to ascribe its ebullience to the Africans' proverbial 'lightheartedness.' Yet the facts deny this. Not light-heartedness, but a firm determination to overcome, coupled with hatred for colonialism, assured the Guineans' success in the battle for national independence and saw them blaze the trail to freedom in what was once French Tropical Africa.

Just over three years ago, when repulsing an imperialist incursion, the nation again showed that it could be stern. A 27-metre-high monument has been erected as a reminder. At its unveiling last November 22, President Ahmed Sekou Toure described revolution as 'a continuous offensive,' calling on the nation for vigilance. No sooner were these words reported in the press than information came of plans of a new aggression, set for December 1 from the neighboring Portuguese-occupied territory of Guinea-Bissau. Though life in the city remained normal, you could not help noticing the quicker pulse of the governing party's executive apparatus, with the cabinet gathering at short notice and patrols stationed along roads leading to the capital.

True, the people have no abundance, the economy is in difficulties, the state sector still weak, food shortages considerable, and the purchasing power of the national currency not very high. But the fact that there is no skepsis and apathy, that people give vent

to exuberance, is evidence of faith in the future and in the country's chosen path.

What is probably one of the most common and pleasant sights in Conakry is that of the many little bands of children – books under their arms, clad in school uniforms, and – here it is again – smiling. A mere 15 years ago, Guinea's population was almost totally illiterate. Not more than 5-10 per cent of the children attended primary school.

What has happened in education and the training of national personnel over these years?

Mamady Keita, member of the DPG's national Political Bureau and Coordinating Minister of Education and Culture (we talked in the presence of Louis Holie, Minister of Higher Education, and two inspectors-general), described the conditions in which his Party set out to democratize education literally on the day following independence. Departing after the Guineans' 'no' to the draft of the new French constitution in the 1958 referendum, the colonialists took along all school equipment, teaching aids, and teachers. If you want independence, they said, be independent. At that time the Guinean Republic had one secondary school in Conakry and 40,000 pupils, mostly in primary schools, six specialists with university-level education, and not a single higher educational establishment.

The DPG called on towns and villages to open schools everywhere. The country sorely needed personnel closely linked with the people, with the nation's life. Teachers were trained at crash courses. All pupils from the ninth grade up received 24 months of teachers' training. And all more or less educated people were called upon to teach.

Peasants, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population, were an object of special concern: they had to be taught to read and write, and had to learn joint, cooperative farming. This is where the RECs, the wide-open state schools, and the LRPs, the local DPG primary bodies, proved highly useful. In bringing up the new citizen, Keita said, it was hardest to alter the thinking, root out the remnants of the colonial past, and to impart working habits and the habit of collective ownership.

Certainly, 15 years is not enough to retailor the cultural image. Yet changes are visible. Schoolchildren total 350,000 (and will pass the 580,000 mark by the end of the recently launched five-year plan), teachers over 8,000, and secondary schools, known as lyceums, over 250. Those are impressive figures for a nation of five million, especially if education is free.

Guinea has 5,500 college students, 4,000 in Conakry's Polytechnical Institute and the rest in the Kankan Higher Pedagogical School. The Polytechnic's 11 departments graduate some 400 specialists annually, and by the end of the five-year plan (1978) will have a student body of 6,000.

A new quality has been achieved since the Polytechnic graduated its first students (the Lenin class, it was called): under the direction

of a Soviet professor three post-graduates are about to present theses relevant to the national economy – the first three science workers to acquire their degrees on their own, Guinean soil. The reference is not nationalistic, but class-oriented, as Mamady Keita wanted it to be when speaking of achievements, difficulties and the perspectives of DPG work in education. Hence this other innovation: nowadays, every Polytechnic graduate receives at least a fortnight's supplementary training – a week with the people's militia, and another at DPG theoretical courses. A young man learns easily enough to handle a rifle, the Minister explained, but what guarantees are there that he will point it in the right direction? That requires ideological education.

Under the state plan 9-10 thousand specialists with a higher and secondary education were to be trained by 1971. Was the target reached? The domestic end of the scheme worked well enough, but the practice of sending students abroad proved unsuccessful.

Over 10 years ago, when foreign companies were allowed to operate in Guinea, the government required each such firm to train a definite number of local specialists. And we insisted on the faithful fulfilment of this condition from the outset, Keita said. However, we had overlooked some important aspects. The mixed American-Guinean Bauxites de Guinee at Boké, for example, sent several of its workers to study abroad every year. But most of them did not return. So, we had to insist that the company set up a school locally. The international Fria Company, too, trains a certain number of technicians, office secretaries and typists locally, but specialists of a more specific type are still being sent to France, and many do not come back. The Soviet building trust, Bauxitstroi, which is constructing a Guinean mining enterprise in Kindia, relatively close to the capital, is a different matter: it operates a permanent technical school, which issued its first hundred diplomas to Guinean graduates in 1970, supplying valuable reinforcements for the country's labor force.

The socialist orientation impelled the conversion to state planning and centralized use of the means of production and the country's resources.

How much of the material and technical base was built under the three-year (1960-63) and seven-year (1964-71) plans? What were the difficulties? What are the cardinal problems of the recently launched five-year plan?

These questions to *Allioun Drame, Minister of Planning and Statistics.*

The three-year plan, he replied, was our first attempt at applying planning to a backward economy, repatterning the colonial structure and building elements of an 'administrative infrastructure.' By and large, the attempt was successful. The state took over the crucial sectors of the economy. We built an airport in Conakry, a motor-road, hotel, and stadium, and the country's first national enterprise in Mamou. We also began building a hydropower station (completed under the seven-year plan). The introduction of our

own currency, the Guinean franc, and withdrawal from the French franc zone, helped our planning substantially. (Now, the Guinean franc has a new name, the 'syli,' and it is striking how proud Guineans are to have their own, national currency.)

The seven-year plan set more specific targets, with the main accent on food production. We built several processing plants, a textile mill, match factory, and cannery, and expanded the working of natural resources. But not all the targets were reached. Electric power output was only 84 per cent of planned, and in other fields, especially agriculture, the percentages were lower still. The difficulties we encountered in bringing the peasants into cooperatives were more serious than we had expected.

This is why we are now devoting so much effort to promoting cooperative farming. To expand farm production, the Minister said, was the number one objective of the present five-year plan, designed to end the country's dependence on food imports. Centralized investments in agriculture, some 2,000 million sylis out of the planned total of 60,000 million, are relatively modest, because the sights are set on decentralized development. The responsibility has been essentially placed in the local revolutionary authorities. Wide use is envisaged of the experience of the model farms (along the lines of the livestock farms established with Soviet help) to provide practical skills for running cooperatives. A large number of cooperative labor teams is planned of specialists, students, and all possessing elementary knowledge. In the coming five years it is planned to resettle 33,700 cooperative farmers in what are here called socialist townships. A new Ministry of Agriculture and Production Teams has been formed to coordinate this effort. The revolutionary education centers – run on the 'learn while you work, work while you learn' principle – have been assigned a more prominent place in the cooperative movement. So far, however, the food problem is acute. The shortages are many, and much has to be imported.

Whatever part of the world you come to, you look at the shopping facilities to get an idea of the consumption pattern. Conakry has no modern department or chain stores, no supermarkets. It has sprawling old-time markets, small shops and a host of street-vendors, often mere boys, selling matches, cigarettes, tooth-paste, ball-point pens, fruit, and sundry other items from early morning until deep into the night. This multitude of petty retailers filling the breaches in the organized shopping network are evidently a peculiar result of the Africanization of personnel in retailing, which lacks funds, facilities, experience and a large enough domestic market to build up commerce on a larger scale. The finest Conakry workshop manufacturing, buying and selling local artifacts amounts to a large room with modest additional facilities, and staffed by the owner (also a woodcarver) and his family.

Is there some system of rationing?

Yes, Minister Drame said, commodities are distributed under a centralized scheme. Imported necessities, for example, are rationed

from top to bottom, and supplied through state stores in town and village. Imported rice is distributed mainly in urban areas, with peasants expected to grow their own. Villagers get sugar, soap, cloth, and the like. A special national commission, on which all sections of the population are represented, sets the rations depending on the size of the local population and its needs. Locally, distribution is controlled by the LRPs.

In sum, the Minister said, the main directions of the present five-year plan are:

– essentially, to increase food production;

– to develop new natural resources for industrial growth, passing from extraction to local processing of raw materials; in particular, to build aluminium mills;

– to build up production of export crops – pineapples, bananas, citrus fruit, coffee, and the like.

How is the plan financed and what is the ratio between internal and external sources of investment funds?

Agriculture is financed internally, Drame said. The state also allocates large sums to industry, the infrastructure, education and social welfare. There are 75 state enterprises.

However, the bulk of the funds come from abroad. Under the five-year plan, outside funds are expected to finance about 65 per cent of the investments, chiefly in mining and the power industry. This applies mainly to funds used by mixed companies to work the country's natural resources. Approximately half their assets and 65 per cent of their profits belong to the state. Their presidents are Guineans, and the technical chiefs are foreign. Port facilities, railways and mining equipment are state property, and are leased to the companies. After completing the development of raw materials, the mixed companies are committed to build processing plants. In sum, the Minister held, such foreign companies pose no threat to the national economy, because the state can veto any of their decisions.

The Party speaks extensively of ideological education and struggle. What does it mean by ideology as the base for people and nations? Inspector-Minister Lansana Diané, Permanent Secretary of the National Political Bureau of the DPG, stressed the popular nature of the Party, and named two phases in its ideological work.

The first refers to the period from the party's foundation until independence – a time when the leadership and the minority committed to the Party's aims espoused Marxism-Leninism as their ideology, but did not speak of it publicly. We never forgot that socialism is our aim, but concentrated first on winning independence, rallying the people against the colonialists. It was therefore enough to be an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist to qualify as a member of the DPG.

The second phase set in after independence. We adopted democratic centralism in structuring the Party. The ideological struggle was no longer directed exclusively against imperialism, but also against the feudal lords, the clans, tribalism, small capitalist traders

exploiting the people, and against private acquisition of wealth. The ideological struggle is everywhere, especially the villages. Its aim: the broadest possible political, economic and cultural democracy, eliminating ties between the enemy at home and abroad.

Understandably, we cannot build socialism as quickly as we should like. For this we lack a sufficiently large material-technical base, enough collective enterprises, and enough national unity. Marxist-Leninist mass education and use of world experience encounter substantial difficulties stemming from Guinea's peculiar conditions.

It is important to determine the degree of development of the various groups of our society and the kind of social, relations they are associated with – tribal, class, feudal or petty capitalist – and to shape our ideological work accordingly introducing elements of the socialist outlook into the mass consciousness. That is the purpose of democratic ideological education for the whole people.

Our Party courses follow this line in different forms throughout the country, imparting to the masses a fundamental knowledge of the world revolutionary process, the problems of the Communist and working-class movement, and exposing anti-communist maneuvers. For this we turn for help to ideological cadres of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

Your idea of the ideological struggle in Guinea becomes clearer when you hear or read statements of the Party leadership.

After independence, Keita said, the country had many parties. But the vast majority of the nation supported the DGP – 56 out of the 60 National Assembly deputies were from our Party. Our main problem was to withstand the external threat. This knitted the people together. The slogans of national democracy were everybody's slogans. The November 1964 reforms and the Eighth Party Congress of 1967 became a watershed: the phase of national-democratic development gave place to socialist-oriented. It was no accident, therefore, that the Congress also set the course of intensified class struggle. When fighting imperialism and colonialism there had been total concord, but gradually it became evident that the Party's solutions for many of the domestic problems were not to everybody's liking. In addition to the external enemy there appeared the concept of internal enemy.

Did this mean that the nature of the all-national party would change, and its membership decline?

Not at all, said Keita. The demands not to exploit labor, to stop shady deals, cherish the people's aims, and work for the socialist orientation, are addressed to Party functionaries, not the rank-and-file. The Party must remain a mass party.

To understand the character of the class struggle, Diané said, you must appreciate that we are determined to prevent any mystification of power. Feudalism was sustained by the mystique of power, and has vanished. The very idea of power being a mystic force must be stamped out. From its most primary form upwards, power must be fused with the people. That is what we want to

achieve through mass participation in analyzing, discussing and adopting decisions at all levels of leadership.

We had no developed capitalism, no capitalists, and no capitalist ideologists. Neither did we have a proletariat. There are still very few workers. The structure of our society has not yet crystallized. All we have are potential classes, and these largely exist only in our minds. The bourgeois elements, the merchants, are an as yet incipient class. And we must impede its growth. Or take the peasants. They are not revolutionary by nature. We must bring them up in a revolutionary spirit. The factory proletariat is beyond question the backbone of the socialist orientation. But we have no large factories so far. The main thing now is to eliminate the basis for the exploitation of man by man.

The concept of a 'fifth column' has come into circulation in Guinea in recent years, applied to bribetakers responsible for corrupting the present administrative apparatus, and persons exploiting public posts for personal gain. It also applies to the remnants of the old bureaucratic machinery, the lower officialdom, elements of the trading bourgeoisie and part of the French-educated officers' corps.

In one of his latest public speeches, President Ahmed Sakou Touré called on the people to combat the 'fifth column,' which is hindering the Party's effort to build the new society. We applied to the President who is also Secretary-General of the DPG, to clarify such issues as the stepped-up class struggle, the plans of fortifying economic independence, and achievements and difficulties. But the interview was too brief. The President was occupied, for on the following day he would open the statutory national economic conference that would outline measures to improve the economy and work out an action program for the immediate future jointly with the top administrators of state enterprises and ministries. No question is more topical for the country today than that of fortifying the national economy through consolidation of the state sector.

The Democratic Party had accomplished a great thing by ending colonial rule and uniting the people on an anti-imperialist basis, destroying the pillars of feudal and tribal relations. Its present task, building the basis of the new society, is much more difficult.

Conakry-Prague

Capitalizing on the 'energy crisis'

A letter from Luxembourg

Dear Comrades,

I read Victor Perlo's article 'Truth and Falsehoods About the Energy Crisis' in your December issue and would like to comment on the oil famine in the capitalist world. This problem has gained prominence in the economic, social and political life of Western Europe, including our own country. We Communists of Luxembourg give it the attention it requires. Specifically, it was discussed at one of our latest regular seminars for the Party membership.

We try to give every Party member a clear idea of what is behind the monopolies' hue and cry over the 'energy crisis' and how fundamental class interests clash in the circumstances. As well as analyzing the situation in general theoretical and political terms, we make a point of elucidating specific everyday questions that puzzle some of our comrades.

Let me give you an example. The municipal council of Esch-sur-Alzette, in the industrial region of Luxembourg, is headed by a Communist. In December school classes had to be broken off for lack of heating oil. 'What is this, now?' asked some of the comrades at the seminar. 'We've been saying there is no real shortage of oil products. Power in the town is in our hands. And yet we've stopped heating our schools. Why?'

Investigation of the incident revealed once again who and what generates the 'energy crisis.' The municipal authorities get their fuel oil from small companies which are really stranded now because the monopolies are hoarding oil products in anticipation of a further price increase. Nor is that all. The order to close the schools did not come from the Mayor but from the Ministry of Education, which follows overall government policy. It is very important for us to explain all this because people in our town have begun to reproach the Mayor unfairly, something which the central authorities must have counted on to a considerable extent.

I will now try to sum up the opinions voiced at the seminar and giving what seems to me to be an accurate idea of the situation created by the so-called crisis.

There is no denying that in recent months the decades-long practice of supplying Western Europe with oil was upset. However, there is a striking discrepancy between the real – very insignificant – problems and the monopoly uproar over them. In December, for example, when heating in our schools was stopped for the alleged lack of oil, the West German *Frankfurter Rundschau* reported

that in Rotterdam the oil storage tanks were full to the brim. But we know very well even without this kind of frank admission in the bourgeois press that the Arab countries' slight cut in oil deliveries would hardly have affected the energy balance of Western Europe had not the major oil companies and a substantial section of the ruling classes seen in it a welcome pretext for stepping up their anti-popular policies.

Indeed, the measures being taken in Luxembourg and other West European countries to remedy the 'energy crisis' add up to an all-out offensive against the working people. The parties of the ruling reactionary majority submitted a draft law to give the Minister of the Economy extraordinary powers, including that of forcibly mobilizing power industry workers. Obviously, this would mean nullifying the social and trade union rights of these groups of working people.

The country's rulers have been whipping up a hysteria which they hope will enable them to dampen mass discontent with numerous aspects of the government's economic policy and its stance on various international issues. The ban on private Sunday driving creates the illusion of a real contribution to the campaign against the 'crisis.' But petrol accounts for only 20 per cent of the annual oil consumption, so the weekly economy achieved through the ban is a negligible 2.5 per cent. But then the psychological impact is tremendous. The very sight of the empty streets is enough to give the impression that the country is on the brink of national disaster. By creating in this way a situation verging on general panic, the monopolies and the political forces subservient to them achieve their ends.

What are these ends? What are the monopolies after?

First of all, the 'energy crisis' is now made out to be the main reason for the steadily mounting cost of living. It is used as an excuse for further price increases affecting even commodities in whose production oil has no share.

Secondly, attempts are made to freeze wages, the 'crisis' being given again as the reason.

Thirdly, the fuss about the 'energy crisis' in Luxembourg plays into the hands of ARBED, our biggest monopoly and the real boss of our national industry. The fact is that while oil rationing hits both working people and a section of the bourgeoisie, it has no effect on ARBED because its iron and steel production is based on coal, not oil.

Fourthly, the ruling quarters and their press blame the Arab countries, or the 'Arabs,' as they like to stress, for all the troubles attributed to the 'energy crisis.' Thereby they foment nationalism, primarily against migrant workers from Arab countries (the aim is, in particular, to divide the proletariat). On the other hand, the government tries in this way to secure public support for its anti-Arab stand on the Middle East conflict and for its alliance with U.S. imperialism.

Fifthly, the more general trend which is shaping suggests that the 'energy crisis' sets off the state-monopoly features of contemporary capitalism. Be that as it may, here in Luxembourg direct state interference in the economy, plainly serving the interests of big capital, has increased noticeably in recent months.

It follows that whatever the real difficulties over fuel supply, the rulers of Luxembourg, like those of other Western European countries, are out to put the burden entirely on the shoulders of the people. Through irresistibly growing prices and the tax system, the rightist government makes the ordinary citizen foot the bill presented by the anti-national economic policy. It makes him put up with more and more privations because, taking its cue from Washington, it refuses to back the Arab peoples' just struggle against the Israeli aggressor.

We Communists insist on calling a halt to monopoly speculation in the oil market. We want the government to stop all further increases in the prices of mass-consumption oil products. We emphatically demand that our country abandon the foreign policy which abets aggression in the Middle East and instead consistently work, along with all peace-loving countries, for the realization of the Arab peoples' legitimate rights and the liberation of their lands.

Bernard Zenon
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Luxembourg

Old tale with new trimmings

Commentary

THE MYTH ABOUT A CRISIS OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY

Socialism and economic progress are indivisible. This is axiomatic not only to Marxists, but to all unprejudiced observers. The world's first socialist state began its ascent from a fairly low level of economic development, and now has a highly developed and versatile industry, large-scale mechanized farming, advanced science and technology, and a highly skilled labor force. The Soviet economy of today is gigantic in scale, far advanced technologically, and highly dynamic.

And if any fresh proof is needed, we may remind the reader that its daily social product is worth 2,000 million rubles or ten times

as much as at the end of the 30s.* One more fact: prewar 1940 Soviet industry would have required 15 years to produce what the country produced in 1973.** The Soviet Union has become the world's second industrial power, and has surpassed such major West-European states as the FRG, Britain and France combined in industrial output.

The high level of Soviet production and the present Soviet economic, scientific and technical potential enables the country to use the advantages of socialism more fully than before, benefitting from the socialist forms and methods of economy and the latest scientific and technical achievements to satisfy the social and personal needs of the people. This necessitates a continuous improvement of planning and management, more effective methods and incentives, mobilization of all potentialities, and fuller use of intensive, qualitative factors of economic growth.

Yet in this area things are not as smooth as one would wish. But then it is too much to expect this process to run smoothly, because it follws unexplored paths for the first time in the world, contending with the difficulties of a rapidly growing society. A glance at any newspaper appearing in the Soviet Union will show that the difficulties are not being glossed over in silence. They are discussed publicly, in a self-critical spirit. To begin with, there are still some unresolved problems in introducing new technology, in capital construction, the creation of large industrial complexes, and the difficulties in the service industry and some other economic sectors. Not a few enterprises, building projects, and collective and state farms have fallen short of their targets, which tends to depress not only their own indicators, but also those of dozens, sometimes, hundreds, of related enterprises, and frequently affects entire industries.

The Soviet Communist Party keeps the crucial issues of economic development well within its field of vision at all junctures. The prime objective of its leading and organizational activity is to elevate economic work to a qualitatively higher level consonant with the requirements and capabilities of socialist society.

Yet bourgeois economists tend to inflate the problems that are being steadily and successfully resolved by the people of the world's first socialist state. Those who follow economic literature and the periodic press of the capitalist countries, will have noted that these have gone out of their way of late to spread the myth of a 'crisis' in the socialist economy. Focussing their attention mainly on the economy of the USSR, the most powerful socialist country, Sovietologists find not mere symptoms even, but 'most obvious signs' of a crisis in accumulation and consumption, agriculture and industry.***

How is such a myth manufactured? A separate fact, often specifically doctored by arbitrary statistical manipulation, is pre-

**24th CPSU Congress Materials* (Russ.) Moscow, 1971, p. 38.

***Pravda*, November 7, 1973.

*****See *Socialist Commentary*, August 1973; *Newsday*, April 19, 1973; *International Herald Tribune*, June 25, 1973.

sented as a tendency. The particular is thus elevated to the general. A flaw or deficiency, recorded in Party decisions or by the press, and gradually being overcome, is thus taken out of the context of the generally successful economic growth and used as 'evidence' of 'organic failings' in the entire social system. The dodge is not novel, but now, in this age of scientific-technical revolution and the computerization of political economy, it is dressed up in the trappings of systemic analysis and backed up by the authority of electronic computers.

Let us briefly examine the assertions of the latter-day myth-makers. *Their first and chief assertion:* after the 50s, the Soviet Union 'exhausted' its high economic growth rate* and Soviet superiority over capitalist countries 'became a thing of the past.'** The basis for that? Tendentious and arbitrary use of statistics, a favorite trick of the Sovietologists. To cite one example! U.S. *Fortune* magazine estimates that Soviet national income grew by less than 1.5 per cent in 1972, the *International Herald Tribune*'s estimate is about 2 per cent and the London *Financial Times*' more than 3 per cent.*** This disparity is itself proof of a fallacious method that produces statistics to order. Actually, Soviet national income grew by 4 per cent in 1972.

In 1961-65 (seventh five-year plan), Soviet national income rose 32 per cent, or at an annual average of 5.7 per cent. The CPSU took measures to accelerate the growth rate which was considered insufficient. In 1966-70 (eighth five-year plan) national income grew by 41 per cent, or 7.1 per cent annually, or about 2.5 times faster than in the U.S. for the same period.**** In the first three years of the current, ninth five-year plan (1971-1973) the increase has been 16.4 per cent, or 1.4 times the figure for the comparable period of the eighth five-year plan.

Though economic development in the capitalist countries has been at a somewhat faster pace, no West-European or American industrial country can match the Soviet postwar industrial growth rate. And if we take the first years of the present five-year plan, it cannot be matched even by Japan which is ahead of other leading capitalist countries. The year 1973, the decisive year of the ninth five-year plan, saw an impressive growth of Soviet economic strength, with industrial output rising 7.4 per cent.

The USSR is still behind the U.S. in output volume, but high growth rates are steadily narrowing the gap. In 1950 Soviet national income was 31 per cent of the U.S. figure; today it is 66 per cent. The gap is even narrower in industrial output; from less than 30

*Fortune, February 1973, p. 68.

**Current Economic Indicators for the USSR. Washington, 1965; New Directions in the Soviet Economy, Washington, 1966.

***Fortune, February 1973, pp 66, 68; International Herald Tribune, April 16, 1973; Financial Times, May 25, 1973.

****24th CPSU Congress Materials (Russ.), pp. 33, 129; Economic Indicators, November 1973. Washington, 1973, p. 2.

per cent of the U.S. in 1950, the Soviet figure rose to 62 per cent in 1965 and now it stands at more than 75 per cent.* And this rapid narrowing of the gap comes at a time when bourgeois critics maintain that the USSR has 'lost its superiority in economic growth rates.'

Consequently, if we take the real, rather than fictitious, indicators for economically sustantiated, reasonably long and representative periods – rather than play up the figures for unfavorable years – it will immediately become clear that 'low Soviet growth rates' are a figment of the imagination of our ideological adversaries.

Second assertion: Soviet agriculture is in a state of chronic crisis which cannot be quickly resolved. This allegation was especially boosted in 1972, a most unfavorable year for Soviet farming. Despite all the difficulties, however, the emergency measures taken by the CPSU and Soviet government enabled the country to cope with the situation and raise a crop slightly higher than the annual average for the eighth five-year plan. Before the revolution and in the early Soviet years, the 1972 combination of harsh winter and long drought would have had calamitous results for many parts of the country. In fact, specialists estimate that, with these weather conditions and with farming technology at the 1955 level, the country would have harvested about 90 million tons of cereals. Actually, the 1972 harvest amounted to 168 million tons, in itself no mean achievement. What in the past would have spelled disaster, now was a difficult but surmountable obstacle. Normal life was not disturbed, food prices were not raised, something that would have been inevitable in any capitalist country.

The authors of the 'crisis' myth predicted a long period of stagnation for Soviet agriculture, maintaining that it would take years to overcome the aftermaths of the drought. But the Sovietologists were oblivious of the fact that operation of the Party's comprehensive agricultural development program had given agriculture a much more effective material and technical basis. That was the determining factor in 1973: despite adverse weather conditions in some areas, the USSR produced the biggest grain crop ever – more than 222 million tons – and grew a record amount of cotton and several other crops. And to consolidate that success and assure high and stable harvests, the CPSU and the Soviet government are taking the necessary measures to maximize the use of land and fertilizer, of every machine and every invested ruble, through concentration, specialization and intensification in all branches of farming, and put farming on a fully industrial basis.

Thrd assertion: low effectiveness of the socialist economy in general.** How do things stand in this respect?

The CPSU regards the high effectiveness of social production, a substantial increase of national income per unit of manpower, material and financial expenditure, as the key to the solution of

The USSR Economy, 1922-72 (Russ.), p. 64.

**International Herald Tribune, Dec. 25, 1973.

all economic problems. The important thing is on what basis these problems are being solved.

Let us consider the facts. The main means of raising economic effectiveness in this age of the scientific-technological revolution is rapid and wide application of the latest scientific and technical achievements. In the two years and nine months of the current five-year plan, the USSR started mass production of more than 9,000 new products and introduced more than 3,000 improved technological processes. Both figures are a considerable advance on what was accomplished in the Eighth five-year plan. To put it figuratively, the USSR is a huge conveyor producing each day one major modern industrial unit, more than 6,000 housing units, and hundreds of units for the cultural and social services.

Also this indicative fact: four-fifths of the accretion in 1973 industrial output was through higher productivity, that key criterion of effectiveness. And Soviet productivity continues to grow at a faster pace than in the U.S. and other developed capitalist countries. So much for the legend, coined and disseminated by American bourgeois economists, that the USSR has 'lost its lead in this area.*

The economic balance sheet recently drawn up in the Soviet Union and the 1974 development plan should leave no doubt that the socialist economy is on the upgrade. Integrated solutions are being found for economic, socio-political, scientific-technical and technico-production problems. Society is more and more fully enjoying the results of technical progress. Socialist economic development aims at a substantial rise in prosperity standards, and that goal is being attained. In the past three years, for instance, per capita real income increased 13.5 per cent; there were wage rises for one-third of the work force; housing conditions were improved for 34 million people with 11 million moving into new housing in 1973. And unlike in capitalist countries, food and consumer goods prices remain stable, and the fractional price rises for a narrow range of non-mass consumption goods do not affect living standards, which are steadily improving.

The achievements of socialism stand out in bold relief against the economic picture in the capitalist world, with its many recession symptoms, growing unemployment, soaring prices, spreading monetary and financial, energy and ecological crises. Continuing inflation and state-monopoly regulation of incomes, prices and taxes swallow up increases in nominal wages.

It cannot be said that objective bourgeois researchers are blind to the confident and dynamic development of the socialist economy. Alec Nove, a noted British specialist on the subject, writes that 'Soviet industrial production does increase from year to year. So, if weather fluctuations are allowed for, does agricultural production. Consumer services are at last becoming more widely available.

*Current Economic Indicators for the USSR. Washington 1965; New Directions in the Soviet Economy. Washington 1966; Fortune, February 1973, p. 68.

Housing is improving. So, in general, is the range and quality of consumer goods. One should not regard all this as a negligible achievement.'*

The question naturally arises: why does the imperialist ideological machine go on spreading its theory about an economic 'crisis' in the USSR, considering that Soviet achievements are so obvious that realistic-minded bourgeois observers cannot deny them? What is the purpose of this campaign? The answers to these questions are not simple. And though they are interconnected, one has to distinguish ordinary propaganda from the real, practical political aims of bourgeois ideology now that there is a turn from cold war to peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation of states with differing social systems.

Let us consider the purely propaganda aspect. There is nothing new or even unuseual in the present line of the Sovietologists. For all these fabrications about 'contradictions' and 'difficulties' in the Soviet economy started with the foundation of the world's first socialist state. The class function of this old myth is to use talk of a 'crisis' to discredit the achievements, ideas and very system of socialism and thereby weaken its attractive power for the peoples of the world.

Economic development in the socialist countries has important international political implications. That is what Lenin had in view when he wrote: 'We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy . . . The struggle in this field has now become global. Once we solve this problem, we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale. That is why for us questions of economic development become of absolutely exceptional importance' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437).

That is why, ever since the October Revolution, our ideological adversaries, notably opportunists of every species, have sought to counterpose socialist construction in a country where the proletariat has won, to the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. That attitude has now been taken up by the ideologists of Maoism. According to them, economic successes in the socialist countries and the maturing of revolution in the capitalist world, are 'not one, but two things, not one, but two concepts, not one, but two questions.' In their view, 'infatuation' with economic development is unworthy of a genuine revolutionary, has nothing in common with the anti-imperialist struggle and leads to loss of revolutionary spirit. This attempt to tear apart the two-in-one problem is fundamentally contrary to a Leninist approach.

The victorious contingents of the world proletariat see their most important internationalist duty to the world working class and mankind in strengthening their role as the main revolutionary force of our times. As the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized, 'the contribution of the world

**The Times*, March 19, 1973.

socialist system to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces is determined primarily by its growing economic potential . . . The tangible results produced by the creative endeavors of the peoples of the socialist countries decisively contribute to the preponderance of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism.'

The revival of the myth about a 'crisis' of the socialist economy is not merely a propaganda move. It should be seen in the context of the new stage of international relations. For mankind owes it to socialism, to the growth of its might, that the world does not hover on the brink of a missile-nuclear war and that constructive changes are taking place in international relations. Socialism's defensive military strength, its great international prestige rest on a huge economic potential. The economic growth of the countries of the socialist community in conditions of greater unity and integration of their productive forces, was the decisve objective factor contributing to the fundamental change in the world balance of forces that put an end to the cold war.

Yet the ideologues of imperialism represent the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, their policy of expanding all-round international economic cooperation, as an indication not of socialism's strength but of attempts to overcome its 'technological lag' by obtaining credits and technological knowhow from capitalist firms. This is the basic meaning of the refurbished edition of the old myth. It is aimed at impressing on leading political and business circles of capitalist countries the idea that the socialist states are prepared to make concessions. Hence, socialism can be 'softened' and 'eroded.'

What we have in effect is the emergence of a new imperialist class foreign policy doctrine to replace the obsolete cold war doctrines rendered 'inoperational' in the new situation. Having realized the bankruptcy of the old concepts – 'containment and rolling back of communism,' 'massive retaliation' and 'flexible response' – the leading circles of bourgeois countries have been compelled to take a more realistic view of the world. Gradually, for this was a slow and painful process. They had to give up illusions that formed the mainstay of the 'positions of strength' policy. They had to concede that sabre-rattling and military ultimatums were useless in dealing with socialism and, moreover, could prove disastrous for imperialism.

Obviously, although the world class confrontation is increasingly following economic, political and ideological lines, neither side has given up its fundamental class objectives or interests. Nor has the exploitative, expansionist character of imperialism changed. Simply, it is confronted with the need to adapt to the new balance of forces and the political thaw in the world and choose a foreign policy doctrine in keeping with present-day conditions of the class struggle.

It is a doctrine reshaped along economic lines and based on the

assumed 'critical state' of the Soviet economy. Such misconceptions lead to the idea that socialist economy is being driven to concessions. The Russians, declares new Export-Import Bank president W. Cassep, have obviously come to the conclusion that the best way to push economic development is by acquiring knowhow, capital and experience in production organization from American, European and Japanese corporations. This belief is shared by such an adamant opponent of international détente as U.S. Senator Henry Jackson. The Russians, he reasons, seek closer relations with the West not because they have become more friendly, but rather because they are in serious diffifficulties.* That being the case, conditions can be imposed on socialism, bargaining for concessions, earning more profits and, also, earning political capital.

But the language of economc ultimatums, the tactics of political strings tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries are unfit methods. All they can achieve is to halt the process of establishing large-scale, long-term international economic ties and jeopardize any normalization of the world climate. But then, this is just what politicians like Senator Jackson are more or less openly banking on.

This is the point of departure of the very dangerous political line being pursued by the extreme reactionary political forces standing behind these politicians. In the United States they include the gigantic military-industrial complex, that alliance of arms monopolies and militarists, the ultra-Right and the Zionist lobby, the reactionary AFL-CIO leaders incapable of reasoning in terms other than anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. All of them, separately or together, using various methods and means, from legislative action to political pressure, undisguised blackmail and concoctions about 'Soviet dumping' or 'Soviet responsibility' for the oil crisis in capitalist countries, are tryng to drag back the world to cold war times and slow down the economic growth to socialism by creating an unfavorable diplomatic climate.

To sum up. The center of gravity in the confrontation between the two antagonistic sytsems is increasingly shifting to the domain of economic, scientific and technological competition. The stuation has changed, and with it the forms of the historically inevitable class struggle between socialism and capitalism on the world arena. The methods of ideological struggle and the foreign policy doctrines of the imperialist bourgeoisie are changing accordingly. This, however, does not make them less dangerous. Reactionary forces are continuing 'psychological warfare,' misleading world public opinion and trying to use the new international climate to undermine the positions of socialism. It is appropriate to remind these people that a policy based on myths and legends instead of an understanding of real-life processes is fraught with grave consequences.

Jan Prazsky

**Washington Evening Star*, June 21, 1973.

books and journals

From defense to peaceful construction

DRV PRESS ON PROBLEMS OF POSTWAR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed in Paris in January 1973 marked the triumph of the Vietnamese peoples dedicated, persevering struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. For the first time in many years the working people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam can live and work in peace. 'After a war that lasted tens of years,' states the Appeal of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the DRV Government to the People of the Republic, 'we are entering an era of peaceful construction animated by ardent revolutionary enthusiasm and emulative élan. Let us turn our revolutionary heroism on the battlefields into resolve to overcome all difficulties, let us build socialism more actively than before.'[1] Thus, the DRV is tackling the difficult problems of postwar rehabilitation and further development of the national economy.

The foundations of socialist economy were laid in North Vietnam during the years of peaceful construction, from 1954 to 1964. An agrarian reform was carried out and cooperative farms were formed providing the basis for reshaping agriculture along socialist lines. Private industry and trade were gradually replaced by mixed state-capitalist enterprises. Artisans and small traders joined in cooperatives. As a result the socialist sector came to dominate in all branches of the economy.

An important stage in the industrialization drive was the first five-year plan (1961-1965), all the main indicators of which were met despite the beginning of the aggression. By 1964, industrial output was eight times higher, and agriculture 60 per cent higher, than in 1954. Industry's share in the gross aggregate product of industry and agriculture rose from 17 to 53 per cent, and the DRV became an industrial-agrarian country.[2]

In the conditions of imperialist aggression the WPPV and government of the DRV worked to promote economic advance, strengthen the nation's military-economic potential and enhance the combat capabilities of the army and the people. The motto for Vietnam's workers was, 'One does the work of two.' The war required the dispersal of industrial plants. To make every province a self-contained economic unity, a policy of priority development of agriculture

and local industries was adopted. This made it possible to meet essential requirements in food, clothing and housing. However, the aggression inflicted tremendous damage on the economy.

Now the people are rallying, with the help of the fraternal socialist countries, substantially to increase production. The socialist emulation movement for meeting the targets of the 1973 state plan ahead of schedule was launched under the motto, 'Great Victory Spring.' One hundred and fifty-nine industrial, agricultural and cultural projects have been named priority targets. Summing up the results of the first few months of peaceful labor, the DRV press speaks of the achievements of workers, farmers and intellectuals. The WPPV's central organ *Nhan dan* (People) has introduced a special column, 'At the Labor Production Front.'

Speaking at a session of the National Assembly in February 1973,[3] Prime Minister Pham Van Dong stressed that the rehabilitation and development of the national economy had to be carried out on a new basis. It was necessary, he said, to go over from small to large-scale production, especially in agriculture. He listed the following tasks as foremost priorities: getting transport back to normal, rehabilitating and developing the most important industries, expanding consumer goods production, boosting agriculture through mechanization, irrigation and land reclamation, special attention to production management and rational distribution of manpower, expanding exports and imports. Among social problems the Prime Minister singled out the importance of rallying all forces and means to stabilize and improve living conditions and satisfy popular demand, especially in the areas that suffered most from war devastation.

The guidelines of national economic policy are laid down in Party documents, speeches of Party and government leaders, and articles by Vietnamese economists carried in the Party press and economic publications, and they concentrate not only on positive experience but on shortcomings as well.

Current and long-term problems of economic development were key topics of the 19th (1971) and 20th (1972) plenary sessions of the Party Central Committee. The main economic task of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is the creation of the material and technical base of socialism abreast of the scientific and technological revolution. The WPPV sees industrialization as the key task of the transitional period, to be carried out in several long-term economic plans. 'The general line of the Party and the socialist revolution,' Party First Secretary Le Duan wrote in his article, 'Some Personnel Problems and Organizational Questions in the Socialist Revolution,' 'is firm dictatorship of the proletariat. It is socialist industrialization aimed at creating large-scale socialist industry through the priority development of the heavy industry within rational limits on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industries, through the simultaneous development of central and local industry and combining economic with defense considerations.'[4]

The character of industrialization differs from one socialist coun-

try to another. In the DRV, Vietnamese economists hold, the process should proceed in two directions. On the one hand, the idea is to develop cottage industries into semi-mechanized and mechanized enterprises, and to promote local industry both of which will help in building up big industry; on the other, 'it is necessary to rely on the advantages of the socialist economy, the active help of fraternal countries and international exchange to create a big industry with modern technologies.'[5]

Socialist industrialization is based on the development of the heavy industries: power, iron ad steel, machine building, mining, chemicals, building materials. Priority among these branches should be given to machine building in order to provide factories with modern machines and systems. This will make it possible to double or triple labor productivity.

During the imperialist aggression economic and financial management at factories deteriorated and, as a consequence, at some of them raw materials and primary products are often wasted and the equipment utilization factor sometimes is no more than 40 or 50 per cent.[6] Accordingly, much attention is given to questions of organization and management. It has been decided to conduct a census of the basic funds of central and local state-owned and mixed enterprises to determine war damage and the residual value, structure and quality of the basic funds in order to ensure their efficient use.[7]

Piece-work is being introduced more and more extensively, which, as the newspaper *Nhân dân* wrote, 'embodies the worker's duty to the state and the duty and interests of the state. Its main purpose is to boost labor productivity, improve quality and reduce costs.'[8]

In view of the importance of proper selection, placing, utilization and training of personnel in economic and social administration, the WPPV Politbureau passed a decision 'On Cadres Work in the New Period.'[9] It stresses that executive personnel should be well versed in Marxism-Leninism, unswervingly promote the Party line, continuously improve their professional standards, strictly observe labor discipline, understand the masses and respect the people's right to be collective master.

In May 1973, the Prime Minister's Office issued a decree 'On Measures to Enhance and Improve the Training of Skilled Workers at the Present Stage.' It instructs ministries and departments to build vocational schools faster and improve the instruction at existing schools by providing study aids and more teachers.

In an article entitled 'Questions of Development of Local Industry in Conditions of Industrialization,' printed in the June 1973 issue of the *Economic Studies* magazine, economist Thanh Son cites data on the development of this sector and examines its prospects. Thus, in 1971, the basic funds in local industries constituted 22 per cent of the total for industry as a whole, while their gross output was more than half the total. Local industry produces more

than 60 per cent of the national consumer goods output and 90 to 100 per cent of farm implements, lime, bricks, roof tiling, mosquito netting, etc.[10] The author holds that the development of local industry should provide for further mechanization and stronger links with state economic bodies (raw materials, marketing, prices, taxation, etc.)

North Vietnam's industrialization is closely linked with the development of agriculture and the light industry, with extensive reliance on help from the socialist countries (in technical know-how and some essential supplies). Three main tasks have been set for agriculture in the next few years: attaining yields of five tons per hectare for two harvests from all rice paddies; raising farm labor productivity to one worker per hectare of farmland; raising two pigs per hectare of farmland. To meet these objectives it is essential to perfect the structure of agricultural management, boost production through specialization, create a new material and technical base, improve farm implements, build new irrigation systems, improve breeding methods, etc.[11]

On April 28, 1969, the National Assembly's Standing Committee approved the new model Agricultural Cooperative Charter, which asserts the right of co-ownership of the cooperative for all members without any kind of discrimination. The cooperative's financial activities are based on cost accounting. The *Nhân dân* noted in an editorial that 'the practice of determining specific production assignments and remuneration according to the results achieved in implementing them enhances the personal sense of responsibility of cooperative members for their labor.'[12]

A mass campaign 'For Developing Democracy and Consolidating the System of Collective Cooperative Leadership' has been launched in the villages. Each cooperative must draw up its own charter on the basis of the Model Charter.

The eminent economist Vu Ngoc Khue in an article, 'Some Considerations Concerning the Forms of Production Ties in Our Agriculture at the Present Stage,' published in the December 1972 issue of the journal *Economic Studies*, cites some interesting data on the development of farm production in the DRV.[13] Over the last few years the state has been supplying the countryside with growing quantities of machines, seed and fertilizers. Electric power consumption in agriculture has increased tens of times over. In 1955 there were only 386 junior grade graduate specialists in agriculture; in 1970 there were 16,822 specialists with a secondary technical education and 2,585 specialist organizers of farm production. Between 1960 and 1970, the basic funds of cooperatives increased fivefold, and circhlating funds, twofold. However, for a number of reasons gross farm output had increased by only 44.3 per cent, and mechanization so far extends to only 26 per cent of the cultivated farmland.

In the author's view, to launch large-scale specialized farm production it is essential to build up extensive inter-cooperative ties,

e.g., in buidling irrigation systems, pooling farmland for mechanzed cultivation, setting up plants to process farm produce, manufacture fodder, building materials, etc. Similar links should also be promoted between cooperatives and state organizations.

Relations between the state and the peasants are being perfected as a result of the growing unity of workers and peasants. Thus, the state has begun to set fixed farm taxes and food procurement quotas and prices for long periods not geared to increases in farm production.

Much attention is given to the concentration of agricultural production. By the end of 1970, the DRV had 19,924 cooperative farms, with an average of 156 families and 247 workers per farm. On many farms production is highly fragmented, with low labor productivity, low marketable output and high overhead.[14] Currently a merger drive is on. 'Cooperative mergers,' write the *Nhân dân* in an editorial, is the only way to lower production costs and increase the incomes of cooperatives and individual members. In a large cooperative, correct work organization aimed at reducing the number of paddy farmers opens up opportunities for expanding livestock farming and other poorly developed branches of agriculture.'[15]

In its drive to increase its export potentialities the DRV is seeking to take the greatest possible advantage of its geographical situation and soil and climate conditions by expanding industrial crops and horticulture. To help raise the marketing capacity of such farms the state will supply them with foodstuffs on a contract basis.

In 1971, the DRV produced 8,000 metric tons of dry tea; tea plantations occupied 21,000 hectares, of which 18,000 belonged to state farms and cooperatives. Although state farms account for only one-third of the plantations, they produce two-thirds of the total tea output. By 1975 it is planned to expand tea plantations by 50 per cent and achieve higher yields, with the objective of increasing output three to four times by 1980.[16]

In the coming five to ten years it is also planned to start large pineapple plantations and increase the harvest to 0.8-1 million tons, of which 100-150 thousand tons will be exported fresh and 200-250 thousand tons canned.[17] 'Merging the small, scattered farms growing industrial and tropical crops into large, integrated units will be a long and difficult procress,' writes the *Nhân dân*, 'but it has been amply demonstrated in practice that wherever large specialized farms have been set up labor productivity and output tend to rise in spite of numerous difficulties and shortcomings.'[18]

One of the prime factors of the DRV's successes in building socialism is economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In the ten years of peaceful development from 1955 to 1964 the socialist countries supplied aid worth more than 800 million rubles. They sent specialists in many fields, supplied machines, factory plant, raw materials

and consumer goods. They helped the young republic to train scientific and technical personnel, cultural workers, teachers, etc.

The assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries helped to foil the imperialist plans of dislocating the economy and strangulating the country by hunger and destruction. Naturally, a large proportion of the wartime assistance was for defense and rebuilding the economy on a war footing. The press of many countries has stressed that the Soviet Union provided the bulk of all the aid channeled to the DRV during the war. 'The great and effective help and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the Vietnamese people represented an immeasurably important factor that contributed to the achievement of our victory,' Nguyen Duy Trinh, Politbureau member, vice-premier and foreign minister, declared in January 1973.

Today the aspects and volume of economic and technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and the DRV are geared to the vitally important tasks of rehabilitating the economy. The USSR is helping in the construction of the Thac Ba hydroelectric station, the country's largest; in expanding the Uong Bi thermal power plant; in building the Vang Danh and Mong Duong coal mines; in expanding the Hanoi Mechanical Works; in building a mining machinery works at Kampha and a bakery in Hanoi; in reconstructing the Haiphong port; in agricultural and other projects.

Specialists from Poland helped to rehabilitate and reconstruct a steam-engine and wagon repair depot at Gialam and a sugar refinery at Van Dien, build a shipyard at Bail Chay, a ship engine repair plant and structural steel works in Hanoi. The GDR is helping to build a rolling mill at Thai Nguyen; Rumania and Poland are helping to build brick and tile works; Hungary and Bulgaria are assisting in building poultry and meatpacking plants.[19]

In the summer of 1973 a tour of socialist countries by a DRV Party and government delegation on official friendly visits produced new agreements on granting the DRV economic assistance. During its stay in the Soviet Union the latter announced its readiness to restore all projects built with Soviet assistance and help in building new industrial enterprises, including power plants, to facilitate socialist industrialization. In 1974, the Soviet Union will supply industrial and agricultural equipment, transport means, consumer goods and food.

The CC CPSU and the Soviet Government have decided to treat all earlier credits granted by the Soviet Union for the economic development of the DRV as free aid. Similar decisions were taken by the governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR and Czechoslovakia.

One of the authors of this article returned not long ago from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, where he visited factories, cooperative farms and state farms. Wherever one went one could see the people's élan, their determination to restore the national economy as swiftly as possible and advance along the road of so-

cialism. Many factories fulfilled the 1973 plan ahead of schedule and manufactured tens of millions of dongs' worth of produce over and above their targets. The greatest success was chalked up by workers of the power industry: although restoration is still in progress, electricity output in 1973 was almost 24 per cent higher than the 1965 level.[20]

On the eve of 1974, Party First Secretary Le Duan visited the provinces Thai Binh and Namha. In talks with local Party functionaries and civil servants he stressed that the new situation called for higher responsibility and discipline in carrying out state plans and the promotion of grass-roots creative initiative. In agriculture, special attention should be given to its intensification and enhancing its market output. Pig breeding should be encouraged to help increase meat production, and not only in the state and cooperative sectors, but on the household plots of cooperative members as well.

Le Duan noted in conclusion that members of the Working People's Party should be in the van of the working people, providing an example in labor competition, discipline and thriftiness.[21]

'The forces of socialism have consolidated and strengthened in all spheres in North Vietnam,' states the leading article in the New Year issue of *Nhân dân*. 'The motto of socialist construction in North Vietnam now is: "Everything for Production." In his Testament President Ho Chi Minh advised us: "The Party must have a good plan for the development of the economy and culture, to continuously raise the people's living standard." Every one of us must do everything possible to carry out these recommendations of the President.'[22]

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Victor Rastorguyev, M.Sc. (Economics)

1. *Hoc tap*, February, 1973.
2. See Le Duan, *Selected Articles and Speeches* (1965-1970). Moscow, 1971 (in Russian), pp. 170, 182-183.
3. *Nhan dan*, February 22, 1973.
4. *Nhan dan*, 14 March, 1973.
5. Le Duan, op. cit., p. 250.
6. *Hoc tap*, June 1973, p. 21.
7. *Nhan dan*, 22 June, 1973.
8. *Nhan dan*, 22 June, 1973.
9. *Nhan dan*, 12 March, 1973.
10. *Nghien cu'u kinh te*, No. 73, 1973, p. 17.
11. *Hoc tap*, February 1971, p. 4; May 1972, pp. 7-8.
12. *Nhan dan*, 21 June, 1973.
13. *Nghien cu'u kinh te*, No. 70, 1972, pp. 23-27.
14. Ibid. pp. 23, 25.
15. *Nhan dan*, 20 June, 1973.
16. *Nghien cu'u kinh te*, No. 70, 1972, pp. 3-4.

17. Ibid. p. 15. (The manufacture of one ton of canned pieapple requires three or four tons of the fresh fruit.)

18. *Nhan dan*, 5 July, 1973.

19. Offers of help to the DRV or the countries of Indochina as a whole were also made by Sweden, New Zealand, the FRG, Holland, France, Finland, Canada, Japan and other countries. Speaking at an international conference on Vietnam, A. A. Gromyko, member of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU and USSR Foreign Minister, noted that 'all-round support of the Vietnamese people to ensure the speedy overcoming of the destructive consequences of the war can and should become an act of solidarity of peoples and nations irrespective of their social system' (*Pravda*, 28 February, 1973).

20. *Nhan dan*, 31 December, 1973.

21. *Nhan dan*, 28 December, 1973.

22. *Nhan dan*, 1 January, 1974.

Women in the class struggle

A REVIEW OF SOME BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

'An important feature of our epoch is the large-scale participation of women in the class struggle, the anti-imperialist movement and, in particular, the struggle for peace,' noted the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Both the progressive and the bourgeois press are concerned with the problem of women's rights. Many authors stress that the surge of conscious struggle for female equality and emancipation in capitalist countries is one of the distinctive features of our time, an indicator of the expansion of revolutionary movement. This is especially true of the developed capitalist countries, where millions of women workers are taking part in the class struggles.

Such magazines as *Political Affairs* (USA), *Marxism Today* (Great Britain) and *Cahiers du communisme* (France) have been commenting[1] on the sharp increase in the numbers of women workers and the fast growth of their share in the labor force: 43 per cent of the total in the United States, 40 per cent in Sweden and Finland, 37 per cent in France, and more than 30 per cent in Great Britain.

Attention is being drawn to the apparent 'rejuvenation' of the female work force. Lately, writes French CGT General Secretary Henri Krasucki, many young women have come into industry, and they have injected the labor movement with dynamism and a high sense of devotion.[2]

In the United States, the number of young women in the work force has almost doubled over the last 20 years. As Christine Nel-

1. *Political Affairs*, May 1973; *Marxism Today*, February-October, 1973; *Cahiers du communisme*, October 1973.

2. *Les femmes salariées*. Paris, 1973, p. 224.

son, leader of an American women's organization, points out, 'Younger women take work much more for granted. They are continuing to work. As soon as children are born, they are arranging for child care – not taking five or ten years out, because they realize how hard it is to get back in.'[3]

The influx of women into the work force is, by and large, a consequence of neither women's lib nor get-rich hopes. 'The chief reason is old-fashioned necessity,' write the *US News and World Report*.[4] Nearly two-thirds of all women workers are single, divorced, widowed or have husbands who cannot support their families. Another cause of the rise in female labor is, according to the magazine, the growing demand for cheap labor at a time of runaway inflation. But as before, on the job women find discrimination, violation of the equal pay laws won in hard struggles, etc.

'Millions of British women are grossly underpaid so that their bosses can be grossly overpaid,' writes British Communist Rosemary Small. '. . . Women are doubly robbed by the vicious system of sex discrimination which gives employers an extra £1,200 million a year profit.[5]

And in the United States, writes Alva Buxenbaum, member of the Political Committee, CPUSA, and head of its National Women's Commission, annual surplus profits from underpaid women's labor amount to $63 billion.[6] According to the magazine *Weg und Ziel* (Austria), women earn substantially less than men for the same work: 41 per cent in Great Britain, 32 per cent in Belgium, per cent in West Germany, 25 per cent in Italy, and 23 per cent in France.[7]

By underpaying women monopoly inteersts bring pressure to bear on the labor market, forcing down wage standards at factory, industry and national levels.

'A study of women's participation in government, politics and public life in capitalist countries,' write the authors of a monograph called *Women of the World in the Fight for Social Progress*, 'reveals the glaring contrast between the part played by women in industry and their participation in public life, between formal recognition of their political rights and the realization of those rights, the say women have in the issues at home and abroad.'[8]

Well-known West German publicist U. Erler comes to the conclusion that in the FRG, as in other capitalist countries, most women belong to the most downtrodden and oppressed sections of the society and are 'far removed from decision-making in tthe professional and political fields.'[9]

Although more women finish secondary school than men, the

3. *U.S. News and World Report*, Oct. 6, 1973.
4. Ibid.
5. Rosemary Small. *Women: the Road to Equality and Socialism*. London, 1973, p. 8.
6. *Political Affairs*, May 1973.
7. *Weg und Ziel*, October 1973.
8. *Zhenshchiny mira v borbe za sotsialniy progress*. Moscow, 1972, p. 184.
9. U. Erler, *Muetter in der BDR – Ideologie und Wirklichkeit*. Starnberg, 1973.

majority of university and college graduates are male. Recent surveys indicate that in the United States a female college graduate or holder of a science degree between the ages of 18 and 24 has twice the chance as her male counterpart of winding up on a lower-skilled job.[10]

In France, only 3.7 per cent of the engineers in industry are women; and but one per cent in the U.S., where they also account for as little as 3 per cent of the lawyers and less than 7 per cent of the doctors.[11]

Although women can swing an election, their representation in the elected bodies of most capitalist countries is negligible, with only 1.7 per cent women MPs in France, 2.8 in Belgium, 2.9 in Great Britain and 2.9 in Italy.[12]

But today women refuse to accept the continuation of this state of affairs and are, with mounting determination, joining the fight for social justice.

'Something unheard-off happened on the Ginza – Tokyo's main street – the other day: Japanese women protesting against the social system,' the West German *Der Spiegel* (18 June, 1973) reported incredulously. And the *US News and World Report* (11 Dec., 1972) registered similar surprise in reporting that women workers at Hughes Tool Co. in Houston, Texas, the National Can Corp. in San Leandro, California, and Dupont de Nemours in Wilmington, Delaware, had won a repeal of discriminatory labor agreements after long strikes. The news that several American companies were forced to retreat in the face of the powerful movement of women workers and raise the wages of some 29,000 made headline news in the bourgeois press.[13]

An analysis of numerous facts bears convincing proof that the upsurge of women's struggle against capital, far from being an extraordinary development, is a characteristic feature of the present-day anti-monopoly movement. As *Cahiers du communisme* notes (March 1973), it has become only natural for women 'to join the fight against the employers alongside their husbands.'

Today more and more women are joining the Communist ranks to devote themselves the more fully to the fight for fundamental social change. More than 27 per cent of the French Communist Party membership are women, and there are several thousand women functionaries in its leading bodies. 'The French Communist Party,' states its declaration of May 21, 1973, 'pays homage to all the women Communists who enable the Party to conduct a richer, more diversified policy taking into account all the problems of the masses and more in keeping with the realities of present-day life in France.'[14]

10. *US News and World Report*, October 8, 1973.

11. J. Edelman, *Women on the Job: the Communist View*. New York, 1973, p. 23; *Cahiers du Communisme*, March 1973.

12. *Zhenshchiny mira . . .*, p. 173.

13. *US News and World Report*, Dec. 11, 1973.

14. *L'Humanité*, May 22, 1973.

'The new developments in the women's liberation movement,' writes Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, 'are now moving beyond consciousness of women's oppression in the abstract, to a conscious fight against the specifics of their oppression.'[15]

The international democratic women's movement, with its core of women workers, is a powerful force in the peoples' struggle against war for democracy, progress and socialism.

Oleg Bardizh

15. G. Hall, *Capitalism on the Skids to Oblivion*. 20th National Convention, CPUSA. New York, 1972, p. 65.

Books in brief

V. I. LENIN. *O Mezhdunarodnom znachenii Opyta KPSS* (On the International Significance of CPSU Experience.) A Collection. Moscow, Politizdat, 1973, 472 pp.

Most of the items in this collection refer to the post-October Revolution period. The volume includes such works as *The Lessons of the Revolution, Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?, A Great Beginning, 'Left'-Wing Communism – an Infantile Disorder, On Cooperation, Better Fewer, But Better,* and also a number of Lenin's reports, speeches and letters.

A. BABO. *Na patria do socialisma.* (In the Birthplace of Socialism.) Lisbon, Prelo editora, 1973, 88 pp.
One of the first accounts in Portuguese of life in the Soviet Union. It records the author's impressions of a visit to the USSR. He was surprised by the low price of theatre tickets and 'the incredibly low price of medicine,' admired the new Moscow University and the Leningrad Young Pioneers Palace, describes the status of writers, lists wages of industrial workers. His numerous observations add up to a picture of the Soviet Union's socialist society.

A. BAUER, C. RUIZ DAUDET, S. BENAVENTE, W. BRAUN. *El Humanismo Victorioso.* Cuatro Enfoques Argentinos de la Republica Democratica Alemana (*Triumphant Humanism.* Four Viewpoints: Argentinians on the GDR.) Buenos Aires, 1973, 242 pp.

A journalist, a writer, a drama critic and a physician describe their visit to the first worker-peasant state on German soil. These are some of he subjects they deal with: the origins of popular rule, man of the new type, work under socialism, studying today and tomorrow, the socialist way of life.

G. E. GLEZERMAN. *Istorichesky materializm i razvitiye sotsialisti-*

cheskogo obshchestva (Historical Materialism and the Development of Socialist Society.) Moscow, Politizat, 1973, 352 pp.

The author, a Soviet philosopher, discusses the objective and subjective factor in building communism and the scientific management of social development; politics and economics; economic relations and people's interests under socialism; from class differences to social homogeneity; the new society – the new man; new type of social progress; contradictions under socialism and how they are resolved.

K. GOTTWALD. *O budovani socialisticke vlasti* (Building Our Socialist Country.) Prague, 1973, 284 pp.

Includes articles and speeches, 1945-53, on the building of socialist society, unity of the socialist camp and friendship with the Soviet Union.

C. DESMOND GREAVES. *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution.* London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1973, 400 pp.

The present conflict in Northern Ireland can be understood only in the context of Ireland's centuries-long struggle for independence. Written by a noted Marxist student of Ireland and its problems, the book is about the national-liberation war of 1919-21 which ended with the partition of Ireland and the incorporation of its northern part in the United Kingdom. Greaves describes the work of Liam Mellows, the consistent revolutionary who firmly believed that national and social liberation were the only solution to the Irish problem.

XXIV syezd KPSS: edinstvo teorii i praktiki (24th CPSU Congress: Unity of Theory and Practice.) Book I, Moscow, Politizdat, 1973, 479 pp.

Shows the many-sided activities of the CPSU in directing the building of communist society in the USSR and its vanguard role in the fight for peace, democracy and social progress. The speeches of Party and Government leaders included in this book provide a summarized picture of the Party's collective theoretical work, of how theoretical solutions are translated into practical action, and how the theory and practice of communist construction enrich each other.

A. S. KAUFMAN. *Birma: ideologiya i politika* (Burma: Ideology and Politics.) Moscow, Nauka, 1973, 395 pp.

A fundamental study of the genesis of the Burmese national-liberation movement and its ideological and political problems.

Contains a detailed history of the Burmese Communist Party and the evolution of its policy, and an account of the origin and activity of the Burmese Socialist Program Party.

A. KISS. *Marxizmus es demokracia* (Marxism and Democracy.) Budapest, 1973, 346 pp.

The mechanism of power under socialism, direct and representative democracy, leading role of the Communist Party – such are the main subjects dealt with by this Hungarian author. There is also a critique of the views of bourgeois politologists.

W. MENZEL, et al. *Imperialistische Klassenpolitik unter Anpassungszwang. Reformieren. Manipulieren. Integrieren* (Imperialist Class Policy in Conditions of Forced Adaptation. Reforms, Manipulation. Integration.) Frankfurt am Main, 1973, 353 pp.

'No experiments,' was the motto that long embellished the banner of the CDU/CSU coalition. But today even these parties declare themselves (more in word than in deed) in favor of reforms. What has caused this change-about? Mounting demands of greater democracy, worker participation in management, disarmament and détente force big business to seek new ways of staying in power. The book discusses latter-day aspects of imperialist class strategies in FRG and the ways in which big business adapts to changing conditions.

F. NADRA. *Socialism nacional* (National Socialism) Buenos Aires, Ediciones Silaba, 1973, 236 pp.
'National socialism' or the nation's road to socialism? 'Socialist' conceptions before and after Marx. Present-day 'variants' of socialism in Argentina. The dialectics of the national and international in the program of the Communist Party of Argentina. New types of relations between states born of socialism. These and other questions are examined by F. Nadra, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Nuestra palabra,* organ of the Communist Party of Argentina.

M. R. PINEAU. *Les O.S.* (The Specialized Workers.) Paris, Editions sociales, 1973, 202 pp.

Young people who know no trade, farmers forced by need to the cities, immigrants swelling the army of unskilled labor capable of performing only a simple set of monotonous operations: these are the O.S. – the *ouvrier specialisé,* the 'specialized' workers – who constitute one-third of France's working class. Drawing on interviews with workers and the findings of sociologists, statisticians and doctors, the author reproduces a picture of fierce exploitation.

W. J. POMEROY. *An American-Made Tragedy: Neo-Colonialism and*

Dictatorship in the Philippines. New York, International Publishers, 1973, 204 pp.

The book offers a comprehensive picture of political life in the Philippines, showing how subordination to U.S. imperialist interests finally resulted in the present dictatorial regime. The author analyzes the stuation in the national-liberation movement and, for the first time in an American publication, exposes in fine detail the splitting, subversive activities of the Maoists in the Philippine liberation movement. An addendum presents the full text of the Program adopted by the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

C. PREVOST. *Litterature, politique, ideologies.* (Literature, Politics, Ideology.) Preface by R. Leroy. Paris, Editions sociales, 1973, 280 pp.

Of late, French literary critics have been increasingly referring to the reflections of Marx and Lenin on literature. Many writers, however, distort them, taking them out of the context of the historical epoch and general atmosphere in which they originated. C. Prevost rids the Marxist-Leninist approach to literature of all that is superficial and alien to it. His study of the works and statements of Marx and Lenin gets to the very essence of the dialectical methodology in literature.

I. RAKOS. *A Part vezeto szereperol.* (On the Leading Role of the Party). Budapest, 1973, 181 pp.

The author, a Hungarian scholar, examines the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the party: the vanguard role and mass character of the Marxist-Leninist party, the Leninist norms of Party life, the objective and subjective conditions bearing on the party's leading role at the stage of building developed socialism, the party as the main political force of the society, the internationalist character of the Communist party.

Septemvriiskoto vestaniye 1923. (The September 1923 Uprising.) Entsiklopedia. Sofia. Partizdat, 1973, 312 pp.

The volume offers a broad panorama of the heroic events of 1923 in 1,600 entries describing the June and September popular uprisings in Bulgaria. Separate articles are devoted to the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Alliance and the Central Military-Revolutionary Committee.

B. SYZDEK. *Droga do jednosci* (The Road to Unity.) Warsaw, Widawnictwo MON, 1973, 235 pp.

The author describes the difficult, torturous road of the Polish revolutionary movement, from the 1893 split to the 1948 reunification into a new, monolithic, Marxist-Leninist working-class party – the Polish United Workers' Party. The close cohesion of the work-

ing class and the people around the revolutionary party is the key to the successes of people's Poland in building socialism and the enhancement of its international prestige.

I. BROZ-TITO. *Izbranniye statyi i rechi* (Selected Articles and Speeches.) Moscow, Politizdat, 1973, 742 pp.
The volume covers the years 1941 to 1973, with the articles and speeches grouped according to subject matter. The first section is devoted to the international significance of V. I. Lenin's teaching and the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, their impact on the revolutionary movement in Yugoslavia. Another section deals with the Yugoslav peoples' heroic struggle against the Hitler invaders and the part played by Communists in organizing the liberation movement, dismantling the old system and building the new life. Much space is devoted to questions of strengthening Yugoslav-Soviet friendship.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA (CPC)

Founded on October 3, 1965. That day the Party's First Secretary, Major Fidel Castro, informed leading Party functionaries and branch secretaries assembled in Havana of the CC decision to adopt the name Communist Party of Cuba.

In setting up the Institute of History of the Communist Movement and Socialist Revolution of Cuba, the CC Political Bureau noted that the Communist movement in the country dated from the 1920s. Under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia, the Communist groups operating in various parts of the country formed Cuba's first Marxist-Leninist party, the Communist Party, in 1925. Among its founders was Carlos Balino. In 1892 he and José Marti founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party, which fought for national independence and freedom from Spanish colonial rule.

Thus there was continuity and a cloe connection between the struggles for independence waged in those years and the subsequent winning of genuine and definitive independence. This was a result of the victorious operations of the Insurgent Army under Fidel Castro. On January 1, 1959 the revolution overthrew the pro-imperialist tyranny and raised the banner of socialism and communism on the Latin American continent.

By late 1973 the CPC had 170,000 members.

Party branches are formed in enterprises and offices on the principle of work place and leading committees, on the territorial principle. There are six provincial, 59 regional and 416 municipal (or sectional) committees and over 16,000 branches.

The Party is guided by the standards of democratic centralism and Leninist organizational principles.

The highest authority is: for the branch, the general meeting, for the various territorial committees, the general meeting of delegates and for the whole Party, the congress. General meetings and congresses elect leading bodies and committees at all levels which, in turn, elect bureaus.

Forty-five per cent of the Party membership are under 35 years of age, 25 per cent have received a secondary, incomplete or complete higher education, and 55 per cent hold jobs in various fields

of material production. Women make up 13 per cent of the membership.

In shaping its composition, the Party combines the principle of voluntary adherence with a strict selective approach involving the cooperation of the masses. It has a relatively small membership but not so the various mass organizations on which it leans for support. These organizations include the Working People's Trade Union Center and National Association of Small Farmers. The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and the Federation of Cuban Women together have over five million members.

Party press: *Granma,* national daily of the CC CPC, circulation 600,000. Every province, except for Havana Province, has its own Party daily: Pinar del Rio, *Guerrillero* (Guerrilla), 15,000; Matanzas, *Giron,* 15,000; Las Villas, *Vanguardia* (Vanguard), 25,000; Camaguey, *Adelante* (Forward), 25,000. Oriente Province publishes three dailies: in Santiago de Cuba, *Sierra Maestra,* 45,000, in Holguin, *Ahora* (Now), 10,000, and in Guantanamo, *Venceremos* (We Shall Win), 4,500.

There is also the CC Secretariat's monthly *El Militante Comunista* (The Communist), which carries articles on Party experience, ideological problems, propaganda and other matters. It has a circulation of 150,000.

The Party organizations of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces have a monthly, *Trabajo Politico* (Political Work).

The Young Communist League publishes the daily *Juventud Rebelde* (Insurgent Youth) in 200,000 copies.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL (CPI)

Founded in March 1919. Originally named Socialist Workers' Party of Palestine. Renamed Communist Party of Palestine in 1921, and Communist Party of Israel following the foundation of the State of Israel (May 1948).

Following the Second Congress (October 1920) it has been structured to unite Jews and Arabs in one revolutionary organization. In line with the territorial-industrial principle, the Party cells operate at the places of work or residence of members, and come under district or regional organizations.

The supreme body is Congress, convened every four years. Congress elects the Central Committee and the Control Commission. The Central Committee elects the Political Bureau and the Secretariat.

An idea of the Party's social composition may be obtained from the composition of the delegates to the latest, 17th Congress (1972): factory workers 65 per cent, office workers 7, professionals 19, housewives 4, farmers 2, students 3.

Age pattern: 30 and under – 20 per cent, 31-40 – 27 per cent, 41-50 – 29 per cent, 51-60 – 17 per cent, over 60 – 7 per cent. Women

in the Party: 16 per cent. The number of Jewish and Arab members is approximately equal.

The 17th Congress resolutions stress the priority objective of fighting for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories and working for a Middle East peace. Congress called on the people and the country's peace champions to unite in a peace front, and approved a special peace program based on the provisions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. Congress called for an anti-imperialist democratic front and adopted a comprehensive action program designed to lay the groundwork for Israel's passage to the higher, socialist stage of the revolution.

The Party extends guidance to the Young Communist League, Democratic Women's Movement, Israeli Association of Anti-Fascist Fighters and Victims of Nazism, and Israel-USSR Friendship Movement.

The Party press:

Zu Gaderekh (This Way), weekly paper in Hebrew; *Al-Ittihad* (Alliance), twice a week paper in Arabic; *Arakhim* (Values), quarterly theoretical journal in Hebrew; *Al-Darb* (The Way) quarterly theoretical journal in Arabic; *Lainyan* (Forward), quarterly youth journal of YCL, in Hebrew; *Al-Rad* (Tomorrow), monthly youth journal of YCL, in Arabic; *Al-Jadid* (The New), monthly socio-political and literary journal in Arabic.

In the December 1973 Knesset elections the CPI won four seats. Many Communists were elected to municipal and rural councils.

JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (JCP)

Constituted in November 1943 as the National Liberation League, most of its founders were members of the Communist Party of Palestine. Renamed the Jordanian Communist Party in September 1951.

Ever since 1948 the JCP has been operating in a climate of terror and persecution, which assumed a particularly brutal character when, after 1951, a law against communism was enacted.

When, during Israel's aggression against Arab countries (June 1967), the anti-imperialist, democratic movement in Jordan gained in intensity, all imprisoned Jordanian Communists were set free and the JCP was enabled to operate as a semi-legal organization.

In July 1967 the CC JCP adopted a provisional program specifying the main lines of struggle to eliminate the effects of Israeli aggression and of resistance to imperialism and home reaction. The program defines as the fundamental task the formation of a national coalition government capable of mobilizing the people to fight against Israeli aggression.

A Party conference in April 1970 reaffirmed the main points of the provisional program and declared for combining non-armed political and armed struggle to bring about a settlement of the Middle

East crisis. It devoted much attention to the Party's organizational work and elected new leading committees.

In August 1973 the JCP, making common cause with other patriotic forces of the occupied areas, played a leading role in the formation of the Palestinian National Front of the occupied territories, whose function is to lead the struggle of the population of these territories.

Party press:

– *Al Jamahir* (The Masses), illegal newspaper appearing once or twice a month and distributed in Jordan;

– *Al Watan* (The Homeland), a newspaper published illegally once or twice a month and distributed in the occupied areas;

– *Al Haqiqa* (The Truth), theoretical and political monthly published illegally in two editions, one for Jordan and the other for the occupied areas.

PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA (PPP)

Founded in April 1930, as the Communist Party of Panama, through the unification of Communist groups and the Left wing of the Labor Party. Internal struggles led to its dissolution in 1943, but in the same year, several groups united to found the People's Party of Panama.

The opportunist wing succeeded at first in imparting a reformist character to the Party. At the Third Congress (1951), however, the opportunists were defeated and the Marxist-Leninist principles of Party activity restored.

Branches (cells and *activos*) are formed in enterprises or places of residence – urban neighborhoods or rural communities. The *activo* is a branch set up where the Party is passing through a period of growth. It comprises both actual members and those who have decided to join the Party. It may eventually be transformed into a cell. Today the Party has hundreds of branches of this type. Branches are led by neighborhood committees in cities and local committees in rural communities and are subordinated to zonal committees. The major provinces have regional committees (leading bodies are now being set up in all other provinces).

The Party's supreme authority is the National Congress, which meets every four years, according to the Rules. The Congress elects a Central Committee, the highest Party authority in between congresses. The CC elects from its members a Political Bureau, a General Secretary and a Secretariat, making up the National Executive Committee. The CC appoints a control and personnel commission and a finance and auditing commission.

The latest PPP congress, the Fifth, met in September 1968. It passed a political resolution and decided to draft a Party program and transform the PPP into a mass party of the working class and other working people. It pointed to the need to combine all forms

of revolutionary struggle and outlined measures for more effective ideological work among the masses.

The PPP has grown substantially in the recent period.

The Party has its monthly newspaper, *Unidad* (Unity). It also publishes books, pamphlets and information bulletins.

The PPP is setting up a permanent school to train cadres. It organizes classes for new cadre members and holds seminars and conferences. Interest in Marxist-Leninist theoretical publications has lately become much keener among members.

Editions of the journal

'PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM' 1974

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH

(World Marxist Review):

Central Books Ltd., 37 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C. 1, England.

Progress Subscription Service, 487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto 2B, Ontario, Canada.

Imported Publications, 320 W. Ohio St., Chicago, Ill. 60610, USA

FRENCH EDITIONS

(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale):

Societe d'Edition et d'Information 9, Boulevard des Italiens, Paris (2e) France.

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GERMAN EDITIONS:

Deutscher Buch-Export und Import GmbH, Leipzig 701, Leninstrasse 16.

'Globus', Vertrieb ausländischer Zeitschriften, Wien XX, Höchstädtplatz 3, Austria.

Genossenschaft Literaturbetrieb Zürich, Zürich 4, Feldstrasse 46, Switzerland.

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