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MORE ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

In his article, "Great Victory for Proletarian Internationalism," Gilberto **VIEIRA**, General Secretary, Communist Party of Colombia, comments thus: the Meeting "added much to our understanding of the principles of proletarian internationalism, which dominated all its proceedings. It oriented all of us on studying the new phenomena of the second half of the century."

Srinivas Ganesh **SARDESAI**, Member, Secretariat and Central Executive of the Communist Party of India, points out in his article, "For Unity in Action of the World Revolutionary Forces": "It is a fact of which we Communists are rightfully proud that every Party present at the Conference made some contribution or another to the Document."

Interviews with members of the Party delegations at the Meeting:

Rodolfo **GHIOLDI**, Executive Member, Communist Party of Argentina; Jesus **FARIA**, General Secretary, Communist Party of Venezuela; Kostas **KOLIYANNIS**, First Secretary, CC, Communist Party of Greece; Ib **NORLUND**, Executive Member, Communist Party of Denmark; Fuad **NASSAR**, First Secretary Jordanian Communist Party; Hugh **MOORE**, General Secretary, Communist Party of Northern Ireland; William **KASHTAN**, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada; Head of Delegation, Communist Party of East Pakistan; Alvaro **CUNHAL**, General Secretary, Portuguese Communist Party; Khaled **ALI**, member of delegation, Tunisian Communist Party; S. A. **WICKREMASINGHE**, Chairman, Communist Party of Ceylon.

The section "As His Contemporaries Knew Him" contains recollections by Anastas **MIKOYAN**.

An article by Zhivko **ZHIVKOV**, leading member of the Bulgarian Communist Party and First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers, headed "Triumph of Leninism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria," deals with the country's 25 years of development along socialist lines.

DANG QUANG MINH, Central Committee Member, National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, writes about the struggle of his people against the U.S. aggression.

In the section, "Theory and Practice of Building Socialism," Boleslaw **JASZCZUK**, Political Bureau Member of the Polish United Workers' Party, writes of CMEA as an instrument for integrating the socialist countries, and Manea **MANESCU**, Executive Member, Rumanian Communist Party and Chairman, National Economic Council, acquaints readers with economic management and planning in his country.

In the section "In the Communist and Workers' Parties," Daniel **RUBIN**, of the Communist Party USA, writes about the recent 19th Convention of the Party, and Thomas **SINURAJA**, Secretary, Committee Abroad, Communist Party of Indonesia, informs readers of the situation in the Communist movement in Indonesia.

"World Marxist Review" Round Table features a discussion on "Socialism and the Intelligentsia" by GDR scholars.

An article by Professor **ULYANOVSKY** (Soviet Union), examines aspects of non-capitalist development in Asian and African countries.

Great victory for proletarian internationalism

GILBERTO VIEIRA

An event of outstanding significance, the International Meeting in Moscow of Communist and Workers' Parties was a victory for the world revolutionary movement and its underlying principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Many were the pessimistic predictions from the reactionary camp during the long and complex preparations. The Meeting disproved all of them and showed the world that it was a forum of free discussion, in the course of which the main problems of our time were searchingly analyzed. And the discussion demonstrated that, notwithstanding differences, we share a common will to unite and coordinate the actions of much broader forces in the battle against imperialism.

The speeches made by the Party representatives, the examples cited by them of the worldwide scale of the anti-imperialist struggle, fully corroborate the conclusion drawn by our international conferences, namely, that the main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism. Before and during the Meeting, there was further evidence of the social forces now exerting the dominant influence on world development: the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and of a progressive democratic government in the Sudan, the vigorous protests in Latin

America against the mission of Rockefeller, Nixon's Big Business envoy.

To this should be added the powerful upheavals to which the capitalist structure was subjected in the year preceding the Meeting. The Budapest Consultative Conferences met against the background of the May (1968) actions in France and the rapidly expanding youth and popular protest movement in the United States against the war in Vietnam. Indeed, the very word "Vietnam" has everywhere become a symbol of victorious anti-imperialist struggle.

Seen against this background, our Meeting was not an accidental, episodic undertaking, but a forum necessitated by the present stage of the people's struggle.

In the little less than ten years since the 1960 Meeting, international developments have become a matter of vital concern to everyone everywhere. For transistor radios bring news of world affairs to the most remote parts of the planet, and the technological revolution is enabling man to reach out to other planets. We are living at a time when the idea that all peoples have a common interest in the struggle is gaining acceptance by the vast majority of the world's population.

As the document adopted at the Meeting says: "Powerful revolutionary processes are gathering momentum throughout the

world. The three mighty forces of our time—the socialist world system, the international working class, and the national liberation movement—are coming together in the struggle against imperialism. The present phase is characterized by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces.”

In combating these dynamic trends, imperialism relies mainly on dividing the revolutionary forces, particularly our Communist movement.

That is why the Meeting drew the conclusion that “the most important prerequisite for increasing the Communist and Workers’ Parties’ contribution to the solution of the problems facing the peoples is to raise the unity of the Communist movement to a higher level in conformity with present-day requirements. This demands determined and persistent effort by all the parties. *The cohesion of the Communist and Workers’ parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces.*”

This was the third world meeting of the Communist movement. It raised to a new plane the internationalist character of the working class struggle. The principle of proletarian internationalism is an inseparable aspect and basic law of Marxism-Leninism.

The Meeting ushered in a new stage: on the one hand, there is conclusive proof of the powerful trend towards unity of our movement, and, on the other, there are still difficulties to be overcome. And in this situation it is important to recall the fundamental Marxist-Leninist propositions on proletarian internationalism. In drawing on the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, we do not do so mechanically, as a matter of ritual. We know that the Moscow Meeting approached present-day problems in the same way as the founders of scientific socialism approached the problems of class struggle.

In formulating their theory of social development and the class struggle, Marx and Engels said in the Communist Manifesto: “The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they al-

ways and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.” The Communist movement has always abided by this proposition. And the Communist Manifesto itself concludes with the immortal call: “Workers of all countries, unite!”

All the work of Marx and of his great continuer, Lenin, is imbued with the idea of *proletarian solidarity and internationalism*.

A careful analysis of the history of working class struggle in the different countries, of the reasons for the defeat of the workers’ movement at one or another stage, led Marx to conclusions that are as valid today as they were one hundred years ago. In the Inaugural Address of the Working Men’s International Association Marx wrote: “Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastized by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts.”

And Marx appealed for a merger of theory and revolutionary practice. He gave an example of that in his instructions to the delegates to the first Congress of the Association in Geneva, emphasizing the need to “unite, direct into a common stream, the hitherto disunited emancipation struggle of the working class of the different countries.” In a speech, at a public meeting in Amsterdam in 1872, Marx said: “. . . let us recall the underlying principle of the International: solidarity. We shall attain our great goal if we firmly implant this vital principle among all workers in all countries.”

At this stage of world development, all anti-Marxist ideological and political trends are making desperate efforts to contrast nationalism to internationalism, on the assumption that dissemination of nationalism will poison class consciousness and disarm the working class ideologically. Their aim is to prevent international unity and, consequently, weaken the revolutionary spirit.

Marx approached the problem dialectically, pointing to the need to “reckon with the institutions, customs and traditions of the various countries.” But he also emphasized that “the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem embracing all countries in which modern society exists . . .”

Those fundamental ideas of scientific socialism are deeply rooted in our movement. Proof of this is provided by the Moscow Meeting attended by representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties. The comprehensive discussion of point 1 of its agenda: "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces," showed that our success in the fight against imperialism derives from fidelity to these principles, from unity in the common struggle for national liberation, progress and socialism.

Marx not only gave us the principle of proletarian internationalism as the key to victory in the working class revolutionary struggle, but scientifically substantiated the connection between the workers' movement and the popular struggle for national liberation. "Victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie," he said, "is at the same time the signal for the liberation of all oppressed nations."

The disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism—which Marx had foreseen—and the emergence of dozens of nations from imperialist oppression to take the road of national regeneration and social progress, was possible, above all, because of the October Revolution in Russia and the rise of the socialist community.

Marx and Engels were not only great theoreticians; they were also the founders and leaders of the first international Communist organizations, the Communist League and the First International, which played such a big part in strengthening international proletarian contacts. And Marx gave us a splendid example of bold and flexible approach to the organizational forms of international Communist unity. After the defeat of the Paris Commune and with the changed political situation in Europe, he advised "temporarily relegating to the background the formal organization of the International," but insisted that "the international has not outlived itself; it is merely advancing from the first stage of its foundation to a higher stage, in which some of its original aims have already been achieved. In the course of this advance it will have to undergo many more changes before the last chapter of its history can be written."

And the subsequent development of the Communist movement has fully corroborated this prediction of Marx. Today, too, the followers of Marx and Engels maintain

that the importance of the international or, in other words, of the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement, has not diminished. In fact, it has acquired much greater importance and it is steadily being strengthened by the efforts of all Marxist-Leninist parties to find effective forms and methods conforming with the demands of the struggle against imperialism, for the world triumph of socialism.

Imperialism brought with it unparalleled expansion of international capitalist contacts, giant world monopoly conglomerates and, later, political alliances of the imperialist powers directed against the workers' and liberation movements. This internationalization of capital made it necessary for our movement to work for closer international working class solidarity.

Lenin, the great continuer of Marx's work, developed the principles of internationalism—the foundation of the activity of the world Communist movement—in keeping with the imperialist era.

The capitalists of all countries get along very well together when their class domination is threatened. "Capital," Lenin wrote, "is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed." It becomes the duty of the proletarian party, he wrote, "clearly, precisely and definitely to counterpose internationalism in deed to internationalism in word." He warned that "complete victory over capitalism cannot be won unless the proletariat and, following it, the mass of working people in all countries and nations throughout the world voluntarily strive for alliance and unity." He urged the young Communist parties "to seek out, investigate, foresee, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the concrete manner in which each country, should tackle a single international task."

And in developing and deepening Marx's idea of a militant alliance of the workers' movement and the liberation struggle against imperialism, Lenin insisted on the need to "translate the true communist doctrine, which was intended for the Communists of the more advanced countries, into the language of every people; to carry out those practical tasks which must be carried out immediately, and to join the proletarians of other countries in a common struggle." And these words of Lenin's have proved singularly prophetic: "In the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the

population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism."

We all know that the Communist International, founded by Lenin, devoted special attention to international solidarity of the workers' movement and the Communist parties, fostering in the Parties the militant Lenin tradition of internationalism. This enabled the Communists of all countries to play an outstanding part in the fight against German fascism before and during World War II. In fact, our movement owes its tremendous success to faithful adherence to internationalism. And now, too, the Marxist-Leninist parties draw strength and inspiration from the fraternal communist solidarity initiated by Marx and Lenin.

The appearance of Right-wing revisionism in the Communist movement in the late '50s and the subsequent retreat from Marxist-Leninist positions of the present Chinese Communist leaders, made proletarian internationalism the *focal point of all our discussions*. This found reflection in the *documents of our 1957 and 1960 international meetings*. The 1960 Statement, adopted by delegates from 81 Communist and Workers' parties, contains this passage: "The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries ever closer unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement."

The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the issue of unity at the 1960 Meeting played an important part in later years, when the parties had to counter the anti-Marxist policy of the Chinese Communist leaders and their frenzied attempts to split the movement. But thanks to their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the parties were, on the whole, able effectively to wage this struggle and repel the Chinese leaders' chauvinist and hegemonic encroachments.

The record of the past ten years has fully confirmed that the struggle in each country is part of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle.

Section Four of the document adopted at the Meeting declares: "The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers' Party are indivisible. Marxist-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists; they reject both national

narrow-mindedness and the negation or underestimation of national interests, and the striving for hegemony. At the same time, the Communist parties—the parties of the working class and all working people—are the standard-bearers of genuine national interests, unlike the reactionary classes, which betray these interests."

In our day, voluntary coordination of action by the Communist parties for successful fulfilment of their tasks acquires *especial importance*.

Many revealing facts about imperialist strategy against popular movements were cited at the Meeting. The imperialists are organizing all manner of political alliances, building military bases throughout the world, carrying out military and economic aggression, interfering in the internal affairs of other states. This increases the menace inherent in imperialism's aggressive policy. For imperialism is a constant source of danger to peace and social progress. The imperialists have their own global policy directed against socialism and the revolutionary movement. In short, they are "internationalists" when it comes to defending their interests; there is even an imperialist "international," representing numerous organizations set up for the express purpose of infiltrating other countries and maintaining imperialist domination. And there are numerous international organizations uniting our ideological opponents, from the Right-wing Social Democrats to the Trotskyists. That being so, why shouldn't we, Communists, faced as we are by so vicious and powerful an enemy as imperialism—why shouldn't we act in concert? Of course, there is no longer a leading center of the international Communist movement, but there is the historic necessity for the movement closely to coordinate its actions in the fight against imperialism, and more closely to unite for **active defense of Marxism-Leninism**.

The Meeting reaffirmed the *proletarian and internationalist conception of our movement*. Its document says that the historical initiative remains with the anti-imperialist forces, *above all with the socialist camp*, and emphasize the role of the *Communist and Workers' parties* as the determining force of the anti-imperialist front.

The Meeting rejected certain concepts which seek to counterpose the exploited countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the so-called developed world, and lump together developed capitalist coun-

tries and socialist countries, counterposing them to the so-called underdeveloped world. They disregard class divisions and, in effect, play into the hands of those who use the "civilization" label to camouflage their predatory actions. In other words, these concepts of "internationalism" serve the interests of the imperialist monopolies.

The Meeting also pronounced against tendencies to reduce internationalism merely to relations between countries fighting for national liberation. This overlooks the fact that the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, bear the brunt of the struggle.

Lastly, the Meeting rejected concepts that ignore the role of the working class struggle in developed capitalist countries, concepts which merge with the thesis propounded by Marcuse and other fashionable theorists that the working class is being integrated in bourgeois society.

The Meeting added much to our understanding of the principles of proletarian internationalism, which dominated all its proceedings. It oriented all of us on studying the new phenomena of the second half of the century.

The Moscow Meeting is of immense importance for the Communist Party of Colombia.

The Latin American countries are the immediate hinterland of North American imperialism and, as the great class battles unfold, are becoming an immediate battlefield in the fight against imperialism.

Since the 1960 Meeting the community of interests of all Latin American peoples has become a vital and urgent question.

For these years have seen the Cuban people at grips with the enemy in the Bay of Pigs and repelling open and masked attacks by North American imperialism.

They have seen the invasion of the Dominican Republic by the US marines. Last but not least, they have seen our great struggle spread to every part of the continent.

For the Colombian people, moulded in long years of partisan and patriotic war together with other fraternal nations against the Spanish colonial empire, internationalism has, and always will have, a very real meaning.

The Communist Party of Colombia has consistently, together with the Soviet Union and its glorious Leninist Communist Party, opposed all enemies; it has always fought anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, which are the essence of all the reactionary ideological trends of our time.

Now as always, Colombian Communists stand by Cuba in defending her glorious revolution and in combating the imperialist blockade.

The Communists and all the revolutionary forces of Colombia pledge their unfailing solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam whose great example is a source of admiration and inspiration.

Our Party and people have expressed their solidarity with the people of Peru, where anti-imperialist actions are being carried out in a complex and unique situation.

The internationalist spirit that was characteristic of the entire proceedings at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, permeates its document, the Address on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the Appeal for Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam, and the Appeal in Defense of Peace.

We can therefore confidently say that the Moscow Meeting signified the triumph of proletarian internationalism.

For unity in action of world revolutionary forces

SRINIVAS GANESH SARDESAI

The International Meeting of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties concentrated on united action of Communists and all anti-imperialist forces. All the participants, without exception, pledged themselves for united action in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. They pledged themselves to spare no efforts for a broader and deeper unity of the three main revolutionary currents of our epoch—the world socialist system, the international working class, and the national-liberation movement.

The conference took a valuable step forward towards forging the unity of the international Communist movement.

Despite the evident success of the conference, imperialism and other reactionary forces are making use of the mass media to "convince" public opinion that the conference was a failure, that it was nothing but an exhibition of the existing split in the world Communist movement.

MISCALCULATIONS OF ENEMY PROPAGANDA

The reactionary press would have its readers believe that the conference was a plot on the part of the CPSU to rally Communist parties all over the world to denounce the Maoist leadership of the CPC and to vindicate the entry of the Warsaw Treaty forces into Czechoslovakia. And since no document approved by the conference did any such thing, therefore it was a failure. "Soviet hegemonism," we are told, has foundered on the rock of the "robust and independent nationalism" of a number of Communist parties.

But from the very first Consultative Meeting held in Budapest, no Party which participated in preparation and work of the conference asked for a collective denunciation of the Chinese leadership, and after August 1968, no Party asked for an approval of the five Warsaw Pact countries' military action in Czechoslovakia either in the Preparatory Committee or at the world conference.

Not a single Party attending the conference was in agreement with the line and policies of the Maoist group. Almost all, with hardly an exception, have criticized Chinese policies from their own platforms. Most of them did so again at the world conference as well. Similarly, it is a well known fact that the great majority of parties attending the world conference have judged the military action of the five socialist states in Czechoslovakia as an unavoidable necessity for the defense of European security and of the socialist achievements in Czechoslovakia.

But it is also a fact that all this has nothing to do with the agenda of the conference which had been commonly agreed upon by every participating Party ever since we first met in Budapest.

International Communist gatherings take place for a free and frank exchange of views, frank discussions on common issues of the struggle against imperialism as also on questions on which Communist parties may have differences. But the purpose is to overcome differences in a principled way for closing our ranks in the struggle against the common enemy. The purpose is not mutual denunciation, name-calling or excommunication, or imposing majority views on the minority by the weight of numbers.

The imperialists very much wanted the conference to break up on questions related to China and Czechoslovakia. We are not sorry that they have been disappointed. But not a single Party present in the conference hall had the remotest desire to oblige world reaction by falling out on issues which need more time and experience for arriving at common conclusions in our international brotherhood. So if the documents approved in the conference passed no verdict on the Chinese and Czechoslovak questions, it was for the simple reason that they were just not on the agenda.

More serious from the point of view, not only of the Communists but of the entire anti-imperialist movement, is another question. Some Communists and other sincere and self-sacrificing fighters in the anti-imperialist struggle are still not clear about what the conference has concretely achieved. Perturbed by the differences and problems which have arisen in our movement in recent years, one hears expressions of doubt as to whether the vast and laborious efforts yielded adequate results. This undermines conviction and the will to fight, and has to be overcome by a clear explanation of what was actually achieved.

CHARACTER OF THE NEW PROBLEMS

It is worth while stating at the outset that many comrades display a dreamy idealization of the earlier periods of the Communist movement. One often comes across a tendency to draw a rosy picture of the "good old days" when, it is said, "we were so united and marched in step."

Such idealization is clearly not true. Firstly, even in the time of Marx, Engels and Lenin the international Communist movement was marked by a constant struggle for forging unity, characterized by all kinds of twists and turns which threw different elements in the movement out of gear; by the emergence of new developments and problems whose solution called for years of study, experience and patience; and by the emergence of non-Marxist and anti-Marxist trends in the movement which had to be combated and defeated. Unity during the period of the Stalin personality cult was not at times achieved by desirable methods. There never has been a halcyon period of unity in our movement. In fact, Lenin taught us that the achievement of unity is also a struggle.

Secondly, there is also a tendency, sometimes vaguely but sometimes explicitly

expressed, of attributing the present differences in our movement mainly to subjective factors, to *mala fide* motives, to power politics, and so on. This is factually untrue, besides being a totally unscientific approach to our new problems. Further, this line of thinking leads to moods of pessimism and despair.

The new problems, difficulties and differences arise dominantly from three factors.

First and foremost, they arise from the very advance and victories of the world Communist movement, of the world struggle for national liberation and democracy.

The bourgeois world, in which the accentuation of the imperialist crisis of the economy, political relations and culture is leading to genocidal national oppression and racial hatred, points its accusing finger at the remnants of the national problem in socialist countries and as between the socialist countries.

Lenin very clearly stated that the national problem would continue for a long time even after the victory of socialism on a world scale. Thus, the existence of this problem under socialism does not signify retreat or a setback.

The rapid development of the scientific technological revolution in countries dominated by state monopoly capitalism is leading to an ever greater intensification of labor and to unemployment; to an unprecedented alienation of the individual from society; to skyrocketing expenditure on militarization and the production of weapons of wholesale annihilation. Every contradiction of capitalism has been further deepened.

In contrast, the new problems of economic management arising from the scientific technological revolution in the socialist countries are being solved by lessening human toil and labor and raising living standards; by a still faster increase in the rate of economic development; by growing economic cooperation and division of labor between the socialist states in mutual interest; and by increasing the leisure and means available to all citizens for intellectual and cultural pursuits. The problems arising in this process are problems of advance, not of failures.

The tidal wave of the national liberation movement which, in the last two decades, has broken up empires on which "the sun never sets," and which has brought about the virtual collapse of the colonial system, has also brought forth new problems. The problems of transition from national inde-

pendence to social liberation in the young, newly independent states (kept in ignorance, backwardness and poverty by the imperialists for decades) call for the forging of new class alignments; of new types of democratic state structures; and for new forms of socio-economic development previously unknown to human history. Sometimes, thanks to the imperialist drive for neo-colonialism aided by the internal reactionary forces in these countries, there are setbacks and temporary defeats. These undoubtedly are very complex and difficult problems. But on the scale of history, they are unquestionably problems of advance.

The glory of the struggle of the people of Vietnam against U.S. aggression surely lies in their indomitable courage, sacrifice and unity. But the significance of the defeat which American arms have suffered in Vietnam lies even more in this that, where the forces of world socialism, democracy and national liberation are blended into one, even the mightiest imperialist power in the world is incapable of arresting their advance to victory. Vietnam is the proof of the crisis and weakness of the world imperialist system and of the new strength and potential of the forces of socialism, democracy and national independence, in which the Soviet Union plays the most vital role.

The mighty upsurge of the militant working-class movement in the advanced capitalist countries, with the Communist parties playing such a powerful role in France and Italy, has recorded new victories in the struggle for uniting the workers under the influence of Communist, Social-Democratic and Christian-Democratic trade unions. Millions of people under the influence of the Catholic church, and even numerous sections of the clergy are being drawn into struggles for peace, democracy and the raising of living standards. This has broadened and strengthened the anti-war, anti-monopoly popular front in these countries and raised new problems, among them new solutions for the abolition of the rule of state monopoly capitalism and the transition to socialism. These, clearly, are problems of advance.

Such are the essential nature and the roots of our new problems, arising out of the development of the revolutionary process.

The second factor creating new difficulties arises from the diversity of conditions and national peculiarities in which Communist parties in various countries work and struggle. The more the movement broadens

and deepens, the greater the number of countries at various levels of historical development to which it spreads, the more the social strata and the number of people drawn into the movement, the more complex becomes the problem of evolving a common international line among all fraternal parties. The task of making evaluations and working out an operative policy which, while retaining their essence, can be flexibly applied to divergent national conditions, certainly becomes more complex and difficult than in the earlier stages of the movement.

The third factor must also be frankly and clearly stated. The drawing of vast new sections, inexperienced sections, into the world revolutionary movement also brings non-proletarian, non-Marxist, alien trends and moods into the movement. V. I. Lenin pointed to this factor when he dealt with the rapid expansion of the working-class, socialist movement in contemporary Europe. Hailing the new advance of the movement he called for a firm ideological and political struggle against the various opportunist trends that had penetrated into or sprouted in the movement together with its growth.

Various petty-bourgeois trends, oscillating from impatient adventurism to pessimism and defeatism; tendencies towards Left and Right opportunism; towards isolationist and great-power chauvinism—all such non-Marxist aberrations have to be unreservedly combated and rectified in periods of an expansion of the Communist and all revolutionary movements.

It is very necessary to keep all these factors in view, not in order to deny difficulties or ascertain certain subjective factors which lead to their emergence, or to evade unpleasant issues, but precisely to grasp the new problems objectively and scientifically, for their effective solution.

The document of the Meeting does not cover up the fact that new problems, difficulties and even differences have arisen in our movement.

However, with reasoned confidence the document declares: "Communists are convinced that these difficulties will be overcome. This belief is based on the fact that the international working class has common long-term objectives and interests, on the striving of each Party to find a solution to existing problems which would meet both national and international interests and the Communists' revolutionary mission . . . The Meeting is confident that the outstanding

issues can and must be resolved correctly by strengthening all forms of cooperation among the Communist parties, by expanding inter-Party ties, mutual exchange of experience, comradely discussion and consultation, and unity of action on the international arena . . . This unity is strengthened by a collective analysis of concrete reality."

The running thread of the entire document is confidence based on objective facts; on a realistic assessment of the positive and negative features of the world situation; on determination to overcome difficulties and differences in a spirit of comradely discussion, equality, independence, mutual non-interference and cooperation; on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The document rejects any pessimistic or defeatist reading of the extant situation or our future.

THE THREE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

The document characterizes the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement as the three great revolutionary forces of our time.

Comparing the sections of the document dealing with these three forces with corresponding sections of the Statement issued by the 1960 world conference one will see that the present document takes into consideration the developments of the past nine years and deals with the problems more concretely than was the case in 1960.

The decisive role of the socialist world system in the anti-imperialist struggle is emphasized and underlined. The scientific, technological and industrial achievements of the socialist countries and their international significance are recorded. The tasks of the further development of socialist democracy are elaborated to a much greater degree than in the 1960 Statement. The document calls for greater activization of social organizations in the socialist countries, the extension of the rights of the individual, an irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy, and for the all-round development of socialist democracy.

At the same time the document also defined the difficulties with which the peoples meet in the course of socialist construction. "Practice has shown that socialist transformations and the building of the new society are a long and complex

process, and that the utilization of the tremendous possibilities opened up by the new system depends on the Communist parties in the leadership of the state, on their ability to resolve the problems of socialist development the Marxist-Leninist way," reads the document.

The conference pointed out that the enemies of socialism are keeping up their attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist state power, to thwart the socialist transformation of society.

Discussion in the Preparatory Committee brought out that no watertight compartments can be made of the internal anti-socialist elements in a socialist country and the forces of imperialism seeking to undermine socialism and the socialist community. Defense of socialism is the common interest and international duty of all socialist countries and Communists.

There is no trace in the document of the so-called theory of limited sovereignty sought to be attributed to the leaders of the CPSU by the imperialists and their mass media.

The document characterizes the role of the working class as the principal driving and mobilizing force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist democratic movement.

Paying tribute to the new working class upsurge in the advanced capitalist countries, the document foreshadows new class battles. Pointed attention is drawn to the fact that in recent years, "while defending **their** vital interests, the working people fight for social rights and democratic freedoms. These demands are increasingly directed against the system of domination by monopoly capital, against its political power."

The necessity of building still broader working-class unity is stressed. While pointing to the deepening crisis of reformist concepts, the document draws attention to the differentiation taking place in the ranks and leaders of Social-Democracy.

The Document calls for cooperation with Socialists and Social-Democrats for the establishment of an advanced democratic regime today and for building a socialist society in the future.

At the same time the Socialist parties and organizations that favor socialism are called upon resolutely to break with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and to pursue a policy of effective struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The important role of a united trade union movement in the struggle against the monopolies is specifically brought out.

Great significance is attached by the document to strengthening the alliance of workers and farmers as one of the basic prerequisites for successful struggle against the monopolies and their power.

With science becoming a direct productive force, the role of the intellectuals is becoming enhanced. The latter are swelling the ranks of the wage and salary workers. Their social interest intertwines with that of the working class. They are coming into increasing conflict with the monopolies and their governments. The crisis of bourgeois ideology drives them into struggle. Despite their susceptibility to bourgeois ideology, the alliance of workers by hand and brain can become an important force in the struggle for peace and progress.

The convergence of interests of the working class and other classes and strata as well as their growing cooperation reduce the social foundations of monopoly power and sharpen its internal contradictions. They help a still broader mobilization of the broad masses of the people for fighting the monopolies and imperialism.

The upsurge among youth and students is specially treated in the document, an upsurge which reflects the deep-going crisis of contemporary bourgeois society.

The document says that the Communists think highly of the upsurge of the youth movement. They propagate in its ranks the ideas of scientific socialism, explaining the danger of various pseudo-revolutionary ideas. Only close unity with the working-class movement can open out truly revolutionary prospects for the youth movement.

The materials of the conference stress also that Communists stand for cooperation with all democratic forces and organizations interested in the renewal of society.

New prospects have arisen of an alliance between the working-class movement and masses of religious people in a number of capitalist countries because of the deep aggravation of social contradictions.

The new problems of the national-liberation movement are examined at considerable length. In particular the document estimates that in the past decade the role in the world revolutionary process of the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has continued to grow.

A large number of national states has emerged in Asia and Africa, substantially

altering the world political structure and changing the balance of power to the detriment of imperialism.

In many countries of this area the national-liberation movement has entered upon a new phase. It is acquiring an anti-socialist content.

Social differentiation is developing in the newly independent countries. There is a sharpening of the conflict between the working class, the peasantry, petty bourgeois and other democratic forces, on the one hand, and imperialism, and the forces of domestic reaction, on the other. The latter include some of the national bourgeoisie, who increasingly tend to accept a deal with imperialism.

In the young states the social role and political activity of the working class have increased. The importance of international ties between the young proletariat of Asia and Africa and the working class of the socialist countries and the capitalist states is growing.

The peasant masses, the toiling peasantry in particular, have a great revolutionary potential in the struggle against imperialism, for defending and consolidating the independence of the young states and implementing democratic agrarian reforms. Communists must intensify their work among the peasant masses and carry proletarian ideology into their midst.

The document refers to the role of the armed struggle waged by the peoples in the countries of Southern Africa, one of the last areas of colonial domination, to the great significance of these struggles for the cause of national liberation and peace, for putting an end to racism and fascism.

The document also pays tribute to the Arab peoples for their courageous struggle against Israeli aggression which is backed by imperialism, and by U.S. imperialism most of all. It notes the significance of the struggle for the entire movement against imperialism and neo-colonialism in the Middle East and Africa. Stress is laid on the point that the defeat of the imperialist plots and intrigues against the Arab states, the defeat of imperialist aggression, calls for the deepening of social and economic changes in these countries, the building of progressive national fronts, the defense of the democratic liberties and the activation of all progressive national forces.

The newly independent countries which have taken the capitalist road have been unable to solve any of the basic problems facing them. Confronted by rising popular

discontent, the internal reactionary forces in these countries, supported by imperialism, are intensifying their assault. In a number of cases they are brutally suppressing patriotic and democratic mass movements. They are kindling conflicts between national, ethnic, religious, tribal and linguistic groups, thereby jeopardizing the independence won by these countries.

The imperialists show special hostility towards states with progressive regimes. They seek to disorient political parties, sow confusion in educational and cultural institutions, to make use of the mass media for their own ends in these countries. They back reactionary elements in the state apparatus and the armed forces, they organize counter-revolutionary subversive activities through their agents.

The document lays emphasis on the strengthening of revolutionary parties in the countries of Asia and Africa, and the founding of such Parties where they do not exist. The general term revolutionary parties has been used because what is implied is parties oriented towards scientific socialism, in accordance with the conditions and requirements of the country concerned. Such parties, firmly rooted in the masses, are a necessary condition for the further advance of the revolutionary movement in developing countries.

The radical democratization of the machinery of state, of social and political life generally, is also underlined as a vital task in these countries. Neither stable social progress nor the defense of independence and democracy are assured without such democratization.

Yet another task emphasized is the regeneration of national culture and the development of its progressive traditions. The wording is very significant. For reactionary and chauvinistic elements in developing countries exploit national sentiment in their own interests in the name of championing national culture and traditions. Communists who, in fact, are the true inheritors and real champions of progressive, revolutionary traditions as also the defenders of genuine national interests, have to guard against the exploitation of national sentiment for reactionary ends. They have to develop the progressive traditions of their national culture so as to strengthen the revolutionary movement in their country and its bonds with the international revolutionary movement for freedom, democracy and social progress.

The document makes it clear that the

guarantee of success in the execution of the tasks of the national-liberation movement lies in raising the activity of the people; enhancing the role of the proletariat and the peasantry; rallying the working class youth, students, intellectuals and urban middle strata; all progressive and patriotic forces. It lies in the establishment of relations of friendship and effective cooperation between the newly independent countries and the socialist countries. The document denounces any hostile attitude towards, or persecution of Communists as being detrimental to the struggle for national and social emancipation. The document highlights the paramount importance of strengthening the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation, for the future prospects of the struggle against imperialism.

The treatment of the three main forces of the world revolutionary movement is thus a valuable and useful contribution to the solution of the tasks that confront them today. It takes into consideration the new developments since 1960, much of the positive and negative experience of the period, and draws such positive conclusions as could be drawn by a consensus of the parties that assembled in Moscow.

OTHER GAINS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Defining the concret objectives of a vast international movement at a specific stage of its development is not easy. But forging the means and methods by which the ends are to be determined and achieved is even more difficult. If the correct means are not forged the ends are jeopardized, if not lost.

It is an obvious fact that during the past nine years Communist parties all over the world have become more conscious in the matter of their independence and equality.

This is a healthy development because it has come in the wake of greater experience, maturity and self-confidence which all fraternal parties have acquired.

In fact, the Communist International was dissolved twenty-six years ago precisely because Communist Parties were becoming mature, they had to work in diverse conditions in the diverse countries, and this being so, a leading center for the world Communist movement was no longer either necessary or desirable.

But did the dissolution of the Comintern mean that the Communist parties had given up the principle of proletarian internation-

alism; the principle that the Communist movement must always strive for and achieve historically suited forms of this principle; the principle that the national and international responsibilities of a Communist Party are indivisible? NEVER.

The Communist International never said so. And no Communist Party has ever said so.

So the question arises, how do we achieve the unity of the Communist movement under conditions when a leading world center does not exist, is not possible or desirable and with all parties independent and equal?

A program of demands and tasks for common action is undoubtedly vital and necessary. But that, too, does not eliminate the question of how to arrive at a commonly accepted program. For even unity in action cannot be preserved for long by a genuinely international movement if what is understood by a program is merely a string of commonly accepted pragmatic tasks. This is not dogma, it is actual and, often, bitter experience.

Thus, even united action on a commonly accepted program necessarily raises the question of a broader analysis of political and economic developments based on Marxism-Leninism, a broader political understanding and unity among Communists, as Communists, not only as anti-imperialists.

Bilateral and multilateral talks, regional conferences on specific tasks, have contributed much to the building of such unity. But clearly they have not been enough. Something more was needed, urgently needed, and the Conference held in Moscow was a great step and experience in that direction.

Firstly, it has demonstrated that even if some parties do not find their way to participate in an international Communist gathering, such a gathering does not aggravate existing divisions but helps to bring closer those who participate while improving the prospects and opportunity of making a fraternal approach for unity to those who chose not to attend, or who for some other reason could not attend.

The apprehension expressed by some parties that a world conference held in the absence of certain parties would widen the differences in our international movement, has been proved to be incorrect.

Secondly, the entire experience gained since the first Consultative Meeting at Budapest and ending with the Conference

in Moscow has contributed greatly to the evolving of new norms and forms of arriving at a broad political consensus (not merely on a program of action) among independent and equal brother parties.

Every single Party present in the Conference stated that the discussions in all preparatory stages and at the Conference were free and frank. It stated more. It was accepted by all that the procedure adopted for the preparation of the documents was as democratic and collectivist as any could be.

The document prepared by the drafting commission and the Preparatory Committee was sent to the Central Committees of all Communist parties, including the non-participating ones. Many amendments, in their original or remodified forms, were accepted by the Preparatory Committee. Again, the world conference considered and made certain improvements before the overwhelming majority of parties attending the Conference gave the document their final approval.

It is a fact of which we, Communists, are rightfully proud, that every Party present at the Conference, made some contribution to the document.

Let our bourgeois critics and ideological enemies who lecture to us *ad nauseum* on democracy and equality, bear this in mind. Let them also bear in mind that such a unity can only be achieved by people whose entire life and energy are dedicated to the emancipation of all the toilers and oppressed of the world. It can never be achieved by those for whom democracy and equality are synonyms for speculative profits on the stock exchange and raining napalm bombs on innocent women and children in Vietnam.

Thirdly, and this too is extremely significant, the scope of the speeches made at all stages from the Consultative Meeting to the world conference was far broader than the scope of the document.

This means that all the parties spoke frankly on the innumerable questions on which a consensus was not possible at this stage; questions for which more time and experience are needed for arriving at common conclusions; while yet arriving at a broad measure of agreement not only on pragmatic but political issues as well.

Here again, bourgeois criticism, to say the least, is funny. If issues are decided by Communists by a majority, the bourgeois howl over the suppression of democracy and independence. If they are decided by a

consensus, leaving certain issues for further experience and collective study, the bourgeoisie shout about the dismemberment of the Communist movement.

The conference was of great educational value for all of us in another vital respect. The independence of each Party is a correct principle and we stand by it. But independence cannot and must not mean losing sight of interdependence. It cannot mean narrow nationalism. For that is harmful, not only for the common cause, but in the final analysis, for those parties who stray in that direction.

Similarly, the principle of equality, which was meticulously observed in all stages of the conference. Equality is correct and we guard it. But that cannot negate the obvious truth that the CPSU and the Soviet Union have borne the brunt of the struggle for peace, democracy, national freedom and socialism for nearly fifty-two years. No one can wipe off this reality in the name of equality. Not for nothing did all the parties present in the Conference express their deep thanks to the Soviet leadership, the CPSU, and the Soviet peo-

ple for their glorious service to the cause of humanity, the cause of human freedom. Very correctly did Comrade Gomulka say, while offering a toast to the CPSU at the banquet after the conference, that all Communist parties are equal, but the CPSU is the first among equals.

A word of heartfelt love and gratitude is more than due to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and its leadership. It was they who did much in the preparation of the conference especially in the earlier stages. Verily have they proved that a small country can raise a mature and magnificent Communist Party.

The Conference was held on the eve of the centenary of Lenin's birth. We all vowed to celebrate the centenary in a fitting manner. We can offer to his immortal memory no better tribute than rededicating ourselves to the cause of the unity of the international Communist movement, to the unity of all freedom and peace-loving forces, to the cause of a united and final assault on imperialism and its barbarism. Let us hold the banner of Lenin aloft and victory is certain.

COMING OFF THE PRESSES:

INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES, MOSCOW, 1969

The complete record of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow last June has now been put out in Russian in book form by the Peace and Socialism Publishers.

The book consists of two parts. The first part contains the official documents of the Meeting: Communique on the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties; Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces; Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin"; Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!"; Telegram to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam; Appeal in Defense of Peace; Statement in Support of the Just Struggle of the Arab Peoples Against Israeli Aggression; Statement of Solidarity with Communists and Democrats of Greece Struggling Against the Military-Fascist Dictatorship; Address to Indonesian Communists; Statement of Solidarity with Communists and Democrats of Haiti.

Part Two contains the full texts of the speeches by the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties delegations at the Meeting as well as the opening speech by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the closing speech by R. Arismendi, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

Editions in the English, Spanish, French, German, Arab and other languages will shortly be available.

Outstanding event in the world communist movement

"How do you assess the importance of the Meeting for the Communist movement and for your own Party?"

In the previous issue of **World Marxist Review** we carried answers from leaders and members of delegations at the recent International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. In this issue we continue with other answers.

RODOLFO GHIOLDI

Member of the Executive Committee,
Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina

The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, called to work out a common policy for the anti-imperialist fight, marked an important stage in this fight because it adopted documents containing a Marxist-Leninist analysis of current problems, ways of solving them, and formulations of the tasks before the movement. The fact that the Meeting was held was important in itself. The reactionary press had great hopes that the Meeting would fail. But it is not only the imperialists who miscalculated. The chauvinist Chinese leadership, which mounted a series of splitting attempts on every continent, fell so low that it staged provocations on the Soviet-Chinese border aimed at thwarting the International Meeting, quite apart from the other things they were designed to do. But again Maoism suffered defeat.

Our enemies drew the wrong conclusions from the difficulties facing the Communist movement. They saw them as signs of division. But that was wishful thinking. The fraternal parties may differ on occasion, but whenever these differences have deeper roots, revolutionary experience and joint struggle against imperialism and war gradually bring their standpoints closer. These differences exist within the frame-

work of Marxism-Leninism, and do not go beyond it. After all, the Main Document, like the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!", the "Appeal in Defense of Peace" and the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" are based entirely on Marxism-Leninism. The Meeting raised aloft the banner of implacable struggle against bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois ideology. It sounded a stern warning against the threat of modern Right and "Left" revisionism and opportunism, as the Meetings of 1957 and 1960 had done. All true Leninists are fighters against revisionism and opportunism.

The Meeting evoked a wide response throughout the world, in the various anti-imperialist movements. It called on the peoples to unite for still greater success in the fight against imperialism. The dictatorship of the monopolies is daily impinging on the interests of the masses, and not only of the workers and peasants, whose militant alliance remains the pivot of our movement, but also of the middle strata, and some groups of the national bourgeoisie, and also the interests of young people, women and intellectuals. Marxism-Leninism alone can shed a true light on the

problems of the anti-imperialist fight. There is no doubt that we should couple boldness in setting up the broadest anti-imperialist front with firmness of ideological stand.

It is gratifying to be able to say that the Communist parties of Latin America—of all America, to be more precise, including the United States and Canada—did much to make the International Meeting a success. These parties, true products of Leninism, arose under the powerful impact of the October Revolution. For more than three decades, the world Communist movement has not found it necessary to set up some center, like the Communist International, but that does not erase the role the International has played. It cannot be erased. As in other parts of the world, so in Latin America, the Communist International was the main vehicle of Marxist-Leninist ideas. It had a great historical service to perform: to help ideologically restructure everywhere the pre-Bolshevik

revolutionary parties and groups.

The method used in preparing the Meeting will also have a considerable response among the masses. Its preparation on a democratic basis was unprecedented for its thoroughness, and its conclusions were the product of great collective effort.

Communists have never closed their eyes to their difficulties and have always given them a correct assessment, that is, they have always seen them against the background of the growing success of the socialist world system, the workers' struggle in the capitalist countries, and the national-revolutionary movement.

The broad, free and frank discussion that took place will act as an incentive to greater unity of the international Communist movement.

The experts in splitting have drawn another blank. The Meeting's conclusions represent yet another contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

JESUS FARIA

General Secretary,
Communist Party of Venezuela

The Moscow Meeting, attended by representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' parties, who met to discuss pressing problems of common interest, was of great importance for the working class and the progressive movement of Venezuela and, naturally, for its Communist Party as well.

We Venezuelan Communists face difficulties arising from the growth of the revolutionary youth movement and those caused by the long years of underground work when we had virtually no possibility of openly discussing our organizational and ideological problems. The Leninist style of discussion, which marked the Meeting, enables us to make use of all the positive elements brought out in the discussion of the Main Document.

The Communist Party of Venezuela is moving along the right road in the fight against imperialism. We note with especial satisfaction that the Document includes and elaborates a number of theses and propositions which we fully share. This will be of inestimable help in tackling our task of building up our forces and extending the ranks of our permanent and temporary allies for the attainment of particular aims.

The mass action which prevented Rockefeller, the emissary of U.S. imperialism, from visiting Venezuela, again showed the value of allies in the fight against foreign imperialism and home reaction.

The Moscow Meeting, without avoiding discussion of the most acute problems affecting the relations within the international Communist movement, examined them in a constructive way, so that there was absolutely no question of anyone being "excommunicated," as the imperialist press had predicted. This historic meeting showed that the international Communist movement can thrash out all the problems on the basis of principle. This discussion, far from aggravating the difficulties, in fact helps to overcome them or to determine their true proportions.

In addition, the Meeting showed that there are no taboo topics that true Communists are not allowed to deal with.

The Meeting dispelled the misunderstanding and mistrust which had appeared because for too long the Communists had not met for fraternal discussion.

We realized that the enemy had been making use of our mistakes and differen-

ces, and that this imposed on us the duty to eliminate them on a principled basis, at national and international levels.

The conclusions of the Meeting will help the working class and the Communist Party of Venezuela, as also the revolutionary and progressive movements of other countries. Even those parties whose leaders did not attend the Meeting have our moral and political support in the efforts to solve the problems facing the working people. The display of solidarity by the 75 parties will be welcomed by the peoples of these countries.

The task of consolidating unity of workers and peasants, which the Document specially designates as a necessary condition for carrying forward the proletarian revolution to victory, is of exceptional importance for the Communists of Venezuela, where work among the peasants has recently been neglected.

In reorganizing the Communist Party, the section of the Document which speaks of the role of the revolutionary youth and intelligentsia and of other progressive social strata will likewise be of help for us.

KOSTAS KOLYANNIS

First Secretary, Central Committee
Communist Party of Greece

Our Party is profoundly satisfied with the course and results of the Moscow Meeting. We enthusiastically supported the Main Document and the other documents adopted by the Meeting.

The 1969 Meeting is of enormous importance for the international Communist movement, for the future of the worldwide struggle of the peoples against imperialism and colonialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The statement by our delegation at the Meeting said our country is proof of the thesis in the Main Document which says that although imperialism as a world system has not become stronger, its aggressiveness is increasing and is being displayed in various parts of the globe. This calls for greater unity of the socialist countries, and of the whole international Communist and working-class movement in the fight against imperialism.

We warmly support the conclusion that all the anti-imperialist forces must take united action for a successful fight against our common class enemy.

Of especial importance for the struggle of all the peoples against imperialism is the impassioned call to consolidate and extend solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, battling for independence.

Venezuelans draw deep satisfaction from the fact that such a large number of parties reaffirmed the basic principle of respect for each Party's independence, and also the principle of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties. All this is closely connected with the Communist parties' undeviating duty to give each other mutual and voluntary support, and to coordinate their action for more successful fulfilment of their internationalist duty, and of their revolutionary tasks at home.

The accomplishment of the Moscow Meeting was that the Communist and Workers' parties agreed on united action in the fight against imperialism. The Communists of Venezuela believe that this is the most significant success, and that some of the parties which did not attend the Meeting will subsequently accept this stand.

Because of the absence of such unity in Greece, the democratization of the country has been fiercely resisted by home and foreign reactionaries, headed by U.S. imperialism, and was cut short by the military-fascist coup in April 1967.

Our Party is now trying to bring together all the anti-dictatorship forces and organizations in a single united front of struggle based on a common minimum program, providing for the restoration of real freedom for the Greek people. Our Party, relying on its experience and assessment of the international situation, declares that all the anti-dictatorship forces should unite to overthrow the dictatorship. The forms of this struggle may range from the simplest to the most complex, but the most likely one will be armed struggle, to which the Greek people will be forced to resort.

The Communist Party is the moving spirit of the fight against the dictatorship. All over the country, underground Party organizations are in the front ranks of the Resistance movement, which is taking shape in the course of the struggle. Our

Party organizations abroad also have an important role to play in uniting the anti-dictatorship forces and carrying forward the fight against it. The documents of the Meeting will give fresh inspiration to step up the Communist fight for their people's liberation and happiness.

The experience of the international Communist movement, and our own experience, shows that if the Communist Party is to be vanguard and leader in rallying the anti-imperialist, democratic forces and organizing the anti-dictatorship fight, it must stand up for the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks against all deviations and factionalism, and defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In this respect, too, the documents of the Meeting will be of great help to our Party and to other parties.

The Mao group, acting from positions of nationalism, anti-Sovietism and great-power chauvinism, has broken with our principles and has nothing in common with proletarian internationalism. This group is undermining the unity of the international Communist movement. Its provocative actions on the border with the Soviet Union objectively play into the hands of U.S. imperialism, mankind's worst enemy, and encourage it in its aggressiveness.

The Communist Party of Greece also attaches much importance to the point contained in the Main Document about the need correctly to combine the national and internationalist duties of each Communist Party. The CPG sees its internationalist duty above all in upholding the

principles of proletarian internationalism, in maintaining firm and consistent solidarity with the socialist countries and with all the fraternal parties and fighting peoples. Our Party has always regarded solidarity with the Soviet Union and its Communist Party as its most important internationalist duty. Our delegation listened with close attention to the speech by Comrade Brezhnev, head of the CPSU delegation, and shared his ideas and conclusions. This speech gives full and correct assessment of the international situation, questions and tasks facing the international Communist and working-class movement in the fight against imperialism, for peace and the security of nations.

The Greek people, in their difficult fight, have always felt the sympathy, support and assistance of the Soviet people, whom the CPSU has educated in the best traditions of internationalism, solidarity and brotherhood with all other peoples.

Our Party feels deep satisfaction that the Moscow Meeting paid high tribute to V. I. Lenin, the centenary of whose birth our people will mark with all the other peoples.

We warmly support Comrade Brezhnev's idea that the fraternal parties should extend their joint theoretical work, and hold broad exchanges of opinion for a deeper elaboration of the pressing tasks of our movement. The CPG believes that the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (*World Marxist Review*) has a vital part to play in this matter, which is of great importance for all Communists.

IB NORLUND

Member of the Executive, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Denmark

The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is an outstanding event. The world Communist movement has once again shown that it is a political reality, and the most important political force of our day. Therein lies the significance of the Meeting for our Party and for other Communist parties.

That unity achieved at the Meeting was not mechanical is clear to everyone, above all to those who were there. It is the result of profound discussions in a completely democratic spirit, with frankness and equality. Considering the large number of parties represented, this was no easy task,

and took both time and effort. But the crucial thing was that the delegates were able not only to debate but also to achieve results and adopt decisions approved by all.

This ability to work together and reach agreement on a principled basis, as the Moscow Meeting showed, is of great importance for our Party and will serve as a model for all the progressive forces of our day.

The reactionaries made rather skilful use of the difficulties which had been in evidence in the Communist movement for a number of years. Their propaganda declared that if the Communists were dis-

united, how could all the anti-imperialist forces be united? The Moscow Meeting showed that the Communists were highly capable of reaffirming, establishing and strengthening their unity to face the tasks of the day. This is not simply because they are prepared to have business-like talks, but because they have a common ideology ultimately resting on the fact that the Communist parties voice the interests and represent the future of the working class of all countries.

The Meeting's decisions emphasized the key role of the Communist parties and the responsibility this puts on them in this historical period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The reactionary forces are exerting pressure on the Communists, who are a consciously acting and organizing factor. That is why it is important for all the Communist parties, including our own Party, to join in resisting this pressure.

FUAD NASSAR

First Secretary of the Central Committee, Jordanian Communist Party

In recent years all Communists have seen that disagreement negatively affects our movement and undermines its unity. We have seen how adroitly imperialism uses the difficulties in the socialist camp. Examples of this are the escalation of the U.S. war in Vietnam and the imperialist blows at the Arab liberation movement, particularly the Israeli aggression in 1967. Imperialist reaction has utilized the weakening of unity in our ranks to step up the ideological and propaganda campaign against communism.

Leftist, adventurist tendencies and Right opportunist, revisionist ideas have also adversely affected the liberation struggle in recent years.

Naturally, the Meeting did not deliver the Communist movement from all the difficulties and divergences. Still, it was a big success from the point of view of the number of parties which participated in it and of the importance of the documents which it adopted. We consider that the Meeting resolved many of the problems of our movement. This goes a long way towards strengthening its unity and, consequently, the unity of the world anti-imperialist forces.

The Meeting repeatedly stressed the importance of purposeful struggle against opportunism, whether the Right-opportunist yielding to bourgeois ideology, the revolutionary catchwords of the "Left" opportunists, or the erroneous ideas of nationalism, which may, because of the abandonment of the class approach, nourish both brands.

The Danish Communist Party is working in conditions where Social-Democratic illusions are widespread among the working class. Our Party, on the strength of its experience, knows how this diverts the movement away from the fight for the true interests of the working class, and even further away from the fight for power.

The results of the Moscow Meeting are, therefore, a powerful source of inspiration and a stimulus to extend our activity on the basis of the decisions taken at Party congresses in the light of the country's conditions.

For the Jordanian Communist Party all the documents adopted by the Meeting are of paramount importance both from the political and ideological standpoints. This particularly concerns the Main Document, which defines the tasks of the fight against imperialism at the present stage and lays a firm foundation for united action by the Communist parties and by all the anti-imperialist forces.

Our Party attaches great importance to the statement on the Lenin birth centenary. We feel that this document will not only greatly facilitate the dissemination of Lenin's ideas among the masses in all countries but will also awaken them to more determined struggle for social and national liberation. By adopting this document the Meeting reiterated that Marxism-Leninism is the only revolutionary teaching of the world proletariat and the real source of international solidarity and internationalism.

The Arab liberation movement is featured in the documents. The Meeting highly appraised the fight of the Arab peoples and declared wholehearted solidarity with it. At the same time, it noted the weakness of the Arab liberation movement, particu-

larly the fact that in our region of the world the revolutionary movement embraces large sections of the petty bourgeoisie with all the tendencies intrinsic in it. When the Arab liberation movement experiences temporary setbacks, these sections begin to exaggerate difficulties, panic, vacillate and show weakness. The Main Document gives our Party, and the fraternal parties in the other Arab countries, a basis for better explanatory work among the masses and for rallying them more successfully for the struggle against imperialism and the Israeli aggressors.

Furthermore, important for us is that the question of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is examined in detail in the Main Document.

HUGH MOORE

General Secretary, Executive Committee,
Communist Party of North Ireland

In the light of the historical unity achieved by the participants of the Moscow Meeting on the cardinal problems of our time, it is amazing that the capitalist press and other press media should try and seek out differences between them. True, there were differences of views on some questions. This is natural when so many parties operate in such varying conditions throughout the world. But on the essential need to fight against imperialism which negates democracy, monopolizes the entire economy of countries and which is a direct threat to world peace, there was unanimity.

The great gathering in Moscow of the foremost anti-imperialist forces is of tremendous significance for our Party and our people. The liberation struggle in our country has a long tradition since Ireland has been, and still is oppressed by British imperialism. British monopoly capital has penetrated the economy in all fields where profits are to be made.

The mounting struggle in recent years of the people of North Ireland to win democratic rights and civil liberties, for jobs, homes and basic needs has had a profound impact on the political situation in our country. In the present conditions the ruling Unionist Party, which has acted on behalf of imperialist Britain since 1921 when Ireland was forcibly partitioned into two parts, will not be able to run the affairs of this part of our country without the close scrutiny of all progressive forces at home, in

This facilitates our task of explaining that far from hindering national liberation revolutions, peaceful coexistence, despite all that the imperialists and adventurists say, helps these revolutions to develop and achieve their aims.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize the outstanding part played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in preparing the Meeting and making it a success. We highly value the CPSU's efforts for the unity of the world Communist movement, in upholding Marxism-Leninism and its purity against Right and "Left" opportunist distortions, against revisionism, dogmatism and Left-sectarian adventurism.

Britain and in other regions of the world. The Communist Party of North Ireland consistently exposes the pro-imperialist nature of the government's policy and actively participates in the fight for democracy in our country.

Our Party will be greatly strengthened and stimulated by the successful outcome of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. We see in the unity on fundamental questions that has been achieved at the Meeting a factor that will help our Party to win unity of the anti-imperialist forces in the country and at the same time help us create the conditions for winning new victories by our working class in the economic and political struggle.

At the Meeting we had the opportunity to learn more about the experience of other fraternal parties and, in particular, the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. When Leonid Brezhnev, on behalf of the CC, CPSU, told the Meeting that immediately after the Civil War had ended Lenin stressed: "We are exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy," he showed on concrete examples how true this is. The successes in economic construction have enabled the USSR to accomplish amazing feats in all spheres of science, technology and culture, in raising the country's standard of living. These successes have, at the same time, made it possible for the Soviet people to render all-round

assistance to the heroic people of Vietnam and to other contingents of the world liberation movement.

The experience of the Soviet Union is a convincing example for the peoples of other countries. It is certain that the people of Ireland will take the road to socialism and build a society where the principles of equality and democracy will prevail and where capitalist exploitation, unemployment and mass emigration which has afflicted our country for centuries, will be abolished. The Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" adopted by the Meeting, will prove to be a powerful

stimulus for spreading Lenin's ideas. This anniversary holds a special interest for our Party. Lenin's appraisal of the anti-imperialist rebellion led by James Connolly, and other of his statements on the Irish question directly influenced the formation of the Communist movement in Ireland.

The Moscow Meeting made a profound analysis of our epoch. The discussion was on a give-and-take basis, at times sharply critical, but always in a democratic and friendly spirit. Its success is a big step towards uniting the tremendous forces that actively oppose imperialism, and the potential yet to be released.

WILLIAM KASHTAN

**General Secretary,
Communist Party of Canada**

The results of our International Conference, I think, are very positive indeed. In many respects it marks a turning point for the international Communist movement, creating more favorable conditions for consolidating and extending the unity of Communist and Workers' parties and thereby strengthening the struggle against imperialism, for peace, independence, democracy and socialism. This twofold task was at the center of attention of the Conference and embodied in the documents adopted by it. Now there should be the maximum of coordination in the struggle against imperialism. In this sense one can say that the parties participating in the Conference synchronized their watches so that they all run at the same time. The coming period should see the results of this.

There was general agreement not only on the main danger spots in the world today but also on effective programs to meet these situations. There was general agreement on a common program of anti-imperialist action. Not least, there was the virtual unanimous condemnation of the splitting and provocative actions undertaken by the Maoists, a policy which objectively aids the strategy of imperialism. The International Conference clearly demonstrated that this line, which the Maoists tried to impose on the Communist and Workers' parties, has in the final analysis rebounded on the Maoists themselves and led to their isolation.

The strategists of imperialism who thought the Conference would not take place, and when it did, that it would be

unable to reach agreement, are now speculating on the reservations of a few parties on some aspects of the Main Document agreed to by the majority of parties. They try to make much of these reservations. The important news emanating from the Conference, however, is not the reservations; what is important are the agreements arrived at by the parties.

These agreements show that objective processes are impelling the parties to unite their efforts. What they illustrate is that the forces of division are giving way to the forces of unity; that the strategy of unity embodied in the documents is now the guideline for the Communist and Workers' parties to meet and defeat the global strategy of imperialism. The Conference showed that parties are beginning to blend national and international tasks based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We of course are well aware that some divergencies remain. After all, Rome wasn't built in a day, nor can differences be overcome overnight. We believe that the proposals advanced by Comrade Brezhnev on behalf of the CPSU with respect to the organization of international theoretical conferences and seminars can be of considerable assistance in deepening understanding of the complex phenomena arising from the present phase of development in the modern world. Lenin drew attention to a quotation of Goethe which is useful to recall: "grey is theory, but green is the tree of life." The Document which the Confer-

ence adopted on the Lenin Centenary is a challenge to all Communist and Workers' parties creatively to develop Marxism-Leninism.

How will the Conference influence the work of the Communist Party of Canada? In general the 20th Convention of our Party which took place this April expressed some of the main ideas of the International Conference. However, the Main Document and other documents adopted by the Moscow gathering will greatly assist our Party. By pinpointing the main enemy on which to concentrate our main fire it will help to strengthen and extend the democratic and anti-imperialist forces of our country, who are striving for a new course of development. By focussing on those forces in Canada who are allied with U.S. imperialism, the industrial - military complex which

blocks the way to social progress and an independent course in foreign policy, it will help to widen the whole front of struggle.

Coordination of effort among the Communist and Workers' parties will strengthen the confidence of the working people in socialism, add to the moral stature, prestige and authority of the international Communist movement and, therefore, aid our Party as it will aid all parties.

There is no doubt that the results of the Conference will have inestimable value for our Party as they will have for the whole course of international developments. From this standpoint the Conference constitutes an historical landmark in the worldwide struggle to defeat the global strategy of imperialism and in strengthening the cause of peace, democracy, independence and socialism throughout the world.

Head of delegation, Communist Party of East Pakistan

When I came to the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, I had great doubts about its success. I had also serious apprehensions as to how many parties would attend. I was rather afraid how much I would be able effectively to contribute to strengthening the solidarity of the world Communists, to working out the common tasks of the Communists all over the world in their fight for national liberation, democracy, peace and socialism. Yet these were the very things our Party expected of me when they selected me as their representative to the Conference.

Very soon, in the course of the discussions my apprehensions and fears vanished. And this was a big experience for me, especially about the conspiracies of the imperialists, and how they work to dampen the ardor of revolutionaries throughout the world and make them despondent. The imperialist news media had dinned into our ears all sorts of stories and fabricated news trying to create the impression that the unity of the Communists was in tatters, that while narrow nationalism is the blood of the people, proletarian internationalism is the water. If capitalism has failed to solve the problems of man, they argued, socialism is no substitute!

The conference of 75 Communist and Workers' parties of the world gave the lie to this imperialist propaganda and proved all this to be nothing but wishful thinking.

They say, a drowning man clutches at a straw. Imperialism, now in its last gasp, hopes to prolong its life by duping the people. Our Conference gave an answer worthy of revolutionaries. This will dishearten the imperialists. The Conference proved equal to its tasks.

Yes, we had some differences, differences on some points in our Main Document. We did not hide them. How can one expect that the peoples of the world with varying experiences think in the same way on all points at all times? But the reactionaries have nothing to gloat over in these differences. All the 75 Parties that attended the Conference are of one opinion as to the tasks and the united action. The differences expressed by a very few parties are only in points as to how best to implement the tasks, how best to implement the task of building international Communist unity.

The differences are not on whether imperialism is the main and the greatest enemy of the peoples of the world or not, nor are they on the prime necessity to abolish it and to unite in action for this. There are also differences on the question of the harmful effects of the "thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" which, in the opinion of all, are alien to Marxism-Leninism and on which the imperialists placed so much hope to divide the Communists.

As to how the Conference was conducted. It was, I think, socialist democracy in

practice, or you may say, lessons in socialist democracy. All the parties, big or small, ruling parties as well as parties working underground, all participated as equals. The discussion was free, frank and critical, all delegates irrespective of points of view, respectfully listened to others, tried to appreciate the different viewpoints and also to accommodate them, keeping in mind the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the main tasks in the anti-imperialist struggle. Whatever the point of view of a particular delegate, everyone felt satisfied that he was not ignored and if there were still some differences, these derived from different experiences and so in course of time these differences are likely to be ironed out in the same democratic way.

All parties are equals, there is none to order or to intervene and there is none to follow. The Conference was proof of this. But, as Comrade Gomulka said, all Communist parties are equal, but the CPSU is first among the equals. While its rights

are equal, its responsibilities are incomparably greater than others. All the delegations expressed their sincere gratitude to this glorious party of Lenin, the great CPSU, admirably fulfilling its internationalist responsibilities as the first amongst the equals.

Personally, I have no doubt that the International Conference was a big success, a success for all peoples fighting in different countries under different conditions and by different means to achieve freedom, peace and happiness for all mankind.

The confusion the imperialists could create among people by fishing in troubled waters shows how much alert the Communists should be and how important it is for Communists to meet and to exchange experiences, evaluate them and draw common conclusions and outline tasks for effective prosecution of the anti-imperialist struggle. It is reassuring that the delegates expressed their desire to hold such conferences when necessary.

ALVARO CUNHAL

General Secretary, Central Committee,
Portuguese Communist Party

The International Meeting in Moscow was an exceptionally important event for our movement and for all the anti-imperialist forces.

That the Meeting was attended by 75 brother parties indicated the steps that had been taken towards stronger unity of our movement. The conclusions of the Meeting confirmed this. It mapped out a line for joint action and defined the immediate tasks in the fight against imperialism, with an eye to the prospects of the struggle for communism. The Meeting has consolidated the cohesion of the parties. The Mao group's anti-Soviet and splitting activity was harshly condemned by most speakers. Joint action by the units of the Communist movement and more united action will be decisive in uniting the anti-imperialist forces and in mounting a broad offensive against imperialism and the forces of reaction and war.

The documents of the Meeting and speeches during the discussion clearly expressed the general recognition of the Soviet Union's role in the world revolutionary process, as the mainstay of the socialist camp, the working class of all countries and of the national liberation movement.

This is of especial importance today, when anti-Sovietism has become a favorite weapon of imperialism and all enemies of socialism in their fight against the international Communist movement.

Of course, the Meeting did not eliminate the serious differences of opinion, but the cooperation of the fraternal parties in keeping with the aims set out by the Meeting will help to consolidate relations between the parties and bring their standpoints closer as they solve the common tasks. The discussion itself showed the need for the Communist movement, inspired by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to continue the ideological struggle so as to raise its unity to a higher level. We believe that the Meeting has created favorable conditions for fulfilling this task.

During the preparation for the Meeting, as during the Meeting itself, experience was gained in respect to methods of jointly analyzing problems of common interest. Let me emphasize the democratic character of the work and efforts of the parties aimed at reaching common conclusions. The effective methods used in our work can help

us to overcome difficulties in the future, too. It was also demonstrated that on its principled basis the Communist movement is capable of tackling the most complex problems.

The Meeting had a special significance for the people of Portugal. In the common fight against imperialism, each people receives support through the struggle of the others. Similarly, the fight of our people stands to gain from united action by all the Parties. The fight against fascist regimes, notably the fascist regime in Portugal, the Meeting stressed, is an integral part of the struggle against imperialism, and called for support of the progressive forces of the respective countries. We are sure, therefore, that there will be greater international solidarity with our people's fight to end the 43 years of fascist dictatorship.

KHALED ALI

Member of delegation,
Tunisian Communist Party

Nobody doubts that the International Meeting was an event of tremendous significance and the world Communist movement has made a further important step towards greater unity.

It can be said that many of the difficulties in our international movement have been overcome. Some still remain. But despite the hopes of the bourgeois press a document of enormous theoretical and practical value was adopted. The preparatory work and the Meeting itself were permeated with an earnest striving for unity. What unites proves to be stronger than what disunites.

We Communists of a young African state could not help but rejoice at the attention which the Meeting accorded to the national liberation movement.

The Meeting did not set itself the aim of making an exhaustive analysis of the national liberation movement. Nonetheless the analysis it made of a number of questions is of great importance from both the theoretical and practical aspects.

For our part, we made our modest contribution. Our own experience impelled us to make a closer study of the nature and prospects of what is termed as the non-capitalist way of development.

Basing ourselves on the Leninist proposition that backward countries can avoid or cut short the capitalist stage of development, we have analyzed reality as it mani-

The demand of our epoch, the Meeting stressed, is *"to rid our planet completely of the curse of colonialism, destroy its last centers,"* and called for resolute international measures in support of the oppressed peoples, in particular, the peoples oppressed by the Portuguese colonialists. Greater solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau), and Mozambique, and their revolutionary parties, whose fight merges with that of our people and our Party against fascism and colonialism, is also of great importance for our country's liberation.

We feel sure that the results of the Meeting will be accepted by the working class and the progressive forces of Portugal as a most valuable contribution to their hard and resolute struggle for democracy, national independence, peace and socialism.

fest itself and develops in the countries of the Third World.

A new development is that today the national liberation movement is spearheaded not only against imperialism. In some countries it acquires an anti-capitalist content. Progressive forces from among the petty bourgeoisie are directing deep-going socio-economic changes, which in some measure reach beyond the framework of the national-democratic revolution. The national bourgeoisie is losing its monopoly of leadership in the national liberation movement. On the other hand, the role played by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties is growing in proportion to the development of the social content of this movement. New factors have arisen as a result of the qualitative changes that have taken place in the world balance of forces. In these conditions we must avoid two reefs: we must not identify the non-capitalist way with the building of socialism and we must not underrate new phenomena.

The working class and its Party must direct the revolutionary movement onto the socialist road. But this is the result and not the beginning of the process of development, whose forms change depending on the specifics of each country and on the stage of that development. Consequently, a sectarian attitude must not be adopted towards non-Marxist socialist trends. Com-

munists cannot and should not wait for the complete ideological evolution of these forces as a condition for supporting them.

Similarly, in the national liberation movement it is necessary clearly to determine the role played by the progressive countries and by those countries that do not belong to the group. If it is true that in the national liberation movement the former play the role of vanguard and that they must be distinguished from the latter, it is equally true that this distinction must not be so

absolute as to classify all non-progressive countries as being "reactionary." There are countries whose orientation and policies cannot be called progressive, but which, nonetheless, have some positive features. Given certain conditions this may serve as a point of departure for a progressive policy.

For the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America the Meeting has opened broad prospects for practical work.

S. A. WICKREMASINGHE

Chairman,
Communist Party of Ceylon

It was no nominal unity that the Moscow Meeting achieved. The result of the Meeting should be seen as a strengthening of the united front of Communists in every part of the world with a coherent program of action, and closer cooperation in their political struggle.

The Meeting made a profound analysis of the problems of the world revolutionary process and the mass struggle against imperialism. The documents of the Meeting will be of practical help in the struggle of the brother parties, including the Communist Party of Ceylon.

Our Party is active in the fight against Ceylon's economic subordination to the foreign monopolies, against the neo-colonialist expansion of foreign capital, which operates in close cooperation with the local big bourgeoisie. In 1965, as a result of a secret deal with the reactionary top crust of the national minorities, power in Ceylon was taken over by the pro-imperialist, collaborationist United National Party. The governments of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and the FRG set up a consortium to finance the collaborationist government. Today we can sum up some of the results of the foreign "aid" from the imperialist states. Most of it has not gone as investment into industry and agriculture, but to buy goods on terms which are highly disadvantageous for our country, and to secure credits at very high interest. The result of this "aid" has been partial abolition of the food price-stabilization subsidies and sizable cuts in spending on social needs. Under this "aid" our state debt has gone up so high that we have to obtain more foreign loans to meet the earlier debts.

The present government is encouraging

an influx of foreign capital and the establishment of mixed private enterprises with the participation of the local reactionary bourgeoisie. The foreign monopoly investments have markedly enlarged the private sector. The monopolies are eroding the state sector, and undermining the work of state plants built on the initiative of the earlier government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, and with the economic and technical aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Communist Party is waging an active struggle against the government's measures aimed at lowering the living standards of the working people. Our Party has joined a united popular front, which has a common program and which includes the former ruling Ceylon Freedom Party and the Lanka Sama Samaj Party. Thus, we now have the possibility of uniting all the progressive forces round a common action program.

The reactionary bourgeoisie is now working hand-in-glove with the foreign monopolies in a savage anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign. The events in Czechoslovakia and the sending in of allied troops are used by the Rightist and ultra-Leftist elements to slander the Soviet Union, and the entire international Communist movement. Attempts are being made to isolate the Communist Party and the other progressive forces. For this purpose Right and ultra-Left elements are also being used inside and outside the united front. The bourgeois press is conducting this campaign in a virtual alliance with the Maoists. The aim of the reactionaries is to intimidate the vacillating elements in the popular front, to form a coalition of Right and ultra-Left elements, and to exclude the Communist Party. But the anti-communist

propaganda has not had any serious effect on the workers and farmers, and has failed to destroy the united front of the progressive forces.

Discussions at the Meeting, especially the speech by the head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Dr. Gustav Husak, helped to clarify the situation. Comrade Husak exposed the lies and slander used by the imperialists and their henchmen to discredit the international Communist movement and to active anti-socialist elements in Czechoslovakia, so as to detach the country from the socialist camp.

The statements of the brother Party delegations at the Meeting on the Czechoslovak question will help our Party to enhance its prestige among the working sections of the population, and make it easier for us to draw ever wider sections of workers, peasants, intellectuals and students into the united popular front.

The deep study of the problems during the preparation and holding of the Meeting gave each Party an opportunity to obtain a clearer understanding of the tasks and specifics of the struggle of all the detachments of the Communist movement. Consequently, the value of the Meeting lies not only in the documents it has adopted but also in the work done by the delegates, their broad exchange of experience, clarification and comparison of various standpoints, and achievement of unity on the key questions.

All the participants in the Meeting displayed unanimous solidarity with the people of Vietnam. For the success of the liberation struggle and the construction of socialism on our continent we must rally the broadest sections of the population for all-round and vigorous support of the just cause of the Vietnam patriots, who are successfully countering the imperialist aggression with the effective military and economic aid of their friends, the USSR above all.

U.S. imperialism, meeting with resistance in Southeast Asia, has been trying to cover the countries on the shores of the Indian Ocean with a network of military bases.

The documents adopted by the Meeting inspire all Communists to continue their efforts to win the peoples for the fight against international imperialism, now resorting to naked violence and other forms of suppressing the liberation movement of the peoples for independence, democracy and socialism.

The Meeting is of great importance for our Party. Its work and its documents will help the progressive and all truly national, patriotic forces in our country to obtain a better understanding that the basic social problems in Ceylon cannot be solved in isolation from the tasks facing all mankind. As the Meeting justly noted, these tasks are to destroy imperialism, abolish the capitalist system and build socialism.

Continuing the reminiscences about Vladimir Ilyich Lenin by veterans of the International Communist movement, we publish in this issue a contribution by A. I. Mikoyan, member of the CPSU since 1915, leading figure in the CPSU. Mikoyan attended the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International.

Lenin, revolutionary and statesman

ANASTAS MIKOYAN

Many books, papers and articles have been written about Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The present article is more in the nature of some reflections on events and facts associated with Lenin's activity.

If I were asked what was the most remarkable thing about Lenin, the revolutionary, scholar and statesman, I would say unhesitatingly—his gift of foreseeing, the ability to foresee the course of social development, and how the different parties would evolve. It was not simply the gift of a man of genius. It was also the result of the dedicated labor of a revolutionary and scholar who was able to analyze social developments and draw the right conclusions therefrom.

How was he able to achieve this, with what instrument?

This instrument was the teaching of Marx and Engels. He was fully conversant with the method of materialist dialectics which he further developed and perfected in keeping with the conditions of his time. This method is the most effective weapon for cognizing the nature of the phenomena and the trends determining social development. By his study of these phenomena he illumined practice with the light of scientific theory, tested theory in practice. His conclusions enriched theory. And as a rule, events developed the "Lenin way," the way he had foreseen.

Lenin never went in for hollow, high-sounding phrases. This was something utterly alien to him. His conclusions were always considered and scientifically based.

When in 1902 he wrote: "Give us an

organization of revolutionaries and we shall revolutionize Russia!" it was not merely a phrase. Together with his immediate associates he moulded the party of the new type, the party of Communists.

Why was it a new type of party? Because it demanded of its members not only absolute dedication to and conviction in communism, but also the readiness to work for the Party, carrying along with them the masses, to fight for the revolution and, if need be, give one's life for this cause.

Numbering only some 24,000 members in March 1917, the Party totalled 350,000 members a short six months later, heading the worker and peasant masses and leading them to victory in a country with a population of 150 million.

It is difficult to imagine the conditions of repressions in which the Party had to work under the tsarist autocracy, the incredible losses it suffered in those years.

Fifteen years later, in October 1917, Lenin's words came true—Russia was revolutionized, the wheel of history turned in a new direction, towards socialism.

Lenin repulsed the attacks on Marxism by opportunists of all shades. He skilfully used the new data on social developments in his arguments, proving the tenability of Marxism.

Lenin the revolutionary was at the same time a scholar, but not purely for the sake of science. He regarded science as a cardinal factor in the revolutionary struggle. When he saw that the idealistic philosophy was damaging the Party, that it was becoming the focal point of an inner-Party

struggle, he began a comprehensive study of philosophical works, of the latest discoveries in the sphere of the natural sciences. His subsequent works are not only a defense of Marxism; they are a new contribution to Marxist philosophy.

Kautsky used to say that philosophy is the private affair of a Party member and that the Party should not interfere in his philosophical views. Lenin, on the contrary, maintained that philosophy must not be separated from politics.

In the article, "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" (1915) Lenin advanced the idea, which illuminated the minds of revolutionaries like lightning in a dark sky, that socialism could be established first in several or even in one country alone, the revolution spreading afterwards to other countries.

When he wrote that the socialist revolution could be accomplished in one country he had Russia in mind where this possibility was most feasible. He knew Russia best of all, of course. It was that rare case when you see things better from afar than at close quarters. Residing in Switzerland at the time, Lenin felt the pulse of life in Russia, saw the growing contradictions that were rending Russian society more clearly than the comrades living in the country. In this, too, lies his genius.

And in February 1917 when the autocracy was overthrown it was clear to Lenin that the possibility of Russia becoming the first socialist country was near at hand. This is borne out by what he wrote in March 1917, before his arrival in Russia in his famous four "Letters from Afar" (the beginning of the fifth, unfinished letter is still extant). In these letters he expressed the view that the bourgeois revolution that had triumphed in Russia, was but the first stage, that the time for the second stage, for the socialist revolution, had come.

It sounds incredible, but it is a fact that of the four letters written for publication in the Party's central organ in Petrograd, only the first appeared, and even then abridged and amended. The other three letters were not published in Lenin's lifetime. That was not accidental . . .

I was a young Marxist at the time, working in the Caucasus. I recall that we were wholly preoccupied with the slogans of the 1905 revolution. None of us realized, either in the center or in the localities, that it was possible to pass over to the socialist revolution immediately

after the February bourgeois-democratic revolution. The Bolshevik papers of those days reveal this. Hence the tendency to converge with the Mensheviks. In a number of towns we actually united with them.

Only Lenin's return from emigration put an end to the vacillations in the Party in the spheres of theory and practice. At the meeting at the Finland Station on April 3 (16) 1917, Vladimir Ilyich unequivocally declared that the first stage of the revolution had ended and that it was necessary to start on the second stage, that of the socialist revolution. This concept, later developed and substantiated in his famous *April Theses*, was the fruit of an exhaustive study of Russian reality after the overthrow of tsarism. It reflected the appreciable development of industry in the country, the concentration of industry and a certain centralization of capital, the emergence of monopolies and trusts, all of which gave rise to powerful working-class centers. These included Petrograd, Moscow, the Donets Basin, Warsaw, the Urals, Baku, Nizhni-Novgorod (Gorky) and Riga.

The concentration of large masses of workers in the key centers greatly multiplied their revolutionary power and strength in political life.

Lenin, of course, realized that Russia was a backward country economically, but on the other hand he emphasized that it was a country with an average level of capitalist development.

This was reflected in the acute socio-political contradictions rending Russian society, exacerbated by the heavy military defeats and inability of tsarism to cope with the economic chaos.

Lenin took a strong stand against the Mensheviks from the very outset, and flatly rejected their "theory" of revolution. This was natural. What was surprising was something else. Lenin had always emphasized that the revolution could be accomplished only through an insurrection. And suddenly, at specific moments in 1917 Lenin himself advocated the peaceful transition of power to the working class.

After February 1917 a dual power was established in Russia: the bourgeois Provisional Government and the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The workers and soldiers followed the lead of the Soviets which therefore exercised the actual power, but the latter were still do-

minated by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Even so Lenin favored the transition of power to the Soviets, foreseeing that as the revolution developed the majority in them would go over to the Bolsheviks. And it was in this, then favorable, situation that Lenin advanced the idea of possible peaceful transition.

Lenin was a passionate revolutionary, impatient of delay. But in June, when some participants at the conference of army organizations in Petrograd demanded that preparations for insurrection be immediately started, he came out against this way of seizing power, for the peaceful possibilities had not been exhausted. Furthermore, the army was not prepared to support the workers in this. In July, however, when the troops of the Provisional Government, on the instigation of Kerensky and other "socialist" ministers, opened fire on a workers' demonstration in Petrograd, Lenin withdrew the slogan of peaceful transition and proposed preparing the Party, the working class, to seize power the armed way.

This flexibility, principled stand, ability to take timely account of the changing situation, to withdraw in good time a slogan that no longer corresponded to the correlation of class forces, to the new political situation, and to replace it with one that did—herein lies Lenin's remarkable ability correctly to determine the tactics of the revolutionary struggle.

Of great interest in this respect is his letter of October 24, 1917, on the eve of the revolution, to the Central Committee members. It shows Lenin's confidence in the forces of the Party and the working class, his ability to sense the right moment for decisive action. What made the situation dramatic is that the years of exhaustive struggle had to be put to the test in one night. And the matter had to be decided that very night, otherwise it would be too late. On this Lenin was firm, adamant and insistent.

This was not a caprice but the dictate of the moment. In the Central Committee voices argued in favor of accumulating forces first before taking action, of waiting for the congress of Soviets to announce the beginning of the insurrection. But this would also give the enemy time to accumulate his forces and strike first. Lenin wrote in this connection: "History will not forgive revolutionaries for procrastinating when they could be victorious today . . ."

On the night of October 24-25 power was seized. The Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets meeting on the 25th was informed that the power was in the hands of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

Less than seven months after Lenin had proclaimed his April theses calling for the socialist revolution, this revolution triumphed.

This brings to mind another interesting fact. In June 1917 Plekhanov, the veteran of Marxism in Russia (he was 14 years older than Lenin who considered him his teacher in his earlier years) who returned from emigration practically at the same time as Lenin did, formulated Menshevism's concept of the socialist revolution in Russia, which was the reverse of Lenin's as outlined in his *April Theses*. Plekhanov wrote:

"Russian history has not yet milled the flour for baking the socialist pie."

Plekhanov did not feel, did not see that Russian history had already milled the flour and was preparing the dough with which the people in October 1917 would bake the socialist pie. This struck the death knell of Russian Menshevism, for the socialist revolution triumphed in Russia four months later.

Kautsky, the leader of European social-democracy, found himself in an even more ridiculous position. When the socialist revolution triumphed in Petrograd he said that the Bolsheviks would not be able to maintain power for even two weeks. Right and Centrist social-democracy thereby revealed their bankruptcy.

A few words about Lenin as a statesman.

On the eve of the October Revolution when he had to go into hiding to escape arrest by the authorities, Lenin wrote his famous *The State and Revolution*. He noted at the time that it was not simply a scientific matter, but also a question of the practical activity of the masses, of what had to be done on the morrow.

The revolution prevented Lenin from finishing the book. "Such an interruption," he wrote, "can only be welcomed . . . It is more pleasant and useful to go through the experience of the revolution than to write about it."

It is significant that Lenin's first act as chairman of the revolutionary Soviet government was to submit to the Second Congress of Soviets two documents of the greatest historical importance: the Decree on Peace and the Decree on Land.

He called for an end to the war, for a peace without annexations and indemnities, and proposed to all belligerent nations and their governments to begin immediate talks to conclude a just and democratic peace. In the Decree on Land he incorporated all that was important in the 242 mandates of the peasants to their deputies.

This made a tremendous impact on our country, and throughout the world.

In 1919 I came to Moscow to report to Lenin on the situation in the Caucasus. I was 24 then. Lenin gave me his undivided attention, asking me a multitude of questions and marshalling the facts. But what really amazed me was his absolute confidence in ultimate victory at a time when three-quarters of the country was under the jackboot of the counter-revolution, when Soviet Russia was cut off from its coal mines, oil regions, the cotton-growing and grain areas, when Denikin had seized Orel and was advancing on Moscow, and the whiteguard troops were five kilometres from Petrograd.

I shall never forget Lenin's report to the Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets in December 1919. Things were still grim, but the tide had turned in the Civil War in favor of the Soviets. Lenin dwelt on the lessons of the road traversed and on the three main problems that had to be tackled if we were to be victorious.

The first was the problem of grain. If we are able to procure grain, supply it to the workers' centers and thus end starvation, we shall win, he said.

The second was that of fuel, without which locomotives could not run or industry be put on its feet.

The third was to wipe out the typhus which was raging behind the lines and at the front, taking a heavy toll of the troops. It might sound embarrassing, but Lenin said at the time that our biggest enemies were lice and the typhus. "Either the lice will defeat socialism, or socialism will defeat the lice!" The army on the Civil War fronts was losing more men from typhus than in military actions. There was an acute shortage of everything, including doctors. Lenin was overjoyed when 150 Moscow doctors volunteered to go to the front.

In that grim and bleak period the material forces that kept the revolution alive seemed a sheer miracle. But the source of that miracle was the organization of the working class, its devotion to the revolution and hatred of the bourgeoisie, its alliance with the peasantry who hated the landown-

ers, the strength of the Party although small in numbers (its membership was a little over 300,000, that is, as much as at the time of the October Revolution; many regions were cut off from Soviet Russia), and, last but not least, Lenin's leadership of genius.

Lenin knew the Russian peasantry very well. He had made a study of how they live and work, of economic relations in the countryside when still a young man, in the Volga countryside, and during his Siberian exile. Generally speaking the peasant question was the most difficult one of the Russian revolution.

The peasants had to be won over to help build socialism together with the working class. How to get them interested in joining forces with the working class, in socialism? When the war was being waged against the landowners, the peasantry moved with us. But once the Civil War was over they wanted to work for themselves. It was clear to Lenin that it was essential to establish new economic relations with the peasantry, to provide them with incentives. He proposed, and the Party endorsed the proposal, to introduce a tax in kind, that is, to collect from the peasant a fixed amount of grain as tax and once this had been paid to allow him to trade freely in the grain left over.

This meant, in effect, permitting private capital which had been liquidated earlier. This caused dissatisfaction among a part of the workers and disillusionment among some of the Communists who declared that we were going back to capitalism.

Lenin frankly admitted that this was a retreat, but there was no other way out. Private capital, foreign concessions were of course a dangerous thing, but it was the sort of danger that could be combated with political power being in the hands of the proletariat, and the big banks, railways, factories, and the land in the hands of the state. And private capital could be regulated with this force, could be kept within certain bounds. It was necessary to direct private capital and peasant farming along the lines of state capital under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Private capital and foreign concessions would then, willy-nilly, be helping socialism as well, while securing advantages for themselves. Subsequent developments proved Lenin right.

The difficulties of the first year of the new economic policy (NEP) were aggravated by drought in the Volga region which brought famine in its wake and the death of millions of peasants. It was only a year

later that matters began to improve in town and countryside.

On November 13, 1922 Lenin addressed the Fourth Congress of the Comintern at which he explained to the foreign comrades the significance of NEP, what had been achieved in the year and a half since it was introduced and what were the prospects.

On November 20 he addressed a meeting of the Moscow Soviet. This was his last public appearance, for he was already ailing. But he continued to write, and left many important works which were a guide to the Party in cementing its unity, the alliance of the working class and peasantry, in socialist construction.

At the Comintern congress Lenin spoke about the revival of light industry which was producing consumer goods for sale to the peasants in exchange for grain and raw materials; about the situation in heavy industry which was still grave, because the country could not count on loans from abroad and had to find the capital at home. He proudly noted in this connection that the country had succeeded in accumulating a little over twenty million gold rubles which would be used for improving heavy industry.

Compare this figure with the more than 60,000 million rubles invested in capital construction today!

While the Civil War was still raging, when the Soviet power hung by a thread, when our enemies were shouting that Moscow would soon fall and that would be the end of the Soviet power, Lenin suggested setting up a state commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO). He spoke passionately in support of this plan at the Eighth Congress of Soviets in December 1920. Lenin's foresight was truly amazing. At a time when the country was literally in ruins, when most factories were idle owing to lack of fuel and raw materials, when steel output was a mere 194,000 tons for the whole of Russia (today Magnitogorsk alone produces more than this in a week). Lenin advanced a truly gigantic plan for the country's industrial development. Today the accretion of power capacity in a single year equals three GOELRO plans.

As a delegate to the Third and Fourth congresses of the Comintern I had occasion to see the tremendous amount of work accomplished by Lenin.

A few more remarks about the Fourth Congress.

Speaking of the difficulties facing the country, Lenin noted the mistakes made

by the Party and the Soviet government in trying to overcome them. He boldly criticized these mistakes but not just for the sake of criticism, but in order to learn from them and avoid repeating them.

He remarked that after reading his speech our enemies would say that Lenin himself admits that the Bolsheviks have done a host of foolish things. That is true, said Lenin, but they have done far more foolish things and the foolish things we have done are very different from theirs.

By way of comparison he cited a passage from one of Turgenev's novels in which a woman-hater, refusing to credit women with the ability to think logically, maintained that where a man may make a miscalculation a woman will say something utterly nonsensical. In other words, continued Lenin, if the Bolshevik does foolish things he says, "Twice two are five," but when his enemies, i.e., the capitalists and the heroes of the Second International, do foolish things they get, "Twice two make a tallow candle," which is sheer nonsense. Look what they did. Without second thought they promised to help Kolchak, even recognized him as the Supreme Ruler of Russia. And what was the end result? A fiasco.

Lenin cited as another example of the foolish things done by the capitalist countries the Treaty of Versailles, and the abortive armed intervention of the imperialists in Russia.

Speaking about the foreign Communist parties he said that their main task was to study how to build a real revolutionary party, the party of the new type; to study the organization, structure and method of revolutionary work, how to adapt the experience of the Russian party to their own conditions and become a revolutionary party and, spreading its influence among the non-party masses, lead them in the struggle for the proletarian revolution.

Such parties were established and Lenin helped to build them. He participated in the preparation and carrying out of the first four congresses of the Comintern, displaying his genius as organizer and leader of the world Communist movement.

Among the 75 Communist and Workers' parties represented at the recent International Meeting in Moscow were young Communist and Workers' parties which arose under the influence of the old Communist parties founded in Lenin's day. This Meeting was yet another victory for the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin.

Triumph of Leninism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria

ZHIVKO ZHIVKOV

Progressive people everywhere are preparing to mark an historic anniversary: the centenary of the birth of Lenin. The magnitude of the event can be measured by the results of the turning point in man's social development which came with the Great October Socialist Revolution, and which is indissolubly linked with Lenin's name. The revolutionary breakthrough in the capitalist system, effected by the Russian working class in alliance with the working peasants and the revolutionary soldiers under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, was subsequently extended and deepened by the revolutionary victories in other countries. The scientific, Marxist-Leninist prediction that capitalism as a social system was doomed and that the historic mission of the working class was to replace it with communism, the new social system, has been fully borne out.

Lenin elaborated and enriched the basic Marxist theses in the new era of imperialism. He summed up the revolutionary practice of the Bolshevik Party in the fight for political power, for consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the building of socialism; he enunciated the general laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In this way he provided the working class of Russia and of the world with an effective ideological weapon—Leninism; and there is ample practice to show that Leninism is the Marxism of the modern era. Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the international Communist and workers' movement has become the most powerful social force in the world, a force whose chief achievement is the establishment of the socialist world system.

On the eve of the Lenin centenary, the working people of Bulgaria are marking the 25th anniversary of their own socialist revolution, which they carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party and with the decisive help of the Soviet Army. September 9, 1944, the continuation of the great cause of the October Revolution, was a triumph for Marxism-Leninism in Bulgaria. In the 25 years of socialist rule our people have achieved remarkable success in building the new society, and this is inseparable from Lenin's name, from Leninism. We have every right to say, therefore, that Lenin also belongs to us Bulgarians. His name and his cause are cherished by every patriot of our country.

I.

The main result of the past 25 years in Bulgaria is the complete triumph of socialism. In this relatively short period Bulgaria, having traversed the road from capitalism to socialism, has laid firm foundations for the socialist system, paving the way to the next stage, construction of a comprehensive socialist society.

In these 25 years, the Communist Party has been to the fore in effecting fundamental changes in the economic base, in the political superstructure, and in ideology and culture. All the complex problems associated with the building of socialism necessitate a scientific class approach and sound decisions in the light of the concrete conditions but always in line with the ultimate goal—the building of socialism and communism. That is why, once political power has been won, the Party has an increased responsibility to the

working people and to the international Communist movement. This requires steady reinforcement of the Party's leading role. The future of socialism depends on the skill displayed by the Party in organizing and rallying the working people, in directing their effort in socialist and communist construction.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the crux of the socialist revolution, it is its general law. Guided by the Leninist teaching, our Party has taken bold decisions, setting up a state of people's democracy, a unique form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The alliance of the working class and working peasantry, under the leadership of the former, is the backbone of the proletarian dictatorship. And guided by this, our Party has pursued a consistent policy of strengthening its fraternal cooperation with the Agrarian Union, cooperation which is the core of the Fatherland Front, a solid and massive organization of working people.

The socialist system holds out broad democratic rights and personal freedoms, but these cannot be used to harm society or jeopardize law and order or national security. No society has a "supra-class" democracy, or freedom without social or legal restraints. That is something we certainly cannot allow in a socialist society, which is the highest type of state organization, with power having its source in the people and resting in their hands.

Sovereignty of the people is exercised by the democratically elected and representative National Assembly and the local organs of state power; these are aided by various committees involving a large number of experts and public-minded citizens.

Growing socialist democracy is the feature of the mechanism through which our society is run. Ways of improving the system of public administration were examined by the July (1968) Plenum of the Central Committee on the strength of a report by First Secretary Todor Zhivkov. It answered the questions that had arisen in our development, and its decisions were a fresh expression of our Party's creative approach and its ability to take timely notice and resolve the contradictions arising in the course of our development, and to substitute new and more progressive forms for obsolete ones.

Improvement in public administration is the main direction in the unfolding of socialist democracy. The role of the representative state organs and of the public

organizations is growing, and their functions are changing in line with the new tasks, with growing numbers of the working people being drawn into government and management. We now have, for instance, the Committee for Culture and the Arts, which is elected by a congress of art and cultural workers, and the Committee for Youth and Sports, in which young Communists and other public-minded citizens work on a voluntary basis. Another recent establishment is the United Cooperative Union, bringing together the cooperative farms and consumer cooperatives. For many years we have had an efficient Cooperative Farm Union, which together with the former has a vital part to play in developing democracy in the cooperatives. In the enterprises we have economic committees taking part in management as representative bodies of the labor collectives. In industry, we have secured the right balance between one-man management and joint decision-making.

The Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Communist League and writers', composers' and artists' unions play an important role in socio-political life. The trade unions have a big say in social matters, and in concluding collective labor agreements. They take an active part in deciding on all matters connected with working conditions and wage rates.

II.

Our Party takes inspiration from the universal experience of the CPSU and the fraternal Parties of the other socialist countries. It has never contrasted the country's specific national conditions with the general laws of socialist construction. It has done a great deal to enrich socialist practice by seeking and finding apt solutions in its national conditions.

The specific conditions of the struggle for political power in my country together with the complex internal and international conditions at the time have left their mark also on the methods used to solve the main task of the transition from capitalism to socialism—socializing the means of production. Right after the takeover, we confiscated only the property of the more reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, which had been working hand in glove with the fascist regime. We introduced workers' control to restrict the power of the capitalists in industry and to secure some regulation of economic life. Still, capitalists who retained their econo-

mic positions sabotaged the economic measures of the people's government.

Once the counter-revolutionary opposition had been defeated and the peace treaty signed, once the gains of the working people had been inscribed in the new Constitution, favorable conditions were created for nationalizing large-scale capitalist property.

This was done in 1947 and was a most important step in the economic sphere which set the country on a balanced path to socialism. Nationalization established the dominance of socialist relations of production in industry, in banking, and also in wholesale and foreign trade, which was made a state monopoly. The bourgeoisie, removed from the commanding heights, were abolished as a class.

To secure complete victory for the socialist relations of production the small producers, mostly working peasants, had to be switched to socialist farming. This was a necessity, for as we had learned from our own experience as well, socialist construction cannot rest on two different pillars—large-scale socialized industry, and a dispersed and backward small peasant agriculture. Socialist nationalization, as a revolutionary method of depriving the exploiting classes of the means of production, was not applied to the small producers, since the latter, mainly peasants and handicraftsmen, are allies of the working class.

The transformations wrought in agriculture had some essential features which sprang from Bulgaria's specific conditions, above all the scattered socio-economic structure, and the operation of conflicting factors arising from the peasant's two-fold character as worker and as proprietor. Land was not nationalized because of the prevalence of small farming on privately owned land.

After the people's victory on September 9, our Party made use of the old cooperative traditions to restructure agriculture along socialist lines. Under the leadership of Georgi Dimitrov, our Party found the best form for this in voluntary association in cooperatives. Because the land remained in their hands, the peasants received not only payment for their work in the cooperatives but also rent for the land they pooled. As the cooperatives grew, the peasants themselves waived the rent, so that the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of the work done on the cooperative farms has been fully established. This was

an instance of a creative approach to the solution of the task of attracting the peasants to socialism. The Leninist cooperative plan for restructuring agriculture along socialist lines is working in Bulgaria.

And this is so thanks to the assistance and cooperation of the fraternal socialist countries, the USSR above all. We received most of our agricultural machinery from the USSR. Soon the cooperatives showed their advantages over the individual plots, and the peasants flocked to them in large numbers. Because of this, the Party's extensive political and organizational effort, and the financial aid of the state, the socialist reconstruction of agriculture was completed by 1958.

Our experience, like that of other countries, has confirmed that *industrialization is the shortest and surest way to boost the economy*. That is why socialist industrialization has become the main element of our economic policy.

Rapid development of industry enabled us to solve a number of economic and social problems. Establishing and extending the material and production base was a vital condition for the full use of the country's manpower resources. Urban unemployment and the widespread latent unemployment in the countryside were eliminated. The rapidly developing industry, building, transport and other branches absorbed all the man-power released from agriculture, ensuring the necessary material guarantee for the right to work, which socialism proclaims.

On the strength of Lenin's idea that only a large-scale machine industry capable of reorganizing agriculture can provide the material basis for socialism, our Party has concentrated the working people's effort on metallurgy, power, engineering and the heavy chemical industry. These new large enterprises created conditions for raising the national economy as a whole to a modern level. The country is now taking an active part in the international socialist division of labor.

Today, over 1,000,000 persons are employed in our industry as compared with 100,000 in 1939. *Industrial output has increased roughly 30-fold. Over one-half of the national income now comes from industry.*

Our exports have multiplied, with non-agricultural durables making up more than one-half, and engineering products, 27 per cent. Not long ago the country had to cover its engineering imports mainly by

agricultural and raw material exports. Today, more than one-half of the imports are covered by engineering exports.

Our peasants have remarkable success to report on this 25th anniversary of the socialist revolution. There are now highly mechanized agricultural enterprises (state and cooperative), using modern agrotechnical methods. We have 156 state and 795 cooperative farms averaging 4,000 hectares, 88 tractors, 17 harvesters and other machines. On these farms, labor-intensive operations are almost entirely mechanized. *Agricultural output has been doubled with half the labor force.*

Accelerated development of the productive forces, growth of productivity of labor, and active participation in the international division of labor have helped to boost the national income and raise living standards. *In the years of socialist construction the national income has increased more than fivefold.* In Bulgaria, socialism has vividly demonstrated its great advantages over the old social system.

We believe that the best way to bring out the strength and superiority of socialism is for the Party to take a creative approach to the solution of pressing problems, to apply the most effective methods and forms of guidance, and chart the most promising ways for society's further advance. Accordingly, the Party has directed the country towards intensive economic development, constantly improving the structure of the national economy so as to bring it up to modern scientific and technological levels.

A recent step in this respect is the new system of economic management, which early this year was introduced in all branches of the economy.

The new system, worked out in the light of the economic laws of socialism and the country's concrete conditions, makes for a more rapid and efficient development of the productive forces. It helps to raise the scientific level of planning and enhances the role of the financial and credit system, and of economic accounting. It adds weight to incentives by tying in rewards with results. It also helps to improve the price structure and pricing, and increases the influence of trade on production. The government is now in a better position to use economic means to influence economic operations and to direct the economy. The socio-economic development plan for the whole country now contains only a limited number of key indicators which make for

the necessary co-ordination between the various branches and types of operations, and ensure the balanced and proportional development of the national economy. The greater freedom to operate, as compared with that under the old system, together with centralized planning and direction of the economy marks a new and higher stage of democratic development in economic life.

In elaborating the principles and mechanism of the new system, our Party did not seek any "new models" of socialism, nor did it abandon the time-tested Leninist principles of democratic centralism in economic life, observance of which makes it possible fully to bring out the advantages of socialism. It has resolutely rejected the idea of complete decentralization in economic guidance, known as "market socialism," which inevitably leads to the upheavals and chaos typical of capitalism.

The most characteristic aspect of our policy is that it has never contrasted national conditions with the general laws underlying socialist construction, as some "Left" and Right revisionists have done in theory and practice. That this is correct has been shown by the rapid and steady development of our highly stable economy.

III.

The socialist revolution has brought about a radical change in society's spiritual life, ideology and culture. It has helped to mould the new man, giving him a Marxist-Leninist outlook and making him a conscious builder of the new life. This profound change in the working people's thinking and in their relations resulted from the elimination of private property in the means of production and the exploitation of man by man.

The Party has restructured education and science to make them serve socialist construction.

The intelligentsia, whose fortunes are closely linked with those of the working class, has an especially important part to play in the cultural revolution. Even under capitalism, the Party had worked with men of letters, men dedicated to communism, who produced striking works which greatly influenced the working people.

Many Bulgarian intellectuals accepted the ideas and traditions of our people's national liberation struggle, and cherished their interests and aspirations as their own. The Party used diverse forms in its work to extend and deepen its influence among

intellectuals and students. It made skilful use of the *chitalishcha* — popular reading rooms — which were to be found all over the country and which served as nurseries of national culture dating from the national liberation period—to carry on its political and educational work in the midst of the working people. Through the young Workers' Union and the National Students' Union, the Party influenced young people in schools and colleges and most of them subsequently joined in the fight against fascism and capitalism. Most intellectuals were loyal to the people's revolutionary and democratic traditions. During the Second World War, progressive and democratically-minded intellectuals joined the Fatherland Front, forming the nucleus which later rallied men and women in science and culture in actively building socialism under the Party's leadership.

After the socialist revolution, the Party, mindful of Lenin's idea of using the old experts, succeeded in winning over most of the intellectuals, and in isolating those whose reactionary views impelled them to collaborate with the fascist regime. Education was established on sound materialist foundations. We created a qualitatively new culture, national in form and socialist in content, permeated with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, socialist humanism and realism, peace and friendship between nations. *This correct policy turned Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class, into the ideology of the whole nation.* This is the greatest ideological gain of the socialist revolution.

Alongside the Party's painstaking and consistent effort to re-educate and unite the old intellectuals and recruit them for building the new society, it took resolute steps in the very first years of people's rule to train a new, socialist intelligentsia, mainly from the midst of the working class and peasantry. Education was made free and compulsory for all children under the age of 16. We opened a number of higher schools and colleges with broad access for the sons and daughters of the working people. Today, Bulgaria is a world leader in the number of students per thousand of population. We have an extensive network of research institutes, whose material and technical facilities are being steadily enlarged and improved. Thus, together with the elimination of the legacy of the past—widespread illiteracy and lack of schools in many localities—we have created all the conditions needed for training the new,

socialist intelligentsia with a Marxist-Leninist outlook, men and women who are active builders of the new society. The scientists and technicians and the large body of specialists in the social and humanitarian sciences, who are dedicated to applying scientific and technological achievements, are the nation's valuable asset.

The rapid growth of the productive forces and the steady increase in the number of specialists with a higher and secondary special education have worked profound changes in the occupational structure of the working class. Today, almost 17 per cent of blue and white-collar workers have had a higher or secondary special education. There has been a sharp increase in the number of skilled workers doing more and more mental work and this helps gradually to overcome the essential distinctions between mental and manual work, and helps to even out society's social structure. At the same time, the saturation of agriculture with highly productive machines, and the extensive introduction of factory methods helps gradually to overcome the essential distinction between town and countryside. The change in the occupational structure, and in the conditions and character of work, and the steadily rising living standard produce new forms of the working people's labor, social and spiritual activity. All this creates the material and social conditions for developing the all-round man and his harmonious physical and spiritual growth.

The fundamental changes in our society during its socialist reconstruction have helped to release the people's creative genius. From the midst of the people have come talented writers, poets, and artists, gifted musicians, singers and actors.

Our intellectuals, closely linked with the people by origin and interest, are helping to recast society's spiritual and ideological life, to inculcate a socialist awareness based on the Marxist-Leninist outlook. The mass media, penetrating to every corner of the country, are used as a powerful means of raising cultural standards and educating the people in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Men of culture are actively creating the new spiritual life by blending their professional skills with Marxism-Leninism. The class, Communist Party approach alone makes it possible to carry out a genuine socialist revolution in culture and conduct a broad ideological offensive.

Our experience, like that of other fra-

ternal Parties, shows that socialist culture is not created by negating or destroying the progressive cultural heritage, but by using all the values created by man in his long history. "Marxism," Lenin wrote, "has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has, on the contrary, assimilated and re-fashioned everything of value in the more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 317).

IV.

Lenin's ideas are also embodied in our foreign policy and in our international relations. The foreign policy pursued by the Party and Government is designed to extend and depend the ties and fraternal cooperation with the socialist countries, and to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the socialist community as the most important external factor in the country's successful socialist development, and a safeguard against imperialist aggression.

Following the October Socialist Revolution and the emergence of the world's first socialist state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — socialist construction in any other country can go forward successfully only if there is the closest cooperation with the USSR. This is the general conclusion drawn by our Party, and it has been confirmed by Bulgaria's 25 years of socialism. In this context, the laws governing economic, military and political development are of the utmost importance.

Economic cooperation between the socialist countries based on socialist internationalism is a powerful factor in accelerating the building of the material and technical base for socialism in the various countries and in pooling efforts for scientific and technical progress. It has helped Bulgaria, in a relatively short time, to overcome her economic backwardness, and to escape from economic dependence on the imperialist states.

The decisions of the 23rd special session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) held in 1969 on deepening economic co-operation between its members through economic integration mark a new stage in implementing Lenin's idea of a worldwide socialist economy.

Military-political cooperation is the best safeguard for their socialist gains against

imperialist aggression, and a key factor of each socialist country's sovereign development. In this respect, an exceptional part belongs to the Warsaw Treaty, which, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov said at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, is the main barrier to the anti-socialist and revenge-seeking forces, and the mainstay of peace in Europe. The Warsaw Treaty meets not only the vital interests of the world socialist community and the alliance of the European socialist countries but also those of Bulgaria's national independence.

Socialist construction in Bulgaria is carried on in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

Complete identity of our people's vital interests and their international obligations is a governing principle of the country's foreign policy and international relations. This is best exemplified by Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which Dimitrov called the cornerstone of our foreign policy. Our Party also pursues the same policy with respect to other fraternal socialist countries. The Bulgarian people's friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries are a great historical gain, and it is our supreme internationalist duty to cherish them and keep them unblemished.

The experience of relations between the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, and of our inter-state relations shows that these relations of a new type do not arise of themselves, but must be guided and directed by the Marxist-Leninist parties, the governing force in socialist society. These relations are influenced by diverse objective and subjective factors, which produce various tendencies. But the main tendency is cohesion and unity, which spring from our similar socio-political and economic systems, and common tasks and purposes in building socialism and communism.

No problem in relations between socialist countries is too complicated to defy solution in the common interest based on socialist internationalism. Experience shows that departure from the time-tested principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism can but hamper the overcoming of any complications. That applies to the Mao group, which has broken with Marxism-Leninism, has adopted a nationalist stand, and has made anti-Sovietism the main line of its foreign policy. The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Par-

ties in Moscow re-affirmed the need for consistently fighting any departures from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Any deviation from these principles, life has shown, tends to feed the anti-socialist forces and inevitably leads to the dangerous way of anti-Sovietism.

Active support of the just fight for national independence of the less developed countries which have thrown off the yoke of colonial imperialist oppression and have taken the non-capitalist way is an integral part of Bulgaria's foreign policy. She has given and will continue to give all the help she can to the heroic Vietnamese people, until they inflict the final defeat on the U.S. aggressors. Our foreign policy helps to bar the way to West German revanchism, and to guarantee peace and security for the peoples of Europe. Our people support the just fight of the Arab nations against the Israeli invaders.

As a Balkan country, Bulgaria wants stable peace maintained in the area, and good-neighbor relations with all its countries. In the past repeated clashes of interests between the big imperialist powers involved the Balkan nations in internecine strife. Socialism in most of the Balkan countries, including Bulgaria, is the best pledge of lasting peace and relations of mutual understanding between these nations.

Bulgaria's relations with the capitalist countries are based on the Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence of countries with differing socio-political systems.

* * *

The internationalism of our Party's policy is the main content of its relations with the fraternal Parties and with the international Communist and working-class move-

ment. Since it was set up, our Party has abided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It has never tolerated in its ranks any nationalism or departures from proletarian internationalism. At the same time, it has worked hard for the cohesion and greater unity of the Communists of the world on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

For our Party, the attitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, has always been the touchstone of internationalism. For us, the CPSU has been and remains a model Party strictly fulfilling its internationalist obligations.

Bulgaria has been travelling the socialist way for 25 years, years of dynamic, tempestuous upswing in which our people have advanced from capitalism to socialism, have won outstanding success in every sphere of socio-political, economic and cultural life. This success is proof that the Party of Dimitr Blagoyev and Georgi Dimitrov, that the Bulgarian Communists have learned Lenin's lessons well and that they are his true followers. Now that progressive mankind is preparing to mark the Lenin centenary, "we Bulgarian Communists," Comrade Todor Zhivkov told the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "do not see a finer way of honoring the 100th anniversary of Lenin than by the successful construction of a socialist society—by our struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, by our loyalty to proletarian internationalism in deed, by our offensive and intransigent struggle against the bourgeois ideology, by the restoration and consolidation of the ideological and political unity of the international Communist movement, the unity of action of all its detachments in the fight for the complete victory of our great communist cause."

Our common cause

DANG QUANG MINH

The International Meeting of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow last June issued an Appeal, "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!", condemning the U.S. war against the people of Vietnam and expressing wholehearted support for the 10-point program for peace in Vietnam, advanced by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front in May this year. The Moscow meeting declared that the USA must cease its aggression in Vietnam, and unconditionally withdraw all its troops and the troops of its satellites from South Vietnam. The meeting cabled its greetings to the newly-formed Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and assured it and the people of Vietnam of steadfast support in the fight for final victory.

The Vietnamese people's fight for their basic national rights is gaining ever wider recognition as an integral part of the worldwide popular movement against imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and for national independence, peace and social progress. Our fight and this movement are interconnected. The more they act together in bridling the warmakers in the imperialist countries, the greater our chances will be of blocking the road to imperialist wars, including the war in Vietnam.

Every success of the people of Vietnam in their fight against the U.S. aggressors reinforces the positions of the peace forces in their ceaseless offensive and weakens the forces of war. The peace forces throughout the world are superior to the forces of war, as is evident from the course of events in Vietnam. It is also clear that the peoples' struggle for peace is bound up with the struggle for national independence.

For three generations now the people of

South Vietnam have been living in conditions of war. That is why we so ardently desire peace, that is why, after so much suffering and sacrifice, we are working purposefully for genuine peace in Vietnam, a peace that can come only if our people are independent and free.

The urge of our people for peace is seen in their whole fight. Our country, an agrarian country, is confronted by an aggressor who has at his disposal the economic and military might of the greatest industrial power in the capitalist world, an aggressor who has thrown into battle almost 1.5 million men, and who has been using strategic B-52 bombers, aircraft carriers, tanks, toxic agents and other weapons; the only exception is his nuclear weapons. In repelling this onslaught we rely on our inalienable right to self-defense, and we are combating the aggressors and the Saigon traitors with all the means at our disposal. The whole world has recognized that we have won victory after victory, forcing the enemy to retreat, especially since our general offensive in the spring of 1968 and early this year.

Our success is evident also in other remarkable achievements in South Vietnam just when the USA has been hit by an unprecedented crisis in every sphere—political, economic, financial, monetary and social. We are steadily raising the material and cultural standards of the people even in those areas virtually ploughed up by enemy bombs and saturated with toxic agents, and where life goes on only underground and at night. In these underground shelters we teach our peasants to read and write and we train doctors, teachers and actors. Along the rims of the bomb craters we grow vegetables and farm fish in the ponds caused by the bombing. Anything

the enemy destroys is restored to many times its original dimensions.

In the areas cleared of the enemy, we have been doing much work among the less developed ethnic groups. Remarkable social progress has been made by 14 of these minorities who only 10 years ago led a nomadic life and had no alphabet. Now under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, these minorities are living a settled life and have learned to write. In this we have eloquent testimony to the viability and success of our policy of peace.

The sooner peace is restored to our country, the sooner will our people be able to concentrate on healing the war wounds and building a new life. The U.S. government is entirely to blame that there is still no peace in Vietnam.

With its run of defeats in South and North Vietnam and under the pressure of world opinion, notably of progressive Americans, the U.S. government has been forced unconditionally to halt the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to take part in the four-sided negotiations in Paris. In the course of these negotiations, the National Liberation Front put forward its 10-point program for a complete solution of the South Vietnam problem. This program, positively assessed by world opinion, is enjoying ever greater support. Its envisaged settlement of the problem guarantees the basic national rights of the South Vietnam people, meets the insistent demand of the peace-loving peoples, and is in line with the vital interests of the American people.

We assure progressive Americans of our sympathy for their resistance to the war policy of their rulers, a policy of betrayal of the traditions of freedom and democracy cherished by Washington and Lincoln. We note with satisfaction that more and more U.S. citizens understand our good will in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem. We sincerely wish for better understanding with our American friends, including those who are forced to live abroad because of their opposition to the draft, to the war in Vietnam or for other reasons, and those who have shown their sympathies and support for our people.

At the World Peace Assembly in Berlin, the U.S. pacifist Mr. Sarnoff spoke of his share of the responsibility for his government's criminal war in Vietnam. We welcome the stand taken by those Americans who realize their responsibility for this.

Let us add, too, that we Vietnamese are the first victims of this war, and the American people, the second. Over \$100,000 millions have been squandered, tens of thousands of Americans have been killed in action, and many have been jailed in the United States or have been forced to flee their homeland. Meanwhile, the USA still has a "war on poverty" on its hands, budget appropriations on education and other social needs have been cut back, additional taxes have been levied to finance the war, and line the pockets of the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique in Saigon.

The U.S. Declaration of Independence says that men are created equal and are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These words are also written into the first paragraph of Vietnam's 1945 Declaration of Independence. There is, therefore, complete identity between the traditions of peace, freedom and democracy which the American people cherish, and the South Vietnam people's will to safeguard their basic national rights in a struggle which is a thousand years old.

We Vietnamese, who have inherited proud patriotic traditions from our ancestors, are determined to do our national duty, to make any sacrifice and endure any suffering to attain the goals of our struggle. For their part, U.S. citizens, true to their country's Declaration of Independence and their fine traditions of justice and liberty, do not have any duty to submit when sent to Vietnam to kill or be killed. Under the 1945 London Agreement setting up the International Military Tribunal at Nuremburg, as under the U.S. Constitution, no U.S. citizen can be forced to take part in the criminal aggressive war against the Vietnamese people, a war which has also hit the Americans themselves.

All Vietnamese patriots, like all U.S. citizens conscious of their duties and their rights, all progressive men throughout the world, are unanimous in their will to compel the Nixon Government to stop the war in Vietnam, withdraw all U.S. and other interventionist troops. For Americans, this would be an honorable way out of the war.

However, the U.S. government, refusing to take this path, has persisted in its treacherous attitude. In his eight-point program, put forward ostensibly in response to the NLF's constructive program, President Nixon said nothing at all about the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people. On the general election in South

Vietnam he seemed to show respect for the South Vietnamese right to self-determination, but he actually had in mind a totally different "election," one staged by the puppet regime set up by the U.S. government, and which manages to hang on only because U.S. troops remain on Vietnamese soil.

At the Paris talks, the U.S. side continues to insist on its demand for a "reciprocal withdrawal" of non-South Vietnamese troops, a demand which is incompatible with the generally accepted rules of international law, under which a nation has the right to defend itself against foreign aggression. The withdrawal of 25,000 out of the 600,000 U.S. and satellite troops, recently announced by Washington, is designed to soothe and mislead public opinion everywhere, including the United States itself. Actually, Washington is intent on keeping its troops in South Vietnam to reinforce the puppet army and to continue the war.

In addition, the U.S. side has demanded recognition of the Saigon administration as "South Vietnam's lawful and duly authorized government." The Nixon government's policy of "de-Americanizing" or "Vietnamizing" the war is another step along the way of neo-colonialism, aggression, and violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and international law. For its part, the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique in Saigon obdurately insists on a "reciprocal pull-out" under the Manila formula, and persecutes the progressive forces and all those who want a coalition government in South Vietnam and a just political solution of the South Vietnam problem.

In accordance with these demands, a Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam was recently set up. Its establishment meets the aspirations and wishes of all the people of South Vietnam, for it is their true and lawful representative. The government is the capstone of the system of revolutionary people's rule at all levels throughout South Vietnam. As the highest executive body in South Vietnam it has taken over all affairs of state so as to complete the task of national liberation. The Government has accepted the NLF's 10-point program as a basis for solving the South Vietnam problem, and believes that it can help to bring about a halt to the U.S. war of aggression and restore peace in Vietnam.

The formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam is an historic success in

the setting up of a broad national alliance, and in meeting the urge of the people of South Vietnam, and of the country as a whole, for independence and peace. It is also a big success for the friendship and active solidarity with the Vietnamese people displayed by the socialist countries, and by all who long for peace throughout the World, including progressives in the United States. Thus, the Provisional Revolutionary Government is another achievement for the international forces fighting for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress. That is why as soon as it was set up all the socialist states and many others recognized it and announced their readiness to establish diplomatic relations with it.

At the World Peace Assembly in Berlin, 1,100 delegates representing 56 international and 320 national bodies, from 101 countries, unanimously adopted a program for a broad campaign in support of Vietnam. Its aim is to secure official recognition for the Provisional Revolutionary Government and get the United States to end its aggression in Vietnam and withdraw all its troops and those of other states in the U.S. bloc.

There is now general recognition that withdrawal of the troops is the key to the South Vietnam problem. The U.S. government must pull out its own and other interventionist troops from South Vietnam, even if only because it was the one that had sent them there in the first place. The people of Vietnam will not tolerate the presence of a single aggressor on their soil. Nixon must be made to stop his talk about some sort of U.S. "commitment" to the Saigon puppets.

Progressive mankind rejoices at our common successes. However, the war in Vietnam is still raging. We must, therefore, have more coordinated action, and make our mutual support more effective.

The people of South Vietnam rejoice at the deep friendship, active solidarity and mutual aid between the peoples of Indochina. We resolutely support the Cambodian people in their fight against intervention, and their action against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. We fully support the fight of the Laotian people against U.S. neo-colonialism and the "special war."

In its 12-point program, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam undertakes actively to support the Asian, African and Latin Amer-

ican peoples' independence movement, to establish close ties with the popular movement in the United States against the U.S. government's aggressive war, and actively to support the just struggle of the black people of the United States for their basic national rights.

There is rejoicing among the people of South Vietnam over the success registered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the political, economic, cultural and scientific spheres and in consolidating their national defense. These states are the mainstay both of our fight against U.S. aggression and of the fight of other peoples for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress. We wholeheartedly support the efforts to safeguard and consolidate the achievements of the socialist system, and against the machinations, interference and subversion of imperialism and its agents.

We fully support the fraternal people of the German Democratic Republic and the progressives in West Germany in their fight against revanchism and Bonn militarism, which are sponsored by U.S. imperialism. We give unreserved support to recognition of the GDR, to normalizing the relations between the two German states, and maintaining the status quo of the present Oder-Neisse boundary.

We fully support the fight of the fraternal Cuban people against the foul designs of the U.S. imperialists and reactionary forces, in defense of the Cuban Republic, the first free territory in Latin America.

We wholeheartedly support the fight of the fraternal Korean people for national unification, their fight against the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Chon Khi clique, who are trying to launch another war against the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

We fully support the just fight of the Japanese people against U.S. military bases in Japan, for the return of Okinawa, for

scrapping the Japanese-American "Security Treaty."

We resolutely support the just fight of all the Arab peoples, and the Arab people of Palestine against the Israeli aggressors, who are agents of U.S. and British imperialism.

We firmly support the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde against the Portuguese colonialists. We support the peoples of South Africa in their fight against the policy of apartheid pursued by the reactionary cliques in the South African Republic and Southern Rhodesia. We fully support the fight of the peoples of Guatemala, Colombia, Bolivia and other Latin American countries against U.S. neo-colonialism and its servitors.

We support all the popular movements of the world for peace, democracy and social progress.

The people of Vietnam are on the road to complete victory. In view of the bellicose and savage policy of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, we are firmly and unflinchingly continuing our fight. The people of South Vietnam are fully determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors, liberate the South, defend the North, and set up an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prospering South Vietnam, and advance towards our country's peaceful reunification.

This is not only a matter of independence, peace and freedom for our people, but of our internationalist duty as a contribution to the general movement of the peoples of the world for independence, peace, democracy and social progress.

We have always had and shall always continue to have the initiative in the struggle. We are ever on the offensive. Our people will continue to gain strength in this struggle. Relying on the solidarity of the peoples and on the support for our common cause, we shall win.

CMEA and integration of socialist countries

BOLESŁAW JASZCZUK

I.

This year the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is 20 years old. The cooperation between its members has economic and political foundations. Their economic cooperation, which rests on their common socio-political systems, is a factor exerting an exceptional influence on their unity of action. The strength of this unity lies in their ability to combine the specifics of each country and nation, and what is international and common to them all.

The imperialists are well aware of this, which is why their strategy is aimed at dividing the socialist countries in the hope of gradually eroding their political unity. A key element of this strategy is to press for the economic disintegration of our community. There has recently been a sharp increase in the attempts to erode the cohe-

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) is an international economic body set up in January 1949 by the European socialist countries. In 1962, the Mongolian People's Republic was admitted as a member. Under a special agreement, Yugoslavia has her delegates in some CMEA organs. The Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Cuba are taking part as observers. The aim of CMEA, says its Charter, is to promote the balanced development of the national economy, accelerate economic and technical progress, promote industrialization in the less developed countries, achieve greater productivity of labor and raise living standards by pooling and co-ordinating the efforts of its members (**Editorial Note**).

sion of the socialist countries, with the economic sphere playing an important part.

The developed capitalist countries, especially the members of the European Economic Community, have their own views on the trend towards greater international division of labor. Their strivings have been in the direction of making the less developed countries serve as agrarian and raw material appendages to the strong and organized "partners."

That is also their policy with respect to the socialist countries. By extensively applying various forms of discrimination they have benefited from the terms of trade which are weighted in their favor. Despite the considerable industrial development in the socialist countries, primary products and farm produce make up the bulk of their exports to the capitalist countries. By contrast, the big changes that have taken place in the economic structure of our countries (especially as a result of the industrialization) are fully reflected in the structure of our foreign trade.

Over the past 20 years, the CMEA countries have established sound economic relations, and the differences in their economic levels have been reduced. The radical change in the economic structure of the socialist countries, expressed in the greater role of industry, is reflected in the considerable extension of contacts between our countries' manufacturing industry, especially engineering. At present, over 70 per cent of CMEA machine trade flows between members. Imports of machinery from the fraternal countries have been the basis for capital-investment programs in some of the socialist countries. Exports of machinery

to the CMEA countries enabled them to develop their machine-building industry, with Soviet orders playing the key role. Thus, they enabled Poland to develop a shipbuilding industry quite rapidly. In 1950, she built sea-going ships totalling 7,900 tons, and in 1967, 458,000 tons of which 65 per cent went to the Soviet Union. Many other industries developed just as fast with the stimulus of Soviet contracts.

The changes in the overall economic structure of the CMEA countries have led to the establishment of especially good relations in mutually satisfying their raw material requirements.

Today, the CMEA countries cover from 54 to 96 per cent of their fuel and raw material requirements through imports from other member countries. Manufacturing could not have developed so fast, or existed at all in some countries, without the imports of many types of raw materials, such as iron ore, oil, oil products, cotton, and non-ferrous metals.

Soviet deliveries play the main part. Poland is also doing much to help solve the raw material problem in the CMEA countries. She has sharply increased her output of some raw materials, and this has enabled her to increase their export to the CMEA countries. This applies, in particular, to hard coal, zinc and sulphur. In 1968, Poland's output of hard coal came to 129 million tons (as compared with 78 million in 1950), and zinc, 203,000 tons (114,000). From 1960 to 1968, our deliveries of hard coal to the USSR, GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary went up by almost 50 per cent, to 12.6 million tons. Poland is becoming chief supplier of sulphur to the other CMEA countries.

The Druzhba pipeline, carrying oil from the USSR to other CMEA countries is the best example of the way CMEA tackles common raw material problems.

The relations between the CMEA countries are generally expressed in their mutual trade, which accounts for over 60 per cent of their foreign trade total.

CMEA cooperation largely explains especially rapid growth rates in the relatively less developed countries, leading to a gradual evening out of economic levels. This is proved by the data on the average annual growth of industrial output between 1951 and 1967. The figures were: Bulgaria 13.6 per cent; Hungary 9.2; GDR 9.1; Mongolia 11.0; Poland 11.0; Rumania 13.2; USSR 10.5, and Czechoslovakia, 8.6.

Another illustration of this is generation

of electric power per head of population. Taking the GDR's index (the highest) as 100, the others are as follows:

	1950	1967
Bulgaria	10.4	46.9
Hungary	30.3	35.0
Poland	35.8	46.0
Rumania	12.2	36.8
USSR	47.7	71.6
Czechoslovakia	70.8	77.3

These figures show that there are still differences in per capita power generation, but the gap between the top and the bottom of the league has been markedly reduced. In 1950, it was expressed in the ratio of 1 to 10, in 1967 it was 3.5 to 10.

The great accomplishment of the socialist community, one which makes its example attractive, is that the fastest growth rate occurs in the less developed countries, and that there is a steady narrowing of the economic gap between the CMEA members, in contrast to the capitalist world, where the gap is widening.

In the socialist community, there is complex development of individual countries. As a result of industrialization, each CMEA country now has an infrastructure and a basic industrial structure.

Even in the relatively less developed CMEA countries, industry now plays the decisive part in producing the national income, and this has led to a change in the occupational structure of the population, with the proportion of the working class sharply increasing. The working class has changed quantitatively and qualitatively, and plays a greater role as the leading force, which makes the development of society in our countries much more dynamic. At the same time, there has been a rise in the educational level and in industrial skills, and the working class is now a more important source for the supply of socialist intellectuals in the technical sciences and the humanities.

II.

The results of our countries' cooperation are unquestionable—they are unprecedented in the history of international relations. The socialist community has shown in practice that only the socialist system, based on common social relations and political aims, can produce the right blend of national requirements and aims with international cooperation, which is so necessary at the

present stage of development of the productive forces. This cooperation rests on the international solidarity of the working class, which simultaneously gives the fullest expression to the patriotic feelings of each nation.

On the strength of our experience and achievements we draw the conclusion that the present methods of cooperation need to be overhauled and, together with improvement the need now is to switch to new and more intensive forms of cooperation—economic integration.

Today, the economic growth of the European socialist countries, medium and small, depends more than ever before on greater specialization and combination of production on an international scale. In the initial phase of CMEA, the socialist division of labor was largely realized through trade, which is no longer adequate. The need to satisfy, within the framework of the socialist community, basic requirements in raw materials, trim production costs, keep up with world technical progress and continue the competition with capitalism demands closer and often direct production ties. This is in line with the national interests of each country and of the socialist community as a whole. Thus, the trend towards socialist economic integration now arises from the political conditions and from the existing level of the productive forces. If the gap between the CMEA countries and the highly developed capitalist countries is to be bridged, there must be concentration of joint efforts and full use of the internal resources of socialism, such as planned economic development, the social character of production and guidance of the economy and the state.

Economic integration is deepened through the long-term planning of ever closer economic relations and pooling of the economic potentials of the socialist countries, with maximum use of modern achievements in science and technology to give each country fresh possibilities for further development.

As a result of this kind of integration the economic structures of the CMEA countries will be mutually adapted. International specialization and combination of production will create numerous close ties between similar industries and industrial plants. Broad development of intra-branch specialization and cooperation will help to solve the vital problem of combining each country's all-round and complex industrial development with large-scale production

and rapid technical progress. This is of especial importance for the economically less developed countries. Cooperation helps them to obtain practical, technical and personnel aid to develop new and often complex industries.

Socialist economic integration will also be an effective lever for raising the welfare and cultural level of our society.

The member countries have absolutely equal rights on the CMEA Council, with decisions taken only with the assent of the countries concerned. Big or small, each country has one vote. There is also the principle of interests, which is a logical complement to the principle that each country decides for itself whether or not to participate in any agreement on cooperation. Any country may declare its "non-interest" in a given problem. But that does not rule out the raising and solving of problems through mutual cooperation with the other interested countries. This ensures both full respect for each country's stand, and the possibility of implementing projects of interest to some countries only.

CMEA is open in the sense that other countries may join it, and also that countries may take part in some forms of integration measures and not in others.

Socialist economic integration is not a subjective concept; it springs from the economic requirements objectively existing at the present levels of the productive forces, and also from the objective requirements of the political situation taking shape in relations with the capitalist countries.

The present stage of the scientific, technological and economic revolution has brought to the fore new industries and technologies, such as automation, electronics, and modern chemistry, which have become the vehicles of technical progress in all the other branches of the economy. Each country's economic level and its part in world industrial and technical progress are now measured by the share of these new branches in total industrial output. It is no exaggeration to say that just as there had been an age of steam and then of electricity, this is the era of electronics, automation and chemistry. The world technological level in almost every branch of production depends on the extent to which problems in these three branches are solved. Electronics and automation have come to mining, machine-building, electrical engineering, and other industries, and are being applied in machines, traction, and even household appliances. Industry is being

flooded with new types of raw materials, the products of modern chemistry.

The scientific and technological revolution is also connected with more extensive use of highly productive computer techniques, which help executives, researchers and designers to obtain quick mathematical analyses of different economic variants.

Development of these branches requires vast expenditure for intensive research, introduction of new technical methods, adjustment of new technologies, and the manufacture of better and better products.

Technical research and projects in the European socialist countries (without the USSR) do not cover all the economic problems, which is natural because most countries in the world lack the possibility of earmarking resources for all-round complex research. Nor does anyone of the People's Democracies have the necessary resources for this.

The possibility of effective operations in this sphere is limited also by the small scale of production in each separate country. Hence we see our country's participation in the rapidly growing world scientific and technical revolution in a pooling of the research efforts of our community, and also in production specialization by each in the interests of the others.

This could provide a basis for concentrating efforts in tackling research and development by allocating research and production schemes between the member countries.

Socialist integration becomes a political necessity at the present stage of the struggle and competition between the two world systems. Referring to this at the Fifth Congress of our Party, Comrade Gomulka said: "The economic integration of the capitalist countries of Western Europe, that is, the part of the capitalist world at our door, is making rapid headway despite the contradictions and difficulties, and despite the acute competition between the monopoly groups interlocked with the machinery of state. Lenin, with his usual insight, wrote that the historical tendency of capitalism is 'the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break-down of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc'.

"And he added that this worldwide, historical tendency would ultimately become one of the greatest motive forces transforming capitalism into socialism, al-

though today it still goes to nourish the forces of capitalism in the fight against socialism."

On the basis of the deepening economic integration within the EEC framework, despite inter-imperialist antagonisms, there is gradual even if zig-zagging political integration. If U.S. capital does stimulate the process it is not only because it has been flooding the key branches of the West European economy, but also to set up a common anti-Communist front and provide an economic underpinning for the aggressive Atlantic Pact. For these same considerations, their strategy, of the USA and the FRG above all, is aimed at dividing the socialist countries.

Socialism provides much greater opportunities for integration than capitalism, with its promise of enormous benefits for each of our countries and for the whole socialist camp, for its dynamic development, and for the defense capability and unity of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Economic integration contains enormous reserves for the accelerated development of Poland and of the other fraternal countries. Similarly, a pooling of efforts of the individual socialist countries in research and development would increase the dynamism and modernization of the economy of each country—and on a considerably more extensive scale.

III.

The 23rd Special Session of CMEA held in April analyzed the Council's work over the past period and mapped out the immediate future.

The delegates resolved to work out a complex program for the further economic integration, including methods and means of planned cooperation between members leading to modernization of the economic structures in our countries, and to optimal division of labor.

The main forms of this cooperation are seen as new methods of coordinating economic plans. It has been recognized that the earlier coordination of the five-year plans was designed for too short a period. If coordination of plans for some branches of manufacturing and especially mining is to be effective, it should cover from 10 to 15 years.

The countries concerned intend to engage in the joint planning of branches of production of special importance for future economic development. It will consist in

projecting the development of technology, production and social requirements, and elaboration on that basis of principles to coordinate new large-scale capital investments. Joint marketing and scientific and technical centers are to be set up when required.

The new forms of planning are to extend above all to those key branches of industry crucial for the advance of science and technology.

To create conditions promoting far better specialization, the CMEA countries will conclude bilateral or multilateral agreements and contracts on specialization relating to those spheres and branches of production decisive for the economy of the CMEA countries, and also for accelerating technical and technological progress.

Alongside coordination of economic plans, our countries attach much importance to more active use of commodity-money relations and international credits to extend trade between them.

For that purpose decisions have been taken to improve the present credit system and enhance its role in joint capital investments through the establishment of an International Investment Bank. A start has been made on many problems connected with improving commodity-money relations and further boosting external trade.

Work on these problems is vital to further cooperation between the CMEA countries to give it a more solid basis in economic accounting on an international scale.

In the immediate period the CMEA and its members will hold discussions, complete their analytical assessments and projects and give concrete form to the proposals already tabled. This preliminary work will culminate in the drawing up of a scheme for the main directions of the cooperation between the member countries over a long period, and an action program for its gradual, phased implementation.

The 23rd Special Session of CMEA marked a big stride forward towards consolidating and deepening economic cooperation. Our Party attaches great importance to fulfilling the decisions of this session.

The resolution of our Fifth Congress, containing a general analysis of the international political situation and laying down guidelines for Poland's economic development up to 1975, regards the economic integration of the socialist countries as the main component of the effort to realize the economic and political objectives of our people.

For us socialist integration is both an economic and a political instrument of the forces of socialism, progress and peace.

Rumania: perfecting economic planning and management

MANEA MANESCU

Rumania has changed immensely in the 25 years since her liberation from fascist rule. The changes are the result of the deep-going revolutionary transformations, both economic and social, carried out under Communist Party leadership. Economic growth has been sustained at a high rate. Socialist production relations embrace the entire economy, which now represents an

integral socialist structure. Living standards have risen for all categories of the population. Culture has been brought within the reach of the people, and this has made for a broader world outlook and a higher standard of knowledge. Socialist consciousness is more deeply rooted. Public initiative plays a big role. Conditions for the all-round development of the person-

ality are to hand. In short, the socialist system has fully proved its viability and strength.

NECESSARY MEASURES

The decisive factor in both economic and social development and in the successful building of socialism was, of course, industrialization. The average annual growth rate in 1951-68 was 13 per cent. A more graphic idea of what this means is provided by the following figure: Rumania produces in 24 days the equivalent of the country's total output for the whole of 1938. Industry, now the mainstay of the economy, contributes more than half of the national income.

There have been far-reaching structural changes, with the accent now on such pace-setting industries as power, iron and steel, engineering and chemicals, which account for about half of gross industrial output, compared with only one-fifth in 1938.

New industries of prime importance for any modern economy have been developed. We now produce sophisticated machinery, have devised more efficient raw-material processing methods and have organized output of a wide range of new goods.

In the past 18 years machinery per worker has increased by 150 per cent. This, plus better organization and higher skills, has made for a 340 per cent rise in productivity. In fact, more than two-thirds of the annual output increment now comes from higher productivity.

Industrial growth has been accompanied by modernization of agriculture and other branches of the economy, and by a more rational distribution of industry which, no longer confined to a few large towns, is evenly spread over the country, enabling us to make better use of material and manpower resources.

In agriculture, the organization of large-scale cooperative and state farms and the steady supply of machinery have stimulated higher production and productivity. Socialist reconstruction has boosted output, supplying the country with more food and raw materials for industry and export. This, too, has been a major factor in our economic progress.

These developments have been attended by growth of the national income—in 1968 it was 400 per cent above the 1950 figure.

Growth of national income has meant a steady rise in living standards, which is

the supreme aim of Party and government policy. In 1951-68 real wages and salaries and real farmer incomes increased by an annual average of 5-7 per cent. Approximately a quarter of the national budget goes to education, and to health and welfare services. And here, too, the results are tangible: the average life span is up from 42 years in 1932 to 68.5.

Dynamic development and high growth rates, accompanied by rising living standards, are envisaged for the next 10 years. That is provided for in the draft guidelines for the 1971-75 five-year plan and for the long-term plan that will carry us into 1980.

Rumania's achievements in building socialism should be attributed to the dedicated labor of her people—the working class, farmers and intellectuals, all our citizens irrespective of nationality—who have translated into practice the Party's Marxist-Leninist policy. For experience has convinced our people that the Communist Party is the true champion of their interests. Unity of the entire people around the Party is now a dominant feature of Rumanian life. In our socialist society, for the first time in the country's history, there is complete identity of aims and interests of all classes and social groups.

Changes in the economy call for changes in the forms and methods of management at all levels, from factory to the economy as a whole. And the changes have not been only quantitative, but also qualitative. For example, the increase in the number of factories has been attended by a process of specialization and concentration: average employment per factory is 150 per cent higher than in 1950.

Our Party is guided by the tested principle that forms and methods of economic management and organization are not something set for all time—they must be constantly perfected to bring them into line with the changes in the country's economic and social life.

The effectiveness of management forms and methods is tested in practice; they are effective only when they accord with the requirements of the given development stage.

That is why the Communist Party and government see to it that obsolete methods are not allowed to persist and are replaced by new, more efficient ones.

In charting the country's economic and social policy, the Ninth Party Congress emphasized the need to raise economic activ-

ity to a higher level. This was to be achieved mainly by utilizing all available resources for intensive economic growth and drawing on the vast potentialities of modern technology. In this light, the Congress and the National Party Conference (Dec., 1967) pointed to certain shortcomings and indicated ways and means of improving organization, management and planning to bring them into line with the needs of our expanding economy. Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Party and Chairman of the Council of State, has said that the main feature of all our economic measures is that they "meet the requirements of the present stage of development and are based on the main laws and principles governing our socialist economy and culture."

And these measures are being carried out against a background of steady economic growth—Rumania has one of the highest growth rates. This provides good conditions for a thorough study and experimental testing of the new methods. We can go ahead without undue haste and free of economic pressures, introducing the new methods gradually, with a view to maximum effect, fuller use of the advantages inherent in the socialist system, and faster progress.

The measures we are now implementing are based on a study of the accumulated experience of our own and other socialist countries and on a study and use of world trends.

LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY

The leading role of the Communist Party in all economic and social life is enhanced in the present stage of completing the building of socialism. That is central to all the economic measures introduced in the past few years.

The theses issued for the Tenth Congress say that the complexity of the problems confronting us, the heightened activity of the masses in economic, political and public life, and the continuous process of extending socialist democracy, lay a greater responsibility on the Communist Party. For, as the ruling party, it is responsible for charting the country's long-range development and for scientific direction of the complex and manifold process of socialist construction.

But the new measures also presuppose a *more important role for the state* in economic and social questions.

All the Party measures designed to im-

prove economic organization and management derive from the proposition that *planned growth is a basic objective law of the socialist economy*. The results achieved to date conclusively prove that planned economic management must increase with every advance of socialist construction.

The plan, in fact, is the concentrated expression of Party policy and, in our view, *the chief instrument in setting the goals for each development stage and assuring coordination of the national effort*. Excluding one or another branch from planning can disturb the reproduction process and economic equilibrium, hamper rapid expansion of the productive forces and create difficulties in socialist construction. With socialist ownership of the means of production, the overall plan makes possible effective use of the law of value and the socialist market mechanism without impairing the reproduction process or wasting social labor. In a socialist economy, as Lenin pointed out, planned development is a constant and consciously pursued policy of proportionate growth.

Systematic improvement of planning and management is based on *consistent observance of democratic centralism*—the main organizational principle of our socialist state. It allows for coordination, through the plan, of all economic and social and cultural activity, and for an ample margin of operative independence to basic economic units.

Fundamental economic policy decisions are made by the supreme Party and state organs. Such questions as setting proportions and growth rates in industry, allocation of national income between accumulation and consumption funds, distribution of productive forces, determining the volume and structure of investments, orientation of foreign trade, finance and credit, price and wage patterns, higher living standards—these are of prime importance for the whole of our socialist society and can be effectively resolved only with due account to its interests.

However, the measures now being introduced are designed also to overcome excessive centralism, which tends to restrict economic activity at factory level.

Another principle central to the new management methods is *bringing the leadership into closer contact with production*. This assures more efficient operation, and better use of scientific, technical and administrative personnel. Our aim is to eliminate intermediate links, unnecessary opera-

tons and overlapping, and more clearly define the rights of the various elements of the economic structure. Decisions must be made at levels at which available information, and responsibility, allow for the elaboration of optimal methods.

With economic activity increasing in scope and complexity, it becomes important to draw on the experience of front-rank workers and collectives. This, in fact, is one of the preconditions for competent solution of the numerous technical, economic and financial matters involved in effective management. That is why all our measures envisage *collective leadership* and *collective work* at all levels.

A cardinal aim is to make wider use of *economic levers* in securing better operation and stimulating fuller utilization of the vast potential of our socialist economy. This means heightening the role of prices, financial and credit arrangements, so as to stimulate more rational use of material and financial resources, and give managers a keener feeling of responsibility. This requires implementation of *accountability*—i.e., unsubsidized, self-contained production—in every basic economic unit.

One aspect of the present economic measures, which should be seen as an integral whole, is enhancement of socialist democracy throughout the economy. And this is being done, for the measures described above encourage initiative by all workers, make for efficient operation through more rational use of a country's material and man-power potential, and thereby *steadily improve economic performance*. That, in fact, is the guiding principle of all our industry, construction, agriculture, transport and trade.

TOWARDS HIGHER ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

In the period between the Ninth Party Congress and the National Party Conference in December 1967, we introduced a number of measures to streamline the economic and administrative apparatus.

For one thing, we substantially improved current and long-range planning. Past planning was carefully analyzed in the light of the new phenomena in economic and public life. The analytical studies extended to such matters as increased production of machine-tools, electronic and electrical-engineering equipment, fuller use of producer facilities and rational allocation of investments.

The 1966-70 five-year plan was compiled "from below," that is, on the basis of proposals made by factories, which helped to disclose available reserves for boosting output. The preparatory research involved thousands of engineers, economists, technicians and workers.

There is also this innovation: the five-year plan was broken down into annual assignments for each industry and factory, so that we could always take the necessary corrective measures to assure fulfilment.

Planning and management in the state sector in agriculture, notably in its basic units—the newly established state farms—have been improved too. Cooperative farms have been brought together, on a voluntary basis, into amalgamations. This has raised the general standard of agriculture and, at the same time, allows more room for initiative by the farmers and encourages them to play a bigger part in the national effort.

Still another innovation is closer coordination and better utilization of our research potential by more closely gearing research to the requirements of economic and social development.

Throughout the economy there has been a concerted effort to put production on a more scientific basis. The nationwide conferences of workers in key sectors of the economy proved of great value in this respect.

The Ninth Congress measures were carried further by the National Party Conference in December 1967. Its decisions were the result of more than two years of preparatory work, involving numerous study projects carried out by a large number of specialists, researchers, industry executives and Party and government officials. They were widely discussed in the press, in Party organizations and by the public generally, and many valuable suggestions were made. Such nationwide discussions have become customary in our Party, which always takes counsel with the people in matters concerning the country's future. The Conference decisions met with universal approval, demonstrating anew that the Party's policy is expressive of the people's will and vital interests.

We have reached a stage when detailed and rigid control of basic economic units and concentration of economic functions and decision-making in the ministries have outlived themselves.

Accordingly, the National Party Conference drew up measures for *streamlining*

the organization of production and distribution.

Essentially, these measures envisage a three-stage industrial management structure, with a clear delineation of functions between factory, industry amalgamation, and ministry. The factory is the basic economic unit. It is run on an accountability basis, has at its disposal the necessary material and financial resources, enjoys more independence and wider functions and rights in drawing up production programs, disposing of its financial resources and bank credits, carrying out investment projects, starting new lines of production, introducing new technology, fixing wage rates within the framework of its wage fund, using part of its profit to extend production and for incentives, etc. All this gives it more initiative in maximizing production and productivity, improving technology and generally raising operational standards.

The next stage, and a very important one, in improving industrial organization and management is the *industry amalgamation*, which combines a number of enterprises in a particular industry or in kindred industries.

The amalgamations, which began to operate on an experimental basis, dispose of large material and financial means. They have their own plans and enjoy a wide margin of independence; they are responsible for the work of the factories under their control and set the guidelines for their technical and economic development in accordance with industry-wide and national targets. No longer concerned with detailed supervision, they can concentrate on specialization and cooperation, technical assistance, supply and marketing. They also act as research and designing centers for member factories. By assuming part of the functions formerly assigned to the ministries and the central departments, they can act more operatively and independently in drawing up current and long-range plans and production programs. They also handle such matters as supply of materials, marketing, foreign trade, investments and allocation of wage funds, profits and credits.

This frees the ministries of a number of operational functions and enables them to concentrate on overall planning and plan fulfilment, and on allocating proportions for the various industries in keeping with national requirements.

These measures are complemented by

others, designed to improve the work of national and local administrative bodies.

The complex problems of completing the building of socialism make it necessary to enhance the role of the governmental bodies, the National Assembly and the Council of State. The work of the Assembly's committees in verifying Party and government decisions has been enhanced. Action has been taken to improve the functioning of the Council of State and give it a bigger part in supervising implementation of laws passed by the National Assembly and the functioning of the government departments, the Prosecutor's Office and the Supreme Court, and also local government bodies. Besides, we have appointed an Economic Council, a Party and government body accountable to the Central Committee and to the Council of State. Its chief function is to assure proper operation of Party and government economic policy.

In 1968, in accordance with a decision of the National Party Conference, we reconstructed the *administrative division* of the country to give economic planning and management a more streamlined territorial framework. For one thing, this dispenses with intermediate links, bringing the central leadership closer to the localities, where Party and government decisions are put into practice. On the other hand, it gives the people a bigger say in social and welfare matters and makes for a more harmonious development of all parts of the country. Local government bodies, now that they have wider rights and functions, are in a better position to develop local industry and services which, in turn, will make for fuller satisfaction of the growing needs of the population and fuller utilization of economic resources.

DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE ECONOMY

Consistent application of the collective work and collective leadership principle has led to the organization of *collective executive bodies* composed of specialists, industry executives and workers' representatives. At factory level there is the *management board*, consisting of the factory manager and his deputies, the heads of departments, a trade union representative, and from one to five workers' representatives elected at a general meeting. The management board is, as its name implies, a directing body whose decisions are taken by majority vote, with the factory mana-

ger responsible for carrying them out, of course, for the current functioning of the enterprise.

The *general factory meeting*, which includes also office personnel, plays an important part in promoting socialist democracy and bringing the workers into decision-making. It elects the representatives to the management board, discusses the factory plan and technical measures needed for its fulfilment, passes judgement on the management board's report on production and the allocation of the profit that remains in the factory.

The industry amalgamation has an *administrative council* composed of the director-general and his deputies, factory managers, representatives of research and designing bureaus, specialists and researchers and a trade union representative. It discusses and approves guidelines on major technical, economic and financial questions, the amalgamation's development plan and long-range plans for its factories. Current matters are handled by the director-general.

The *ministry collegium*, composed of the minister and his deputies, amalgamation directors-general, heads of leading departments, scientists, researchers and other specialists, handles basic problems.

The Party plays a leading role in directing the economy. Though its representatives do not sit on any of these bodies, they attend their meetings and take part in the discussion, and Party organizations are entitled to verify their work.

THE PLAN AND ECONOMIC LEVERS

All plans are drawn up at "lower levels," that is, the process begins with the factory, which bases its plan on its own resources and reserves, but also on the research carried out by central agencies. More, the plan is usually coordinated with supply and marketing organizations, so as to assure the necessary conditions for fulfilment.

In drawing up plans on the basis of general long-term directives, each factory has ample room for initiative in working out optimal decisions. These directives generalize the experience of enterprises, amalgamations and ministries, designing and research bureaus—in short, the country's accumulated economic and social experience.

Drawn up in this manner and approved by supreme government bodies, the plan acquires the *force of law*, a law binding on

every factory and institution, on every one who has a share in its fulfilment.

Approved by the National Assembly, the state plan fixes levels and growth rates for each industry, for agriculture and other sectors of production; output volumes for basic industrial goods; investment allocations for the various industries and projects; employment levels; productivity targets; production and distribution cost-reduction indicators; foreign and retail trade and growth of real wages.

Guided by these indicators, factories can draw up their own programs and the measures needed to carry them out. And central to all plan fulfilment, from ministry to factory, is *stringent observance of the state plan, combined with flexibility and mobility in its execution, in other words, centralized direction is combined with local independence and initiative*.

Ministries, amalgamations and factories can adapt these national indicators to suit their more dynamic growth, but only providing this does not clash with the overall objects of the state plan. In contingency situations they can draw on centralized material and monetary reserves.

To be effective planning must be *continuous*, always in step with technical and economic developments and long-range trends. In drawing up the next five-year plan (1971-75) we are at the same time setting out the main economic goals for 1980. This assures continuity of our five-year programs.

In discussing the use of economic levers, mention should be made of the more significant part now played by the *state budget* in profit formation and in financial allocations to industry and local government. We have abandoned the old method of including in the budget practically all the revenue of the economy and financing its expenditure. Henceforth, the state budget will supply funds only for projects that have a direct bearing on the national economy as a whole. Industry will cover current expenditure out of its own funds or through bank credits.

We attach great importance to *profit*, notably its distribution to assure the necessary resources for expansion and other social needs. Besides, profit is being much more widely used as incentives to boost output and productivity and reduce production costs. Part of extra-plan profit goes into a bonus fund.

Credits play a much bigger part, too, notably in promoting accountability. But

credits and interest rates are differentiated as a means of rewarding efficient enterprises and penalizing the inefficient. Besides, the banking system is being reconstructed: specialized banks catering to various parts of the economy are now being established. In addition to the National and Investment banks, we have set up an Agricultural Bank and a Foreign Trade Bank.

The National Party Conference announced measures to improve the country's *price structure*. The guiding principle here is that prices, both of producer and consumer goods, must accord more closely with social production costs. The price ratio between different kinds of goods will thus be based on economic criteria. Price differentials depending on quality are designed to stimulate technical progress and modernization and eliminate production of obsolete goods. Furthermore, factories are given much more margin in fixing prices to reflect changes in production and consumption. However, the state will continue to fix charges and prices on essential goods and services, particularly retail prices. It will also fix ceiling prices on a series of other goods and services. The purpose is to assure proper coordination within a uniform price policy while at the same time obviating excessive centralization.

Incentives hold a prominent place in the integrated measures to improve planning and management. They act as efficiency stimulators and help towards higher performance by the economy.

A new incentive-based wage system was decided upon by the Central Committee in October 1967. It was experimentally introduced in a number of factories in practically every industry. The experiment is now being extended, and by the end of the year the new system will be operative throughout the economy and in the social and cultural services. The underlying idea is to *tie wages closer to results*: greater productivity and better quality will signify higher earnings, and non-fulfilment of quotas lower earnings.

The new system assures a *fairer relationship between basic wage and corrective differentials*. In practice, this allows for differential payment in one and the same wage category as a reward for quality, initiative and efficiency—the bigger the worker's contribution, the bigger his remuneration. This is complemented by a *seniority bonus* of three to 10 per cent of the basic wage. Under certain conditions

the basic wage can be lowered for non-fulfilment of quota, provided it is proved that the worker is at fault.

Another type of incentive is the system of annual efficiency bonuses paid to workers and administrative and technical personnel.

All the measures introduced by the Party and Government take into account the value of external economic contacts—economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation with all countries, and the advantages accruing from the socialist and world division of labor.

A new society is being built in the socialist world system. This implies comradely cooperation and mutual assistance between the socialist states as a means of economically strengthening each socialist country and the system as a whole. Rumania has consistently advocated industrial, scientific and technical cooperation with all member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and with all socialist countries, based on socialist internationalism, complete equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence, mutual benefit and comradely mutual aid. At the same time, however, as our economy develops, and in line with its foreign policy, Rumania is expanding trade with all countries of the world irrespective of their social systems.

The Socialist Republic of Rumania now has economic relations with more than one hundred countries. As a result of integrated economic development, our foreign trade has risen nearly 580 per cent between 1951 and 1968, and its structure is being steadily improved.

The National Party Conference decided on measures to *extend foreign trade* through more direct contacts between producers and foreign buyers and closer adaptation of production to meet world market requirements. Some export and import operations formerly handled by the Foreign Trade Ministry have now been taken over by economic ministries, amalgamations and individual factories.

The Party and government consider broader economic, scientific and technological cooperation with other countries a progressive form of economic intercourse, one that makes for more stability in foreign economic relations, encourages production and marketing specialization, and thus facilitates long-range economic planning.

In particular, we are working for closer

economic cooperation with CMEA members, with all socialist and other countries. This will be done in a variety of ways and on the basis of mutual benefit to enable fuller use of our resources and producing facilities, and meet raw material, fuel and equipment requirements.

Economic cooperation will include joint industrial, agricultural and other projects, with invested capital repaid out of future production. Another method of cooperation is joint investments to meet requirements in raw materials, and still another is joint production and marketing enterprises. There will be closer cooperation and specialization in the production of machines and other equipment, components and spare parts to meet the needs of the participating countries and for export to other markets. We are also encouraging cooperation in production on foreign licenses or through purchase of foreign patents and designs. Still another promising field is cooperation in prospecting with a view to

exploiting the natural resources of our own or other countries. Here, too, the arrangement will be for payment out of future production.

The comprehensive and rapid development of our economy offers increasingly favorable conditions for economic exchange, participation in international economic, scientific and technological cooperation, and for a bigger part in the world market.

* * *

All the measures mapped out by the National Party Conference aim at optimal utilization of the distinctive features and advantages of socialism. In stimulating the steady development of the productive forces, exerting every effort to increase material production and assure more rapid progress, our Party is laying a firm foundation for Rumania's continued advance and bigger contribution to strengthening socialism and its worldwide influence.

A memorable convention

DANIEL RUBIN

The recently-held 19th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA took place in the midst of a rising tide of mass struggles. These struggles center on the effort to end the aggression against the Vietnamese people and on the struggle for freedom by 25 million black people at home. They embrace a growing militancy, mounting strike actions and rising rank-and-file movements in the shops.

At the same time, the Convention occurred in a period in which there is a further growth and organization of extreme Right-wing and fascist-like forces pressing for a policy of open repression of all people's movements. The Convention had the new Nixon Administration to assess. And it had the task of examining the work of the Party in relation to these mass developments.

With respect to the Party's work, there was much of a positive nature to examine as well as the need to come to grips with various weaknesses including some political problems arising from some manifestations of factionalism affecting Party unity.

Our Convention was preceded by an exceptionally intense period of review of policies, work, experiences and leadership. The pages of the party journal, *Political Affairs*, and of the eleven issues of *Party Affairs* published in the four-month pre-convention discussion period are filled with articles examining the policies of the Communist Party in relation to the problems facing the working class and people of our country.

The 19th Convention is of special significance on several counts. It will be noted as:

1. The Convention that succeeded in

restoring fully, in practice, the orientation of the entire Party toward the working class, black and white, and particularly toward its basic industrial core.

2. The Convention that put the mass fight against racism and for the rights of the black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Indian peoples on a new level and sharpened the struggle of the Party against the alien influences of chauvinism within its ranks.

3. The Convention that adopted a basic party program outlining the path of struggle to achieve a socialist United States.

4. The Convention that achieved a great advance in Party unity, based on a rejection of strong opportunist pressures from Right and "Left" on questions of ideology and on strategic and tactical lines of policy.

5. The Convention that created the basis for an all-sided breakthrough in building the Party and the Marxist press with respect to mass influence, size of membership and Communist standards of work.

From beginning to end the Convention was marked by great enthusiasm reaching many points. Reflected in the enthusiasm was an intense feeling that the sharply rising struggles of our class and people require the special contributions of the Communist Party, and that our Party would be able to meet the challenge. It reflected confidence that the Party was already beginning to play a bigger role among decisive sectors of workers and would do so much more following the Convention.

Among the high points were the expressions of international solidarity which our Party received from the fraternal parties around the world. Such expressions of solidarity strengthened the Convention's resolve to fulfil much more completely our

special responsibilities of proletarian internationalism as the party in the heartland of world imperialism, particularly our responsibilities toward Vietnam and Latin America.

VIETNAM AND THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION

First priority was given by the Convention to the struggle to force the U.S. imperialists to get out of Vietnam now. Several specific tasks were indicated. Since President Nixon took office there has been some decline in demonstrative and other peace actions; hence new initiatives are required to stimulate peace activity.

One of the tasks outlined was to make the organized movement commensurate in breadth and scope with the extent of the sentiment against the war.

The task of involving much larger numbers of shop workers in organized activities was posed. In this connection, the necessity of relating the war to the problems of skyrocketing taxation and inflation as well as to the curtailment of social welfare programs for the masses was stressed. The necessity of relating the struggle to end the war to the question of racism in the United States was emphasized.

Our Convention also set the task of deepening anti-imperialist consciousness and expanding this conscious sector of the peace movement. The attempt of the Progressive Labor Party, a Maoist splinter group, to divert the struggle and the most advanced forces by attacking the NLF and DRV for participating in the Paris talks was indicted for the shameless adventurism that it is.

The estimate made by the Convention of the Nixon Administration was that it is continuing in its policies the same direction as that of the Johnson Administration and has gone further on a number of questions. The Vietnam war policy is being continued, while the policies of monopoly give-aways, of anti-labor measures and curtailment of people's welfare, of actions against the interests of the black people, have been further developed. In addition, the policy of repression of popular movements in the ghetto, among the students and peace advocates, and of the struggles of labor, is being stepped up.

INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

The main theme of the Convention, industrial concentration, was reflected in a

number of ways. On several occasions the Convention was brought to its feet by speeches of delegates who are shop workers as they dealt with their experiences, with the meaning of the Party for them and with the industrial concentration policy. When a black auto worker spoke, then a young white steel worker and a black woman trade unionist, the Convention responded with great enthusiasm to these portrayals of the role of workers and trade unionists in our Party and to the evidence that our Party has a shop cadre not to be matched by any other political organization in the country.

The Draft Main Political Resolution, the main political report by the General Secretary, Comrade Gus Hall, and the report on building the Party by the National Chairman, Comrade Henry Winston, all reflected the central theme of the Convention.

Comrade Hall's report placed it this way:

"This development (rank-and-file movements) is the key link in the class struggle.

"More, it is the key link in the struggle for social progress. . . . History will forget or overlook our missing some political buses, but it will never forget or forgive if we miss this bus of the class struggle. We can be aboard—from the very first stop. Indeed, in many areas we already are" (*On Course: The Revolutionary Process*, New Outlook Publishers, New York 1969, p. 37).

The greatest danger is to underestimate the process of radicalization among workers, Comrade Hall warned. In Comrade Winston's report the task was signaled in the following manner:

"The task of building our Party among the decisive sections of the working class, the task of building our Party in such a way that one understands the need of the unity of the class on the basis of a fighting policy, beginning at the point of production . . . To organize and anchor itself in the basic industries, with the working class as its pivot, a party must understand that it must also rally support to the fighting students, black and white. It must be a party which gives support to any and all social struggles in defense of the vital interests of our people . . . And our Party is a class organization, the highest form of class organization, which must help this class to feel its responsibility to itself and to the people in general" (*Build the Communist Party—The Party of the Working Class*, New Outlook Publishers, New York, 1969, p. 9).

And further:

"When people speak about where the action is they are usually talking about the demonstrative actions, forgetting this pivot, this working-class base which the demonstrative actions need, just as the working-class base needs the demonstrative actions. But the lever for achieving a union of the two is to see the centrality of the working class" (Pp. 16-17).

After examining economic developments and the economic policies of the Nixon Administration, especially the tax and budget policies, Comrade Hall analyzed the reasons for the process of radicalization among workers, explaining why this process will continue to broaden and deepen. The growth of multinational corporations and conglomerates, open use of the resources of the state for bigger profits, misuse of technological break-throughs which create job insecurity, speed-up, deteriorating health conditions, growing attacks on labor, rising taxes and inflation—all these, serving maximum profits and imperialist policies, lay the basis for the process of radicalization. The influx of large numbers of young workers, black workers and women workers, has also been a factor, as the main report notes.

Comrade Hall examined the growing bankruptcy of the top AFL-CIO leadership and then the rank-and-file movements which are developing, particularly the black caucuses.

These have grown rapidly among Negro workers in auto, steel, the building trades and elsewhere to deal with special hardships black workers face in the hardest, most hazardous job classifications. Caucuses also grow around demands for full representation in trade union leadership positions. Often they have close working relations with progressive rank-and-file movements composed of black and white workers together.

The united front based on rank-and-file movements but not excluding unity with layers of trade union leadership, particularly certain lower and middle strata, was discussed, as was the basic character of the fight for trade union unity. The development of forms of expression of a Left, including its development on a national scale, was also discussed and especially around a program combating the effects of automation, fighting against imperialism and racism, and striving for political independence.

In terms of gearing the Party for these

mass policies among the workers, Comrade Winston discussed the question of restructuring the leadership and its style of work so that less time would be spent in the work of leadership bodies at different levels, and more time in working directly with the membership in the districts. He said:

"The leadership must have an intimate, daily relationship with the districts, with priorities given to the concentration districts. It must be a relationship which guarantees that the specific concentration industries for the districts have been decided upon, that the work of the Party in respect to these industries is constantly reviewed and checked upon, and that every single member of our leading committees is responsible for a given industry" (p. 11).

Toward implementation of the approach introduced by Comrade Winston, the Convention adopted an Open Letter to the membership on the question of industrial concentration. After presenting the tasks facing our class, and the need for and general method of industrial concentration, the letter calls for the building of 50 new shop and industrial clubs by January 1, 1970 and the singling out of auto and aircraft, steel, transportation and electronics as the basic industries in which to build the Party and the circulation of the *Daily World* and other Marxist press. In further resolutions adopted by the Convention. Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Western Pennsylvania and Indiana were chosen as the Party districts for special attention on the basis of industrial concentration. Goals for recruitment of workers in these basic industries and in other industries were agreed to as were the goals of 1,000 additional papers in bundles and 200 new subscriptions by January 1 in concentration plants and industries. A national plan of industrial concentration is to be drawn up.

The Convention reflected the fact that we were already going beyond the stage of just talking about industrial concentration but had some experiences to reflect. Considerable improvement was registered at the Convention in the shop worker composition of both the Convention delegates and the National Committee that was elected.

RACISM

All the major reports and documents stressed the centrality of the fight on a mass scale against racism and against its reflections inside the Party. The Convention was itself a living experience in the

fight to raise our standards in this struggle.

The main political report stated:

"For us the struggle against racism and chauvinism does not stop with moral indignation. For us it is related to and is a feature of the class struggle . . . Racism is the most serious and formidable ideological obstacle to class unity, to working-class consciousness and to socialist consciousness. We have to convince all who seek social progress that racism is the ideological obstacle to achieving it.

"If we are not a more effective force against racism, it is because of the influence of white chauvinism in our ranks. We can only be effective in convincing others of the centrality of the fight against racism to the degree to which we ourselves understand it . . . Without such a struggle we cannot have a successful policy of industrial concentration, and we cannot build the Party . . . We have to accumulate a body of experience in the struggle against racism. White Communists must become experts in the struggle" (p. 61).

In discussing this question, Comrade Winston in his report addressed himself particularly to white Communists and said:

"The struggle against racism in the U.S. is difficult. It is hard. But that is the essence of the fight to overthrow capitalism in the U.S. Capitalism cannot be overthrown unless white workers understand their own class responsibility, their duty to defend the fundamental interests of black men and women. This poses as the primary task fighting among the whites within the white community to change conceptions and practices . . ." (p. 17).

"When we speak of the beastly racist character of the police, of stopping them, isn't it the primary task of white Communists to work in such a way as to prevent the outbreak of their beastly attacks? Is it not a mass task among whites to curb and even legally to disarm the police?" (p. 18).

Comrade Hall discussed the growth of the racist danger around such candidacies as that of George Wallace as well as the decline in activity in white churches and other liberal circles, and the tasks of the Party in these areas.

As we noted, black caucuses in unions and the need sometimes for black unions as a path to trade union and class unity received much attention. The Convention adopted a series of resolutions, submitted by the Convention panel on black liberation.

Among these resolutions was one dealing with the growing physical attacks of the police and extreme racists on black people in the ghettos and with the range of methods of combating these attacks, the role of black Communists and of white Communists in meeting the attacks and the right of the black community to defend itself. Another resolution dealt with strengthening the work of the Party in the South where racism and reaction are most deeply rooted and where a large proportion of the Negro people live. The means of building black-white unity in the face of the propagation of racist ideas and practices was the subject of another resolution.

The resolution on self-determination indicates the three aspects of the question, the national, class and racial aspects. It indicates that the question of power has come to the fore in the black community and points to the various special demands for community control of such institutions as schools, hospitals, etc., demands the Communist Party fully supports. After concluding that black people do not now constitute a nation within the Leninist concept of a nation, the resolution states that we unequivocally support the black people in their right to determine their own destiny, including institutional and territorial arrangements. The resolution expressed the possibility of the black people developing into a nation, in which case our support for their determination of their own destiny would express itself in the form of unqualified support for the right of self-determination.

Each of the major reports and documents dealt at length with mass developments and demands and with our tasks in the mass struggles.

The Convention also agreed to launch an educational campaign against white chauvinism, both among the masses and within the Party.

THE PARTY PROGRAM

After four years of work the Convention adopted the basic party program, charting the general path of struggle to a socialist U.S. The incoming leadership was instructed in preparing the final draft to sharpen the formulation of its general line in a number of ways. These include the upgrading of socialist agitation within the framework of democratic struggles, more emphasis on the leading role of the working class in building the anti-monopoly alli-

ance, the role of the Party in this and as an organizing force leading struggles. While we now have a basic program which resolves a number of fundamental questions that have been under discussion for several years, the Convention was aware that as a living document it would be subject to revision at each Convention in the same way as is the Constitution.

PARTY UNITY

The Convention was deeply concerned about the question of party unity, and a higher level of unity was achieved than has existed for some years. This was evidenced in the fact that the basic documents and reports were all adopted with no more than 26 delegates out of 250 voting in opposition or abstaining. In the case of the main political report, no one voted against it, and only a few abstained.

A number of significant questions under debate in the Party for some time were decided by the Convention. Some comrades had a more negative assessment of the world balance of forces and the main content of the epoch than that which our Party had made. On this point Comrade Hall's report, approved by the Convention, says:

"What has irreversibly and fundamentally changed the world scene is the rise of the three currents making up the world revolutionary process. The powerful world socialist system of states — in the first place, the Soviet Union — the worldwide national liberation movements — and the working-class movements in the capitalist world" (p. 8).

Comrade Hall acknowledged serious defeats in Ghana, Indonesia and elsewhere but then cited the defeats of U.S. imperialism with regard to Vietnam and Cuba as strong indicators of the new balance of forces and of the fact that U.S. imperialism could not simply have its own way. At the same time, he pointed to the increased aggressiveness and desperation evidenced by U.S. imperialism in many ways, including its launchings of new ideological counter-offensives. He then said:

"The matter of how to assess the forces of the moment is not a matter of abstract interest . . . A negative estimate leads to tactics of retreat. It becomes a weakness, especially when a negative assessment of world forces is combined with a negative estimate of mass trends, of the process of radicalization in our own country. Nega-

tive tendencies not only lead to tactics of defeat; in many cases they are shields for policies of opportunistic accommodation to the difficulties and pressures exerted by the enemy" (p. 11).

In the past few years, though to a lesser extent recently, a number of questions about the working class have been debated in the Party. There was a tendency by some to put large sections of workers and particularly of workers in basic industry in the category of "aristocrats of labor." There was also the view that wage demands were unimportant or even corrupting, while questions of management prerogatives were the only demands that could be considered "revolutionary." Some comrades oriented their policies and work on college students and other middle strata in the name of "being where the action is" while failing to see anything new developing in the ranks of the workers. The Convention answered these questions in the major documents approved. The main report states:

"For many years there were people who said, 'We can't do anything now, so long as there are good times. Wait until there is an economic crisis, and then the workers will move.' The sweeping theories of how 'aristocratic' the basic working class has become, as well as the various 'labor has been co-opted' schools of thought are cast in the same mould . . ." (p. 24).

"Some ideologists on the 'New Left' have now raised the question of the fight against management prerogatives as being 'revolutionary' in nature, seeking to set this issue against other important demands of the workers, especially wage demands . . . The Communist Party rejects such doctrines. Both the struggle for higher wages and the struggle against management prerogatives are struggles for reforms. Inherent in both struggles is the possibility of increasing the class consciousness and socialist consciousness of the working class, if Communists and other class-conscious workers are in these struggles and exert such influence" (p. 48).

Another point of major debate up to the eve of the Convention was the strategic line of the Party. Some argued that the concept of an anti-monopoly alliance was an obstacle to the struggle for socialism and was reformist. Usually there was also a challenge to the whole concept of struggle for democratic demands, rather than the "direct fight to develop anti-capitalist or anti-imperialist consciousness."

On this subject the main report states:

"The concept of the anti-monopoly movement and alliance emerges as a necessary consequence of the basic features of the monopoly stage of capitalism and especially of state monopoly capitalism . . . the rise of monopoly and state monopoly capitalism gives birth to a new contradiction—that between monopoly and the people—growing out of and super-imposed on the basic class conflict. And this leads inevitably to the anti-monopoly character of all democratic struggles today, and hence to the concept of an anti-monopoly movement intertwined with, and providing the framework of, the struggle for working-class political power—for socialism" (p. 85).

"Without our being in the very forefront of the democratic struggles against the monopolies, the fight for socialism inevitably degenerates into mere propagandizing and preaching, into the building of narrow, sterile sects. The placing of the democratic struggle as being in contradiction to the struggle for socialism can only lead in one direction—toward the bog of ultra-Leftism and Trotskyism" (p. 87).

The substitution for the anti-monopoly concept of specific democratic struggles or the struggle against the military-industrial complex was also rejected as not containing a basic class orientation.

In the area of electoral activity, prior to the Convention, the Party's three-level approach was being challenged as meaningless.

This approach called for simultaneous work (1) to build movements of growing independence from monopoly capitalist politics within the two parties of monopoly, the Republican and Democratic parties, (2) to build independent political formations outside these two parties, and (3) to promote Communist Party candidacies.

What was called for instead was to select one of the three levels as the most important and thus to solve the problem of an unclear line. Making independence within the two-party system had its advocates, as did the proposition that the main level had to be independence outside the two-party system. Both the main report and the panel report adopted by the Convention showed the unity of objective on all three levels. The former states:

"The task of breaking out of the two-party system is not some objective for the future—it is a task to be worked on now. It is the inner theme of our electoral work on all levels" (p. 65). It states further:

"The internal and external forms are levels of political independence—both move in the same direction. There should be no wall between them . . . It is this new force, emerging from the two levels of independent development, that will be the basis for a mass people's party" (p. 66).

Speaking of new political party formations that developed in 1969 and were small and narrow, the report rejected the idea that they were premature or that it was a mistake to help organize them. Rather the mistake lay "in thinking that in 1968 they could become the *only* form of political independence. Such one-sidedness occurred also in working within the Democratic Party with the idea that the McCarthy movement was the only form of independence" (p. 68).

With respect to the third level, the Communist presidential campaign, the report concludes: "With all its shortcomings, it was an important campaign. It exposed some of the basic weaknesses in fighting for the Party and its independent role" (p. 70). It concluded that such candidacies and activities must be expanded in order to inject issues into election campaigns, to influence the course of the elections, to propagate the socialist alternative and to fight for the full legality of the Party. A higher level of unity was achieved on the basis of these decisions on the basic questions of theory and policy. This also resulted from updating and making more tactically relevant our positions on assessment of the top labor leadership, trade union unity, black caucuses, self-determination and self-defense, the role of the working class in the anti-monopoly coalition, and other questions.

Throughout the Convention there was a strong expression of the desire of the delegates to put an end to certain factional tendencies that had existed, to stop debating endlessly the same propositions and to get on with the business of rooting the Party in the working class. A strong resolution against factionalism contained in the report of the Panel on the Party and Press was passed as were the constitutional amendments presented in Comrade Winston's report defining democratic centralism.

The following remarks by Comrade Winston were warmly greeted:

"... democratic centralism is indivisible. It must apply to all policies, all decisions without exception. Some comrades who disagree with the Party's position on the

events in Czechoslovakia have asked why we cannot demand unity on domestic questions but allow disagreement on international questions. These comrades fail to see the oneness of Party policy. They fail to see that it stems from one body of theory, one set of principles. Differences on international questions are therefore quickly reflected in differences on domestic questions . . . Democratic centralism, if it is to be effective, is also inseparable from the constant practice of criticism and self-criticism . . . Comrades, factionalism is a most destructive force. It is incompatible with membership in our Party. It must be rooted out of our ranks, firmly and without hesitation" (p. 26).

BUILDING THE PARTY

Determination to build the Party in a many-sided way and confidence in our ability to do so was a major feature of the Convention. Concrete proposals were adopted to strengthen educational work and cadre training, to simplify organizational structure, to strengthen the public role and initiative of the Party and to recruit. A goal was set of 500 new members by January 1, primarily workers, black and white, in basic industry. The fight for greater mass influence and for higher Communist standards was spelled out. This means the fight to assure that Communists working among the masses will bring to these struggles the special contributions of Communists, products of the Party collective, particularly with regard to class orientation and the fight against racism in their mass activity.

In discussing the importance of building the Marxist press, Comrade Winston gave examples from Pittsburgh and Chicago of the results that can be achieved in circulation and its importance for any meaningful concept of industrial concentration. He concluded by urging that "we give this paper (Daily World—Ed.) every possible support. It must be built, it must be extended as a voice to win the mass movement for correct policies and to help build this Party" (p. 27).

In gearing the Party to make an all-sided breakthrough in was necessary to examine the outlook of the 18th Convention on this score and what has occurred since. The Main Political Resolution and Comrade Winston's report both state that the policies of the 18th Convention and the period since then have been essentially correct,

but the projection of doubling the membership by the 19th Convention has not come anywhere near being achieved, though there have been some small gains, especially among workers. Such a doubling was not achieved, despite the mass upsurge, Comrade Winston said, because "such goals were not realistic. And why weren't they realistic? The reason was an underestimation of the depth of the crisis in which our Party found itself at the time of the 18th Convention" (p. 5).

Comrade Winston examined the various indices of Party organizational status at the time of the 18th Convention, pointing out that not until shortly before the 19th Convention had any of them shown any improvement. He went on to say:

"What was it that had brought our Party to this state? It stemmed from two main facts. The first was the tremendous wave of anti-communism within the country. Tremendous pressures were exerted from the Right and from the 'Left', pressures which served only one master and one aim—the ruling circles of our country which were hell-bent on curbing our role in relation to the masses. Secondly, it was also the result of the wreckage produced by revisionism which undertook prior to the 18th National Convention in 1966, to destroy the Party from within" (p. 6).

The panel report on the Party adopted by the Convention indicated that in secondary features some Party policies since the 18th Convention had either run ahead or behind events and were not always tactically relevant. It noted also that the lag in the fight for the public and independent role of the Party had contributed to the inability to overcome the gap in development between the mass movement and the status of the Party organization.

A PRODUCTIVE CONVENTION

In addition to these major achievements, the high level of productivity of the Convention can be seen in the steps forward on a number of other questions. The level of importance for our country of the Mexican-American national question was enhanced by the presentation of the panel and it received greater attention at this Convention than previously. A series of eleven motions outlining concrete tasks to organize the work in this field was adopted. The incoming National Committee will prepare an examination of the basic theoretical questions involved in determining

the type of national question at issue and the strategic solutions which emerge.

The struggles of the Puerto Ricans and of the various Indian peoples also received greater attention and more developed resolutions were passed on these questions, indicating some of the current levels of struggle, immediate and strategic demands, and the tasks of the Party.

With respect to youth, the resolution placed before the Party prior to the Convention was adopted. It outlined strategic objectives among youth as an application of the Party's general strategic line and the main features of a Marxist-Leninist youth organization that is to be built. Together with non-Party youth, the Party will help a much more substantial new youth organization, working-class oriented and clearly defined ideologically, on the base of the Du Bois Clubs that already exists.

Greater attention was also given to the question of women's liberation. The focus of the panel report was on working-class women in industry and in the community, on their movements and their demands. The discussion focussed on women—and particularly on black women—in community movements on schools, housing and other issues, in the peace movement and in other struggles. It dealt with ways of raising the level of the Party's work in this field and with reflections of male supremacist thinking in the mass movements and within the Party.

A number of special resolutions were passed. One concerned the fight against repression of the people's movements, particularly through the use of the McCarran Act. Another examined questions of anti-Semitism, black-Jewish unity and the influence of backward bourgeois nationalist ideology among the Jewish people. A third dealt with cultural work. There was a reso-

lution greeting the course of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and reaffirming our Party's general position on the events in that country.

Alongside the outstanding achievements of the Convention there were a number of weaknesses. The Marxist press, especially the *Daily World*, but also the *People's World* and *Political Affairs* received all too little attention. The fight for the Party and the questions of the Party as an organization were under-played, despite the excellent lead given this subject in Comrade Winston's report. And though tremendous headway was made, not all problems of Party unity were completely solved. Some theoretical aspects of the national question await further work. Some reflections of insensitivity and ruling-class ideology with respect to white chauvinism and national chauvinism appeared at the Convention, though the struggle against them showed that the Party was serious about advancing this fight to new levels. And there were other weaknesses.

But the weaknesses are small compared to the accomplishments of what will be regarded as one of our most outstanding conventions. The achievements with respect to industrial concentration, the struggle against racism, the adoption of a program, the establishment of a higher level of unity on principled grounds to fight to build the Party—all these assure the correctness of that estimate. The new National Committee met in open session with the rest of the Convention delegates present and once again expressing the unity and confidence of the Party, giving the lie to the dire predictions of disunity in the capitalist press, it unanimously re-elected Comrades Henry Winston and Gus Hall as Chairman and General Secretary respectively.

On situation in communist movement in Indonesia

THOMAS SINURAJA

The CPI Committee Abroad has received many requests from fraternal parties, individual Communists and representatives of broad circles of world opinion for information on the state of the country's Communist movement. Here is a short account of the situation.

The Communist movement in Indonesia is going through a very difficult phase. The terror started in the country after the events of September 30, 1965, led to the murder of most of the Party leaders and of a considerable part of the membership.

The situation has been further complicated by the four years of the new regime. These have been years of terror against Communists and other patriots. Hundreds of thousands of Communists have been killed or thrown into prisons and concentration camps, where they are subjected to savage torture. The military authorities in Indonesia are transporting tens of thousands of Communists and other democrats to West Irian, to Buru Island and to other remote parts of the country. The ideology of Marxism-Leninism has been outlawed.

The wholesale repressions, harassment, and the social demagoguery have paralyzed the non-Communist Left, which had been allied with the Communist Party in the National Unity front.

The reprisals and the executions have disrupted the Party's organizational system, and grave harm is being done to Party unity by the group of splitters acting on instructions from Peking. This group persists in its reckless policy, which has already brought a heavy defeat on the Party. In the absence of legal opportunities for struggle, with the confusion and the Party's organizational weakness, on the one hand, and the decline in revolu-

tionary struggle in the country, on the other, the slogans of this Leftist grouping are designed to impel the Party, rather than what is left of its forces, along the path of adventurism and further defeats. This threat also arises for the CPI because the Party's enemies, speculating on its past mistakes, have temporarily managed to depict the Communists in the eyes of some people as an "anti-national" force. So that any further gambles, towards which some pro-Peking supporters are trying to push the Party, provide the enemy with additional weapons in his efforts to sustain the atmosphere of anti-Communist hysteria.

On the other hand, some Party members advocate a folding-up of Party work, because of the atmosphere of uncertainty and fear among some circles of the underground. Both these dangers, the Leftist recklessness, and the Right opportunist deviation, pose a real threat to the existence of the Communist movement in Indonesia.

Thus, says the policy document, "Urgent Tasks of the Communist Movement in Indonesia," drafted by an underground Party group, much work will have to be done to rebuild the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, including the all-important organizational and ideological unity of Marxist-Leninists, restoration of popular confidence in the Party, action against opportunism, both Right and "Left," establishment of a united front of the Left democratic forces on the basis of an alliance of workers and peasants, resolute struggle to win over the masses through active defense of their interests, and use of all the forms of class struggle, including legal ones.

Despite the heavy defeat suffered by the Party, Indonesian Communists believe that conditions are maturing for rebuilding and activating the Party.

Indonesia is now saddled with a dictatorship of the ultra-Right. The regime represents the interests of the big bourgeoisie, corrupt bureaucrats, speculators, semi-feudal landowners and the compradores. These social strata were the motive force behind the state coup of 1965-1966, and the establishment of the military-fascist dictatorship.

Indonesia is a country whose people have been plunged into the depths of poverty and despair, which increase with their growing exploitation by home and foreign monopoly capital. In no other country, perhaps, are the social contrasts so glaring as in Indonesia.

The working class lives in intolerable conditions, which are being worsened by the general economic dislocation. The inhuman exploitation, beggarly wages, spiralling prices, steady decline in real wages, massive unemployment, the absence of basic types of social security, arbitrary acts by supervisors and employers—such are the features of work and life in Indonesia today. The defeat of the Left, democratic forces and the savage reprisals have virtually deprived the working class of any legal opportunities for action to better its conditions, to say nothing of the fight for political rights. The trade unions have been gravely weakened and undermined.

The peasants, who constitute the bulk of the population, fare worst of all. With the defeat and destruction of the Communist Party their past gains were annulled. The feudal lords and the rich peasants launched a massive terror in the countryside. The present rulers, acting on behalf of the rural exploiters, refuse to implement the law on the agrarian reform and the law governing sharecropping and aid the big landowners in gaining the land previously allocated to the landless and land-hungry peasants. They are helping to maintain and encourage ruthless methods of exploiting the peasants and have been doing away with what is left of rural self-government. Having destroyed the progressive peasant organizations, they have cleared the way for vile abuses by the landlords.

The intelligentsia, too, find themselves in tragic circumstances. Worst off are tens of thousands of schoolteachers dismissed by the regime. In Indonesia, the intellig-

entsia had always been in the front ranks of those fighting for a genuinely national culture and social progress. The savage persecution of intellectuals is not only inhuman, it is causing grievous harm to the national interest.

Another feature is that the dictatorship has seriously impaired the interests of sizeable sections of the national bourgeoisie. The foreign monopolies, and the home capital associated with them are squeezing out the non-competitive national enterprises. Large numbers of the urban petty bourgeoisie, to say nothing of handicraftsmen, are being ruined.

These facts, the concrete expression of growing oppression and violence by the top levels of the ruling classes, inevitably aggravate class contradictions and conflicts, whose open manifestation is extremely difficult in the present-day conditions.

For those Indonesian Communists taking a firm Marxist-Leninist stand the primary task is to rebuild and weld, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, a Communist Party capable of again playing the role of vanguard in the fight for national independence and socialism. The Communists believe that for the practical implementation of this main task they must rehabilitate the Party in the eyes of the broad masses, restore and enhance the prestige of Marxism-Leninism among the people, and overcome anti-communism. We should explain to the masses that the responsibility for the past mistakes does not rest with the CPI and its three million members or with any one person, but with a group of leaders who in point of fact had detached themselves from the Party and, willingly or unwillingly, voiced interests alien to the Party, objectively opposing themselves to the whole Party and the international Communist movement; that the group's political line did not accord with Party decisions, but was blindly conducted according to Peking's will and wishes; that the group's actions ran counter to the line of the international Communist movement and that its ideological slogans were not based on Marxism-Leninism but, on the contrary, were in contradiction to its principles and played into the hands of the splitters.

The Communists are now working hard to rebuild the Party's Marxist-Leninist leadership. A leadership nucleus is gradually being shaped from carefully selected comrades loyal to the revolution, with a common standpoint on ideology and organization, and firm discipline. This nucleus

is contacting groups of Communists in the localities not by sending people to the districts to replace the leaders of local organizations, but by training and tempering experienced and tested cadres in each area.

Special attention is paid to the composition of the membership, which should come mainly from the working class, and also to the re-education of non-proletarian members in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Another task is to resume publication of Party journals. This will help to unite the sound forces of the Party, will make it possible to draw a clear line between them and the anti-Leninist groups, exposing the non-Marxist character of their pseudo-revolutionary slogans, will help to rehabilitate the Party in the eyes of the people, will help Communists and non-Party people to acquaint themselves with the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party and, lastly, will be of direct aid in the fight against the regime, because these publications will expose the true meaning of the "new order," its reactionary and anti-national policy, and focus attention on the grave danger of Indonesia being turned into a state supporting the imperialist monopolies, thereby helping to raise the popular resistance movement against the regime and restore the National Unity Front.

In view of the fact that the Marxist-Leninists are just taking their first step to restore the CPI, that the workers and peasants are terrorized, demoralized, intimidated and passive, and that as a result the Marxist-Leninists do not as yet have a mass political base, we cannot regard armed action at the present stage as an effective or only form of struggle. With the Party broken and bleeding, the working class disorganized and terrorized, and in the absence of anything like a revolutionary situation, the call for "Immediate Armed Struggle!" advanced by the Left adventurers is tantamount to suicide and, **objectively**, is a provocation designed to secure the destruction of the small forces at the disposal of the underground Marxist-Leninist organization. But our stand does not exclude the necessity of preparing the Party cadres for armed struggle.

Let us note that although the strategic stage of the Indonesian revolution remains the same, the conditions for gaining a leading role for the working class are now much more difficult than they were in the 1950s. Still, conditions are rapidly maturing

for overthrowing the military-fascist dictatorship and replacing it with a government that will ensure the independence and sovereignty of the Indonesian state, its active participation in the struggle for peace, democratic rights and freedoms, and measures designed to alleviate the conditions of the workers, peasants and other sections of society. Such a government can be set up through a basic change in the balance of class forces in favor of the revolution. Experience has shown the Indonesian people that the Communists were fundamentally right in warning about the Rightist danger facing the Republic. Hence the call for an anti-imperialist front of national unity with Communist participation should meet with a favorable response among the people.

The Communist Party, battling against imperialism and home reaction, for consolidation of national independence and social progress, was especially strong when it relied on the fraternal support of the international Communist movement and itself took an active part in the common revolutionary struggle. Today, the Indonesian Communists, working underground, write as follows in their policy-making document: "Being internationalists, the Indonesian Communists cannot confine themselves to national problems, however important and urgent they may be. The Communist movement in Indonesia cannot be isolated from the international Communist movement, from the forces of world revolution and socialism." A token of this indissoluble ideological linkage is the unanimous address to the Indonesian Communists adopted by the recent Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. For us this document is a token of the grand spirit of fraternal proletarian solidarity on the part of the millions of Communists throughout the world. It gives us the strength we need to step up the fight in behalf of our people.

The CPI Committee Abroad, representing Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, acting from a sense of responsibility to the Indonesian working class, and in line with proletarian internationalism, is fully resolved to join with the fraternal parties in consolidating the international unity of Communists in the fight against imperialism and reaction all over the world. We feel sure that this attitude will help our movement in Indonesia, bar the way to the splitting and isolationist policy of the Maoists and to the

schemes of reactionaries, who are trying to discredit Indonesian Communists.

The Indonesian Communists, fighting at home and abroad to rebuild their Party on a Marxist-Leninist basis, rejoice at the success of the International Meeting in Moscow. We see in the Meeting a powerful demonstration of the will to unity of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world.

The Main Document of the Meeting, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all Anti-Imperialist Forces," is of exceptional importance for Communists and all genuine revolutionaries in Indonesia whose fight against the reactionary regime and neo-colonialist penetration, and for demo-

cracy and socialism merges with the revolutionary fight of all peoples in a great anti-imperialist tide.

The International Meeting firmly declared its resolve to make effective use of all forces for united action against imperialism, reaction and war. These three implacable enemies of progress are barriers on the way to the advance of the peoples towards independence, democracy and peace. The success of the Moscow Meeting is a big contribution to the peoples' fight for independence, democracy, peace, progress and socialism, a heavy blow against the imperialists, reactionaries and splitters. The results of the Meeting will help the Communist movement and the people of Indonesia in their fight against the military-terrorist regime, for an independent, democratic and progressive Indonesia.

Socialism and the intelligentsia

Views from the GDR

There is no doubt at all that in modern society the role of the intelligentsia is growing. This is because science is now becoming a direct productive force. Under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist parties, the intelligentsia in the socialist countries is making an ever-growing contribution to the building of socialism and communism.

Bourgeois propaganda has tried hard to distort the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of socialist construction in the sphere of the new relations between the working class and its Party, and the intelligentsia. It has operated chiefly along two lines. First, there is the idea that in this age of scientific and technical revolution, the working class is no longer able to play a leading role in society. Since intellectuals are to the fore in science and technology, it says, the working class must admit the right of the intellectuals to the leading say in social life. Second, in an effort to erode socialism from inside, it plugs the idea that under socialism the intellectuals get a raw deal, and that the Communists underrate or even deny their importance to society. Ultimately, these two "ideas" pursue the same aim: to sow mistrust and division between the working class, and the intellectuals in the socialist countries.

Marxist-Leninists, as is well known, have always held that the working class is the leading force in modern society. This basic tenet is confirmed by practice in building and developing socialism, and especially by the experience of the recent decades when the scientific and technical revolution got under way in the world. The extensive use in production of the latest scientific and technological achievements enhances the role of the working class. As in the past, the labor effort of the working class is decisive in material production—the basis of all social life.

This leading role of the working class does not in any way detract from the importance of the intelligentsia. On the contrary, it helps to make more purposeful use of its capacities for accelerated social progress. With the socialist revolution accomplished, the working class and its Communist Party create the best conditions for all round use of man's genius for the benefit of society as a whole, ensuring the best material and spiritual conditions for building socialism and communism.

The Marxist-Leninist classics never assigned a passive role to the intelligentsia in society. Marxism-Leninism provides a real scientific backing for the role of the intelligentsia in social life, in the proletariat's class struggle and in building socialism and communism. The alliance of the intelligentsia with the working class and the struggle for its interests imparts to it additional strength and creates the conditions for solving its basic social problems. But the alliance also multiplies the strength of the working class itself, because it cannot do without the intellectuals in its socialist construction.

The Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries take the view that there is an objective and essential community of basic interests between the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. But to make this an effective factor in social progress there is a need for a purposeful Communist Party policy based on creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory. The content, forms and methods of this policy are not cut-and-dried in any sense, but change with society's development, together with the changes taking place in the position of classes, social groups and strata of society. Marxist-Leninist analysis of these changes is highly important for working out the most effective methods of socialist and communist construction.

In this context, interest attaches to the work with the intelligentsia carried out by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. A Round Table in Berlin last March under the auspices of our journal was attended by GDR scientists and cultural workers, among whom were **H. Bartel, K. H. Wirzberger, G. Wolframe, A. Grandke, R. Sachse, H. Kessler, E. H. Meyer, G. Mende, E. Moeck, H. J. Phol, J. Polzin, P. A. Thiessen, H. Trumpold, G. Heidorn, K. Spurgat, K. H. Schulmeister, M. W. Schulz** and **H. H. Emons**. They met with representatives of our journal to discuss the role of the intelligentsia in building a comprehensive socialist society, and its work and life, its concerns and hopes.

Our journal was represented by **A. Avanesyan** (People's Party of Iran); **Helene Berg** (SUPG); **A. Gedö** (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party); **Ts. Davagsuren** (Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party); **G. Colman** (Paraguayan Communist Party); **A. Dansoko** (Senegal Marxist); **P. Naumov** (Communist Party of the Soviet Union), and **P. Hentges** (French Communist Party).

In arranging this meeting, the journal continued its discussions with representatives of the various classes and strata in the socialist world. This was done, in particular, at meetings between representatives of fraternal parties of the journal with workers in Leningrad, and peasant cooperators in Bulgaria.* Below is a survey of the Berlin discussion.

The meeting was opened by **H. Berg**, executive member of the Socialist Unity Party and its representative on our Editorial Board. She expressed satisfaction that representatives of the fraternal parties on the journal were meeting with German scientists and cultural workers and wished the participants every success in their exchange of views.

We members of the journal's international group, **P. Naumov**, (executive secretary) said in an opening speech, are aware of the growing interest throughout the world in the life of the socialist countries. That is why we make a point of writing in

the journal about the progress of socialist construction in the fraternal countries, and acquaint readers with the profound changes now taking place in every sphere of their social life, with the joint struggle of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia in realizing the grand ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Our exchange of views is taking place on the eve of the 20th anniversary of the GDR, the first socialist state on German soil, and the native land of Marx and Engels. Naumov extended greetings to the audience and cordially wished them further success in building a comprehensive, developed socialist society.

STATUS AND ROLE OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA IN THE GDR

"There has emerged in the GDR a new, socialist intelligentsia the bulk of which, coming from the working class, was educated in the schools of our socialist state, and which remains a part of the working class. The intelligentsia will increasingly assume key positions in science and technology. Its achievements are factors promoting the victorious struggle of socialism against capitalism."

(From W. Ulbricht's Report to the 7th SUPG Congress)

Political and Social Positions of the Intelligentsia in the GDR. Prof. **G. Mende** (member of the Communist Party of Germany from 1932, former political prisoner under the Nazis, now a member of the SUPG, and author of major philosophical works) said: When speaking of the intelligentsia we must have the working class constantly in full view. In other words, the

problems and the fortunes of the intelligentsia can be examined only in the light of the historical mission of the working class, and taking it as the basis for all-round development of society.

Prof. Mende recalled two points, which he believed to be fundamental. First, there was the idea formulated by Marx and Engels, in the *Communist Manifesto*, that under capitalism intellectuals should be regarded as wage workers. Second, Marx's idea, expressed in his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, of the need to transform the social organization of labor into a truly scientific process. It is indicative, Mende emphasized, that Marx and Engels were the first to give a scientific explanation of the concept of "industrial revolution," showing the changes in kind taking place in science and technology, in the organization and standard of labor, in levels of education and culture, in production relations and in the development of

*See *World Marxist Review* Nos. 4 and 6, 1969.

class contradictions. The Marxist view of the historic mission of the working class, implies its leading role in political life, but also a similar role in the scientific and technological revolution. This last point, Mende went on, is not fully realized by Marxists, notably when they criticize the incorrect claims concerning the leading role of the intelligentsia in modern society.

Once the working class establishes its political rule some of the aims and features of its class struggle with the bourgeoisie disappear, but not the struggle itself. In the sphere of ideology, for instance, the struggle is waged in acute forms, and its role in consolidating the victory of socialism should not be underestimated. The unfolding of the potential of the intelligentsia is through its alliance with the working class, and this is best done when the working class wields political power. Proof of this is afforded by a comparison of the condition of the intelligentsia in the GDR and in West Germany.

The concept of humanism is also modified by historical experience. There is much history to show that abstract sympathy for the working class, without a conscious and active political struggle against its exploiters makes virtually no difference to the condition of the working class in capitalist society. In connection with the discussion on humanism, Prof. Mende cited three classical characters: Prometheus, Sisyphus and Orpheus. Prometheus, he said, is still the symbol of courageous struggle by the industrial working class in the interests of the broad masses of working people. Sisyphus, whom Camus set up as a hero, personifies the collapse and the futility of the good intentions of individualists. Orpheus is increasingly becoming a myth of tranquility in the bosom of the Muses, which in itself could transcend the harsh realm of necessity. More and more intellectuals accept the Marxist view that men control the realm of freedom only through socialist revolution and scientific and technical progress.

The working class holds key positions in the whole of modern history. Only under socialism does it acquire knowledge and becomes a vehicle of the scientific and technological revolution in the broadest sense of the word. Only under socialism can the working class and the intellectuals be brought together on any appreciable scale.

For an understanding of the present so-

cial status and ideological attitudes of the intelligentsia it will be useful to examine the possibilities of the scientific and technical revolution under different social systems, said Prof. P. A. Thiessen, Ph.D., (honorary President of the GDR Council for Scientific Research, member of the German Academy of Sciences and author of many works in physical, inorganic and colloid chemistry, and chemical technology).

First, he said, the important thing was to know the level of science and how it advances. At present, the volume of knowledge doubles every five or seven years. This means that in our economic life we must strive to be as close as possible to the level of knowledge attained, both in the natural and the social sciences. Consequently, we must be fully informed about the level of modern knowledge and know how to convey it to those engaged in production. Second, it is important to realize that not only does science, as a productive force, regulate the national economy and production, but that scientifically-based production constantly furthers the development of science, poses new problems and keeps it advancing.

Recently, Prof. Thiessen said, the West German Minister for Scientific Research, Stoltenberg, claimed the superiority of capitalism over socialism by referring to technological progress in Federal Germany. His claim, however, a striking example of falsification, boiled down to highlighting those aspects of technical progress in the FRG which Stoltenberg felt to be advantageous, while arbitrarily distorting scientific and technological development under socialism.

Scientific activity and scientific and technical progress, Prof. Thiessen said, always require a broad base. Science is not the preserve of a group of men who have had a particular education. Science does not begin with its most qualified men, and is not carried on by them alone. It begins at school, in the vocational and technical schools, in the system of extension courses in the enterprises, and in the technical institutes and colleges.

Under socialism, almost everyone in social production has a hand in science because he takes a lively interest in it, tries to improve it, sums up his observations and boldly makes justified projections.

Prof. Thiessen drew a distinction between scientific and technical development in the capitalist and in the socialist coun-

tries. Of course, he said, anything can be proved through the arbitrary use of mathematical formulae. The serious approach calls for integration embracing all levels of training, from the lowest all the way to groups with the highest training. The analysis should include not only the scientific potential but its increment, including categories like territory, its development, proper use of manpower resources, growth of production and the feedback of production into science, etc. The comparison of the economic levels of different countries, Prof. Thiessen emphasized, was not a purely technical-economic problem, but also an ideological one. Not everyone was happy when his own scientific level was compared with the world level, without any discount. That, too, was an ideological problem. It was no way to fill in a technical gap by leaving an ideological one.

Prof. Thiessen noted that there were absolutely no grounds whatever for the "social convergence" idea now being spread by bourgeois ideologists. The technical revolution in highly industrialized countries with differing social systems, the USSR, say, and the United States, has not led to convergence but rather to a sharper divergence. Socialism abolished private property in the means of production, abolished exploitation of man by man, that is, the root causes which under capitalism bred, and still breed irreconcilable social antagonisms. The present scientific and technical revolution in the capitalist world renders these antagonisms more acute.

Asked about the prospects for scientific and industrial development in the GDR and in West Germany, Prof. Thiessen said that at the moment productivity was on the whole higher in West Germany, but that the relation between volume of production and scientific potential in West Germany was worsening. In the GDR, the scientific potential was steadily increasing. Much has been done in this respect. We help innovators even when their ideas do not hold promise of immediate benefit. We help each child to learn in accordance with his endowments and to develop his capabilities. Education in the GDR was improving must faster than in West Germany.

Student Enrolment in Higher and Secondary Special Schools in the GDR and the FRG per 10,000 population in 1967:

Higher Schools		Secondary Special Schools	
GDR	FRG	GDR	FRG
62.3	45.3	72.2	35

Number of Universities		
	GDR	FRG
1951	21	31
1960	44	32
1966	44	35
1969	56	39

This is a key factor, and in time the GDR will overtake and surpass West Germany for all basic scientific and technical indicators.

The GDR Academy of Sciences has worked out a long-range program based on the Party's viewpoint that our aim is to reach the highest world standards in science and technology.

Prof. K. H. Wirzberger, Ph.D., (Rector, Humboldt University, member of the Presidium of the National Front National Council) said that in socialist society the scientist found an identity of humanistic aims and ideals with the goals of science, which served the cause of peace and progress. The scientist is aware that, regardless of his social origin or his generation, his work is an assignment from the working class. He is aware that, in the ultimate, the outcome of the struggle between socialism and imperialism depends on his personal participation, on the participation of the scientific body directed by him; and on the students trained by him. The primary duty of GDR scientists is, therefore, to use science to consolidate their socialist country and the community of socialist states.

In socialist society, the scientist has no doubts about the leading role of the working class and its Party. The 20 years experience of the GDR shows that science, teams of scientists and the individual scientist make their contribution to socialist construction only under the guidance of the working class and its party. This is even more true today now that science is becoming a direct productive force.

To the question whether he regarded the present GDR society as completely homogeneous, without any internal distinctions, he replied: We have never said that our society is homogeneous, if only because each of us has the right to be an individual, with his own background, personal feel-

ings, and personal way of making a contribution to society. But since 1945 we have witnessed a growth of what we describe as moral-political unity. Our National Front, which is a broad democratic movement, includes a number of parties working under the leadership of the working class Party. The National Front has brought together men and women, who have not abandoned their individuality or dissolved in the single concept of "GDR citizen." In my country people from various sections and strata of the population cooperate with each other. We are all aware of one thing: there can be no return to the past on the territory of our state. In this sense, we are "homogeneous" as a result of the lesson we learned from the history of German imperialism prior to 1945.

Prof. H. Trumpold (member of the Liberal-Democratic Party, author of scientific works and inventions, member of the National Council of the National Front), said that members of his party had discussed at length the place of his party under socialism. Today, we interpret "liberal" as meaning "looking to social progress." That is why we are in the bloc of parties which operates in this country and which assures it of progress. The main source of our success is that in the GDR we have brought together for joint action all the progressive forces, regardless of party affiliation and attitude to religion, and work consistently to involve them in the common endeavor of building a comprehensive socialist society.

The results of the consistent policy of the socialist state towards the intelligentsia, he went on, were especially significant in view of the difficulties arising from the division of Germany, and the problems earlier created by the open border. Another problem was that most of the intellectuals had bourgeois backgrounds, and their reappraisal of the world could not take place overnight. One of the really great things that we did was to abolish all class privileges in education; the doors to the universities were opened wide to children of workers and peasants.

Another thing was that the working class established correct relations with the intelligentsia. I have personal experience of the benefits of this policy. I think that if capitalism had not been abolished I would not have had the benefit of a higher education. This is also true of many of my comrades, whom you will find in leading posts in the government and in the economy. Among those present here many are about 40 years

old. All of them went to college between 1947 and 1950, that is, just when the country firmly took the new way of development.

Prof. H. J. Phol (member of the SUPG, director of the research department of Zeiss in Jena) noted that under socialism there was no chance at all of success for the imperialist attempts to drive a wedge into the alliance of the working class and the intelligentsia. I think, he said, that contradictions between the working class and the intelligentsia could arise when representatives of various classes and strata, and consequently scientists and students, had no opportunity to exercise their specific social functions or to take part in public life. The Party's policy of involving everyone in social life in accordance with his capacities and possibilities is the sure guarantee that science, industry and society will remain on the present high development level.

Prof. Phol emphasized that the Party's line for the all-round development of science, technology and education harmonized with the interests of intellectuals. This was vital to the further growth of unity of the working class and the intellectuals. Identity of the scientist's interests and the interests of society enabled the scientist to become aware of his personal responsibility to society and to add to his contribution to the common cause.

Directions of Creative Effort, Joint Work with Workers and Peasants. Dr. E. Moeck (member of the SUPG, head of research and development in the Warnow Werft Warnemuende, specialist in nuclear technology and automation in shipbuilding) spoke about man's creative powers and socialism.

Less than full use of man's creative capacity should be regarded as a loss for the whole of society. On the understanding of this problem depended the attitude to technical solutions, for when we decide on this or that solution we undertake a great responsibility for the men who are daily influenced by science and technology. That is why there must be ideological clarity also in the natural and technical sciences. A group of men without adequate knowledge in the social sciences would be unable to work out scientifically justified projection for modern industry. Prof. Moeck examined the problems of designing highly automated ships and working conditions on board such vessels.

There are several approaches to this

problem. One top official of a large U.S. electro-technical concern believed that with the present technical level all the workers need to do is to be disciplined and press the right buttons. This approach to automation is typical for capitalism where the main aim is maximum profit. Some West German shipowners had said that a highly automated ship needed a workshop with conventional machine-tools and benches to give the men a chance to work with their hands to relieve the boredom of pushing buttons all day.

We are seeking solutions to meet the training and general levels of our men, solutions which would enable us to use the crews of highly automated ships for scientific purposes, bearing in mind their creative abilities. Our ships must become mobile test benches to provide fresh incentives for producing basically new and better technical products. The men working on them should not be given lathes or joiner's benches but devices that would enable them to master scientific methods of research.

We have something to be guided by in our work. There are, for instance, these slogans: "Work with us, plan with us, manage with us" and "Everyone is responsible for everything." We live and work in a socialist society. At the Warnow Werft every worker knows that we are building ships for ourselves, and this also applies to the ships we supply to others, for instance, the Soviet Union, our biggest trading partner. Warnow Werft, said Dr. Moeck, while tackling the problems of automation, was devoting much attention to research into psychological problems as well.

Close contact with the life of the working people, concern for the man of labor and his spiritual requirements—such is the direction in which the creative endeavor of artists and writers in the GDR runs. This was discussed by Dr. K. H. *Schulmeister* (member of the SUPG, member of the Presidium of the National Front, and Chairman of the People's Chamber Committee for Cultural Affairs).

Ten years ago, he said, we acted on the advice of Lenin and Gorky and held a conference in Bitterfeld of workers in literature and the arts. The conference issued a call for a socialist culture, urging writers and artists to go to the industrial plants and the villages to study the human relationships taking shape on the basis of socialist relations of production. Since then we have been calling it the Bitterfeld way

of cultural development. We have had to resolve ideological and psychological conflicts on this way. If we are able to name many new plays, books, poems, and musical works which have appeared in recent years, if they do give a bright image of socialist man, this is the result of the high demands made by our Party and society on workers in the sphere of culture. Bitterfeld has been and remains a program for linking art with life, the creative intelligentsia with the people, with the developing socialist society.

Prof. R. *Sachse*, (member of the SUPG, and the only woman in the two Germanys to be rector of a higher school), spoke of the joint work of intellectuals and the workers and the cooperative farmers in agriculture and in the production of consumer goods. We are on the way to merging these branches of the economy in a single process of reproduction. Science, too, is being integrated in this process. Research institutions are being set up for the purpose of improving economic relations, and their planning and management.

The Institute of Agriculture and Food Industry, of which Prof. *Sachse* is head, has the task of working out and helping to start a supply model for the Halle-Leipzig area. The staff of the institute are tackling this task jointly with cooperative farmers, workers in the processing plants, ministers and economic executives.

Within the system of cooperative relationships between agriculture, industry and trade, the peasants are engaged not only in production, planning and management in their cooperatives but are also drawn into processes relating to large-scale cooperative associations. Through the establishment of clear-cut economic relations and new incentives a new attitude is being developed to the means of production outside the framework of the specialized enterprise, and we see a further development of the existing relationships in production bringing men closer together.

With science becoming a direct productive force, Prof. *Phol* added, production demanded of workers' higher skills and fuller education. That is why at our relatively large enterprise (employing over 20,000 white and blue collar workers) one in two employees is undergoing training to improve skills. A whole educational combine, helped by the university, intermediate special schools and our own teachers is taking part in this. More and more researchers and engineers are assigned to

assembly and adjustment of complex electronic systems. In this way our scientists and technicians are in touch with the workers and cooperate with them directly in the process of production.

While Prof. Phol holds that there should be a sharp acceleration of the drawing together of the working class and the intelligentsia, he thinks that all the distinctions between them will hardly be obliterated in the foreseeable future. In this process of drawing together, the working class is making steady progress as the main spiritual, productive and ruling force in society.

Asked whether it would be right to see the main reason for this drawing together of working class and intelligentsia in the greater application of science in production, Prof. Phol said that social and not production factors were crucial. The scientific and technical revolution was developing also in the capitalist countries, but in itself was not capable of changing the social status either of workers or intellectuals. Real integration of the working class and the intelligentsia was possible only under socialism.

The writer M. W. Schulz (Head of the Johannes Becher Literary Institute in Leipzig, and member of the Secretariat of the German Writers' Union) spoke about the socialist intellectual mentality which is not the same thing as socialist intellectual status. It often happens that a man is a socialist intellectual in social status and holds a high position in his particular profession, but his mentality, his outlook is a far cry from socialism.

Schulz drew attention to the failure of the attempts to revive the old bourgeois idea that the intelligentsia had an intellectual monopoly and that its function boiled down to criticizing society. Socialist intellectual mentality and status implied a unity of spiritual activity and a high sense of social responsibility for one's actions. The emergent socialist intellectual mentality presupposes unity of social idea and social organization which, Schulz believed, was an expression of a new quality in German thinking, in German spiritual life.

The longer socialist society existed, he said, the more intellectuals of its own it produced. Now, on the eve of the GDR's 20th anniversary, 80 per cent of the teachers in higher schools had received their education after 1945. It does not follow from this that we are no longer concerned with the problem of integrating the intelligentsia and the working class, although

there is the saying that "the apple falls close to the apple tree." The point is that there were still some forces opposing this simple logic. It would be a great mistake, Schulz said, to think that the socialization of the production relations would automatically invest man, another productive force, with the same character. For the "apple" to roll the right way there was need for enormous educational work by the Party based on a creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory. Schulz drew attention to the role of ideological, moral and aesthetic factors in producing the socialist intellectual mentality in the best traditions of the revolutionary working class.

Participation in the Administration of Society and the State. Socialist democracy offers varied forms for participation in public life. The intelligentsia is represented in every body that decides on short-range and long-range problems — from Party branches, government and public organizations and institutions, factories and schools, up to the highest Party, state and public organizations. This was evident from the composition of the Round Table. Present were a member and alternate member of the Party's Central Committee, deputies of the People's Chamber, and members of its permanent committees, members of the National Front Council and Presidium, leaders of artists' and writers' unions, secretary of a Party branch in a factory, and others active in various areas of public life. While it was not the purpose of the Round Table to examine concrete forms of participation, which in fact is implied in every aspect of the work of the intellectual, some forms of participation were discussed.

Prof. H. I. Phol said the Party was effectively enlisting scientists to help shape policy. This increases their responsibility for the results obtained in all branches of research. Scientists participate not only in the administration of research, they are also members of various elective bodies. Two of my colleagues present here, Dr. Schulmeister and Prof. Trumpold, are, like myself, members of the People's Chamber. But it might be asked: Well, suppose there are a hundred scientists in the People's Chamber, but, surely, there must be other areas for scientific initiative? The answer, Prof. Phol said, is that scientists have a very important share at all levels of state administration. Scientists advise on the organization and development of research, as well as on economic and many other matters. This means that they assume a share

of responsibility for the continued shaping and progress of our society.

Prof. H. Kessler, Ph.D., (member of the SUPG, deputy head of the Department of the Theory and History of Literature and Art, author of works on the theory of culture) said that in recent years scientists have contributed significantly to the long-range planning of social development.

K. H. Schulmeister: As Chairman of the People's Chamber Committee on Culture, I can say that intellectuals bear a very large share of responsibility for the future of our Republic. They are represented on the Council of State and in the People's Chamber, the Ministry Councils and on various committees. Recently, my committee on which there are cultural workers, scientists, workers in industry, cooperative farmers, discussed the development of art.

At a recent meeting, the secretaries of the various art unions reported on their work and problems, and on what was being done to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the GDR. We discussed with them the development of socialist democracy in their organizations. Two or three years ago members of the People's Chamber used to criticize the artists' and architects' unions, and also government agencies, for not keeping in step with the growing cultural needs of the people. Now it is gratifying to note that the vast majority of our artists and architects actively participate in the reconstruction of our towns, that new designs are submitted to public discussion, and that there is closer cooperation between art critics, architects and artists, on the one hand, and representatives of factory collectives on the other.

SOCIALIST CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA

"Socialist society, which furthers the cultural life of the working people, safeguards all the humanist values of the national cultural heritage and of world culture."

(Constitution of the German Democratic Republic)

Reform of Higher Education and the Academy of Sciences. The further development of socialism presupposes a closer linkage between education and the present and long-term requirements of socialist society.* This aim is being furthered by the current reform of higher education in the GDR. Speakers dealt with this problem at great length.

Prof. G. Heidorn, Ph.D., (Member of the SUPG, Rector of Rostock University and member of the Executive of the World Federation of Scientific Workers) described the difficulties young Communists faced during the first reform in 1947-48 which abolished all class privileges in education and gave the children of workers and peasants access to higher education. He gave the following figures: in 1949-50, children of workers and peasants constituted 28 per cent of the student body in the higher schools; by 1967-68, the figure had gone up to 46.9 per cent, of whom 39.1 per cent were children from working-class families. Let us recall, for the sake of comparison,

that the 1967-68 figure for the FRG was 8.3 per cent.

The second reform, carried out in the 1950s, largely paved the way to the socialist university. Most university staff took an active part in establishing the new system, 80 per cent of our professors completed their education after 1945 and mainly came from working people's families. This largely explains why we have no class grounds for serious antagonisms between faculty members and students. Relations between them are marked by comradely cooperation. The task of the teacher is to help bring out all the capabilities of the student. Marxism-Leninism, he stressed, was the spiritual platform for the work of university staffs.

Prof. Heidorn then spoke about the scientific and other bodies in Rostock University. One was the social council, consisting of professors, teachers, students and representatives of the district Party organization, the local government bodies and enterprises. The university also has its scientific council which, among other functions awards scientific degrees and elects the rector. Students represented in the council take part in discussing appointments to teaching and other university posts. Our experience is that the students are quite capable of proving their point, and their proposals are often accepted. No study plans are worked out without student participation. Party members, Prof. Heidorn stressed, are active on the social and scientific councils of the university, and the Party organization helps

*By 1980, the development of higher education in the GDR is expected to double the number of skilled cadres in the national economy, including a 3.5-fold increase in the number of scientists and engineers.

greatly in resolving conflicts and problems arising in the educational process. The Youth Union, too, plays its part in university affairs.

The current, third, reform of higher education, said Prof. Heidorn, would be completed in the next few years, up to 1975. Its purpose is to make higher education an organic part of our comprehensive socialist society. Apropos of the reform Walter Ulbricht said: "The third reform of higher education is a necessary and important link in the series of measures designed to create a comprehensive socialist society in two aspects: first, it is necessary to satisfy the real needs of our society, especially of our economy in the further rapid development of the productive forces. This means that the reform is necessary to create a socialist economic system and carry out the scientific and technical revolution on that basis. Second, and this is equally important, we need the reform to create a socialist society in which the abilities of the working people could be fully and comprehensively unfolded."

Prof. Heidorn stressed the importance of closer integration of research with the practice of building socialism, and joint use of the scientific and technical potential by higher schools and industrial plants. At Rostock University, he said, measures were included in the curricula for the practical solution of the tasks facing industry. At the universities of Jena, Rostock, Berlin and Dresden, and in the technical colleges at Karl-Marx-Stadt and Magdeburg there was an amalgamation of scientific and technical potential and research to ensure larger research associations. Special attention was being given to further improving the teaching of the social sciences, and this applied above all to Marxism-Leninism.

Prof. P. A. Thiessen drew attention to the growing unity of the natural and the social sciences and the need to take account of this in our practical work. He stressed the importance for the representatives of all branches of socialist science of mastering the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism—dialectical and historical materialism.

Replying to a question about the student body in the GDR, notably at Rostock, Prof. Heidorn said that 225,000 students were taking day and correspondence courses. By 1970, there would be 150 students per 10,000 of population. The Government was allocating resources for this purpose, 11 per cent more this year than last. At Rostock, there were 5,000 day and about 1,000

correspondence students. By 1975, the former would increase to about 8,000, and by 1980 to almost 10,000. At present 82.7 per cent of GDR students benefit from state scholarships, as compared with only 24.9 in the FRG.

This question was asked: In the GDR students are urged to be more active in public life, whereas most governments in the Western world have a hard time keeping students away from participation in public life. How do you explain this difference?

As I see it, said Prof. Wirzberger, the basic difference is that our students have every opportunity to get an education and to apply their knowledge in practice. They do not have to worry about their future, or about the leaders of the society in which they live being incapable of shaping the future. Furthermore, our students are not faced with any generation gap. That is why they are active workers for society.

A question that aroused a lively exchange concerned the effect among students of the imperialists' attempts at subversion and at spreading their hostile ideology. Another question referred to the influence of the extra-parliamentary opposition in West Germany and West Berlin.

There was no ideological cordon sanitaire, Prof. Heidorn said, nor was there any undue restriction on the mass media. On the ideological front, the enemy attached special importance to the universities and colleges. That is why we cannot allow ourselves any breathing space in the ideological fight, as the advocates of "de-ideologization" urge us to do. To do so would be tantamount to letting the enemy plunge in his knife. Of course, he added, the influence on GDR youth of the extra-parliamentary opposition operating in West Germany and West Berlin was also felt. This was not a hostile movement, but many of its supporters were somewhat confused. We have visitors from West Germany and other countries, and we arrange seminars and discussions in which our students actively participate.

Prof. Dr. H. H. Emons (the GDR's youngest Rector, heads the Chemical Technical College in Leuna-Merseburg) spoke of the beneficial effects of the Party's trust in the young scientists and young people generally.

On the 20th anniversary of the Republic our college will be 15 years old. It has students from 30 countries. The average age of faculty members is 42. This shows

that the policy of the Party and Government in letting young people and young institutions shoulder great responsibility was proving its worth also in higher education. We all try to live up to this trust.

A feature of the higher education reform was its provision for greater cooperation with industry. This included shop-floor practice for students, cooperation with teams of young blue- and white-collar workers in the enterprises, exchange of research workers between industry and colleges, etc.

The whole of our research, in which students take part, is fully coordinated with the tasks of related enterprises. This, incidentally, gives rise to new problems. In the past, for example, a scientist's reputation largely depended on the number of his works read throughout the world. Closer cooperation with industry tends to restrict this somewhat, and this gives rise to certain ethical and ideological problems.

In recent times, Prof. Phol said, the responsibility of enterprises for training personnel has been substantially increased. Nowadays the enterprises are helping to enlarge some of the universities. The higher education reform was projected jointly by men from industry, by teachers and by students. In our enterprise, he said, we have 2,300 researchers, including 300 physicists. At one time young physicists assigned to work in our enterprise were apprehensive of its size, fearful of being lost in it. It was then decided not to disperse the young specialists among the various research groups, but to set up stable bodies. This made it possible at once to give them direct practical assignments and mobilize them to combat any hidebound practices. This also helped to reinvigorate the entire collective. The results were highly interesting: such bodies yielded the desired scientific effect much faster.

Prof. Heidorn was asked: How do your younger intellectuals see international economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the socialist countries? In every group of our intelligentsia, he replied, special attention is devoted to cooperation within the CMEA framework. Many of our younger intellectuals believe that integration of the economic and scientific potential of the socialist community will enable the socialist world to show more fully its superiority in the competition with capitalism.

A reform of the Academy of Sciences is also in progress in the GDR. This was mentioned by Prof. H. Bartel, Ph.D., (Head of

the Central Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences).

The Academy reform, he said, was designed to overcome the atomization of research, and to concentrate on solving the main tasks of the national economy and of society as a whole. Our scientists are striving to attain the highest levels in carrying out large-scale complex research projects. Our special problem is to achieve unity of the natural and the social sciences and to arrange close cooperation between those working in these branches.

The reform of the Academy is designed to produce a new scientific structure, blending the interests of industry, science and society as a whole. Research on a contractual basis, with financial allocations for specified projects, is now being more widely adopted. Not all of this is free from conflict. On the one hand, the research potential has to be geared to the basic national economic tasks, and on the other, account must be taken of the specific requirements of fundamental research in the light of the scientific and technical revolution.

Another problem, said Prof. Bartel, was to find the right balance between individual research and socialist collective labor. It was necessary to alter the character of the research and of the research institutions, and this involved purely human problems. It was not so easy for a scientist who had been working for years in a special field and had achieved results, to leave it and move elsewhere. At the same time, the present conditions required that scientists continue to learn because they would be tackling new and bigger tasks.

The old structure of the Academy, Prof. Bartel said, provided for institutes employing 30 or 40 scientists geared to research in specific fields. The new central institutes will average over 100 research workers. It was not enough now for a top scientist to be a specialist in his own field or in a narrow problem. Scientists had to tackle theoretical and methodological problems in a whole branch of science and also in related branches. In doing so primary importance attached to ideological matters. The Academy's political and ideological work now had a much greater part to play. The Party was giving more attention to this work.

The New School, the New Teacher. Solution of the formidable problems confronting the new society hinges largely on the orientation and quality of school education, on the work of every teacher. That is why our

Party, the government and the public generally devote so much attention to the schools.

The state of education in the past, its present position and the outlook for the future, were discussed by Dr. J. Polzin (Head of the theory of education department in the Central Pedagogical Institute).

In 1945, he said, 72 per cent of school teachers in East Germany were former members of the nazi party. Most of them had to be dismissed. Thousands of young people, mainly factory workers, responded to the Party's call to take up teaching.* In those early days the reactionaries did everything they could to make things difficult. And all too often we gave them opportunities for this, for our eight-month course could not give us all the training we needed. The class enemy tried to incite children and parents against us. I recall this episode in 1946: I had come to my class fully prepared, but one of the pupils spoiled the whole thing by a simple question. "Please, Sir, what is the difference between the new teacher, the new mayor and the new policeman?" Unfortunately, I was unaware of this joke, and the boy explained: "Very simple—the teacher can't distinguish between "to me" and "for me," the mayor between "mine" and "yours," and the policeman between either." Perhaps it is the irony of fate or, I rather think, the result of our education, but this pupil of mine is now a major in the People's Police.

With the assistance of the Party and of the Soviet officers in charge of education, the new teachers managed to cope with their job. I should like to emphasize the role of the Soviet officers, because for me this was a revealing chapter in the history of German-Soviet friendship. Among these officers were pedagogues and they helped us overcome many difficulties when we were just making our first steps.

What we inherited in 1945 was a sad legacy—4,000 schools with so-called continuous classes, that is, in which the children of different classes were taught by one and the same teacher throughout their schooling. I was appointed to one of these schools in 1946; a year later I was assigned to a four-year school, and after that to a ten-year school.

In the northern districts, Schwerin and Neubrandenburg, there were in those days what were known as "wooden-shoe" schools—a one-class affair for farm labor-

ers' children, all of whom wore clogs. That, of course, is now a thing of the past. In 1958, after we had set the school on an anti-fascist and democratic course, the Fifth Party Congress formulated our next task: educate active members of the socialist society. The People's Chamber enacted a law of socialist education and work was begun on a network of new ten-year schools. There are now 420 of these in Schwerin and 622 in Neubrandenburg. Schwerin now has 13 and Neubrandenburg 15 extended-curricula schools which prepare pupils for the university.

We are not out to produce an elite. Our aim is to give all children a good general education meeting the requirements of the technological revolution. And socialism offers ample opportunities for this. This year some 29,000 pupils, or 17 per cent of all nine-year pupils, will continue their studies in extended-curricula schools. Our aim is that one graduate in four should be able to go on to these schools, or to college or university.

In 1963, the Sixth Party Congress defined the place of education as part of our social system. The People's Chamber enacted the law on the socialist education system, and on that basis we drew up new curricula more closely in line with the development of our society. Thousands of scientists, teachers, university lecturers and industry executives shared in this work. In setting the level of general education, we had in mind the long-term prospect of social development, for it should be the function of the school not only to prepare young people for a meaningful part in social life, but also to inculcate in them the feeling of their responsibility to society. This means that the school must provide every pupil with adequate knowledge, and at the same time prepare him and encourage him constantly to perfect his knowledge and regard education as something that is with you all your life. The new curricula are based on the unity of science and partisanship—we must train fully educated people, but also with a high degree of class consciousness.

Some bourgeois educators have expressed the view that, with the continuing technological revolution, teaching in the GDR will gradually depart from ideology and confine itself to technology. West German teachers have often expressed that view to me. Last October, at an international conference in Frankfurt I was constantly being told that teachers in "both parts" have the same aims and problems and should there-

*At present about 50 per cent of pedagogical students come from working-class and cooperative-farmer families.

fore try to unite, through our work, what the "bad politicians" have disunited.

I told my Western colleagues that this was wrong, both in small things and big. Take the problem of crowded classrooms. In West Germany there are 50-60 pupils to a class, in the GDR the average is 26.4. Nor have we the problem of safeguarding the youth against the present wave of corrupting literature. We are concerned with other matters.

And the same applies to many major problems. My professional ethics, Dr. Polzin said, are in harmony with the education policy of my government and my Party. In West Germany, if a man holds humanistic views his professional ethics inevitably lead him to join with the working class against the state in which he lives. Otherwise—and this is all too often the case—he has to submerge his professional ethics and adapt his teaching to suit the policies of his state.

But there is a comic element, Dr. Polzin continued: While some think that we will "de-ideologize" teaching, in West Germany ideological manipulation of the youth increases from year to year. I recall the remark of an American teacher that the great contest now taking place in the world is a veritable battle for the minds of men, and its outcome will be decided primarily in the classroom. I think he was right. Bourgeois ideologists are trying to influence our youth. They think they can do this, because our youth did not experience imperialism, did not travel the hard road we travelled. The class enemy is banking on this. But we can well meet this challenge on the ideological front and give our youth sufficient immunity against hostile ideological influence. For our general education rests on the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, on the ideology of the working class. The task, a big and complex one, facing every teacher is to use the opportunities at our disposal to instil in every pupil a sense of civic duty. The great majority of our teachers are working towards that end, and our Party and government are giving them every assistance. For instance, 25 per cent of our teachers attend refresher courses.

The Party has suggested drawing up a long-term education program for the 1980's, a project that involves representatives of many different professions. This and other facts show that Party policy on education is in complete harmony with our professional ethics and that we teachers have a significant share in formulating that policy.

The Role of the Artist in Moulding the Man of Socialist Society. Rising material and cultural standards resulting from the building of socialism are attended by a systematic rise in the role of art in the life of socialist society and of each of its members. This lays a greater responsibility on artists and writers in shaping the spiritual life of society and influencing the thinking, sentiment, feelings and actions of its members. The idea-content orientation and forms of artistic creation were discussed by several participants.

Of late there have been renewed attempts to inculcate the idea that art is something above classes and has no relation whatever to the class struggle, said Prof. E. H. Meyer (composer, Humboldt University professor of music, President of the Union of German Composers and Vice-President of the German Academy of Arts). That idea is not new, and it finds no receptive soil in our Republic. For the artist is beginning to regard as his own the thoughts, feelings, hopes, struggles, sufferings and joys of the working class and the working people. If my own work has even modestly contributed to our cultural achievements, it is only because my close association with the working class goes back more than 40 years. Now, in the GDR, I have unlimited scope for creative endeavor, and I am sure that the overwhelming majority of my colleagues will say the same.

In our Republic art is a matter of state importance. The support it gets from the state has no parallel in the whole of German history.

In a socialist society, Prof. Meyer continued, the artist can play a very big part indeed in helping to mould public and individual thinking. His work is a necessary and inalienable part of socialism. Development of the man of socialist society presupposes close contact with art. We want to train people with varied knowledge and interests, not robots. Prof. Meyer described how he and his colleagues kept in touch with worker collectives and sought and welcomed their criticism.

Asked whether the culture now being promoted in his country was specifically GDR culture or German culture, Prof. Meyer replied that the German Democratic Republic draws on the humanistic heritage of German art, on the tradition of Bach, Beethoven, Goethe and Heine. But there are some traditions in German art and spiritual life which we reject, for instance the philosophy of Nietzsche. We reject the

anti-culture of West German imperialism, which is wholly contrary to our ideas and aspirations. But this is not to say that all West German artists and writers are vehicles of imperialist ideology. We want to build up in the GDR a culture and art that will be accepted by the whole of Germany.

M. W. Schulz spoke about the Republic's young literature, the development of its young writers and their work.

A man's humanist outlook, he said, begins to take shape in his youth. Let us recall the poet Becher and his period of expressionism. His cry, "Oh, man," dates back to his early writing. Such a non-motivated, abstract appeal is not to our liking. We want to discern the thinking, the motives, and the feelings behind it. And this is not always easy for our young writers. For they did not have to go through the hard struggle for socialism as a concrete historical aim. They found it ready-made—to them socialism is taken for granted. Often they do not perceive the concrete adversary. This can cause a certain vagueness in their writing. The young author is inclined to plead: I cannot fashion generalized images; I can only describe what I have seen; I am too inexperienced for anything else. But even plentiful observation does not always produce a generalized image. And Schulz remarked, in this context, that the building of socialist consciousness is no less important than material production.

Students at the Leipzig Institute of Literature, he said, are periodically asked to answer questions like the following: How do you perceive life? What do you regard as the embodiment of good, truth, beauty? What do you regard as truly beautiful, good and truthful? The answers differ; some do not answer at all, they find the questions puzzling. Here is one answer: "For me, all this would be embodied in an encounter with a person whom I know and whom I suddenly find completely changed—free in his opinions, free from fear, uninhibited, enjoying genuine and concrete freedom that comes only to those who are free to judge on the basis of optimal knowledge." We know, of course, that Engels in his *Anti-Duehring* spoke of this concrete freedom, and the same thought was developed by Lenin in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. Of course, it is good to meet people like this.

Or this answer: "If I could become what I have always wanted to be, that for me

would be the concrete embodiment of good, truth and beauty." That answer, evidently, is the result of reading Becher's diaries, and they provide some good examples. Becher tried to work out a formula of freedom: freedom resides in an understanding of your race, of what history demands from you. But the freedom set forth in the Becher formula is not something granted for all time; it must be won again and again.

We of the "midway" generation, men in the 30's and 40's, Schulz continued, see our mission in bringing to the younger generation the example set by the revolutionary fighters of the older generation, an example that had such a powerful impact on our own development. And if we fail in this, well, it means we have failed to accomplish the task imposed on us by history. Referring to the role of literature and art in the fight against the class enemy, Schulz said: If we make errors in this fight, and do not always reach the aesthetic standards of late-bourgeois art, that is nothing to be ashamed of. For our art, as our life in the GDR, rests on a solid, socialist foundation, and in this we see the earnest of success.

Dr. G. Wolfram (Manager of the Halle Theater, holder of the National Prize) described the new, socialist pattern of relations between art and the people. Humanist artists have always sought to bring art to the people. In the past the progressive Social-Democrat theory of art subscribed to the slogan "Art for the People" and, in fact, that slogan was displayed on the old Volksbuehne Theater building in Berlin. But even in that slogan, the speaker remarked, one could detect a condescending attitude to the people. We, however, are guided by the understanding that art has no Messianic mission. It must seek its criterion in revolutionary concepts, in the history of the people, in the needs of the working class. This means that, while constantly widening the scope of our art, we categorically reject the view that this implies any lowering of its level. No, we are guided by the exacting demands of the working class. And in this context, Dr. Wolfram described his own experience in the Halle Theater.

For the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution he staged a dramatized version of John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World*. The rehearsals were held in the club of the Buna-Werke, one of the country's biggest chemical plants, which has all the necessary stage facilities. We were in touch with one of the front-rank work-teams and decided to bring the workers into the pro-

ject. Members of the team were given the book and the dramatized version, and we invited them to watch a performance of some of the rehearsed scenes. There were many suggestions, and not all of them of a political nature—many concerned details of staging, acting and so on. All this was of great help, and though some of the criticism was naive, it was evident that the workers felt they were sharing responsibility for the success of the play. And so we held more rehearsals and then arranged a preview to which the workers were invited. Again there were many suggestions and critical remarks, and again we could see that the audience felt they were sharing in the production of the play. This experiment, and we are extending it, is characteristic of our conception of a socialist people's theater.

Prof. H. Kessler discussed the function of art in the period of building a comprehensive socialist society. The purpose of our long-range planning, he said, is to chart the main directions of future cultural development. The task set by the Party for the next few years is to develop a culture socialist in character and in idea-content, a culture in harmony with the new reality.

In our practical work we are frequently faced with such questions as what is the meaning of life, of happiness, how to combine personal and public interests, the relation of creation to organization. Humanism and rationality, Prof. Kessler said, is the central problem of all the cultural controversies in our society. Expressed in other terms, this is a problem of the inter-

relation between the individual and society, and it will probably remain the central problem of our art.

The first social function of art is to help shape a new concept of beauty in our modern society, in other words, to shape society's aesthetic consciousness. But art should also stimulate ethical standards of behavior in a socialist society. The ethical aspect has always been the primary and central factor in progressive art. Lastly, Prof. Kessler said, socialist art is destined to contribute to the moulding of the man of socialist society. The new qualities of art under socialism are now fully unfolding.

The centers of nearly all our cities are being reconstructed for the 20th anniversary of the GDR. The architectural concepts presently evolving will determine the image of our cities for years to come and will influence future generations, providing them with a picture of how society developed in our time.

Art has a big share in this work of reconstruction. In fact, it has acquired a new social function.

What is more, the architect and artist have ample funds at their disposal and the authority to make decisions. The Party leadership maintains that it is not enough to proclaim the new role of the artist in a socialist society. The artist must be given proper conditions for his work, made to feel that he is performing a useful social function and holds an important place in the community. Critical public interest in the work of the artist is an important factor in the development of our art.

THE PARTY AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA

"Building a comprehensive socialist society poses responsible tasks for all Party members and organizations, and requires a higher quality of party work."

—SUPG Program.

Party Work Among Intellectuals. The achievements of our intellectuals did not come automatically. They would have been impossible without the well-conceived and sustained efforts of the Marxist-Leninist Party in directing the creative work of intellectuals. Party organizations are engaged in painstaking day-to-day work in every area of social and political activity. This, and the application of Leninist principles in relation to the intelligentsia, were discussed by K. H. Schulmeister. Our Party,

he said, is guided by the principles of work among intellectuals enunciated by Lenin. Dr. Schulmeister examined in detail Lenin's idea of enlisting bourgeois specialists for the building of socialism, the Party's attitude towards them, and showed how this was successfully being carried out in the German Democratic Republic. He drew attention to the fact that Lenin's ideas about the cultural revolution are sometimes interpreted to mean simply the abolition of illiteracy. Actually, he emphasized, Lenin's idea was to make all the values in science and art the patrimony of the masses and to advance socialist science, technology and art to the highest world levels. That is why each phase in our development gives us a deeper and clearer understanding of Lenin's

teaching on the cultural revolution. This, Dr. Schulmeister continued, should be especially stressed as we prepare for the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin.

The working class and its Party, the leading force of the nation, have done much to bring home to the people an understanding of the role and the guilt of German imperialism in unleashing the world war, and of the historic role of the working class and its Party in reviving Germany's freedom-loving, democratic and humanist traditions. The people knew that the Soviet Union played an historic role in crushing fascism and thereby opened to the German people the road to eliminating, once and for all, nazism and militarism, the road to democratic and socialist development.

But this was accomplished only through a hard-fought battle on ideological issues, a battle anticipated by many German Communists who were convinced that the desire to set Germany on a new path would in the end prevail. I think that this desire was manifest in various strata and classes in the GDR, the speaker said. And if we have been able, in a short time, to bring the overwhelming majority of bourgeois intellectuals into the building of socialism, one of the factors in this was that the Party formulated the theoretical propositions that were to influence public thinking.

Cooperation between the working class and intellectuals is a tradition of the German revolutionary movement, Dr. Schulmeister remarked, citing the example of Marx's and Engel's cooperation with Freiligrath, Herwegh and Heine, or Bebel's address to a student audience on Socialism and the Intelligentsia. In the 1930's, Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht and other representatives of the working class, together with the poets and writers Johannes R. Becher, Willi Bredel, Friedrich Wolf, Erich Weinert and others, put forward proposals on the ideological and cultural policy of the Popular Front. The speaker also cited the valuable work among intellectuals of the writers and poets in the Free Germany movement, the Free German Cultural Leagues in Britain, Sweden and other countries with German emigre communities.

The work of Party branches among intellectuals was described by Dr. K. Spurgat, branch secretary at the Filmfabrik Wolfen chemical plant.

It employs about 23,000 people, including some 2,200 technical and managerial staff, and the number is expected to double by 1975 compared with 1965. Also these

figures: 56 per cent of all the engineers and technicians employed at Filmfabrik come from working-class families, 92 per cent received their training after 1945, 15.2 per cent are members of the Party, nearly one-third are active in public life.

Ideological work, Spurgat said, is basically oriented on promoting technological progress, and here we have to contend with many problems. He described one of them: some of the older technicians, practical chemists with 10-20 years' experience, hold that the use of computers in certain processes does not make sense — process control and research, they argue, have mainly been, and will continue to be, empirical. The younger men, those trained in recent years, insist on more precise calculations and computer-controlled methods. But to introduce these they must rely on preparatory operations by these practical chemists.

Experience has convinced our Party branch, the speaker said, that the solution of this and similar problems requires intensive ideological and educational work. For it is quite impossible to produce a substantiated long-range plan without overcoming this empirical approach by some of our technicians. And in this context it is important to intensify the study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Empirical views find expression also in an erroneous understanding of freedom of research—some contend that research cannot be planned or squeezed into time-limits. That view stems from individualistic methods and is becoming an ideological impediment to collective efforts by the working class and the intelligentsia.

As for the younger men, their demand is for more rapid assimilation of the new technology. But they are prone to see the problems of the technological revolution as relating mainly to their own particular profession and their plant, disregarding the wider social and economic requirements and potentialities of our worker-peasant state. Nor are they always aware of the social processes accompanying the technological revolution. This can lead to a narrow technocratic view, which regards work out of context with its class implications.

However, it can be said that, latterly, they have been displaying a closer understanding of the new professional ethics. In our educational work we try to have every technician ask himself: "For whom am I working?" The idea, advanced by the Party organization, is taking root that production assignments should be seen in their class

implications, as contributions to resolving the supreme problem of our time, namely, "who will win," and not only in Germany, but on a world scale. We are encouraging discussions of philosophical questions relating to the scientific and technological revolution, and also the problems involved in new management techniques.

We have started special classes at the plant to enable workers and technicians to discuss these questions. The accent, however, is on the young technicians, who in the not too distant future will be running the plant.

Dr. A. Grandke (Humboldt University professor of civil and family law, author of several studies on the status of women in a socialist society), spoke about Party work among intellectuals, with special reference to the position of women in the GDR.

Women now have a much more significant share in the professions, a thing that is possible only in a worker-peasant state. Before, under the old social system, only very few intellectual professions were open to women and, what is more, entering them often meant personal sacrifice. Full freedom for women is one of the aims of the socialist revolution, but, Dr. Grandke added, that does not mean that women's social problems are resolved automatically with the abolition of the old order. The Party must work purposefully to enable women to take full advantage of the new conditions. And there are reasons for that. First, in the past socio-political backwardness was more pronounced among women intellectuals than among men. Second, account must be taken of the woman's family responsibilities. The Party has always been concerned with solving the ideological problems of the woman's status in society. We can now say that every type of education is open to women.

And there is special legislation to safeguard their rights. For instance, our Labor Code makes it obligatory for factory managements to provide adequate facilities to women for learning and obtaining work in new skills. And "adequate facilities" include arrangements for women who have families to look after. We have special departments to deal with questions of the woman's social status and make recommendations to the Party. Women workers are encouraged to set up their own committees in factories and offices. The problems of women intellectuals are often the subject of discussion in these committees,

made up of workers at the bench, office employees and professionals. They function not only in industry, but also in our universities and other educational establishments, helping women in their studies and in finding interesting work upon graduation.

What we have to do now is bring more women into technology, where there are still too few. Every stage of our development, Dr. Grandke said, poses new problems. For instance, one of our big achievements is that many women have acquired professional training. But now, with the technological revolution, we have to think of refresher training, instruction in new skills, encouraging women to take up new professions, and so on. Society has a duty to help women in this.

We want more than 25 per cent of all schoolchildren to continue their studies in specialized secondary schools or universities. But we can only do this if we persuade all girls with the necessary knowledge and ability to go in for advanced training. We have started special courses for young married women to give them the necessary training for more skilled work.

Another problem, Dr. Grandke said, was appointment of women to more responsible positions. So far many women cannot take up executive posts either because of family responsibilities, or because of a disparaging attitude towards women executives in some factories. Party organizations are working to eliminate both these impediments.

Dr. E. Moeck: As research director at the Warnow-Werft shipyards, I have for the past five years been directing research and long-term planning for the Party district committee on a voluntary basis. This enables me to combine my Party and professional work. Our research unit consists of 30 voluntary workers drawn from various industries and scientific centers in the Rostock area—from technical researchers to economists and philosophers. Our function is to give advice and guidance to Party groups. Party members make up more than half of the research personnel at Warnow-Werft, and here, as in other enterprises, we try to stimulate the work of these groups and, together with them, tackle ideological problems that have a direct bearing on the technical and economic operation of the enterprise. That is essential if we are to fulfil the tasks the Party has set our society. We must give clear and convincing answers to such questions as: Why raise performance standards in the condi-

tions of the technological revolution? How does science help us? What is the responsibility of the intellectual in this connection? What is the role of socialist collective labor? These and similar questions, the speaker emphasized, are of major importance for effective research and are the subject of discussion in Party groups.

The German Character and Socialist Pride. The question was asked: After World War II, the best men of the German intelligentsia and people were painfully aware of their guilt for the war. How was this widespread feeling overcome, and how did the people regain confidence in their future?

Dr. J. Polzin: I will try to reply on the basis of my own experience. Yes, this feeling of guilt weighed heavily on us, younger people. I got my first lesson in a Soviet hospital two months before the war ended. A Russian woman doctor brought me some textbooks on mathematics and said: "You should study and become a schoolteacher." I had never dreamed of becoming a teacher, but somehow the idea appealed to me. My second lesson came when I returned home: young people were urged to take up teaching. This was typical of the confidence German anti-fascists and the Soviet people showed in us who had grown up in the fascist years. I was assigned to a war-ravaged area — we lived in cellars with no light, everything around us was in ruins. For me this was the first attempt to make up for a guilt which, like many other Germans, I keenly felt. That I joined the Party, I owe to a farm laborer, a Communist. He showed me the road: "You are right, of course, in trying to make up for your personal guilt. But it is more important for all of us to work to carry out the Potsdam agreements. That is the only way our people can regain an honorable place among the nations."

And so, we learned to believe in our future. Today we can say that the Potsdam agreements have been carried out in the German Democratic Republic. For we have built a new, democratic, socialist Germany. That is why we no longer—and I think this can be said without exaggeration—have to live with the burdensome heritage of the past, as is the case in West Germany. I feel that we have overcome the past by our labor effort, by our socialist progress.

Prof. G. Heidorn: Hans-Dieter Mueller in a book about the Springer press concern singles out and dissects eight ideological complexes which the Springer press has in

the past 15 years used to manipulate mass thinking. The first of these is the repentance complex. Springer's stable of "brown" writers, ex-S.S. officers and renegades like Willi Schlamm, have been plugging the idea that we Germans do not have to go about conscience-smitten; we must overcome and forget this guilt complex. This concerns the healthy feeling of guilt shared by very many honest Germans and, Mueller says, one that is preventing the bourgeois ideologists and their paymasters from sidetracking public attention from the deep causes of the tragedy for which world imperialism, and above all German imperialism, were responsible.

In my view, the Professor continued, it is important to remember that, from the very start, the Soviet Union distinguished between the guilt of fascism and the guilt of the German people. I can say from my own experience that many of us believed that we could be optimistic about the future only after the extirpation of all the survivals of imperialism and fascism. That is the positive aspect of the guilt complex. And the Party and active anti-fascists were right, Prof. Heidorn emphasized, in not putting the blame on the masses, in not drawing a contrast between themselves and the masses, but making every effort to convince the people that only by working hard and together could the country be set on a new course.

Obligated to admit the achievements of the GDR, bourgeois ideologists argue that they are attributable wholly to the German national character. Touching on this problem, Dr. E. Moeck remarked: I think we are justified in saying even with a feeling of pride, that the German workers and people generally are diligent and good workers. That does not mean that the same does not apply to other peoples. However, nations do differ in traditions and in education standards. But that should not be our criterion. The fact is that social conditions encourage and stimulate full manifestation and application of human ability and talent. Under capitalism man's ability to work for the common weal is stunted. But abolition of private ownership of means of production is in itself not enough. From its very inception our Party has followed a scientifically-grounded and purposeful policy, both in the organizational and ideological fields, designed to raise the productivity of social labor. And this has told on our achievements in the twenty years since the proclamation of the Republic.

Attempts to ascribe the GDR's economic progress to the German character, Prof. G. Heidorn remarked, are really meant to denigrate socialism. I was told in West Germany: If one fine day the economic potentials of the Federal Republic and GDR are combined, then we shall again be a great power. What was not said but implied was: and then God help the rest!

Westerners who interviewed our "young managers" say they are much more business-like than the "old ideologists." And this observation is usually followed by another: if and when these men take over power, we shall be able to discuss how best to use this combined potential (meaning, of course, on a capitalist basis). What we have here, Prof. Heidorn added, is a subtle campaign, but we are not to be taken in. Yes, we have become a highly developed industrial country, and not only as a result of the diligence of our workers, peasants and intellectuals. The fact is that

this diligence became effective only because of our socialist system. It has to be emphasized that everything we have achieved is the result of socialism.

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The Berlin Round Table brought out all the multifariousness of intellectual life in a modern socialist society and the intellectual's contribution to the building of socialism. Naturally, the discussion could not cover all the problems that come under the heading Socialism and the Intelligentsia. There were suggestions for further discussion of such questions as the social implications of the technological revolution, ways and means of bringing the working class and intellectuals together, creative freedom, the partisanship principle, and other topical problems.

In keeping with these suggestions, and similar ones from many readers, the journal will continue to devote attention to the role of the intelligentsia in modern society.

Some aspects of non-capitalist way for Asian and African countries

ROTISLAV ULYANOVSKY

There have been repeated discussions in the international Communist movement of the non-capitalist way for countries fighting for national liberation. The subject was discussed in depth as early as 1920 at the Second Congress of the Comintern, and was further discussed at all subsequent congresses. The idea of the non-capitalist way for countries emerging from colonial dependence was further elaborated at international meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in 1957, 1960 and 1969.

Mongolia provides concrete confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist theory that economically backward countries can take the non-capitalist way which opens up the prospect of building a socialist society with the aid of those countries where socialism has been established. Now that the colonialists' political domination of the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa is on the way out, the non-capitalist way has acquired even greater political and practical importance.

Whereas in most Asian and African countries capitalism is now developing faster than before liberation, in some this development has been curbed and has ceased altogether in some branches of the economy. While the liberated countries may be taking the same type of anti-capitalist measures in their efforts to emerge from their backwardness and prevent local and foreign capital from dominating their economic and social structure, they are doing so in diverse socio-economic and political conditions, conditions in which the

relationships of class and political forces differ widely. The diverse forms of the non-capitalist development in some of the countries reflect its specific nature, showing its adaptation to the concrete conditions of the particular country. Differences in the approach to the non-capitalist way are due also to the fact that the economy of the liberated countries is made up of diverse socio-economic structures. Alongside the structures characteristic of the transitional economy (tribal, patriarchal and feudal, and small commodity production—the basic structure—national private enterprise, foreign private enterprise and state capitalism), countries taking the non-capitalist way are developing a state non-capitalist sector which is steadily gaining the upper hand.

With this diversity of economic structures, there is obviously a need to take a look at the specifics of the non-capitalist way in each country. For obvious reasons I cannot here undertake to do this and shall confine myself to the general aspects to show the essence and regularities of the development in those countries where pre-capitalist relations or the rudiments of capitalism predominate, especially in the agrarian economy, and where the socio-economic structure is characterized by a multi-structured economy inherited from the colonial and feudal system. In these countries capitalist development is in its early stages and social progress is marked by specific essentials, by virtue of which this type of advance towards socialism is designated as "non-capitalist development."

THE SUBSTANCE OF THE NON-CAPITALIST WAY

What is meant by the non-capitalist way? That is how the question is usually formulated, instead of the more legitimate inquiry into the regularities and features of this very real phenomenon known as the "non-capitalist way." The first approach elicits a series of answers which at this stage of the national-democratic revolution will hardly reveal all the aspects of the objective factor impelling the non-capitalist alternative on the less developed countries of Asia and Africa.

These countries are moving towards socialism along their own paths because of their urge to win complete national and economic independence in a setting of technical, economic and cultural backwardness, and traditionalist thinking, and in the absence of established class groupings and with them of definite skills and institutions. Hence the non-capitalist way is usually expressed in the specific political leadership in eliminating the economic dependence of the given country on imperialism and capitalism, in taking the country towards socialism not "through capitalism," without working-class leadership. Many students see the essence of the non-capitalist way in the anti-capitalist socio-economic changes that are taking place in these countries under the leadership of non-proletarian and semi-proletarian forces, whereas the point is its specific character. None of this, let me add, does away with the self-evident proposition that in all countries, including those just starting out to bypass capitalism, socialism can triumph only on the basis of scientific socialism, under the leadership of the working class closely allied with the working peasantry.

Of course, a revolutionary national-democratic regime embarking on the non-capitalist way is not a dictatorship of the working class, nor are its social composition, policies and ideology any guarantee of ultimate success in building the new society. Let us recall that regimes effecting social change along anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist lines have time and again revealed an intrinsic weakness precisely because their political make-up and their leadership shun reliance on the working class and the working people generally. But for the crucial and cardinal factor of the modern world—the rise of the socialist world system—the surge of the peoples and their forward-looking forces towards capitalism, by-passing or contract-

ing the capitalist stage, would be utopian and subjectivist.

That is why there is the stamp of narrowness on the claim that anti-capitalist change is impossible without direct leadership by the working class. It implies that in the less developed countries, the initial anti-capitalist measures of the transition towards socialism cannot be undertaken or carried out until these countries go through the capitalist stage in developing the productive forces, or until the working class takes over.

The former proposition is refuted by the historic studies of Marx and Engels, which enabled them—a century ago—to advance the hypothesis that backward countries could move on to socialism without going up the "capitalist Mount Calvary," with the support of the victorious proletariat in the advanced countries. It is refuted also by the propositions which Lenin set out in his article, "Our Revolution."

The latter proposition should be seen in the light of the present experience in some countries which are by and large implementing, in terms of socio-economic change, precisely what the Communist parties say in their policy-making documents. Let us recall here that in his work, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It," Lenin argued that a truly revolutionary democracy, if it remains such, must take the way of radical socio-economic changes. There is no other way.

If we emphasize the socialist orientation of these countries can we ignore the fact that their way to socialism is the non-capitalist way?

The term "non-capitalist way" implies that we:

resolutely, and fully in keeping with scientific socialism, reject the view that the economically backward nations which have not gone through all the stages of capitalism can reach socialism only after stewing in the capitalist pot;

point to the fact that the advance towards socialism at the stage of general democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal change, accompanied by abolishing large-scale capitalist property held by the foreign, comprador and national bourgeoisie, can be based either on proletarian or on non-proletarian and semi-proletarian toiling masses, even if the direct leadership of the working class has not yet materialized;

maintain that a given country by starting the advance towards socialism "not through capitalism" has acquired relatively favor-

able objective and subjective, internal and external conditions for such advance;

declare that while the revolutionary leadership in this country is not Marxist-Leninist, it has not only an anti-imperialist but also an anti-capitalist potential whose realization ultimately requires — logically and historically — that this leadership should move closer to scientific socialism;

emphasize that creating the material and technical basis for socialism and a corresponding social structure, steering clear of capitalism or substantially reducing its development, will be protracted, complicated and difficult. This is due to the lack or shortage of the material and social premises for socialism which are produced by capitalist development itself, to eliminate or avoid which is the very essence of the revolutionary process;

reassert that the guarantee of the country's advance towards socialism and the pledge of timely elimination of the dangerous tendencies encountered on the way are economic measures to meet the vital needs of the working people, democratic freedoms and the right to trade union and political organization for the working class and the working people, an independent political say for them in government, non-harassment of those who accept scientific socialism, progressive trade unions and mass organizations, a purge of the state apparatus — the army, police and ruling party bodies — of corrupt elements and those generally hostile to revolutionary change. The non-capitalist way, which eventually could become the way of building socialism, presupposes democratic rights and liberties for the masses, a resolute policy against counter-revolution and reaction, and close cooperation with the socialist countries.

While the Communists have made comradely, constructive criticism of the negative aspects of the leadership's activity in the countries taking the non-capitalist way, they have supported their progressive measures and their fight against imperialism, the common enemy, and against home reaction. They are sincere in their desire to cooperate with the leadership in these countries, thereby exerting a positive influence on them for the most consistent and effective implementation of revolutionary-democratic and anti-capitalist programs. The Communists have done their utmost to help bring out the democratic and socialist potential of the progressive regimes, consistently giving voice to the interests of the working class now coming into existence.

That is the only way in which the Marxist-Leninists, and the national-revolutionary democrats with them, can accelerate establishing the supremacy of the ideology of scientific socialism and, consequently, advancement of the working class to commanding positions in the national-democratic revolution. The working class gains leadership in the revolution through the persistent efforts made by its vanguard in the frame of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist front. It is in no sense a *preliminary* for establishing a nationwide revolutionary front.

Thus, the "non-capitalist way" points to the important specifics of the advance by backward ex-colonial countries towards socialism. These specifics express the general laws of the transition to socialism not from capitalism as an established economic system but from pre-capitalist, embryonic or undeveloped capitalist relationships and productive forces, in the new conditions of the world revolutionary process and the growing influence of the socialist world system.

"Non-capitalist way" may not be quite adequate or best as a term, but it is not an artificial one, for it designates a real social phenomenon of exceptional importance, without a deep understanding of which it is now impossible to produce the right policy for advancing the national-liberation revolution and taking it to a higher stage. Although only a few countries have so far taken or are taking this path, it is the highroad along which a sizable section of the Asian and African population is bound to move away from capitalism. It is an objective historical necessity, and the premises for it spring from the law of uneven development of capitalism.

LAW OF UNEVEN CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT AND THE NON-CAPITALIST WAY

A most important objective premise for the historical possibility of advancing towards socialism "not through capitalism" is the uneven economic and political development of the countries within the world capitalist economy. As a general law of world capitalist development in the imperialist epoch, it is usually taken to imply the possibility of socialism winning out in one separate country with at least an average capitalist level. This is quite true for the victory of socialism in *the first country*. (Russia in 1917). But it also makes imperative for the emergent countries — if they

want to escape the grip of imperialism — to move away from the capitalist path.

The growing unevenness of capitalist development in various countries and continents, which has become extremely acute in the epoch of imperialism, has grouped 8 or 10 of the economically most advanced capitalist countries at one pole, and 40 or 50 of the most backward, at the other. Even with political independence, they continue to be objects of imperialist exploitation. It is the goal of the present stage of the national-democratic revolutions in the newly-free countries to bridge the deep and widening gulf between their state-political independence and their continued economic dependence on international imperialism. This is the most acute and definitive contradiction between the less developed countries, on the one hand, and imperialism and capitalism, on the other. There are two ways of resolving this contradiction: the capitalist, and the non-capitalist, which opens up the way to socialism. The ruling circles in most emerging countries are essaying the capitalist way (capitalist industrialization through private enterprise with the aid of a state sector, recruiting external sources of accumulation, "embourgeoisement" of the semi-feudal landowners). In contrast there is this other way: breaking the bourgeois and landowner monopoly of power, advancing the national democratic revolution, and gradually moving away from capitalist development, or preventing the transition from the early manufacture to the succeeding, higher stages of capitalism.

The non-capitalist way is manifestly not in contrast with socialism or the socialist way. On the contrary, given a multi-structured and underdeveloped economy the non-capitalist way is the embryo of the socialist way. Equally, national democracy, which is essentially the revolutionary dictatorship of the non-proletarian toiling masses, is the most convenient initial political form for the non-capitalist way. It does not clash with the socialist democracy to come, nor does it rule out the possibility, under certain conditions, of political power passing into the hands of the working class.

Let us note in this context that in studying the problem of the non-capitalist way attention should be centered not so much on the objective economic need to overcome the age-old backwardness — that is self-evident — but on the quest for a real possibility of overcoming the backwardness by making use of available productive for-

ces, and natural and manpower resources.

This concrete historical approach shows that modern capitalism not only reproduces backwardness in the former colonies and semi-colonies but also slows down their development, depriving them of the prospect of catching up with the advanced countries. The uneven development of capitalism, which a handful of imperialist states have been using to promote their own interests, with the growing retardation of the economically backward countries, insistently calls for overcoming the lag in a fundamentally new way. The countries which have not experienced the capitalist cycle want to break away from capitalism precisely because world capitalism, by virtue of its inherent laws at the imperialist stage, has been and remains the chief opponent of their economic independence.

Clearly any abandonment of the key theoretical conclusion concerning the possibility of the non-capitalist way or a shortened capitalist way for the underdeveloped countries, together with an effort to force their specific conditions into the classic West European mould would be tantamount to admitting that the socialist prospect for the economically undeveloped countries of Asia and Africa is impossible and unreal, to inviting them (as Kautsky used to do) first to stew in the capitalist pot. Clearly the prospect offered by Western capitalism is a call for neo-colonialist enslavement of the newly-free countries, which in some cases is already becoming a reality.

To abandon the non-capitalist alternative solely because in practice it yields substantially lower results than those achieved through socialist development under proletarian leadership, or because of failures and setbacks along the way, would signify refusal to apply the objective laws of capitalism's development which accelerate its destruction; it would be tantamount to refusing to use in the national liberation and the worldwide class struggle the law of uneven economic and political development, which, gathering momentum in the process of the scientific and technological revolution, tends to create an unprecedented gulf between the newly-free countries — at the pole of backwardness and public squalor — and the handful of highly developed neo-colonialist powers.

THE SPECIFICS OF REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

The idea of a non-capitalist way, which was suggested by the international Com-

unist movement, has met not only with approval but also with criticism, scepticism and, at times, flat rejection.

Some of its opponents insist on the hegemony of the working class at the first stage of the anti-colonial revolution, without which, they say, there could be no **deep-going general democratic** reform or transition to subsequent social change. Hence, so their argument runs, non-capitalist development is unthinkable in countries without a working class or a Communist party, or where they are weak or still not in command.

This ignores the intermediate and transitional stages of national liberation revolutions and the revolutionary potential of the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian masses in the national liberation movement; it ignores the character of the present epoch and the role of the socialist world system, and so objectively imposes on the emergent peoples a path to socialism **only through capitalism**; it fails to take account of the fact that, because of the numerically small and amorphous working class in many Asian and African countries, the existence of a petty bourgeois strata in it, the inexperience of the Marxist-Leninist parties where they exist, the prevalence of tribal and patriarchal relations and the influence exerted by caste and group divisions, diversity of tongues and complexity of national relations and, lastly, the power of religion and the clergy, it is essential to find and use the specific forms through which the masses will accept socialist ideas. One such form is the system of national democracy as an expression of the anti-imperialist, progressive bloc striving to prevent or overcome incipient capitalist development. The foregoing does not, of course, cancel out the Lenin proposition that the working class — where it is strong enough — can and should fight for the leading role in the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Alongside this ultra-revolutionary approach to the non-capitalist way there is another popular and ostensibly opposite one which tends to over-rate the success of the non-capitalist way, arbitrarily identifying it with socialism. This approach is popular with some writers and appeals to some of the ideologists of national democracy.

This proposition appears to be perfectly sound and logically impeccable: nowadays there are but two possible ways of development — the socialist and the capitalist. There is no other — which is quite true. Since it is logically impossible to identify

the non-capitalist way with the capitalist, one is left with the alternative of identifying it with socialism. But in so doing one discards an entire historical period in which the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution must be completed, and which normally takes decades, not just years, to produce the material, cultural and political conditions for the transition to the socialist stage of the revolution.

The Soviet Republics in Central Asia are often cited as examples, and this is legitimate. But the non-capitalist way outside the socialist system is something entirely different. Strictly speaking, the path travelled by the Soviet Central Asian Republics was not a non-capitalist but a socialist path, along which these Republics, guided by the proletarian power, avoided capitalist development. The distinctive feature of this first and tremendously important historical experiment is that these nations were within the orbit of the Great October Socialist Revolution, relied on its direct aid, benefited from its leadership, state apparatus, and army, and were led by political leaders and a political party guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

The feature of non-capitalist development which emerged in the 1960s from the experience of the Asian and African countries is that it allows certain steps in social progress in countries still within the world capitalist market, countries which have not entered the socialist camp and where the influence and support of the socialist world system at present does not — and cannot — assume the form of direct leadership. That is the fundamental distinction between the way taken by the Soviet Republics and the present non-capitalist way.

On the international plane, something of a guarantee of non-capitalist development is offered by the socialist world system, which strives to safeguard progressive regimes from imperialist encroachments and gives them much economic, political and military aid. Had the socialist world system failed to become the decisive factor of historical development, the non-capitalist way would have been impossible.

However, the socialist countries do not have the potential to deal with the full range of economic tasks in these countries, which by and large are still tied to the world capitalist market not only by tradition but also by their economic needs. But this means that world capitalism continues to exert political as well as economic influence on them. Hence the fully objective

and to some extent understandable balance these countries are obliged to maintain between the two camps, a fact which does not at all rule out consistent anti-imperialism, growing sympathy for socialism, and ever broader and more solid world-wide cooperation between it and the non-capitalist regimes of Asia and Africa.

The class opposites of bourgeoisie and proletariat, with their political parties, are either embryonic or non-existent in some of the countries taking the non-capitalist way, which puts petty bourgeois intellectuals and frequently progressive, democratic-minded officers in temporary political control.

Vacillation, change of heart and fence-sitting between the working people and the bourgeoisie are the mark of the petty-bourgeois intellectual. On the non-capitalist way, with class antagonisms largely rudimentary and general nationwide tasks prevailing, this intermediate layer acquires some stability. Relying on the armed forces and one-party regimes, it may for a long time keep the contending trends in equilibrium and represent the nation as a whole, without losing its class specific. But as the balance between the general democratic and socialist tasks of the revolution changes, and in periods of military and social crisis leading to clashes between the forces of revolution and of reaction, this balancing act can become a real problem, and the petty-bourgeois section has to make a choice.

Whose class interests, then, do the petty-bourgeois intellectuals represent when in power?

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE REGIMES OF NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

Marxist writers define the state of national democracy as a revolutionary dictatorship of proletarian, semi-proletarian and non-proletarian working social groups and sections who have a stake in independence and steady socio-economic development towards socialism. This fairly clear-cut definition leaves two closely interwoven and controversial questions unanswered: participation in this bloc of the progressive forces of the anti-imperialist, patriotic, national bourgeoisie, and leadership of the bloc.

When identifying the non-capitalist way with socialism, one is tempted to exclude the national bourgeoisie from the alliance of national forces and to accept the leading

role of the working people, especially since some statements by national-democracy spokesmen provide grounds for doing so. But it would be rash at this stage to deny all the sections of the national bourgeoisie any say in running states oriented towards social progress.

First, those who back the non-capitalist way are now mainly tackling anti-imperialist, general democratic tasks in whose solution the anti-imperialist section of the national bourgeoisie—mainly the small and middle bourgeois, merchants, and owners of manufactories, and small and medium-sized enterprises—also have a stake.

Second, because the national bourgeoisie is weak, some of its sections prefer to have the economy develop the non-capitalist way. Nationalization and curbs on private enterprise do not affect all sections of the national bourgeoisie, but leave the middle and small entrepreneur some room for operation. There is, therefore, an objective basis for a section of the national bourgeoisie taking some part in the progressive bloc, while the installing in power of petty bourgeois intellectuals—civilian and military—allows it to maintain and even extend its political influence.

It would therefore be wrong to ignore the national bourgeoisie when analyzing the class character of the national-democratic regimes. It would be truer to say that the bourgeoisie has been denied monopoly of political power, meaning that in the non-capitalist countries the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie has been ended but the bourgeoisie itself is still there, with its roots in small and medium-sized capitalist enterprise far from torn up, and in fact strengthened in some countries (UAR, Syria). This means that the bourgeoisie has not been entirely removed from power, and that the working people do not possess full power. Any other view would under-rate the influence of the bourgeoisie on society and the state, and also of the pro-bourgeois tendencies.

It is also in this light that one should see the statements by some Asian and African ideologists of the non-capitalist way regarding peasants' and workers' power. These should be welcomed and taken into account, but only as tendencies of future political development.

There are two aspects to the class character of non-capitalist regimes.

First, it is mainly the petty-bourgeois section (the intelligentsia) that gives political expression to the interests of the bloc

of working people, and the small and middle bourgeoisie.

Second, because of the embryonic class relations in most of these countries, there is either no mechanism, or only a very minor one, for direct subordination between the petty bourgeois intellectuals in power and class organizations, wherever such exist. The petty-bourgeois intellectuals holding the key posts in the state, the party, the army and the economic apparatus, are relatively free of the chief classes of society. That is why the state tends to take steps which variously meet or clash with the interests of the laboring social sections. This creates the illusion that the power is above-class.

Some ideologists of the non-capitalist way recently took a step towards scientific socialism, notably, on the key question of recognizing the class struggle, but we believe it would be wrong to equate this with scientific socialism. On the basic ideological issues, those who favor the non-capitalist way have yet to abandon their petty-bourgeois stand. Their recognition of the class struggle, as in Syria and Algeria, has not so far implied even the formation of a bloc of progressive, anti-imperialist forces, national democrats and Communists. They refuse to have such a bloc, and deliberately narrow down the possibility for virtually unlimited cooperation with the Communists. Nor should there be any over-rating—on the strength of political declarations—of the growing role of the workers and peasants in the non-capitalist regimes. The bulk of the workers and peasants are, for all practical purposes, still on the sidelines. The regimes suffer from “mass-phobia,” many national leaders have yet to overcome it, and are mistrustful of workers and Communists, even if they have from time to time to cooperate with them.

Many revolutionary intellectuals are obviously perfectly capable, given the right circumstances, of accepting Marxism-Leninism, but that will not change the social basis of the movement, the national-democratic state as such, or the ruling party, which remains petty-bourgeois. That is why acceptance of Marxism-Leninism on some points by the advanced intellectuals is very important and—in fact, desirable. But it creates a flimsy and reversible situation, without making the national-democratic party Marxist-Leninist in any sense. The main thing here is the party's class basis, which must be the yardstick for assessing these parties' possibilities and prospects for evolving towards scientific socialism.

These parties are based on the petty-bourgeois masses, and because the local proletariat is either weak or non-existent, the class essence of these parties will evidently long be determined by the sway of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, with all the consequences that this entails, including their possible overthrow.

What, then, is the basis for the Marxist-Leninist support of the non-capitalist regimes and their programs?

First, their activity is in line with the most general requirements of the progressive evolution of the less developed countries at the present stage. Even where national democrats do not accept the Marxist-Leninist ideology they put through a series of deep-going, progressive, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-capitalist changes which Communists in power would carry out, though they would do so by relying solely on the working people and by being organized in a leading political party of the working class with a consistent and clear-cut Marxist-Leninist program.

Second, national democracy is evolving, and even at the present stage there is evidence that it has moved closer to scientific socialism. Its best men can, of course, accept scientific socialism, but only through long and gradual change. The hope for this lies in strengthening the positions and increasing the influence of the incipient working class and the ideology of scientific socialism. National democracy does not in itself contain any guarantee that it will consciously and systematically create a proletarian base, involve it in power and prepare for a change in its class character. The rulers of the generally progressive regimes have shied away from active worker participation in government; they have restricted the democratic and trade union rights of workers, and have even banned Communist and Workers' parties and organizations. All this makes them very much weaker than they need be. That is why there are also signs of growing bourgeois tendencies among the petty-bourgeois intellectuals in power, which could become dominant.

In view of this, the non-capitalist way could be seen as a transitional phase in which the progressive social bloc, with non-proletarians predominating, and represented politically mainly by petty-bourgeois intellectuals, is engaged in putting through general democratic and social reforms, laying the foundations for a subsequent possible transition to socialism. Theoretically, under the non-capitalist way private enter-

prise does not and should not rise to become the dominant or leading economic structure. However, the possibility and danger of the general democratic reforms being used as stepping stones to capitalism are still there because the political structure of these countries is rendered unstable by their close ties with the capitalist world market, the prevalence of a petty-commodity peasant economy, which breeds private enterprise, the negative attitude to socialism of the pro-Western "parliamentary" and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the far from extinct influence of the former landowners and big merchants and, finally, by the petty-bourgeois character of the power structure, which in some countries relies on military regimes.

The balance of political forces will decide which of these possibilities is realized. Taking place is an acute political struggle—and it is bound to continue—for consolidation of positions by the most consistent revolutionary elements within the progressive bloc, so as to give the working people a real say in political decisions. In this there has been some success, and it is an earnest of further progress for national democracy, even if reverses and defeats occur from time to time.

L. I. Brezhnev, speaking on behalf of the CPSU delegation at the recent International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, said: "But whatever the difficulties, they cannot minimize the importance of the cardinal fact that a start has been made in a fundamentally new direction on the development of the newly independent countries. And their example will carry the greater conviction the more headway the revolutionary-democratic countries make in their economic and cultural development, the fuller the advantages of non-capitalist development are revealed."

Further social change and economic development in the non-capitalist countries will succeed, provided account is taken of the specific social base of national democracy. It would be reckless adventurism, jeopardizing these countries' development, to go too fast, to prod on the revolution, to make haste with slogans about qualitative changes in the class character of their regimes, instant hegemony for the proletariat, lumping all the national bourgeoisie as a counter-revolutionary force, or to attempt to surpass the actual economic possibilities through stepped-up half-baked projects, or arbitrary and subjectivist solutions for immature economic tasks. But it would be equally dangerous for the national-democratic power to degenerate into a bourgeois bureaucracy, to lose its links with the working people, to ignore their social and material interests, or the role of the forward-looking political party, relying solely on army officers, hounding the supporters of scientific socialism or demagogically engaging in the dangerous game of playing on the current differences in the Communist movement, as some national-democratic leaders have done.

In the assessment of the non-capitalist way extremes happen to meet: the ultra-Left denial of its feasibility and the opportunist tendency to enshrine national democracy as scientific socialism have the same result. It is the denial of the Leninist idea of the specific, historical transitional phase in which the general democratic, anti-imperialist revolution is completed, creating the political, cultural, and economic conditions for socialist construction in the countries emerging from colonial oppression, with their predominantly backward multi-structured economy but without the internal conditions for an immediate socialist revolution.

Latest fiasco of U.S. policy

U.S. policy in relation to the Latin American countries has always been a matter of special concern to the new occupant in the White House. Many theories and doctrines have been evolved in the United States to mask the true nature of the so-called inter-American system, all kinds of "cooperation plans" have been drawn up allegedly to promote the economic and social development of Latin America.

After the Cuban revolution, which greatly upset Washington, the Alliance for Progress was proclaimed, a program which until recently had been the cornerstone of U.S. policy on the continent. Enthusiastically hailed by Latin American rulers, the Alliance was designed, according to its architects, to lay the foundation of inter-American relations of "a new type," to clear the way for economic and social reforms.

The Alliance foresaw a national income growth rate of at least 2.5 per cent annually over a ten-year period.

What does the preliminary balance sheet show?

Annual growth rate for the past eight years has not exceeded 1.5 per cent. The deficit in the continent's balance of payments, on the other hand, increased from \$1,000 million in 1960 to \$1,600 million in 1967. Most of the plans and programs dependent to any degree on hand-outs from the Alliance sponsors were carried out extremely slowly, or not at all.

The old social structures, hindering development of the productive forces, have remained untouched. Stagnation and frequently regress are characteristics of the economy of most of the Latin American countries. Meanwhile, the North American companies are raking in handsome profits. For every dollar of the 12,000 million invested in the southern continent, they pocket three dollars. The outcome of this is a widening gap in level of economic, scientific and technological development

between the Latin American and developed countries.

Even before the dismal results of the Alliance became known, it was clear that it had been launched for other, covert purposes. Proclaimed by President Kennedy in March 1961, that is, a month before the Playa Giron invasion, the Alliance was essentially aimed at isolating the Cuban revolution, at getting the governments of the Latin American countries to agree, in exchange for lavish promises of aid, to support the aggressive designs of the USA, and at creating the illusion of the possibility of a non-revolutionary, non-socialist alternative of social progress.

The failure of the Alliance for Progress is fraught with grave consequences for U.S. policy in Latin America. The Nixon government is trying to find a new approach to the situation. In effect, it is trying not only to fill the vacuum caused by the failure of the Alliance, but also to chart a Latin American policy corresponding to Washington's world strategy and to the interests of the 'monopolies' directly connected with the present Republican administration. To this end Nixon sent Nelson Rockefeller to Latin America last May.

By including in its emissary's retinue of some 100 people: bankers, university presidents and professors, politicians and military, the Nixon administration sought to create the impression that the United States was making "systematic, sincere and serious efforts" to study the crucial issues of its southern neighbors. Nixon and his advisers were anxious to have everybody believe in the "seriousness" of the mission. It was not accidental that Rockefeller kept stressing during his trip that every meeting held by the mission was equivalent to twenty meetings at the highest level.

Washington's efforts become all the clearer in the light of the document adopt-

ed by the May meeting of the Special Latin American Coordination Commission in Vina del Mar, at the outset of Rockefeller's trip. The document expressed the concern of the continent's governments over their relations with the United States. Now known as the "Latin American bourgeoisie's list of demands," the document expressed the hope for a new phase in the capitalist development of Latin America based on fulfilment of past agreements," the hope of renewing "inter-American and international cooperation," after talks with the United States. Another, no less significant, factor that hastened the sending of the mission is the situation in Peru where the patriotic-minded military junta "dared" to expropriate North American enterprises.

Rockefeller's itinerary was to cover 23 countries in the Caribbean and Central and South America. But he and his retinue were unable to visit all the countries.

The Peru government, despite Washington's threats and the reprisals following the expropriation of the International Petroleum Company, a branch of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, denied Rockefeller entry into the country. In Chile the Christian-Democrat government of President Frei, under popular pressure, followed Peru's example. President Caldera of Venezuela, taking fright at the anti-imperialist actions sparked off by Rockefeller's visit, was likewise compelled to deny him entry into the country.

In Guatemala and Bolivia the mission spent a mere three hours. Lightning talks were held far from the capitals of the two countries the population of which vigorously protested against the visit. As for Uruguay's president Pacheco Areco, he had no other choice under the pressure of his people but to hold his talks with the U.S. emissary in Punta del Este.

In Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Brazil, the Dominican Republic and Guyana, powerful demonstrations and protest meetings were held despite emergency security measures. Rockefeller's visit to Argentina, cut to half the planned time, coincided with actions of the democratic forces against the hated Ongania military regime.

The fiasco of the Rockefeller mission could not be greater. Frank Church, member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, noted bitterly that the trip afforded the whole world an opportunity to under-

stand better and more deeply the dissatisfaction with regard to the United States in Latin America. It can be said that Rockefeller's trip was the first big failure of Nixon's policy in Latin America.

The strikes and meetings of working people and students, statements by Communist parties, the actions of progressive intellectuals and other representatives of the democratic forces, the protests by progressive Catholics and the dissatisfaction with U.S. policy expressed by some of the reformist governments — all showed the acuteness of the economic and political crisis that has gripped the continent. The crisis has been maturing for years. But the rapid growth of the people's anti-imperialist consciousness is particularly evident now, which undoubtedly bespeaks definite qualitative changes in the revolutionary process.

These changes are reflected in the policy of the ruling classes of the continent. The document adopted at Vina del Mar is a clear and concrete expression of their dissatisfaction. To what extent will the new "program for cooperation without slogans" given such prominence by Rockefeller during his trip, satisfy the demands advanced in the document? Indicative in this respect was the statement by the U.S. representative at the 6th session of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council held in Port of Spain. He said that a "special" commission, due to meet in Washington on October 20, would study the matter and submit its conclusions to the Inter-American Economic and Social Council scheduled for December in Caracas. It is pretty clear that the basic points in the "list of demands" will be turned down.

Such are some of the results and the perspective of the bargaining now going on between the Latin American governments and their imperialist master. In the meantime, the continent is becoming the arena of major political events. Socialism in Cuba has gained in strength in the past ten years. The popular and democratic forces of the continent, operating in varying conditions, are stepping up their struggle against the exploiting classes in their own countries and against imperialism. This struggle is the guarantee that all the plans to preserve U.S. imperialist domination in Latin America, whatever its form, will fail.

Luis PADILLA P.

Encyclopedia of Italian anti-fascism

The fight of the peoples against fascism and nazism in the Second World War was one of the epic events of our time. In this battle for independence, freedom, democracy and progress the initiative of the masses, their role as the principal actor in history, manifested itself graphically. It is not surprising, therefore, that historians and publicists constantly refer to these vivid chapters, that there is a rich and varied literature on the subject: besides the publication of various documents and studies on specific problems, and recollections by participants, many joint works have appeared, giving a comprehensive picture of the Resistance movement in the different countries.

One of the latter recently appeared in Italy, *The Encyclopedia of Anti-Fascism and the Resistance*, Vol. I.* Prepared by the La Pietra Publishing House, under the editorship of Pietro Secchia, a leading figure in the national-liberation war, the five-volume Encyclopedia will provide a composite history of the Italian people's fight against fascism. The appearance of the volume, which immediately attracted attention, speaks of the unabated interest in Italy in studying the annals of the anti-fascist struggle the lessons of which have not lost their validity.

The encyclopedia form has enabled the compilers to enlist both professional historians and participants directly involved in the events.

One of the problems that confronted the authors was correctly to determine the importance of each fact in relation to the whole, to avoid overestimation or underestimation. This called for a sense of historical responsibility and scrupulous knowledge of the details. By and large, the au-

thors have been successful. Reviewing the volume (*Unita*, May 1, 1969), Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party and one of the Resistance leaders, noted the Encyclopedia's balanced presentation of the facts. It being the first experiment of its kind, some facts and details will undoubtedly be revised and new ones added in succeeding volumes. But already the first one gives a historically true and comprehensive picture of the anti-fascist movement in the country.

In the Preface, Secchia writes that the authors conceived the Encyclopedia as a history of the Resistance, of its ideas and its participants. Volume One fully bears this out. It includes articles about the political parties that made the biggest contribution, their different approaches and views (some maintained that the movement should confine itself to driving out the occupation troops, others that it should go further and raise the question of the socialist perspective), the complex process of achieving unity in the Resistance, which ensured ultimate victory. The outstanding role played by the Communist Party in the Resistance is explained not only by the fact that it formed more guerrilla detachments than the other parties and rallied the workers to support the armed struggle, but also by the fact that the Communists acted as the most convinced and consistent supporters of anti-fascist unity, based on the common platform of struggle elaborated in the National Liberation Committees—the political leaders of the Resistance. The volume contains several articles on the Committees.

The Encyclopedia is a truly unique source of information regarding "the men of the Resistance." It writes not only about the leaders but also about all who played a role in the military or political

*Enciclopedia dell'antifascismo e della Resistenza. Milano, La Pietra, 1968. Vol. 1 A-C, pp. 743.

struggle of those years, and particularly about the men who gave their lives. The articles about the "death camps" give the names of the Italians who died on the territory of Italy and in other countries. The reader will also find information about the opponents of the Resistance—representatives of the fascist upper crust, Nazi generals who directed the occupation of Italy and the reprisals against patriots, Italian collaborators who stooped to betrayal. The articles about the representatives of big capital, showing fascism's close ties with monopoly circles make particularly interesting reading.

So as not to miss anything associated with the anti-fascist movement in Italy the authors devised an interesting method. Many articles are given under the names of the towns, provinces and villages that were the scene of the anti-fascist struggle. The same principle is followed in the articles about the industrial enterprises that became the centers of working-class action.

The articles devoted to the Resistance's military operations are of a high professional standard. The accompanying maps, many of them original, give a vivid idea of the actual course of operations. The wealth of cartographic material is one of the volume's distinctive features.

Very appropriate in a work of this kind is the inclusion of articles deciphering the main pre-arranged codes used during the Resistance. Thus the article "Aldo Says Twenty-Six to One" explains that it concerned a pre-arranged signal transmitted from the Center to the partisans of Piemonte to mount a general offensive.

Although the articles about Italian anti-fascism and the Resistance make up the main content of the Encyclopedia, its authors, as Luigi Longo rightly notes in his review, consider these events as part of "the great revolutionary movement of our age, which was given its first and most powerful impulse by October 1917 and which in our time continues in the liberation struggle waged by the peoples of so many countries against imperialism."

Going beyond the geographical confines of the central subject, the Encyclopedia shows how the Italian Resistance was a part of the broader historical process. The reader will find information about the anti-fascist struggle and liberation movement in other countries of Europe, about the main stages in the Second World War. The various articles testify that the libe-

ration struggle in Europe was decisively influenced by the Soviet victories on the principal front of the struggle against fascism.

Not only common ideals linked the Italian guerrillas with the patriots of other countries. In a number of cases the link was direct. Thus, for example, the guerrillas of Piedmont coordinated their operations with the French francs-tireurs; many anti-fascists from other countries, including Soviet people, fought in the ranks of the Italian guerrillas; there were Italian units in the Yugoslav liberation army.

The authors also show the connection between anti-fascism and the people's struggle for political and social progress in the past. The articles devoted to events and people of pre-fascist Italy deal specifically with the period of Italy's unification—Risorgimento. This is understandable if we consider the ties linking these two great events in the history of Italy; that is why the Resistance was called the "second Risorgimento," why the Communist Party named the brigades it formed the Garibaldi brigades, and why many formations of the Italian patriots were named after Mazzini, Pisacane and other heroes of the past.

A third aspect of the Encyclopedia is the history of the international working-class movement. The articles about leading figures in the international movement deal primarily with those aspects of their activity which influenced events in Italy. Stressing the significance of the liberation struggle of the peoples during the Second World War, the authors have included many articles about the national-liberation movement today.

Most encyclopedias are, essentially, a generalization and systematization of accumulated knowledge on specific subjects. The encyclopedia under review is no exception. However, the history of Italian anti-fascism still has many blank spots. A number of the articles are therefore original research, based on unknown or little known material. Several articles discuss the Resistance in a new way, pioneering other ways of studying it. Such, for example, are the articles "Art and the Resistance," "The Cinema and the Resistance," showing the impact of the liberation war on the culture of post-war Italy.

The Encyclopedia is an interesting and useful publication, an essential source of reliable information to the student of

Italian history. It is designed for a broad readership and can serve the young generation of Italians as a valuable guide in finding the answers to many of the questions of our time. For years to come it will be one of the basic sources of information about the history of one of the

greatest battles fought by the Italian people for freedom. The Italian working class is continuing this struggle in other forms and by other methods, rallying the masses around it as it did in the period of the national-liberation war.

G. FILATOV

Problems of the social sciences

In his recent book *Problems of Contemporary Social Science*, A. M. Rumyantsev, a leading Soviet economist and sociologist, has written a well-argued study* on the subject.

The book consists of three sections — revolutionary theory and the practice of revolution; economic laws and the socialist economy; ideology, science, culture. It covers a wide range of subjects—from the theoretical principles of political economy to concrete economy, from philosophy and sociology to culture.

The author draws on the research done by Soviet and other Marxist scholars in this area. He examines current problems of the social sciences from the standpoint of the processes and phenomena engendered by the new developments in these branches and in technology, discusses issues that have been and still are the subject of lively debate among Marxist writers in the Soviet Union and abroad.

*A. M. Rumyantsev, *Problemy sovremennoi nauki ob obshchestve*. Nauka, Moscow, 1969. 389 pp.

Much space is devoted to the principles of Marxist political economy, primarily in the context of Marx's *Capital*, new light is thrown on the contribution made by Lenin to Marxist political economy, philosophy and sociology. The nature of the basic ideas elaborated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism is well brought out.

Problems of Contemporary Social Science is written from militant class and Party positions. The author has no difficulty in demolishing the bourgeois and opportunist allegations that the Soviet social sciences have reached a dead end; he points to the particular problems presently being tackled by Soviet sociologists, their contribution towards helping solve the theoretical and practical problems encountered in building communism, and their participation in the ideological struggle taking place in the world today.

Problems of Contemporary Social Science will undoubtedly be read with interest by Marxist scholars and by all engaged in studying the Marxist theory of social development.

V.S.

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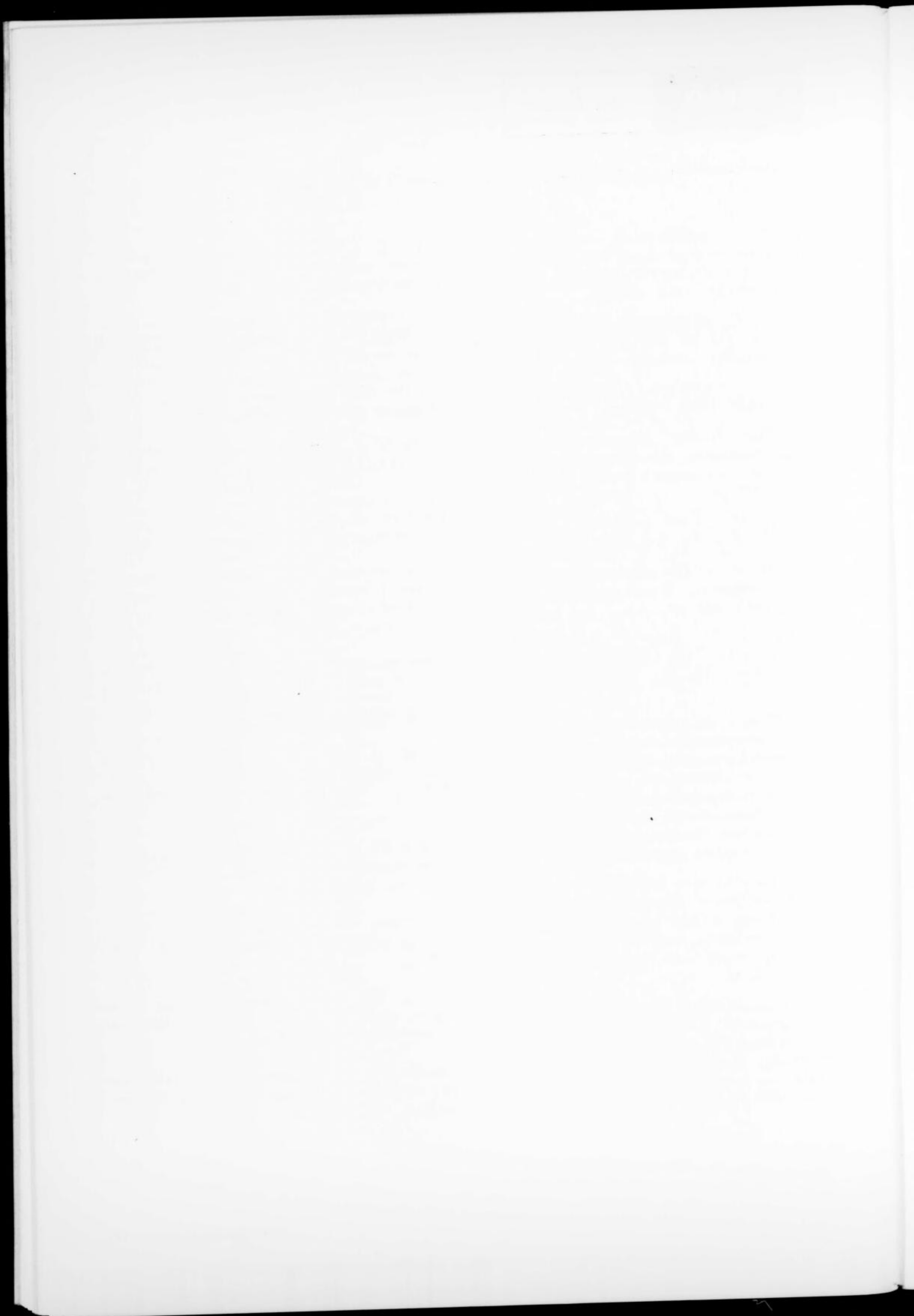
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