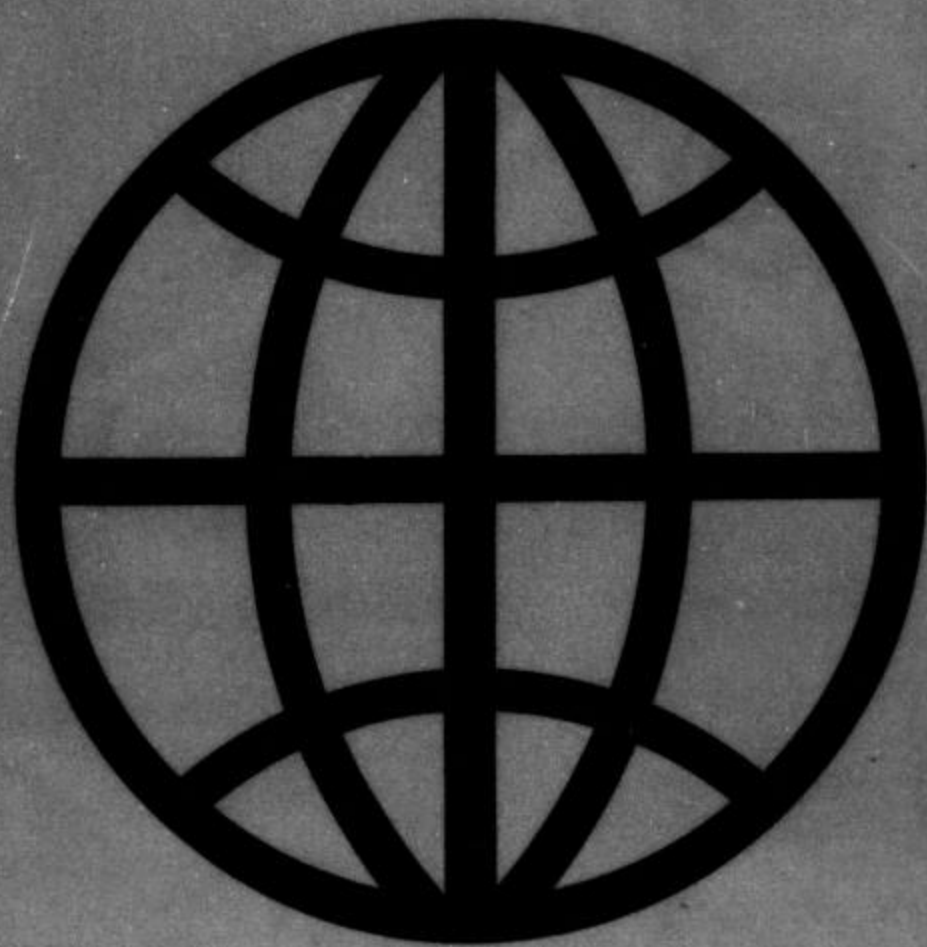


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

**ECONOMIC OUTLOOK
FOR NIXON**
VICTOR PERLO



**Soviet Workers
Today**

**Towards a
Left Alliance
in Britain**

**Anatomy of
the Israeli
Aggression**

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

APRIL 1969

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COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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Raymond GUYOT, Member of Political Bureau, French Communist Party:

At every stage, the existence, activity and strengthening of the Communist Party is an essential condition for the victory of socialism. The Communist Party is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and of the entire people.

That is one of the theses in the Manifesto of the French Communist Party, the content of which is examined in the article, "For an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France."

Knud JESPERSEN, Chairman, Communist Party of Denmark, on the 23rd Congress of the CPD:

The Congress reaffirmed our determination to cement the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, welcoming the coming international conference and expressing the hope that it will help reinforce the ideological unity of the Communist movement.

On April 22, 1969, it is 99 years since Lenin's birth.

LENINIANA

tells of the dissemination and spread of Lenin's works and works about him and his immortal teaching.

Boris VELCHEV, Member of Political Bureau, Secretary of Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party:

We center our effort on speeding growth harmoniously, according to plan, in all areas of life—the economy and politics, social life, science, ideology and culture. It is our purpose to carry through an all-embracing strategy in developing our socialist system.

Heads of the planning agencies of Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia tell about the economic growth of their countries in 1968 and discuss prospects for the current year.

The Soviet Working Class Today

That is the topic of a round-table discussion held by members of our editorial board with workers from 21 Leningrad factories.

Communications and Comment

That is the head for **Observer's** article on how the imperialist forces comport themselves.

Victor PERLO, U.S. economist,

expresses his views on U.S. economic problems under the new administration.

Viewpoints

Soviet economists **M. MIKHAILOV** and **A. MOTYLYOV** examine economic relationships and interests under socialism. **Teodosio VARELA**, Central Committee member, Communist Party of Colombia, continues the discussion of the problems of Latin American economic integration.

Anatomy of Israeli Aggression

That is the title of an article about the 2nd International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples.

Books and Journals:

Guy BESSE, alternate Member of Political Bureau, French Communist Party, reviews the latest book by Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party.

Other reviews concern **NUEVA ERA**, the journal of the Argentine Communists, which celebrates its 20th anniversary this year, and "In Praise of Ideology," a book by **Erwin Scharf**, Member of Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria.

Communique

on sessions of Preparatory Committee of International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

The Preparatory Committee of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties met in Moscow over March 18-22.

Delegations from the following Communist and Workers' Parties were present: Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, British Communist Party, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of Venezuela, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Guadeloupe, Guatemala Party of Labor, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of India, Jordanian Communist Party, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Irish Workers' Party, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Communist Party of Spain, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Lebanon, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Martinique Communist Party, Communist Party of Mexico, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Socialist Party of Nicaragua, People's Party of Panama, Communist Party of Paraguay, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto-Rican Communist Party, Reunion Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, Communist Party of San Marino, Communist Party of Syria, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Sudanese Communist Party, Communist Party of the USA, Communist Party of Tunisia, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Chile, Swiss Party of Labor, Communist Party of Ecuador, South African Communist Party.

The Left Party-Communists, Sweden, was represented by observers.

The Preparatory Committee discussed the draft of the main document for the forthcoming meeting, the agenda for which, as agreed by the Consultative Meeting, will be: "The Tasks of the

Struggle Against Imperialism at the Present Stage and the Unity of Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of All Anti-Imperialist Forces."

The participants expressed their viewpoints and agreed to send the draft to the Central Committees of the Parties, which will be informed by their delegates about the work of the Preparatory Committee. Furthermore, they agreed on the procedure for drafting other documents for the meeting.

Also discussed were organizational matters. The Preparatory Committee will meet for a final session on May 23, in Moscow. The International Meeting is scheduled to open in Moscow on June 5.

The Preparatory Committee confirmed the invitation to all Communist and Workers' Parties to take part in the forthcoming meeting.

The work of the Preparatory Committee, conducted in an atmosphere of comradely co-operation, afforded further proof of the growing aspirations of Parties towards unity in the fight against imperialism, for common aims on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism.

For an advanced democracy, for a socialist France

RAYMOND GUYOT

At its meeting in Champigny-sur-Marne on December 5-6, 1968, the Central Committee of the French Communist Party adopted a Manifesto, *For an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France*, the full text of which appeared in *l'Humanité* and later as a pamphlet, of which more than one million copies have already been sold. The Manifesto evoked a veritable spate of press comment, many papers printing extensive excerpts. It has become the subject of lively and analytical discussion in all Party organizations, and of lectures arranged in many parts of France.

It reaffirms anew the ideas enunciated at the 18th Party Congress and answers questions agitating the minds of the millions of Frenchmen who are becoming more keenly aware of the ruinous policy of the capitalist monopolies and the government that has been faithfully serving them for the past ten years. The Manifesto is addressed to all Frenchmen concerned for their country's political, economic, cultural and scientific development.

In submitting the draft Manifesto to the Central Committee, Waldeck Rochet emphasized that an examination of the mass strike struggles of last May and June, the trends and forces they revealed, "helps us more closely to analyze the changes taking place in the country and to get a clearer picture of the conditions for socialist advance."

Benôit Frachon, President of the General Confederation of Labor, remarked that May and June strikes and demonstrations

were, in a way, the first really big clash of the present period of accelerated capitalist concentration, the first big clash between the workers and monopolies, now caught in a tangle of insoluble contradictions."

The May and June events brought to the surface all the contradictions of capitalism, highlighted the sharpness of the labor-capital class struggle in conditions of state-monopoly capitalism. They gave the lie to the theory that in a highly-developed capitalist society class struggle tends to abate, and that this will, eventually, rule out the very possibility of acute social crises that might endanger monopoly power.

For the first time some 10 million working people downed tools and occupied the factories, offices and schools. They won substantial economic and social gains: an average 14 per cent wage and salary rise, a pledge gradually to reinstate the 40-hour work week, legal recognition of the trade unions' right to function in the enterprises, and a number of positive measures for the universities.

But in addition to these immediate and vital demands, the movement aimed at much deeper, fundamental social change. For one thing, it sharply posed the question of replacing monopoly power, as represented by the Gaullist regime. In those stormy May and June days, the class struggle took a very long and important step forward.

Along with the working class, whose decisive role was so strikingly demonstrated,

it involved new sections of manual and non-manual workers who had come to appreciate the need for far-reaching changes in France's social and political system. But what was lacking to put an end to monopoly power was a firm alliance around a common program, and not only of the parties of the Left, but also of the principal trade union organizations. In other words, there was no genuine alliance of the working class and the other progressive and anti-monopoly social strata of town and country.

Consequently, though the mass movement was a big step forward, the relationship of forces was such that the working class and its allies were not in a position to take over political power, on which irresponsible Left groups so vociferously insisted.

At every stage of the fight our Party worked to create the conditions needed to replace the Gaullist regime, and it was no fault of the Communist Party that all the forces drawn into the struggle could not be welded together in a firm alliance.

But this should not detract from the important fact that the May-June struggle won over to socialism new sections of manual and non-manual workers.

By holding up the bogey of civil war and exploiting voter fear and misgivings, the Gaullist government was able—not without the help of Leftist groups and their reckless antics—to win the June 23 and June 30 elections. Subsequent events however, showed that the root causes of the spring battles had not been eliminated. The recent by-elections in four constituencies—the Paris suburb Issy-les-Moulineaux, Martigues (near Marseille), Hyères (near Toulon) and Clary (Nord department)—where our Party increased its vote by six or more per cent, are evidence that the June elections did not truly reflect the alignment of class forces. On the other hand, the policy and activity of the General Confederation of Labor has given new scope to the movement to defend and extend the May gains against monopoly and government attempts to nullify them.

Major economic, social and political battles remain on the order of the day. This doubtlessly explains the lively interest in the Manifesto, which sets out a consistent democratic policy designed to lead France to socialism.

* * *

Part One of the Manifesto, *For a Broad Alliance of All the Social Strata That Are*

Victims of the Monopoly Power, deals primarily with the effects of economic and social structural changes.

French society is more and more characterized by the concentration of enormous power in the hands of a tiny group of monopolists at one pole, and by the deterioration of the conditions of life and work of the vast majority of the population at the other. A small financial oligarchy controls the country's main economic and political levers. The state is completely mobilized to protect and increase the profits of big capital.

The process of monopoly concentration is being accelerated. This means more speed-up, more pressure on wages, higher taxes, growing unemployment, capitalist concentration in agriculture, production anarchy and worsening conditions for the vast majority of peasants, the ruin of artisans and small traders.

The Manifesto deals at length with the technical revolution, the hallmark of our age, and its consequences. One of these is the massive increase in numbers of white-collar workers whose incomes and working conditions are coming closer and closer to those of the working class.

There are now three million engineering specialists, technicians, research workers and teachers, the latter numbering 600,000. Despite diversity of conditions, the great majority painfully feel the growing pressure of capitalist exploitation. The monopolies deny them any creative participation in shaping the country's economic and political destiny or in elaborating its culture.

Their role in the class struggle is growing. Of course, their social origin and formation do not make it easy for them to accept the decisive role of the working class. But last spring's struggles showed that much larger sections of these professionals have come to take an active part in working-class actions. The Communist Party considers alliance of the working class and the intellectuals a vital necessity, a problem that merits special attention.

Wage and salary earners now make up three-quarters of the gainfully employed population.

Contrary to the theories of bourgeois ideologists, the working class and its proletarian core are conscious of their growing importance—that was demonstrated anew in May and June. And the working class has considerably increased its opportunities for class alliances. There is

thus emerging a community of interests of all sections of the population exploited by the monopolies and their policy, and there are fresh opportunities for uniting them around the working class. Accordingly, the Communist Party will continue to work for the unity of all labor and democratic forces on a progressive program that can win the support of the majority of the people and open the way to renewal. For the people do not want either a refurbished Gaullism or a so-called "centrist" coalition which, to all intents and purposes, follows a Right-wing policy. The people want an advanced political and economic democracy that will set the country on the road to socialism.

* * *

What Is an Advanced Democracy? That is the subject of Part Two of the Manifesto.

An advanced democracy, it emphasizes, implies in the first instance a social policy that consistently satisfies the basic demands of the working people.

Such a policy is possible. But it presupposes measures that would progressively and systematically limit monopoly control, weaken state-monopoly capitalism and its economic and financial means of defending the system of exploitation.

The first measure should be nationalization of the big banks and the monopoly industries. The new and existing national concerns would be democratically managed, i.e., with the active participation and under the control of worker representatives, to assure development of the productive forces and satisfaction of the people's requirements. This would be attended by the introduction of an economic and social development program and democratic tax reform.

In combination, these measures would result in economic and social democracy. But to achieve this there must be deep-going changes in the political system.

These measures will, of necessity, include the following: repeal of the constitutional provisions for personal power; a National Assembly elected by universal suffrage and proportional representation with full legislative powers and the right to control the government; extension and stringent observance of all democratic rights; election by the people of all decision-making bodies; freedom of activity for political parties and trade unions; secularization of the state and of the schools; full opportunity for freedom of speech and

organization by workers in the factories and by teachers and students in the universities.

This should be complemented by measures for mass participation in guiding and running the economy. The experience of May-June has reaffirmed the tremendous capacity and initiative of the people. Both must be utilized for rapid development of the country's economic, scientific, technical and cultural resources.

Last but not least, advanced democracy presupposes a democratic and peaceful foreign policy designed to promote peace and security for all nations.

International issues must be resolved on the principle of respect for sovereignty and independence and in a spirit of solidarity. Contrary to the advocates of an "integrated" capitalist Little Europe who maintain that national sovereignty is valid for some countries and outdated for others, the Communists hold that every country must be allowed to resolve its social, political and economic problems without outside interference.

The need may arise, the Manifesto points out, for special relations with neighboring countries, but they must under no circumstances be exceptional: relations with all countries, the socialist countries included, must invariably be based on equality.

On military blocs, the Party's position is predicated on the Karlovy Vary Conference decisions: we stand for the abolition of military alliances, collective security and France's withdrawal from NATO. This is an element of our policy of independence and peace.

The Manifesto reaffirms also our solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese in their victorious fight for freedom and independence.

The Manifesto stresses the danger to French and European security emanating from West German militarism and revanchism. "The demand for revision of the situation created by the defeat of Hitlerism is a growing menace. This must be vigorously opposed. If peace and security are to be achieved in Europe, every country, France in particular, must recognize unconditionally the present European frontiers and the existence of the German Democratic Republic. The neo-Nazi activities in West Germany must be firmly opposed, as well as the possession by West Germany of nuclear arms in any form whatever."

Peaceful co-existence cannot be based on

the balance of nuclear terror, and an advanced democracy would formulate proposals for nuclear and universal disarmament.

Lastly, a democratic France would recognize the right to self-determination for the people of Guyana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion, New Caledonia and Polynesia and satisfy their just demand for autonomy status to enable them to administer their own affairs within the framework of the French Republic.

Such, in the Communist view, would be the principles of an advanced democratic policy in relation to the country's administration, its economic and social development and its international contacts.

We Communists believe that democracy must be a continuous process of creation, one that would deepen and extend the people's economic, social and political gains. It is only the exploiting classes who fear democracy.

The political and economic democracy we want for France will help to strengthen the position of the working class and weaken that of big capital. When that is achieved, the majority of our people will be won over for the socialist reconstruction of society.

* * *

Socialism for France Too, is the heading of Part Three, and it begins with the statement that in France, as the world over, socialism is on the order of the day.

Our country has reached a high level of economic development. It has the economic and social prerequisites for a society based on abolition of exploitation rather than on the pursuit of private profit.

On the other hand the capitalist contradictions are becoming sharper. Furthermore—and this should be especially stressed—in recent years there has been a wide urge towards a more just, rational and humane organization of society. This is bound to lead to a real struggle for socialism.

The Manifesto examines the ideological and political obstacles to effective struggle for socialism, emphasizing that they must be surmounted if progress is to be made.

The Right-wing opportunists "deny the need for socialist revolution—they are satisfied by minor changes in current policy and government personnel. Least of all do they want a resolute attack on big capital that would strengthen the position of the working masses. Like the British Labor leaders, they are prepared to follow an

essentially capitalist policy on the pretext of gaining 'confidence'."

The "Left" opportunists "call for victory through 'power in the factory' and 'power in the university' without considering the problem of political power. Alternatively, they maintain that in our age there is no need to achieve democratic objectives, and that the working-class party must carry out a socialist revolution and the transition from capitalism to socialism by a coup performed by an activist minority. That this adventurism plays into the hands of the ultra-reactionaries is evident from the May-June events in France and from international experience. Such a policy cannot lead to socialism."

The Communists suggest an altogether different way. The working class, the majority of the people, must be won over to the idea and practice of the socialist reconstruction of society. In France this can be done by convincing the masses, in the process of struggle, that the present anti-democratic regime can be abolished and that far-reaching economic and social structural changes are necessary and possible.

The Communists do not counterpose the fight for limited demands and reforms to the struggle for socialist revolution. The former is a composite part of the latter.

Nor is socialism merely an ideal; it has been a reality ever since October 1917. And to answer some of the questions that arise in this context, the Manifesto says: "Socialism is young historically. It has followed, and to a certain extent must always follow, little explored paths. Socialist society in its various forms has yet to resolve many problems, but the fact remains that socialism has shown that it alone is capable of solving, in each country and on a world scale, the main problems facing mankind today: learning to control and harness nature, the problems of jobs, of material well-being and culture for the masses, the problems of freedom and peace."

The immense achievements of the Soviet Union, now a leading world power, and the triumph of socialism in other countries, have considerably facilitated the fight of the international proletariat and of the oppressed nations.

Today socialism is the decisive factor of world development. Indeed, the characteristic feature of our age is the advance of socialism, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national

liberation movement in countries still oppressed, directly or indirectly, by imperialism. Consequently, the face of the world has changed radically in favor of the forces of progress, freedom and peace.

* * *

Part Four deals with the *Road to Socialism*, emphasizing that, in a changing world, there are different roads to socialism.

Marx, and later Lenin, stressed the need for a variety of forms of transition from capitalism to socialism.

To all the talk about "models" of socialism, which we are expected to copy, we counterpose this scientific concept of a *variety of transition forms*. And this transition is bound to be a qualitative change, a revolutionary leap, for it involves changing the system of ownership of the essential means of production and exchange, the passage of power from the bourgeoisie to the working class and its allies, a higher level of society's moral and cultural evolution.

In a country like ours it is both possible and necessary, proceeding from the universally valid laws of socialist revolution, to envisage that the advance to socialism will be accomplished by means other than those employed in Russia more than half a century ago and later in other countries.

That was emphasized away back in 1946 by Maurice Thorez: "The progress of democracy all over the world, outside of some rare exceptions which prove the rule, allows one to envisage the advance to socialism by other paths than those followed by the Russian Communists. In any case, there will be differences in the path followed by each country. We have always thought and said that the French people, with their wealth of great tradition, will find their own way towards more democracy, progress and social justice. However, history shows that there is no progress without struggle. There is no such thing as a path already laid out which men can follow without effort. They have always had to overcome many obstacles. This is the very meaning of life." (Interview given to *The Times*, November 17, 1946. Retranslated from the French.)

The Declaration and Statement of the 1957 and 1960 Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties stressed that, in present conditions, in a number of capitalist countries the transition can be made without civil war. To do that, the working class, led by its vanguard, must unite the major-

ity of the people to fight monopoly rule and isolate the big bourgeoisie. It must strengthen its position by political cooperation with democratic parties and workers' organizations to win power and assure public ownership of the basic means of production.

Of course, no one can predict concretely what particular path to socialism France will follow, but the French Communists are working unremittently to create favorable conditions for a peaceful path and to win over the majority of the people for this perspective. They are determined to use every possibility to achieve socialism in this way, taking account of France's specific characteristics and traditions and drawing on the experience of socialist construction in a number of countries.

The decisive factor is always the mass struggle. Our Party has always pointed to the direct link, in French conditions, between the struggle for an advanced democracy and the struggle for socialism. That is the firm foundation of all our activity.

* * *

What Is Socialism? The question is answered in Part Five of the Manifesto, which begins with the statement: "Socialism implies common ownership of the principal means of production and exchange, political power of the working class and its allies, progressive satisfaction of the continually growing material and cultural needs of the members of society, and the creation of the necessary conditions for the full development of the personality."

It then examines some of the features specific to France.

An advanced democracy will, from the very outset, nationalize the monopolies in key sectors of industry as well as the big banks. This will facilitate the ultimate transfer to the whole of society of all the principal means of production and exchange. In other sectors, collective property will take different forms—cooperative, municipal, etc. In general, the new economic relationships established by socialism will assume diverse forms depending on the sectors of the activity involved. Gradually these new relationships will penetrate the country's entire economic life.

For instance, considering the conditions obtaining in France, a large number of small and middle-sized enterprises will continue to exist for a whole period, and forms of association between them and the socialist state will be worked out. For the peas-

the balance of nuclear terror, and an advanced democracy would formulate proposals for nuclear and universal disarmament.

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That was emphasized away back in 1946 by Maurice Thorez: "The progress of democracy all over the world, outside of some rare exceptions which prove the rule, allows one to envisage the advance to socialism by other paths than those followed by the Russian Communists. In any case, there will be differences in the path followed by each country. We have always thought and said that the French people, with their wealth of great tradition, will find their own way towards more democracy, progress and social justice. However, history shows that there is no progress without struggle. There is no such thing as a path already laid out which men can follow without effort. They have always had to overcome many obstacles. This is the very meaning of life." (Interview given to *The Times*, November 17, 1946. Retranslated from the French.)

The Declaration and Statement of the 1957 and 1960 Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties stressed that, in present conditions, in a number of capitalist countries the transition can be made without civil war. To do that, the working class, led by its vanguard, must unite the major-

ity of the people to fight monopoly rule and isolate the big bourgeoisie. It must strengthen its position by political cooperation with democratic parties and workers' organizations to win power and assure public ownership of the basic means of production.

Of course, no one can predict concretely what particular path to socialism France will follow, but the French Communists are working unremittently to create favorable conditions for a peaceful path and to win over the majority of the people for this perspective. They are determined to use every possibility to achieve socialism in this way, taking account of France's specific characteristics and traditions and drawing on the experience of socialist construction in a number of countries.

The decisive factor is always the mass struggle. Our Party has always pointed to the direct link, in French conditions, between the struggle for an advanced democracy and the struggle for socialism. That is the firm foundation of all our activity.

* * *

What Is Socialism? The question is answered in Part Five of the Manifesto, which begins with the statement: "Socialism implies common ownership of the principal means of production and exchange, political power of the working class and its allies, progressive satisfaction of the continually growing material and cultural needs of the members of society, and the creation of the necessary conditions for the full development of the personality."

It then examines some of the features specific to France.

An advanced democracy will, from the very outset, nationalize the monopolies in key sectors of industry as well as the big banks. This will facilitate the ultimate transfer to the whole of society of all the principal means of production and exchange. In other sectors, collective property will take different forms—cooperative, municipal, etc. In general, the new economic relationships established by socialism will assume diverse forms depending on the sectors of the activity involved. Gradually these new relationships will penetrate the country's entire economic life.

For instance, considering the conditions obtaining in France, a large number of small and middle-sized enterprises will continue to exist for a whole period, and forms of association between them and the socialist state will be worked out. For the peas-

ants socialism will mean, first and foremost, an agrarian reform that will transfer the land to those who till it, and the development of various forms of cooperatives.

Contrary to reactionary propaganda, there can be no question of expropriating or nationalizing small traders and artisans. Their contribution to economic development will for a long time be indispensable, and it will therefore be appreciated and encouraged. But at the same time, conditions will be progressively created for their voluntary association in cooperatives. Lastly, private property which is the result of work and savings will be respected, and so will the right of inheritance.

It is on these foundations that the working class, in close alliance with the peasants, intellectuals and other middle strata, will formulate and carry out a genuine national development plan.

* * *

Parts Six and Seven deal, respectively, with *The Leading Role of the Working Class* and *The Vanguard Role of the Communist Party*.

Just as the working class is the decisive force in rallying all the anti-imperialist elements to give France an advanced democracy, so in alliance with the working peasants, the intellectuals and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, it will play the leading role in carrying out the socialist revolution and in the building of socialism.

In our epoch the working class is the fundamental revolutionary force of society. "Far from diminishing, as the bourgeois propagandists would have us believe, the role of the working class is steadily growing, and this is evidenced, among other things, by the fact that its possibilities of alliance with other strata of the working population are more real than ever." Consequently, the building of socialism in France will not be the task of the working class alone. It will be accomplished by all the social strata who want to overthrow the domination of big capital and build socialism. Their alliance with the working class, the guiding force of this revolutionary transformation, will be the foundation of the new socialist state.

The Manifesto stresses the vanguard role of the Communist Party in this revolutionary effort. The building of socialism, it says, depends on the Party's ability to give leadership to the working class.

As an organization of a new type, both effective and militant and based on demo-

cratic centralism, it unites all—workers, peasants, engineers, office workers, professionals—prepared to fight for the triumph of socialism on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party does not seek to impose its vanguard role or its guiding influence on the development of the socialist revolution as a part of its historic mission. Both, it believes, will be accepted as a result of its work in leading socialist society along the road of continued progress, well-being and democracy. The Party considers its task to be one of setting out at every stage the perspectives of socialist development in the different sectors of economic, social, political and cultural life without substituting itself for the organs of state, the representative institutions and the administration. Its task is to propose measures to achieve these perspectives, organize the people to attain definite goals, to support the socialist program and contribute to its realization.

By means of its devotion to socialism, the effectiveness of its organization and of its political and ideological work, and by the personal example of its members, the Communist Party hopes to gain the ever increasing support and confidence of our people and thus play the decisive role in building socialism.

* * *

Part Eight sets out the Communist position on *Cooperation of Democratic Parties and Organizations in the Building of Socialism*.

It declares that the existence of several political parties reflecting, in one or another degree, the interests and aspirations of different classes and social strata is a French democratic tradition. The Party holds that the advance to socialism and France's democratic and national renewal cannot be the work of one particular party.

Hence, in the transition to socialism, and in building socialism, democratic parties and organizations prepared to accept socialism and respect the laws of the new system will be able fully to participate in political life and enjoy all the constitutionally guaranteed rights and freedoms. The Communist Party will see to it that proper cooperation is arranged with all these social and political forces on a common program corresponding to each stage of socialist development.

In this context, our Party attaches special importance to cooperation with the Social-

ist Party in the spirit of the 1960 Statement of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: "In the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of the working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defense of national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist parties."

We are increasingly concentrating on unity from below, since at its last congress the Socialist Party took a step backward on the question of a united front with the Communists. The road ahead will be a difficult one, but we are determined to pursue our unity policy. For we know that it accords with the strivings of the working class and of rank-and-file Socialists. Unity is bound to triumph: the working class will never become reconciled to division within its ranks. We declare in the Manifesto: "While rejecting the opportunist tendencies of Social-Democracy, our Party will continue to work for a confrontation of views with the Socialist Party, with the aim of jointly forging the political basis of cooperation and of an alliance for building a socialist France."

Such cooperation, naturally, implies that the parties and organizations professing to accept democracy and socialism—in particular the Socialist Party—will reject class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and work side by side with the Communists in an effective effort for democracy and socialism. The possibilities for such cooperation, its scope and form, will, of course, depend on the unity achieved in the present popular movement against monopoly domination and for an advanced democracy.

* * *

Socialist Democracy and the Defence of Socialism is the subject of Part Nine.

The Communists' aim is "the happiness of man, the emancipation of the whole of society, the full development of all the human faculties in each person and the greatest freedom for each in social harmony and in international peace." (Speech by Maurice Thorez at the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, 1960.)

Socialism implies more than emancipation from capitalist exploitation; it implies the organization of a democracy infinitely superior to every species of bourgeois democracy.

And it will be the first function of the socialist state to institute such a really broad democracy for all working people, for all the people, win them over to share in the administration of state affairs in all fields and at all levels.

This refers to parliament, municipal, departmental and regional assemblies, to the new institutions established to assure the economic development of socialist society, and to the mass youth, women's and other public organizations whose role will be substantially increased.

The same applies to the trade unions. They will enjoy broader rights and a bigger role in upholding the interests of the working people and in economic administration at national and local levels. At the same time, in keeping with French traditions, there will be full respect for their independence and their character as mass organizations.

On the other hand, institutions which by their very nature are anti-democratic and serve the political domination of the big bourgeoisie—the departmental prefects, for example—will be abolished.

Consistent democratization of all institutions presupposes not only the retention, but also the extension of the rights and freedoms won by the working class. Freedom of thought and expression, of assembly and association, trade union rights including the right to strike, will not only be written into the Constitution, as is the case in the present one. Socialist democracy will provide the conditions needed for the effective exercise by all the people of these rights and freedoms, within the framework of legality, and this will go hand in hand with development of the initiative of the masses and of the personality of each individual.

In a socialist society, the state, naturally, will be secular, and separation of church and state will be scrupulously observed. However, Socialist France will guarantee, in law and in practice, freedom of worship and religious beliefs against all persecution or administrative repression. The Communists will win over to scientific socialism the broad mass of the people, including religious believers of all faiths, through the battle of ideas, the success of socialism, the exemplary qualities of their militants, and by joint constructive endeavor. Socialist law will forbid all racial discrimination, all expression of anti-Semitism, all incitement to war or hatred of any people.

Socialist France will respect minority

rights so long as they are exercised according to the rules of democracy and within the legal bounds established by the majority. At the same time, the socialist state of the working people and their allies will use the full rigor of the law against groups and individuals who violate the law and aim at the destruction of socialism, and with it, democracy.

A second function of the socialist state will be firmly to defend the building of socialism against subversion by the old exploiting classes and their attempts to regain power and restore capitalism.

Responsibility to the working class, the people and their needs, should make us constantly aware that over a whole period capitalism's former supporters will endeavor, with the assistance of external reaction and resorting to every available means, including violence, to sabotage socialist reconstruction and to re-establish their own rule. The democratic parties favoring socialism and representing the majority of the people must protect the new system against all such attempts.

Wherever possible, the working class will employ non-violent methods, such as persuasion and education, but it will not hesitate to use coercive methods in the event of anti-socialist forces resorting to subversion and violence.

This dual aspect of the working peoples' political power—uninterrupted development of democracy and defense of the socialist gains—has been described by the founders of Marxism as the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., working-class direction of society in alliance with other non-capitalist strata; the broadest possible democracy for all the working people; a state expressing their will, acting under their control and with their confidence, and dedicated to the building and defense of socialism in conditions of democracy, independence and peace.

Socialism can be built and defended only with the support, participation and initiative of the people, inspired and led by the working class. "Socialism cannot be decreed from above. Its spirit rejects the mechanical bureaucratic approach; living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 288).

At every stage, the existence, activity and strengthening of the Communist Party are an essential condition for the victory of socialism. The Communist Party is the

revolutionary vanguard of the working class and of the entire people.

* * *

The concluding Part Ten is headed: *The Communist Party Is the Great Revolutionary Party of Our Time*.

Communists lay no claim to a monopoly of revolutionary aims. They know that many non-Communist workers, manual and non-manual, want to see society radically transformed to assure social progress and the full development of the personality. That, indeed, is the towering feature of our epoch.

And the Communists will boldly and consistently show all who share their hopes and interests that our Party's theory, methods of struggle and organization make it the great revolutionary party of France.

It is revolutionary because it seeks democratically to organize a state in which the principal means of production and exchange will belong to the people and be controlled by them; a socialist state which will make for the full development of democracy, assure the future of every citizen, the independence and security of France and its friendship with all peoples.

A socialist France will be an independent and peaceful France. It will build its relations with other countries on the principles of equality, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's affairs. At the same time, it will endeavor to establish and strengthen, in a spirit of peaceful coexistence, all-round mutually-advantageous cooperation with all countries, irrespective of their economic and social system and promote relations of friendship and close cooperation with other socialist countries.

In elaborating its program for democracy and socialism, the French Communist Party is motivated by the interests of the French workers and by its internationalist duty. Like all Communist parties, it regards itself responsible, at one and the same time, to the French people and to the international revolutionary working-class movement. Its prime internationalist duty is to carry the French workers' struggle to a successful conclusion. But this has never meant, and never will mean, neglect of its other internationalist duties. Continuing its tradition of solidarity with peoples building socialism or combating colonial oppression, with parties, organizations and individuals subjected to reactionary and imperialist tyranny in every continent—

the French Communist Party will remain unswervingly loyal to proletarian internationalism. In particular, it will promote close fraternity and solidarity with other Communist and Workers' parties and will

help towards the success of their International Conference in Moscow this June on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, equality and independence of every party, and proletarian internationalism.

Unity and perspectives

23rd Congress of Communist Party of Denmark

KNUD JESPERSEN

The Twenty-third Congress of the Party, held on February 14-16 in the building of the Danish Parliament in Christiansborg, was a notable event in the political life of the country and also in the international Communist movement. This is evident from the coverage it was given by press and radio, from the fact that it was attended by representatives from 17 fraternal parties, among them the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Belgium, Bulgaria, Finland, France, Greece, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Germany and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front. The representatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany were unable to come, the Danish Government having refused them visas.

The main item on the agenda was the Central Committee report, "For extended democratic rights, unity of the working class and of the Left forces, socialism in Denmark." The Congress adopted a resolution on political and organizational matters and also a program Statement, "The Left Road to Democracy and Socialism."

The interest displayed in the Congress by the capitalist press was largely prompted by the hope that there would be a conflict of views leading to a split and a departure from the Party's Marxist-Leninist principles. Our adversaries were thinking in terms of the results they had notched up against the Party ten years ago. Their hopes, however, went up in smoke. Only

three of the nearly two hundred delegates voted against the report. The program-statement was adopted unanimously and the election of the new Central Committee by secret ballot likewise demonstrated unqualified support for the leadership. The Congress showed that Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism continue to be the underlying principles of the Party's policy.

HEALING THE SPLIT IN THE LEFT

Unity of the Party and cohesion of its ranks are all the more important considering that the situation in the working-class movement and in the Left political forces is not a happy one. Congress saw its main task in helping to remedy this state of affairs. The Left is divided and dispersed. The Socialist People's Party, formed ten years ago when it broke away from the Communist Party, split again forming another party, the Left Socialists which, too, subsequently split. A number of other small groups tried to establish themselves on the political arena but lacked the necessary viability for this. The process was accelerated by the disillusionment with the policy pursued by the so-called labor majority (the Social-Democrat and Socialist People's Party) in the Folketing in 1966-67 and the formation of a government of the Right-wing parties in January 1968.

Congress declared that it was essential to find a way out of a situation fraught with

grave danger to the working class and progressive forces, that this was a complex and difficult task which should be tackled not by phrasemongering and over-simplified methods, but on the basis of purposeful and selfless work. The Congress therefore examined the national and international reasons for the present situation.

Both the opportunities and the difficulties encountered by the working class and the Left forces in Denmark reflect the general trend in contemporary state-monopoly capitalism. We are now in a new phase which, unlike the high business activity of the postwar years, is marked by a sharpening of class struggle at national and international levels.

In the present conditions it is doubly important that the working-class should take timely, united action against the increasingly subtle methods of reaction and imperialism, and in defense of peace and democracy. The entire Left should therefore be forewarned and urged to find ways of combining their efforts.

Of course, it is by no means a matter of indifference on what basis this unity is achieved. The situation in Denmark is growing more acute precisely because of the negative results of the "labor majority's" policy. In this respect the Congress Statement points out that "the working-class movement and the Left generally are confronted, as before, with the alternative: *either to allow themselves to be used by big capital, which wields power in society, and to act in accordance with its wishes; or to use the positions won to overthrow big capital and, relying on the working people, to defend their immediate interests and achieve the reconstruction of society.*"

The current ideological differences, Congress stressed, should not be an obstacle to the necessary common effort.

"Our views and ideological concepts differ. That is an important matter. But let us discuss it and clarify our viewpoints.

"And at the same time let us define the points on which we agree. Let us discuss the issues around which we can unite."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COHESION

Congress discussed the more important new features in the international situation and the deepening of the crisis of capitalism. The Central Committee report underscored that the national tasks of the Party, include promoting international unity and

acquire particular importance in the fight against NATO domination.

"Experience shows that if the working class is to be victorious in each country it must actively participate in the class struggle on the world arena, in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its global strategy.

"Internationalism is the sole guarantee of working class victory in each country. The events of the past 50 years have proved this. Today the balance of world forces has changed. Socialism in the Soviet Union has released powerful forces and has inspired millions of oppressed throughout the world. The growing moral, technical and economic might of the Soviet Union made it possible to defeat colonialism and open a new way to the former enslaved peoples. Socialism has changed the face of the world. But this does not mean that class struggle on the international arena has subsided, and that imperialism has desisted from its attempts to halt the march of history by brute force.

"It is precisely now that we observe imperialism's feverish attempts to check the course of events. The international situation grows more acute wherever imperialism strikes its blows at the forces of peace and national freedom."

It is therefore essential that the Party promote solidarity with Vietnam, participate in actions to compel West German imperialism to renounce its aggressive aims, fight for the liquidation of NATO and the establishment of a European collective security system.

The Congress also reflected the discussion under way in the international movement concerning the Czechoslovak events. Referring to its statements of last August and October, the Central Committee noted in its report that, "We declared at the same time, that the disagreements on this issue should not create differences between us and the socialist countries, or between us and the other Communist parties."

The Congress expressed its confidence that the socialist forces in Czechoslovakia, guided by the objectives outlined in the November resolution of the Communist Party, would win the fight to strengthen and develop socialism in their country, and overcome the various anti-socialist trends.

Congress reaffirmed the Party's desire to promote the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, welcomed the forthcoming international conference and expressed "the hope that its work will con-

tribute to the further consolidation of the ideological unity of the Communist movement."

THE IDEOLOGICAL POSITION OF THE PARTY

Congress documents outlined the Party's ideological views on the issues debated most often on the Left. "The Communists have always warned against reducing activities to a matter of daily politics and also against utopianism which is alien to reality. They have always stressed," the Congress Statement notes, "the intrinsic connection between the aim and the means and ways of achieving it."

The Statement speaks of the fight for socialism and communism as the ultimate objectives of social development. Social progress can be achieved only in struggle, in class struggle waged in the economic and political spheres, and also in the sphere of ideas. "The transition to socialism means that the power in society is wrested from the hands of monopoly capital and placed in the hands of the working people."

The socialist revolution evolves from the struggle for better conditions, for democratic rights, for peace and national independence. "The political and popular traditions that have developed in the course of the working-class struggle and the struggle of the progressive movements in Denmark will, therefore, be an influencing factor in advancing socialism and resolving the basic tasks connected with the transition to socialism in our country. We have in mind plurality of parties, broader public discussion, turning the Folketing into a truly policy-making body, guaranteeing freedoms to the minorities who respect the democratic system established by the majority."

New possibilities have been created for the peaceful transition to socialism, thanks partly to the powerful upswing of the mass movement and partly to the fact that a large part of the world is now socialist and is able, thanks to its strength, to contain imperialism. "The Communists are for the peaceful transition to socialism, bearing in mind at the same time that attempts at suppression on the part of reaction will necessitate applying similar methods of struggle."

The Statement substantiates the leading role of the working class in the social struggle, noting that "failure to recognize this can only disorganize the struggle under way in our country."

The Party aligns itself with the working class and "will consistently fight in the van of the struggle for its interests and social aspirations," but is ready to join forces with all who are anxious to act in the same direction. Basing itself on Marxism-Leninism and, "proceeding from these firm ideological principles the Party seeks to broaden its activities and political concepts."

The Statement concludes: "Experience shows how important it is for the democratic struggle and for the success of socialism that the Marxist-Leninist party should so act as to enhance its influence and be in a position to determine the trend of development. The Communists are working unflinchingly to popularize their concepts, to strengthen the Party."

There can be no room for complacency. If conditions are to be changed, it is essential to enliven the activity of the masses, to build up the forces that will transform society, by rallying the people around the tasks of the day.

THE ROAD FORWARD FOR THE LEFT

Much of the Congress discussion centered on the problems connected with developing such a mass movement, especially now that large sections of the population are acting in defense of their interests.

The Congress took place at a time when the contradictions between worker and employer had surfaced in connection with the renewal of collective agreements. Many delegates discussed the tasks of the trade unions where the Communists have in recent years reinforced their positions.

The Congress also dealt with the educational issues projected by the student and youth movements, and decided to hold a special conference on education this spring to finalize the draft program for a democratic educational system.

United action in these and other spheres poses problems. When working for unity we should not overlook the danger of sectarian and Rightist deviations, and many delegates noted in this connection that joint action and loyalty to common tasks should be such as to secure the results that would serve as a basis for broader actions.

A case in point is the movement in solidarity with Vietnam. This movement has in recent years gained momentum around such demands as "stop the bombing," "USA—get out of Vietnam!," "aid for the people of Vietnam," "recognition of the DRV and the NLF." This movement com-

pelled the Danish government to reconsider its policy of unqualified support for the United States, which in effect signified practical and valuable support for the people of Vietnam. However, some comrades tended to underestimate this; they recognized only actions that were spearheaded directly against U.S. imperialism. The political resolution says in this connection: "It is the duty of the Communists actively to support the political and economic solidarity as a broad popular movement, based on the equality of all who support the aims of solidarity."

Congress discussed the perspectives of further actions and movements and their becoming a force that would influence the political scene in the country. The Communists reaffirmed that the first step in this direction should be "the establishment of a Left front that will oppose the Right in Danish politics." This concept is concretized in the Congress Statement; in answer to the actions of the present Right-wing government, it advances demands—based on existing programs and statements—that could serve as a common platform in distinguishing between the Left and the Right. The Communists advance this program for a "Left policy," and an active democratic home and foreign policy not as an ultimatum but as a basis for discussion on the Left. The purpose of the policy is to counter the attacks on the people's interests by the monopolies and the NATO militarists and to serve as a basis for measures to secure democracy, independence and social progress.

As yet very general in character, the proposed "Left policy" will gradually become more specific. The Congress indicated how this policy can and should be implemented—through the Party's "anti-monopoly program which, put into effect with the help of the people, will make the transition to socialism a realistic task in Denmark." This means sharply restricting the economic positions of the monopolies, broader participation in management and other such democratic rights, a foreign policy based on neutrality and national independence, and active support of the struggle for peace, disarmament and European security. Needless to say, big capital, reaction and militarism will bitterly resist such an anti-monopoly policy. It can be realized only in struggle. And it is then that more and more people will come to realize the need for socialism.

STRENGTHENING THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A stronger party is needed if the tasks are to be accomplished. The Congress discussed this matter at length. The Central Committee report contained a sober criticism of the shortcomings in Party work at all levels, from the leadership down to the lower organizations. It recognized, however, that not in all instances were the Communists so much at fault as the objective circumstances.

The question of improving ideological and mass work, of extending the Party's contact with the masses was widely discussed. So, too, was work among the youth and work of the Communist Youth League which is dealt with in a special section in the political resolution.

Another section is devoted to the Party press, specifically the daily, *Land og Folk*. The resolution says on this score: "*Land og Folk* is the organ of the Party and as such should reflect the policy and viewpoint of the Party . . . In the face of the other press organs it should act as the militant political organ of the party of the working class, as the spokesman for progressive aspirations. It should always take the offensive, maintain close contact with the masses, inspire and organize the struggle of the working class against capitalism and bourgeois ideology."

Many positive and useful proposals were made in the discussion on Party work, which will undoubtedly help the new Central Committee in its efforts to improve matters in this sphere.

UNDER THE SIGN OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Congress warmly welcomed the representatives of the fraternal parties. The prolonged applause that greeted the message from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union demonstrated the profound respect and admiration felt for the party of Lenin, for its activity which created the decisive force that transformed the world. The welcome extended the representative of the French Communist Party bespoke the Congress's admiration for one of the biggest militant Communist parties in the capitalist world. The messages of greeting from the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam evoked thunderous applause, expressing the solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam, locked in battle with U.S.

imperialism. In view of limited time, the representatives of many of the other parties were asked to convey their greetings in written form.

And so, the anti-Communist circles which had hoped that the Congress would reflect a split in the Communist movement were bitterly disappointed, for it demonstrated the reverse—the cohesion of our movement. To the accompaniment of stormy applause the delegates adopted messages of greeting to the Communist and Workers' parties of

Vietnam, Korea, Greece and Spain, which are battling in most difficult conditions for the future of their peoples and against imperialism.

To sum up, the Twenty-third Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark was an important step towards accomplishing the tasks facing the Party on the national and international plane. Its resolutions will serve as a firm basis of its future activity, of the struggle of the working class and the Left forces in Denmark.

Leniniana

On April 22, 1969 the international Communist and progressive movement will be observing the 99th birthday of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Like every Lenin anniversary this is an occasion for looking back on the significance of Lenin's work and his literary heritage.

Lenin set a matchless example of creative development of Marxism in adaptation to the new conditions of history. Leninism is the Marxism of our day, an integral international teaching that has absorbed the experience of the worldwide workers' movement and revolutionary struggle and the achievements of world science and culture. Alien to Leninism are national narrow-mindedness, schematism and inertia. It is a teaching based on profound analysis and boldness in tackling and resolving the new problems that confront the movement—Leninism is the science of upholding the interests of the working people.

It is the Communists' only true ideological and theoretical guide, their unfailing compass. Each Communist Party creatively applies, enriches and develops Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the concrete conditions of its country. That is the meaning of the terse formula: "Marxism is not a dogma, it is a guide to action."

* * *

Every year adds to our fund of Leniniana, that treasure store of his works. The facts and figures given on this and the following pages furnish a fairly comprehensive picture of the Leniniana of our day.

BOOKS*

Lenin's literary heritage covers 30 years of theoretical and revolutionary work, from his early writings of 1893 to the last articles written in 1923. It includes hundreds

*This survey is based on data supplied by the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Book Chamber.

of books and pamphlets, thousands of articles and letters. And to this should be added his speeches at Party and Soviet conferences, Communist International congresses and at workers' meetings, authentic texts of which have gone into the *Collected Works*. In all, 12,000 Lenin items, articles, speeches, documents, etc., have been published in Russian. The archives of the Marxism-Leninism Institute in Moscow contain more than 30,000 Lenin items. But many of Lenin's pre-revolutionary manuscripts have yet to be located; possibly some will never be found.

Five editions of Lenin's *Collected Works* have been put out in the USSR. The first, 26-volume edition, was begun in 1920 by decision of the 9th CPSU Congress to mark Lenin's 50th birthday and completed in 1926. It contains over 1,500 items and was put out in a total printing of 2,662,000 copies. A second, and identical but lower-priced third edition, appeared in 1925-32. N. K. Krupskaya, who presented Lenin's personal archives to the Lenin Institute, took a direct part in the editing. The 30 volumes contain over 2,700 items, and the total printing was 20,743,000 copies. The third edition was translated, in full or in part, into Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, Azerbaijan and German, and a number of volumes were put out in translation in Britain, USA, Austria, Germany and France.

The 35-volume fourth edition (about 3,000 items) was brought out in 1941-50, and publication of ten supplementary volumes was begun in 1957. All told, 42,814,000 copies were printed. The fourth edition has been translated into 16 languages of the USSR and into English and French.

It is being put out in Bulgaria, Hungary, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, (including a Slovak edition), the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Cuba.

Translations of the fourth Russian edition, complete or separate volumes, have been put out in Greece, Argentina, France, Italy, Japan and other countries. An English edition, now completed, was prepared by Progress Publishers in Moscow.

Another important element of the Lenin literary heritage are the Miscellany volumes 36 of which appeared between 1924 and 1959. They contain articles, letters, telegrams, notes, etc., that have not appeared in the *Collected Works*.

The fifth complete edition of the *Collected Works* came out in 1958-65. It contains practically everything Lenin wrote, including a wealth of valuable preparatory materials, i.e., plans for articles, notes, drafts, etc. Of the 9,000 or so items brought together in the 55 volumes, more than half were not published in earlier editions and nearly 1,100 are published for the first time. The fifth edition has been put out in a total of 13,603,000 copies and an additional printing of 110,000 copies will be completed by 1970.

The Marxism-Leninism Institute is preparing supplementary volumes of Lenin's notes on the agrarian question, plans and notes for his *Development of Capitalism in Russia*, and marginal notes on various books. Already issued is Lenin's synopsis of the Marx-Engels Correspondence, 1844-83. The Institute is also publishing the 37th Lenin Miscellany containing recently discovered documents.

The fifth edition is now being put out in the Ukrainian, Moldavian and Kazakh languages. The complete edition or parts of it are being published in Rumania, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Greece and Japan.

In the Soviet years, there have been 9,202 publications of Lenin's works—more than 344 million copies, of which 260,000,000 in Russian, 60,600,000 in other languages of the USSR, and nearly 23,000,000 in foreign languages. All told, Lenin has been translated into 63 Soviet and 35 foreign languages.

The *Selected Works* of Lenin have also been published, the first edition appearing in 1924-25. Since then Soviet publishing houses have put out separate volumes or sets devoted to various aspects of Leninism, such as Marxist-Leninist theory, functions of the Party and the Soviets, economic policy, and the international Communist movement. A recent project is a jubilee set containing Lenin's main works.

A 20-volume edition of the *Selected*

Works has been put out in Sweden and Japan; a 6-volume edition in Britain, Argentina, the Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, Norway, the USA, Sweden and Japan; a 4-volume edition in Argentina, Israel, Canada, Mexico, Switzerland; a 3-volume edition in Britain, France, Denmark, Brazil and USA; a 2-volume edition in Austria, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, Israel, India, Italy, Norway, the USA and Japan.

Separate works are published in large editions abroad. Thus *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* has been published in 15 countries, *The State and Revolution* in 28 countries, and *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and "Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder, in more than 30 countries.

Lenin is being increasingly widely read in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many of his works are now available in Marathi, Malayalam, Punjabi, Gujarati and other languages of India. In fact, it would probably be no exaggeration to say that practically people of all nations can now read Lenin in their native tongue.

Lenin's work, his role, problems of Leninism, are subjects of numerous monographs, symposiums and scientific treatises. In the USSR alone, more than 700 books, many of which will appear also in translation, with a total printing of over 175,000,000 copies are being put out for the centenary.

Lenin is the world's most translated author. According to incomplete UNESCO figures his works have been translated into 117 languages, published in 50 countries, printed in about 100 cities (outside the USSR). These figures are proof that Lenin's message is studied and accepted by millions in every part of the world.

PHOTOGRAPHS, FILMS

We know that Lenin was photographed 427 times, that 34 cinema shorts were made (874 meters), of which 12 have not yet been discovered. We also know that Lenin's voice was recorded 16 times. Intensive search continues for lost photographs and films, and also for possible additional recordings.

Soviet film producers have made more than 100 feature and documentary films of Lenin's life and work. Best known among earlier productions are *Lenin in October* and *Lenin in 1918*. Among the documentaries mention should be made of

the *Lenin Chronicle*, *Three Songs of Lenin*, and of the more recent feature films the most widely known are *Lenin in Poland*, two films about Lenin's mother, *Sixth of July*, *Appassionata*, and the *Blue Notebook*.

DRAMATURGY

The Lenin image is central to Soviet dramaturgy. Plays about Lenin represent an important phase in the development of Soviet theatrical art.

Pogodin's classical trilogy, *Man with the Gun*, *The Kremlin Chimes* and *Sonata Pathetique*, has won wide appreciation in the USSR and abroad. The Moscow Art Theatre has given about 400 performances of *The Kremlin Chimes* and has played it to appreciative audiences in the USA, Britain, France, Australia and Japan.

Other Lenin plays that have won wide popularity are Trenev's *On the Neva*, Korneichuk's *Truth*, Popov's *Family*, Shatrov's *In the Name of the Revolution*, Zorin's *Eternal Source*, and Yevgeny Simonov's *John Reed*, some of which have been performed in the socialist countries. This year there are more than 20 Lenin plays in the Soviet repertoire.

LITERATURE

The Lenin theme holds a place all its own in Soviet prose and poetry. The Lenin image has been indelibly engraved on people's minds by his friend Maxim Gorky. The greatness of Lenin stands out in works written in many of the languages of the Soviet Union. The long list includes such writers as Mayakovsky, Shchipachov, Rasul Rza, Vera Inber, Brovka, Isakovsky, Zaharov, Tvardovsky, Margarita Alliger, Aseyev, Marshak, Yesenin, Bryusov, Alexei Tolstoi, Leonov, Fedin, Lydia Seifullina, Tikhonov, Mikhalkov, Olga Bergholz, Nikitin and Marietta Shaginyan.

Among foreign authors who have written of Lenin we can mention Henri Barbusse, Jaroslav Hasek, John Reed, Ralph Fox and the Scottish poet Hugh MacDiarmid.

Songs and legends about Lenin are sung and related in the USSR and other countries, where they are passed on from generation to generation.

MUSIC

Lenin's life and work have inspired many Soviet composers. The Lenin image is perhaps best portrayed in two famous operas, *Storm* by Tikhon Khrennikov and

October by Vano Muradelli. *Storm*, first staged by the Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko Musical Theatre in Moscow, has been performed to enthusiastic audiences in Leningrad, Weimar, Sofia, Bratislava and Ulan-Bator. Muradelli's *October* has been staged, besides Moscow and Leningrad, in many other Soviet cities and in some of the socialist countries. Other noteworthy operas on the Lenin theme are *The Ulyanov Brothers* by Meitus and *Ivan Shadrin* by Dekhterev.

Symphonic compositions dedicated to Lenin include Shostakovich's famous Twelfth (1917) Symphony; Kabalevsky's Third (Requiem) Symphony, and Sviridov's Oratorio.

Among the vocal productions mention should be made of songs by Tulikov, Novikov, Shekhter and other Soviet composers.

Last but not least, there is the Lenin Cantata by the famous German Communist composer Hans Eisler.

RADIO, TELEVISION

Radio programs devoted to Lenin are broadcast in 66 languages of the Soviet Union. One of the most popular is a series of lectures, the Lenin Radio University.

Soviet television devotes much time to Leniniana, and some of its programs will be relayed by Intervision. Arrangements have also been made for some of these programs to be shown on the national television networks of other countries as part of the centenary celebrations.

ART

During Lenin's lifetime the best portraits were made by Isaak Brodsky—his *Lenin in the Smolny* and *Lenin Addressing Putilov Workers in 1917* have won world renown. Other Soviet artists who have made significant contributions to Leniniana are Grabor, Serov, Sergei Gerasimov, Kustodiyev, Zhukov, Vasilyev, Ioganson, Belousov, Moravov, Leonid Pasternak, Kibrik and Oreshnikov.

The first sculptural portrait of Lenin was made by Alexeyev. Other noted works are Andreyev's Leniniana, a series of more than 100 sculptures, including several monumental statues, executed in 1919-32.

Of the numerous Lenin monuments erected in various parts of the Soviet Union the best known are those by Shadr, Yevseyev and Pinchuk. To this list should be added Merkurlov's statue of Lenin in the

Supreme Soviet Session Hall in the Kremlin and Academician Manizer's monument in Ulyanovsk, the city of Lenin's birth. Another monument in Ulyanovsk, showing Lenin as a youth, was designed by Tsigal.

Lenin is commemorated in hundreds of posters and in the work of folk artists and handicraftsmen — there are carpets from Central Asia, carvings, wooden ornaments, etc.

All of these are part of Leniniana, treasured by the Soviet people and their many friends throughout the world.

Homage to Lenin is paid in other countries in portraits and sculpture. Especially impressive are the Lenin monuments in Hungary, the work of the world-famous sculptor Sigmond Kisfaludy-Strobl. In Capri, which Lenin visited on two occasions, a monument to him is being erected by the eminent Italian sculptor and holder of an International Lenin Peace Prize, Giacomo Manzù.

PHILATELY

The first Lenin postage stamp was issued on January 27, 1924, the day of Lenin's funeral. Since then more than 250 Lenin commemorative stamps have been issued in the USSR and about 50 in Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and other countries. Several series are being issued for the centenary. Philatelic Leniniana includes also some 250 stamped envelopes bearing Lenin's portrait or pictures of libraries and

other institutions in one or another way associated with his work.

TOURISM

Many places in the Soviet Union and other countries are intimately associated with Lenin. In the Soviet Union two Regions, Leningrad and Ulyanovsk, 10 cities, 67 city districts, 23 towns and 29 rural districts bear his name.

Responding to requests from foreign tourist agencies, Intourist has arranged for 19 jubilee trips to places associated with Lenin. These will include visits to Ulyanovsk, where Lenin was born and spent his childhood years, Kazan, where he attended the University and began his revolutionary activities, various parts of Moscow, Leningrad and other towns where Lenin lived or worked.

Similar excursions are being arranged in the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

* * *

The Lenin centenary will be featured at the 1970 World Exhibition in Osaka, Japan, which is being held under the Motto "Man's Progress and Harmony." The Soviet pavilion is being designed by a group of architects working under M. V. Posokhin, chief architect of Moscow. The idea is to make it expressive of the building of socialism in the USSR according to Lenin's plans. The central hall will be entirely dedicated to Lenin.

Development of government in socialist Bulgaria

BORIS VELCHEV

This year we celebrate the 25th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, which has wrought under the leadership of the Communist Party a complete socio-political, economic and cultural reconstruction. As against 1939, our industrial output increased about 30-fold and that of agriculture has almost doubled. National income is up five-fold. In the past 15 years, wage-earners' real incomes rose 160 per cent, the peasants' 180 per cent, and pensions more than 200 per cent. The advance in science, education, culture and the arts is little short of spectacular.

The country owes its historic gains chiefly to the fact that in matters of leadership the Communist Party has been guided by the general laws of building socialism, applying them creatively to our national traditions.

Any society, no matter at what stage of development, needs a system of government, a system regulating the social relationships. That system possesses a concrete, history-imposed character in the different social formations, depending on the essence of the socio-political order and the dominant economic relationships. Replacing private property with public ownership of the means of production, the socialist revolution creates the objective foundation for a planned and balanced growth, for science-based regulation of the social processes. Building socialism is a law-governed process, forging a qualitatively new social system with a specific structure and its own pattern of activity and growth.

The new society is not in the slightest

what some allege it to be: a society that grows to a certain point, whereupon it stagnates and succumbs to inertia. No, it is the most dynamic, the most rapidly growing society, for which reason it cannot be properly regulated and guided unless the system of government is abreast of the changes. That is why the Bulgarian Communists are so concerned about improving and re-gearing the system of government. When setting up people's power and tearing down the old capitalist machinery of state, the Party worked for a type of government most consistent with the essence of people's rule and best suited for the business at hand—the building of socialism. The basic features of the system were outlined by Georgi Dimitrov at the Fifth Party Congress in 1948.

But as society progressed the bodies established to run the state, the economy and culture and embodying the features of people's democracy as a form of proletarian dictatorship, had to be changed somewhat. Rightly so, because their structure, organization, method, functions and terms of reference, geared to the growing requirements, could not but be expanded in the process of building socialism.

The April 1956 Central Committee meeting left its mark on the building of socialism in that respect. It drew attention to the distortions of the Stalin cult period and provided for improvements in the work of Party, state and public bodies designed primarily to overcome dogmatism and subjectivism. They have worked far more effectively since the changes introduced in the administrative structure and the struc-

ture, functions and tasks of Party, state and public organizations in 1959.

One can say that after the April meeting the effort to align Party, state and economic guidance with the objective laws of social development became the overriding feature. That is why that period was dynamic, creative and fruitful, a period when the advantages of socialism and the constructive energy of the people came into full play. Since then, our economy has grown at a higher rate and attained a level enabling us to tackle intensive development in all areas of material production. Changes took place also in other areas, where the growth is also at a higher rate. Our country has entered upon a new stage, the stage of building a developed society.

The high level of the productive forces attained over the years, the greater maturity of our social relationships and of the socialist consciousness of the people all have paved the way for growth, both economic and cultural, on a bigger scale, for new qualitative changes in our economic structure. Our draft of economic development in the years ahead serves notice that we shall have a higher growth rate, that intensive development is one of the chief objectives of our further socialist upbuilding. Growth would be inconceivable were we to cling to the old ways of guidance. We need a more up-to-date social organization of production; some outdated forms will be scrapped, **while the system of government must be improved and brought into line with the new stage.**

The need for this more up-to-date system is made doubly manifest by the fact that technical progress and the fullest possible application of the fruits of the technological revolution are the main sources of economic effectiveness and rapid advance. Socialist society has a vital stake in accelerating the growth of science and technology. However, as experience shows, everything depends on our economic mechanism: the system of planning, distribution of investments, incentives and people's participation in industry and in public life.

The realities compelled us to look for more effective ways of organizing and guiding the body politic. Our task was to pass on from reorganizing the separate sectors of government to reorganizing the system of government as a whole. "To improve the scientific standard of guiding technological progress, the intensification of economy, progress in political, social and cultural life, the development of

society as a whole, to improve the system of administration," Comrade Zhivkov stressed, "is the alpha and omega of Party and government work."

A word about the main features of our growth and improvements of our system of government.

One vital feature is the further improvement of economic guidance on a strictly scientific footing.

We have made general headway, but the most imposing and radical measure in recent years was our new system of economic guidance. Economic levers of management get fuller play and the interests of society are harmonized more closely with those of the enterprise and the individual workers, with wages pegged to production results and proper use made of incentives, eliminating excessive centralism and democratizing the economy. In substance, these are Leninist principles of economic guidance adapted to the conditions of the present day. Four years of experimenting have shown that the new system is effective, that it rests on sound socialist foundations, confuting the nonsense of those critics who maintained that the economic reforms in the socialist countries lead to a reconversion of socialist into capitalist society.

What the new system needs most to function normally is strictly scientific planning. Centralized planning remains. What is more, its guiding role gains in importance, because no unified economic, technical, cultural or social policy is conceivable without it. But unlike previously, the central plan is stripped of many appurtenances; no longer is it oriented on overall control, which tended to hamstring initiative and responsibility of enterprises. The national economic plan, once an aggregate of figures and targets, will now be a socio-economic and political document determining the orientation, trends, aims, means and indexes of growth for a fixed period on the strength of scientifically-grounded concepts, forecasts and the development programs of the individual industries. Hence the objective need to accentuate the state's role in the planning, for practice shows that without it we cannot build socialism. It is farthest from our mind that planning should be less a function of the socialist state than of the individual self-governing bodies. As we see it, that would create disproportions and confusion, bringing national, group and individual interests into sharp conflict.

The other novel aspect in planning is the

accent on the long term. It would be foolhardy to try and build an effective economy without a clear knowledge of the main trends as regards the growth of the productive forces and the prospective structure of the economy.

In other words, we are making a new approach to planning, designed to remove the limitations to its functions and bring it abreast — as closely as possible—of the laws of building socialism.

All our economic areas must function effectively. They must be economically accountable if the new system is to thrive. Self-financing and material responsibility are essential in developing enterprises into genuinely socialist commodity producers. We are now occupied with a new system of prices and price-forming and a new system of taxation and credit, and hope it will compel enterprises by purely economic means to improve the quality of their product and introduce a scientifically-grounded organization of labor.

The new system, properly used, presupposes measures designed to exploit the market mechanics to the fullest. The idea is to distribute investment to good advantage, depending on the imperatives of the home and foreign markets, create possibilities for economic emulation among individual enterprises, improve cooperation and economic ties between enterprises and radically improve the contractual relationships between the various sectors of the economy. This is not to say that we shall allow our economic growth to fall under the spell of the spontaneous workings of the market. Nor has the idea anything in common with the revisionist concept that the market is the main regulator of economic relationships in socialist society. True, the market mechanism is objectively extant under socialist commodity production. That we have to reckon with. But the mechanism does not work spontaneously, being kept in check by the state plan and never allowed to exceed the optimum proportions set for economic growth.

Our measures are aimed ultimately at securing the most favorable conditions for the main economic law of socialism—to satisfy more fully the constantly growing material and spiritual requirements of the people. That, indeed, is the over-riding purpose of the work and the struggle of the Communist Party.

The other basic objective is to improve the functioning of our state bodies, their structure, functions, style and methods.

As before, we shall be guided in this by Lenin's principles of organizing and running a socialist state, above all the principle of democratic centralism.

To begin with, we consider it necessary to give the *National Assembly* more scope as the supreme body of people's power, for despite past measures to that effect it has not been discharging its functions as fully as desired. It is the executive bodies that have—and to a considerable extent—assumed many of its functions and, in some cases, simply substituted themselves for it. To end this state of affairs, we are planning to extend its terms of reference. It is to be more active in drafting and adopting legislation, and will, in the spirit of the Party directives, discuss and pass decisions on the fundamental aspects of our political, economic, social and cultural course, foreign policy and foreign trade. We also expect it to be the organizer of planned guidance and to carry through measures enforcing the laws and decisions taken.

New effective bodies are to be incorporated into its structure to help the *National Assembly* discharge its supreme functions of state. The present *Presidium*, functioning in effect as the supreme organ chiefly in representing the state at home and abroad, is to be replaced by a *State Council*, an entirely new type of body with extensive powers and tasks. Its main purpose is to discharge executive and administrative functions related to the main aspects of government, combining decision-taking with organizing their execution.

The *Council of Ministers*, meanwhile, is to be the central executive body working under the guidance and immediate control of the *National Assembly* and *State Council*, for which end it must eliminate its one-sidedness. The fact is that in recent years the government has occupied itself mostly with operational guidance of the economy to the detriment of ideological, cultural, foreign-policy and other matters. Yet now, having consolidated state economic boards to exercise immediate economic guidance, it is possible and necessary for the *Council of Ministers* to divest itself of what are in effect irrelevant functions and to tackle over-all operational administration, coordinating and controlling activity in different spheres of life. In this, the government can expect assistance from the newly-created *Committee for Economic Coordination*. Consisting of members of

the Council of Ministers, the Committee will coordinate the work of ministries, adopt pertinent decisions concerning amendments to plan and budget, questions of supply, proper functioning of the new system of economic management, etc.

Apart from modifications in the functions of the Council of Ministers, reorganization also reaches out to its various ramifications—the ministries and other central administrations—to remake them into bodies of a new type. Their main purpose is to frame and carry into effect state policy in their respective sectors. Ministries in charge of specific sections of the economy, for example, should secure long-term and current coordination in their areas, exercising control, promoting scientific and technical progress and giving impulse to foreign trade contacts and international economic cooperation.

Many new areas are opening up in the work of the People's Councils, the most representative bodies closest to the people and profoundly democratic in essence. Conscious of their importance for carrying into effect the Party's policy, we have elaborated the question of their place and role in public administration. The democratic principle in their work is underscored in the first place, and their political, administrative and social powers extended. So are their powers and responsibilities in guiding local industries, community services, utilities and the socio-cultural facilities. In sum, conditions are being prepared for greater independence and initiative by People's Councils; their dual role as local bodies of power and bodies of public self-government is being reinvigorated.

Improving the state administration is a question of bringing the political organization of society more completely into line with the principles of the new system, with the changed economic base, with the need for building a mature socialist society. Most important is it to eliminate incursions of the executive organs on the functions of the legislative bodies; harmony must be achieved between legislative and administrative executive activity. Experience shows that there is no room for any factual or formal division of power in socialist society. Past practice, with legislative institutions confining themselves chiefly to general guidance and control and leaving concrete matters entirely to the discretion of their executives, is no longer valid. The representative body directly elected by the people and hence a vehicle of true popular

authority, is the one that should take decisions on all basic issues of state and society, enforce fulfilment and control.

These changes are designed to delineate the functions and terms of reference more accurately for every area of state administration, assuring a more rational and economical structure for the administration as a whole. This is necessary in order to eliminate violations of seniority and evasion of responsibility; it is also necessary in order to establish a real, not just formal, autonomy of local bodies in accordance with their terms of reference.

Whatever we now do to improve the structure of the state administration is, ultimately, an expression of the further extension of socialist democracy. The better and broader we make the democratic pillars of social administration, the better the conditions we provide for mass initiative and creativity, for new forms of participation in government. That, indeed, is the main purport of the decisions of the July Central Committee meeting.

In their effort to undermine the pillars of socialism some bourgeois ideologues go out of their way to besmirch socialist democracy, to frighten the people of their own countries and implant prejudice among the peoples of the developing countries against us and, if possible, even to mislead Communists. Yet history reveals clearly that the state and democracy are class concepts which each class interprets in its own way, depending on its place in the pattern of social relations. No such thing as "pure" democracy, or "democracy for all," exists, or is conceivable in a class society. Socialist democracy expresses the rock-bottom interests of the working class, of the majority of the people, whereas bourgeois democracy is of a limited nature and does not deliver society from exploitation.

Our democracy is implicit in the very nature of socialism as conditioned by its economic system. It is in a state of continuous growth because socialist society too is in that state. In keeping with the tasks of the new stage, the preconditions are emerging for further growth of socialist democracy in all areas of public life. Nor is it in any way a formal democracy, but a real and increasingly broad inclusion of the people—directly or through their representative bodies—in the management of industry and in running the state.

The essential feature of the political structure of society under socialism is that

political parties and mass organizations expressing the interests of the people are endowed with broad powers and possibilities for direct participation in public administration. These powers and possibilities, objectively rooted in the socialist system, are formalized by the constitution of the socialist state. As we see it, the Communist Party equipped with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism was cast by history as the vanguard, the highest form of organization, of the working class. None but the Party is able to represent not individual, but all the main interests of the working class and all other working people. That is why it legitimately plays the role of the guiding and directing force. The ties between the Party and people are effected through the mass organizations, through which, too, the political, organizational and ideological influence of the Party is carried to all sections of the people. Mass organizations express the specific interests of definite categories and strata, and it is through their work that the masses exercise their creativity and initiative.

Our experience of building socialism corroborates the general law: the more complete the guiding role of the Party and the more active the participation of mass organizations in public administration, the more successful is the building of socialist society. Failing this, it is impossible to marshal the constructive activity of the masses, to deepen their consciousness and their sense of responsibility for the socialist future. The growth and proper functioning of the system of government, therefore, depend chiefly on the Party's guiding role and on the role of mass organizations in economic, political and cultural life.

Enhancing the guiding role of the Party does not mean enhancing it in any quantitative sense: embracing a larger number of tasks or increasing its direct administrative functions, etc. Neither does it mean restricting its sphere of activity, "segregating" the Party from guidance of the economy, culture and foreign policy, or making it a kind of "guiding" ideologico-educational society. What we understand by growth and enhancement of the Party's guiding role is, above all, a process of continuous improvement and qualitative amendment of its activity in keeping with the requirements of every new phase of growth.

In the concrete conditions of today, to improve and enliven Party work is, mainly, to carry out the decisions of the 9th Party

Congress (November 1966) and the July meeting of the Central Committee (1968) envisaging a clear and precise demarcation of functions devolving on the Party and the other bodies of public government, enhancing the role of Party bodies and organizations as political leaders. Party committees have—and this especially in recent times—begun applying themselves methodically to eliminating duplication of or substitution for state and economic bodies, thus to relieve themselves of functions and tasks that are not within their field of duties. This will enable them to work more thoroughly for advancing Party policy in various areas, to devote themselves to the main aspects of organizational and ideological work, to give more attention to reinforcing state and economic bodies with skilled personnel, of whom they can demand self-reliance and on whom they can place responsibility. More than ever, the Party committees must act promptly and competently on all problems in their sphere of activity, and redouble control over the carrying out of Party policy. Appropriate changes are being made in the structure of the Party apparatus to make it respond more fully to the tasks of today. This enhances the role, prestige and influence of the Party as the political leader of our society.

The mass organizations will not live up to their purpose, unless their structure, functions and aims are consistent with the social and class structure of society and provide the medium—the organization and conditions—for the political education of working people. That is why in this new phase of development we want the various mass organizations to define more clearly their organizational forms, their volume of activity, to work out their specific methods in organizational, political and ideological work. This has to be done in order to avoid duplication, to relieve people of excessive public duties and to enhance the role of each of these mass organizations in our life.

This new approach proved successful more than a year ago with respect to the *Communist Youth League*. It was given broad powers for all matters affecting the youth. The responsibility of government and public bodies and organizations was underscored in matters of education, labor, and the conditions of the youth. As a result, we hope to write a new chapter by our work among the rising generations.

As to the *trade unions*, they should be

bodies of workers' self-government, a mass basis for state guidance of industry. Their functions and aims are being extended to suit their bigger role in running industry and administering the country. Union participation will be greater in economic planning, in framing labor and social legislation, and improving conditions generally. The unions are authorized to concern themselves with the normal functioning of the recently established economic committees, to promote their role as elective bodies giving guidance to the enterprises through which the workers participate in the management of industry. Jointly with these committees, the unions issue guidelines as to wages, accountability, training, improving working conditions, and enforcing discipline. Besides, they are authorized to suspend unjustified actions by the administration affecting the rights of personnel pending judgment by superior bodies. These and the other new elements, far from contradicting Lenin's definition of unions as a school of communism, a school of government, only enrich it and bring it up to date.

Or take our biggest political mass organization, the *Fatherland Front*, which is the broadest foundation of our people's power. Though it is to remain an organization, it will, in effect, become by the mode of its inner life, by the forms and methods of its work among the people, a nationwide movement exercising a tremendous influence on our socio-political, economic and cultural life. The Front has been endowed with the right of legislative initiative on problems concerning the public, the right of controlling the activity of enterprises, institutions and organizations in the services industry, the utilities, the socio-cultural sphere, consumer supplies, etc.

Our reorganization will be successful if we devote ourselves to elevating the political consciousness and activity of the masses and approach in a new way some aspects of the task of *moulding the new man*.

All our educational and ideological work is designed to deepen the socialist consciousness of the citizen, and it does so to a considerable extent. However, it does not fully correspond to the growing requirements of our social development, does not keep pace with our needs, the needs of social administration.

The main thing now is to center our ideological and educational work on the unity of the Party's theoretical and prac-

tical activity, the unity of the public, collective and personal interests of the people, the unity of material and moral stimuli and incentives. What this means is that we should at no time neglect the personal material interests of the citizen—an important and objectively existing impulse in the life and behavior of the individual—while bearing in mind the immense importance also of his personal spiritual interests. However, it would be pure subjectivism to ascribe negative phenomena only to the survival of past wrongs or only and chiefly to the failings in our organizational and ideological work. If we treat the problem seriously, if we study it deeply, we shall see that some of these phenomena are also bred by the contradictions implicit in socialist society, depending on the degree of its maturity. To continue enriching and expanding our ideological and educational work as regards both content and form, we must make social experiments.

Our ideological work, aimed at moulding the new man, must be more active. And the new system of economic management affords us favorable opportunities for enlivening it, for it cultivates the high communist qualities of collectivism, comradeship, mutual aid, self-criticism and devotion to work for the public good.

More than ever before, ideology is an area of bitter contention between the progressive and reactionary forces on the national and international scales. We are, therefore, obliged to aim our ideological work against bourgeois ideology and especially against anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and imperialist acts of diversion, to make our work more militant and vigorous. As we see it, it is part of our ideological work, and an important part, to show the roots and the substance of Right and Left revisionism.

One of the principal aims in improving the system of social administration, as we have said, is to elevate the scientific standard of Party, state and economic guidance. Yet this is impossible if the system of guidance *per se* is not scientifically grounded, if it does not base itself on social sciences. That is why growth of science, enhancement of its role in the country's development, is closely watched by our Party.

As we carry out the improvement of our socialist administration, we center our effort on speeding growth harmoniously, according to plan, in all areas of life—the economy and politics, social life, science,

ideology and culture. It is our purpose to carry through an all-embracing strategy in developing our socialist system. The incontrovertible facts of our socialist reality confute all slander, all doubt, about the character of the new society. They show beyond question that the path of the October Revolution, the path we have chosen as our own, is the right one. We are building in our specific conditions not some

"Bulgarian model" of socialism, but the only, classical, Leninist socialism which is the most democratic, the most humane, the most just social system ever known in history. As we creatively elaborate and solve the problems of building socialism, we make our modest contribution to the collective enrichment and development of Marxist-Leninist theory and socialist practice.

New sights for socialist economy

Interviews with heads of planning agencies of CMEA countries

Centralized economic planning, one of the chief advantages of socialism, makes for rational organization and allocation of material and non-material resources and their concentration for a rapid rise in production and well-being and the achievement of major economic and political aims.

To give readers a comprehensive picture of the socialist economy in 1968, the third and decisive year of the current (1966-70) economic plan, and of the prospects for 1969, we put two questions to the heads of central planning agencies:

1. What were the overall economic results of 1968?
2. What new features can be expected in 1969?

The answers are given on this and the following pages.

POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

JOZEF KULESZA,

Chairman of the Government Planning Committee

1. In 1968 our people, led by the United Workers' Party, made significant headway in economic development, specifically in fulfilling the 1966-70 five-year program, with higher growth rates, especially in industry, and more intensive development in agriculture.

An important contributing factor was the heightened economic and political activity of our people generated by the Party's 5th Congress last November. The emulation drive in honor of the Congress helped increase output of goods for which there is a growing demand both on the home and foreign markets, made for pre-schedule completion of a number of industrial projects and for the biggest gain in industrial output since 1964, 9.3 per cent.

The five-year plan envisages an average annual production gain of 7.5 per cent. This figure was surpassed last year in the chemical and rubber industries (15.6 per cent) and in engineering (13.6 per cent). This should be seen as a result of our measures to expand these industries, which are of cardinal importance both for technological progress and exports.

Furthermore, the share of high-quality products has significantly increased, notably in engineering, though a bigger proportion of top-quality goods from industry remains an important and permanent goal.

Another bright spot in last year's record was more even growth rates in producer and consumer goods. The figures for 1968 are a more than 10 per cent increase in

producer goods and more than seven per cent in consumer goods.

Productivity rose faster than in 1967, registering a 5.7 per cent increase (in terms of value of gross output per worker). In fact, higher productivity accounted for 62 per cent of the output gain, as against 52 per cent in 1967. The figures are indicative of more efficient operation of the economy.

For agriculture, too, 1968 was a good year, chiefly in total and per-hectare output of basic crops, due in the main to more extensive use of mineral fertilizers.

The results in livestock farming were less satisfactory. Here the main cause was insufficient production of fodder in some parts of the country in 1966 and 1967, which last year led to a slight decline in the cattle population. However, with larger fodder crops in 1968 the decline is being made good, but to consolidate this trend the state will have to help the farms with considerable supplies of fodder.

Foreign trade advanced faster than in any other year of the current five-year period, showing an increase of 10.7 per cent—11.2 per cent in trade with socialist countries, including a 12.8 per cent rise in trade with the USSR. We are supplying more coal, sulphur, machinery and equipment, and light-industry products to other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. We can also record continued success in improving the foreign-trade structure, notably by more emphasis on specialization in engineering. The share of machines and equipment and of consumer goods in our export trade is increasing, but we do not consider the present ratio satisfactory. On the import side, we have been making bigger purchases of machinery equipment to modernize some of our industries.

Our progress in 1968 was epitomized by an 8 per cent increase in national income, with a resultant 6 per cent increase in consumption, approximately 9 per cent in net capital investments, and 5 per cent in real incomes of the population.

And another feature of 1968: a marked improvement in so vital a matter as pensions. A pension reform costing 14,000 million zloty is being carried out in three stages in 1968-70, by which year average pensions will have increased 25 per cent. Last year average pensions increased 12 per cent and total pension payments 22 per cent.

Retail sales (in comparable prices) rose 7.3 per cent, with larger supplies of such items as clothing and hosiery (10 per cent)

and refrigerators (11 per cent). But there is still a shortage of high-quality goods in popular demand. House building was up 4 per cent on 1967.

On the whole, the economic results for 1968 are assessed as positive and as providing a solid basis for continuous development in the last two years of the current plan and for overfulfilment of the plan as a whole.

2. This year will see continued industrial expansion, with an 8.2 per cent increase in gross industrial output.

The highest accretion is scheduled for engineering (12.9 per cent) and chemicals (11.8 per cent). The figure for consumer goods is 6.3 per cent. We are making a special effort to increase foreign trade by more than 10 per cent.

Measures have been taken to boost trade with CMEA members, promote a closer division of labor, production specialization and joint research, which, in combination, should lead to higher operational and quality standards.

This year's plan calls for a relatively higher level of investments to increase the national production potential. The accent is on efficiency and shorter construction schedules, which we consider one of the main objectives of 1969.

Bigger industrial and agricultural production will make for an approximately five per cent higher national income with an equal rise in consumption and a four per cent rise in investments.

The plan calls for 300,000 new jobs, but we are also boosting output through higher productivity and more efficient organization: productivity is to go up 4.9 per cent in industry and 5.3 per cent in construction.

The total payroll in the socialized sector will be 6.4 per cent above last year's figure. But improvement in living standards will be facilitated also by more employment and higher average wages, and also by the second stage of the pension reform. All this will result in more purchasing power which will have to be met by a commensurate increase in the supply of goods to the market, particularly high-quality goods and consumer durables. Budgetary expenditure on culture and the arts is scheduled to rise six per cent and allocations for public health, social welfare, physical culture and tourism five per cent.

Behind these figures are tasks to be accomplished, and they will necessitate certain changes in planning and management. The idea is to improve centralized planning but with more independence and

responsibilities for factory managements. What is especially important is that the central planners can now concentrate on the key industries, and efficient operation of the economy as a whole.

A major factor in all our economic work

is closer cooperation with CMEA countries, more economic integration, closer socialist division of labor and the use of new economic instruments to give all our countries more favorable development conditions.

RUMANIAN SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

MAXIM BEGHIANU,

Chairman of the State Planning Committee

1. Our people can look back on a successful year that has carried them a long step towards completing the building of socialism, the task set by the 9th Congress of the Party.

Uninterrupted development, modernization, sustained growth rates in all branches—these distinguishing features of our balanced and stable economy are the earnest of continued socialist progress.

Industry, now the mainstay of our socialist economy, increased its output 11.6 per cent. The annual production gain in the first three years of the present five-year program averaged 12.3 per cent as against the 10.7 per cent target figure.

Rapid expansion, notably in iron and steel, engineering, chemicals and power, and also in consumer goods, has made for far-reaching structural changes. Quantitative and qualitative changes in industry have led to more efficient operation: productivity was up nearly seven per cent on 1967 and profit targets were surpassed.

Socialist industrialization and progress in the social and cultural fields are backed by a comprehensive capital construction program: about 30 per cent of the national income goes into investments; last year 200 new industrial units were commissioned, adding more than 12 per cent to our aggregate producing capacity.

Good results have been obtained also in agriculture, now run entirely along cooperative lines, more diversified and more intensive. In 1968, as in earlier years, we made substantial investments in mechanization, chemicals, irrigation and introduced a series of measures to stimulate vegetable and cattle farming.

Last year was a trying one for agriculture, but one, also, that fully demonstrated the superiority of socialism. Notwithstanding unfavorable, and in some areas adverse, weather conditions, we grew sufficient produce to satisfy all the require-

ments of the population and of industry. Annual farm output in 1966-68 was approximately 24 per cent above the 1961-65 average.

Increased production has meant a bigger national income—last year it was seven per cent greater than in 1967.

Implementation began in 1968 of the measures mapped out by the National Party Conference to improve planning and management. Consistently adhering to the principles of democratic centralism, we have been able to strengthen the role and functions of the socialist state in directing the economy in accordance with a single plan. At the same time, however, we have extended the rights and jurisdiction of basic economic units to enable them more effectively to solve their problems within the framework of the general plan. Our object is to improve operation of the economic and social mechanism, streamline connections between its various elements and thereby ensure its smooth functioning. Last year management committees were set up in all enterprises and we introduced another innovation, general meetings of workers and office personnel to analyze the operation of the enterprise. The banking system has been streamlined; more is being done to rationalize production and the labor process; the administrative map of the country has been recarved, etc. Industrial amalgamations will begin functioning in the near future, they will handle the basic problems, especially technological and economic, of their particular industry. This will enable the ministries to devote more attention to long-range economic matters. Measures are now under consideration to improve overall planning and the credit and finance system.

The 1968 results are added evidence of the enthusiasm with which our people are carrying out the Communist Party's Marxist-Leninist policy of completing the building of socialism, which accords with the

interests of the people, the socialist cause and progress.

2. The tasks facing us this year are many and complex. These are the main 1969 targets: 10.8 per cent increase in industrial output, 9 per cent rise in national income, 5.1 per cent in real wages and 6 per cent in peasant incomes. In agriculture, we hope to surpass the 1970 target of the five-year plan; investment in industry will exceed the total for 1951-55.

New industries will be commissioned, particularly in branches accounting for a large proportion of the output increase. Investments will be concentrated on priority projects; more attention will be paid to devising optimal economic and technological solutions to cut construction costs to a smaller share of total investment.

The policy of diversifying and modernizing industry will continue, notably in engineering, iron and steel, chemicals, building materials, the food and light industries. This will entail developing new resources of raw materials, introducing new technological processes and improving quality. Research will naturally be a major factor in attaining these goals.

The Party and government policy of complex economic development, diversified production and higher technological levels, creates the conditions for economic and social progress and also for broader economic ties with other countries.

Guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, Rumania is exerting every effort to promote bilateral and multilateral cooperation with all the socialist countries, which last year accounted for more than half of our foreign trade and will account for the greater share this year, too.

Rumania takes an active part in developing cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Aid and in its various measures to promote fruitful joint endeavor. The following figures show how our trade with the CMEA countries increased in 1960-67: Bulgaria 259 per cent, Hungary 107 per cent, GDR 153 per cent, Mongolia 665 per cent, Poland 219 per cent, USSR 150 per cent, Czechoslovakia 140 per cent and Yugo-

slavia 344 per cent. Last year we advanced proposals for closer cooperation by all the socialist countries, including non-CMEA members, in industry, science, technology and other fields. Negotiations on these proposals resulted in a number of agreements and more are to be concluded in the near future.

While we take a positive view of CMEA activities, we believe that there are still broad and untapped reserves for closer economic and technological cooperation, and room for perfecting the CMEA by jointly adopting, and incorporating in its Charter, principles governing the relations between socialist countries. For the broader and more fruitfully they cooperate in a spirit of mutual respect and confidence, the more clearly will they demonstrate the advantages of socialism in inter-state relations and set an example for all nations.

We realize that the world division of labor is an objective necessity and offers many advantages. That is why Rumania is extending its foreign trade and economic and technological cooperation with all countries irrespective of social system on a basis of respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage.

The results we hope to obtain in 1969 will lay the groundwork for continued and systematic improvement of living standards. Completion this year of the wage reform will mean bigger earnings for every worker in 1970. Expenditure on social and cultural amenities will this year be 50 per cent above 1965, which means that they will be increasing at a higher rate than the national income. This year, too, the State will finance construction of 90,000 housing units, an increase of 40 per cent over the original 1969 target.

This is a decisive year for fulfilment of the current five-year program and preparation for the next one. The enthusiasm with which our people are carrying out the policy of the Party, the obligations they have assumed in honor of the 25th anniversary of Rumania's liberation and the 10th Congress of the Party, fortify our confidence that 1969 will be a year of heartening results.

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

N. K. BAIBAKOV,

Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
and Chairman, USSR Planning Commission

1. We are now well into our eighth five-year plan (1966-70), the directives for which were approved by the Twenty-Third Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Economic development in these five years is highlighted by rapid production growth, acceleration of technical progress and a rising standard of living.

The past year has been a good one. Our economic potential grew. The national income increased 7.2 per cent and industrial output 8.1 per cent. The Party guidelines for agricultural expansion are being put into effect throughout the country. We had a good crop of grain, cotton, sugarbeet and other crops, despite adverse weather in some parts of the country. The aggregate grain crop surpassed the previous year's by 21 million tons, the milk yield by more than two million tons and meat production by 100,000 tons, the overall increase in farm output registering 3.5 per cent.

The building program was a large one. Altogether, 61,500 million rubles were invested or as much as in the first, second and fourth five-year plans combined. We built, expanded or reconstructed a large number of industrial enterprises, with basic assets also growing in other branches of the economy.

Acting on the decisions of the September (1967) Central Committee meeting, effective steps were taken to raise the standard of living, yielding a nearly 6,500-million-ruble increase in individual incomes. The average factory and office wage went up 7.5 per cent, and the average income of the collective farmer in cash and kind 6.7 per cent. Retail sales showed an 8.7 per cent rise, and community services, which improved visibly, expanded 17 per cent.

The impetus to the high growth rate came chiefly from technical progress. As in previous years, new types of machines, consumer goods and production techniques were introduced.

Measures improving economic guidance framed by the Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government had a strong bearing on these developments.

In industry, more than 27,000 enterprises producing nearly 75 per cent of the industrial output and yielding about 80 per cent of the aggregate profit were converted to

the new planning system and new incentives, and so were the transport industry, communications, trade, the community services and a number of other industries. Now, we are about to begin applying the new planning methods and economic incentives in the building industry.

The advance in the first three years of the five-year plan (1966-1968) is more than satisfactory. Average annual growth of national income was 7.2 per cent as against the 6.7-7.1 per cent set in the Directives of the Twenty-Third Congress, industrial output 9 per cent as against the planned 8-8.4 per cent, retail sales 8.9 as against 7.5 per cent, real incomes per capita 6.3 as against 5.3 per cent, average factory and office wage 5.1 as against the planned 3.7 per cent, and collective farmers' incomes in cash and kind 9.2 as against 6.7 per cent.

2. What should be said above all is that the 1969 plan also stipulates high growth rates.

National income a 6.5 per cent rise, industrial output 7.3, agriculture 6.1 and capital investments 6 per cent.

Headway is envisaged in science and in its application in the economy. According to the plan alone some 400 new products will be added to the production list, and more than 230 new techniques.

A considerable leap in production is envisaged in various areas of the economy, with 131 automatic systems, including 65 production-control systems, going into operation. That these are highly effective is illustrated by the fact that the 11 automatic control systems to be installed in rolling mills will yield an additional annual output of 120-130 thousand tons of rolled stock.

A considerable leap in production is envisaged in the new oil-bearing area—Tyumen Region, Siberia. Output will rise 57 per cent, reaching 19 million tons and almost equalling the country's oldest oil-bearing area—Baku. Natural gas deposits now being developed in Tyumen Region will supply the Urals and the European part of the country.

To augment the power supply, we shall complete building Konakovskaya, Burshtinskaya, Luganskaya and Zmiyevskaya power stations, each of 2,400,000 kW, and expect

to start up the first power-generating complexes of the Kostromskaya, Tripolskaya and Lukomolskaya stations, as well as 12 generators (aggregating 674,000 kW) of the Saratov station.

There will be structural changes in the engineering industry, designed to increase output of the more progressive types of equipment. Output of program-controlled machine tools will nearly double, output of automated and semi-automated production lines for engineering and metal-processing rising 38 per cent, sheet-stamping automats 43 per cent, forging machines 24 per cent, horizontal forging machines 23 per cent and computer devices 31 per cent.

We also expect to complete in the main what will be the country's biggest producer of motor cars in Togliatti (near Kuibyshev), with an annual output of some 600,000 cars.

Planned growth of farm output is to be attained by raising the yield of all crops and productivity in animal husbandry, for which purpose the farms are to be supplied with 38,500,000 tons of fertilizer, 306,000 tractors, 155,000 trucks and 2,000 million rubles worth of other farm machinery, including more than 100,000 grain combines. A scheme is underway to raise soil fertility and more than 310,000 hectares of land are to be irrigated, nearly 820,000 hectares drained and 5,300,000 hectares of acid soil ameliorated. Works to combat erosion will be extended 50 per cent against the previous year.

Investments in agriculture will be substantially increased, totalling more than 16,000 million rubles or 25 per cent of the country's total investments.

A big step will be made in rural electrification, with new power transmission lines adding up to over 265,000 kilometres, so that all collective and state farms will be supplied power before the end of the year.

An imposing program for raising the standard of living has been tackled, with real per capita incomes going up 5.5 per cent. Average workers' wages and farmers' incomes in cash and kind will climb to the target set for 1970 in the Directives.

Wages in the building and building materials industries will rise 12 per cent, the government allocating about 1,500 million rubles this year for this purpose as an incentive for higher labor productivity and better results.

To secure the planned boost in living standards, we plan to increase output of industry-made consumer goods by 7.5 per

cent, the highest growth rates being envisaged for durable goods: refrigerators 17.2 per cent (total output 3,900,000 units) and TV sets 15.4 per cent (total output 6,600,000 units), the percentage of color TV sets in this figure expanding considerably. Output of high-quality items in light industry and in the food industry is to increase to meet public demand.

As in the past, house-building is expanding. More than 120 million sq. metres of housing is to go up, passing last year's mark by nearly 19 per cent.

Gains accruing to the population out of the public consumption fund will also increase. Total outlays under this head will add up to nearly 58,000 million rubles, a seven per cent rise over the previous year, with an additional 125 million rubles set aside for improving catering in kindergartens.

Public health and education are to expand, and specialized secondary and higher education are also down for expansion. General services will be considerably improved and extended by 21 per cent over 1968.

As in the first three years of the plan, economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the socialist countries will continue on a big scale. Closer coordination of the socialist countries' economic plans involves big economic problems, particularly with respect to specialization in general engineering, machine-tool manufacture, the chemical industry, etc., which are to be solved this year.

The following facts are indicative of the expanding economic cooperation among the socialist countries: in accordance with 1969 protocols, the commodity turnover between the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries will grow nearly 11 per cent, with increased shipments to other socialist countries of industrial equipment, trucks and cars, tractors, planes and electronic computers under the head of industrial goods and oil, rolled stock and cellulose under the head of raw materials, as well as food and other commodities. The Soviet Union, for its part, is buying from the fraternal countries more products of the engineering industry, more chemicals and more consumer goods. The contracted trade will help the CMEA countries fulfil their economic plans and meet the consumer demand.

The 1969 targets stand for progress in all economic fields, and the socialist emulation to mark the 100th anniversary of the birth-

day of Lenin, founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, is the guarantee

that the annual plan will be fulfilled to the letter.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

FRANTISEK VLASAK,
Minister of Planning

1. The economic results for 1968 were examined by the Communist Party Central Committee at its December meeting in the light of the tasks set by the Central Committee a year earlier, in December 1967, and in the light of the special factors in Czechoslovakia's internal and external situation.

Industry made fairly good progress: the social product showed an increase of approximately seven per cent, and national income grew at a still higher rate.

This was due in part to the slowed-down growth of industrial consumption, which in 1968 registered a 6.4 per cent rise, compared with 8.1 per cent in 1967. But the decisive factor was higher productivity, 6 per cent above 1957, which accounted for 90.5 per cent of the national income increase, or 4.1 per cent more than in 1967.

Gross industrial output rose 5 per cent—4.7 per cent in producer and 5.5 per cent in consumer goods, with structural changes in both divisions. For instance, there was an appreciable increase in consumer durables—35 per cent in TV sets, 14 per cent in radio sets, and 12 per cent in passenger cars. The food industry registered a 3.3 per cent increase, and farm produce 3.6 per cent.

Despite these progressive structural changes, determined largely by deliberate reorientation of investment, production did not fully meet the needs of foreign and international trade in quality and variety indicators.

Personal consumption was up more than 9 per cent, the highest figure since the war, and there was a commensurate growth of personal incomes and nominal wages, which increased 7.5 per cent. Social service expenditure increased 15 per cent and retail trade 14 per cent. Working time was reduced with the introduction of the five-day week.

We anticipate continuation of these or similar trends in 1969, which will mean a partial evening-out of growth rates in living standards (steadily) slowed down

since the early sixties, while social consumption increased above fixed levels.

Last year was marked by serious disproportions in capital construction, and we were able to build only 85,000 housing units, which does not solve the housing problem.

Growth rates have surpassed the original figures for the fourth five-year plan. We can record some positive results in intensifying production, which should have made for more economic stability. But it has to be said that there has been no decisive turn towards gradual reestablishment of economic equilibrium. We have not been able to reduce the volume of unfinished building; the ratio between the productivity growth and average wages was disturbed; there is still an excessive increase in cash incomes of enterprises and the population. In three key industries, building, internal and external trade, the negative trends of past years are still hampering economic equilibrium.

The causes and nature of the disproportions in these industries are due chiefly to failure to assure timely and high-quality satisfaction of rising demand. In other words, the record of last year revealed favorable developments in intensifying production, but also unfavorable and contradictory trends deeply rooted in the past. This could make for more economic instability and more inflationary pressure. The disproportions following from unsatisfied demand are attributable also to the fact that the economic reform has so far not eliminated such forms of administrative interference as, on the one hand, stimulated demand, and on the other distorted true market conditions.

2. Mindful of last year's results and economic trends, we have set ourselves realistic goals designed to implement structural changes and to lessen inflationary pressures. This year our economy can look forward to favorable conditions for a high dynamic growth. National income is scheduled to rise by 6-7 per cent, with most of

the contribution coming from industry.

Industrial output is expected to be 7.2 per cent above the 1968 figure. In conformity with our long-term program of structural change, we are concentrating on such industries as engineering (a 9.4 per cent increase), chemical (13 per cent), consumer goods (6 per cent), etc. There will also be structural changes within these industries: in chemistry, for instance, we are expanding production of fertilizers, petrochemicals, plastics, synthetics, etc.

Agriculture will be a consolidating element in the economy, with a more than 2.5 per cent increase in output.

This year we expect a higher demand for labor power, especially in trade, public catering, education and public health. A fresh influx of industrial labor is envisaged only for the Slovak Socialist Republic, whereas in the Czech Socialist Republic the gain in industrial output will be through higher productivity.

Much attention is being paid to housing, this year's program amounting to more than 100,000 units.

The complexity of the current plan follows from its endeavor to inhibit long-term negative trends and to introduce certain positive measures without, however, disturbing the continuity and rhythm of economic development. Attempts to overcome the contradictory trends, which emerged along with the temporary deceleration of economic advance, were made way back in 1963. The only result, however, of this interference in the economic process was to produce new disproportions, which only aggravated economic instability. Now our economic policy is centered on realistic measures to obviate the causes of disproportions.

Capital construction is to go up eight per cent and investments in service facilities will rise from 48.7 per cent in 1967 to 52.4 per cent. On the other hand, we are cutting down on investments in fuel, ore mining, power and engineering, and in-

creasing investments in consumer goods and foodstuffs. We have also decided to reduce the number of building projects to prevent fragmentation and immobilization of investments.

The government and the trade unions have agreed to adjust the relatively high increase in nominal wages by price changes, so that real wages will rise by about 2.5-3 per cent. About 6,000 million crowns more will be allocated for the social services. Aggregate incomes will increase eight per cent, and retail trade by 14,000 million crowns to reach a total of 154,000 million. Stability of the internal market will depend on the supply of goods to meet this bigger demand. We are preparing a number of special measures, such as larger sales of passenger cars (110,000-115,000), bigger supplies of home-produced and imported consumer durables, wider use of commodity stocks, etc.

Foreign trade holds a central place in all our plans. It should be borne in mind that export growth had slowed down from 6.7 per cent in 1967 to three per cent in 1968. The task here is cooperation with the socialist countries which account for about two-thirds of our total foreign trade. And decisive in this context is continued cooperation with the USSR, negotiations with which have laid a good foundation for extending economic relations. But we are also anxious to stimulate exports to capitalist countries, a vital necessity in view of our strained balance of payments and the need to acquire modern equipment in developed capitalist countries to accelerate structural changes.

Gradual re-establishment of economic equilibrium is one of the most complex and difficult tasks of 1969. Its successful accomplishment will contribute significantly to economic development in future years.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that this year's plan provides for a substantial improvement in living standards. But, naturally, this can be achieved only if all the other aims set in the plan are met.

The Soviet working class today

Workers of Leningrad speaking

Marxist-Leninist science has always attached paramount importance to the studying of the conditions of the working class. This is understandable since it is the main class in modern society, destined to be the grave digger of the bourgeoisie and builder of the new society in which oppression and exploitation, and, ultimately, all classes, will disappear for all time.

Marxism owes its birth to the appearance of the industrial proletariat and the rise of the working-class movement. Recognition of the leading role of the working class and of its vanguard, the Communist Party, in modern society is one of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. The Communists, consistently upholding this principle, are waging a relentless struggle against bourgeois and opportunist ideology which seeks to discredit, or revise, this principle.

In the world of today there are three principal contingents of the international working class: the working class in the socialist countries, the working class in the developed capitalist countries and the proletariat of the developing states. While the socio-economic and political conditions of these contingents vary, they are united by the struggle against their common adversary—imperialism, and by their common aim—to build a socialist and then communist society. They are united by the bonds of international proletarian solidarity, by the watchword: "Workers of all lands, unite!" This unity of all contingents of the world proletariat is based on a scientific analysis of the conditions of the working class in the different countries and continents. The range of Marxist literature on this subject is wide and varied. It is the subject of exhaustive study by Marxist scholars in the economic, philosophical, sociological and historical spheres.

The Editorial Board of the journal, too, is contributing to these studies. It considers that one way of doing so is through discussions with workers in the different countries. In its No. 3 issue for 1968 it carried a survey of its discussion with Italian workers ("The Workers of Turin Speaking: Economic Demands, Political Tasks"), and in No. 12, 1968, its discussion with workers in the German Federal Republic ("Meeting with Mannheim Workers: For Social Rights, Democracy and Socialism").

In this issue we publish a survey of a discussion with workers in Leningrad, drawn from a score of factories, and attended by Party, and trade union functionaries and administrators:

T. Abushkevich — deputy foreman in the Krasnoye Znamya Factory; **V. Alexeyenko**—turner in the Izhorsky Plant, member of the CPSU Regional Committee; **N. Arkina**—Secretary of the YCL Committee in the Poligrafmash Plant; **V. Belsky**—production team leader in the Krasny Vyborzhets Plant, member of the trade union shop committee; **P. Bolshakov**—chief economist in the Svetlana Factory; **P. Bolsheva**—Chairman of the Regional Committee of the Textile and Light Industry Workers' Union, member of the City Soviet; **G. Borin**—foreman in the Elektroapparat Plant; **V. Borominskaya**— CPSU Regional Committee instructor; **N. Vasilyev**—metal worker in the Vibrator Plant, chairman of the Innovators' Council; **S. Vitchenko**—fitter in Elektrosila Plant; **V. Volkov**—CPSU Regional Committee department head; **R. Vystupova**—production team leader in an optical factory; **O. Gabarov**—laboratory head in the Svetlana Factory; **K. Govorushin**—metal worker in the Kirov Plant, member of the CPSU City Committee, member

of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; **A. Gritskevich**—worker at the Sevkabel Plant; **L. Dibina**—worker in the Vera Slutskaya Mill, member of the District Soviet; **N. Diyev**—worker in the Neva Machine-Building Plant; **G. Ivanko**—worker in the Russky Dizel Plant, member of the factory trade-union committee; **N. Ilyushin**—shop foreman in the Karl Marx Plant; **A. Kondratenko**—factory trade-union committee chairman in the Skorokhod Footwear Factory; **Z. Kruglova**—secretary of the CPSU Regional Committee; **V. Kukin**—crane operator in the No. 2 Stroimekhanizatsiya Plant, member of the CPSU District Committee; **A. Larionova**—worker in the Krasnaya Zarya Factory, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; **V. Morozova**—worker in the Lomonosov porcelain factory; **Y. Morshavina**—worker in the Volodarsky Clothing Factory, member of the Party Committee; **R. Polyakov**—worker in a medical-instruments factory; **A. Reshetilo**—production team leader in the No. 2 House-Building Plant; **N. Rusakov**—metal worker in the Elektrosila Plant, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet; **N. Savinov**—senior foreman in the 22nd CPSU Congress Metallichesky Plant; **N. Selyavin**—lathe operator in the same plant, deputy secretary of the YCL plant committee; **V. Sementsov**—Secretary of the Party Committee in the Sverdlov Machine-Tool Works; **M. Tishukov**—worker at the Kirov Plant, chairman of the plant's production conference; **A. Chuyev**—turner in the Baltiisky Plant, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Editorial Board was represented by: **P. Naumov**—Executive Secretary of the journal (Communist Party of the Soviet Union); **H. Berg** (Socialist Unity Party of Germany); **P. Hentges** (French Communist Party); **C. Unni Raja** (Communist Party of India); **E. Zucker-Schilling** (Communist Party of Austria).

Different aspects of the contemporary Soviet working class were touched upon during the discussion, a survey of which follows:

* * *

Opening the discussion, **P. Naumov** stressed the significance of the Marxist-Leninist thesis regarding the leading role of the working class in socialist society. He expressed the hope that the discussion with workers of the city of Lenin, the city of glorious revolutionary traditions, the cradle of the October Revolution, would give the journal's readership a better idea of the Soviet worker of today, of how he lives and works, helps run industry and the country.

Welcoming the participants, **Z. Kruglova** noted that the Soviet Union's fifty years experience has confirmed the truth of the leading role of the working class in solving the problems connected with building the new society. She recalled the revolutionary traditions of the workers of Leningrad, the fact that on the second anniversary of the Soviet state **V. I. Lenin** noted that the workers of Petrograd deserved the first message of greeting. "The Petrograd workers, as the vanguard of the revolutionary workers and soldiers, as the vanguard of the

working people of Russia and the whole world, were the first to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and raise the banner of the proletarian revolution against capitalism and imperialism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 118).

During the years of peaceful socialist construction the Leningrad working class was once more in the van. In 1929 the Krasny Vyborzhets Plant launched the country's first socialist emulation movement. In 1930 some five thousand Leningrad workers (75 per cent of them Communists) went to the countryside in response to the call of the Party, to help the peasants organize collective farms. During the Great Patriotic War there were 11 Party mobilizations for the front. Eighty per cent of the Leningraders who went to the front were workers. At present the Leningrad worker is, together with the rest of the country's working class, helping to build the material and technical base of communism in the USSR.

I. POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE SOVIET WORKING CLASS

WORKER PARTICIPATION IN STATE ADMINISTRATION

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies are the political foundation of the USSR. Soviet power is the power of the working people. Addressing the working people shortly after the October Revolution, Lenin said: "Remember, that now *you yourself* are at the helm of state . . . *Your* Soviets are from now on the organs of state authority, legislative bodies with full powers." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 297).

State authority in the Soviet Union is exercised by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies—from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the local town and city Soviets. The total number of deputies elected to these Soviets exceeds two million. The proportion of workers among the deputies elected to the local Soviets in 1967 was 29.6 per cent. The deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet in 1962 included 339 workers, or 23.5 per cent of the total. In 1966 the figure was 404 workers, or 26.6 per cent of the total number of deputies elected. In the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics, elected in 1963, workers accounted for 23.7 per cent of the total number of deputies. In 1967 the percentage was 25.7. Here it will not be out of place to note that there is not a single industrial worker in the present U.S. Congress, in the Bundestag of the FRG, nor in the parliaments of many other capitalist countries.

Speaking of worker participation in the country's administration and legislation, N. Rusakov said that in 1966 when he was elected for the second time to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, he was one of the 13 deputies, six of them workers, representing the Leningrad region.* All legislation, he went on, is effected through the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the Union Republics. About half of the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet are members of standing commissions which draft the country's laws. N. Rusakov himself is one of the 51 deputies, among them eight workers, working in the planning and budget commission which prepares materials for economic plans and for the budgets, and verifies how they are put into effect.

*Altogether, Leningrad is represented by 20 workers in the Supreme governing bodies of the RSFSR and the USSR.

The commission meets once a year, a month before the session of the Supreme Soviet which approves the state plan and the budget. In November 1968, for example, the commission met in Moscow to draft laws on the 1969 state economic plan and the budget. The commission members worked in groups according to industry. The Chairman of the USSR State Planning Commission and the Minister of Finance informed the deputies of the tentative drafts after which the representatives of the ministries concerned* reported on the development plans for the respective industries and what should therefore be taken into account when finalizing the plan and the budget. Several commission members submitted proposals after acquainting themselves with the problems of some of the key industries. The various proposals and additional suggestions were then incorporated into the draft and the chairman of the commission was delegated to submit them to the Supreme Soviet for consideration.

The deputies, of course, in no way supersede the experts who are the architects of the plan and the budget, drawn up on the basis of precise mathematical calculations, with the help of computers. For all that, quite a few of their suggestions and amendments were incorporated.

For example, the proposal that the budget revenues could be increased by another 122.7 million rubles, this sum to be spent on public amenities and services, on hospitals and schools. It was also proposed to increase the production of some consumer goods to the value of more than 108 million rubles.**

Not all of the commission's proposals must necessarily be passed by the Supreme Soviet. Some are put into effect immediately. Take its proposal to raise the wages of building and timber workers, for example, which the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers accepted giving these categories a 25 per cent wage increase.

Recently, some of the deputies, among them N. Rusakov, proposed cutting down on imports of certain materials and equipment. Specialists are now calculating the economic benefits this would yield, and if

*In the Soviet Union each of the main industries has its ministry.

**The December 1968 Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet endorsed these proposals.

the deputies prove right, the state plan will be amended accordingly.

A. Chuyev told about his work as a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. There is one deputy for every 300,000 constituents. The deputy's schedule is a busy one, what with attending to his basic job (in the USSR deputies are not released from their work), and meeting with his constituents to discuss their requests, complaints, and sundry other problems. The main question of interest to all at present is housing. Although considerable construction is under way and the city's housing fund has nearly doubled compared with pre-war,* people want still better housing conditions.

A. Chuyev recalled that in 1953 (he was then a deputy to the local Soviet) when the housing shortage was acute and little was being built, people were happy to get anything.** Chuyev went on, that as a deputy he has to concern himself directly with housing in Leningrad, and particularly in his own electoral district (Vasilyevsky Ostrov), where a big housing project is underway and which, upon completion, will be inhabited mostly by the workers of this district.

The constituents are interested in many other matters, of course, such as pensions. Misunderstandings occasionally arise on this score, but are usually ironed out to the satisfaction of the parties concerned.***

After every Supreme Soviet session the deputies report back to their constituents. The deputies make it a point to meet as often as possible with the youth who want to know not only about the work of the Supreme Soviet, but also to discuss the many problems bothering them.

P. Bolsheva said that as a deputy of the City Soviet she is actively assisted by workers. For example, two-thirds of the members of the City Soviet's public catering commission in which she participates, are workers, mostly women.****

*In 1913 Petrograd's housing fund totalled 21.8 million sq.m. In 1940 the figure was 24.0 million, and in 1963—42 million. The population increased from 2.1 million in 1913 to 3 million in 1940, and 3.4 million in 1963.

**In 1953, 4.4 million people moved into new houses in the Soviet Union, in 1967—8.6 million. And whereas formerly a family often received only a one-room apartment, now they receive two or three-room apartments.

***There are at present 700,000 old-age pensioners in Leningrad. All working people qualify for pensions, men at the age of 60, women at 55. For some categories of workers the pension age is lower. Pensions average 50-100 per cent of regular wages.

****The proportion of worker deputies of city, district and village Soviets in Leningrad and the Leningrad Region, was 30.6 per cent in 1955, 47.2 per cent in 1961 and more than half the total in 1965.

An important aspect of worker participation in the city's administration is activity in the deputy groups formed in every residential area. These groups concern themselves primarily with organizing leisure and recreation.

N. Vasilyev remarked that although not a deputy to the Supreme or local Soviet, he would nevertheless like to give an example of worker participation in government matters.

At present a Bill on inventions and rationalization is under consideration in the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The Leningrad Innovators' Council* took an active part in drawing up the Bill, as did the Innovators' Council in the Vibrator Plant. Many of the suggestions made by the Leningrad innovators will probably be taken into account and incorporated in the final wording of the Bill.

Question: A view widespread in the West is that the Soviets are purely formal, that all matters are settled by the Party. What can you say about that? Are there instances when the Soviets do not agree with decisions made by Party bodies?

Such views, P. Bolsheva said, stem, I think, from lack of knowledge of the specific features of the Soviet political system, or it may be from a distorted picture of generally known facts.

The Communist Party is, indeed, the leading and guiding force in Soviet society. Lenin always stressed that it was essential that the Party direct the building of communism.

But, P. Bolsheva went on, this does not mean that the Soviets are a mere fiction, that they merely rubber stamp Party decisions. The Party does not interfere in the work of the Soviets, does not dictate to them. The Party carries out its *political line* through the Communists in the Soviets. It is absurd to oppose the Party to the Soviets. In keeping with the political line of the Party, the Soviets tackle their own specific tasks.

The Party's influence in the Soviets, said P. Bolsheva, herself a Party member, does not at all mean that non-Party people are excluded from political and social activity. About half of the deputies of the City

*The innovators' Councils are public bodies in factories and on a city-wide scale. Composed of engineers, technicians, scientists and workers, these Councils—of which there are over 500 in Leningrad enterprises—popularise, through the exchange of experience, advanced production methods.

Soviet, and nearly all of the members of the commission in which she works, are non-Party.

Their active participation in public affairs may be gathered from the following example. When Deputy Akilov, a worker in the Gidropribor Plant, learned that in two news schools in the Vyborg district the pupils were not getting hot meals because the building workers had not done a good job of the school kitchens, he reported the matter to the head of the educational department of the district and also to the two construction chiefs concerned, both Communists, whom he sharply criticized for falling down on the job.

N. Rusakov noted that bourgeois propaganda often alleges that Supreme Soviet deputies never criticize government or Party leaders. This, he said, is not true. Constructive criticism is often aired in the commissions and during sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Furthermore, Bills are printed three to four months before they come up for debate in the Supreme Soviet, thus giving both deputies and the public at large enough time to express their views on the matter. For example, some 3,000 proposals were submitted to the Supreme Soviet on the Bill on Land Use Rules in the USSR. Many of these were supported by the deputies and subsequently adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Hundreds of viewpoints were also aired when the new Bill on the Family and Marriage was published. This is the case with most draft laws. It can therefore be said most definitely that the various bodies of Soviet authority give due consideration to public opinion. As regards Party policy it is actively supported by the people, for it is a policy based on a profound analysis of their wishes and requirements. And whereas this policy, oriented on building communism in our country, is not disputed, the forms and methods in which it is realized often are.

Question: How much time do you devote to your work as Supreme Soviet deputy, and is there any obligatory time for this work?

Deputy Chuyev said that his deputy obligations take up from two to three full working days a month. This is the most he can spare since he works at the bench. But his spare time most days is taken up with one or another of his constituents, or in attending to other commitments. He did not confine himself to a fixed timetable, for there were days when there was little doing

and others when the reverse was the case, depending on the nature of the issues raised by his constituents.

Deputy Rusakov said that his work as deputy takes up about two months in the year. Often he leaves the factory an hour or two before the end of his shift to attend to deputy matters. This working time is paid for on the basis of the average monthly wage (in N. Rusakov's case it is 200 rubles). It being difficult to handle all matters alone, Rusakov has an assistant (a retired lawyer) who is paid out of the funds by the Supreme Soviet to cover his deputy expenses.

Question: Have there been any cases in Leningrad of a deputy being recalled?

Replying, Z. Kruglova said there was one case of a local Soviet deputy who was recalled by his constituents on grounds of anti-social behavior.

WORKER PARTICIPATION IN FACTORY MANAGEMENT

Lenin considered worker participation in factory management one of the conditions ensuring society's transition from socialism to communism. He wrote: "... when all have learned to administer and actually do independently administer social production . . . then the door will be thrown wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase. . . ." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 474). In the Soviet Union the methods of economic administration are being constantly improved, everything is done to release the initiative of the working people, to enlist their participation in production matters.

The forms of worker participation are extremely varied. They include production meetings, standing production conferences, technical clubs, public design and technological groups, research laboratories, economic analyst groups, etc.

M. Tishukov stressed that Soviet workers have a direct interest in production results. Their participation in running the plant is effectively secured through standing production conferences (SPC), first formed ten years ago as public bodies comprising the foremost workers, technicians, engineers and other employees.

The Kirov Plant's SPC consists of 187 members, of whom 113 workers, with all shops and departments represented.* Mem-

*The Kirov Plant (former Putilov Works) is one of Leningrad's veteran engineering works with rich revolutionary traditions.

bers are elected at meetings at shop and department levels.

The shops have their own SPC. The Kirov Plant has 47 shop SPC's with 3,500 members, of whom about 2,000 are workers at the bench.

The standing production conferences are, so to speak, storage batteries of collective initiative. They submit recommendations to the administration, fulfilment of which is verified by the SPC presidium.

The factory SPC meets at least once quarterly, and its 21-man (eight of them workers) presidium once or twice a month. From time to time, administration spokesmen, the chief engineer or one of his deputies, report to the presidium on fulfilment.

Tishukov illustrated his account with examples. For instance, he said, the workers of the shop supplying primary material to the steel-making plant approached the factory SPC concerning a new installation they had requested. The SPC presidium appointed a commission of workers and engineers to look into the matter and found that the replacement was indeed desirable. New installations were promptly installed, with good economic results.

Workers' participation in the SPC yields socio-political, as well as technical results. As Tishukov sees it, voluntary participation in management contains elements of the communist attitude to work, to the factory.

Growth of workers' initiative is illustrated by the following: in 1967 some 4,365 workers in the Kirov Plant took part in a review of untapped intra-factory reserves, held under SPC auspices. The result was 1,125 proposals yielding an annual saving of some 765 thousand rubles.

A. Kondratenko pointed out that worker participation was an educational factor, with the result that many workers were promoted to responsible posts. Comrade Orlov, formerly a rank-and-file operator, for example, is now deputy chief electrician largely as a result of the experience and knowledge acquired during his tenure as member of the SPC presidium at the Skorokhod Plant.*

Question: In what way do workers participate in drawing up the production plan?

A. Kondratenko: When the factory gets the control targets for the annual plan from the planning body, these are discussed by the SPC. As a rule, however, this is preceded by workers' meetings and sessions of

the shop SPC. Workers submit their proposals, express ideas about the organization of the work, the range of products, and the like. This helps correct the control figures to suit the largest changes in the plant. The resultant draft plan, framed at enterprise level with workers' participation, is then finalized by the superior body.

Question: Are there any new forms of worker participation in management?

The search for new and more effective forms of worker participation continues, said A. Reshetilo. A council of production team leaders, the first in Leningrad, was formed recently on the workers' initiative, his own included, at the house-building plant where he works. The following example, Reshetilo said, illustrated its functions: the planning department set a target of 6,100 units monthly for Reshetilo's shop. The team leaders' council suggested that the target be increased to 6,600 units, which was duly done.

Another example: on reviewing potential, the team leaders' council recently decided to challenge a similar factory in Moscow to a production contest. The administration backed up the proposal. The two factories are now competing for better results.

A. Kondratenko indicated that the role of the public bodies and their responsibility for the plant doubled when the economic reform began. The transition to complete economic accountability, including accountability by each factory shop, is in full swing. The shops will soon be economically self-sufficient units. In this new context, the public bodies are increasingly responsible for the production results.

T. Abushkevich, a woman worker, said that her enterprise has an elected personnel department that comes under the trade union.

G. Ivanko added that the Diesel Factory has such elected personnel departments in every shop, each consisting of five to seven members. Ivanko is chairman of one.

Terms of reference cover hiring and firing. Members of the body talk to all applicants, find out why they left their previous job and inform them of what is expected of them in the shop. If the applicants are suitable and if the working conditions suit them, they are taken on.

Conversely, if a worker wants to leave, his notice is handled by the public body before it goes to the administration. He is asked why he wants to leave (it may be

*Skorokhod ranks among the world's largest shoemaking industries; produces about 40 million pairs of shoes annually.

that working conditions are unsatisfactory or he had a run-in with the foreman). If his reasons for wanting to leave are not

weighty or can be remedied, a heart-to-heart talk ensues; the worker is helped and advised to stay on.

II. WORKERS' PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS. THE YOUNG WORKER. THE WORKING CLASS AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE FACTORY

Communists, V. Sementsov said, are active in all sectors of production and factory life, exercising a decisive influence. It is through them that the CPSU discharges its guiding role in Soviet society.

Z. Kruglova said that more than 60 per cent of the members admitted to the Party in Leningrad in 1960-66 are workers.* In 1967, some nine thousand workers were admitted to the Party as candidate-members, comprising 71 per cent of the total admitted, the highest percentage in 35 years.

K. Govorushin gave examples of how Party members exercise guidance in the Kirov Plant, in its life, and in the city. Out of the 97 members of the Leningrad Regional Party Committee, he said, 38 are workers, and so are 28 of the 85 members of the City Committee, while the 67-man Kirov District Party Committee includes 22 workers. Besides, he added, the other Committee members are also mostly of working-class background. The workers on elected Party bodies don't just attend meetings. Each is given independent assignments and responsibilities. K. Govorushin, who is a member of the Leningrad City Party Committee, was assigned to investigate the work of an engineering plant on one occasion, and on another the work of the Leningrad branch of the Union of Writers, reporting his findings to the City Committee.

The Kirov Plant has 69 Party branches. The factory Party Committee consists of 15 members, six of them workers. The shop branch, of which Govorukhin is a member, has 222 Party members, of whom 123 workers, 67 technicians and engineers and 32 pensioners formerly employed at the plant, who stayed on with the Party branch and participate in its work.

V. Sementsov said that every sixth member of the staff in the enterprises of his en-

gineering corporation is a Communist. Out of the members and candidate-members registered in his Party branch 75 per cent were workers at the time of admission.

The Party Committee and its subordinate branches devote their main attention to selecting, allocating and training personnel. Traditionally, appointments to managerial jobs and personnel shuffles require the agreement of the Party organization.

Party branches have the right to control production. They may call to account any administrator or any member of the factory staff.

The branches see to it that the opportunities for study, proficiency improvement and cultural and political education are not wasted.

The Party Committee and its branches have lecturers and propagandists to elucidate Party and government policy and the home and international situation.

They are concerned with elevating Party prestige, the prestige of every member. The best people, those who have earned the respect of others for their work, their political awareness and their moral stature, are taken into the Party. Membership does not give any special privileges. On the contrary, it adds to responsibilities. The Communist must be a model of conscientious work. This enhances his prestige among non-members and reinforces the bonds between the Party and the masses.

Question: One often reads in the foreign press that the higher Party bodies are never criticized in the Soviet Union. Is that true?

Comrade Sementsov denied this: the higher Party bodies are criticized, and quite often, he said. At Party branch meetings and meetings of district and city branches, rank-and-file Communists speak out very sharply indeed.

Possibly, Sementsov said, the question arose because in the Soviet Union one never hears criticism counterposing the higher Party bodies to the rank-and-file. But absence of such criticism is natural: all Party work is centered on common aims, conditioned by the interest of the

*Among newly-admitted Party members workers comprised 30.4 per cent in 1955, 45.3 per cent in 1964 and 47.6 per cent in the period between the 22nd and 23rd Congresses.

people. All criticism is therefore constructive, businesslike, and non-sensational.

THE ROLE AND TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS

"The Congress holds that the role of the trade unions in fulfilling the tasks of economic development must be elevated and their more active participation secured in drawing up state plans and in production management. It is up to the trade unions to promote the socialist emulation movement, improve educational work among the people and to show greater concern for the organization of labor and the living conditions of factory and office workers."—(From the Resolution of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU)

A. Kondratenko said that trade-unionists from capitalist countries sometimes refer to a "lack of rights" of Soviet trade unions, saying that they are mere appendages of the administration.

That is not true, she said. As in any other Soviet enterprise, so at the Skorokhod Footwear Factory, Lenin's slogan, "The trade unions are a school of communism," has a tangible and concrete content. The trade union branch participates in production matters and in the life of the enterprise.

The relationship and mutual responsibility of the administration and the workers are regulated by the annual collective agreement. One of the tasks of the trade union, Kondratenko said, is organizing socialist emulation and cultivating communist ideals among its membership. In the Skorokhod Factory nearly all groups of workers take part in the emulation movement. The results of the emulation between the 100 shops and 600 production sectors, comprising more than 19,000 workers, are added up monthly. The trade union branch determines the best workers, encourages them and disseminates their techniques.

The unions have a big say in the matter of work quotas, labor organization and wages. No new quotas can be introduced without the trade union's agreement. When production quotas are revised due to technical innovations or for any other reason, the matter is handled by the shop branch.

All work regulations and schedules need trade union endorsement. When the factory switched to the five-day week, for example, the new work schedule was discussed at workers' meetings. Not until all

suggestions were studied was the schedule finalized.

Question: What is a collective agreement, what items does it cover, how is it concluded?

A. Kondratenko: The annual collective agreement, usually concluded at the beginning of the year, is a document recording the mutual obligations of the administration and the factory force. On behalf of the workers it is signed by the trade union committee.

The Skorokhod Factory collective agreement consists of eight sections, though that differs from enterprise to enterprise.

Section I, entitled "The State Plan and the Socialist Emulation Movement," contains the specific responsibilities of the administration and the trade union with regard to plan fulfilment and promotion of socialist emulation.

Section II concerns wages and other emoluments, and work quotas. It lists the hourly wages for different jobs, depending on the workers' grading.

Section III tabulates the administration's obligations relating to the training and re-training of workers, technicians, engineers and office employees.

Section IV deals with questions of labor discipline.

Section V concerns labor safety, listing the measures to which the administration is committed in order to improve working conditions, ensure greater safety, provide working clothes, etc.

Section VI lists the administration's undertakings concerning workers' housing, house repairs and improvement of public catering; it also stipulates trade union control.

Section VII contains commitments concerning educational and cultural work, physical culture and sport.

Section VIII sets out the procedure of amending agreement articles, the provisions for control and verification, and the like.

Workers' meetings are held at shop level before any new collective agreement is concluded (usually at the end of the year). At these meetings: a) spokesmen of the administration and trade union report on the fulfilment of the previous agreement and b) speakers discuss the draft of the next year's agreement. Workers suggest additions and amendments. An average of 300 such proposals are registered at the Skorokhod Factory. Delegates to a general con-

ference, which finalizes the text and endorses the collective agreement, are elected at shop level.

Fulfilment is controlled by standing shop and factory trade union commissions jointly with the administration, with a detailed check usually in mid-year, when workers' meetings are convened, addressed by members of the administration and by trade union functionaries. If the check reveals that the administration was ignoring some item of the agreement, the reason for this are investigated and the guilty may on the trade union's demand be brought to book. But that is a rare occurrence. As a rule, all provisions of the agreement are fulfilled.

Question: Do the unions ever have conflicts with the administration?

A. Kondratenko: The trade union has extensive rights in safeguarding the interests of its members. In 1968, for example, the administration fumbled some labor-safety measures envisaged in the collective agreement. The trade union intervened, and they were carried out. The administrators responsible were penalized: their bonuses were cancelled.

Conflicts and differences that arise are mostly between the administration and individual employees. The trade union, whose business it is to safeguard the workers' interests, investigates each case on its merits and helps find a settlement. For this purpose, every factory shop has a disputes commission, on which the trade union and the administration are equally represented. It deals with all misunderstandings, but if no settlement results, the worker may take his grievance to the factory commission and then, if again unsuccessful, the matter is taken up by the factory trade union committee. A court of law is the worker's last resort, but cases where workers are compelled to take their grievances to court are rare.

P. Bolsheva said that should some item of a collective agreement be ignored by the administration or some specific executive and no valid explanation offered for the omission, there may arise the question of no confidence, for a manager remiss with regard to the provisions of the collective agreement or incapable of fulfilling them cannot continue at the head of a collective.

Question: What benefits accrue to the worker from union membership?

A. Kondratenko: Here are two figures:

a Skorokhod Factory worker pays an average 13 rubles a year in dues. Yet according to a social security estimate, annual marginal benefits average 130 rubles per worker (the Skorokhod worker's average monthly wage is 107 rubles).

Social insurance is financed by the factory, covering sick pay, maternity benefits and part of the cost of workers' accommodation in holiday homes and sanatoria.

Every second Skorokhod worker spends his vacation in a sanatorium, a holiday home or a health-building centre.* In addition to accommodation in national trade union sanatoria and holiday homes, the factory has vacation facilities of its own. As a rule, workers are accommodated at a considerable discount, often free of charge.

TRAINING FOR YOUNG WORKERS

S. Vitchenko spoke of the training and political education of young workers. What is important, he said, is for people of the older generation to be with the young ones, and high time for the older people to stop complaining about the modern youth. The younger generation did not face the severe tests that their fathers and grandfathers had to face. The young people of today are much better educated. Their political and cultural scope is far broader.

In our search for effective educational methods, Vitchenko went on, we of the Elektrosila Plant** started a tutor's movement, of whom we now have about 300, all men of experience, of considerable skill, men who like young people, men with understanding, willing to give generously of their time. Most of them are members of the Communist Party. Under this scheme the tutors are getting systematic advice from the leading instructors of the Teachers College. We have a 19-man council of tutors.

Vitchenko himself has been a tutor for six years, the mentor of a teen-agers' group usually consisting of 20-25 young people (average age 18). The older boys are eventually called up to the army or promoted in the factory, while some leave work on

*Health-building center (prophylactorium) — sanatorium-type centers where workers undergo medical treatment and rest up on doctor's orders after the day's work. Accommodated are workers suffering from chronic conditions or from an occupational ailment. In 1967 some 27,000 Leningrad workers received treatment in Leningrad's 61 prophylactoria.

**Elektrosila (formerly a Siemens-controlled enterprise) ranks among the world's biggest producers of electrical equipment. At present it is building the world's first one-million-kilowatt generator.

gaining admission to higher educational establishments. Some 77 boys have gone through Vitchenko's hands over the past six years.

At present, the team consists of 22 boys and one girl, all of them, excepting those who have ten-year secondary schooling, attend evening school.

V. Alexeyenko said bourgeois propagandists were trying to drive a wedge, foment conflict, between the generations. These propagandists are banking on the fact that the present younger generation of Soviet youth have not been involved in the severe class battles that had steeled the older generation.

We young people, Alexeyenko went on, grew up in a new world. That is quite true. We did not experience the hardships of the revolution, of the civil war and the Great Patriotic War. But we grew up in the atmosphere of the social system for which the previous generations had fought, which they had built. Socialism and its advantages are something we imbibed with our mothers' milk. It is our system. We are aware of the responsibility we bear for its further growth, for its future. The baton passed from the older generations to the younger is in dependable hands.

Referring to bourgeois propaganda attempts at creating a gulf between the Soviet youth and their fathers, Alexeyenko said that two things were being confused: the relationship of generations and the fight between the old and the new. Life is never stagnant, he said. Values are constantly revalued. That is no simple process, never painless. The old never left the scene of its own accord. However, the attempt to identify the fight between old and new with conflict of generations is absurd.

N. Arkina spoke of Komsomol work at the Poligrafmash Plant. Every fourth employee, she said, was young, with 80 per cent members of the Young Communist League, 70 per cent of whose members are workers.

The factory's Komsomol activity is designed to instil the spirit of the workers' revolutionary tradition among the young people, to cultivate internationalism, love of country and a healthy pride in the city and their plant. The varied interests of young people are taken into account, and concern is shown for living conditions, the many ways of spending leisure, and for questions arising at work. The Komsomols also take an active interest in production matters. For example, we always look for

ways of raising labor productivity. And the Komsomol is in the thick of this effort, setting its members the following tasks: young workers must on all accounts fulfil their work quotas: the quality of their work must be high, with no defects; young people must continuously improve their proficiency; maintain labor discipline; see to it that new machinery is installed as quickly as possible, and, last but not least, they must be thrifty and economical.

To live up to these slogans, the Komsomol is encouraging socialist emulation. The movement for improving proficiency is another important form of Komsomol work. Last year the Komsomol sponsored a contest with the motto: greater proficiency for all.

THE WOMAN WORKER, HER RIGHTS

Socialism has secured political and economic equality for women. As a result of the October Revolution women are active participants in the new life . . . In industry and agriculture, education and health, science and culture, in bringing up the rising generation, and in running the state, women are in the front ranks of the builders of communism.

(From the CC CPSU Decision on Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Great October.)

L. Dibina told the audience about the situation of women* in factories. Most workers in her weaving mill, she said, are women. All the top administrators (factory director, chief engineer, Party secretary, and trade union committee chairman) are women. Women get the same pay as men.

Special benefits include maternity leave, which begins two months before delivery, and two more months' leave is granted after delivery. In these four months the mother is paid the average monthly income. Furthermore, she is entitled to unpaid leave until the infant is a year old.

Only recently it was still difficult to accommodate all children in nurseries and

*The number of women workers and employees in the USSR was 41 million in 1967 as compared with 2.8 million in 1928. Women comprised 24 per cent of the total labor force in 1928 and something like 50 per cent in 1967. In pre-revolutionary Russia 55 per cent of the gainfully employed women were house servants, 25 per cent field laborers, only 13 per cent factory and building employees and 4 per cent educational and health workers. In 1966, 37 per cent of the gainfully employed women were in industry and building and 25 per cent in education, health and science. As compared with 1928, the number of women specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education increased 50-fold by the end of 1966, totalling 7.5 million or 58 per cent of the total graduate specialists.

kindergartens.* Now, every child can be accommodated. The highest cost of kindergarten accommodation is 12.5 rubles monthly, and 15 rubles for resident kindergartens, with 10 rubles and 12 rubles rubles respectively for accommodation at nurseries. The lowest fee for nursery accommodation is 2.50 rubles, and 3 rubles monthly for kindergartens. The factory has its own Pioneer Camp where children of school age spend their summer and winter vacations.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA

Question: Is there any sharp dividing line between the working class and the technicians and engineers?

V. Alexeyenko said, among other things, that with the level of the productive forces being what it is, no sharp difference prevails between the working class and the technicians and engineers. The turners' trade, for example, nowadays requires a fairly high educational level. Take the shop I work in, Alexeyenko added: only 10 of my mates have a 7-year or lower education. All the others have a higher educational standard.** And the young ones are eager to learn. Some 120 workers in the shop go to evening school, technical school or institute.

N. Diyeu said that he, a worker, is in his fourth year of a technical school and could do a technician's job. There are some 260 young workers in the shop, of whom 30 are enrolled in higher educational establishments, 16 in technical schools and 42 in general evening schools. All who wish, have the chance to learn. It is our aim, Diyeu said, to have all workers improve their education, their cultural and political level, to become intellectuals.

Question: What kind of relationship exists between industrial workers and peo-

*The first kindergarten for workers' children was established in Leningrad (then Petrograd) in 1917. By 1967 the number of kindergartens in the city increased to 1,541 (including nurseries) with accommodation for 165,000 children. The scale of building children's institutions of this kind has grown spectacularly in recent years.

**As early as 1939, out of every 1,000 factory workers 99 had a secondary or higher education. By 1959 the figure was 451 per 1,000, and 594 per 1,000 in 1967.

ple from the world of culture, art, literature and the cinema?

V. Volkov: The ties between the Leningrad intellectuals and the city's working class are very close, primarily because both have a common cause, that of building communism, and because the Soviet intellectual is, in the main, the worker or peasant of yesterday.

A long-standing friendship exists between the unions of Leningrad artists, composers, writers, cinema people and the industrial enterprises. The former are frequent and welcome guests in the factories. Composers come regularly to the Baltiisky Plant, where they perform their works and speak before the workers in the shops. The Kirov Opera and Ballet Theatre company comes often to the Admiralteisky Shipyards, the Leningrad Philharmonic comes to the Kirov Plant. Artists exhibit their works in factory premises and workers' clubs. Open-door days in artists' workshops and studios attract a fairly large attendance of workers. Lively discussions ensue beside the easel or an incomplete sculpture.

Such contacts are mutually rewarding. The intellectuals help the workers culturally, teach them to appreciate and understand art, while the workers, for their part, help the intellectuals get a better insight into reality.

Recently, in connection with the coming Lenin centenary, five of Leningrad's big factories addressed a joint letter to the city's writers and artists, asking them to produce new works dedicated to the leader of the revolution, to the building of communism. The factories offered prizes for the best of these works. The intellectuals welcomed the idea.

N. Arkina said that the Poligrafmach Factory has close relations with the Lenin Komsomol Theatre. Many workers are members of amateur dramatic groups tutored by professional actors. Workers attend previews and participate in backstage discussions.

V. Alexeyenko amplified: the Izhorsky Plant has close contacts with Lenfilm, the film studio. In recent months In recent months Izhorsky workers previewed and discussed two new films before their general release.

III. WORKING CONDITIONS, WAGES, LEISURE

WHAT BENEFITS ACCRUE TO THE WORKER FROM THE ECONOMIC REFORM?

N. Savinov said that the Metallichesky Plant* where he works, was one of the first in Leningrad to tackle the economic reform.** So it has three years experience of the new setup.

Far-reaching changes in the workers' condition have taken place since: to begin with the average monthly wage has increased 17 per cent. In Savinov's shop the average monthly wage was 118 rubles in 1965, 128 in 1967 and 139 in the first ten months of 1968.*** Besides, incentives were instituted in 1966 for overall annual factory performance. The administration and the trade union distribute the annual emolument depending on the worker's length of service and job. Usually, emoluments amount to 50-120 per cent of the worker's monthly wage. For example, a worker of medium skill with a record of ten or more years gets an additional 130-150 rubles at the end of the year.

In addition to material incentives, the factory has a fund for socio-cultural purposes, housing and improvement of production. In 1967, for example, socio-cultural expenditures more than doubled compared with 1965.

With the introduction of new working conditions the production fund increased more than five-fold. It is spent on new machinery and technology. As matters stand now, the plant settles many modernization problems on its own, which makes for technological progress and higher productivity. In the first ten months of 1968, productivity rose by 11 per cent, resulting in an 8.9 per cent pay increase. Thus the development fund virtually serves to improve the workers' standard of living.

The economic reform is having a beneficial effect on the workers' morale. It is

making them more aware of being the masters of their enterprise, and the attitude to their effort and the plant, as well as to one another, is changing for the better. Numerous facts show that the workers feel morally committed.

To begin with, the introduction of new conditions provided new inducements for socialist emulation between workers, teams, shops and departments. Emulation for communist work is becoming particularly widespread—over 70 per cent of the workers are engaged in it this year.

Secondly, the workers are far keener on education, especially economic education, than ever before. The management and the Party and trade union organizations have set up a network of economic study groups and schools.

Higher incentives help reduce labor power fluctuation. In the first ten months of 1968 the number of workers leaving at their own request was 20 per cent less than in the same period of 1966.

P. Bolshakov: There is no unemployment and stimulation was adopted by Svetlana* early in 1967. The evidence to date is that the new system benefits both the state and the worker.

The employees' performance in 1967 brought them 1,058,000 rubles out of the material incentive fund against 16,000 rubles paid them out of the enterprise fund in 1966. The bonus averaged 50 rubles per employee. Wages and salaries proper went up by 7.6 per cent in 1967. Average pay in the first ten months of 1968 increased by 14 per cent over the previous year.

Extra bonuses for the overall performance of the enterprise were paid to all employees who had held a job at the enterprise for at least one year. The amount varied according to seniority. Employees with 10 to 15 years seniority received a bonus twice as high as those who had served for one to three years. Machine-tool operators were paid a bonus 50 per cent higher than other categories.

THE IMPACT OF PRODUCTIVITY ON EMPLOYMENT

P. Bolshakov: There is no unemployment problem in Leningrad, but a shortage of labor. Workers released as a result of increased productivity or changes in output

*Leningrad's Metallichesky Plant is one of the world's biggest plants making steam, hydraulic and gas turbines. In this five-year period alone, it has orders for 303 turbines totalling 40,808 thousand kw (this surpasses the total capacity of all French power stations combined).

**The economic reform in the USSR was begun in 1966 by decision of the September (1965) meeting of the CC CPSU. By the end of 1968 some 27,000 of the country's industrial enterprises, producing over 72 per cent of the industrial product, had gone over to the new economic system.

For more details about the results and prospects of the economic reform see *WMR*, No. 8, 1968.

***The average monthly wage of factory and office workers in the USSR was 80.1 rubles in 1960, 95.6 rubles in 1965, and 103.4 rubles in 1967. In 1968 the increase was 7.5 per cent, raising the figure to 112.5 rubles.

*One of the world's biggest manufacturers of electrical vacuum instruments and transistors.

pattern are shifted to other jobs, generally in their enterprise. If necessary, they are retrained in advance. Recruiting labor is not always easy. Svetlana has no difficulty in taking on, say, instrument assemblers but finds it very hard to recruit cleaners. This impels the management to seek ways of mechanizing labor-consuming and unattractive jobs.

A. Kondratenko: Workers are assigned other jobs on a strictly voluntary basis, according to labor legislation. The management is obliged to give jobs paying at least as well to workers who become redundant through modernization or changes in output items. It must give the worker advance notice of changes in his working conditions. If the worker rejects them and decides to leave the enterprise the management must grant him severance pay and help him find a job elsewhere.

Question: Are bonuses part of the wage fund? Who decides on paying a bonus and on its amount?

P. Bolshakov: Bonuses are not included in the wage fund but are derived from the incentive fund made up of deductions from profits. There are three kinds of bonuses: the current bonus, which the shop manager pays every month by agreement with the trade union committee out of funds allocated to him according to plan; second, the extraordinary bonus for the fulfilment of assignments of special importance, rationalization proposals, etc., third, the end of the year bonus. The use of the incentive fund and the social and cultural fund is controlled by the trade union committee. Not a single bonus may be paid without the committee's consent.

N. Savinov: Those who show a poor performance, break discipline or cause spoilage are denied bonuses. The decision to withhold the bonus is taken jointly by the management and the trade union committee.

T. Abushkevich: If it is decided to deny the worker a bonus he is notified of the decision and the reason for it beforehand.

Question: How does a change of trade or job affect the worker's standard of living, especially when the worker proves unable to cope with his new job and so does not get the same pay as before?

T. Abushkevich cited an example from her own experience. The factory where she works was supplied with new machines

and she was asked to take over one of them. During the five months that the workers trained to operate the new machines, they were paid their average wages of the previous period. Today T. Abushkevich successfully operates the new machine and earns more, not less, than before.

A. Reshetilo said all the members of his team work according to a single rate, irrespective of specialization. Concrete workers, plasterers, crane operators can replace one another. Any new worker who joins the team must learn all the trades needed in the team plus safety rules. Until he does so he gets 20 rubles less than the others, who make 170 to 180 rubles a month. Formerly, when stonemasons did the job of today's concrete workers, earnings ranged from 60 to 70 rubles a month. The switch to new building techniques led to a sharp increase in productivity and in earnings.

Question: Does the worker know how productivity at his enterprise compares with productivity in foreign enterprises of the same type?

A. Kondratenko: Engineers, technicians and the foremost workers keep track of technological progress and new working methods abroad. The management and the Party and trade union organizations strive to bring foreign experience within reach of everybody through talks, lectures and the press. There are also direct links with foreign enterprises. The Skorokhod Shoe Factory has been competing with Svit, a Czechoslovak firm, for ten years. Delegations are exchanged. There is emulation even between shops and between teams. Skorokhod workers visit Svit and know what productivity is like there. Besides, their delegations have been to Poland and Hungary. These contacts are useful for comparing notes and raising productivity and quality. Quality is not quite up to the mark yet and the factory is trying to draw on foreign experience.

G. Ivanko spoke of his visit to the German Democratic Republic in 1965. Lenin-grad and German workers have compared experience in operating lathes and so he knows the labor productivity level of his GDR counterparts.

V. Sementsov: Workers and engineers from the Sverdlov Machine-Tool Plant often go abroad for assembly work. On coming back they tell about the performance of Soviet machinery abroad. Naturally, productivity in similar foreign enterprises is

analyzed and appraised. The Sverdlov Combine maintains friendly relations with a similar plant in the German Democratic Republic. The experience of friends helps raise productivity.

N. Vasilyev told about what he saw in Canada in 1967. He believes productivity there is somewhat higher than in the Soviet Union, due chiefly to high-speed work. A brewery rigger, for instance, works with greater efficiency than his Soviet counterpart, but N. Vasilyev thinks no Soviet rigger would like to work there because you cannot work as intensively as that without injuring your health. Soviet workers know, of course, that in, say, the United States, productivity is roughly twice as high as in the Soviet Union. They feel, however, that this result is achieved largely by overtaxing the energy of the working man and not merely through greater mechanization of labor.

EMULATION: A STIMULATOR

In the Soviet Union, the word *emulation* has long since forced out the term *competition* in the sense of *rivalry*, so popular in the capitalist countries.* Unlike capitalist competition, socialist emulation does not mean a struggle by everyone against everyone else but is a qualitatively new manifestation of the creative abilities of workers and their teams, one of the motive forces of socialism.

The emulation movement was pioneered at the Krasny Vyborzhets Plant in Leningrad. According to a detailed account by A. Belsky, the workers at the plant on March 5, 1929, wrote to *Pravda* calling on the workers of the Soviet Union to join in socialist emulation. The call was discussed and accepted throughout the country. On March 15, 1929, the tube shop team led by Mikhail Putin signed the first socialist emulation agreement in history. In later years socialist emulation varied more and more in form. In the early thirties Krasny Vyborzhets was among the first enterprises in Leningrad to form shock brigades and put forward a counter-plan, that is, a plan setting higher targets than the original plan approved by the government.

In 1950 Lyagin, leader of a smelters' team, initiated rapid copper smelting. Podmostkov, a fellow-worker of his, was the first Leningrad worker to present a thesis. Research done by him made it possible to

save an annual 100 tons of copper. A year later the Vanyukov team initiated team plans for higher productivity.

The highest form of socialist emulation today is the movement for communist work, which involves most of the Krasny Vyborzhets employees. Among the early communist work teams in Leningrad was the tube-rollers' team at Krasny Vyborzhets led by Nikolai Voronin. That was ten years ago. Today the participants in the emulation movement have a new task—to commemorate the centenary of Lenin's birth with appropriate achievements. The team's short-term object, A. Belsky said, is to fulfil its five-year plan by the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth, April 1970.

The need to learn related trades as an important source of higher productivity and a requisite of successful emulation between teams was pointed out by N. Ilyushin. He stressed the importance of the Leninist principle of publicity in socialist emulation, and the need to sum it up in time and inform the workers about it. At the Karl Marx plant the board of honor, displaying portraits of the best workers, is used as a moral incentive. Besides, the best are commended in writing by the management. The ministry and the central committee of the trade union concerned award diplomas to many workers for excellent performance. The very best are decorated by the government, and some of them win the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.* The foremost staffs are awarded challenge banners for achievements in the socialist emulation movement. During the past year and a quarter the Karl Marx plant has placed first in the emulation movement within the ministry in charge of it and has won a challenge banner of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions. A current practice is to award government decorations to factories. Over fifty factories have been decorated in Leningrad. All these measures create a favorable moral climate for the emulation movement.

T. Abushkevich: The worker's pride in his team and shop and factory and country is an important factor and stimulus for socialist emulation. The more efficient a worker is, the greater his achievements and the better his performance in communist work, the higher the esteem in which he is

*For a more detailed discussion of emulation and competition, see A. Birman, "The Reform: Emulation or Competition?," published in No. 6 of this journal for 1968.

*Among the workers of the city of Leningrad and Leningrad Region, 104 are Heroes of Socialist Labor and 14 Lenin Prize or State Prize winners. Thousands of employees have received other government awards.

held by fellow-workers. At the Krasnoye Znamya Factory, 2,000 workers have won the title of communist worker and another 8,000 employees are striving for it.

R. Vystupova said her team has for the fourth time won the title of communist work team. Early in 1968 it was given plan assignments for the year as usual. It discussed them in the light of its possibilities and put forward a more ambitious counter-plan, that is, gave a socialist undertaking, as a move of this kind is called in the Soviet Union. Under the government plan the team was to have assembled 8,000 cameras a month. The team pledged itself under its socialist commitment to assemble two per cent more.

It was not by putting an extra strain on the workers that the team was going to exceed plan targets but through technological and organizational improvements. It turned out that some operations could be mechanized and certain production devices and instruments improved. The team resolved that all its members must learn the whole range of assembling operations so as to be able to replace any member at any moment. Young workers were trained by the experienced. To date only one of the 17 team members has yet to master the entire assembling process.

The team honored its commitment. In the first ten months of 1968 it assembled 1,600 cameras above plan. The trade union committee sums up the results of emulation in every sector and every team once a month. The team which is recognized to have done best is handed a challenge pennant and paid a bonus amounting to 10 per cent of the wage. The money comes from the shop's material incentive fund.

Inducements vary in form. The best team may be offered a cut-rate tourist trip to Moscow, Kiev, Riga or Tallinn. Moral incentives likewise play an important part. When R. Vystupova's team won the title of October Jubilee Team, its members were not only paid a bonus equalling 20 per cent of their wages but were awarded diplomas and put up on the enterprise's board of honor. This is a great honor treasured by anyone who wins it. However, no team in the shop takes it amiss if it is beaten by another team. There is no rivalry, for all participants in the emulation movement are promoting a common cause and want their enterprise to be run more efficiently.

WORKER INVENTORS

N. Vasilev: Workers' rationalization pro-

posals and inventions are becoming an ever more important factor for higher productivity.*

N. Vasilyev is chairman of the Innovators' Council at the Vibrator Plant. The Council considers and selects innovations, publicizes positive experience and helps put it to use as speedily as possible. Fourteen inventions and 333 rationalization proposals were put to use at the plant in the first ten months of 1968. They produced a saving of 210,000 rubles.

As well as deriving moral satisfaction, innovators and inventors are paid substantial sums for the realization of their proposals.

A. Chuyev learned from a survey in *World Marxist Review*** of the West German workers' negative views on rationalization. The fact is that with the introduction of new machines and techniques many of them lose their jobs or their wages are cut.

Not so in the Soviet Union. Rationalizers and inventors are esteemed by all workers. The introduction of a progressive tool or rigging or new working methods normally brings a certain pay rise. The Baltiisky Plant recently installed an instrument which makes threading easier and fully eliminates spoilage. Once it took one hour to thread a big item but now the operation is carried out in 20 minutes. Of course, the output rate has increased as a result but no one is the worse for it. Work as a whole has become easier and wages have gone up from 150 to 170 rubles a month.

THE FAMILY INCOME

V. Morozova said that hers is a more or less typical working-class family in both composition and income. Her husband works in a designing institution. Their two children go to school. The husband's monthly salary is 160 rubles, the wife makes from 90 to 115 rubles a month. Thus the family's monthly income averages 250 to 260 rubles. The family occupies a modern two-room flat. The monthly rent is

*There are over 100,000 inventors and rationalizers in Leningrad. They submit roughly 200,000 proposals a year. In 1967 there were over three million inventors and rationalizers in the Soviet Union, who accounted for upwards of four million inventions and improvements, effecting a saving of about 2,300 million rubles.

**"For Social Rights, Democracy and Socialism. Meeting with Mannheim Workers." *World Marxist Review* No. 12, 1968.

3.71 rubles.* Electricity and gas are cheap: gas costs 15 kopeks a month per person and electricity, four kopeks per kilowatt-hour.

Food costs the family 130 to 140 rubles a month. The children get hot breakfasts at school which cost 7.60 rubles a month.

With two days per week off, the family has adequate opportunities for rest and recreation. The factory trade union committee supplies free accommodation in one-day holiday homes. In summer those who wish to go mushrooming, to fish or hunt are taken out by bus free of charge.

Father and mother are entitled to yearly paid holidays. Their two children go to a childrens' camp every year.

T. Abushkevich: A worker's family income is made up of wages and various benefits granted from public consumption funds. Her son goes to school. Her daughter is in a nursery, which costs the family 150 rubles a year, while the state pays another 250 rubles. Low-paid workers are charged 48 rubles by the nursery and the state pays the remainder. T. Abushkevich herself attends an evening technical school at state expense. Besides, the factory allows her as a student one paid day off every week and a paid leave for the examinations.

In summer T. Abushkevich's son goes to a childrens' camp. The fee is from 60 to 70 rubles per month, but she only pays nine rubles. Some workers' children go to the camp free of charge. Her small daughter spends the summer in the country. Her stay there costs the state from 35 to 46 rubles a month, of which her parents pay only 12.50 rubles.**

A worker who is taken ill gets full pay if he has been employed not less than eight years or is disabled, 80 per cent with five to eight years' service, 60 per cent with three to five years' service or if under age, and 50 per cent with less than three years' length of service.

The monthly income of T. Abushkevich's family consists of her own pay, 160 rubles, her husband's, 200 rubles, and her mother's pension, 30 rubles, and so adds up to 390 rubles. T. Abushkevich estimates that her family derives benefits from public consumption funds amounting to 44 rubles a month (part payment for the nursery, the son's school education, rest and recrea-

tion). Expenditures: taxes 35 rubles; rent, electricity, etc., 13 rubles; nursery fee 12.5 rubles; food, clothing, various services, savings, etc., 330 rubles.

SPENDING LEISURE TIME

G. Ivanko: The five-day week has made judicious solution of the problem of rest and recreation* more important. A 12-member council set up on a voluntary basis concerns itself with this problem in the neighborhood where G. Ivanko lives.

The council plans measures to help working people pass their leisure hours agreeably and usefully. Specifically, it arranges in the neighborhood talks on the international and internal situation, on literature and other subjects, amateur concerts, and meetings of parents and teachers at which teachers speak of their experiences and set out their ideas.

The children can join hockey, figure skating, photography, toy or model making groups. In summer a Young Pioneer camp, complete with sporting facilities, is opened for children who stay in town.

G. Borin. Many workers at the Elektroapparat Plant go in for sports and there is a council for physical culture working on a voluntary basis. The council sees its main objective in improving the workers' health by providing recreational facilities. One in three workers at the plant is a sportsman.** Sports make for greater efficiency in work and it is indicative, in G. Borin's view, that fifteen communist work teams are led by sportsmen. Some workers engage in sports themselves and gratuitously train others. The number of such workers has already reached 16. A good deal of attention is given to the fitness training of elderly workers in special groups.

R. Polyakov said his hobby is music. For fifteen years he has frequented the Vyborgsky Palace of Culture,*** where there are eleven amateur art studios and groups involving 300 people between 18 and 80 years of age. Roughly half of them are workers.

Amateur art classes are free. Those who attend them reciprocate by gratuitously training amateur musicians, actors and dancers in their respective factories.

*Leningrad has ample recreational facilities, including 17 professional and 13 non-professional theatres, 19 amateur folk music societies, 305 cinemas 131 lecture centers, 45 museums, 2,375 libraries, 14 large parks and 11 large stadiums and gymnasiums.

**There are over 1,600 physical culture groups in Leningrad uniting about a million people.

***The people of Leningrad can spend their leisure hours in about 200 clubs, including 12 Palaces of Culture.

*Rent in the Soviet Union is less than one-third of the housing maintenance expenditures, over two-thirds of which are met by the State.

**In the Soviet Union the share of each individual in public consumption funds was 24 rubles in 1940, 127 rubles in 1960 and 209 rubles in 1967.

IV. THE FUTURE

PLANNING THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY

O. Gabarov. In the Leningrad enterprises the effort to improve working and recreational conditions has given rise to a new phenomenon, social planning.* It necessitates a careful study of the totality of the social problems the enterprise personnel has to grapple with. It would be hard to even list the problems, but here are some of them: raising the general educational and cultural standards, selecting and educating personnel and reducing fluctuation, enabling all working men and women to rest properly and to make good use of leisure, steadily improving living and working conditions, taking care of the psychophysiological aspects of organizing labor and human relations in the enterprise, meeting the cultural requirements of the working people, and fostering the all-round development of the individual.

Scientific analysis shows that the content of labor is gradually changing and, moreover, the range of the working people's interests and needs is widening as they themselves develop. There are problems. That is why, ever since 1964, the Svetlana Plant has been engaged in specific sociological research in collaboration with sociologists. In March 1966 the results of research were used to draw up the first composite social development plan for the Svetlana employees covering the period from 1966 to 1970.

All mass organizations took part in working out and approving the plan. Its draft was discussed at shop meetings.

The plan consists of four sections. Section One provides for measures to reduce socio-economic distinctions between workers by hand and workers by brain, and measures to reshape the social composition of the collective. Section Two is concerned with organizing research into the effect of progress in science and technology and the economic reform on the social development of the collective. Section Three deals with measures to improve working conditions, eliminate occupational diseases, reduce accidents and improve the employee's

*Social planning, initiated in the Soviet Union by the Leningrad enterprises, carries forward and completes technological and economic planning. It coordinates production objectives and the interests and requirements of personnel, and combines the common development goals of socialist society with the specific tasks of the personnel concerned. This form of planning is gaining ground throughout the Soviet Union.

health. Section Four envisages measures to improve the social and cultural conditions of the employees, raise their cultural and technological standards and improve their housing and other conditions.

Experience has shown that realization of the measures envisaged by the social plan makes for better working conditions, higher productivity and a higher standard of living, and creates favorable conditions for the all-round development of the individual.

NEED FOR STUDY

N. Selyavin said that in 1930, the Soviet Union's first technical college was set up at the Metallichesky Works, which now has 2,100 worker students.* Instruction lasts five years. As a general rule, workers enrolled in the college are promoted before they complete their studies. Many of them become foremen, engineers, or executives in charge of important units. Pyotr Chernyshov, for one, began as a turner. He entered the technical college in 1930 and graduated in 1935. He has headed many departments and today holds the post of chief engineer at the works. The last three years have seen 400 skilled workers in the plant promoted to the posts of engineers or technicians. Seventy of them were trained in the plant's technical college and technical school and upwards of 200 are in the upper grades of these two institutions.

N. Arkina. The best workers are sent to day colleges and are paid a scholarship by the enterprise while they study.

O. Gabarov. The vast scale of education, while encouraging, gives rise to new problems. In spring thousands of workers simultaneously leave their factories to take examinations and it is no easy matter to replace them. The problem is solved in two ways. First, the enterprise trains workers in related trades. Second, it sets up a labor reserve.

The management uses material and moral incentives to ensure that even a worker who has received a secondary specialized education stays on his job. The Svetlana Plant already has hundreds of workers holding the diploma of technicians.

*The proportion of Soviet workers attending after-work courses in 1967/68 was over 2.4 million in higher educational institutions and over 1.9 million in secondary specialized schools.

WHAT IS HAPPINESS?

Communism must make man completely happy. But what is happiness?

According to O. Gabarov, happiness is a broad concept. To be specific, happiness means, first of all, free labor, social security, an awareness of working not for a capitalist but for the common weal and for social justice throughout the world. It also means the opportunity to study, to unfold one's abilities and improve one's standard of living. Our people have every opportunity for happiness.

P. Bolshakov sees happiness as a rather complex concept. To him, happiness means freedom of the individual to develop his abilities for the good of the community in which he lives and works and for the good of his country.

T. Abushkevich believes that as far as women are concerned, happiness connotes

that they must be able to bring up and educate their children in normal conditions, without fearing for their future. And the primary condition for happiness is, of course, peace on earth.

V. Borominskaya. Socialism and communism do not lead to renouncing personal happiness nor exempt people from fighting for it. Apparently there will always be cases of unrequited love and people will have to fight for personal happiness. But no one can ever achieve complete happiness in his private life only. Most Soviet people realize this. V. Borominskaya was on the staff of a factory newspaper for years and often talked with young people. Young Communists held forums on happiness as youth see it. Judging by the questions raised at those forums and by what participants said, Soviet people see happiness primarily in their own work for the common good. It is above all labor that makes them feel happy.

Imperialists stoking up tension

We all know that a fire breaking out in a room may spread to the rest of the house, and if for a moment we take that house to be our Earth, this self-evident truth acquires a deep and sinister political meaning, giving grounds for anxiety to all progressives following developments in those parts of the world where imperialist aggressive policy has created flashpoints of tension.

The facts show that present-day imperialism is as virulently dangerous as the bygone variety, that it is anything but a paper tiger. In recent years, international reaction has mounted a counter-offensive in a frantic effort to regain forfeited positions. Washington, for one, is banking increasingly on what it calls limited or "regional" wars, CIA-organized plots and coups and political provocations. In that way the capitalist world hopes to soften up the socialist world system, enervate the national liberation movement in areas where monopoly capital has big vested interests, stoke up international tension to spur on the arms race, reinvigorate the old military blocs and form new ones.

Those are the aggressive designs behind the situation at points where the guns are already booming or where the air is charged with the possibility of dangerous conflict.

VIETNAM: AGGRESSOR MANEUVERS

The war in Indochina, bitterly sharp in Vietnam, involving Laos and threatening to embroil Cambodia, continues unabated as the third consecutive U.S. Administration, that of President Nixon, takes over.

The heroic stand of the Vietnamese, the mounting world anger, including opposition by considerable sections in the United States, compelled Nixon to carry on with the Paris talks launched under Johnson and to agree to quadrilateral negotiations,

the very fact of which is a defeat for imperialism, a victory for the Vietnam patriots and a success for the socialist forces, for all progressives supporting the Vietnamese. But the battle for peace in Indochina is not over. The militarists are intent on expanding hostilities in South Vietnam and persist in violating the air-space of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Washington—and this could not be more obvious—wants to negotiate from positions of armed pressure.

General Thieu, head of the Saigon puppet regime, said as much in a public statement on the occasion of the Tet holiday:

"We are winning on the battlefield and there is no earthly reason why we should lose at the negotiating table."

Yet the U.S. war machine in Indochina is dogged by failures despite the fact that, together with the Saigon army and the allied contingents, it counts nearly 1.5 million men. After successful NLF operations it has had to abandon its much touted "search and destroy" offensive tactics and to assume the defensive, clinging solely to its military bases and holding the bigger towns. In the eight years (by mid-February 1969) the NLF has put out of action more than two million enemy soldiers, including 530,000 Americans and allied servicemen, and more than 14,500 planes were shot down or destroyed on the ground. And the powerful NLF offensive in February-March inflicted considerable losses.

The U.S. policy-makers should long have come to the sound conclusion that their war in Indochina is self-defeating and hopeless. But they persist in clinging to the illusory hope of a "military victory."

That, probably, is the explanation for Washington's maneuvering, for the two-faced stand of U.S. diplomacy. Instead of working for a just political solution, the accent is on the purely military aspect, as evidenced by the U.S. proposal of "restor-

ing the status of the demilitarized zone" and "a reciprocal troop withdrawal," meaning that Washington wants to perpetuate the partition of Vietnam and make its southern part an American colony.

After the Paris talks opened, Washington announced that it would withdraw some 50,000 men from Vietnam this year. It stressed, however, almost in the same breath, that the "war effort" in South Vietnam would not decrease, implying in effect, that all its talk is not about folding up, but about "de-Americanizing." As much as possible of the interventionist force is to be replaced with South Vietnamese units, which led to a recent decision to expand the Saigon army, now 750,000 men, and to equip it with sophisticated arms.

It is safe to predict that this plan will burst like a soap bubble. The average South Vietnamese has no liking either for the interventionists or the Saigon regime. The bulk of the population (workers, peasants, students and intellectuals) back the NLF, which they see as their own, national, truly popular government. Thieu's puppet regime is isolated, which U.S. periodicals are inclined to admit. The main question, the *New Yorker* said in its February 1st issue, is whether the Saigon regime exists as a government in relation not to the U.S., but to its own people.

The facts show that the only way to solve the Vietnam problem is by negotiation, attaining a general relaxation in Indochina. And what is needed most at this moment are U.S. moves to end the aggression.

Peace in Indochina depends on whether or not the United States accepts the just demands of the DVR and NLF spokesmen in Paris, to which end world opinion and democratic associations and organizations must act in concert.

MIDDLE EAST: ON THE BRINK

The political situation in the Middle East is comparable to that state of an overheated boiler where the slightest rise in the temperature could send the arrow of the manometer almost to danger line, making an explosion imminent. This tension, imperilling world peace, has been stoked up by the Israeli militarists, backed by imperialist circles in the United States, Britain, West Germany and other NATO countries.

Provocative Israeli attacks on the neighboring Arab states continued throughout

the winter and early spring. The conduct of the Israeli "hawks" has been discussed time and again by the U.N. Security Council and numerous representative international conferences. The Tel Aviv extremists were given serious warnings by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries siding with the just struggle of the Arab peoples.

Yet, recklessly, the Israeli militarists ignore warnings, defying the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, the main stipulation of which is that Israeli troops withdraw from the occupied Arab territory. It is nearly two years since the "blitz," but the consequences of the aggression which have complicated the situation throughout the world, as well as in the Middle East, have not been eliminated. What is more, the Tel Aviv militarists are hastily trying to "digest" their prey, to incorporate large tracts of foreign territory. A secret cabinet meeting in Tel Aviv, *Time* magazine reported, passed a decision to reinforce and extend the borders of Israel, even though this may prejudice the chances for a Middle East settlement.

The Israeli militarists think they can afford to be intransigent, because they are supported by the big Western capitalist powers, principally the United States; the imperialist groups would like nothing better than that the progressive Arab liberation movement be crushed or at least retarded, and have cast Israeli militarism as their reactionary shock force.

Not only do the United States and other NATO powers render Israel diplomatic support and financial aid; they also help build up its military potential. Shortly before the curtain rang down on his administration, President Johnson sold Israel 50 supersonic Phantom fighter-bombers. Bonn and London, too, are doing their bit: the Federal Republic of Germany has promised the Israeli army 54 tanks and other items, while Britain has consented according to Cairo's *Al Akhram* to a deal in tanks, naval gear and radar equipment. When President Nixon moved into the White House, certain Western groups spread the rumor that Washington may now be "friendlier" to the Arabs. But these speculations, intended to misguide Arab opinion, are meeting effective resistance. The *Al Nida* of Beirut observes: "The Arab peoples remember perfectly well that United States policy towards the Arab countries has always been imperialist, supporting the expansionist ambitions and aggressive plans of Israel's ruling circles."

It is not too late yet to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression by political means and thus avert an explosion. The Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, is a perfectly workable basis for this end.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are taking steps to bridle the aggressor and to compel him to honor the U.N. resolution. An international campaign in support of the Arabs would no doubt help.

WEST BERLIN: RECKLESS ACT OF ENEMIES OF PEACE

Thousands of policemen guarded the exhibition grounds in West Berlin when the new President of the FRG was elected in the East Prussia pavilion on March 5. The President-elect is Gustav Heinemann of the SDP, formerly Minister of Justice.

Even capitalist newspapers and journals were shocked. The *Sunday Times*, for example, described it as a demonstration of strength, if not an outright provocation. We want to be more explicit: it was a very grave provocation, designed to stoke up tension in the heart of Europe and to involve West Germany's NATO partners in a perilous adventure against European peace. No government in history has ever elected its head of state on territory that does not belong to it. For West Berlin is not part of the Federal Republic of Germany; it does not belong to the FRG, and never will. It is an independent political entity whose status is based on quadrilateral Allied agreements concluded after the Second World War. That Bonn knows perfectly well. And no amount of legal jugglery, no amount of talk about the bonds existing between West Berlin and the FRG, will justify its behavior.

What the revenge-seekers wish is to spread their autonomy to an independent city, so to speak *de facto*, and, at least, again stake their absurd claim to West Berlin. This is evidently linked with their policy of subverting European peace, revising the outcome of the Second World War and the postwar arrangement in Europe.

Their West Berlin provocation did not yield the Bonn rulers the dividends they desired. On the contrary, it inflicted considerable damage on them, for again they appeared before the eyes of the peoples as deliberate violators of peace and order undermining the security of the continent.

The other probable reason for the attempt at provoking a "West Berlin crisis" was Bonn's desire, shared by the U.S. and British imperialists, to counteract the cen-

trifugal process in NATO.

It will be recalled that the initial 20-year term of that aggressive grouping expires in April and the member-countries are entitled to either reorganize the bloc, modifying their commitments, or even to withdraw from it. France has shown the way by quitting NATO's military establishment.

And there is evidence that the NATO sponsors fear a chain reaction. That is why President Nixon made his eight-day junket of Western Europe at the end of February. According to the press, he tried to patch the cracks in NATO.

The peoples of the Old World are increasingly eager to expand mutually advantageous cooperation between states, regardless of their social system, paving the way for a European collective security system, for which a comprehensive program quite in keeping with the magnitude of the task was advanced by the Warsaw Treaty countries and the Karlovy Vary conference of Europe's Communist and Workers' parties.

Obviously the imperialists and revenge-seekers realize that the season is unpropitious for them. That is why they are trying to alter it, to heat up the atmosphere in Europe by grave political provocations, fanning anti-Communist hysteria and whipping up NATO's martial spirit. Small wonder that the announcement of Bonn's decision to elect the FRG president in West Berlin was followed up by large-scale Pentagon-sponsored military games, Carbide Ice, in South Germany close to the Czechoslovak border, whose political purpose is perfectly clear (considering the subversive activities of various FRG and U.S. agencies against the socialist world).

The provocative idea of electing the FRG president in West Berlin evoked world indignation. The Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, other socialist countries and numerous democratic organizations in France, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, FRG and West Berlin protested against this violation of the status of West Berlin and of the Potsdam agreements. The Soviet Government warned Bonn in a special statement that the "unlawful actions of the FRG in West Berlin have always met, and will meet, with determined resistance on the part of the USSR as a display of revanchism and aggressiveness." And the German Democratic Republic took effective retaliatory steps, proceeding from the fact that West Berlin is a political entity in its own right.

There is reason to expect further provocations over West Berlin in an effort to create a war psychosis. It is therefore imperatively necessary for democratic, progressive anti-war forces to join efforts in Europe and bridle the revenge-seekers.

SOUTH KOREA: DANGEROUS PROVOCATIONS

The embers of the Korean war the fire of which the peace-loving countries managed to extinguish with so much effort, continue to glow in the Far East and may burst into flames again at any minute, because the U.S. militarists and their Seoul puppets are indulging in grave provocations violating the 1953 armistice.

Along the 38th parallel, the temporary demarcation line between the Korean People's Democratic Republic and U.S.-occupied South Korea, firing resounds day and night. In the past year alone, the Foreign Ministry of the KPDR announced at a press conference, the armed forces of the United States and the reactionary Pak Chung Hi regime violated the armistice terms on more than 11,000 occasions, with at least 2,700 South-provoked shooting incidents.

The Pentagon is the moving spirit behind these provocations. It uses the Seoul puppets, though much is done directly by Americans. All of last winter a special U.S. commission investigated the Pueblo spy ship case, baring facts that reveal how far the Washington "hawks" go in their reckless playing with fire. As reported by the *New York Times* on January 27, the planners of the Pueblo spy mission made provision that in the event of the ship's being apprehended, U.S. fighter-bombers, constantly on alert, would speed to its aid from airfields in South Korea and Japan. In other words, Washington had deliberately risked an armed clash that could well have escalated into a dangerous conflict, and doubly so because, as the *New York Times* reported, many of the South-Korea-based U.S. fighter-bombers had nuclear missiles aboard at the time of the incident.

To judge by the press, the U.S. imperialists have every intention of carrying on with their policy of provocation in Korea and the adjoining areas with the docile anti-people's clique of Pak Chung Hi as their cat's paw. Spy missions, it is noted, will continue, although from now on with "better support." United Press International reported on February 7 that Pueblo-type ships are being equipped with the latest

devices for destroying classified material. Also, operational schemes have been worked out for "emergency relief" by attack-type F-105 and F-4C planes deployed in South Korea.

In a nutshell, South Korea is more than ever a military staging area, America's main base for aggression in the Far East. In South Korea, airfields, rocket-launching pads and other military projects are going up, with U.S. allocations amounting to \$230 million. Meanwhile, with the blessings of Washington, the puppets have drawn up a three-year arms production plan, which also envisages reinforcing the strategic defense systems of Seoul and other cities. Furthermore, the United States is said to have promised Pak Chung Hi missile-equipped naval vessels and a squadron of supersonic Phantoms against the \$100 million earmarked for Seoul as additional U.S. war aid. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* published in Hong Kong reports that the Pentagon is contemplating transfer to South Korea (Saishu Island) of the Okinawa-based strategic B-52 bombers fitted with nuclear-delivery devices.

The Seoul clique and the U.S. militarists have cast themselves in the role of war incendiaries in the Far East, and it is up to the peoples and all progressives of the world to display the highest degree of vigilance and stay the hand of the imperialists and their agents.

* * *

We have cast the spotlight on four seats of tension created by the aggressive policies of the imperialist forces, and more "flash-points" are sure to appear in other parts of our planet.

The facts show that the main danger to world peace, to the security and independence of the peoples, emanates from U.S. imperialism in its role of chief gendarme, patron of world reaction, throttler of democratic movements and the national liberation struggle and enemy No. 1 of all progress. The U.S. militarists and the neo-colonialists maintain large forces in various parts of the world and have covered vast tracts of the globe with a rash of military bases (some nuclear). These are all instruments of aggression and, as part of the U.S. positions-of-strength policy, create the danger of a big war.

However, the peoples, the progressive and democratic forces, have effective means for averting this danger. To strengthen and consolidate the broad anti-imperialist front

of the peoples is a precondition for repelling the imperialist attempt at assuming the offensive to push back the forces of socialism and democracy and weaken the national liberation struggle. The socialist world system, the liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries and all the international and national

anti-war organizations are natural partners in the anti-imperialist front. *As many Communist and Workers' parties see it, and as they have stressed time and again, it is most important to reinforce the unity of the world Communist movement in order that this anti-imperialist front should expand and grow stronger.*

Observer

Economic prospects for the Nixon administration

VICTOR PERLO

The Nixon Administration comes into office at a turning point in the American economy and the economic policies of the ruling class. There is reason to believe that economic growth will be slower than during the past eight years, and unemployment will rise instead of decline. And, not unlikely, there will be little or no easing of the problems of inflation and soaring taxes, which have afflicted the economy in the recent past. Social and economic contradictions are likely to become more acute, with a corresponding sharpening of class and national conflicts.

CHARACTERISTICS OF STATE REGULATION OF THE ECONOMY

For two decades American monopoly capitalism has been using the federal government to regulate the economy intensively, with the following objectives:

- Increasing the rate of exploitation of labor.
- Increasing the economic power of the monopolies and the size of the country's economy, and hence the total profit of the monopolies.
- Avoiding degrees of inflation or unemployment that the working class would not tolerate.

The American ruling class, learning from the capitalists of other imperialist powers, has gradually improved the precision of its economic regulation. It has achieved a diminished amplitude of cyclical swings and a diminished duration of downturns. However, the mode of regulation fails to resolve contradictions within the economy and, indeed, deepens those contradictions. Hence

the margins of permissible error tend to narrow, the dangers of serious financial and economic crises increase.

In particular, government regulation does not override or eliminate the cyclical character of capitalist economic development. This is particularly important in that the United States is now, by all signs, at the peak of its cyclical course—a peak prolonged far beyond its “normal” turning point by the escalation and prolonged duration of the Vietnam War. The next move will, in all likelihood, be downward, and it will probably appear in 1969. However, because of the wide variation of possible political-economic decisions, we cannot attempt to appraise the depth or duration of a downturn.

The success of government regulation in averting a major crisis of over-production in the past does not assure its continuing success in the future. For under capitalism, government regulation offers no fundamental means of averting crisis, inasmuch as the very nature of capitalist production sets definite limits to such regulation. The multiplication of problems and contradictions makes the whole process of regulation more intricate and liable to error.

This was illustrated quite sharply in the second half of 1968, when policies were adopted designed to slow down and temporarily halt the growth of the economy, and which were almost unanimously expected to do so. Instead, economic activity accelerated.

The principal method of contra-cyclical economic regulation is increased government spending, which leads to a net increase in mass consuming power without a cor-

responding increase in productive capacity. When this and other methods of stimulation are used more intensely, the rate of unemployment tends to fall, and the rate of price increase accelerates. When economic stimulation is applied less intensely, the opposite tendencies prevail. With bigger doses, the danger of inflation and financial crisis increases. With smaller doses the danger of a crisis of over-production increases. In the former case, mass dissatisfaction centers around intolerable increases in prices and taxes; in the latter case around intolerable increases in unemployment.

Throughout the postwar period, as the underlying contradictions afflicting the economy have deepened, there has been a long-term trend toward both more unemployment and more inflation, apart from fluctuations which emphasize one and the other aspect alternatively. As the long-term trends become more unfavorable, the intensity of dissatisfaction becomes more marked.

Commenting on the problems of the incoming administration, H. Erich Heinmann wrote in the *New York Times* (11/6/68):

"Both principal candidates pledged repeatedly during the campaign that they would end inflation—or at a minimum restore 'reasonable price stability' without increasing unemployment.

"But the reality is that in slowing the economy, some increase in unemployment is almost inevitable, and is perhaps desirable if the back of the current inflationary spiral is to be broken.

"Some of Richard M. Nixon's principal

economic advisers argue that an increase in unemployment over the short run is a small price to pay for long-run price stability—the environment, they say, that is most conducive to maximum long-term economic growth and employment.

"This sort of grand economic strategy, however, has understandably little appeal in the urban ghettos, where any increase in the national unemployment rate is likely to be magnified several times over.

"The fine line that the new Administration will have to tread will be to find politically, as well as economically, an acceptable level of inflation that is compatible with a politically acceptable level of unemployment." (!)

Over the past 16 years the tendency, under the Democrats, has been toward more intense regulation, toward inflation. Under the Republicans, the tendency has been toward less intense regulation, toward increased unemployment.

As a matter of fact, over the last 60 years of U.S. imperialism we get a similar picture—more inflation under the Democrats, more unemployment under the Republicans.

In part, the difference may be attributed to "accidental" factors, to the timing of wars. But over time, the accidental tends to become the systematic. Those sectors of finance capital whose specific interests are better served by an inflationary bias gravitate around the Democrats, and vice versa.

The following table compares the growth of government expenditure in the last eight years of Democratic rule with that during the previous eight years of Republican rule:

Item	Amount (billions of dollars)			Per cent Increase	
	1952	1960	1968	1952-1960	1960-69
Federal govt. spending	66.0	91.3	183.0	38	100
State & local govt. spending	25.3	49.6	103.0	96	108
Total govt. spending excluding duplicate counting of Federal aid to S. & L.	88.7	134.4	268.0	52	99
Gross national product	345	504	861	46	71
Per cent govt. spending of GNP	25.7%	26.7%	31.1%		

Over both eight year periods, government spending increased faster than the gross national product, stimulating the rate of increase in GNP.*

But government spending increased twice as rapidly under the Democrats as under

the Republicans. Federal government spending, most directly determined by the national political balance, increased nearly three times as rapidly under the Democrats as under the Republicans. Of course, much of that is due to the fact that the Korean War was still on when the Democrats had their last year in office in 1952, and the Vietnam War when they had their last year in 1968, while there was no war at the end

*The table is in current dollars, with no correction for price increases. Real increases in GNP were much less. But the current dollars are adequate for indicating relative trends.

of the Republican regime in 1960. However, analysis indicates a tendency toward a more rapid increase in government spending under the Democrats than under the Republicans, excluding the effect of wars.

ARMS SPENDING AND THE FIGHT FOR A PEACE BUDGET

The determination of U.S. imperialists to continue foreign interventions, to hold onto every possible position, and to make new conquests where possible, is unconcealed.

Correspondingly, the intention of the ruling circles to maintain a huge military budget has been well advertised. The arms contractors have built up in advance a big head of political steam to insure the rapid expansion of various armament programs immediately after, and even during, the Vietnam War. The militarists are seeking to stall even tentative arms reduction or restraint talks with the USSR.

The budget for fiscal 1970 proposes a small increase in total military spending, despite an anticipated reduction in Vietnam War expenditures. Other programs, notably for new nuclear missiles and nuclear warships, are to increase \$4 billion, more than offsetting the programmed Vietnam decline.

All in all, the prospect is for only a brief levelling in military spending when the Vietnam War ends, to be followed by a new uptrend. Indeed, if the U.S. imperialists succeed in their tactical objective of "gradually" ending that war and retaining hundreds of thousands of troops in the area, there will only be a slowdown in the growth rate of military spending.

However, there is a new, more hopeful feature. For the first time since the start of the Cold War, there has developed within the United States in the past several years a movement for lower military budgets sufficiently strong to have some political impact.

It is important for the peace movement to provide momentum to the campaign for a lower military budget, beginning immediately. The re-election of most peace Senators and of new pro-peace members of Congress provides more spokesmen, encouraged by the strong vote for peace implicit in the primary and final election returns.

Naturally, the fight for a lower military budget must be connected with the fight for disarmament agreements with the USSR, and with campaigns for peaceful economic moves that will bring more employment than the displaced arms programs. The people now realize that the "guns and but-

ter" slogan is a fraud, that the swollen military budget blocks government spending needed by the people.

There have been plenty of programs for large-scale government spending to benefit working people. What may be new is the possibility of really rallying masses of people around such a program, connected with a fight against the military budget.

UNEMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS AND THE FIGHT FOR JOBS

Under the Republicans, the rate of unemployment went up from 3.0 per cent in 1952 to 5.5 per cent in 1960, while under the Democrats it fell back again to 3.6 per cent in 1968. However, during the eight Republican years the consumer price index went up by 11.4 per cent, while during the eight Democratic years, it went up 17.6 per cent.

As already indicated, the problems of inflation are becoming too difficult to contain, causing the ruling class to swing toward slower inflation and higher unemployment. The prime motive for increasing unemployment, of course, is to increase job competition among workers. The success of workers in breaking the guideline limitations on wages, and in setting patterns of annual increases wider than has ever before been known in this country under a sustained period, has caused great alarm among the capitalists. They hope, through increased competition among workers, as well as through anti-labor legislation, to force a slowing down in the rate of annual wage increases.

The principal means of increasing unemployment will be to slow down the rise in government spending. Such a slow-down was in the cards, even if the Democrats had remained in power. But it will go forward somewhat more smoothly, less obstructed by contradictions within the ruling class, under Nixon.

But the *attempt* will be to apply the policy more gingerly than during the Eisenhower Administration, to avoid recessions such as those which occurred three times during Eisenhower's eight years, and to try to dampen the inevitable increase in struggles among sections of the most exploited workers, now in a much more militant mood than eight years ago.

In addition to military spending, certain other categories will continue to rise automatically. These include veterans' benefits, interest and rents, and social security payments. However, the Nixon Administration

will strive to check the surging "welfare" spending. Much of this is included in federal aid to state and local governments, which went up from \$2.6 billion in 1952 to \$6.5 billion in 1960 and \$18.4 billion in 1968. It goes mainly for public welfare, highways, education and hospitals. Undoubtedly much of it is diverted to slum landlords, crooked contractors, etc. Yet this segment of the federal budget is the prime target of those who scream about "welfare racketeers" and strive to use more stick and less carrot in attacking the Negro people.

The multiplication of this category of spending does not signify a corresponding improvement in welfare and social services. It was *forced*, because the state and local governments proved increasingly unable to meet the growing costs of these activities, even at a grossly inadequate level. Thus, a stagnation in government welfare spending will bring with it a worsening of the state of public services and a lessening of relief for the poverty-stricken and unemployed.

Simultaneously, unemployment will be moving upward, probably to above five per cent within two years of Nixon's regime. The fight for jobs and for relief from unemployment, which has not been a major issue for the working class as a whole over the past four years, will again come to the fore. It will tend to merge with the developing struggle of Negroes, Spanish speaking people and Indians for decent education, food for the hungry, housing, etc.

The Nixon Administration plans to try to ward off serious struggle by dealing with the problem selectively. The ruling class, and the Administration, is relying on promises to provide jobs in the ghettos, and sponsorship of "black capitalism" to convince Negro workers that their employment needs are being taken care of separately and specially.

However, if the unemployment rate actually rises above five per cent, the number of black workers laid off will exceed many times over the number obtaining jobs through special programs.

Struggles there will be. The crucial issue is the extent to which the struggles will be of white and black workers, carried out in a fashion leading to an increase of unity of the working class, so as to defeat the tendencies to apartheid which the ruling class is fostering.

Progressive forces face the challenge of stimulating a struggle of a major segment of the working class, *including the organized employed workers*, for "full employ-

ment," and in a way promoting the unity of black and white workers.

An example of how this is possible is provided by the construction industry, in which a number of unions practice the worst racist, exclusionist policies. Conditions are ripe for major expansion in residential construction. At the same time, there is a shortage of workers in many crafts, combined with irregular work for many union members, with a large part of residential construction carried out under non-union conditions. Virtually no housing is being built designed for black people and those in lower income groups.

A unifying struggle could be waged around a set of demands including:

A major direct public housing program, with low-rents.

Establishment of union conditions throughout the industry.

Mass recruitment of Negroes into the building trades, by-passing the archaic apprenticeship schemes in favor of quick training programs.

On a broader level, the demand that the government provide employment to all those not privately employed—an old demand of the industrial unions—has been revived recently on the part of activist groups, and could again become a cause of large segments of the trade unions, especially those grouped in the newly-formed Alliance for Labor Action.

MONOPOLY PRICES AND SOARING TAXES

The Korean War incited a 12 per cent rise in the consumer price index. After the war, the index remained stable for a couple of years before starting upward again. The Vietnam War has already incited a 14 per cent rise in the consumer price index. In fact, continued increases of 2-3 per cent are predicted, and stated to be desirable, by ruling class economists. Always, of course, the actual rise in living costs is much more than shown by the official consumer price index.

The working class feels the pressure of higher prices very sharply, especially in the area of prime necessities. Prices of foods, of medical services, of housing, are soaring.

The basic reason is not the much-touted "wage-price spiral." It is the enhanced power of the monopolies, their improved organization. This applies especially to food and gasoline. The shortage of doctors and

hospitals puts the business-medical men of America and the big capitalists who control the hospitals in the driver's seat. The shortage of developed land, compounded by the continual taking of land for highways, government buildings, military installations, etc.; the increasing shortage of existing housing relative to the number of families, put the landlords in the saddle.

These pressures are not weakening. One should not be surprised if the consumer price index continues to go up at its recent 4-5 per cent per year rate, *even after the Vietnam War ends.*

The tax burden on the American working class is far higher, relative to income, than at any previous time in history, and is rising rapidly year after year. There is no relief in sight.

Labor was hit by higher social security taxes January 1. The 10 per cent war surtax is likely to be continued. Effective tax rates on workers rise yearly because of the reduction in the real value of the personal exemption in an epoch of inflation.

In fiscal year 1965, fiscally not yet affected by the Vietnam War, Federal taxes withheld from workers' paychecks amounted to \$45.5 billion. In fiscal year 1970, they are scheduled to amount to \$96 billion, an increase of 111 per cent in five years!

Nixon advisers are talking of further tax increases instead of reductions, in order to "save the dollar" and impose "fiscal discipline." At the same time, they are laying the basis for further big tax concessions to monopolies, under the guise of providing an incentive for business to "help the ghettos." For practical reasons, no major tax legislation is likely in 1969, but one must expect an attempt to shift even more of the tax burden from the capitalists to the workers in 1970.

At the same time, state and local taxes on working people continue to rise at the rate of 10 per cent per year.

Up to now, there have been only sporadic mass struggles against high prices, in the form of consumer strikes against particular groups of stores. The AFL-CIO customarily issues fairly good, if modest, tax programs, but it does not fight for them except through top official lobbying activity. Moreover, it sold out on major tax issues in recent years under cover of supporting the Vietnam War.

Certainly, sentiment against monopoly prices and soaring taxes is sufficiently strong in the United States to provide the basis for organizing effective mass struggles.

Heretofore, however, workers have concentrated on striving to keep ahead through gaining annual wage increases. Their bargaining power will weaken somewhat as unemployment rises. Big business attacks on union and bargaining rights have already been signaled. And there is the danger of wage freeze legislation under cover of an emergency attempt to "save the dollar."

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF NEGRO PEOPLE AND LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The following table shows the trend of non-white to white median family income, as reported by the 1945 U.S. Census Bureau figure estimated from change between 1945 and 1949 in the ratio for families and single individuals combined.

Year	Per cent non-white to white median family income
1945	(56)
1949	51
1952	57
1956	53
1963	53
1964	56
1965	55
1966	60
1967	62

There are significant increases in the ratio in periods of wartime labor shortage. The biggest gain, in comparison with pre-war, was during World War II. After each war, the ratio declined again. During the Korean War the ratio went up six points, and it went up by about the same amount during the Vietnam War.

We have to allow for official distortion of the facts, designed to make a favorable showing and ward off struggles. Despite this and other qualifications, it is likely that there has been a modest trend towards an improved relative economic status of the Negro people during the past decade, resulting from the rising scale and militancy of their struggles.

But the net gain has been small, indeed.

However, as we move into a period of heavier unemployment, the "natural" tendency for losing some of these gains will be quite powerful. At the same time, there is a stronger and more varied front of struggle to maintain and extend the economic gains.

Among the demands advanced in these struggles are those for a minimum guaranteed income, special concessions for up-

grading of black workers, access to higher paying jobs, elimination of all barriers to employment and union membership, reduction of ghetto rents and prices. Again, a crucial problem is that of linking these up with demands benefiting the entire working class, such as those concerning taxes, reduction of monopoly prices, full employment, etc.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

U.S. imperialism is enmeshed in especially knotty contradictions in its foreign economic relations.

There is a tendency towards U.S. imperialism losing ground in economic competition, not only to the socialist countries, but to its imperialist rivals.

The most obvious signal of this is the dollar crisis. The dollar first got into trouble in 1959, during the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration. Its weakness has steadily increased since then, and the situation has been desperate for the past year, with a far-reaching financial crisis capable of erupting at almost any moment.

Like the British, the American imperialists have no prospect of achieving a real balance in their international payments despite a paper balance claimed for 1968. The underlying situation has worsened sharply during the Vietnam War, as the customary favorable trade balance of the U.S. has virtually vanished.

The dominant position of the dollar in world finance is rapidly being eroded. The main European powers have put the bulk of their reserves either in gold or in special forms of dollar holdings protected against devaluation. The European and Japanese imperialists have been helping to maintain the position of the dollar, for obvious political reasons, but in return for economic concessions which in the long run undermine the dollar further.

The U.S. imperialists are desperately striving to avoid a devaluation of the dollar. Aside from reasons of "prestige" and economic warfare against the Soviet Union, they have definite selfish aims in view. The big Wall Street banks, along with the Bank of America and a few others, have \$20 billion in foreign branches, and exert vast influence over world finance. Devaluation of the dollar would cut that influence, as well as the value of a substantial part of their foreign deposits in the form of Eurodollars. It would also make it more difficult for U.S. corporations to buy up foreign

properties, and for U.S. imperialists to buy up foreign politicians, armies, bases.

Nevertheless, despite all its efforts, it seems likely that in the near future the dollar will have to be devalued relative to gold. Significantly, Nixon's closest advisers on monetary affairs have publicly advocated a "floating" dollar relative to other currencies. The attempts to force the free price of gold back down to \$35 per ounce have failed, and the two-price system is unlikely to survive indefinitely.

With the worsening of the U.S. foreign trade balance, contradictions between the U.S. and other imperialists in the economic areas are becoming sharper. The balance of forces within the Bonn-Washington axis is shifting, and Bonn will increasingly attempt to call the tune. For most of the 1960s the United States grew economically at a faster rate than the Common Market countries. Now that might be reversed. Continental monopolies will seize positions in world economy formerly held by the Americans.

The complex development of relations between Japanese and U.S. imperialism is particularly important. The Japanese imperialists have been the economic and political-military mainstay of U.S. imperialist aggression in Asia. The *quid pro quo* has been a major share in the exploitation of the markets, resources, and labor of the peoples of Asia. But the trend is inevitably in the direction of the Japanese seizing the lion's share of imperialist holdings throughout Asia. Simultaneously contradictions are developing between U.S. and Japanese imperialism over the refusal of the Japanese monopolies to let the American monopolies buy them up, and over the rising flood of Japanese goods on the U.S. market.

We cannot predict that the element of rivalry will soon predominate over elements of collaboration between the two imperialisms, only that the former will become relatively more important.

The resistance of the Japanese working class and working people generally to the schemes of Japanese and American imperialism has been a noteworthy factor. The self-interest of American workers in cooperation with the Japanese workers against the monopolies of both countries becomes more evident in this period.

In many countries, international financial difficulties have been a prime lever used to impose austerity programs on the working class, which have the effect of increasing the rate of exploitation of labor. The 1968 income surtax was an example of the application of this device by the American

monopolies. Bigger sacrifices are likely to be demanded by the Nixon Administration. This makes it urgent for progressive forces to mobilize resistance, to develop a people's program and movement for dealing with the dollar crisis.

The Reuther line of international trade union action against multinational corporations is a good one in principle, but relatively impotent in practice owing to the

refusal of Reuther to break with the general foreign policy of U.S. imperialism, and from anti-communism.

In view of the growing disaffection of the American people with the foreign and domestic policies of U.S. imperialism, it may be possible in the coming period to win over some sections of the trade union movement to a policy of international labor cooperation on an anti-imperialist basis.

Sweden: workers' demands

The collective bargaining negotiations, begun late last year and carried over to the opening months of this, have laid a definite imprint on Swedish politics.

Negotiations center on the all-important issue of wages, which account for 80-85 per cent of aggregate personal incomes.

The wide wage differentials continue to be the subject of much agitated discussion. All the more so since they have been steadily widening over the past 20 years. In fact, the pattern has become traditional: the more strenuous the job, the less the worker is paid.

There has been a natural, and vocal, demand, especially from the lower-paid, to narrow the difference. One way of doing that would be for wage increases to be expressed in absolute figures rather than in percentages. Another method, now strongly recommended by influential union leaders, would be to deny wage increases to persons earning more than 40,000 crowns a year. And still another method, one that is gaining increasing popularity, is to abandon piece rates in favor of a fixed monthly wage. The argument behind that demand is that in automated industries it is the machine, rather than the worker, that determines the pace of work and its result.

Be that as it may, the demand of all workers is for an end to economic inequality. In practice this means that whatever concessions are wrested from management should go into higher wages, especially for the lower-paid categories.

But how high must a low wage be for a more or less decent standard of living? Various calculation methods have been

used to determine that figure. The most widely used, and probably the most logical, is to establish the minimum annual income for a family of four (husband, wife, two children). A survey made in the spring of 1968 revealed that in Stockholm the amount needed for what is officially described as a frugal existence is 28,200 crowns. However, only a fraction of workers enjoy such an income.

There are two important factors to be considered in the present round of wage negotiations. First, the so-called social privileges—old-age pensions, paid annual holidays, sickness insurance, family grants, school meals, and, second, extra privileges for certain categories.

Trade Union Federation President Arne Geijer told the Social-Democrat Party Congress in October 1967 that workers covered by collective agreements were actually at a disadvantage. For, he explained, under existing legislation all persons working a full day are entitled to an annual four-week holiday. But persons receiving high salaries enjoy longer holidays. In other words, it is not the nature of a man's job, but the position he occupies that determines the length of his paid holiday. What is more, this applies not only to the private sector, but also to state-owned enterprises, the municipal services and government employment generally.

Besides the wage gap between white-collar and blue-collar workers, there are other factors that make for a gaping difference in living standards and play a definite part in wage negotiations. The Swedish cooperative journal *Vi* (No. 48, 1968) lists

some seemingly minor advantages which, in toto, have an important bearing on living standards. I quote: "In addition to the usual rights and privileges, employees in the building, garment and pharmaceutical industries are able to buy certain goods at cut prices or simply get them free of charge. Sub-managerial personnel have the free use of company motor transport; some employees are allowed time off for shopping (this applies to office workers, but not to those at the bottom rung), or can use the office phone for personal conversations during working hours (a privilege denied shop workers and typists)."

No one wants to deprive them of these privileges. The demand is for fully equal treatment — and equal pay — for blue-collar and white-collar work.

In our industrial society, a large part of the population is engaged in industry, and a very large part are men and women tending machines or assembly lines and, consequently, are fully subordinate to the technological process. In fact, every industrial job is in one or another way dependent on the movement of the conveyor belt. If it moves smoothly, at an even pace, the worker can look forward to bigger earnings. But if, due to an error by the programmer, the conveyor does not function properly the worker will immediately be shifted from piece rates to an hourly wage. The man responsible for the malfunctioning will not suffer: he will still get his regular monthly salary.

It is now obvious that technological progress requires replacing piece rates by a fixed weekly or monthly wage. For try as he will, the worker can neither slow down nor accelerate the process, and piece rates consequently lose all meaning.

The focal demand, however, is for elimination of inequality between blue-collar and white-collar workers. For instance, an office worker with three years seniority is usually given three months' dismissal notice; the factory worker is fired after two weeks. The workers want more severance pay and more lay-off compensation. This would to a certain extent eliminate the gap in living standards.

The chief parties, on labor's side, in the present collective bargaining are the Trade Union Federation, the Federation of Office Workers, and the Federation of University Graduates. The first has a membership of

about 1,600,000 workers and low-category office personnel in government and municipal enterprises; the second speaks for 550,000 office workers, and the third for 100,000 persons with university training. To these three must be added the 60,000-member Technicians and Foremen's Union and several smaller organizations. Each has its own ideas, methods and aims, so that there is no united front.

The other side, however, presents a solid united front in the form of the Swedish Employers' Association, uniting all major companies with a total working force of 1,300,000, also state-run industries, such as mining, the Norrbotten Steel Mills, the state-owned timber industry, but not the postal services, railway and television.

So far the Trade Union Federation has always been the first to conclude a collective bargaining agreement with the Employers' Association, and only after that the other two negotiating bodies, the Office Workers and University Graduates, sign. The Trade Union Federation is closely linked with the Social-Democrat government and usually consents to very modest wage rises, whereas the other two in most cases manage to obtain better terms.

There is mounting resentment in the unions over the government's indifference to labor's demands and to the conditions of low-income families. And there is growing insistence, especially after last year's parliamentary elections which gave the Social-Democrats an impressive majority, that the government do something for the under-privileged section of the working class. The unions point out that they were largely responsible for the Social-Democrat victory at the polls, and it would be no more than fair for the government to support the workers' legitimate — and moderate — demands. The Social-Democrats, the unions say, should use their parliamentary majority in the interests of the working population, especially in such a vital matter as improving living standards.

The Left Party-Communists is campaigning for higher wages for all workers, but emphasizes that those in the low-pay categories are entitled to preferential treatment. The Party is also urging the three trade union centers to coordinate their fight against the common foe—monopoly capital.

Fritjof LAGER

Economic relationships and interests in socialist society

MARK MIKHAILOV, ALEXANDER MOTYLYOV

The power of attraction exerted by Communist ideas derives from the fact that as the workers' ultimate aim they offer the only possible and at once truly humane prospect for the fullest satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the people and the harmonious combination of personal and public interests. That is why bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists who attack Marxism-Leninism distort the problems of the harmony and interaction of interests in socialist society. And their zeal in this respect increases the more consistently the socialist countries adhere to the policy that that which is good for society as a whole cannot but accord with the interest of all the production groups and all citizens.

I.

In socialist society the public interest is expressive of a community of aims based on socialist ownership; this enables us to concentrate the planned social effort on long-term, as well as current, economic objectives. It enables us to make the most of our manpower and financial and material resources, and to avoid waste. Public, chiefly state, ownership enables us to carry forward the democratic principle of equal pay for equal work and augment the public fund for satisfying the requirements of all citizens.

There are those who depict the public interest as something divorced from public ownership of the means of production and from the aim of socialist production, that of satisfying to the fullest the material and spiritual requirements of all members of

society. Some aver that public interest centers exclusively on the maximum surplus product. That, they claim, is the object of the economic reforms under way in the socialist countries.

It is true that socialist society is not indifferent either to the magnitude of the surplus product or to its distribution. And it is also true that one of the purposes of the economic reform in, say, the Soviet Union, is for socialist enterprises to work more profitably. It should surprise no one that the 1968 profits of the enterprises converted to the new system increased by 15 per cent. However, the public interest focuses on the total social product, not only the surplus product. Society has an interest in both continuous reproduction of all the material elements of the productive forces and in economical and effective use of the available means of production. It has a vested interest in increasing efficiency to a point where the value created by the necessary labor would mean more and better quality consumer goods. Nor is the public interest indifferent to the size of the necessary product or its magnitude per worker.

To reduce the public interest to profit alone is, in effect, to relieve society and the state of responsibility for securing for each member of society the right to work and other social rights because the latter might conflict with the aim of obtaining maximum profit.

Notwithstanding the importance and necessity of advancing socialist commodity-money relations and all the pertinent categories, we should bear in mind that to see the interests of society, the

production collectives and individuals through the prism of the one criterion of economic effectiveness entails the danger of dehumanizing the aims of our social production. The interest, public as well as personal, must not be reduced to "value" factors alone, for it is rooted also in such elements of building communism as mutual aid among individuals, collectives and nations, the concern of society as a whole for the spiritual richness of each individual, and many other features of that most just and humane society.

This accords with the fundamental economic law of socialism, which is based not only on the economico-productive, but also on the *general social* political criterion that production growth must correspond to the welfare of each individual, the growth of the spiritual, as well as material, wealth of all members of society. Doubtless, the social morale is secondary to the laws of economic growth. Yet the spiritual aspect of socialist public and personal interest cannot be conditioned solely by that sphere of social being which is related to the law of value, the equivalence of exchange. It is useless to stuff into the "universality" of commodity relationships the wealth and multiplicity of social relations and interests of the system that abolished private ownership and exploitation of man by man. It would be wrong, therefore, to treat as an absolute any of the forms expressive of economic effectiveness, profit included, substituting it for the objective aim and purpose of socialist social production.

Achievement of the highest possible economic effectiveness is not an aim in itself, but a necessary condition for the all-round harmonious development of the personality, the materialization of the supreme humanitarian principle of socialism: "All for man, all in the name of man." And the interests of society, infinitely greater in content than the simple arithmetical sum of personal interests, originate from, and ultimately center on, the aim of securing the all-round and harmonious development of *each individual* and, hence, the enrichment of all social life.

The interconnection and interpenetration of individual and public interests does not, of course, eliminate the possibility of contradictions. Yet the latter are not antagonistic, because all interests (public as well as individual) express in varying degrees of universality the interest of the working man free from exploitation, the co-owner of all the material and spiritual wealth of

his country. As we see it, the basic objective contradiction of the socialist mode of production, namely, the contradiction between the aim of socialist production and the possibilities of achieving it at every period (depending primarily on the degree of development of social production), is in evidence in the entire system of interests prevailing in socialist society. In the context of extended reproduction, we see it as a contradiction between production and consumption, and in the distribution of the national income it is a contradiction between the consumed and accumulated parts of that income.

These contradictions, immanent in the process of reproduction, are deliberately distorted by the enemies of communism, who say that socialism "sacrifices" the personal interests of individuals to "accumulation as an aim in itself," and that satisfying the requirements of the people in consumer goods and services is, ostensibly, relegated to the background. They depict only that part of the surplus product set aside for accumulation as the public interest of socialism, opposing it to the personal interests and falsifying the character and social orientation of distribution.

Accumulation is invariably only the basis on which extended reproduction unfolds; it is a condition without which greater satisfaction of the requirements of society in means of production and consumer goods, is inconceivable. Yet the concrete relations between accumulation and consumption funds in the national income and likewise the proportion in production of means of production to consumer goods, depend on the concrete internal and external conditions of the country's growth. In the USSR we had a period of accelerated industrialization when the output of means of production increased more rapidly than consumer output. In recent years, the gap in their growth rates has visibly diminished, while last year consumer production increased at a higher rate than that of the means of production, a trend that we also witness in 1969.

Combining public and personal interests, blending them in the most rational and harmonious way, is not an automatic process and needs constant regulation. Though single in principle, the mechanism assuring this combination assumes different forms of expression and organization at different stages of building socialism. But whatever the forms, it does not neglect the interests of the personality.

Neglect of personal interests, by the way, attains its extreme in the adulation of asceticism and the "socialization of poverty," while the other extreme *denies public interests* on the pretext of "concern" for personal interests, treating public interests under socialism as an "abstraction."

Actually, the personal interests cannot be fully realized in socialist society, unless the public interest is properly satisfied. This is conditioned directly by the social nature of labor, whereby the personal material interest in the results of one's labor ascends to interest in better labor results by all and in greater effectiveness of all social production. It is proper, therefore, to speak not simply about the public interest of working men in a developed socialist society, but of a *trend towards what is directly a social element in their personal and collective interests*.

That, indeed, is the basis for the dialectical unity of the material and moral interest at all levels of interest in socialist society, whether personal, collective or public, more organic and monolithic at the highest level, the level of the national interest.

Personal material interest includes the interest of every member of society participating in social production in receiving from society the maximum award in accordance with the quantity and quality of his work. It also includes interest in increasing the possibilities of personal participation in social production, increasing one's social role by developing one's abilities, improving proficiency and culture, and raising the quality of one's labor as a contribution to society. The interest in securing speedily a steady growth of material consumption and cultural benefits, that is, an objectively personal interest not only in the necessary, but also the surplus labor, and interest in accumulating public wealth and assuring reliable defense for the socialist system, is also part of the personal interest.

That a bond exists between public and personal interest is evidenced by the fact that the real incomes of people, depending chiefly on wages, increase in step with increasing social production. In the past three years (1966-1968), for example, the per capita real incomes of Soviet wage-earners increased 20 per cent, while the national income went up 23 per cent.

II.

The use of that part of the socialist mechanism of interests most economically and

effectively realized through various forms of *collective interests*, such as incentives for production groups, is one of the most important problems related to that mechanism. And its importance increased after the economic reforms were begun in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries. As part of the reform, we are improving the links between collective (group) and public interests, combining the interests of different socialist enterprises and enhancing the role of group incentives in satisfying the personal interests of citizens. Elaborating on these problems in theory and practice, Marxist-Leninists encounter dogmatist disdain for the possibilities of using for social purposes the collective interest of enterprises, on the one hand, and what are essentially revisionist attempts at replacing public interest and the mechanism of realizing this interest with the sum of the interests of collectives isolated from each other and interacting through the market only.

Collective interests appear as a result of an enterprise setting itself apart as a socialist commodity producer. Different interpretations of the degree of this isolation yield fundamentally different points of view concerning the social function of group interests. If centralized management of production is seen as an *absolute* and enterprises are robbed of independence, collective interests are a fiction, but if the "model" is based on the complete independence of enterprises from society and state the situation is reversed and it is the possibility of satisfying the public interests that becomes fiction instead.

Underestimating the role of the group interests is wrong, for it would prevent us from using the new considerable reserves of workers' initiative. Yet that is exactly what happens if centralization of management, which is no more than the means to aims consciously set by society, is viewed as an aim in itself. As the economic reforms roll forward, designed to promote initiative and the independence of enterprises, thus accentuating collective interests, this erroneous view will disappear.

Opposing the interests of enterprises to the public interests is to our mind much more dangerous. Those who do so, favor complete, unfettered "freedom" for the play of collective (group) interests, maintaining that state regulation of these interests is necessarily linked with subjectivism and excess bureaucracy. As they see it, the only guarantee of objective management is provided by the market mechanism, by orient-

ing the interests of enterprises on profit. In substance, however, this "model" leaves no room for public planning of production.

What is the place of group interests in the general structure of socialist interests? What are the limits to the isolation of enterprises, to their autonomy, which, if exceeded, depart from, and come into conflict with, both the general public interests and those of other collectives?

First and foremost, the collective interest is to secure output and sale of the product, because this assures growth of the incomes of the workers of the enterprise, consisting of wages and incentives out of the profit. Achieving the best possible technical conditions for increasing the surplus product is also part of the immediate interest of a production collective. The collective has a stake in creating funds for group satisfaction of social and cultural needs. Of equal importance is the collective's interest in effective management of the production process, stability of personnel, higher proficiency, and promotion of the more capable of its members.

A close look at the various elements of the collective interest will show that at least the majority cannot be adjusted to the optimum degree (that is, in the interest of all society) if the enterprise is given an entirely free hand. Therefore, we have to look for solutions in which the interest of the collective harmonizes in quantity and quality with that of the people as a whole.

This process begins in the initial stage, as we decide what the enterprise will produce. Any self-supporting, economically accountable enterprise has a vested interest primarily in recouping outlays and obtaining accumulations for expanding production and financing incentives for its personnel. The fact that the enterprise is "insular" as a commodity producer turns its collective interest mostly to the *value* rather than the use value of its product. Yet the interest of society centers not only on the former, but also on the latter. That is why society must decide what the enterprise is to produce.

For the interests of economically accountable enterprises to coincide with those of society, securing a unity of interests, the centrally-fixed plan indices and the consequent economic incentives must be thoroughly weighed and properly coordinated. That is the only way for collective interests advantageously oriented according to plan on the public interest to stimulate growth not only of local but also

and directly of the social effectiveness of production. Soviet enterprises converted to the new system of planning and economic stimulation (by now accounting for nearly three-quarters of the total industrial output) have visibly improved their technico-economic indices and increased the production growth rate, sales and profits. In the three years since they converted to the new system they have produced in excess of plan more than 9,000 million rubles' worth of goods and more than 2,000 million rubles in profit. That planning, a decisive advantage of socialism, has improved, is evidenced by the fact that plans worked out with the participation of production groups are becoming active stimuli, with incentives acting as one of the main, highly effective methods of the planned economy.

Could some economic incentive taken singly, such as, say, profit, orient production at enterprise level with absolute precision on the interests of society?

The social impact of the profit of individual groups, differs: even the same degree of profitability does not signify qualitative equality from enterprise to enterprise, that is, equality in the measure of effectiveness. Furthermore, we must bear in mind that profit may be obtained in ways inconsistent with the interests of other enterprises, of society as a whole, by lowering quality of the product, changing the object of production, raising the sales price, diminishing the plan target, and the like. Thus, orientation on profit as an objective expression of one of the aspects of collective interest does not necessarily, *not in all cases*, coincide with the interests of the people as a whole. What is more, there may be deviations from the unity of interests, even contradictions. Enterprise profit expresses the direct social effectiveness of labor, as well as local and group effectiveness, only if factors undesirable for society are averted or reliably checked by the system of economic and administrative levers wielded by the state. The social function of public state-planned regulation of the material interests of enterprises is to afford a "measure of freedom" to collective interests consistent with the maximum freedom for factory-level initiative, interest and responsibility aimed at making production more effective, while restraining collective interests from coming into conflict with the interests of society as a whole.

Soviet experience has shown that only one concept is practicable, the concept de-

defined by Lenin: "When the proletariat is victorious it will do the following, it will set economists, engineers, agronomists, and so forth, to work *under the control* of the workers' organizations on drawing up a "plan," on verifying it, on devising labor-saving methods by centralization." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 118). Lenin, as we see, draws attention to the fact that centralized planning is conceived not as an aim in itself, but as a means of securing the common interests of the people, that it must be *both centralized and democratic*. Such planning is not easy. It would probably be much simpler to produce concepts and "models" rejecting regulation of production on the scale and in the interests of all society, qualifying as "abstract" the planned harmonious cooperation of producers based on the community of their social interests. However, to do so would be tantamount to qualifying as "abstract to some extent" the ultimate aim of the working class—the building of socialism and communism, the main embodiment of the people's community of interests.

III.

Depicting the public interests as abstract and society as a total of personalities and production groups isolated from each other, is certainly not going to help improve the political mechanism of the socialist system over which the exponents of insularism, of "partial" and "special" collective interests, profess to be concerned.

They argue that the social mechanism of deliberate and planned state regulation of the interlacement of interests should be replaced by a mechanism of "automatic" adjustment of the collective interests of enterprises because the latter is more democratic. But is it?

Among other things socialist democracy envisages equal rights of participation in the affairs of society for all its working members. But can *all* members of society participate in coordinating *all* the links of social production if the property of the people, the state, were split up among tens or hundreds of thousands of group proprietors? Quite the reverse. "Autonomization" of production cells would only make participation of the groups in running production and controlling distribution of the social product more unequal.

Socialist democracy is a system of political power protecting the interests of the working class, of all working people, pro-

tecting the equal rights won by the proletarian revolution for the citizens of the socialist state, irrespective of the sector of the economic body in which they perform their public duty. The "democracy" of insularized economic units based on group ownership, on the other hand, sets the laws of the market above all programs and constitutions, rejecting planning in favor of spontaneity and impelling convergence of the society of associated producers with a society where the antagonism of isolated interests would rule supreme.

Advocates of denationalizing people's property maintain this would preclude subjectivist solutions. But surely subjective solutions, solutions ignoring scientific, socially beneficial criteria, solutions that are at odds with the public and personal interests, may also come from quarters other than central. Rejecting centralized solutions framed by democratic means in favor of decision-making at enterprise level would only multiply a thousand-fold the chances of subjective error.

The possibilities of a group, the stimuli of collective interests, are not limitless; it is beyond their power to resolve the complex tasks of labor-saving on a nationwide scale, running the entire social system of production and spiritual activity, and at once satisfying the multiplicity of personal interests. The isolated interest of an enterprise would not even cope with satisfying *all* the personal interests of its own employees, because not all the links between personal and public interests go through the production unit. This alone should put us on our guard against over-stressing the social function of the production group, against the idea of burdening it with more than it can accomplish and more than is beneficial from the standpoint of public and personal interests.

An extreme form of one-sided guardianship of the collective interests is the argument that satisfaction of the personal interests could best be obtained by basically changing the methods of accumulation, i.e., by placing the entire product, including the surplus, in the hands of the producers and by endowing the latter with monopoly rights in the matter of distributing the product.

That, however, is a doubtful proposition. For production groups do not all have equal conditions — average age of equipment, quality of raw materials, degree of mechanization and specialization, etc., differ from enterprise to enterprise. Therefore,

even in the same branch of industry labor productivity cannot be the same in the different enterprises, and hence their contribution to the social surplus product is not the same either. To place the surplus product at the disposal of the enterprise that made it would give the new factories a distinct advantage, leaving the rest battling to overcome their technical lag, to modernize, on their own resources, resulting in inequality for enterprises and their personnel. To endow insularized groups with ownership of the surplus product would not be in the interests of the staffs of other enterprises, even of entire branches of the economy, including those which helped build the new factories.

Public ownership is the objective basis for the vital interests of the working class, the basis that unites the working class and all people in town and country. Any attempt to substitute some other "model" for the allegedly outdated people's ownership would be sure to atomize the intrinsically single community of interests of the working class, resulting in conflict between group interests (regardless of how the groups are constituted, whether territorially, administratively, professionally or otherwise). This atomization of interests would reduce the effectiveness of the workers' constructive efforts in building a new society and, what is more, jeopardize the gains of socialism. Back in 1920-21 the Soviet party, too, had had to combat the anarcho-syndicalist trend. The opposition, particularly the so-called workers' opposition, wanted management of production to be transferred directly to the producers. Lenin took the anarcho-syndicalists to task, writing: "Any direct or indirect legalization of ownership by the workers of a factory or by separate profession or trade of their particular production, or legalization of their right to weaken or obstruct the instructions of the central authority is a complete departure from socialism" (*Complete Works*, in Russian, Vol. 36, p. 481).

The realism of public interests, single in the basic areas, is borne out by the building of the new society in the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries. Experience shows how, as socialist reconstruction advances, the interests of the working class, the farmers and the working intelligentsia come together gradually in the main, basic and decisive areas, growing into the interests of the whole people. As socialism took root there emerged a moral and political unity of the people, with the

interest of the whole people superseding all other interests not only in the economic sphere, but also in the rest of the social structure.

One of the newer theories maintains that the immediate interests of the individual worker rather than those of the working class constitute the motive force of social growth. From the standpoint of theory, this minimizes the significance (in politics as well as economy) of the collective element in the activity of the working class, diminishing the latter's leading role. The experience of the Soviet Communist Party shows that to overcome this trend (and our Party too has had to combat such views) entails consolidating the socialist property of the whole people, cultivating the concern of the whole people for augmenting and using this property in the common interest of all.

Splitting the unity of the workers' economic interests in a socialist country, reducing them to personal, group, insularized interests, sets the stage ultimately for anti-socialist attacks on the political unity of the working class, tantamount to attacks on the Marxist-Leninist party, the bearer of the workers' interests and organizer of their joint activity in building the new society.

And the slightest disdain for the common class interests of the workers leads logically to disdain and rejection of the organizational economic activity of the socialist state. In practice that leads to evading (or shifting to the enterprises) responsibility for the economic difficulties that are bound to arise, as Lenin pointed out, when the socialist state assumes full control over the means of production. Some, it is true, interpret Lenin's pointer on this score as referring to the transition from capitalism to socialism. However, for socialism, grown and consolidated on its own basis, the adjustment of economic relations and the organization of production and distribution are becoming increasingly complex, multiple and responsible. So, to evade the task, to evade its fulfilment through purposive activity on the scale of society as a whole, means to abandon oneself to the elemental and chaotic, to unloose the blind forces of the market, to allow it to operate behind the backs of the producers, though even modern capitalism works assiduously, but in vain, to cope with those forces.

The interests rooted in the socialist economic system are conditioned by the social

relationships of socialism. To observe them strictly is, therefore, an objective necessity reflected in the economic policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The

Soviet Communists use moral and material incentives to achieve the grand aims set by the working class, by all the people of the Soviet Union, in the fight for communism.

Latin American economic integration viewed from Colombia

TEODOSIO VARELA

Despite the disparities in their socio-economic patterns, the Latin American countries have certain features in common that make economic integration possible. These common features are: economic dependence, slow and unstable growth rates (annual growth of aggregate production was 4.3 per cent in 1960-1966, 5 per cent in 1964-1965, and 3.1 per cent in 1965-1966), a mounting deficit in their trade and payments balances, inflation, unfair distribution of the national income in favor of the rich, the increasing dominance of foreign capital in many spheres of the economy, feeble development of mutual trade which is represented essentially by raw materials.

Economic integration and its effects on the Latin American countries were examined in an article by Jose Cademartori (*World Marxist Review*, No. 2, 1969), Communist Party of Chile. In this article we want to show how this integration is being used by the U.S. monopolies in some of the republics, notably in Colombia.

It might be recalled that when the idea of integration was first broached, the U.S. monopolies, motivated by their own class and economic interests, flatly opposed it. However, in February 1959, after a series of maneuvers, they advanced certain conditions on which they would "accept" and support the process of integration. These conditions were: 1) that the agreements concerning national markets impart a new character to trade and boost production through keen competition, and not merely change the trend of trade; 2) the agree-

ments to be in conformity with the regulations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); 3) regional agreements to provide not only for free trade in raw materials, but also for the free movement of labor and capital. Trade financing to be realized on the basis of a convertible currency.

The United States decided not to participate directly in the Latin American integration system, we think, for the following reasons: a) the U.S. monopolies have established a network of allied enterprises on the continent, which control the most important spheres of the home market and are, therefore, interested in abolishing tariffs not so much in respect to third countries as in respect to inter-zonal trade; b) if the United States joined the integration system it would have to remove its tariff barriers to those Latin American goods which cannot find a market, and this would prejudice imperialist interests.

The United States has been trying of late to stimulate the process of integration. At the Punta del Este meeting of heads of state in April 1967, it was decided "gradually, beginning with 1970, to form a Latin American common market that will start operating, in the main, in 15 years' time at the latest."

Historically, the Central American Common Market, formed in 1958, was the first attempt at Latin American integration. Its membership included Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica—countries where North American capital is

strongly entrenched. There is no doubt that this market developed more successfully than the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA). Considerable "mobility" of capital was achieved within the framework of the former, not to speak of tangible progress in the "liberalization" of trade in the region and in establishing common customs tariffs vis-à-vis non-member countries. However, this "common market," too, encountered difficulties owing to the limited development of the infrastructure and trade in agricultural products, as well as to the growing number of enterprises dependent on North American raw materials, and the increasing balance of payments deficit (in 1966 it was \$195.4 million compared with \$88 million in 1963). Many branches of the economy are still not covered by integration plans. In view of the fact that countries like Guatemala and Salvador depend economically largely on the export of coffee, the problem of finding markets for this product is far more crucial than that of integration.

Apropos the meeting of the presidents of the Central American countries with Johnson in July 1968, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica declared: "Economic integration in Central America means endless sacrifice for our peoples. Such bodies of the Central American Common Market as the Union of Central American Economic Integration have imposed a virtual dictatorship on the governments of our countries, forcing them to take measures that benefit solely the U.S. monopolies and prejudice the interests of the Latin American peoples."

That the process of integration and its difficulties are sparked by the policy of imposing terms that suits the U.S. imperialists is obvious from the aforesaid. This only accentuates the basic contradiction between the Latin American peoples and U.S. imperialism.

THE LATIN AMERICAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION

The Latin American Free Trade Association was formed on February 18, 1960. Initially it included Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay, and was joined later by Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela and Bolivia.

The Preamble to the Montevideo Treaty, by which LAFTA was created, reflects the many illusions of the Latin American bourgeoisie. They believed that the gradual

abolition of customs barriers would be the main condition for accelerating the continent's economic development, from which they stood to gain. They believed that this could be achieved by using certain local "factors of production," leaving out of account U.S. dominance. In short, clearly evident here is the line of the conciliating big bourgeoisie, namely, to give priority not to the home market but to the foreign market; not to the sphere of production, but to that of circulation; not to radical reforms but to timid measures, designed to appease imperialism.

LAFTA has, of course, registered some progress, especially in the sphere of exports which have increased, although this has been accompanied by an increase in imports. Also, nine so-called agreements on cooperation in production have been signed, six of which have already been put into effect. Work is being completed on putting the other three into operation. These cover data processing computers, electronic equipment, chemical and petrochemical products, consumer goods and articles of the glass industry. The central banks of the LAFTA member countries have signed an agreement among themselves to set up an agency for multi-lateral compensation and mutual credit, operating on the basis of convertible currency, the dollar in the first place.

There were many hurdles on the way. Even the authors of the Montevideo Treaty admit that the main difficulty is that more than "liberalization" of mutual trade is needed to achieve the main objectives of integration—accelerated rates of industrial development, more favorable conditions for creating a developed national industry, and a fair distribution of the profits between the member countries. The architects of the Treaty, however, fail to mention the all-important thing, namely, that it is impossible to achieve these objectives so long as the economic dependence persists. If anything, the free trade mechanism reinforces the position of the handful of large enterprises. This is recognized in the Treaty, in fact, which classifies LAFTA's members into three groups: the more developed countries, relatively less developed, and the countries with an insufficiently developed market. A situation of this kind breeds contradictions. Talks to establish common lists of commodities on the basis of national lists foundered because of the clash of opposing interests between the various top groups. In 1962 agreement was

reached on granting mutual customs benefits for 3,246 items. This number was then increased to 10,382 in 1968, that is, by another 7,136 different types of commodities in the seven years the Treaty has been in operation.

Integration has not brought with it any appreciable improvement in trade. In 1957 Latin America accounted for about 10 per cent of the world trade, in September 1966—for 11.5 per cent. On the other hand, exports remained at the same level in 1967, with imports registering a four per cent increase over the preceding year. This still further upset the balance of payments equilibrium, the deficit rising from \$1,080 million in 1966 to \$1,600 million in 1967.

Because of the continent's dependence on U.S. imperialism, which is particularly evident in foreign trade, inter-zonal trade within LAFTA has grown even less than was the case before the Montevideo Treaty was signed. According to the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, in 1953 inter-zonal trade accounted for 12 per cent of the continent's total volume of trade, dropping to 6.6 per cent in 1960 and reaching only 10.4 per cent in 1966.

Assessing the Declaration of Bogota (signed in August 1966) which established the so-called Andes group, the Communist Party of Colombia stated that "the Latin American Free Trade Association has run into a series of difficulties: the Latin American countries have to contend with inter-competition, and their economies are oriented on foreign markets; in the different countries — varying degrees of inflation, varying growth of cost of living and cost of production of goods earmarked for export; difficulties in financing the production of the said goods and in paying for them; imperialist pressures and rapacious competition on the part of the U.S. monopolies; a growing external debt; artificial obstacles in the way of the LAFTA member-countries in their trade with the socialist countries; curtailment of the state sector and of the national industry."

There is already talk of the bankruptcy of LAFTA, of the need to revise the Montevideo Treaty, and even of its abrogation. Some bourgeois circles stress in this connection that the trend in LAFTA was more towards a preferential trading zone rather than towards a free trade zone, as originally planned. On the other hand, the Punta del Este meeting decided to accelerate the process of merging LAFTA with the Central American Common Market, and some

steps have been taken towards this. No doubt this, too, will engender new conflicts.

THE ANDES GROUP

In view of the obvious failure of LAFTA, the United States is now trying to speed the conclusion of sub-regional agreements wherever possible. This measure was approved at the aforementioned meeting of presidents. One such organization is the Andes group which includes Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, countries occupying a territory of 5.4 million square kilometres (population—57 million). As earlier noted, this group was formed in August 1966 at the meeting in Bogota attended by the presidents of Colombia, Chile, Venezuela and the representatives of the presidents of Peru and Ecuador.

At this meeting a mixed commission was formed with the function of promoting "liberalization" of trade between the member-countries, coordinating industrial development, studying the status of the multinational enterprises and organizing the Andes Development Corporation. The latter has a charter capital of \$100 million and a subscribed capital of \$25 million.

Implementation of this sub-regional agreement engendered a multitude of contradictions among the participants, particularly the part concerning the time limits for lowering tariffs and establishing uniform customs duties in respect to third countries, the system of "liberalization," the order of voting and the organization of the supranational bodies.

It is obvious, in all this, that North American imperialism will, for the reasons mentioned earlier, be the main beneficiary. Hence its readiness to aid the group financially through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Agency for International Development and the Inter-American Development Bank. The local big bourgeoisie will also be able to cut in on the profits, thanks to its dominant positions in some branches of the economy.

The private sector in Venezuela, represented by the Federation of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, headed the opposition to the Andes group, advancing the following arguments: first, the agreements envisage the abolition of customs barriers on all goods produced in the member-countries of the group. This means that these countries will be able to establish, thanks to low production costs, big enterprises

which will flood the Venezuelan market with cheap goods with which the national industry will be unable to compete. The high production costs in Venezuela, the Federation representatives maintain, are due to the high wages paid by the manufacturers. But as the Communist Party of Venezuela explained, "this one-sided statement conceals a state of affairs for which the Venezuelan bourgeoisie is solely to blame. It would have had to admit the low effectiveness of production, which is the main reason for the prevailing state of affairs. The Venezuelan bourgeoisie passes over in silence, or speaks about it in whispers, that these high production costs are due to the low productivity of Venezuelan industry." Secondly, the low cost of labor in the other member countries places them in a favorable position during the integration process. Thirdly, once the machinery of integration goes into operation, it will be difficult to stem the tide of inflation, which has already reached some countries of this region.

Another source of conflict, as the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia observed, is that "the big bourgeoisie in Colombia wants to head the countries united in the so-called Andes group, so as to derive benefits for itself from the plans for industrial integration and integration of the markets of the group."

These contradictions and problems became particularly evident at the Sixth Session of the Mixed Commission, held in Cartagena (Colombia) in August 1968. As the leader of the Colombia delegation noted, agreement was reached on the lists of goods to be exempted from customs duties and on a voting system whereby the lists are confirmed by a two-thirds vote. The right of veto is retained on such basic issues as the minimum tariff in respect to third countries, amendments to the sub-regional treaty, coordination of economic policy and acceleration of the program to reduce tariffs. The meeting decided on an 11-year period for the complete operation of "liberalization" and on a shorter one for such branches as the metal industry. Uniform trade tariffs with respect to third countries will be operative only six years from now. They will be automatically reduced 10 per cent annually.

The differences in the status of the member countries surfaced once more in Cartagena. While Colombia, Chile and Bolivia approved the treaty as a whole,

Peru expressed reservations regarding certain organizational matters, the system of lowering tariffs and the agreements on co-operation in industry. Ecuador did not sign the document on the grounds that there would soon be a change of government. The final sixth session had to be postponed indefinitely.

Although the contradictions—due largely to different degrees of development of the member countries in the Andes group and imperialism's dominance in them — still continue to make themselves felt, the objective possibility exists for the Andes group to start operating in the near future.

COLOMBIA AND LAFTA

Colombia's entry into LAFTA was ratified by Law No. 88, adopted in 1961. The bourgeoisie and their representatives in the government nourished many illusions regarding the advantages this would bring the country. They believed that thanks to her geographic position, Colombia could become the connecting link between the free-trade zones of the North and the South, that LAFTA would use the "Great Colombia" merchant fleet, that conditions would be created for making maximum use of the production capacities of the country's basic branches, her skilled labor and the favorable conditions for foreign investment.

However, all these hopes with the exception of the last have not been justified. And as for the "favorable conditions for foreign investment," they have been disastrous for the country. And for the following reasons. According to the Administrative Department of Planning, 80 per cent of the \$1,000 million invested in the country's economy is held by the United States. Considering the rapacious nature of imperialism and Colombia's economic dependence, these investments therefore only swell the outflow of capital from the country in the shape of export of profits and dividends of the foreign monopolies (\$510 million in the period from 1961 to 1967). This, naturally, creates an unstable balance of payments (a \$505.4 million deficit in 1963-66 and approximately \$150-200 million in 1967 and 1968). To this should be added the fantastic spiralling of the state's foreign debt—from \$638.8 million in 1962 to \$1,466.8 million in June 1968—and the grim consequences of the unequal trade.

The negative consequences of Colombia's entry into LAFTA are seen also in the grow-

ing trade deficit with the inter-zonal countries, which amounted to \$116.1 million in the period from 1961 to May 1968. The only countries that have had favorable balances ever since LAFTA has been in operation are Mexico, thanks to her higher level of development, and Ecuador and Paraguay, thanks mainly to the protectionist measures provided for in the treaty, Argentina's trade balance showed a deficit in 1961 and in 1966; as for the other member countries, they have a chronic deficit. However, it should be noted that even the countries with favorable trade balances made no economic progress, for, as noted earlier, trade alone is not sufficient to resolve the problems caused by a profound structural crisis.

The facts show that Colombia is making increasing tariff concessions to the LAFTA countries, although she herself is not receiving any advantages in return. Thus, in 1962 the republic lowered import duties on 268 items and in 1968 on as many as 766, opening wide her markets to such goods from the LAFTA member countries as wool, chemicals, medicaments, and cocoa.

Those who benefited most from this were the branches of the North American monopolies spread all over the continent. The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Colombia (January 1966) stated in this connection: "Although the development of Latin American trade was the slogan of the bourgeoisie, it is the American monopolies who, in the present conditions of the increasing penetration of imperialism, are benefiting most from this, since exports to the countries of the zone are predominantly items whose production is controlled by U.S. capital, as, for example, petro-chemicals, automobile tires, medicaments, artificial fibres, liquid fuel, etc." Although coffee occupies an important place in Latin American exports, the value of the coffee exported does not cover the cost of the items enumerated.

The Colombian government stated that in 1968 exports went up 15 per cent compared with the preceding year. This applies particularly to "small exports" which do not include coffee. But, as specialists point out, to determine the "net contribution" of these exports in the national economy, the real cost of their increase should first be calculated in terms of dollars. The fact that we export a certain quantity of medicines does not necessarily mean that the country has made any accumulations, considering the sums spent in foreign currency on raw materials, patents and freight, the salaries

paid foreign specialists, especially U.S. specialists.

Capitalist integration has quite definitely not contributed to the economic progress of Colombia. According to the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America, the country's annual growth of production was 4.5 per cent in 1960-66, 3.2 per cent in 1964-65 and 4.5 per cent in 1965-66. As regards growth of production per capita, the indicators were 1.3 per cent, 0.0 per cent, and 1.3 per cent respectively. Agricultural production increased by 5.4 per cent in 1966, and only by 4.5 per cent in 1967. Industrial growth rates for the same years decreased from 7.4 per cent to 4 per cent. In other words, at no time were the indicators specified in the Alliance for Progress achieved—a 5.6 per cent annual growth of production and a 2.5 per cent growth in per capital output. Meanwhile, Colombia found herself more dependent economically, despite the policy of "healthy nationalism" professed by the government of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie.

THE PROLETARIAT, THE BOURGEOISIE AND INTEGRATION

It is clear that in the present conditions integration pursues, besides economic, also political objectives. Its purpose is to divert the attention of the working people from the need to fight for really basic transformations, to muster the reactionary forces of the continent and prevent revolutionary changes. It is to this end that all sections of the bourgeoisie have joined hands with imperialist finance capital.

The political orientation of integration clearly revealed itself in 1963, when LAFTA refused to accept Cuba into its organization on the pretext that her "economy does not bear the character of free enterprise." This decision is equivalent to admitting that integration is conceived as something based on private enterprise and capitalist market relations. At the beginning of 1968 at a meeting in Managua (Nicaragua) of representatives of the national congresses (parliaments) of the Central American Common Market member countries "political integration" was proposed. Costa Rica opposed this, since she has no army. Imperialism's maneuvers aimed at imposing an "inter-American armed force" are evidently part of the plans for "political" integration.

Against this general background the big bourgeoisie is in a contradictory position: it favors industrial development, but does not act resolutely against the latifundists

with a view to enlarging the home market. It would like to make big profits but this would mean restricting foreign capital and putting curbs on it. Its economic positions and its class interests, however, impel it to turn for aid to foreign capital, to join in an alliance with it. As the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia noted in September 1968, "the big bourgeoisie, under the slogan of Latin American and sub-regional economic integration, directed mainly by North American imperialism, have mounted an offensive against the working class. This class offensive is aimed at securing better conditions for the competitive struggle on the foreign market. . . . The bourgeoisie wants to cut production costs. But it is doing this not by improving the quality of machines and equipment, but by intensifying labor and cutting social benefits and wages. In view of the failure of the so-called 'foreign aid' program of the Alliance for Progress, the big bourgeoisie wants to accelerate an economic development that would suit its interests. It wants to accumulate capital not by obtaining funds from foreign sources on favorable terms, not by cutting down on the unproductive items in the national budget, or by raising direct taxes on monopoly-owned enterprises, not by sharply restricting export of profits; it wants to secure capital accumulation by dipping into the 'reserve funds' of the working people, meaning deductions from their wages for the projected savings funds, and the workers' social insurance dues. The big bourgeoisie wants to use these funds, first and foremost, to finance the capitalist enterprises, both national and foreign-owned."

In speaking of the interests of the *working class and of the working people gener-*

ally it should be noted that the capitalist competition ruins the small and medium-sized national enterprises alike, thereby adding to the unemployment. And the workers still holding jobs are subjected to still greater exploitation in the guise of talk about integration.

The economic integration now under way and its aims make it imperative for the working class to unite on a national and continental scale to counter the imperialist offensive. The workers, conscious of their class interests, realize that they will not be able to wrest any significant concessions from the bourgeoisie unless they wage an unrelenting economic and political struggle against imperialism, the oligarchy and the latifundists, a struggle for genuine national independence, and socialism.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

Economic integration is an objective fact. It is developing, irrespective of our wishes. The present trend is towards broader trade, financial and technical relations, towards creating big trading blocs. Hence the appearance of the Latin American bloc. The Communist Party of Colombia considers that "integration is an historical process which can develop effectively given successful development of the national liberation movement of the Latin American peoples to bring about profound changes in the obsolete economic and social structure."

The present difficulties, gains and character of the economic integration in Latin America, undoubtedly reflect the contradictions between the peoples of the continent and U.S. imperialism—the implacable enemy of these peoples who will defeat it, sooner or later.

Lenin's wife and helpmate

The people of the Soviet Union paid homage to the memory of Nadezhda Krupskaya on her centennial recently.

Research institutes and organizations held memorial sessions on the occasion.

The date was also marked by the publication of reminiscences by Party members who had known Krupskaya, under the title *By Lenin's Side*.

Krupskaya's life-story cannot be viewed in isolation from Lenin's, from the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet State.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, born on February 26, 1869, grew up in a revolutionary milieu. Her father, Konstantin Krupsky, was a revolutionary intellectual of the 1860s associated with the Russian section of the First International.

In 1890 Nadezhda joined a Marxist circle. For five years, she taught every Sunday in an evening school for workers in St. Petersburg. Among her pupils were progressive workers associated with the Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, founded by Lenin. In 1894 Nadezhda Krupskaya met for the first time the man who later became her husband. Soon, she became an enthusiastic member of the League, one of its mainstays.

She became Lenin's wife in Shushenskoye, a Siberian village where both were serving sentences of exile, in May 1898.

Krupskaya stood by Lenin's side when founding and consolidating the Party, she helped him with his books and assisted in maintaining contact with the Social-Democratic organizations. Her first independent work, *The Women Worker*, was published by *Iskra* abroad in 1901 and reprinted in Russia underground. Krupskaya showed in the book that only the working-class struggle would bring women genuine emancipation.

Krupskaya did immensely useful work as

executive secretary of the newspaper *Iskra* (Spark) and, later, of *Vperyod* (Forward) and *Proletari* (Proletarian). The outwardly inconspicuous but extremely important job claimed all her energy. All day long, and often well into the night, she copied Lenin's letters, coded and decoded messages, storing away in her memory hundreds of addresses, paroles and names. She was the immediate recipient of the correspondence from the Party leaders, *Iskra* agents and party organizations. The recently published three-volume collection of the correspondence of Lenin and the *Iskra* with Social-Democratic organizations in Russia contains more than 1,000 previously unpublished documents, of which nearly half are Krupskaya's letters to local Party branches and individuals.

Krupskaya had a big part in preparing the Second Bolshevik Party Congress; she prepared the report on *Iskra* and was a member of the credentials committee. On returning with Lenin from Switzerland to Russia in November 1905, she worked as secretary of the Party Central Committee, maintaining contact with local Party committees, supplying them with literature, receiving functionaries and providing them with passports and sound advice.

The large number of documents received some years ago from the Cracow-Poronin archive shed light on many aspects of Krupskaya's work as Central Committee secretary. She took part in preparing Central Committee conferences with Party functionaries and with the Bolshevik deputies to the Duma. Her notebooks containing addresses of the organizations and individuals with whom she corresponded are in the Central Party Archive. The notebooks contain 290 address in more than 100 localities in Russia and, in addition, 316 addresses abroad.

Krupskaya took a prominent part in organizing and running the journal *Robot-*

nitsa (Woman Worker), started in Petersburg in 1914, and wrote the editorial for its first issue, setting out its aims. In 1915, together with Inessa Armand, she attended the international women's conference in Berne.

That was also the time when Krupskaya devoted herself to pedagogics. She made a close study of Russian and world literature on the history and theory of teaching and examined the educational structure in France and Switzerland. As a result, she produced the book, *Public Education and Democracy*, the first Marxist book on the history of education.

In an article on the subject of youth organization Krupskaya composed the draft Rules of the League of Working Youth in Russia. She was one of the founders of the Komsomol organization.

With the victory of the October Revolution Krupskaya turned also to government work, devoting all her energy to consolidating the Soviet State, to reorganizing society along the new, socialist lines. She appears before us as an excellent Party propagandist. As an example of that aspect of her work, we might recall her trip along the Volga and its tributary the Kama when, stopping at towns and villages recently liberated from the Whites, she appeared and spoke at meetings of workers, peasants, Red Army men and teachers.

For fifteen years she was a member of top Party committees: The Central Control Commission from 1924 and the Central Committee from 1927.

Her Party and government work was varied and fruitful. She worked in the People's Commissariat of Education and was a member of its Collegium for more than 20 years. Anatoly Lunacharsky described her as the "moving spirit of the Commissariat of Education."

Krupskaya was a prominent figure in the international Communist movement, a delegate to the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th congresses of the Comintern. She was deeply respected by the leaders of the Communist parties, some of whom, such as Clara Zetkin and Fritz Platten, had known

her during her years abroad. Zetkin wrote: "The purpose and content of her life was a constant dedication to the revolutionary idea. In Nadezhda Krupskaya the communist ideology and selfless work for the victory of the revolution fused into one."

For Krupskaya, the lot of woman was a matter of prime concern. She wrote dozens of brochures and articles on the conditions of women, the fight for equality, for emancipation in the home. And she linked these issues with female participation in the common revolutionary effort, in building socialism. Her special devotion lay with the women of the East, the most oppressed of all.

Krupskaya's contribution to Leniniana is invaluable. She was Lenin's number one biographer. Her first brief life of Lenin appeared in 1917 at a request coming, among others, from soldiers in the battle-lines. Her memoirs and articles (the latter number over a hundred) trace Lenin's life from childhood to his last hours. As Lenin's wife and comrade-in-arms she could speak of Lenin as none other could, preserving for us the living and imposing image of the man, his features as leader, thinker and organizer. And she also drew for us an image of Lenin the man, a man who loved life in all its multiformity and fullness.

Not only did Krupskaya write about Lenin; she was always a willing helper to other writers, and her advice was invaluable to historians, men of letters, artists, and others.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya is an inspiration for the new generations of fighters for socialism, for all men championing the cause of peace and social progress.

The Krupskaya centennial was marked with reverence by the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It fitted appropriately into the preparations for the centennial of Lenin, whose companion and helpmate she had been all her conscious life.

G. OBICHKIN

Carrying out decisions of Polish Party Congress

The program of Poland's socio-economic growth framed recently by the Fifth Congress of the United Workers' Party was the subject of discussion at the provincial Party conference in January and February. Members of the Political Bureau, secretaries of the Central Committee and other Party leaders took part in the conferences.

Addressing the conference in Katowice, Wladislaw Gomulka, First Secretary, examined the results of the plan for 1968, the third year of the 1966-70 five-year plan, and dealt with the main trends mapped out by the Congress for the next five years (1971-1975).

Speaking of the economic headway, Gomulka stressed that aggregate output of publicly-owned industry had risen, attaining an average annual 8.1 per cent accretion in 1966-68 against the average of 7.5 per cent set in the five-year plan. Industrial dynamics, he said, had been favorable, adding to the country's economic potential. He warned, however, that the output growth figure alone did not yield a complete picture. It was also important to know how this growth was accomplished.

Gomulka noted that the extensive development created difficulties, although the trend still prevailed. It was high time, he said, to switch to intensive development, the more promising and basic trend in the country's present stage. Most welcome was the increase in labor productivity, amounting to 5.7 per cent in 1968 against 3.6 in 1966 and 3.8 in 1967.

Party branches in industry, Gomulka said, should combine their economic efforts with political and ideological work, helping to mobilize the people and bring home to them the aims of the Party. Party branches and workers' self-administration were important factors in the economic drive, for the Party effects its leading role chiefly through the primary Party groups, whose job it is, among other things, to control the administration.

Before and during the Congress, Gomulka recalled, Communists carried on extensive politico-ideological work, and called on them to keep it up. "As we carry our program into effect," he said, "we must make it known to the entire Party and through it to the working class and all working people."

Poland's economic cooperation with other socialist countries was discussed at length. Further expansion of equal, mutually beneficial and comprehensive ties between members of the socialist community, it was indicated, would help each of the countries cope with its economic tasks.

The Party favored closer integration in the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance), speakers said, pointing to the fundamental difference between integration processes under socialism and capitalism. The new forms of socialist integration, they said, should accelerate the technological revolution. This is feasible if the effort is based on the aggregate resources of the socialist countries and the objective trend towards their closer interaction.

The delegates indicated the need for better leadership and improved methods of work, and called on Party branches to be more active. They pointed out that the standard of Party guidance and success in all fields depended mainly on the standard of ideological, educational and political work based on Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism. Enemy ideology and any departure from scientific socialism, especially revisionist trends, must be combated as the most important part of that work, they said.

Ideological firmness and organizational unity assured Party unity, which, speakers said, was the basic prerequisite in Party work, its rock of strength.

The conferences discussed problems of the world Communist movement. Many speakers referred to the negative fissures

in international unity resulting from pressure by the class enemy, from nationalism and ideological vacillation, and stressed the objective need for, and the possibilities of, cementing unity in the fight against imperialism, emphasizing the big contribution expected from the coming Moscow conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

While provincial branches held their conferences, Party bodies in the Army held their own. Addressing the conference of the Maritime Military Area, Comrade Kliszko spoke about ideological work. The historical bond between the national and public interests of the Polish people, he said, compels the Party vigilantly to watch for any change in the balance of strength unfavorable to socialism in Europe and throughout the world. The Polish Party urged the European nations to vigilance and organized resistance to the West German revenge-seekers, particularly in the case of Bonn's so-called new eastern policy. This West German imperialist policy backed by Bonn's trans-Atlantic partners, Kliszko stressed, is countered by the strength of Poland and her allies, especially that of the Polish-Soviet alliance.

For Poles, he added, patriotism is closely

linked with internationalism. And the supreme interests of the state and the people prompt the Party to cultivate this internationalism, this sense of kinship with the socialist and the world's forces of progress, combating all manifestations of the nationalist ideology left in the public mind by the formerly dominant propertied classes. Nationalism is hostile to patriotism and is aimed more than ever against Poland's true interests.

The alliance with the Soviet Union and consolidation of the socialist community, that is, the basic content of internationalism, are vital for the survival of an independent and sovereign Poland. "It is our duty," Kliszko said, "to spread an appreciation of the importance of our internationalist ties with the Communist parties of the world, with all socialist and democratic forces."

The Party conferences testified to the efforts of the two million Polish Communists to put into effect the decisions of the Congress, the program of Poland's all-round growth in the immediate years. Looking forward to the 25th anniversary of People's Poland, the Communists are focussing the nation's efforts on resolving the current tasks in building socialism.

Anatomy of Israeli aggression

C. UNNI RAJA, YEVGENY YEVSEYEV

In its worldwide implications, the Second International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples (Cairo, January 25-28) can rightly be regarded as one of the most important political events in the Middle East since the June 1967 Israeli aggression. It was not an ordinary conference, but rather a powerful demonstration of the anti-imperialist forces in support of the Arab peoples' struggle, and it was held despite the obstacles and difficulties created for its sponsors—the World Peace Council and the Preparatory Committee—by the imperialist and Zionist propaganda machine.

Delegates from 74 countries and 15 international organizations had come to the capital of the United Arab Republic motivated by the desire to help re-establish peace and justice in the Arab East. And they examined, thoroughly and objectively, the sequence of events in this, one of the world's hottest "hot spots." This was a representative international forum, and its participants endeavored to find the answers to these questions: What forces activated the mechanism of aggression? How and why has it been possible, to this day, to mislead world public opinion on issues relating to Israel and the Middle East conflict?

In discussing the general political situation it was only natural that the question of Zionism should have cropped up—not in its narrow sense, but in its wider implications, as an active but skilfully concealed force waging a worldwide struggle against the national liberation movement, communism and other democratic forces.

The chairman of the Preparatory Committee, Khaled Mohieddine, a prominent Arab public leader, told the conference that for long many people, influenced by well-organized propaganda, were led to regard Israel as a small and weak state surrounded by the hatred of its Arab neighbors. They were very much surprised to learn that in reality Israel is an aggressive force, the source of tension in this area, that its

policy and diplomacy serve the warmongers, and that the Israeli rulers have scant regard for the interests and security of its people.

Committees have been set up in a number of European countries to explain the real situation in the Middle East and to expose the misleading imperialist propaganda about the events in this area. In Britain, for example, there is the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, in France a Study and Action Group for Solution of the Palestine Problem, in Belgium a Committee in Defense of Justice and Peace in the Middle East. Committees in support of the Arab people are active in the socialist countries and in many parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The importance of the Cairo Conference is that it was able clearly to show how world public opinion is changing its attitude towards Israel's policy and coming to see its role in suppressing the liberation struggle and progressive processes in a number of Arab countries.

One of the conference's salient features was that, *for the first time*, representatives from different countries and of widely differing political trends and affiliations exposed Zionism as a transmission belt of world imperialism. They defined it as a modern form of fascism which resorts to diverse camouflage techniques but never changes its reactionary essence.

Citing documentary evidence, conference speakers exposed the myth of Arab anti-Semitism and of the Arabs' alleged hatred of the Jews—a myth created by Zionism to win sympathy and support for Israel. For the first time at such a widely representative forum Israel was characterized as a "state of a fascist character." In particular, it was noted that practical application of the Zionist doctrine in the Middle East involved genocide, racism, perfidy, duplicity, aggression, annexation, i.e., all the attributes of fascism that go back to the

Hitler days. Conference participants emphasized that this was not merely a case of external resemblance of two different phenomena, but different manifestations of the aggressive, man-hating nature of world capitalism in its last development stage.

Many of the reports submitted to the conference contained profound theoretical research on the key problems that go into the present-day Middle East complex. It was demonstrated that in the 14 months since the first conference in Delhi, worldwide solidarity with the Arab countries has increased markedly. The 300 delegates working in the four commissions set up by the conference examined all aspects of the Middle East crisis and charted ways and means of consolidating international action by the anti-imperialist forces in support of the Arabs' just cause.

The conference slogan was: "For justice and peace in the Middle East!" The prominent political leaders attending it included former Ceylonese Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, former Indian Defense Minister Krishna Menon, International Lenin Peace Prize Laureates Isabelle Blume (Belgium) and Aziz Sherif (Iraq). There were also prominent personalities from France, Britain, Italy, Sweden, the Latin American and Afro-Asian countries.

Addressing the conference, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic emphasized that the world must know the truth about the substance of Israeli policy in this area, and about the obstacles Tel Aviv has erected to the achievement of a just peace. Its policy is attended by a torrent of propaganda in an attempt to convince the world of "Israel's outstanding social and economic progress," which is held up, indeed imposed, as an example for the newly-developing countries of Asia and Africa.

African delegates spoke of the treacherous activity in their countries of Histadrut (the Israeli General Federation of Labor), construction companies and Zionist agents disguised as specialists. They are infiltrating the press, trade unions and the educational system of many African countries. In the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Ethiopia, the Malagasy Republic, Liberia, Senegal and partly Tanzania and the Congo (Kinshasa), Israeli agents are operating in collaboration with other imperialist and reactionary forces.

The African peoples are beginning to feel the corrupting influence of Israel's Zionist policy of employing diverse means to stamp out even the first tender shoots of

independence in these young African countries. From the very start Israeli agents began to select reliable pro-Western cadres and established "close business contacts" with them on the pretence of "sincere friendship" between Israel and the African peoples.

Delegates drew attention to the Zionist propaganda designed to give a perverted picture of the Arab East, to set one people against another and thereby prevent genuine and lasting peace in the area. In this context, attention was paid to the description by Pierre Andre Pambou (Congo, Brazzaville) of the provocative and espionage activities of official and unofficial Israeli representatives and organizations, and of their efforts to penetrate every aspect of African life.

Most delegates urged condemning Israel for the violence perpetrated by its militarists against the Arab population. Many speakers, including some from Western Europe, supported the proposal for a special commission to investigate Israeli atrocities.

A representative of the International Union of Students, Carlos Belo, said Israel should be condemned as a base of aggression against the entire national liberation movement, and not only against the Arab peoples. GDR and Nigerian delegates posed the question, in this connection, of U.S. and West German responsibility, since both countries were openly supporting Zionism which, the Nigerian delegate emphasized, represented a menace also to the peoples of Europe.

The First Commission studied the negative effects of the Israeli aggression on the cause of peace and liberation in the Arab East and throughout the world. The 66 speakers from 51 countries who took part in the Commission's work, represented diverse organizations, movements, opinions and political positions. But all agreed that the 1967 aggression was directed against the Arab struggle for freedom and progress.

In its recommendations, the Commission called for an active rebuff to the widespread imperialist and Zionist propaganda. It should be countered by truthful and detailed information on the real situation in the Middle East. It was established that some Western circles which at first succumbed to this propaganda were now revising their attitude towards Israel. This was due to the influence of the mounting Palestine national liberation movement, the progressive policies of the Arab peoples,

Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories and the savage reprisals against their population, repeated armed attacks on neighboring countries, and the Israeli leaders' refusal to respect and carry out United Nations' resolutions.

The recommendations also stress the legality of the Palestinian popular resistance, which conforms with the right of every people to existence and self-determination. It was also pointed out that the liberation movement is open to all sections of the population, all nationalities and religions: Moslems, Christians and Jews. The Palestinian resistance movement is not directed against the Jews, but against Zionism and this, the Commission recommendations say, must be fully understood, accepted and supported.

Many speakers declared that the Middle East has become the vantage ground from which imperialism is launching its campaign against Arab independence, Africa and the Mediterranean countries. Imperialism has bases here and has retained some of its territories. Its chief operational base is Israel, which has an active share in implementing neo-colonialist policies in Africa. Technical, economic and military aid to African countries is a major sphere of intensive Israeli activity.

The conference sharply denounced Israel's cooperation with the South African racist regime, Ian Smith's illegal regime in Zimbabwe (South Rhodesia), the Portuguese colonialists and other reactionary forces in Asia and Latin America. The First Commission heard a number of informative communications on the subject.

In summing up its recommendations, the Commission emphatically declared that the Israeli rulers' aggressive expansionist policy is not confined to violating Arab rights; it is a constant menace to Arab independence and to universal peace and security.

The Second Commission comprehensively examined systematic Israeli violation of the U.N. Charter and international law and the illegal occupation of Arab territory. The Commission recommendations, based on a study of Israel's actions in June 1967 and on massive factual material, brand Israel as the aggressor and declare that its actions have no justification whatever in Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, which deals with the right to legitimate self-defense. Among other things, it was established that during the 1967 war and after it Israel violated international agreements, namely, the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949 on

the protection of civil populations in time of war, the Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, and others. It was established that Israel has repeatedly violated international law and the United Nations Charter.

The Third Commission submitted to the conference a report on one of the central problems of the prolonged Arab-Israeli conflict, namely, the problem of the Palestinian refugees and Israel's flagrant violation of human rights. Accordingly, the Commission recommended appealing to the International Human Rights' Commission to deal with Israeli impairment and violation of the rights of the Arab people on territories occupied in 1948 and in June 1967.

The Third Commission report declared that Tel Aviv has been assiduous in propagating the theory that the Palestine refugees have long since lost all right to return to their native land because hundreds of thousands of Jewish resettlers from the Arab countries have found a home in Israel. Zionism's propagandists have endeavored to prove that there has been a natural exchange of populations: Jews from Arab countries have settled in Israel and Palestinian Arabs have been expelled to neighboring Arab countries.

However, even a cursory analysis of this theory will show that it is devoid of any legal or moral justification. For it should be borne in mind that the Palestinian Arabs are not citizens of the United Arab Republic, Syria, the Lebanon, Jordan or any other Arab country. Their homeland is Palestine, the country in which their forbears have lived from time immemorial. From the legal standpoint, the problem of the Palestinian refugees is a conflict between Israel and Arab Palestine which under the 1948 U.N. decision should have become an independent state.

The brutal treatment of the indigenous Arab population of Palestine, humiliation and total disregard for human dignity, savage repressions against everyone who resists the Israeli invader, prompted the Third Commission to support the demand for the dispatch of a special mission to investigate the conditions of the Arabs, who in the occupied areas are subjected to racial discrimination and restrictions, physical and moral terror, the aim being to compel them to leave their homeland.

The policy of occupation, genocide and repression is opposed by progressive forces in Israel itself, notably by its Communist Party led by its General Secretary Meir

Vilner. Emil Habibi, a leading Communist and member of the Knesset, said that the pro-imperialist Zionist policy of the Israeli rulers, with its denial of sovereign rights to the Palestinian Arabs, is a threat also to the sovereign rights of Israel. The numerous and eloquent facts cited at the Cairo conference indicate that the plight of the Palestinian refugees is the result of a detailed and premeditated plan by world Zionism to "purge" Palestine of its Arab population and to create a "Greater Israel," stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates. Nor is it accidental that the Hebrew inscription at the entrance to the Knesset reads: "Jews, this is your homeland—from the Nile to the Euphrates."

The conference called on the peoples of the world for resolute support of the Arab countries as "the victims of the expansionist policy of Zionism directed against the freedom and independence of the Arab peoples and encouraged and prodded by Zionism's protectors, especially the USA, the FRG and other Western countries."

The conference unanimously approved an appeal urging "mobilization of world public opinion to secure elimination of all the consequences of the continuing Israeli aggression, primarily the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territory, re-establishment of the Palestinian people's rights, and peace and justice in the Middle East."

Also approved was a declaration summing up the discussion on the wide range of problems examined at plenary and commission meetings. It emphasizes the growing solidarity of wide circles of democratic public opinion with the struggle of the Arab peoples. "The spirit of Cairo is the spirit of mutual understanding," the General Secretary of the World Peace Council, Romesh Chandra, told the concluding session of the conference. And animated by this spirit of mutual understanding, the conference unanimously approved a number of far-reaching measures to promote the interests of all the peace-loving nations of the world. In particular, it was decided to set up a special Coordinating Action Committee. Its purpose will be to coordinate activities, in appropriate and acceptable forms and in conformity with the conditions obtaining in the respective countries. All international organizations are urged to coordinate their work with the respective national committees. It was also decided to employ all available means

in support of Palestinian and Arab resistance in the occupied territories.

Another decision provides for the establishment of a special hospital for Arab resistance fighters, also the collection of money, medical supplies, etc., for the Palestinian resistance movement. The conference decided to ask all international and national organizations and committees to arrange public demonstrations of films, exhibitions, press publicity, radio and TV programs to keep the public informed on current events in the Middle East and—to the extent that conditions in particular countries allow—on the position of the Arab population in occupied territory, in Israel itself, the activities of the resistance organizations, etc. Special attention will be paid to such work in countries whose governments pursue a negative policy vis-à-vis the Arab countries, or are assisting the Israeli aggressors.

The conference pledged support for the progressive forces in Israel in their opposition to the Zionist policy of aggression. It also decided to arrange visits of prominent Arab political and public personalities and representatives of the Palestinian resistance movement to as many countries as possible, and invite groups and individuals from these countries to visit the Arab area for first-hand acquaintance with the situation. The view was also expressed that various aspects of the problems discussed at the conference should be further studied. Delegates also recommended more active support for the Arabs in parliamentary circles and the organization of parliamentary groups in countries where they do not yet exist. April 9 (the anniversary of the Deir Yassine massacre) was designated Palestine Refugee Day and the closing week of May, Arab Solidarity Week. Arrangements are to be made for two seminars on the Middle East, one in the United States and the other in Western Europe. The campaign for dismantling imperialist military bases in the area will be stepped up.

The conference unanimously denounced the Israeli aggression and expressed ardent sympathy with the just struggle of the Palestinian people and the population of the occupied territories. The conference exposed the expansionist and aggressive policy of Israel, which the Declaration describes as a "weapon of the imperialist forces that are bent on exploiting the riches of the Middle East and halting the Arab peoples' advance to progress."

Towards a left alliance in Britain

It looks as if 1969 will be a year of advance for the Left in Britain. Founded on the mass struggles against the wages and prices policy of the Labor government as well as its foreign policy, particularly its support of the United States in Vietnam, an alternative Socialist policy to that of the Labor Government is slowly being formulated. It is being hammered out not only in the Left political groupings which have moved away from the Labor Party, but more particularly in important and powerful left-ward moving trade unions.

Significant successes were won for an alternative Socialist policy both at the 1968 Trades Union Congress and at the Annual Conference of the Labor Party. At both these conferences the government met a number of defeats particularly around its Prices and Incomes policy, on which it sets such importance and against which there was a five to one majority.

Behind the growing militancy of the organized workers, the youth, student youth and the professional workers lies the steady development of progressive Left unity in the trade unions and in the political sphere.

More and more men of the Left are being elected to head important unions, and simultaneously progressives in the unions and in the Labor Party are being elected to the TUC General Council and E.C. of the Labor Party.

It is a significant pointer to the new Left attitude and spirit amongst the organized working class, a change of attitude which could be the beginning of a decisive change in the balance of power in the British Labor Movement, more particularly in its dominant body—the Trades Union Congress.

But this left-ward shift and the move towards Left unity is observed not only in the trade unions. It is developing also among Labor members of parliament, the students, in the broad youth movement and among intellectuals. One fairly recent result of this militancy was the massive demonstration

calling for an end to the American war of aggression in Vietnam, held last October. About 100,000 demonstrators representing every Left-wing youth organization, Left political groupings, many trade unions, the Communist Party and every other shade of progressive opinion including religious organizations took over the London streets in disciplined ranks.

An earlier step towards Left unity was the launching in June 1968 of the "Socialist Charter" over the names of the "Charter Group" by the Left-wing weekly journal *Tribune*. Formed to promote struggle around a defined set of socialist principles and issues, the "Charter Group" aim to end the destructive Right-wing grip on Labor Party and government policies.

Included in the sixty-six names of those who signed the Chartist manifesto — an eight-point blueprint for an alternative Socialist policy—were those of Mr. F. Cousins and Mr. Hugh Scanlon. It is the first time in many years that men of such prominence in the trade union world have joined forces with Left-wing Labor MPs in support of a really militant policy. And the importance of their act should not be overlooked.

Key points in the Socialist Charter are: Socialist planning; extension of public ownership; redistribution of wealth; drastic cuts in arms; an independent foreign policy; an end to discrimination on the grounds of race, color, religion or sex and, lastly, more control by the workers. "Our country needs a revived faith in the power of the people, a fresh confidence that great changes can be secured by political action," declares the Charter.

Naturally, these moves towards unity and the development of an alternative Socialist policy, plus the campaign around them have been welcomed by the Communist Party, whose amended program, "The British Road to Socialism," was re-issued at the end of 1968. Not only is this program broad enough to gain the support of the left mov-

ing masses, but its clear Marxist analysis and the proposals based on it point the way towards the Socialist goal in unambiguous terms.

In welcoming and supporting the launching of the Socialist Charter, the Communist Party declared that the aims of the Charter could be the more speedily achieved if all those working for similar aims united their efforts. The eight points of the Socialist Charter, said the Communist Party, provide a practical basis for a combined effort by Socialists and Communists around a common program.

Another step towards unity of the Left was the conference organized by the *Morning Star* in November 1968. Many prominent people in the Labor and trade union movement attended, and the majority who spoke at the Conference called for unity not only in the fight against the government and the employers and for a new policy for Labor; they also called for a Left Alliance.

Addressing this broad assembly, Comrade J. Gollan, General Secretary of the British C.P., maintained that the Left in Britain was beginning to undergo a qualitative change: it was beginning to be transformed "from a voice of protest into a movement of decision." The Left was moving increasingly "from the passing of resolutions to the sphere of united action on major issues."

Comrade Gollan posed a vital question to Conference; now that there was a large degree of Left *industrial* unity, how best could Left *political* unity be achieved? There was a basis for such unity which the Communist Party welcomed, developing from such movements as the "Socialist Charter," the "New Left" and the "May Day Manifesto* Group"—the activities of the Left Labor MPs as well as the activities of the

*Over 200 individual supporters of the "May Day Manifesto" and local groups backing the manifesto, as well as delegates from political parties, including the Communist Party, met in April 1968 in London. This meeting revealed the anger and hostility which the policy of the Labor government has aroused in the ranks of youth, students and intellectuals, which expressed itself in the demands which were made at the conference for a new Socialist alternative policy based on the May Day Manifesto and in proposals for establishing a new Socialist movement. Running through the conference, however, was the consciousness of the need for the closest unity with existing working class organizations.

Despite some extremist tendencies displayed at the meeting, a resolution calling for a complete break with the Labor Party was defeated.

Calling for a National Convention to launch a unified Socialist movement, the final resolution called on all trade unions, Left-wing Labor Party groups, Socialist groups, and all other progressive movements like the CND, Peace, Vietnam, radical Christian, etc., to come together and work for unity. Conference, however, ignored the Communist Party. It mentioned neither discussions nor meetings with the Communist Party.

broad progressive movements, the students and the youth in general. How can we all unite? asked Comrade Gollan, and he called for a united Left political crusade for the Socialist way forward—a crusade which could transform British politics.

The secret of Right-wing strength, Comrade Gollan went on, has always been the disunity of the Left, with its splinter organizations and differing cries and causes. This disunity was being slowly overcome; and if that unity grew and gained strength, if it brought into action the strength of the organized Labor Movement, then no power would be able to stand in the way of the advance of the British people towards Socialism.

An appeal "to close the gap inside the Labor Movement" was made by a leading Left-wing intellectual Mr. Raymond Williams, the editor of the "May Day Manifesto" and author of "Culture and Society" and other books. Williams appealed for unity between workers, students and intellectuals. He posed the question of how to unite the different splinter groups and progressive movements into something which would be recognizable as a national movement of the Left. He did not underestimate the problems which would arise, but, he went on, they would have to be faced and solved.

One weakness of these Left-wing groups, one which has always arisen, has been their constant underestimation of and often hostile attitude towards the Communist Party, and the vital role it must play in building a Left Alliance in Britain. It should be said (and the lessons from the history of the Labor Movement in Britain, from the foundation of the C.P. in 1920 onwards prove it) that without the Communist Party, with its roots deep in Marxism, its organization and trained and devoted membership, a broad Left Alliance cannot be achieved. And whenever efforts have been made to build such an alliance without the C.P., they have failed.

Despite the hostile propaganda directed against the C.P., despite the organizational action taken against it and its members, the C.P. is, and always has been, an integral part of the Labor Movement in Britain. Without bringing the Communist Party into a Left Alliance in Britain, the split in the Labor Movement, on which the Right wing concentrates with all its might and power, will never be heard.

Hitherto, every movement and periodic revolt of the Left against the official policies of the Right wing has foundered and sunk

against the rock-like Right-wing bloc, armed with the weapons of expulsion and suspension—weapons which have been used time and again over the last 50 years with dire results to the rebels.

Since the C.P. cannot be expelled from the Labor Party, nor can its daily newspaper *The Morning Star* be banned by the Right-wing from appearing, the Left has in the C.P. a constant firm Left core in any unified Left Alliance.

One reason why 1969 offers a greater possibility for Left unity is that the present movement of protest is on a much wider scale than previously while at the same time the political alignment inside the trade unions is changing. The balance in the Trade Union movement is also being altered in that the new militant white-collar workers' unions are becoming stronger and more influential as far as membership is concerned. In the T.U. field the revolt against the policies of the Wilson government grows apace, and is beginning to link up with the revolt in the political field.

The rank-and-file in the unions are beginning to realize that trade union action is not enough to win their demands, and that politics play a vital part in the struggle. They are seeing more and more clearly the importance of establishing firm links between the trade union and political wings of the Labor Movement. This has now advanced to a point where the T&GWU are demanding to know where their union MP's stand in relation to union policy as laid down by Conference.

The necessity of both militant trade union and Left political organizations combining for action is being realized not only by union members. Students and intellectuals too are realizing this necessity, and that the political and economic wings of the movement will have to come together, despite all their differences, prejudices and differing policies. The Left can only build with the materials to hand.

In the present advance of the Left there is bound to be a variety of cries and causes, differing groups with different policies, interpretations and programs. From out of this assortment and confusion of concepts must be drawn all that is positive and all that unites, putting on one side things which divide the Movement, forcing it into differing sects and splinter groups. Nor should new political parties be formed through which it is believed short cuts can be taken to Socialism.

The British working class and the progressive movement have all that is necessary

for achieving Left unity. They have the trade unions, the Labor Party and the Communist Party which between them have achieved miracles of organization, raising the working class into the position and level which it holds today. Who can doubt that given unity, correct leadership and a proper program they can lead the Movement to Socialism?

Above all the youth of Britain have moved into action. No one who has witnessed the youth in action against the bombing of Vietnam, against nuclear weapons, against racial discrimination in Britain, Rhodesia and South Africa, can doubt how they will fight for Socialism once the problems of disunity have been ironed out.

In December 1968 came the welcome news that a new broad radical Youth Committee had been formed. This aims to unite and fight on political and economic issues which affect youth. The six organizations which met and set up this new body consisted of: The Young Communist League; The Communist Party National Student Committee; The Youth Movement for Colonial Freedom; The Radical Student Alliance; The National League of Young Liberals and the United Nations Association Youth Section. A number of other organizations were represented and it is expected that at its first general meeting, many of those represented will be applying for membership of this broad, unified democratic youth organization, the first in Britain.

In mid-January came the news of the preparations for a National Convention of the Left to be held in London towards the end of April. The Preparatory Commission handling the organizational side of the Convention on which the Communist Party is represented, is functioning under the Chairmanship of Mr. Raymond Williams. One of the purposes of the Convention will be to define the basic issues of contemporary politics. And, arising from this, to discuss how to generate and launch new political campaigns. The organizers of the Convention hope to establish more lasting forms of interconnection and communication.

Thus the framework of a broad Alliance of the Left is slowly but steadily being erected. Not too much should be hoped for, and there will doubtless be many set-backs and disappointments. Particularly will this be so, for the other side, official Labor and the bourgeoisie, have also read the message and understand the danger of a unified Left.

The Right wing of the Labor Party is

already making preparations to meet it by beginning to become more "reasonable," to assume a "Left" guise; to talk in Left terms about "democracy," of the danger of the Establishment controlling the mass media (whilst at the same time preventing the C.P. and other progressive organizations from having the right to the microphone and the TV screen). Selected Left-wingers are being brought into ministerial office, one-time "Lefts" like Barbara Castle, Wedgwood Benn and Tony Greenwood, in order to get the rank-and-file to believe that the Left now has a voice in the leadership. They are also, for the time being, easing up on expulsions and suspensions.

As far as the bourgeoisie are concerned, they make no bones about the Left "menace" and are pressing for the setting up of a government of hard-faced businessmen tycoons and bankers who will know how to handle the "insubordinate" workers, students and intellectuals. As the Left ad-

vances, so does the counter-wave rise higher on its bows.

* * *

The year 1969 thus opens up with a broad vista of Left-wing advance and struggle, with hope for all who are seeking to change the existing social system through the creation of a broad Alliance of the Left which is of such vital importance for Britain's political future.

"We reaffirm," states *The British Road to Socialism*, "that through the unity, Socialist understanding and mobilization of the Labor Movement a popular alliance can be built and maintained strong enough to end the power of monopoly capitalism and establish the rule of the working people led by the working class. Under this rule, the rule of the majority in the interests of the majority, the people can establish Socialism."

H. FAGAN

London

A look at the future of the French Communist Party

A book by **WALDECK ROCHET**

In recent times more workers and intellectuals, many of them young people, have been turning to the French Communist Party. A new book by Waldeck Rochet* answers questions asked by millions of Frenchmen worried about the future of their country. Rochet indicates that the events of May-June 1968, touched off by ten years of Gaullist rule, "delivered a mortal blow to the bourgeois and reformist theories to the effect that in highly-developed capitalist society class struggle is on the wane and that social crises jeopardizing the existence of the capitalist system are, therefore, ruled out."

The successes gained by the workers, school teachers and students in May 1968 were far from being gifts from heaven. The ground for them had been prepared by the battles fought in previous years under the leadership of the Party and the General Confederation of Labor. The allegation that the Party applied the brakes to the May movement is sheer nonsense. "On the contrary, it was by rejecting adventurous solutions which would not have won the support of the masses that the Party helped to impart the maximum of impulse to the movement."

The movement would probably have resulted also in political changes had it not been for the rejection of Communist efforts to work out, with other Left parties and trade unions, a common government program offering the perspective of a democratic alternative to Gaullism; our proposals were turned down by the leaders of

the Socialist Party, the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left and the Democratic Confederation of Labor. The Communist Party avoided the trap set for it by the government; the latter had hoped that ultra Left provocations would involve the working class in an act of recklessness, providing the authorities with a pretext to depict the Communists as incendiaries of civil war and chaos, thus justifying reprisals against the vanguard of the working class. The French Communists, who remember June 1848 and the Paris Commune and who know that the working class is vulnerable if isolated and divided, thwarted these designs of the class enemy. In doing so they performed their duty as revolutionaries who refuse to involve the workers in gambles and defeat, and who secure for them the most favorable conditions for victory.

So long as state-monopoly capitalism exists in France, the problems that gave impulse to the May-June events will remain. A rich country with millions of poor, France "desperately needs renovation." The monopolies, the real masters of the country, by virtue of growing concentration and using the state as their instrument, control the apparatus of modern production to the detriment of the working class and the non-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie. The base for alliance between the working class and broad sections of the people against the monopoly oligarchy is therefore expanding. The role of salaried staffs, especially those directly engaged in production, is growing. "In the broad sense," Rochet writes, "one may say that

*Rochet, W. *L'avenir du Parti communiste français*. Paris, Grasset, 1969.

science is becoming a direct productive force." That is why, while keeping the problems of alliance between the working class and the working peasants within its field of vision, the Communist Party devotes much attention to alliance between the working class and the intellectuals, and to the problems facing millions of young people worried about the future.

Unlike those who disguise their reformist concepts with Leftist talk about the fight for democracy detracting from the fight for socialism, the Communist Party is faithful to Lenin's idea that 'the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy.' That is the story behind the Party's policy pursuing advanced democracy and socialism.

When the Party speaks of advanced democracy it implies a regime that, in keeping with the country's vital interests, secures the best conditions for the victory of socialism through nationalization of the more powerful monopolies and democratic planning. These objectives are attainable if a united front of all working people emerges from the daily struggle for social and political demands. Hence the importance of a common program for the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and other Left formations and unions. No policy of economic and social progress is conceivable in our country without the Communists; yet the latter cannot, and do not wish to, do everything by themselves. The need for fusing the popular forces is seen more clearly if one recalls that the big bourgeoisie, with or without de Gaulle, is likely to resort to all kinds of maneuvers, including violence, in order to maintain itself in, or regain, power.

It is by defending not only its own interests, but also those of the working peasants, intellectuals and middle classes, that the proletariat affirms its ability to lead the people to socialism. In our time, said Maurice Thorez, "there no longer exist long historical intervals between the democratic transformations and the socialist transformations. Democracy, which is continuous advance, grows into socialism."

Socialism is on the agenda throughout the world. Despite the "industrial society" theorists trying to persuade the French workers that revolution is not their concern, collective appropriation of the principal means of production and exchange is made imperative by the crisis of capitalism. As stressed in the Manifesto adopted in

Champigny by our Central Committee (December 1968), the Right opportunists, who deny the necessity of socialist revolution, are content with partial reforms that leave capitalism intact. As for the Leftist doctrinaires of "self-administration," they pass over in silence the decisive problem: who is to own the means of production on a national scale? Both reject the need for the working class and its allies to replace the bourgeois with a socialist state, with what Marx and Engels called the "temporary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Rochet recalls the experience of the socialist countries. The October Revolution brought out in relief the general laws of socialist revolution. However, these laws operated in the conditions of a specific country. That is why we can and must, as stressed in the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties, envisage different ways to socialism. That is the anti-dogmatic concept set out by Lenin in his *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder*. And it was in the same spirit that Thorez said in an interview granted to the *Times* on November 18, 1948, that the decline of capitalism and the consolidation of socialism after the Second World War had created conditions from those followed by the Russian Communists.

Rochet observes that the necessary flexibility of Party policy in the search for suitable ways to socialism harmonizes with "absolute respect for principles" and unshakable allegiance to the "final aims of the revolutionary working-class movement." It is this unity of principle and tactical flexibility that enables the Party to combat revisionism on the right and doctrinairism on the left.

France is a country where the objective conditions are ripe for socialism, and could resolve the contradictions deriving from the conflict between the existing system of social relationships and the harmonious development of the productive forces. The appeal of socialism is growing among the workers and other sections of the people. Two conditions are essential for their aspirations to materialize: that there should emerge under Communist guidance a movement drawing the majority of the people into the revolutionary struggle, and, secondly, that the Socialist Party and other formations opting for socialism renounce collaboration with the class enemy and pursue jointly with the Communists a policy of effective struggle for democracy and socialism.

Rochet points out that though the chan-

ces of a peaceful transition to socialism are better than ever, the other way should not be ruled out, for everything depends on the balance of forces. By the peaceful way we imply "the way of class struggle in all forms short of civil war." The peaceful way does not mean "the parliamentary way" and involves appropriate use of all forms of mass struggle. This applies notably to large, nationwide economic and political strikes, like those of May-June 1968.

Rochet accentuates the essential aspects of socialist democracy, which impels the masses to participation in public affairs at all levels and protects itself by legislation enacted by the majority, and, if necessary, by force against attempts to re-establish capitalist exploitation. He shows how the different forms of socialist appropriation accord not only with the interests of the working class, but with those of farmers in cooperatives and those of the small and medium-sized enterprises which, though retaining their independence juridically, are modernized in the framework of socialist planning.

To postulate the revolution in a country like France on the idea of retaining but one party would act as a brake on unity of the masses without whom revolution and socialism are impossible. Either must be the joint work of the Communist and Socialist parties and the other political, union and cultural formations with a stake in structural change.

A chapter is devoted to the basic problems of the present-day world. To vanquish imperialism, whose aggressiveness is particularly criminal in Vietnam and whose contradictions accumulate in face of the resolute actions of the socialist countries and millions of peace-loving people, "the three great forces of liberation at work in our century—the countries of the socialist system, the national liberation movement and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries" must unite in a "vast common front" on a global scale. Far from positing cessation of the class struggle, the policy of peaceful coexistence is in our time its "most revolutionary and most humane" expression, enabling socialism, the working

class and the oppressed peoples to rally the maximum of strength in conditions most favorable for their victory.

Speaking of the attitude taken by the French Party on the entry into Czechoslovakia of the troops of five socialist countries, Rochet emphasizes that the differences between the fraternal parties on this issue should not "prejudice the fundamental solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties in their common struggle against imperialism, the common enemy." Hence the importance of the International Conference in which the French Party will take part on a basis of equal rights and independence.

Rochet examines the contradictions in the foreign policy of present-day France. The Communists support all positive initiatives, but oppose those injurious to the national interest, European security and world peace. They oppose the "force de frappe," advocate recognition of the GDR, fight de Gaulle's neo-colonialism, call for France's withdrawal from the Atlantic Pact, work for a common market free from monopolies and respecting the national sovereignty of its members, and urge fruitful cooperation by all nations.

As "a mass democratic party serving the people and socialism," the French Communist Party combines the red banner of the workers' struggle with the tricolor of the nation. True to the ideas of the *Communist Manifesto*, it fights as vigorously for the most modest ends as for the aims of communism. Today, as in the past, it contributes to the creative experience of the world Communist movement. That is the case, for example, as regards studying the problems raised in our time by the relationship of Communists and Christians in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism. Far from opposing humanism to scientific socialism, it demonstrates in theory and practice that the workers' revolutionary struggle serves the interests of all humanity. Looking back on past achievements and sizing up the tasks ahead, the French Communists can say that they will perform their duty honorably.

Guy BESSE

Voice of Argentina's Communists

20th anniversary of the journal "Nueva Era"

The theoretical journal of the Argentine Communist Party, **Nueva Era**, is now 20 years old. Its history and role are described in this interview.

What are the origins of the journal?

Its origins are rooted in the Party's theoretical and educational work. *Nueva Era* had its forerunners, the publication of which, however, for a variety of reasons, could not be sustained for any lengthy period. *Nueva Era*, No. 1, appeared in April 1949, with Victorio Codovilla Editor-in-Chief and Orestes Ghioldi Executive Secretary, but owing to pressure of other Party work they relinquished direction of the journal in 1962.

The first issue opened with a policy statement announcing that the journal would combat the cold war, uphold peaceful coexistence and campaign for world peace, that is, deal with international issues that later became the subject of discussion at the 20th CPSU Congress. On the home front, *Nueva Era* continued the Party's efforts to expose the bourgeois nationalism of the Peronists and to mobilize the masses for struggle which, with the deteriorating economic position, Peron was deliberately obstructing. Another task was to educate the masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

And we can truthfully say that in these areas we have made definite progress. Our editorials have carried much weight. I recall this significant incident: Peron rejected the idea of talks with the USSR and the other socialist countries, accepting at its face value the U.S. promise to buy the goods Argentina was anxious to sell on socialist markets. No sooner had Peron rejected the Soviet offer, than the U.S. Ambassador announced his country was not prepared to buy Argentine goods. Peron retaliated with an angry article, under the pseudonym Descartes, in the *Democracia*, headed "The Devil's Reward." Comrades

Codovilla and Ghioldi published in *Nueva Era* an editorial explaining the situation and exposing the fallacy of seeking reconciliation with imperialism. It did much to promote Party activity among Peron supporters.

Can you name some of the landmarks in the life of the journal?

We distinguish three stages in Party activity: the legal, semi-legal and the present illegal stage. Despite all the difficulties, the journal has always come out on time and has never deviated from its policy. In this context I might mention that we draw on the experience of *World Marxist Review*, for instance, in arranging discussions. Our experience is described by Juan Luna in the January 1969 issue of *World Marxist Review*. Besides *Nueva Era*, we publish other journals, *Cuadernos de Cultura*, catering largely to intellectuals, *Problemas de Economia*, the weekly *Nuestra Palabra* and, of course, the Argentine edition of *World Marxist Review*.

Have there been police raids on your print shop? What about circulation problems?

Yes, we have had police raids on our offices, which, of course, is inevitable in illegal conditions. But it is our proud boast that we have not missed a single issue. As for circulation, in the legal period the journal was sold on the newsstands and in Party offices; now we have to use other methods.

We make it a point not to duplicate other magazines. For instance, important articles on international issues go into the

Argentine edition of *World Marxist Review*. Our Editorial Board arranges exchanges of views to help the Party in its ideological and organizational work, to summarize the experience of the popular struggle and to give readers a better understanding of the country's economic structure.

Could you describe these exchanges of views in more detail?

There have been many, but I would like to single out the one dealing with new developments in Argentina's rural life. Our analysis, based on a mass of factual data, showed that capitalism in rural Argentina was following the so-called Prussian way of development, that is, favoring the rich farmers and using economic pressures to get rid of the small farmer without, however, eliminating the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation.

Another highly valuable exchange of views was held to mark the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The discussion centered on the ideological lessons to be drawn from the world's first proletarian revolution.

We attach much importance to popularizing the building of the new life in the socialist countries. The journal explains the new methods of socialist economic management and material incentives and shows that these economic categories are being applied in a socialist way. This has helped to combat the hostile propaganda about the socialist countries "returning to capitalism." We popularize the Cuban revolution and its significance for Latin America. In general, we try to keep our readers in touch with developments in fraternal, especially Latin American, parties and print reports of their congresses and conferences.

The subject at one of our discussions was the so-called "development theory" and its workings in Cordoba Province, where there has been rapid expansion in the automobile and tractor industries, but with no meaningful structural changes in agriculture. We were thus able to prove that industrial growth does not, *per se*, change the situation in Latin American countries.

Could you give more details of your discussions on the changes in agriculture?

That was the theme of a round table conference in 1966. We came to the following conclusion: what we have in agriculture today is capital penetration from three sources, the industrial bourgeoisie, the old

landed oligarchy, and imperialism. To make Argentine goods more competitive in world markets, the bourgeoisie is endeavoring to reduce production costs by replacing the small and medium-sized farms with large capitalist enterprises. Thus, a number of latifundia which previously had been rented out are now exploited by their owners on the Prussian pattern. The urban bourgeoisie invests in these enterprises, while imperialist capital prefers to buy up large tracts of land. In short, agriculture is undergoing a process of capitalization, without any fundamental change in social structure; far from being eliminated, the big landowners are given every support and encouragement. This was fully analyzed and explained in the theses for the Twelfth Party Congress.

These forums, with their opportunities for collective and systematic study, are regular and positive features of *Nueva Era*. They enable us to exchange experience on work among women, the youth, agricultural and industrial workers, examine nationalist trends in the labor movement, the worker-peasant appliance in Argentine conditions, the nature of the Argentine national bourgeoisie, the position in science, etc.

Would it be true to say that the "Nueva Era" is a center of ideological work?

Yes, undoubtedly. The journal is supported by the entire Party, and experts on various subjects take part in our discussions. For instance, Party functionaries in the big farming provinces had an active share in the discussions on agrarian problems. The purpose of all our discussions is to arrive at a consensus among Party officials and activists working in a particular field.

Another innovation is the readers' conference, devoted chiefly to current affairs. The usual practice is for a member of the Editorial Board to lead the discussion, which in many cases brings out interesting suggestions on how to improve the journal. The *Nueva Era* Days, another regular feature, attract a much wider audience.

What problems will you be featuring in the near future?

Well, first the international conference of the Parties scheduled for June, in Moscow, then popularization of its documents, and, of course, the resolutions of our own forthcoming 13th Party Congress.

How does the "Nueva Era" contribute to

other aspects of Party educational work?

It is widely used by the national and regional study courses organized by the Party Education Committee, also by city and local branches and for short-term courses. We meet periodically with the Education Committee to coordinate plans and are in close contact with trade union and peasant committees and student organizations for suggestions on the journal's contents. We want *Nueva Era* to be read by active trade unionists. And there is evidence that it is being read even by Peronist work-

ers who, while disagreeing with us on many questions, are prepared to consider our views.

On the journal's 20th anniversary we can say that it has become an important theoretical organ, one with a future. Other Latin American parties publish their own theoretical journals, but some of them are hardly known outside their countries. It would be a good thing if we could arrange permanent contacts and a conference of editors and theoretical journals of Latin American Communist parties.

J. G.

Ideology—communists' effective weapon

The pamphlet, "In Praise of Ideology"* by Erwin Scharf, leading member of the Communist Party of Austria, may consist of only a little more than 50 pages, but it is a solid investigation nonetheless, responding to many of the problems current in the world Communist movement. In a foreword the author notes that he wrote it, because while combating dogmatism some Communists developed a sense of mistrust of ideology in general. Besides, there is a tendency to underestimate ideology in this time of passage from capitalism to socialism, when the Communist parties center their attention chiefly on economic concepts, structural reforms and workers' participation.

Pointing to the dangers this declining attention to ideology entails, Scharf states that ideological conviction is now more decisive than ever. "Underestimating ideology," he says, "is tantamount to disarming the working class in the face of the adversary's ideology; what is more, it is tantamount to neglecting an effective weapon that gives us an advantage over the adversary on which we base our capacity for laying the foundations of a humane society in this age of the scientifico-technological

revolution" (p. 8). The writer stresses that ideology is also an important element of inner-Party life and of inner-Party democracy.

Scharf sets out standpoints on ideological issues discussed of late by the Austrian Party, starting with the question of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. He presents the political content of Lenin's concept as projected by the Soviet and other Communist parties, showing that any other, new interpretation is groundless. He censures bourgeois theorists for justifying their governments' refusal to accept commitments based on peaceful coexistence, demonstrating that coexistence is no automatic affair, that it has to be worked for, which "requires ideological clarity and purposeful work against the imperialist forces, requires ideological exposure of their dangerous intents" (p. 14). Peaceful coexistence, Scharf adds, is no "magic formula" dispelling contradictions between the differing social systems. Peaceful coexistence, he maintains, presupposes ideological struggle. "As a political vehicle regulating international relations the concept 'peaceful coexistence' comprises a number of elements and tasks that add up, in the aggregate, to one whole—the concept of peaceful coexistence. These components are: the foreign policy of the socialist

*Erwin Scharf, *Lob der Ideologie* (In Praise of Ideology). VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1968.

states, mass actions for peace and disarmament, solidarity with the national liberation movement, economic competition, ideological struggle, etc. That is part of the policy of peaceful coexistence, and taken singly, any of these components work in effect against the concept as a whole" (p. 14).

Scharf, dismissing the nonsense that the coexistence policy pursued by the socialist countries is "ideological aggression," shows that the shoe fits the other foot, that the stuff of which the policy and ideology of the capitalist world is made is aggressiveness. Concluding the chapter, he emphasizes once more the immense part of ideology in the fight for peaceful coexistence, which, in the final count, is the sole alternative to war. He calls on members not to bow to capitalist ideology, which "in the capitalist countries ideologically disarms the working class, and in the socialist countries is designed to make the people receptive to capitalist ideas" (p. 18). Rather than firm up, ideological retreat would imperil coexistence.

Scharf takes issue also with the idea of "ideological coexistence," describing it as an attempt to pry away the working class from Marxism-Leninism and to obliterate the class nature of the basic postulates. "Marxism-Leninism," he writes, "is a scientific ideology and at the same time the ideology of the working class. Hence, its postulates are postulates of the working class. . . . Our 'class postulates' are no less general than the class struggle in class society is an objective fact and, consequently, a universal postulate, no matter how much capitalist ideologists endeavor to deny it" (p. 23).

Another chapter deals with the question of democracy. It is farthest from the writer's mind to over-simplify the issue. In the capitalist world, he shows, "democracy" is a most effective slogan. "The public," he adds, "is hardly aware that the word obscures and perverts the actual state of things, that under bourgeois democracy inequality of the oppressor and oppressed reigns supreme in matters civic and political" (p. 28).

And in the modern capitalist society, Scharf notes, it is more difficult than ever to identify the state as an instrument of power for the dominant class. This being so, there is considerable room for research. Marxist thought, he holds, should concentrate "first and foremost in showing the class nature and the misanthropic general orientation of capitalist policy" (p. 33). That Marxists are somewhat backward in

this area, the writer says, is evidenced by the headway of the so-called New Left in some West European countries.

Some Marxist theorists, he finds, tend in their discussions to describe and censure the deviations influenced by the Stalin cult. Scharf does not deny the need for criticism, adding, however, that criticism tends to "tarnish socialism and aid enemy propaganda unless it draws a line between those distortions and the essence of socialism, and unless the criticism is accompanied by an exposition of the virtues of socialist democracy and the significance of the socialist gains" (p. 35).

Invoking concrete examples to demonstrate the spuriousness of bourgeois democracy, Scharf writes: "Democracy in the true sense of the word must assure human dignity, which is incompatible with the inequality, exploitation and appropriation of the labor of others that exist in capitalist society. The concept of freedom as defined in the French Constitution of 1791, implying the right of doing anything one wishes save that which causes harm to others, is impracticable outside a society in which inequality of oppressor and oppressed is abolished and the basic interests of the individual coincide with those of society as a whole. The only society where this harmony is possible is socialist society" (p. 36).

Yet in socialist society, the writer notes, abstract freedom and abstract democracy are ruled out, for unavoidably some democratic rights are temporarily restricted in order to safeguard other hard-won rights and to secure the further emancipation and democratization of society. "For all this," Scharf stresses, "this new democracy which abolishes privileges detrimental to the majority, is a million times superior to the old bourgeois democracy" (p. 37).

Elaborating on his idea of socialist democracy, Scharf says democratization proceeds in specific social and historical conditions against the setting of a world confrontation. "Every step towards greater democracy," he says, "is a matter of contention, linked with the adversary's efforts to injure the achievements of socialism" (p. 37). Hence the conclusion that in socialist society the people's freedom depends, among other things, on the strength and the ability to overcome the imperialist world.

The author recalls that the worldwide changes caused by the rise of the system of socialist states made it possible for Communist parties like the Austrian to orien-

tate themselves on the peaceful way to socialism.

In the concluding chapters, Scharf examines problems arising from the need to impart socialist class consciousness at a level consistent with the age of the technological revolution, a time when the socialist world system is becoming the determining factor in world affairs. The rapid expansion of knowledge and the no less rapid growth of communications media enable the intelligentsia in the capitalist countries to play a progressive role; in many battles for democracy, peace and socialism we see it fighting by the side of the workers. Scharf stresses, however, that the slogan, "Intellectuals of All Countries, Unite!" is erroneous, because it conceals the desire to equate the status of the intelligentsia in the socialist countries with that in the capitalist countries, something that is entirely contrary to the facts. As the writer sees it, fusion of the workers' cause, the cause of the Communists, with science is a potent force, one whose implications have not yet been fully assessed. "That, precisely, is the task of the day: infuse that force with consciousness, with a vigorous striving for spiritual contact, for dialogue and a confrontation of ideas" (p. 43). But to be on the

offensive in questions of ideology, Scharf cautions, does not mean to be ideologically intolerant. "Dialogue and confrontation of ideas," he says, "should be linked with a search for the basis for joint action, for partnership in the main areas of the fight for democracy, peace and socialism, irrespective of differences of opinion" (p. 43).

Shifting his attention to the Austrian scene, Scharf examines the political line of the Socialist Party leadership, oriented on emasculating the class ideology, on disarming the people ideologically. Communists should concentrate, he maintains, on elevating the ideological level of their Party. "That is the tribute exacted by the scientific-technological revolution and its countless new problems," he says. "That is the tribute exacted by our policy of alliances, which makes added demands on us. That is the tribute exacted by the changes in the structure of the working class" (p. 56).

In summing up, it can be said that ideological firmness, the class approach and loyalty to the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles are the essentials in the search for answers to the complex questions of our time.

P.N.

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