

WORLD

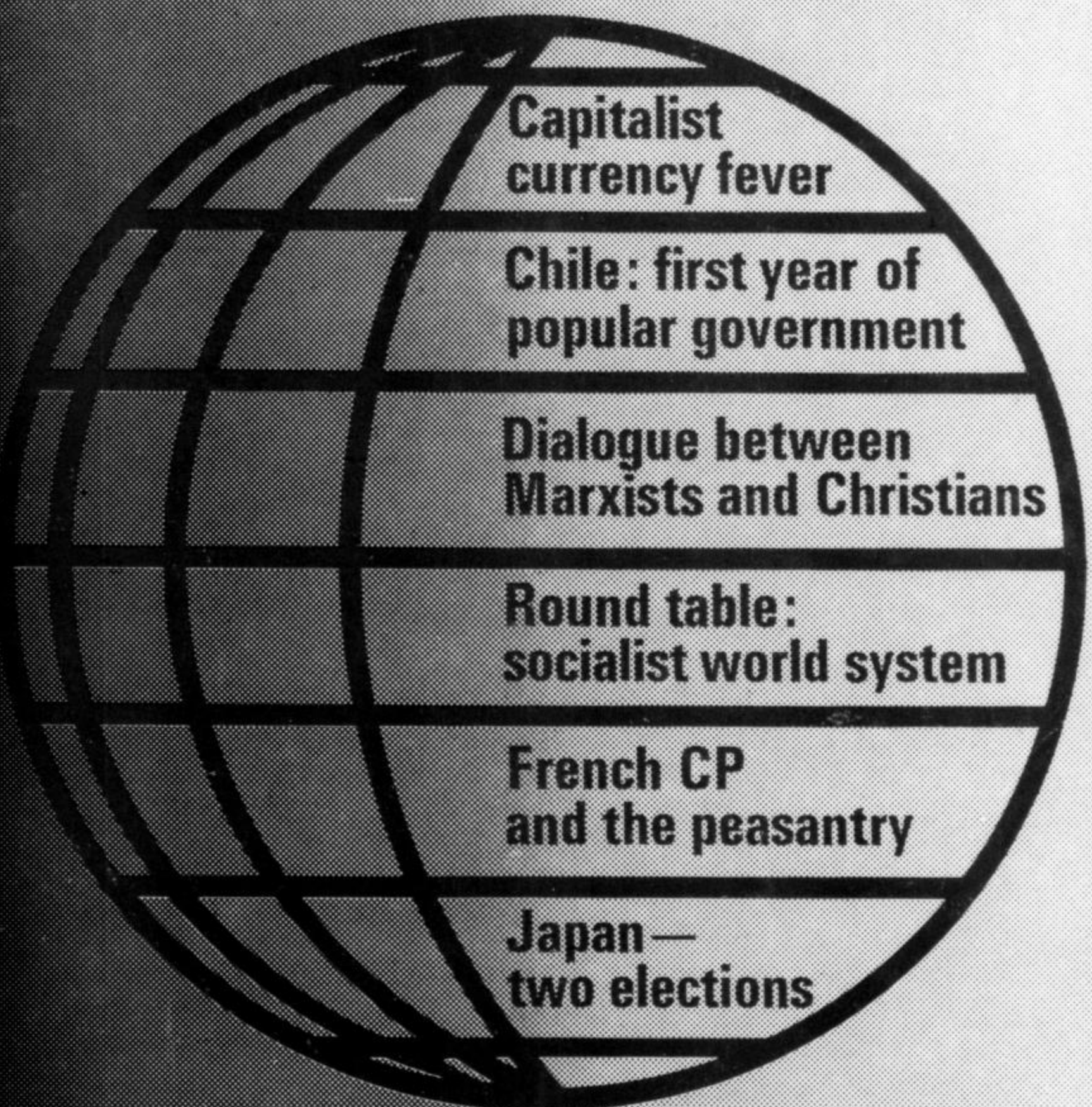
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

October 1971, Vol. 14, No. 10 50¢



**Capitalist
currency fever**

**Chile: first year of
popular government**

**Dialogue between
Marxists and Christians**

**Round table:
socialist world system**

**French CP
and the peasantry**

**Japan —
two elections**

DEAR READER,

1971 is ending. All these months we have done our best to meet the wishes you conveyed to us in letters and readers' conferences. The journal regularly presented surveys of round-table exchanges and academic conferences held under its auspices. We introduced new departments: Marxism-Leninism and Our Time, Imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle; From the History of Socialist Thought, and Modern Non-Marxist Socialism. Apart from analytical articles, we carried political commentaries and features, and responded to topical world developments. Also, we presented articles on world topics in a lighter vein.

At present, the Editors are working on the plan for 1972.

— As before, leaders of Communist and Workers' parties, personalities of the international labor movement, prominent figures of the national liberation struggle, scientists, scholars and publicists of different countries, will write for us.

— We shall present analyses of the world revolutionary process, covering its basic trends and topical problems. Due attention will be devoted to the further elaboration of the ideas advanced by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of 1969.

— We shall give prominence to the experience of building socialism and communism, and to the consolidation and growth of the socialist world system.

— We shall cover all events of importance in the life of the fraternal parties, their work with the masses, their creative theoretical activity in advancing Marxism-Leninism, and in exposing modern bourgeois ideology and opportunist stances.

— We shall give broader coverage to problems preoccupying Communists all over the world, shall offer space for exchanges of views, produce series of selected articles on specific subjects, react to acute international issues, and publish supplements with documented studies of present-day socio-political and economic affairs.

— As before, the Editors rely on your friendly cooperation. Specifically, your answers to the following questions will help us in our planning:

What subjects would you like to see covered in the journal?

What issues would you think worth debating?

Do you think we should have any new departments?

What do you think of the journal's appearance and what improvements would you suggest?

Your replies will be gratefully received. Address them to:

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Thakurova 3, Praha 6, Czechoslovakia.



October 1971, Vol. 14, No. 10

WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

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Workers' Parties

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Laws governing development of socialist world system

With the kind cooperation of the Central Committees of fraternal parties, this journal has of late promoted several round table exchanges by scholars of socialist countries ('Socialism's Place in History, Stages and Criteria of its Development,' see No. 12, 1970; 'The Socialist State and Democracy,' see No. 8, 1971).

Another exchange, held in Prague June 8-9, dealt with the objective laws and regularities governing the development of the socialist world system; scholars from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and party representatives of this journal took part. Below is a survey of the discussion.

In the opening address, K. Zarodov, Editor-in Chief of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, noted that objective social laws and regularities are an important area of the social sciences and have a strong bearing on politics. 'The highest task of humanity,' Lenin wrote, 'is to comprehend this objective logic of economic evolution (the evolution of social life) in its general and fundamental features, so that it may be possible to adapt to it one's social consciousness . . . in as definite, clear and critical a fashion as possible' (*Materialism and Empirio-Criticism. Coll. Works*, Vol. 14, p. 325).

The diversity of objective laws of social development is great. And here we shall discuss the most interesting and, if one may say so of an object of scientific analysis, perhaps the most fascinating of them — fascinating because they govern the emergence and growth of the new social system and, consequently, have a bearing on the future of the world.

The study of the laws of socialism began with Marx and Engels. Their labors were continued by Lenin. He substantiated the ways of building various socio-political institutions in socialist society and pinpointed the main laws governing the development of the new system. The immense

experience of building socialism acquired in the Soviet Union deepened our ideas about these laws, summed up in the documents of the Soviet Communist Party and in the materials of the Communist International and the 1957, 1960 and 1969 international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties which reflect the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and contain scientific definitions of the objective laws operating in the socialist world, showing their peculiarities and spheres of operation, and the ways of using them.

Matters relating to these laws and regularities have also been elucidated at the various recent congresses of fraternal parties of socialist countries. The Central Committee Report delivered to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by its General Secretary, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, said:

'Not only are we now theoretically aware but have also been convinced in practice that the way to socialism and its main features are determined by the general regularities which are inherent in the development of all the socialist countries. We are also aware that the effect of the general regularities is manifested in different forms consistent with concrete historical conditions and national specifics. It is impossible to build socialism without basing oneself on general regularities and taking into account the concrete historical specifics of each country. Nor is it possible without a consideration of both these factors correctly to develop relations between the socialist states.'

The fundamental ideas of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the generalizations of the experience of socialist countries, coupled with the intensive theoretical activity of Communist and Workers' parties, provide the basis for research in the socialist world system and its regularities, an important branch of the science of communism. And like any other scientific branch, it has specific problems.

There are several reasons why we must study the regularities in the development of the socialist world system. Firstly, good use of the many links between socialist countries depends on how well we know their mechanics. Secondly, theoretical conceptualization of acquired experience helps find new potentialities inherent in the socialist world system, and, thirdly, it helps expose hostile propaganda and the falsifications circulated by anti-Communists and by Right and 'Left' opportunists.

To put our discussion in focus, Zarodov continued, we should bear in mind that there are two basic, relatively independent sets of socialist laws and regularities — those of the socialist socio-economic system and those of the socialist world system. They are interconnected, of course, and it is the consensus that some laws (e.g., the law of planned balanced economic

development) retain their main features in both spheres, though the form of their operation differs. Some think, moreover, that the laws of the system are nothing but a specific projection of the socio-economic laws. These issues doubtless merit joint examination. But the main purpose of our exchange is to look into the regularities governing the development of socialism as a world system or, in other words, into the objective laws of the international relations of the new type.

Zarodov enumerated socialism's distinctive features as a world system. It possesses specific laws and regularities flowing from socialist international relations of production, as a comparison with the economic and political processes in the imperialist world system will clearly show. The new substance of the division of labor in the socialist community derives from the fact that it is deliberate, planned and voluntary. No country exploits another, none imposes its economic policy on another, and there is no evidence of either competition or economic expansion. Socialist international division of labor pursues the objective of steadily raising the well-being of the people, their cultural and moral level, with the law of uneven development giving way to the law of levelling out the economies of socialist states. And instead of neo-colonialist policy, aid is given to the developing countries to help them secure genuine independence and social progress.

Study of social phenomena (here the regularities governing the development of the socialist world system) is never easy. Specific problems arise, and it is no secret that opinions differ as to which links and relations between socialist countries are general laws and which are not, how many laws there are, and the like. What is the solution? There is just one: exhaustive study of the real processes and phenomena in the socialist community, which consists of countries with a similar economic and political system and a more or less similar social structure, leading to a general Marxist-Leninist conceptualization of accumulated experience. That is the only solution if we want to avoid the abstract, speculative approach, which yields only hypothetical laws instead of deducing them from actual social processes, on the one extreme, and empirical evasion of major theoretical generalizations, recording only that which is on the surface of things, on the other.

The experience of the socialist community, much of which is already theoretically conceptualized, has enabled the fraternal parties to define several common regularities. Zarodov named the following: convergence of socialist nations and states on the basis of proletarian socialist internationalism; socialist economic integration; planned proportional economic development; gradual levelling out of the degree of development of countries; unintermittent exchange of the experience of socialist and communist construction, which thus becomes international and benefits

all countries; close cooperation in foreign affairs and military cooperation in combating imperialism. This list, Zarodov added, will be lengthened, or perhaps shortened, in the discussion, while some definitions are finalized or corrected.

Zarodov went on to examine the regularities expressive of internationalism and integration. In his analysis of the changes wrought by the entry of capitalism into its last, imperialist stage, summing up the experience of the October Revolution and the early years of building socialism, Lenin predicted increasingly closer cooperation between countries as they drop out of the capitalist system and embark on the socialist way. For this, he said, there is an objective common basis, a tendency 'towards the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan. This tendency has already revealed itself quite clearly under capitalism and is bound to be further developed and consummated under socialism' (*Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions for the Second Congress of the Communist International*. Vol. 31, p. 147). The coming together, or convergence, of socialist nations and states, as Lenin saw it, is a long objective process of forging varied and increasingly close links.

What did Lenin regard as the means for this end? The principles of proletarian socialist internationalism. But these do not go into effect automatically. Appropriate political action is required, aimed at agreeing the national interests of the respective socialist countries with the common interests of the socialist community.

That brings us to a problem which often produces different interpretations, that of harmonizing the internationalist principle, which presupposes community commitments to each socialist country and each country's commitments to the community, with national interests and the principles of national sovereignty, equality and independence.

On the face of it, this is a contradiction, but, in effect, the unity between the unmistakable tendency of the socialist countries to come closer together, the interweaving of economic ties and greater economic and other cooperation and the development of the various countries within their respective borders, determining the economic and political independence of each socialist country, is truly profound and natural. This dialectics of world socialism has a definite bearing on the operation of its laws and regularities. The ties between the socialist countries, promoting rapid national economic growth and the development in each of the socialist, and then the communist, basis and superstructure, have the effect of consolidating the independence, and thereby the national sovereignty, of each member of the community. The sovereignty of socialist nations is tied in organically with proletarian socialist internationalism and is in fact inconceivable without it.

Referring to the necessity of economic integration, Zarodov set two problems. First: integration is not simply further specialization and co-operation, but also implies coordination of economic plans for five and more years, joint scientific research in all crucial areas, more rational solutions in the interests of not just one country, but all members of the community, etc. Second: study of the mechanics of socialist integration and, specifically, of how it determines the processes of political, cultural and ideological unity.

In conclusion, Zarodov stressed the role of the Communist and Workers' parties as the leading force and organizer of the activity consolidating the socialist world system. This function is carried forward through continuous contacts at Central Committee level, in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, in bilateral and multilateral meetings, dealing with the main concerns of the community as a whole, working out the rational forms of economic ties, collectively defining common policy in foreign affairs, and exchanging views on matters of ideology, culture, and the like.

The leading role of the fraternal parties in consolidating and developing the socialist community is conditioned by the socio-political specifics of the new society.

It should be borne in mind, for one thing, that building the socialist world system is not a spontaneous, but a deliberate creative process. The principles of proletarian internationalism, which produce completely new inter-state and international relations, have a deep-going material basis — the socialist economic system and the fundamental interests of the peoples of the socialist countries. But the only way to put them into practice is through deliberate activity, and for this the parties must carry forward a Marxist-Leninist policy and follow the new type of international relations.

The need for a Marxist-Leninist political approach to the various problems of world socialism derives from the fact that it is a system of sovereign states, the relations of which are inevitably political. Not to be trifled with are such important factors as combining the common and specific, the current and long-term in the interests of the peoples of the socialist countries. None but Marxist-Leninist internationalist parties can frame and follow this policy, expressing and upholding the interests of the socialist world system as a whole, as well as those of each member country.

The political approach is also necessitated by the specific historical situation, the irreconcilable class struggle against imperialism in defending the revolutionary gains of the people and in supporting the world revolutionary process. Hence the accent on joint action by the socialist states and their determination to afford each other the broadest help. Clearly, none but Marxist-Leninist parties can oppose national egoism with a policy

of deep responsibility for the future of socialism not only in their own country, but in the rest of the world. None but Marxist-Leninist parties can carry forward this policy consistently, performing their internationalist duty and defending the gains of socialism against counter-revolutionary forces and imperialism.

II. SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS — THEIR GENESIS AND SYSTEM

Classification of laws • Internationalization of social life • General regularity and the regularities of the general • Unity and approximation of economic levels • Scientific basis of the forms of cooperation.

The exchange opened with an examination of methods of analyzing the regularities of the socialist world system. Different criteria were offered for classifying regularities. The discussion centered on the specifics of their operation from country to country and in international relations, the objective laws inherent in these relations, their genesis, and the relation of the national and international forms in which the common laws governing the new system operate.

Professor V. Kveš, Cand. Econ., Rector of the Higher Political School of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (Prague), noted that regularities operated differently in the various countries and in the world system. However, he said, some regularities operate within countries only. He suggested classing regularities by their spheres of operation — socio-political, ideological or economic.

The leading role of the working class and its political vanguard, the Communist Party, comes under the head of socio-political regularity. Socialist development objectively requires steadfast proletarian internationalism, assuring equal and friendly relations among peoples. The facts bear out the necessity of jointly defending socialist gains and fortifying the defense capacity of the community. Solidarity with the international working class, support of the national liberation movement, struggle for lasting peace, and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems — all these, too, are socio-political regularities in building the new society. Asserting the Marxist-Leninist outlook among the people, unrelenting struggle against bourgeois ideology and elimination of the survivals of capitalism in men's mind, Kveš said, fall into the ideological sphere.

The most important of the economic laws is the planned development of economy in the interests of society as a whole. Not surprisingly, revisionists and Right opportunists in the Czechoslovak Party's leadership joined anti-socialist elements in deliberately opposing this law during the political crisis of 1968 and early 1969. They wanted to destroy centralized planning and to replace it with the spontaneous 'market mechanism.' As noted in the document, 'Lessons of the Crisis,' approved by the 14th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, they 'laid special emphasis on eliminating the Party's leading role in the economy, relinquishing the principles of centralized planned economic management, and imposing a revisionist interpretation of economic reform.' They tried to separate the country's economy from the socialist community and hitch it to the capitalist West.

Violations of internal proportions led to a disastrous situation and were highly damaging to Czechoslovakia's economic relations with other socialist countries. The development of the crisis was halted only by determined efforts of the new Party leadership in line with Marxist-Leninist principles. Conditions were gradually created for socialist development, in which the re-assertion of the Party's leading role was decisive. The state plan was reinstated as the guideline of socialist extended reproduction, and at its 14th Congress the Party approved a new economic development plan for 1971-1975.

The new plan will enable us to expand production, consolidate socialist production relations and, on this basis, to raise further the standard of living. Czechoslovakia's relations with other socialist countries, principally with CMEA members, will grow stronger.

Professor *O. T. Bogomolov*, Dr. Econ., Director of the Institute of the Economics of the Socialist World System, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, said that it would be useful to identify the regularities of the socialist system in the national and international contexts. Not all the common regularities of building socialism, he said, though confirmed by the practice of various countries and accepted as collective experience, operate in the development of socialism as a world system. Yet the most important are identical with those operating internationally.

The sphere of operation of the laws of socialist social development has expanded to embrace the entire world system. But inasmuch as sovereign states and their ruling Communist and Workers' parties are the main participants in international relations, their operation is definitely specific. True, it is not always easy to spot this. Hence the dissonance in our scientific literature.

Socialist international division of labor and approximation of socio-economic levels from country to country are usually classed as specific regularities of the socialist world system. In principle, territorial division of labor, distribution of productive forces and approximation in national development are related concepts. Likewise, one and the same law of value, and one and the same law of planned development govern both the socialist world market and the market in each country. But in the international context they possess substantive and specific features. Besides, there are laws common to several socio-economic formations, such as concentration of production, social division of labor, and correspondence of production relations to the nature of the productive forces.

Socialist internationalization is the most fundamental of the regularities in the international context. Cohesion of socialist countries, joint production and pooling of resources, comparing notes and experience, and united action in the international arena, are all objectively necessary. 'Already under capitalism, all economic, political and spiritual life,' Lenin wrote, 'is becoming more and more international. Socialism will make it completely international' (Vol. 19, p. 246).

The effects of socialist solidarity, a powerful catalyst, are continuously intensifying the process of economic, political and spiritual internationalization. This is required to defend our revolutionary gains against international reaction and to consolidate socialism in the various countries. It is also required if we want to make the most of the scientific-technical revolution, raise the effectiveness of economic growth, and, thereby, the level of our well-being. It is required, too, by the sharpening confrontation of the old and new world, the socialist interests in the economic contest against capitalism and the tasks of supporting revolutionary and national liberation movements and uniting all anti-imperialist forces.

From the standpoint of method, Bogomolov said, it is advisable to distinguish between 'regularity' and 'principle.' There is not much to choose between them, but they are not identical. The dictates of objective laws are reflected in the policy of the fraternal parties as principles, though in literature the principle of socialist internationalism, for example, is sometimes identified as a regularity, both concepts being treated as equivalent. It would be more proper, more scholarly, to note the difference between the two concepts.

Proletarian socialist internationalism is the key principle of political and economic relations in the socialist world system. It presumes a harmonious combination of the interests of each country with those of the community, and fraternal aid and cooperation in economy, policy, culture and international relations. This cooperation, coupled with the maximum use of the potentialities of each country, strengthens the socialist world

system. In socialist international relations there can be no question of one country exploiting another, of any privileges for any state. Solidarity and fraternal mutual aid are a dependable basis for the equality and sovereignty of all countries.

Socialist international relations of production are the aggregate of ties between the peoples of different states, between plans and economic bodies, in production, distribution, exchange and consumption. Specifically, they amount to coordination of production programs, specialization and cooperation, joint economic projects, exchange of commodities, scientific-technical cooperation, monetary operations, international carriage, and the like. These are an imperative of the internationalization of economic life, the growth and improvement of the productive forces and, first and foremost, the scientific-technical progress, the increasing concentration and specialization of production. Interaction among the socialist countries and greater socialist international division of labor have become essential for the continuous renewal of national production.

At the root of the international division of labor and internationalization is the trend, generated by technical progress, to break down production into stages and phases, set apart as independent economic branches and concentrated as specific production fields. Branches and phases of production are located by countries, depending on which is best equipped as regards raw materials, the needed technology, the required geography and natural conditions. The law of concentrating production and the attendant growth of the optimum size of production capacity and rising technical level, have a strong bearing on this process. The best technical and economic results are obtained in mass or serial production, and not all countries have favorable enough conditions for this: a home market to absorb the output of a large-scale enterprise, the required raw materials and specialists with appropriate training. The cost of research and designing is spiralling, impelled by the progress of science and technology, and many countries cannot afford it. Hence the imperative need to share the effort.

Essentially, however, division of labor among socialist countries does not amount to just greater economic interaction. Its socio-economic content stems from the fact that socialist states are owners of the means of production. Hence the planned and coordinated interaction of national economies, ruling out exploitation and competition.

This objective regularity is one of the key advantages of socialist development as a world system.

Professor *E. Hutira*, pro-rector of the Academy of Social and Political Science in Bucharest, offered the following modification: some objective

laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction manifest themselves in different forms, depending on the country's conditions and the specifics from stage to stage; other regularities apply to the socialist world system, and in defining and substantiating these we should proceed from the concrete historical conditions in which that system emerged and grew. Laws of socialist revolution and construction should not be applied automatically to the socialist world system or regarded as regularities in its development, for that system is not a single economic whole and consists of the separate, independent national economies of fourteen sovereign, independent states with multilateral relations.

Asked to explain why he thinks common economic laws do not apply to the socialist world system as an international socialist mode of production, Hutira said that though the socialist mode of production has crossed national frontiers and that, in this sense, it may be referred to as international, there are still enormous differences between the economic, political and cultural legacies in the different countries. For this reason, he said, the conditions are not yet ripe for the laws of socialist production operating in the various national economies to encompass the socialist world system as a whole. He referred to the laws of distribution according to labor and of planned, proportional development. The proportions, he said, can be correctly defined only for each separate country, for it has its distinctive resources, potentialities and tendencies of socialist growth. To determine, say, the optimum relation of consumption to accumulation for all the socialist countries, to try and solve that problem from one center, would be contrary to the requirements of life. None but the Party of each country can properly consider the real capacity of national economic growth. The time when proportions can be set for the world system as a whole, is still far away. Yet the more accurately proportions are set for a country, the more successfully can it cooperate with other countries. The development of all socialist countries under a single plan, Hutira said, is impossible.

Question: Is it possible, as you see it, to plan the socialist international division of labor?

Hutira: Quite — on the basis of the proportions set by each country and through bilateral and multilateral agreements.

If the Soviet Union were to plan the output of, say, iron ore on the basis of just its own needs and proportions, Bogomolov observed, it would not be able to supply other socialist countries. Soviet economic plans also cover the proportions of the iron-and-steel industry in other socialist countries. In that case, Hutira retorted, a common plan would also be required in relation to non-socialist countries. That is an entirely different question, said Bogomolov. Coordinated plans help the socialist countries

to improve proportions in their economies, thus assuring planned growth of the entire socialist world economy.

In view of the scientific-technical revolution and the growing disproportions in resources, Hutira went on, cooperation should be regarded as a common regularity of growth, manifested specifically in the relationship between socialist countries. It would be wrong to contrast the internal development and effective use of a country's resources to international cooperation and interaction. It would be just as wrong and harmful, however, to contrast the need for international cooperation to the independent internal development of each country. To resolve the relation between the internal national and external international factors of building socialism, we must rule out one-sidedness and recognize both sets of factors, dealing with them in their dialectical connection, which expresses the unity of the national and international interests of socialist countries.

The following regularities, Hutira said, could be listed in relation to the socialist world system:

- radical changes in the structure of the international division of labor, leading to increasingly intensive economic relations between developed and versatile national economies possessing a highly-effective modern industry and their own scientific-technical potential;
- development of international relations of a new type, based on complete equality, mutual advantage and selfless comradely aid;
- multilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation among socialist countries, which, at the same time, participate in the world economic turnover;
- approximation of the economic levels of the socialist countries by pulling up the less developed to the developed;
- further consolidation of the socialist world system by the continuous progress of each country, and by new peoples embarking on socialism.

Fresh experience and new research provides an ever more complete picture of the laws and regularities of the socialist world system, and of their concrete forms of operation.

Question: What do you mean by 'changes in the structure of the international division of labor'? Would this lead to mere growth of cooperation?

Hutira: The division of labor initially practised by most socialist countries was, in effect, typically capitalist, for their productive forces were backward and there were huge disproportions between their economic branches. To eliminate this we need a new quality in our international division of labor. Socialist international division of labor is part of the general international division of labor, but possesses specific features deriving from the new mode of production.

Socialist internationalism, national independence, sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and comradely aid, Hutira continued, assure the development of each country and the socialist world system as a whole. The forms of cooperation based on these principles may vary depending on the degree of development and the interests of the countries.

The modern world is a world of inter-relations. International division of labor and the scientific-technical revolution require all countries, large and small, regardless of their social system, to participate more extensively in the worldwide economic, scientific and cultural exchange. This also applies to the socialist countries, which abide by the principle of socialist internationalism. It is the people of each country, Hutira said, who play the decisive role in the proletarian revolution and the building of the new society. There is no excuse, therefore, to contrast — in whatever way — external international factors to internal, national ones, to underestimate the significance of the internal forces and thereby the role of the Communist party of each country, which works out its general political line independently in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory and defines its own ways of building the new system to suit concrete historical and socio-economic conditions. The stronger a country becomes and the more successful it is in building socialism, its material and spiritual life, the more significant is its contribution to the socialist world system, adding to the latter's influence in the world.

Question: You have said that there is a regularity of economic and scientific-technical cooperation that applies to both the socialist and all other countries. Could there be regularities of the socialist world system that operate simultaneously in respect to countries with homogeneous and heterogeneous social systems?

Hutira: There could. Take the scientific-technical revolution — it is an objective process encompassing both social systems. The universal nature of that revolution produces the regularity that countries are redoubling cooperation in science and technology. That is a requirement for the capitalist world, as well as the socialist. Expanding scientific-technical and economic cooperation among socialist countries does not mean isolation from other countries. It is to socialism's advantage to use all new technological and scientific achievements.

It has always been the purpose of Marxist analysis, Bogomolov remarked, to register not only regularities common to different social formations, but chiefly the specific laws of a given formation. So, if we emphasize that some laws are common to the movement of the productive forces under socialism as well as capitalism, such as technical progress, we should hardly make any headway in our analysis, for then the qualitative difference between the socialist and capitalist relations of production will escape us.

To deny common laws in building socialism, said *V. Kral*, Dr. Hist., Director of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Institute, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague, is to fertilize the soil for a counter-revolutionary assault on the socialist system. Right and 'Left' revisionists maintain that each country has its own way to socialism. Many 'national models' of socialism have been offered of late. Their makers reject the common laws of socialist construction. Exaggerating national traditions and features, they sow mistrust and hostility among fraternal countries, seeking to disrupt their unity.

At present, he said, anti-communism and revisionism assume various disguises. As a rule, counter-revolutionary forces begin by artificially contrasting socialist reality to the Marxist-Leninist teaching. This is supposed to cast doubt both on the choice of the way and on Marxism-Leninism. The cry is then issued for a 'new interpretation' of revolutionary doctrine, though what this actually amounts to is a rejection of its basic principles. The main blow is aimed against the leading role of the Communist Party, while 'free' play of different political forces is advocated. Slogans of 'liberalization' and 'national unity,' directed against socialist democracy, serve the same purpose. Prominent in the counter-revolutionary arsenal is the slogan of 'national exclusiveness,' which is gradually built up into barefaced anti-Sovietism. To pry away a socialist country from the socialist community is regarded as decisive, leading up to elimination of that country's revolutionary gains. Hence, defending socialism is the internationalist duty of all Communists.

G. K. Shakhnazarov, Dr. Law, Executive Secretary of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, said it was undesirable to classify laws and regularities of the socialist world system by social spheres — economic, socio-political and ideological. The specifics of the object — relations among states — predetermine the comprehensive nature of laws and regularities. Closer scrutiny will show that many of the economic, social, political and ideological regularities have a common denominator. In the final analysis, the matter revolves around forms of cooperation, or approximation, that is, definite attributes of international relations of the new type.

Evidently, it would be more proper to take the most general, most frequent, long-term ties as the main common sociological regularity of the

socialist world system. As he saw it, the following three main laws could be singled out for this purpose:

- internationalization, or coming together of socialist societies, leading ultimately to the fusion of nations under full communism;
- the need for the socialist world system to exist in the present stage as a community of socialist national societies;
- cooperation and fraternal mutual aid on the basis of equal rights and socialist internationalism.

The second and third regularities, he pointed out, are in fact complements of the first and most general. That socialist states are sovereign lies at the root of important distinctive features in the process of internationalization, accompanied as it is by the development of national statehood. In fact, these are two basic tendencies, which Lenin defined as flowering of nations under socialism and their gradual coming together. Furthermore, internationalization may follow different and sometimes antagonistic forms, whereas the last of the listed regularities reflects the fact that in the case of the socialist world system it is voluntary and in harmony with the basic interests of the countries and peoples.

Proceeding to the forms in which common regularities manifest themselves in various specific conditions, Shakhnazarov agreed with the expressed view that regularities of socialism as a social system and as a world system should be differentiated. A general regularity is not identical to a regularity of the general. If the two are confused, misunderstandings are bound to arise. What is more, if the line between the two main groups of regularities is not clearly drawn, national and international factors may be seen to clash. Comrade Hutira maintained, for example, that distribution according to labor is not a general law of socialism because it operates differently in different countries, and that it would be wrong to employ the same forms of distribution in different national conditions. It is quite true that the law of distribution according to labor is not a regularity of the socialist world system (insofar as it does not regulate directly any international ties or relationships). But it is impossible to deny that it is a common law of socialism as a social system. The fact that for the socialist countries distribution according to labor is a universal law does not mean that it should be applied in the same way in all of them. On the contrary, the Communist and Workers' parties have stressed in their documents that the common regularities of socialism manifest themselves differently, depending on concrete historical and other conditions.

The same may also be said of the law of proportional planned development. It would be silly to try and apply the same proportions in all

countries, in relation to, say, consumption and accumulation. The universality of that law only means that planned economic development in line with the tendency objectively operating in socialist economics is a necessary feature. It is quite safe to assume, however, that as the economic levels of the socialist countries draw together, the principal proportions will also, evidently, level out.

Professor *V. S. Semyonov*, Head of the Scientific Communism Department of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU, Moscow, stressed the common essence of internal and international regularities of socialist development. Lenin, he recalled, substantiated the concept of 'international socialism' (see Vol. 27, p. 332). The socialist world system follows its own objective laws. It arises on the basis of an existing, victorious, consolidated and substantially expanded socialism. Socialism came into being in 1917, while the socialist world system emerged only after the Second World War when a number of European and Asian countries took the socialist way. It included countries at different stages of development: regularities of victorious socialism were in evidence in the Soviet Union, while other countries were still in the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The laws governing relations among socialist countries may be classified as horizontal or vertical, depending on how they operate. The horizontal apply to but one aspect of social life (e.g., the economy), while the latter apply to society as a whole, to all its parts. They are three in number:

- all-round cooperation of countries on the basis of equality, fraternal support and mutual aid. The cooperation is ever more versatile and extensive, embracing increasingly large masses of people, enabling them to learn each other's concrete experience more and more fully;
- coming together of socialist countries, their integration. At present, the accent is principally on economic integration, close coordination of economic plans, greater specialization and cooperation in production and common use of the latest scientific and technological achievements;
- evening out of the levels of economic, socio-political and cultural development. This regularity is, in effect, a projection of the internal law of evening out the level of nations and nationalities in multinational countries.

As the socialist world system develops, some of its regularities change or become inoperative, while new ones appear. This was also pointed out by other speakers. Docent *L. Nagy*, Szeged University, Hungary, among others, said that the regularities of socialist development should not be conceived as static, ossified categories, lest the new and universal surfacing

in socialist construction is mistakenly classed as specifically national. New regularities arise as society advances. This is beyond question. For example, we are speaking here of socialist economic integration, which is a new regularity.

The development of every social system, he continued, is governed by common regularities, which assume specific forms in different countries. Marx defined the common regularities of bourgeois society by examining the state of affairs in Britain, for, he said, the more developed capitalist country reflects the future of the less developed. In the forward to the first volume of *Capital*, addressing the German reader, he said, '*De te fabula narratur*' (the story tells of you). In his '*Left-Wing*' *Communism – an Infantile Disorder*, Lenin showed in what sense we may and should speak of the international significance of the October Revolution. He stressed the dialectical unity of the common regularities of socialism and their operation against specifically national backgrounds. Common regularities, he pointed out, take precedence in this unity. And when socialism became a world system, this problem rose before the world Communist movement in its full magnitude.

These days, foes of Marxism-Leninism contrast the theory of 'socialist models' to the scientific conception of socialism. They proceed from one of two false assumptions – that there is one 'model' applicable to all situations or as many 'models' as there are concrete situations. The theory of 'socialist models' is as barren scientifically as it is in practice. It prevents one from seeing the common regularities of the development of socialism, as well as its national distinctions. As concerns the main and substantive features, socialist society is the same in all countries. The following of its attributes are decisive: power of the working class in alliance with all working people; leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party; public ownership of the means of production and, on this basis, planned development of the economy at a high technical level in the interests of the people; the principle, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work'; education of the people in the spirit of scientific communism, friendship with the peoples of fraternal socialist countries and the working people of the world; a foreign policy based on the principles of proletarian socialist internationalism. All this does not prevent each nation from building socialist society in conformance with its own historical peculiarities.

The essence of socialism as a social system, said Y. Panfilov, Cand. Phil., *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, cannot be properly appreciated in isolation from the international aspect. Ties between countries based on proletarian internationalism are certainly not an external aspect of socialism, but an essential and basic property of the new social system.

In the broad sense, the socialist world system is the aggregate of all objective laws, characteristic features and specific forms, and the many ways in which these manifest themselves. In the narrower sense, it may be defined as the ties, the relations between socialist countries. Socialist international relations are developing in breadth and depth. By the former we mean that new countries are embarking on the socialist way and by the latter that ties and cooperation are continuously becoming closer in our world system. To understand this, we must define its objective basis. The genesis of capitalism, as we know, is related to the emergence of a national market. That is why capitalism defeated feudalism and grew up under national flags. The transition to socialism, on the other hand, began in a world with a global system of economic ties, which, it is true, were still imperialist in form. The imperialist chain was breached first in one and then in a few countries. There we have the basic distinctive feature of the genesis of socialism: it defeats capitalism under the banner of proletarian internationalism. Socialism is incompatible with nationalism. If nationalist tendencies take the upper hand, this is the beginning of deformation, which jeopardizes the very essence of the new system.

The regularities of the socialist world system took shape gradually. In the first stage, when a political and military alliance was welded in combating imperialism and when only the foundations of socialism were being laid in most of the countries, relations of fraternal aid in economic and cultural domains began to evolve. Later, these relations were supplemented by the socialist international division of labor, and the economic regularities of the socialist world system hence gained more scope. In the present stage, integrational processes are unfolding to meet the requirements of developed socialism and communist construction.

The evolution of the international socialist regularities is still incomplete. The socialist world system continues to expand, and the number of countries, subjects of international socialist relations, is growing. With socialism attaining maturity, ties between countries become closer. The regularities of the socialist community unfold more fully, too, due to the radical change in the world balance of strength, favoring socialism.

Some of the contributions dealt with specific regularities. The economic differentiation of countries, said Docent *W. Iskra*, head of the political economy chair of the Higher School of Social Sciences, CC PUWP, Warsaw, traceable to their capitalist development, is very great. The new society cannot rid itself of this legacy overnight. All socialist countries, including the economically highly developed, have a stake in gradually evening out their economic levels.

To give momentum to this objectively necessary process, the rates of economic growth in the less developed countries are raised. For this they

utilize definite potentialities during the initial period of socialist construction. Usually they inherit much unused manpower and production capacity. New factors relating to public consciousness gain impulse — socialist national pride and the people's wish to overcome economic backwardness inherited from capitalism. To speed up development, high rates of accumulation are usually required, with socialist industrialization impelling economic growth.

Broad economic cooperation among socialist countries enables us to maintain the material structure of the gross social product, making it conform with the need for accumulation. Countries filling gaps in their development are usually short of machines and equipment, raw and other materials. They produce surplus commodities which, by reason of their material properties, cannot be used for accumulation. Export of these and import of required equipment helps secure a higher accumulation rate. W. Iskra described this function of international economic relations as 'transformational.'

Their other function is 'structure-forming.' The capitalist international division of labor produces modern and effective economic structures in none but the few highly-developed states. In the developing countries, on the other hand, it endeavors to perpetuate a one-sided and ineffective structure. In contrast, socialist international division of labor helps to build modern, effective economic structures in all countries and to make broad use of scientific-technical progress. This unquestionably accelerates economic growth. So does the 'redistributive' function of international economic relations. Redistribution of the national income usually favors the economically stronger countries of the capitalist world, whereas under the socialist system, in which relations are based on proletarian internationalism, fraternal aid is given to those that need it.

Elucidating some aspects of his contribution, Iskra said that the gradual evening out of economic levels is only part of the more general process of the economic, social and cultural convergence of socialist countries. In production it begins with common efforts to raise labor productivity and living standards. It should be borne in mind, however, that increasing rates of accumulation naturally limit the consumption fund. This, by the way, occurred in Poland recently. The excessively high rate of accumulation and the restraint this imposed on real wages had definite bearing on the political and social difficulties which erupted in the country. Evening out the levels of production and the national per capita income, and evening out the standards of living, are, therefore, interlaced problems, but certainly not identical.

Docent *S. Norovsambu*, Cand. Phil., Mongolian State University, Ulan Bator, examined the specifics of the final stage of socialist construction in the Mongolian People's Republic, showing its connection with the present stage of the socialist world system. At the end of the 1950s and in the early 60s, as we know, the socialist world system entered a new stage. The final period of building socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic, which coincides with it in time, shows increased evidence of the combined action of the regularities of socialism as a world system and as a social system.

By virtue of the law of the uneven economic and political development of countries under imperialism, they enter upon the socialist way at different times. But by virtue of the law of the evening out of the economic and cultural levels of socialist countries, their advance to communism will be more or less simultaneous. That is the way the main tendency works in the socialist system: it is inconceivable for one or more countries to make progress, while others mark time; nor is there any need for countries that have gone ahead to hang back at some stage and wait for those that began the passage to socialism from pre-capitalist relations or entered on the socialist way at a later time. There is a general upswing, with the formerly backward countries receiving the support of the more advanced ones, benefiting from their experience and thus developing at higher rates than the system as a whole. The case of Mongolia shows that by using the experience of other socialist countries, benefiting from their aid, a country can make up for lost time and build up its economy and culture.

Far from impeding the general advance, raising the formerly backward countries to the level of developed ones creates pre-conditions for a more rapid development of the entire world system. This imposes certain responsibilities on countries making the passage from feudalism to socialism. 'As we see it, we shall make the most of the benefits and advantages of cooperating with other socialist countries only if we rally all our forces to resolve the problems facing our own country,' Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP, pointed out. 'To be a dependent is farthest from the mind of a Marxist-Leninist. All fraternal aid, as we see it, should be used to develop the people's own labor effort. If put to any other use it will yield no ultimate benefit to the country. We shall respond a hundred-fold to each concrete act of aid, doing everything we can to speed up the development of our own country and of the entire socialist world system.'

As part of its objective of completing the building of socialism in Mongolia, the People's Revolutionary Party is working for an economic level approximately equal to that of the other socialist countries. It aims to increase her contribution to the socialist international division of labour, to specialization and cooperation.

There are those who say that given a whole system of socialist countries, there is less need these days to rally round the Soviet Union. Yet, experience shows, Docent *S. Quilitzsch*, German Walter Ulbricht Academy of State and Law, GDR, pointed out, that the role of the Soviet Union has tended to increase with the emergence of the socialist world system. This is not the kind of view one can either accept or reject. It is an objective regularity, and various socialist countries and the community as a whole have benefited from taking it into account. Ignoring it, on the other hand, causes damage to each socialist land and the system as a whole.

The importance of the Soviet Union is traceable chiefly to the vast material potential which it places in the service of socialism and peace. Socialist countries can rely on Soviet might, on Soviet success in the economy, science and culture. Close cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries is the principal international premise for the developed socialist society in the GDR. Five-year plans are coordinated and long-term agreements are concluded in trade and for scientific and technical cooperation. Naturally, this obliges the GDR to contribute to the strengthening of the socialist community.

The Soviet Union's special importance also derives from its defense capacity. Its internationalist policy, like that of the fraternal countries, is designed to combat imperialist aggression and attempts at exporting counter-revolution. Efforts to preserve world peace and resolve international conflicts by peaceful means will not succeed, unless all progressive forces act in the closest cooperation with the USSR. The European peoples owe the long postwar peace to the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries.

No world problem can be resolved without the USSR and the allied socialist states. Their efforts in the teeth of resistance from U.S. imperialism, the West German revenge-seekers and other NATO elements, have indeed yielded some fruit in the European continent, one of the main areas of the international class struggle. Take the treaties concluded by the German Federal Republic with the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic, and the popularity of the proposal for an all-European security conference. Also take the rising international prestige of the German Democratic Republic, which tends to invigorate socialist positions across the world.

The Soviet Union is able to contribute so eminently to the consolidation of the socialist community thanks to the leadership of the Communist Party, its creative approach to Marxism-Leninism and its firm stand against opportunism and anti-communism. The scientific potential of the CPSU is indispensable in all collective efforts to resolve the various complex ideological and theoretical problems of our time. The Socialist Unity Party

combats attacks on the CPSU and the Soviet Union, and regards the attitude to them as the main criterion of proletarian internationalism. That is not merely a dictate of past experience, but an important objective law of the socialist world system.

Emphasis of the Soviet Union's role, Quilitzsch said, does not clash with the principle that all socialist countries are equal and sovereign, and bear their share of responsibility for the future of socialism. Past experience shows that cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union benefits each country and enhances its sovereignty.

The discussion brought out a few promising lines of research. One of these is the genesis, system and function of socialist international relations of production and their interrelation with the economy of individual socialist countries. Deeper study is also required of the multinational form of socialist ownership, a new form; and its relation to state-ownership. It would also be useful to substantiate various forms of cooperation best suited for the present stage of socialism's development in the various countries and on the world scale. Knowledge of the objective laws of world socialism enables Communist parties to anticipate social development, set the right political course and thus benefit more fully from the advantages of the new system.

III. SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

A regulated planned process • New features of the international division of labour • Approximation of national economies • The objective of highly effective economic structures • Improvements in planning and management.

In the present stage, socialist countries are expanding mutual economic and scientific-technical cooperation, giving a start to processes of integration. These, recent party congresses in socialist countries stressed, should be taken into account in national economic solutions. As the preceding pages show, the round-table exchange, too, displayed interest in various aspects of socialist economic integration.

Integration, which imparts a new quality to industrial and scientific-technical relationships, Bogomolov said, should by rights be treated as a new regularity. It is a projection of existing cooperation to the concrete conditions and tasks of the present stage of socialist and communist construction, and is best suited to the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution.

He listed the new features of the division of labour and of cooperation

among socialist countries:

- agreed changes in the structure of the productive forces, helping to concentrate resources in the most profitable and technically advanced industries and to mould an international reproduction complex of mutually complementary national economies;
- pooling of resources for joint use. Priority in cooperation goes to ties in planning, science, technology, research, designing, construction and production, while trade and circulation, which cease to plan an independent role, become the result of cooperation in production, science and technology;
- closer tie-up between different fields of cooperation, necessitating a comprehensive approach to economic problems. Internationalization stretches out into all areas of economic life;
- continuous improvement of joint guidance of integration processes. Foreign trade is coordinated, planning and international economic agencies gain in importance, the problems tackled jointly are greater, and cooperation agreements are concluded for longer terms;
- closer economic ties and the growing scale of production and scientific-technical projects have the effect of stimulating joint foreign-political activity and tightening inter-Party and inter-governmental links.

Some of these features were in evidence before integration began. Now, they are becoming determinative, imparting a new quality to cooperation. Integration in the field of material production is providing preconditions for the new type of international relations to show its inherent advantages, for closer cohesion of the socialist community, adding to its strength and influence.

Hutira: Are we to understand that you infer socialist economic integration from closer economic relations between CMEA countries? If integration is an objective process impelled by the deepening of the socialist international division of labour, why should it be confined to but the CMEA countries? Would this not have an adverse effect on cooperation with the socialist countries outside the organization?

Bogomolov: The process of socialist integration, a regularity and law of development, applies not only to CMEA countries. However, they have proved better prepared for it, economically and politically. In due course it will spread to those other socialist countries, which, responding to the objective laws of international development, voluntarily express their wish to join.

In what way are socialist countries pooling resources? By integrating power systems, building joint pipelines and participating in the development of mineral and other natural resources in fraternal countries. The recently founded International Investment Bank, too, is an example of

integration. Entry into the bank depends not only on economic factors, but also on the political approach. Rumania, it may be recalled, took some time to make up its mind, joining it somewhat later than the others. This shows that integration is strictly voluntary, that countries involved in it take full advantage of their sovereign rights.

Asked about joint direction of integration processes, Bogomolov said it implies guidance by Communist and Workers' parties and the socialist states. Before acting, they reach jointly agreed decisions. The participation of heads of parties and governments in the 23rd CMEA session and of Chairmen of Councils of Ministers in the 24th, is a good example.

Naturally, difficulties and contradictions may arise due to different approaches to concrete economic issues. But these are overcome, which only shows the potency of the new system and socialist internationalism.

Imperialist ideologues are trying to cast a cloud on the internationalist ties of socialist countries. There is nothing they will not invent about the nature of their relations. They stop at nothing to disrupt them. And nationalism is proving to be imperialism's close ally in these efforts to disintegrate the socialist community. The concept of autarchy, of 'going it alone', has the effect of disrupting the unity of the socialist countries.

Socialist economic integration is making headway despite the resistance of certain forces. The economic and political consolidation of socialist countries is in line with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. And by treating socialist integration as an important priority in their foreign policy, the CMEA countries are contributing to this process.

Asked about the link between socialist integration and socialist international relations of production, Bogomolov said that the former really amounted to a further extension of the latter. Integration, said Professor *K.-H. Stiemerling*, Institute of Social Sciences, CC SUPG, Berlin, is a new, complex process flowing naturally from the essence of the socialist social system. It presupposes that common regularities in socialist economic development combine with the concrete state of production in the countries concerned.

The need for integration reflects the need for pooling efforts in building the new society, the requirements of scientific-technical progress and joint struggle against imperialism. It would be wrong to say that it is impelled exclusively by the need to expand the productive forces. The nature of integration depends on the relations of production. That is why socialist economic integration differs so vastly from the capitalist.

Question: Is it necessary to accentuate the political motives when

speaking of the content rather than the cause of socialist economic integration?

Answer: Integration has an economic foundation. Yet it is an important precondition for joint action in other fields, including politics.

Economic relations are more visibly interwoven, coordination of economic policies becomes more effective, the systems of planning, management and incentives tend to come together. Ultimately, it leads to a single economic mechanism.

The fraternal cooperation of the parties, governments and peoples of CMEA countries is based on their similar socio-economic systems and identical aims. They have the same Marxist-Leninist outlook and are brought together by socialist internationalism. Those are the pillars of the new type of international economic cooperation. Integration is designed to bring out the advantages of socialism, boost the economic potential of the countries concerned and raise their standard of living. In the meantime, the international class struggle is becoming sharper. Imperialism stops at nothing to try and impede the growth of socialism and to disrupt the socialist community.

The CMEA countries are gradually levelling out their productive forces and eliminating disparities in relations of production. The convergence and interpenetration of their economic structures, especially in fields crucial for scientific-technical progress, enables us to raise the effectiveness of social labor. How well we use the economic opportunities of integration depends on our response to the common regularities of socialist construction and to national distinctions, to the general and specific interests of the countries concerned. Speaking at the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, E. Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, said that the economic integration of socialist countries is rightly described as a new and complicated process in the context of which matters of national economic development should be handled with great care. To be rational, the solutions must meet the interests of the country and those of its partners. The orientation must be on the latest scientific and technical achievements and the most effective and progressive fields of production.

Some of the problems of the present stage can be solved in common only, Stiernerling said. In particular, this applies to the relation between labour productivity and incomes or — which is ultimately the same thing — production and consumption, which must be properly planned and balanced. The idea that 'everybody should make everything' does not seem right. It is economically unadvisable. More, it is impossible. A country should make what it is best fitted to make—for itself and for the rest of the community. That, precisely, is put down in the Document of the 1969

International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: to extend and deepen the division of labor and cooperation in production on a voluntary basis without prejudice to the national interests of any country. The socialist countries will solve many of their economic problems with the maximum success, provided all sectors of their economy are given a stake in integration. This is an objective set by Comrade Brezhnev in the Central Committee Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

Integration requires better national planning and proper use of commodity-money relations. The experience of the German Democratic Republic—negative as well as positive—shows that the plan performs its function perfectly, provided it is based on fundamental scientific research, properly backed up with material and financial resources and treated as a directive. Commodity-money relations provide us with objective criteria in directing economic development. A balanced combination of planning and commodity-money relations is also important for foreign trade.

The CMEA countries account for more than one-third of the world industrial output, while their share in world trade is only slightly over 10 per cent. Here, as we see, the advantages of socialism are not being brought to bear properly. To narrow the gap we should make better use of economic incentives in foreign trade.

The political, economic, ideological, cultural and military ties of the CMEA countries make for stability and continuity in our development. Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries is the guarantee that the GDR will cope with its historic tasks. The economically powerful GDR, its close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries, is an insuperable barrier to West German imperialism. The SUPG centers its policy on strengthening the republic and works for the success of integration.

Docent S. Shalamanov, Cand. Econ., Institute of Foreign Policy, Sofia, said that the Bulgarian Communist Party is applying every effort to promote socialist integration, for, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, said at the Party's 10th Congress, 'Bulgaria's further socio-economic growth requires further *socialist international integration* and still closer ties between our economy and that of the other socialist countries.'

By virtue of increasing specialization, Bulgaria's trade with the other socialist countries will go up substantially in the new five-year period. Their share in our foreign trade is to rise from 77.8 per cent in 1970 to 82 per cent in 1975. The structure of our exports will change, with a bigger accent on products of engineering. As an effect of specialization mutual deliveries of machinery will increase, accounting for 45 per cent of the

aggregate turnover. The Soviet Union will supply us with full equipment for 60 large projects at a cost of 300 million rubles, with total Soviet deliveries adding up to 800 million. This will give fresh impulse to such crucial industries as engineering, metals, chemicals, and the like. To meet Bulgaria's metal needs, additional steel and iron capacities will be started up in the Soviet Union, with our workers and specialists taking part. Bulgaria is also participating in the expansion of the Arkhangelsk pulp and paper combine. To meet our timber needs, a Soviet-Bulgarian timbering enterprise in the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is now being expanded.

Bulgaria's present and future development, Shalamanov said, is tied in closely with her participation in CMEA and, especially, with fraternal Soviet aid. Soviet-Bulgarian economic relations are a striking example of equal, mutually advantageous ties between a small and large country. They are a model of socialist internationalism.

Asked to define the concept of 'integration', Shalamanov said that literature contained many different definitions. All agree, however, that it implies a convergence of national economies, their interlacement, a deeper unity in extended reproduction and, appropriately, better planning and management. That is the core of the integration concept. Internationalization of the productive forces, coupled with public ownership of the means of production in the socialist countries, impels this convergence.

In effect, socialist economic integration, Kveš said, is internationalization leading up gradually to interlacement, even fusion, of national economies, and on to their incorporation in a single process of extended reproduction. The economic convergence of socialist countries follows a plan; national economic plans are coordinated, specialization and cooperation in production are extended, trade relations expand, scientific-technical cooperation is more and more intensive, etc. Joint multinational organizations are formed,—industrial, scientific, technical, trade and financial. Speaking of the future of planned, harmonious integration, Kveš saw it leading to a single international economic complex. A comprehensive long-term integration program, he said, is therefore urgently needed (such a program was subsequently adopted by the 25th CMEA Session - Ed.).

The importance of integration was stressed by the recent 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Its directives for the new five-year plan (1971-1975) say that socialist economic integration is a crucial factor for the nation's effective economic development, calling for greater cooperation with other socialist countries—coordinated scientific research and investment, closer cooperation in production, and mutual provision of industrial supplies. They called for priority growth of those industries for which Czechoslovakia is best equipped, thus making the most of the

opportunities offered by the socialist international division of labor .

Norovsambu said integration made for more effective use of available resources, saving in manpower and material, helped avoid needless duplication, increased the rate of economic growth, promoted multinational industry and shaped new socialist international relations of production.

Comrade *I. Ionescu*, Advisor to the Government Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation, Bucharest, spoke of cooperation and comparing experience. As the classics of Marxism-Leninism saw it, he said, the development of socialism and communism is an objectively necessary process, not a single, fixed and ideal model applicable to any place at any time and not subject to the contradictions and laws of concrete historical movement. Socialism is being built in countries that have points of difference in socio-economic and spiritual life and in historical tradition. Due to the specific conditions from country to country, Communist and Workers' parties follow specific political lines. Each party performs extensive and comprehensive creative work, finding the most suitable ways, forms and methods for each stage of socialist construction, in the process of which it acquires its own stock of experience. By comparing notes and exchanging experience with others, it contributes to the common store of theory and practice, cementing the unity of the Communist movement and helping carry forward the international tasks of the working class.

Exchange of experience is a form of comradely aid - one of the basic principles of the new type of relations between socialist countries. Though concrete experience, forms and methods of directing and organizing economic and socio-political life, cannot be mechanically imitated, it should in any case be treated with respect. Whether one does or does not use the experience of another country is not a criterion of its fidelity or infidelity to Marxism-Leninism, for no party can claim a monopoly on truth. Neither should any country regard its way of organizing socio-economic life as the sole Marxist-Leninist model valid for all other countries. Each party must decide for itself, showing respect for others, to what extent the experience of other parties is useful and applicable, for it knows the conditions in its country better than anyone else, and is responsible to its people, who entrusted it to lead the nation.

Semyonov: It is quite true that experience should not be mechanically imitated. But the development of socialist countries follows common laws defined by Marxist-Leninist science and put down in the documents of the world Communist movement. Should one not take these regularities into account in the practice of each country?

Ionescu replied that he had duly emphasized the importance not only of a country's own experience, but of exchanging and studying each other's

experience. Acting on this, the Rumanian Communist Party has been regularly comparing notes with Communist and Workers' parties of all socialist and other countries, and has also maintained relations with many other socialist-oriented forces and democratic anti-imperialist movements. Central in this area is exchange of economic and scientific-technical experience and cooperation with all socialist members and non-members of CMEA on a bilateral and multilateral basis. The RCP takes a positive view of CMEA and assures Rumania's active participation in improving it. In so doing, it lays the emphasis on a more effective use of forms and methods that have proved viable, and of new ones, designed to make cooperation still more effective in line with the principles inscribed in the CMEA Statutes and the unanimously adopted CMEA documents.

The more rapid growth of the productive forces in the scientific-technical revolution strengthens the economic inter-relation of states and sets a variety of comprehensive problems that it is either impossible or economically irrational for a country to tackle alone. This applies to the world economy as a whole, which, the speaker said, implies that unimpeded international cooperation should also be worldwide. That is an objective imperative for each country, regardless of system, level of development, geography, etc. The forms and methods of cooperation, he said, should give each country free access to the achievements of modern science and technology, and enable it to contribute to the world exchange of material goods.

International experience shows that cooperation is most effective in material production, science and technology. It is an important factor in accelerating technical progress, expanding trade and stimulating specialization. Moreover, it helps establish stable, mutually advantageous economic relationships.

That is the concept which the Rumanian Communist Party and Rumanian government followed in drawing up their sweeping program of cooperation with other countries, especially the socialist, which have received a variety of offers from us for cooperation in industry, agriculture, transport and other areas. We have also received offers, which were studied by mixed economic cooperation commissions and have resulted in far-reaching measures.

Cooperation between socialist countries, Ionescu said, should be along the following lines:

- further expansion and deepening of economic relations, of specialization and cooperation in production;
- relations based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, full equality, respect for sovereignty and national interests, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and comradely mutual aid;

- use of forms that enable all sovereign states voluntarily to join in any common undertaking at any stage of its effectuation;
- cooperation should not lead to the establishment of supra-state bodies or institutions dealing with matters that are rightly the prerogative of the Party and government of each country, such as internal leadership, planning or economic accountability;
- with their economic ties expanding, mutually-advantageous trade and cooperation with other countries, too, should be promoted;
- all socialist countries should have the opportunity of participating in the various regional forms of cooperation. Regional economic bodies should be so constructed as to attract other states;
- each country should participate in socialist international economic relations as an independent economic entity. The principle of democratic centralism is inapplicable to interstate relations;
- differences in economic development and in interests should be taken into account, and help rendered in levelling out economic, principally industrial, development;
- there should be cooperation in promoting the all-round progress and prosperity of each country, the upsurge of each socialist nation, consolidation of economic planning, the leading role of the Communist Party and socialist state in organizing and directing all socio-economic affairs, and the new type of relations, thus building up the prestige and might of socialism in the world.

Kveš: Would you say that the class approach is essential in exchanging experience and in international cooperation?

Ionescu: Cooperation is an objective necessity. Especially at present. It may even be regarded as a regularity in the development of the socialist world system. As for the class approach, it should be borne in mind that there is also cooperation with capitalist countries, based on universally accepted principles of mutual advantage.

Stiemerling: It should also be borne in mind, however, that the international class struggle against imperialism is growing more acute. This requires the socialist countries to pool efforts in various fields, and primarily in attaining a high degree of economic effectiveness. For this, socialist integration is an important instrument. Does not the class approach make a priority of integration?

Ionescu: In view of the rapidly unfolding scientific-technical revolution, economic cooperation is an objective necessity for all countries. He did not use the word 'integration', he said, because his contribution was essentially devoted to the general features of objective processes in the modern international economy, which also cover relations between socialist countries. He was not speaking of ways of effectuating these processes, he said.

It would be wrong, Hutira said, to apply the same terms to all processes and phenomena. The substance should be the same. It should be in line with Marxism-Leninism. Yet the terms used are immaterial.

Kveš: There should be standard terminology if scholars are to understand each other.

Hutira agreed that scientifically-grounded terminology is desirable. But formulations should not be congealed or obligatory, he said. If one were to cling to definite formulas one could commit the sin of dogmatism, worlds removed from Marxism-Leninism. In science generally, and especially in Marxist-Leninist science, none can claim sole possession of the absolute truth or pretend that his formulations are scientific, while those of others are not. Anything comprehensible and convincing will not need compulsion to be accepted. This also applies to terminology.

Shakhnazarov said it was quite true that no man had a monopoly on the ultimate truth. The way to make concepts more precise is by collective effort. The appurtenances of science are also created collectively. But at the moment, he said, we are not dealing with general abstractions, the discussion centers on a concrete scientific concept—integration. If the term reflects the processes accurately, there is no reason not to use it.

Hutira agreed that the objective tendency is towards greater and broader economic ties between nations, especially socialist. We may speak of a new stage, he said. But though some call this stage 'integration', the term is not clear enough as yet, and, in fact, has been borrowed from the capitalist world, where it has a specific meaning and stands for an orientation alien to socialism. However, he concluded, if it is used to imply cooperation in which each country participates voluntarily, on a basis of mutual advantage, and the Party and state retain their fundamental functions of directing economic, social and political life, I find no objection to it.

Shakhnazarov: Has anyone ever used the concept of 'integration' to imply violation of the sovereign rights of states or parties? That is certainly not the case in any of the official documents, in any scientific works, or in the practice of the CMEA countries. So why shy away from the term, which so aptly reflects the objective processes in the economies of socialist countries?

B. Zaharescu, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Science of Rumania and member of the Editorial Board of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, said he did not object to processes such as specialization, cooperation in production, cooperation in planning, and the like, being described as integration, though, strictly speaking, the term was incorrect.

There is not standard definition of this term. There are several definitions, reflecting differing standpoints, some of which are unacceptable. Rumanian scholars are opposed to integration conveyed as a single economic plan for all socialist countries, with the socialist state stripped of its basic attribute of guiding its own economy. They do not want that kind of integration. That is the standpoint of Rumanian scholars, of the Rumanian Communist Party.

The concept 'integration', Stiernerling said, antecedes capitalism. It may be traced back to ancient Rome. But we are not concerned with integration in general. Imperialism has distorted its true meaning. The round-table exchange is concerned with socialist economic integration, a definite scientific concept. That it is socialist makes it fundamentally different from capitalist integration. More, it is economic, which means that the convergence of socialist countries is occurring in the decisive sphere, that of material production.

The socialist countries are still in the initial stage of this process. That it should be speeded up is essential for the economic might of the whole system, to bring out its advantages, and to assure more active support of all detachments of the anti-imperialist front. Socialist economic integration, as has been pointed out here, offers Marxist scholars everywhere a new important field of research.

IV. THE DIALECTICS OF THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

Supreme international duty • Identity of national and political interests • Comprehensive economic development and specialization • The socialist community's power of example.

The round-table discussion also dwelt on the dialectics of the national and international — the ways and forms of combining them, and their role in the development of countries and of the system as a whole. The concept of 'national,' 'national state' and 'international' interests was analyzed and a study made of the tendencies towards the further convergence and cohesion of socialist states.

In the international context, Shalamanov said, socialist relations of production have a number of specific features, stemming from the fact that they arise on the basis of public property managed by individual socialist states rather than international ownership of the means of production. They serve national and once international interests. But this duality of interests does not make them antithetical. Growth of a country's productive forces adds to the economic potential of the socialist world system, helping it to achieve fresh victories in the economic competition against capitalism. On the other hand, a country's contribution to the common

struggle against imperialism and aggression also tends to consolidate its own sovereignty and independence.

As we see, the basic national and international interests of the socialist countries coincide. It should be remembered, however, that international interests are not a mere aggregate of national interests. International interests will not be served by merely satisfying national ones. What is more, as Lenin pointed out, there should be an ever-present readiness to make supreme national sacrifices for the sake of international aims.

The CMEA countries have now attained a socio-economic level requiring them to pool efforts and to secure still more rapid technical progress and more highly effective production. And this they can achieve only through socialist integration. Technical progress involves highly expensive research and huge investments. Countries like Bulgaria could not cope with it in engineering and electronics, chemistry and power, on their own. For this they must cooperate with other socialist states, primarily the Soviet Union, which has an immense scientific-technical and economic potential and is able to follow all trends in science and technology. Moreover, with reserves of raw materials and power differing from country to country, cooperation could also help satisfy the needs of all.

Since integration helps meet national and international requirements, all countries have a stake in it. Yet due to specific national conditions they may not be equally interested or equally well prepared for some of the concrete measures. Besides, not all conceive integration in the same way, and sometimes fall out over ways and means of advancing it.

Combining national and international economic interests implies an optimum combination of two trends—towards versatile and comprehensive development in each country, on the one hand, and its specialization on the basis of socialist international division of labor, on the other. Each country should give priority to those industries and agricultural branches for which it is best equipped, while also specializing its industry and agriculture as a sector of the socialist world economy.

International specialization enhances economic effectiveness. Yet the immediate stake of each country depends not on the general economic effect, but on the effect on its national economy. Some countries may have a bigger stake in specialization, some a smaller one, while others may have none at all. As he saw it, success depended on how fairly the effects were shared out among the partner countries. And this, he said, depended largely on the mechanics of combining national and international objectives.

Though integration conforms with the national and international interests

of all countries, its effectuation involved difficulties of an objective, as well as subjective, nature. The only way to overcome them is by applying the principles of socialist internationalism. To begin with, one should not always either expect or seek mutual advantage. It should be kept in mind that fraternal and selfless aid is a conspicuous feature of the economic relations between socialist countries. Take the socialist countries' aid to the heroic people of Vietnam in the battle against U.S. imperialist aggression.

Seen from the standpoint of the dialectics of the national and international in the socialist world system, Shakhnazarov said, the fact that the fundamental interests of the peoples of socialist countries coincide did not rule out differences, contradictions, and the like, over separate points. It is not really a question of whether these can or cannot occur. We know all too well that even the best of friends may fall out. What is important is the approach, the ways of settling them. As a precondition of ever growing cohesion the fraternal parties deal with all problems in line with the principles of socialist internationalism, showing the greatest consideration for the interests of the world system and of each individual country, and the utmost patience and concern.

Much depends on the situation. In some situations there can be no two ways of dealing. Suppose the matter concerns the confrontation of socialism and imperialism. An internationalist would never agree to being on the other side in any issue, no matter how insignificant it may seem to be. But other situations are not entirely and completely clear, where some may think they can afford to remain uncommitted until there is a head-on clash, when, they resolve, they will not be found wanting. That is a somewhat loose explanation, but it should help us get at the root of the problem. Failure to consider the interests of world socialism in any issue, however negligible it may be, is dangerous,—and not just *per se*, but because it inevitably erodes the internationalist consciousness. That is why the internationalist is ever conscious of his responsibility for the future of the socialist world system and of his duty to the international working-class movement both in matters of major political import and in the less significant issues.

The connection between national and international interests, *J. Berecz*, Cand. Hist., Budapest, said, is traceable to three main spheres: a) socialist construction in each country, b) development of the socialist world system, c) the place and the role of that system and of each country in the international arena.

The main regularities of socialist construction, being valid for all countries, are of an international nature. Yet the forms and means of applying them to concrete conditions, are national. In other words, the categories of the

general and particular help us pinpoint the connection between the national and international in building socialism.

In the socialist world system the international expresses the essence of the system, the common interests of all countries. The national, on the other hand, manifests itself as the interest of a particular country. The socialist world system is not simply an aggregate of several states, but a synthesis of their varied relationships. In other words, the connection between the international and national may in this case be defined with the help of the categories of the whole and the part.

The concrete situation of the socialist countries in the world arena varies. Their means of influencing world politics are different. However, they belong to one community, base their policy on Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism, and participate in the international class confrontation. That is the main thing. In the sphere of foreign policy, he said, the connection of the international and national could therefore be viewed as the interaction of the global and the concrete.

Hutira: What do you understand by globality in the foreign policy of socialist countries, inasmuch as that policy is the projection of the home policy of sovereign and independent states?

Berecz: The foreign policy of the socialist countries is designed to secure favorable international conditions for building socialism. This presupposes united action in such global matters as world peace and curbing imperialist aggression. The fraternal socialist countries came to Hungary's aid in 1956. And this was natural. The matter was of common concern. The U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam, too, affects the interests of the socialist world system. Consequently, the community of socialist countries is aiding the embattled people of that country. This is reason enough for speaking of global foreign policy.

The correlation of the common interests of the socialist world system and the interests of each country, Semyonov said, is not exactly a relation of the whole and part. Berecz agreed. The important thing, he said, is to distinguish between the three afore-mentioned aspects of the problem and to find a definition for each.

Socialism, Berecz went on, is international rather than national. To achieve it, one cannot go it alone in isolation from the international front of revolutionary forces. A socialist country may make the most of a concrete situation and secure more favorable external conditions. But in so doing, it must not prejudice the interests of other socialist countries or jeopardize the security of the community as a whole. Temporary advantages acquired

to the detriment of the community will ultimately boomerang. A foreign policy is successful if it promotes the security of the socialist community, if its contribution is an active one.

Comrade Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, said at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969: 'The international working class as a whole, the people of each socialist country, each Communist and Workers' Party individually, are also interested in that any socialist country, encountering great difficulties and finding itself in a critical position, should be able to overcome them, should continue to develop and gain strength.'

Berecz then dealt with some aspects of the strategy of world imperialism. Bourgeois ideologists have to reckon with the fact that the internal and external situation of the socialist countries has continued to improve. To counter this they have devised the doctrine of the 'peace weapon.' The ruling parties, they aver, will 'lose control' over political life. They speculate about 'groups' which see the future differently from the 'orthodox rulers.' This approach may look novel, but the recommendations are the same: fan nationalism, poison the peoples with the venom of anti-Sovietism, pry away states from the community, and, under careful camouflage, exploit revisionism to advocate a 'new socialism' — 'humane', 'democratic,' 'modern,' 'technocratic' or anything else, so long as it is not proletarian and Leninist.

Even men that should know better are misled by the fact that all the post-1959 counter-revolutionary concepts happen to gloss over the question of property. More, promises are made that 'some' of socialism's gains will be preserved. What world imperialism is really concerned about is to weaken and disrupt the socialist world system.

Berecz described revisionists as accomplices in the penetration of bourgeois ideology. Calling for 'innovation' and 'study of new phenomena,' they, in effect, oppose the general regularities of socialist development and try to prove the 'obsolescence of Marxism-Leninism. Symptomatically, they resist exposure of their concept of 'creeping counter-revolution,' while exploiting for their ends the 'doctrine of limited sovereignty,' invented by bourgeois propagandists.

There are no breaks in the class struggle, he said. International capital will not give up attempts at restoration until the transition from capitalism to socialism is consummated on a world scale. The socialist countries' most effective weapon is unity in the world arena and fidelity to socialist internationalism and Marxism-Leninism. Communists regard defending the gains of socialism as their supreme internationalist duty.

G. Ochirbat, member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, Ulan Bator, said there were two sides to the relation of the international and national: a) combining general regularities with national peculiarities, and b) the interaction of international and national factors in socio-economic and cultural development. The class approach is the criterion of how correctly the international is related to the national in socialist construction. To be an internationalist, Lenin wrote, 'one must *not* think only of one's own nation, but place *above it* the interests of all nations, their common liberty and equality' (*The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up*, Vol. 22, p. 347).

The Mongolian people were able to free themselves of colonialism and achieve national independence thanks to the internationalist alliance between the Mongolian revolutionary peasants and the triumphant working class in Soviet Russia. The basis for Mongolia's non-capitalist development was the correct coordination of the people's national aspirations for progress with the experience and aid of the triumphant proletariat in an industrially developed country and the creative use of this experience in local conditions.

After the victory of the people's revolution one of the prime problems was to coordinate the international and national in the people's struggle. The Party combated Right and 'Left' deviations. The mistake of the Right deviators was to underestimate the role of the experience of the victorious proletariat in the backward peoples' advance to socialism, and to overestimate the significance of national peculiarities. The 'Left' deviators, on the other hand, ignored specific conditions and advanced reckless plans, attempting to leap over intermediate stages in the passage from feudalism to socialism. In effect the struggle hinged on the problem of how to apply Soviet experience to Mongolian conditions, what attitude to take in relation to the international workers' and national-liberation movements and cultural achievements, mainly Soviet. In other words it was a struggle to find an acceptable balance between the international and the national.

Internationalism is deeply rooted in the history of the MPRP. The Party's First Congress in 1921 unanimously recognized Soviet Russia as the Mongolian people's main ally in the struggle for freedom and independence, stressing that the MPRP was an integral part of the world Communist movement. And for over 50 years the MPRP has worked for the interlinking of the revolutionary struggle of the Mongolian people with the international revolutionary movement.

Regular meetings between leaders of the MPRP, the Comintern and the CPSU, exchanges of delegations, MPRP participation in meetings of the Comintern Executive Committee, visits to Mongolia by such outstanding figures of the international working-class movement as V. Kolarov, B. Smeral and Sen Katayama have been instrumental in moulding the

internationalist outlook of the Mongolian Communists and the class consciousness of the people. The Comintern and the Soviet Communist Party have helped the MPRP creatively to apply Marxism-Leninism to problems of development, and to combine the international with the national.

We were able to overcome economic backwardness and to build a non-capitalist economy thanks to broad economic ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and their disinterested economic aid in mechanizing and building a modern industry. Mixed Soviet-Mongolian enterprises in industry, transport, trade and finance helped strengthen the new economy and develop national personnel.

Mongolia's economic cooperation with the CMEA countries increased as it built up the material-technical base of socialism and achieved a higher effectiveness of social labor. Together they develop natural resources, develop stock-breeding and build and operate economic projects. All this is helping to transform Mongolia from an agrarian-industrial into an industrial-agrarian country. Guided by the common interests of world socialism, the MPRP is contributing to the development and improvement of the socialist international division of labor and economic integration. Socialist integration brings about a common economic upswing of the socialist countries and helps to level out their economies. This means true equality in economic and cultural development, as envisaged by Lenin.

Rapid assimilation of the cultural achievements of socialism accelerates the transition from cultural backwardness to modern civilization. The culture of the socialist peoples has enriched Mongolian culture, imparting a socialist content and greater variety.

Iskra pointed to the importance of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism in combating economic backwardness inherited from the past, overtaking economically developed capitalist countries, gradually levelling out economic development, and securing a steady rise in living standards. To do so, available material, moral and ideologico-political factors must be used to best advantage.

Disregard of other nations and opposing national sentiment to friendship and respect for other socialist peoples is a barrier to economic development. The scientific-technical revolution requires socialist international division of labor. This applies doubly to such countries as Poland, where the resources for a comprehensive unfolding of this revolution are limited. Hence, the need for specialization and cooperation in scientific and technical research. Objective factors and trends lead to a progressive interlacing of the interests of socialist countries. We could compare the socialist world economy with communicating vessels. The ties between

national economies are becoming stronger and broader. That is the main trend of development.

International and national interests require socialist unity vis-à-vis the capitalist world. The percentage of manufactured goods, especially of products of engineering, in the total socialist exports to the developed capitalist countries is still low. Economists call this a structural barrier. To this there is a political explanation: though the socialist countries have become industrial, capitalists would prefer them to be merely suppliers of raw materials and agricultural products for their own economy. Besides, the bourgeoisie has devised a strategy to accentuate the difficulty of overcoming this structural barrier. At home it buys off the top echelon of the working class, splitting the labor movement, while in the international arena the same method is applied to potential partners who agree, for a price, to try and split the socialist community. That is why it is doubly important to extend cooperation between countries of the socialist world system.

Speakers stressed the identity of the national-state interests of the socialist peoples. Bogomolov defined national-state interests, or the interests of a socialist nation in the form of a state as being the objective requirements of its development and consolidation as apprehended by the ruling class. Relations between socialist countries depend on how correctly these requirements are reflected in the public mind and in the Party's policy. Experience shows that a false conception of national-state interests and a policy departing from their true content has led to international complications.

The substance of national-state interests, Bogomolov said, encompasses the following vitally important internal and external requirements of a socialist state:

- territorial integrity and inviolability, and state sovereignty;
- strengthening of socialism's national and international political, economic and ideological positions;
- rapid planned development of the productive forces and a steadily rising living standard and culture;
- use of the advantages of cooperation with other socialist countries, socialist international division of labor, and trade;
- peaceful conditions, active participation in solving the most pressing international problems, greater international prestige.

The national-state interests of the socialist countries coincide in the main and therefore condition the international interests. Most important for each country and common to all is successful socialist and communist construction, adding to the might and enhancing the solidarity of the socialist world system. However, national-state interests may also diverge posing the problem of what should take priority — national-state or international interests? The internationalization of social life, based on the identity of basic national-state interests, helps harmonize specific divergent interests.

This problem is of great significance for Communists in capitalist countries, said *H. Safari*, Dr. Econ., representing the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) on *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. But for the socialist world system and socialist revolutions, which undermined and weakened imperialism, many formerly colonial and semi-colonial countries would not have won economic independence and advanced to social progress.

He dwelt on the distinctive features of the socialist world system as a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples, advancing along the socialist and communist road and united by common economic, political and ideological interests. He stressed that socialist integration affords better scope for the effectuation of the advantages of socialism as a world system and that this is an important factor for its victory in the historical competition with capitalism. In conclusion, Safari stressed the significance of the international solidarity of socialist countries, their international policy, for the developing countries.

Many other speakers, too, stressed the benefits for the national liberation movement of the socialist countries' economic cooperation.

Dansoko, representing the Marxists of Senegal on *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, said monopoly capital was imposing a one-sided economic structure on developing countries by means of economic pressure, notably the notorious 'price scissors.' The growing gap between the high monopoly prices of industrial goods and the low monopoly prices on agricultural products, he said, is sheer plunder. By manipulating prices the international monopolies exploit the working class directly and the small producers indirectly. In the past 90 years, Senegal was robbed of 3,600 billion old francs, or about 40 billion annually, through manipulation of the price of groundnuts. That is half the country's present national budget. In 1968 alone, the peasants' incomes dropped 20 per cent. The groundnut monoculture, coupled with primitive forms of cultivation, prevents Senegal from building up its economy and thus precludes truly independent development.

Dansoko criticized exponents of African nationalism who hope integration

in the capitalist world market will assure fair prices, improving conditions for the developing countries' trade. In fact, conditions deteriorate not due to prices, but to monopoly capital's drive for the maximum profits, constantly depreciating products and resources of the under-developed states and increasing the gap.

Dansoko also criticized bourgeois ideologues who maintain that greater investment in the capitalist framework is the best way to overcome backwardness. He pointed out that by remaining in the capitalist system the developing countries cannot free themselves of economic dependence and imperialist oppression, despite efforts to industrialize. The road of non-capitalist development is the only road to progress.

That is why the socialist orientation, the aid of the socialist world system and its example, are so important for the developing countries. Aid from the socialist world system and broad relations with it, Dansoko said, is in the true interests of countries following the road of independent development. It facilitates their industrialization, raises labor productivity, and assures progressive changes in the structure of the national economy, producing a good basis for attaining economic independence. The growing might of the socialist world system is one of the most important factors in the success of the national liberation movement.

The advantages of the socialist way, Dansoko said, are amply illustrated by the example of the multi-national Soviet Union. Socialism has led its peoples, including those who were formerly in primitive stages of social development, to the summit of economic and cultural progress.

The problem of combining national with international interests, it was stressed in the discussion, is extremely significant in theory and practice. Life has borne out Lenin, who said: 'There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is — working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, *and only this*, line, in *every* country without exception. Everything else is deception and Manilovism.' (*The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*, Vol. 24, p. 75).

Lenin's idea of the combination of the national and international is still a basic requirement for the development of the socialist world system.

Summing up, Shakhnazarov, Executive Secretary of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, noted that the discussion had dealt with problems relating to the interrelation of laws governing the development of socialism as a social

system and a world system, their specific operation and implementation in the policy of fraternal parties, and with the dialectics of the international and the national. The operation of the laws of the socialist world system in the economy was defined, and so was the process of socialist economic integration, extremely important at the present stage.

However, it should be pointed out, he said, that the discussion did not sufficiently outline the main trends in the interaction between the socialist system and other revolutionary forces, the nature of its influence on international affairs and ways of strengthening its positions in the competition and struggle against the capitalist system. This shows that in future it would be expedient to focus attention on more specific problems, in order to go into greater detail.

The speakers had drawn extensively on the documents of Communist and Workers' parties, Party congresses and international meetings, which collectively defined the trends and future development of the socialist world system.

The discussion proceeded from the fact that the laws governing the development of the socialist world system are rooted in the essence of the socialist system, which is international in nature. Those are not mere rules forced on society or even ideals carried forward by the working class as it comes to power, but an objective necessity for comprehensive cooperation and cohesion of the socialist system. Socialist development is characterized not only by an acceleration of economic and social progress, but also by an increasingly complex and balanced surge of social activity. The action of the general laws of the socialist world system creates the objective requisites for more rational and effective economic and political inter-state relations, which, in turn, strengthen socialism in each country.

The exchange of views was business-like. Its participants were moved by the desire to find a new approach to the cardinal issues. It also revealed the need for research in several directions, particularly the need for improving methods of research in the processes under way in the socialist world system.

The exchange helped broaden ties between this journal and research workers in socialist countries.



Program to fortify the economy of fraternal countries

The Comprehensive Program for Extending Cooperation and Advancing the Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA countries, published in August 1971, was adopted by the 25th CMEA Session, held in Bucharest at heads of government level. Below is an interview on this score with Comrade N.V. Faddeyev, CMEA Secretary.

Question: Why was the Comprehensive Program adopted at this particular time and what part will it play in extending economic relations among the socialist countries?

Answer: The comprehensive document, responding to new complex problems in the economic relations of CMEA countries in the long term (15-20 years) view is the result of a collective effort by fraternal Communist and Workers' parties following on the appropriate decision of the 23rd (Special) CMEA Session two years ago. It is a projection of our rich experience in developing international economic relations of the new type. The fact itself of this impressive collaboration will undoubtedly occupy a prominent place in the history of cooperation among socialist countries.

The Comprehensive Program is an objective necessity, stemming from the course of actual events. It was predetermined, firstly, by the high level of the productive forces in the socialist world, secondly, the scientific technical revolution, which has greatly accelerated the objective process of levelling out the economies of the CMEA countries and calls for greater concentration of resources and broader international socialist division of labor, and, thirdly, by the more than 20 years' experience by CMEA.

By now most countries of the community have begun building a developed socialist society, and their economics are based on the same type of socio-economic foundation. Cardinal structural changes have been effected in production and consumption. A versatile industrial structure has arisen

in the national economies of all fraternal countries. Almost simultaneously in the majority of CMEA countries opportunities for expanding production by means of extensive factors have greatly decreased, while the role of effectiveness has increased. This was accompanied by improvements in the mechanism of planning and management.

From the socio-economic, scientific-technical and organizational-managerial points of view, the CMEA countries have entered a new stage of development, requiring a higher degree of organization in cooperation. Many successfully implemented forms will be preserved, but at present they are no longer sufficient. Socialist economic integration is therefore expressive of objective needs and conforms with the basic interests of the CMEA countries.

The Communist and Workers' parties of the fraternal countries control this process consciously, guiding it to utilize to the maximum the advantages of socialist economy. Efforts are joined more and more closely to resolve the key problems of material production, primarily the development of fuel, power and raw materials and the broadening of international specialization and cooperation. This is accompanied not only by a greater exchange of commodities but also by closer interaction of the national economies, not short of establishing joint international enterprises, and research, designing and other projects.

Integration is doubly essential for countries lacking a large home market and other facilities for developing a versatile economy. The huge combined market of the CMEA countries with their population of almost 350 million, makes it possible to build giant modern enterprises on the optimum scale, guaranteeing a stable demand. Disregard for the objective process of growth of productive forces would cause irretrievable losses for a country's economy.

Question: What are the fundamentally new formulas in the Comprehensive Program?

Answer: There are so many new elements that they will not fit into the space of a short answer. Let us look at just a few of the more important points. For instance, mutual consultations on basic problems of economic and scientific-technical policy. Integration implies a new and broader approach to economic matters: it implies rational solutions conforming with the interests not of just one country, but all the partner countries. Hence, consultations are undeniably essential. They will be held regularly in accordance with an agreed program, giving fraternal countries a better idea of the general outlook. They will exercise an influence on all other forms of economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

Cooperation in planning will also rise to a higher level. Coordination of national five-year economic plans, already visibly broader, is a basic means for shaping the socialist international division of labor. Joint forecasting is also of prime importance, reflecting the qualitatively new features of cooperation in planning. Accurate long-term evaluations are essential in science and technology, production, engineering and use of new materials, foreseeing changes in consumer demand.

Development of fuel, power and raw materials, and construction of large-scale enterprises based on broad international specialization and cooperation will involve tremendous investments, and the options must, therefore, be rational. Also a new aspect is joint planning in whole branches of industry and production areas. This will be based on agreements between the interested countries and will not give rise to any supranational elements.

The central planning bodies of the CMEA countries must play the leading role in all joint planning. The founding of a Committee for Cooperation in Planning solves an organizational problem of cardinal significance. New forms will also be used in scientific-technical cooperation, such as coordinating centers by interested countries, joint international research institutes, international self-sustaining scientific production associations, etc.

Commenting on the Comprehensive Program, the foreign press, especially in the capitalist countries, devoted special attention to the measures strengthening the role of the collective currency (transferable ruble), used in CMEA trade. It has a fixed gold content and real commodity backing. The stability of its buying power is assured by the balanced economic ties of CMEA countries. CMEA countries trade among themselves on the basis of stable agreed contractual prices set on world market prices but free of the harmful effects of fluctuation. The CMEA countries have used the transferable ruble as the medium in international transactions since the system of settlements through the International Bank of Economic Cooperation was first introduced. In 1970 settlements totalled 35.4 billion transferable rubles, an imposing sum. The IBEC also annually grants up to two billion transferable rubles in credits.

The effectuation of the Comprehensive Program will see the functions of socialist international currency improve and expand. The link between home wholesale and foreign trade prices will be closer. The scene is being set for establishing mutual convertibility of the transferable ruble and the national currencies of CMEA countries and for mutually agreed currency rates in relation to the collective currency.

In other words, the collective currency, national currencies, currency rates,

credit and interest are to become more active factors in economic cooperation and socialist economic integration and to be more effective instruments in foreign economic ties. As the role of the collective currency increases it could be used in the long term for transactions with third countries and assume a place in international settlements fitting for the role and significance of the CMEA countries in the world economy.

Question: How are national and international interests blended in the process of integration and what is the difference between socialist and capitalist integration in this respect?

Answer: That has been the main object of false conjecture in capitalist propaganda. Some predict that CMEA will 'collapse' because of differences between its members, while others howl about 'Soviet hegemonism', and the like. The unanimous adoption of the Comprehensive Program went against the grain of our ideological opponents. The facts are the best retort to their fabrications. The achievements in the economic development of the CMEA countries, the gradual convergence and levelling out of their economies and the rise in living standards are beyond dispute.

The harmonious blending of national and international interests is conditioned by the common system and development goals of the CMEA countries. The progress of each country is at the same time an advancement for the entire socialist community. In the CMEA no country, large or small, possesses any privileges. Members have equal rights in all matters and if a country has no stake in cooperation in a specific area it is not obliged to participate in it. In this case the commitments assumed by the interested countries are not binding for it. However, if it decides to join at some later date, it may do so. No one may impose decisions on anyone else.

This distinguishes socialist economic integration from capitalist, which is powerless to solve the grave contradictions arising from the struggle between national and international monopolies for markets and spheres of investment. The capitalist countries, including members of economic integrational groups, try to eliminate contradictions at the expense of their partners or assaults on the markets of third countries, disrupting their economic growth.

The tendency towards internationalization is a common regularity governing the development of the productive forces. But in capitalist conditions it assumes antagonistic forms. The CMEA countries promote economic integration in the common interest, while in the capitalist world the imperialist countries and international monopolies prejudice national interests, especially those of smaller nations. Western integration is directed against the working people.

In an article, 'Companies More Powerful than Nations,' *United States News and World Report* went into raptures describing the growth of giant international super-monopolies, stressing that they acquire more power than the governments of some capitalist states. The article quotes U.S. businessmen on the problem that worries them most - how to overcome the resistance of trade unions and nationalistic governments to the international monopoly offensive. Roy Ash, president of Litton Industries, a conglomerate, suggests giving the citizens of the countries where the firm operates a stake in its growth and profits. The 'citizens' Mr. Ash has in mind are not hard to guess. He wants the local bourgeoisie to forget national interests for a part of the world monopoly profits. And he has a cut-to-measure slogan: 'The enterprise is a citizen of the world.'

Now take the decision-making procedure in the 'European Economic Community, which capitalist propaganda extols as a model of integration. France, Italy and the FRG have four votes each in the EEC Council, while Belgium and Holland have two each and Luxembourg just one. For the time being, it is true, not all decisions are based on a majority vote, but the Common Market moguls have long been advocating abolition of the unanimity principle.

CMEA cooperation has nothing in common with this procedure. Its principles are set out in the Comprehensive Program: socialist internationalism; respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests; non-interference in internal affairs; full equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual aid. These Marxist-Leninist principles of inter-state relations of the new type conform with the objective requirements of socialist construction in each country and the development of the socialist world system.

Question: How does socialist integration affect the development of economic ties in the world?

Answer: CMEA is not an exclusive group. We do not try to fence ourselves off from anyone. From the outset it has been open for all those wishing to participate in broad economic cooperation with the founding members. The Comprehensive Program will help strengthen and widen the basis for cooperation with non-members.

The Comprehensive Program makes provisions for full or partial participation of any non-member. Full participation requires acknowledgement of the goals and principles of the Program. The CMEA countries will continue to expand economic and scientific technical cooperation with all other socialist countries. It will be recalled that Yugoslavia, which is not a member of CMEA, participated in the 25th CMEA Session and that on returning to Belgrade, the head of the Yugoslav delegation, A. Grlickov,

noted the possibility of his country's greater cooperation with CMEA members.

The CMEA countries strive for broader cooperation with the developing countries. They give more than 60 developing countries economic and technical aid in building over 2,500 industrial and other projects. And in 1970 alone they concluded over 100 agreements with these countries for economic and technical help and trade. Foreign trade with the developing countries has more than tripled in the past ten years.

The CMEA countries are prepared to develop economic and scientific-technical ties with the developed capitalist states in line with the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, mutual advantage and respect for sovereignty. The Comprehensive Program offers good prospects of economic growth for CMEA members, with a beneficial effect on the development of business ties with capitalist firms. Many examples are at hand of such successful cooperation. Take the automobile plant built on the Volga in the USSR with the participation of Italian and other Western companies. Since the main economic potential of most CMEA countries is concentrated in Europe, broad opportunities exist for economic cooperation with West European countries. Strengthening economic relations will benefit their economic growth and could be a powerful factor in consolidating peace and security on the continent.



Correlation of economic and political struggle

L. Becerra, J. Fuchs

Every now and again problems long since theoretically resolved by Marxism-Leninism resurface in debates and discussions, notably in arguments with ideological opponents and revisionist turncoats of all shades. Many concern fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and their solution has an important bearing on the shaping of Communist strategy and tactics. That is why they have become the subject of heated, often acrimonious, argument, and of attempts to reinterpret their theoretical content and implications.

The problem

This article deals with a group of questions concerning the dialectical correlation of economics and politics, reform and revolution, the struggle for the immediate and ultimate historic objectives of the working class. We do not propose to examine the philosophical aspects of these problems, concentration on their impact on the class struggle, an aspect that is crucial in defining its forms, tasks and objectives. We shall probably have to reiterate some well-known Marxist truths. This is necessary since in day-to-day practice many of them are often forgotten, deliberately overlooked, or demonstratively rejected as 'obsolete.'

The question of the dialectical connection between economics and politics is, we believe, of particular importance in our time. For, first, the growth of state-monopoly capitalism has produced a number of new phenomena and, second, their incorrect interpretation inevitably results in mistakes in defining the tasks of the revolutionary forces at one or another juncture. In fact, many latter-day Right-wing opportunist views and 'ultra-Left' deviations originate at the convergence point of economics and politics, and are nurtured by inability or unwillingness to understand their dialectical unity. Thus, Right-wing opportunists, like all other reformists, reduce the workers' struggle to immediate economic demands, denying that radical improvement of their position and genuine economic libera-

tion can result only from political, revolutionary struggle. The ultra-Lefts, on the other hand, contemptuously reject the fight for better conditions and see no useful purpose in reforms. Their call is for immediate revolutionary action, regardless of whether or not the situation is ripe for that.

These two extremes have been manifest throughout the whole history of the working class and socialist movement, ranging in form from the 'economism' Lenin had had to combat in Russia at the turn of the century, to outright anarchism. These tendencies persist to this day in new or slightly renovated form, developing, in the absence of resolute ideological struggle, into a major danger to the working-class movement. Their tenacity is due largely to the very nature of capitalist development which, in its latter-day state-monopoly form, preserves the factors that tend to retain, even reinforce, both reformist and 'ultra-revolutionary' illusions.

But there is a reliable key to the solution of this problem: the Marxist-Leninist theory of basis and superstructure, their connection and interaction. And that theory reveals the dialectical relation between economics and politics. The Marxist-Leninist classics thoroughly studied this relationship, establishing, it will be recalled, not only that the basis determines the nature of the superstructure but that the latter, far from being a passive factor, reacts on the former. Engels wrote that there takes place within society 'the interaction of two unequal forces: on the one hand, the economic movement, on the other, the new political power, which strives for as much independence as possible, and which, having once been established, is endowed with a movement of its own' (Letter to C. Schmidt, October 27, 1890).

V.I. Lenin, summing up Marxist views on the connection between economics and politics, offered a clear-cut definition of politics as a 'concentrated expression of economics,' thereby warning against attempts mechanically to separate or even juxtapose them. In his well-known 1921 polemic with Bukharin, he criticized the latter for ignoring the dialectical connection between economics and politics. 'The gist of his theoretical mistake in this case is substitution of eclecticism for the dialectical interplay of politics and economics (which we find in Marxism) . . . Dialectics,' Lenin went on 'requires an all-round consideration of relationships in their concrete development, but not a patchwork of bits and pieces' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 91).

This conclusion is of more than philosophical importance. It is of great practical value for the working-class movement, for it clearly sets out the relation between the tasks of economic and political struggle. It shows, in particular, that in its economic battles for its immediate material interests, the working class strengthens its political standing in society. But it cannot

count on any more or less stable improvement of its economic position without reinforcing it through political struggle and political gains. Engels was right when, in summing up the experience of the proletariat's class struggle, he wrote: 'In modern history at least it is, therefore, proved that all political struggles are class struggles, and all class struggles for emancipation, despite their necessarily political form — for every class struggle is a political struggle — turn ultimately on the question of *economic* emancipation' (*Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*).

Obviously, in real life all these processes are much more complex and contradictory than in theory. In particular, it should be borne in mind that not every economic gain of the workers necessarily has political repercussions. Similarly, not every political gain may affect their economic circumstances. For this to happen, certain essential conditions have to be met. The first, probably, is the ability never and under no circumstances to lose sight of the movement's overall historical objectives. In setting the immediate tasks of struggle, in advancing and winning immediate demands, it is important to consider the degree to which this promotes the interests of revolution, the struggle for socialism. There is nothing more dangerous for any detachment of the world Communist movement than losing sight of the revolutionary perspective or inability, in Lenin's words, 'to make every struggle for every vital need ... *inseparably* linked with fundamental goals.'

New phenomena in capitalist development and the class struggle

The documents of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties offer a penetrating exposition of the new features of contemporary monopoly capitalism. In the last few years *World Marxist Review* has published a number of articles analyzing these new features. We shall therefore discuss only that aspect of the problem that directly relates to our subject, namely, how new developments in capitalism affect the conditions, tasks and objectives of the class struggle, the difficulties and opportunities they present. In this connection, we must consider some of the consequences of the development of State-monopoly capitalism and the current scientific and technological revolution.

When Lenin first drew attention to state-monopoly capitalism, it had hardly emerged from its initial stage. Today it is the determining feature of imperialism. In the most general form, Marxists define state-monopoly capitalism as the merger of monopoly and state power in a single mechanism to enrich the monopolies, suppress the working-class and national-liberation movement, preserve the capitalist system and prepare aggressive wars against world socialism. Formerly sporadic, state interference in economic life, including the relations of exploitation, is now continuous. And, of course, it is in the monopolies' interests and aimed

primarily at more intensive accumulation of capital and its concentration in the hands of the financial oligarchy.

The interaction of state and monopoly assumes differing forms, from development of the state sector, government financing of industry and research, creation of an armaments market, to imperialist integration, economic programming and measures to stimulate capital concentration and internationalization.

In the final analysis, the state furthers the predatory domination of the monopolies, as evidenced by their accumulation of huge resources. According to data in the U.S. press, the leading North American monopolies are financially more powerful than many an independent state. General Motors, for example, is wealthier than all but the world's top 17 countries; Standard Oil of New Jersey and Ford are richer than the Republic of South Africa; General Electric is richer than Greece, and so on. This 'giantism' tendency in the United States and other imperialist countries finds its ugliest expression in the conglomerates.

In the socio-economic sphere the present development of state-monopoly capitalism leads to ever more predatory monopoly policies, usually camouflaged with the help of the state. 'Incomes policies,' higher taxes, curtailment of social security, 'creeping' price increases on consumer goods, inflation, infringement of hard-won trade union legislation — these are some of the means used to intensify exploitation of white-and blue-collar workers and the technical intelligentsia. The consequences of these measures are felt by the entire working population. This contributes to the spread of conscious or spontaneous anti-imperialist sentiments. Non-monopoly sections -- small and middle capitalists -- are also affected by the predatory activities of the monopolies.

These processes cannot be correctly understood or assessed in isolation from the scientific and technological revolution. It has brought into being new industries, technological processes, materials and energy sources, made for the wide use of computer techniques, accelerated development of automation, and massively increased productivity. New scientific and technological advances have not only accelerated and intensified the processes of industrial concentration and expansion, but have provided the means needed to accomplish these.

Any analysis of the present stage in the development of state-monopoly capitalism and the conditions of working-class struggle must take into account the effect of the competition between capitalism and socialism, of which the technological revolution is one of the main arenas. The monopoly bourgeoisie cannot but reckon with the revolutionizing impact on people in the capitalist countries of the achievements of the Soviet

Union and other socialist states in science and technology, social services and heightening prosperity standards. It finds itself compelled to maneuver, in some cases moderate its appetite and occasionally make concessions to the working people it would never have made had there not been the challenge of socialism.

Under capitalism, with its countless social, economic and other contradictions, the consequences of the scientific and technological revolution are, naturally, contradictory. On the one hand, it serves the monopolies, providing them with the means for further concentration and centralization of capital and boosts profits; on the other, it aggravates the old contradictions of capitalism and creates new ones. It reveals the tremendous disparity between the vistas opened by progress in science and technology and the limited possibilities of utilizing them in an exploitive society. It brings to life new industries and through automation makes work easier, while at the same time breeding 'technological' unemployment. It is officially estimated that in the United States alone automation wipes out 40,000 jobs every week — two million a year.

The scientific and technological revolution makes for speed-up and tougher exploitation. It aggravates the uneven development of capitalist countries, adding to its conventional causes the so-called 'technological gap' between the U.S. and other countries, also the widening gap between the backward countries dependent on imperialism and the countries of developed capitalism.

The scientific and technological revolution profoundly affects the class structure of capitalist society. It makes for rapid growth of the army of wage and salary earners, produces more engineers, technologists and white-collar workers, brings more people into trade and the service industries. Wide sections of the intelligentsia are being brought increasingly nearer to the working class in terms of material conditions and social standing. All of which combines to bring into the class struggle new social strata and groups which formerly remained aloof or even sided with the bourgeoisie against the working class.

Assessing the situation, the 1969 International Meeting noted: 'The present period is characterized by a sharpening of the struggle of the working class and of the broad masses of working people not only for an improvement of their economic conditions but also for political demands ... The big battles of the working class in a number of capitalist countries are undermining the power of the monopolies, intensifying the instability and contradictions of capitalist society. These struggles foreshadow new class battles which could lead to fundamental social change, socialist revolution, and the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other segments of the working people.'

This formula reflects Lenin's requirement for combining economic and political struggle, the immediate and ultimate objectives of the working class. The Marxist-Leninist understanding is that even in conditions of state-monopoly capitalism the economic struggle does not lose its importance as a weapon against stepped-up exploitation and as a means of developing the political consciousness and activity of the working class and other sections of the laboring population. More, it can be said that it acquires a much more important role, for with the present level of capitalist development deep-going reforms accelerate the maturing of the objective preconditions of socialist revolution, thereby facilitating the transfer of power to the working people led by the working class. This also tends to facilitate the growth of direct political struggle. In a way, the bourgeois state makes itself a target of proletarian attack by openly interfering in labor relations on the side of the monopolies (anti-labor laws, wage freezes, etc.).

But we should not discount the fact that the technological revolution has produced a fresh crop of reformist illusions. Ignorant of the complex dialectics of technological progress under capitalism, many people have come to believe that it can automatically become the starting point of social progress, that the technological revolution is a 'substitute' for socialist revolution and will assure an abundance of material and spiritual values. And such illusions are assiduously encouraged and cultivated by the learned pens of capitalism. The workers are told that there is no longer any need for revolutionary struggle, for everything the labor movement has set out to achieve can now be achieved through evolution, through reforms under capitalism. American politologist R. L. Garthoff wrote in the mid-sixties that, with the passage of time, it is not unlikely that the remote and hazy image of socialism's final victory will recede further and further until it is no more than a mirage.

Capitalism's opinion moulders would not, of course, have been able to disseminate these reformist illusions more or less widely were they not supported by opportunists within the labor movement. The Right-wing Social-Democrats and the reactionary leaders of a number of trade unions have been at pains to sidetrack the workers from revolutionary struggle and induce them to be satisfied with individual concessions. Latterly, the revisionists have had a hand in this. They specialize in confusing the workers by holding up the changes in the class structure of bourgeois society. The conclusion they draw from the rapid growth of the technical intelligentsia is that the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary struggle is declining. In fact, that is the basis of Roger Garaudy's revisionist theory of the 'new historical bloc' — he has turned the Marxist-Leninist concept of the proletariat's class alliances inside out. And this disbelief in the epochal mission of the working class is also behind the defeatist conclusions drawn by Ernst Fischer, another revisionist 'theoreti-

cian.' There have also surfaced all manner of 'student revolt' ideologists and anarchistic elements.

However, all the prophecies of Garaudy and his fellow revisionists notwithstanding, the working class continues to head the mass movements. Experience has shown that the technological revolution has not solved, nor can it solve, the antagonistic contradictions of capitalism. Objectively, the role of the working class is not declining but increasing. Its alliance with the peasant masses is becoming closer still. Together with the students and intelligentsia it is fighting for the democratization of education, university reorganization to make the latest achievements of science and technology part of the curricula, and jobs for university graduates.

The social shifts in capitalist society do not narrow but extend the basis of struggle for democratic change and present fresh opportunities for replacing capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination by the power of the working people. It will thus be seen that the class struggle is rising to a new level.

Dialectics forgotten

Dialectically, the link between the working-class economic and political struggle for its immediate demands can be likened to an attack enabling the advancing army to reach the enemy's main positions in preparation for the final assault. Lenin emphasized that active working-class struggle can 'transform half-hearted and hypocritical "reforms" under the existing system into strongpoints for an advancing working-class movement' in its fight for the victory of socialism (Vol. 15, p. 440). But this means that the political value of immediate, tactical aims — no matter how important they may seem as partial gains — is determined above all by the degree to which they tie in with the strategic aims of the revolutionary struggle.

It has to be emphasized that, with the present world alignment of forces, the fight for general democratic transformations is, at the same time, a fight for preparing the conditions for socialist revolution. And that applies also in cases where the road to socialism leads through various intermediate stages, with each stage becoming the starting point for raising the struggle to a still higher level. It need hardly be said that retaining the proletariat's independent class positions with regard to the main aim of the revolution is an essential condition for success. And winning over to the proletariat's cause all forces capable of becoming its allies in the struggle for that aim becomes an urgent task.

The historic objective of the Communist movement is the triumph of socialism, and everything must be subordinated to that. It is only in this sense that we can speak of a 'strategy of reform,' a strategy that utilizes

the gains of the day-to-day struggle as stepping stones to our main revolutionary goal without, however, allowing the movement to be stranded at these intermediate stages. The 1969 International Meeting clearly stated: 'In contrast to the Right and "Left" opportunists, the Communist and Workers' parties do not counterpose the fight for deep-going economic and social demands, and for advanced democracy to the struggle for socialism, but regard it as part of the struggle for socialism.'

Opposed to this concept, as mentioned above, is the opportunist theory that absolutizes the struggle for immediate goals, for demands of the moment. And it is here that we have the demarcation line between reformists and revolutionaries.

The latter-day opportunists pretend that they are moving with the times and are fully aware of the 'new reality.' They maintain that their views are shaped by the specifics of state-monopoly capitalist development. One of their favorite arguments is that, in present conditions, the dividing line between reform and revolution is being obliterated, that the proletariat's fight for its immediate goals has ceased to be an auxiliary factor and has acquired its own independent value and significance. Hence, the argument goes, reforms can no longer be regarded as a tactical weapon subject to the revolution's ultimate aim — they have acquired strategic importance. And from this sophistry the conclusion is drawn that the battle for reforms is today the 'only road' to socialism.

All this theorizing is part of the opportunists' total break with revolutionary theory and practice. They insist that social development is a smooth evolutionary process, afraid to admit that revolutionary upheavals and leaps leading to qualitative change are inevitable in an exploitive society. But this oblivion to 'qualitative leaps' has its sequel — renunciation of the very idea of revolution in favor of hopeless, petty 'patching up' of capitalism. For it has long been an elementary proposition of Marxism-Leninism that capitalism will not collapse of itself, that it can be overthrown only by class struggle led and directed by the proletariat and its party. And this is borne out by the sum-total of revolutionary experience. That proposition has a very special meaning in our day with the monopoly groups possessing sufficient means and forces to reduce to nought the results of any reform. The assumption of political power by the working class and its allies is an earnest of carrying the fight for socialism through to the end.

True, there have always been theoreticians within the workers' movement contending that capitalism has reached a stage of social maturity and a level of development at which every reform is a 'partial realization of socialism' and socialism can triumph without breaking up the old system, simply by a series of reforms that do not go beyond its framework. Lenin trenchantly condemned all such theories as totally alien to Marxism. 'The

revisionists,' he wrote, 'regard as phrase-mongering all arguments about "leaps" and about the working-class movement being antagonistic in principle to the whole of the old society. They regard reforms as a partial realization of socialism' (*Differences in the European Labor Movement*, Vol. 16, p. 349).

Of course, the interdependence of economics and politics is not something static. In present-day conditions economic change can have far-reaching political repercussions, and political factors exert a stronger influence on the economy. But that does not cancel out the irrefutable fact that no amount of reform, within the capitalist system, can of itself fundamentally restructure society, give it a new social quality. And Lenin never regarded reforms as an end in itself, describing them as 'a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle' (Vol. 33, p. 116). The situation is entirely different when we return to reforms carried out by a working class in power.

A correct understanding of the correlation between the struggle for immediate and ultimate aims is something quite beyond the ken not only of the Right-wing revisionists. The ultra-Lefts, and their spiritual forebears the anarchists, make the same mistake, albeit in reverse. They contend that economic reforms have no political meaning whatever, and revolutionary work must therefore be confined to violent leaps. They denounce as futile the workers' fight for their immediate aims to improve their conditions, win better positions and perfect their revolutionary organization for the final attack on the class enemy.

The ultra-Lefts are working on the erroneous and childish premise that reforms are everywhere and under all conditions the very opposite of revolution. And they level their attacks on Communist parliamentary activity which, they allege, is an opportunist form of contempt for major action. Lenin condemned this contemptuous attitude to the struggle for the interests of the masses, emphasizing that often it is merely a cover for passivity. He wrote: 'The anarcho-syndicalists reject "petty work", especially the utilization of the parliamentary platform. In practice, the latter tactics amount to waiting for "great days" along with an inability to muster the forces which create great events' (*Differences in the European Labor Movement*, Vol. 16, p. 349).

In Latin America, unfortunately, there have been some 'brilliant' examples of ultra-Leftism and its futile tactics of waiting for great days, without bothering to engage in practical revolutionary activity. These Leftists see their chief mission in attacking Latin American Communist parties working to build up the necessary forces by developing the mass struggle. In fact, the ultra-Lefts are more frenzied in these attacks than in fighting the class enemy.

The Communist Party of Chile has become the target of gross attacks from the Left. It is being accused of opportunist blindness for its policy of broad alliances and election struggles in its effort to win working-class power, rather than militant action by small groups. And in all these attacks the Latin American Leftists are joined by their brethren in Europe and Asia.

Now everyone can see the futility of these Leftist urgings. But even today, with the Popular Unity government effectively working on a program of democratic transformations, the Leftists continue to preach violence. Objectively, they are playing into the hands of Chilean and foreign reactionary forces.

It should be perfectly clear that the ultra-Left's negative policy stems from their contempt for the masses and their fetish of extremist action. That is especially harmful today, with the continued sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and the growth of anti-monopoly sentiments. The present changes in the class structure of society provide unparalleled opportunities in a number of countries for a broad anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly bloc and for its victory over the reactionary minority. One cannot but recall in this context the words of Frederick Engels who, it would seem, foresaw the present Leftist theories of revolution: 'The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must also be in it ...' (Introduction to *The Class Struggles in France*.)

Unity of the working class and its joint action with other democratic and progressive forces against a common class enemy — that is a priority task for Communist parties everywhere. And a realistic understanding of the changes in the correlation of economics and politics in conditions of present-day monopoly capitalism is a cardinal condition of its accomplishment.



Japan: two elections and perspectives

Tetsuzo Fuwa

I. The remarkable characteristic of the situation in Japan in the beginning of the 1970s is that the struggle between the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles and Japanese people over the course of the country is broadening its scale in all the fields of politics, economy and culture.

Especially, as regards Japan's security policy and basic line of diplomacy, U.S. imperialism has chosen Japan as the most important stronghold of Nixon's new strategy with Asia as the main battlefield, and the Liberal Democratic Party and Sato Cabinet have, in close collaboration therewith, dared successively to decide the unlimited prolongation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the fixed term of ten years of which ended in June of 1970, to conclude the 'Japan-U.S. Agreement on Okinawa' arranging for reorganization of the U.S. military bases and consolidation of the position for the 'Japan-U.S. joint operation' in exchange for the 'return of administrative rights' over Okinawa, which has been unreasonably occupied by the United States for a quarter of a century, and to propose the Fourth National Defense Buildup Program (5,800,000,000,000 yen equals \$16,100,000,000 in total) for a substantial reinforcement of the Self-Defense Forces. Thus, the confrontation between the two alternatives of whether we follow the way of Japan-U.S. military alliance in subordination to the United States and aggressive consolidation of Japanese militarism as it is or we take the way of Japan's peace and neutrality after breaking with the Japan-U.S. military alliance, has entered a most pressing phase. Further, the 'high rate economic growth' of Japanese monopoly capital achieved at an abnormal speed in the 1960s (industrial production growing 3.7-fold in ten years) has strengthened the ambition of the Japanese monopoly capital to achieve the complete revival of militarism in collaboration with U.S. imperialism. At the same time, in the sphere of the people's livelihood, it has caused serious difficulties, such as an unlimited soaring of prices, public hazards (environmental disruption), aggravated urban questions and a crisis of agriculture and fishery, as well as low wages and a low living standard. And it has sharpened the situation so much as to

make it an urgent and vital task, which is no more deferrable, for the sake of the people's life and living standard to overthrow the Liberal Democratic administration which is serving the interests of big business. Thus, an important feature determining the political development of Japan in the 1970s is that the conditions to make the mass of the people aware of the need for a fundamental change in the policy have much ripened, combining the struggle for independence, peace and democracy with the struggle for the people's better life.

In this situation, in the first half of 1971, two series of nationwide elections – the simultaneous elections for both heads of administration and assemblymen of local self-governing bodies throughout the country (April) and election to the House of Councillors, the second House of the Diet (June) – were held successively in Japan. The results of these two election campaigns have, by the advance of the Communist Party of Japan and victory of the progressive united fronts in a number of districts, delivered a big blow to the Japanese and U.S. ruling circles and their political agent – the Liberal Democratic Government – and opened new prospects for the cause of renovating the administration in Japan in the 1970s.

II. Let us first of all review the elections for local self-governing bodies in April. The self-governing body system in Japan consists of two levels. There are 46 prefectures (including Tokyo Metropolis and Hokkaido) and more than 3,000 municipalities (cities, towns and villages). The recent local elections were held at both these levels, involving 55 per cent of the heads and assemblymen of the self-governing bodies throughout the country

The biggest point at issue in the election campaign was how democratically to renovate a local self-governing body which has degenerated into an instrument serving the 'high rate economic growth' in the interests of big business, into a subcontract machine of militarist revival and a local agency directly controlled by the Liberal Democratic Government, and how to establish a democratic self-governing body in the interests of the inhabitants – a genuinely progressive local administration defending the interests of the inhabitants – with the results of this election campaign bearing a character which might directly lead to the renovation of national administration.

Emphasizing the dual political significance of local elections in the decision of the 11th Party Congress of last year that 'in order to defend the local autonomy and the interests of local inhabitants from the harms caused by the reactionary administration and to win the realization to a certain extent of the vital and urgent demands of local inhabitants, it is a very important task for the Party and the united front forces to make

advance in the local self-governing bodies; it will be also of great significance to really approach the genuine transformation of national politics — the task of establishing a democratic coalition government. Advancing a local election policy at the Third CC Plenum of last February, our Party fought in the election campaign, running our candidates all over the country.

One of the results was, as was in chorus stressed by commercial papers, the advance of the Communist Party of Japan all over the country. Though the Government and Liberal Democratic Party regarded the Communist Party as the main enemy in the 1970s and made an anti-communist offensive throughout the country under the slogan 'Don't give up the self-governing bodies to Reds,' the Communist Party of Japan succeeded in making big progress by frustrating this anti-communist offensive and at one stroke increasing the number of seats in local assemblies by 614, making the number of Communist local assemblymen in the country more than 2,300. This was especially true in regard to the prefectural assembly level, occupying the most important position in the local administration. At this level the Communist Party returned 105 candidates, or three times as many as the 35 assemblymen whose term of office had expired, by winning 2.1 times as many votes as were obtained in the elections of four years ago. Now the Communist Party has 124 prefectural assemblymen in the country, including the seats in the Tokyo and Ibaragi areas, where the elections were not held this time. This fact means that the Communist Party, which had been the lowest among the five political parties, outstripped the Komei and Democratic Socialist Parties both in the number of votes and seats and occupied the status of the second ranking opposition party in the local administration. In the elections to city assemblies of the representative five big cities of Japan, that is, Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Kobe and Yokohama, the Communist Party rapidly advanced to 52 seats from 24 seats before the elections.

In the meanwhile, the Liberal Democratic Party, which in the elections to prefectural assemblies maintained the majority in total number of assemblymen in the country, has lost 143 seats from before the elections and was lower in rate of votes polled than in the previous elections, in which it had lost the majority for the first time after the war (the rates of votes polled by the Liberal Democratic Party were 50.8 per cent in 1963, 48.3 per cent in 1967 and 46.9 per cent in 1971). The Democratic Socialist Party of anti-communist Right-wing Social-Democracy and Komei Party, a religious party which had closely co-operated with it from its anti-communist position, have gained a few more seats in the elections to prefectural assemblies and retreated as a whole in the elections to the five big city assemblies. The Socialist Party has also lost 33 seats in the elections to prefectural assemblies. Thus, the advance of the Communist Party of Japan was in more remarkable contrast to the decline of the

Liberal Democratic Party and the stagnant tendency of the middle-of-the-road parties.

Another important achievement in the local elections in April is that the progressive united front won victories in a number of elections for the heads of local administrations.

The Communist Party of Japan has long since proposed to create a nationwide united front and at the same time made efforts to develop local progressive united fronts — united fronts aiming at democratizing the local administration of respective areas. These efforts have so far borne fruit in certain areas and yielded a progressive Governor relying on the united front based on the policy and organizational agreements between the Communist and Socialist Parties in Tokyo, the Metropolis of Japan, four years ago, following Kyoto Prefecture with its tradition of progressive administration for twenty years.

Though there were many difficulties in the preparatory stage of the recent election campaign, progressive united fronts including the Communist and Socialist Parties for election of head of administration were formed in relatively broad areas, including the two major urban areas of Tokyo Metropolis and Osaka Prefecture as the result of the persevering efforts of the Communist Party and united front forces overcoming various oppositions and disturbances. The direction of local administrations in the 1970s was fought for between these progressive united fronts and the Liberal Democratic Party or anti-communist reactionary coalition around the Liberal Democratic Party. As the result of the election, the dramatic victory of progressive united fronts not only safeguarded the progressive Metropolitan administration by overwhelmingly defeating the Liberal Democratic Party with 65 per cent of the votes in the election of the Tokyo Metropolitan Governor, in which the Government, the Liberal Democratic Party and monopoly capital concentrated their whole energy under the supreme slogan of 'recover the Metropolis', but also created a progressive prefectural administration by overthrowing the traditional Liberal Democratic prefectural administration of more than twenty years in Osaka, the political and economic center of West Japan.

Thus, the united fronts succeeded in establishing progressive local administrations in Tokyo Metropolis, Kyoto Prefecture and Osaka Prefecture, the three major political, economic and cultural centers of Japan. Besides, progressive heads of administration recommended by our Party together with other democratic organizations, by our Party alone or jointly with the Socialist Party, have been established in not a few municipalities all over the country including the victory in the mayoralty election of Kawasaki, an industrial city with one million population. In total, about a quarter of the Japanese population is now living with

progressive self-governing bodies under progressive heads with the Communist Party of Japan as the friendly party. Though they are limited within the sphere of local administration, it is true that they are a historic achievement of the united front policy of the Communist Party.

III. The decline of the Liberal Democratic Party and advance of the Communist Party of Japan and progressive united fronts in the local elections in April gave the Government and Liberal Democratic Party a great shock. The profoundness of their consciousness of crisis is shown in the fact that the Liberal Democratic leadership has stated in a summary document on the results of the elections, addressed to the whole country immediately after the elections, that 'the support of the people for our party will be shaken to the roots as long as our Party does not listen to the voice of the people anxious for a switch-over and for advance to a new administration and hesitates to make this change, being content with the formal maintenance of the status quo.'

The Liberal Democratic Government made every effort to make up for this failure by a victory in the election to the House of Councillors which would be held two months later, re-establish its reactionary rule and consolidate its position to carry out the line of reviving militarism in subordination to the United States and in the interests of big business. At the operational meeting of May 10 for the election to the House of Councillors, Prime Minister Sato himself openly stated that an absolute majority should be won in the election to the House of Councillors in order to revise the Constitution according to party principles and acted as the actual leader of the campaign, resorting to every means to increase seats and votes, including large-scale buying of votes with the large sum of political donations from financial circles, and mobilizing bureaucratic machineries. Especially, the Liberal Democratic Party tried to prevent the advance of the Communist Party, directing the spearhead of its major attack against the Communist Party of Japan as the driving power of the political renovation, and unfolding on a nationwide scale a campaign of such anti-communist slanders as 'destruction of the parliamentary system' and 'party of violence.'

The anti-communist campaign of the Government and Liberal Democratic Party was encouraged by the fact that the progressive united front, which had displayed strength in the local elections of April, was not formed on the level of national politics because of the refusal of the Socialist Party. The Communist Party called on the Socialist Party before the election to develop the achievements of the local progressive united fronts and to deliver a blow to the Liberal Democratic Government by concluding an agreement on joint struggle also at the level of national politics. But the center of the Socialist Party rejected it and, on the contrary, adopted the way of cooperating with the Democratic Socialist and Komei Parties,

which had been proposing an anti-communist front of opposition parties excluding the Communist Party. This 'cooperation' of three parties, however, was nothing but a 'joint struggle' without principle or policy. One of the three, the Democratic Socialist Party, basically accepts the Japan-U.S. military alliance and opposes neutrality concerning the question of, for example, the Japan-U.S. military alliance as the key problem of the national administration. The other, the Komei Party, for the present approves the existence of the military alliance on the pretext of its gradual dissolution, while the Socialist Party insists on the abolition of the Japan-U.S. military alliance and on the neutrality of Japan. The three parties joined hands without expressing any common commitment.

In this situation, throwing light on the true direction of the renovation of national administration according to the election policy adopted by the Fourth CC Plenum of May, the Communist Party of Japan fought the election campaign by running candidates in all the constituencies, and the superiority of the Communist Party in policy became very clear through the whole election campaign. As regards the basic question affecting the future course of the country — the abolition or continuance of the Japan-U.S. military alliance — it was only the Communist Party that had taken it up as the biggest focus in the confrontation with the Liberal Democratic Party. Likewise, in regard to the Japan-U.S. Agreement on Okinawa, a substantial mal-revision of the Japan-U.S. military pact, only the Communist Party has made its attitude of opposition clear during the elections (the Komei and Socialist Parties expressed their opposition after the elections). In the field of economic policy, the Communist Party has not only criticized and denounced the Liberal Democratic industrial policy and 'land development' policy in the interest of big business, but also has clearly opposed thereto the line of independent and democratic development of the Japanese economy — industry and agriculture — and democratic development of land to be begun with the political renovation, clarifying the constructive perspective for the settlement of the people's demands.

As regards such anti-communist propaganda as 'destruction of the parliamentary system' and 'party of violence,' the Party has explained the basic attitude of the Party in the past, present and future toward the question of democracy and violence according to the Party program and decision of the 11th Party Congress, thoroughly smashing every slander to pieces:

1) that the Communist Party of Japan is the only party which specifically states in its Program that it will aim at abolition of 'organized and systematic violence and all violence against man in general' and that there is no party other than the Communist Party that has opposed the war of

aggression as the biggest violence and consistently defended the banner of the people's sovereignty for this half a century;

2) that the Communist Party aims in the context of transforming the national administration, at the peaceful and legal establishment of a people's government by the forces of the national democratic united front with a majority in the Diet, and that in this case, of course, it would be the natural attitude of the people's government in safeguarding the people's sovereignty and parliamentary democracy to take necessary measures for maintenance of order together with the people if the reactionary forces at home and abroad should resort to coup d'état and other unlawful violent means;

3) and that in the future both in independent and democratic Japan and in socialist Japan, the basis of the political system will be 'a democratic state order of the people with the Diet as an organ of supreme authority of the country in name and reality' (Program), with freedom of activity guaranteed to all the political parties including those critical or against the government as long as they do not try to destroy this democratic system by violence.

In spite of every effort of the Liberal Democratic Party and anti-communist forces, the election results proved in striking forms the increasing criticism of the people against the Liberal Democratic Party and the Sato cabinet and the spreading confidence of the people in the Communist Party of Japan following the local elections in April, and were for the Japanese and U.S. ruling circles and Liberal Democratic Government a big blow (Table I, p. 67)

The term of membership in the House of Councillors of Japan is six years and the election of half the members takes place every three years. The voting is held dually for Councillors from the national constituency, which is the whole of Japan, and for Councillors from the local constituencies, which are respectively a prefecture.

In the election, the Communist Party of Japan gained big results both in the local constituencies and national constituency. It not only secured the re-election of the Chairman of the Central Committee, Sanzo Nosaka, in the local constituency of Tokyo Metropolis, but also returned all its five candidates in the national constituency, where our Party had just two Councillors whose term of membership had expired, and, together with the four seats held over (elected in 1968), established a Communist parliamentary group of ten members with the 'right of negotiation in the House' in the House of Councillors. This 'right of negotiation in the House' is an unlawful and undemocratic 'custom' in the Diet created by the Liberal Democratic Party and others with the purpose of restricting

(Table I) RESULTS OF THE ELECTION TO THE HOUSE OF COUNCILLORS

	Votes obtained in Local Constituencies				Votes obtained in National Constituency				Returned	
	1971		1968		1971		1968		1971	1968
	(000's)	%	(000's)	%	(000's)	%	(000's)	%		
CPJ	4,879	12.0	3,577	8.3	3,219	8.1	2,147	5.0	6	4
LDP	17,915	44.0	19,406	44.9	17,759	44.5	20,120	46.7	63	69
JSP	12,598	31.0	12,618	29.2	8,494	21.3	8,542	19.8	39	28
Komei	1,392	3.4	2,633	6.1	5,626	14.1	6,657	15.4	10	13
SDP	1,920	4.7	3,010	6.9	2,442	6.1	2,579	6.0	6	7
Minor parties Independents	2,094	4.9	2,017	4.6	2,391	6.0	3,030	7.1	2	5

the say of small parties in the Diet and has so far been the biggest pretext for discriminative restriction of the Diet activity of the Communist Party. But this obstacle was removed in the House of Councillors since the Communist House group secured the ten seats necessary to have the 'right of negotiation' as the result of the recent election. The say of the Party House group including the participation in the House Management Committee has been extended and a new phase was opened in the Diet activity of the Communist Party of Japan.

The Communist Party has made a substantial advance also in the number and percentage of votes gained. Namely, it has gained the support of 3,219,000 voters (8.1 per cent), exceeding the votes gained in the election of 1968 by more than a million in the national constituency, and the support of 4,879,000 voters (12.0 per cent) in local constituencies exceeding votes gained in the previous election by about 1.3 million. This number of votes gained in the local constituencies is, in particular, the highest record substantially exceeding every election achievement in the past in the number or percentage of votes gained. The Communist Party of Japan once returned 35 candidates in the 1949 general election to the House of Representatives (the first House). Later, the Communist Party lost this position in the Diet because of the unreasonable purge measures carried out by the U.S. occupation forces during the Korean War and the temporary split in the Party. The results of the recent election substantially exceed the percentage of votes gained by the Communist Party at that time, which was 9.7 per cent. This fact has attracted much attention as a factor which strengthens the conditions for the advance of the Communist Party to a parliamentary group with scores of members in the next election to the House of Representatives, to be held in the near future. (At present, the Communist Party has 14 Representatives).

In contrast, the Liberal Democratic Party has lost 2,361,000 votes in the national constituency and 1,491,000 in the local constituencies. Far from increasing its number of seats to consolidate its position in the Diet, it suffered a defeat and lost six seats since the previous elections.

Among the opposition parties, the Democratic Socialist and Komei Parties have lost votes both in the national constituency and local constituencies, and won fewer seats than the previous time. While the showing of the Socialist Party was somewhat better than in the previous election thanks to the 'cooperation' of the Komei and Democratic Socialist Parties, the votes polled were to a small extent less than in the previous elections both in the national constituency and local constituencies. The total votes polled in the local constituencies by the Socialist, Komei and Democratic Socialist Parties in their 'three-party joint struggle', decreased by 2,351,000 since the previous time, this being a loss which even eclipsed the declining tendency of the Liberal Democratic Party.

Thus, while there were a number of ups and downs in seats won by various parties, it is only the Communist Party of Japan that has made progress in number of seats, votes polled and percentage of votes gained. Particularly, only the Communist Party has registered a gain of more than a million votes by defeating the anti-communist campaign of the Liberal Democratic Party and others in a situation in which all the other four parties lost votes. The significance of this is especially great for the future prospect of political development of Japan.

IV. The Resolution of the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of Japan held in July of 1970 defines the perspective of the political development in Japan in the 1970s and the tasks of the democratic forces as follows:

'The 1970s will not be merely an "era of multipolarization of political parties," but an era of confrontation between the anti-communist, reactionary forces which aim at the revival of militarism and imperialism in subordination to the United States, on the one hand, and the democratic forces which aim at a peaceful and neutral Japan on the other. The confrontation between the LDP and CPJ will indeed be its axis.

'The conditions of the 1970s contain a perspective for the Japanese democratic forces to be able to form in reality a united front, to put an end to the reactionary domination by conservative parties which has continued for 25 years since the end of the war and to establish a democratic coalition government. Overcoming all the difficulties and obstacles, the democratic forces must succeed in their cause of establishing a democratic coalition government in the 1970s'. (Resolution of the Congress, 'Perspective of the 1970s and Tasks of the Communist Party of Japan').

The recent two election campaigns were the first national political battle in the 1970s. It is clear that this political battle was a historic step towards realizing the perspective indicated by the 11th Party Congress.

Firstly, it should be pointed out that the Liberal Democratic Party, which had monopolized political power for a long time in the interests of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, has further hastened its historic declining tendency since the 1960s and has made the instability of its regime more serious, while continuing to occupy the majority in the Diet and many local assemblies and to show the depth of its reactionary rule. Especially, it is characteristic of these two election campaigns that the reactionary domination of the Liberal Democratic Party is faced with serious bankruptcy of its basis in big cities as was made clear by the victory of the progressive united governors in Tokyo and Osaka, and that,

at the same time, the peasants' criticism of the Liberal Democratic administration and their desire for a progressive administration have grown stronger, while support for the Liberal Democratic Party has begun to decline drastically because many peasants have directly experienced the realities of the anti-peasant agricultural administration of the Liberal Democratic Government, even in the rural areas which have so far been regarded as its most powerful stronghold. This proves that the conditions to put an end to the Liberal Democratic administration in the 1970s are developing.

Secondly, in the election campaign, the question of the line to follow in order to overthrow this Liberal Democratic administration and renovate policy was vehemently debated among opposition parties, and the whole process and results of the election campaign made clear that the progressive united front advocated by the Communist Party of Japan was the only highway to the renovation of the national administration.

The line to establish a democratic coalition government on the basis of a progressive united front has been the consistent political line of the Communist Party of Japan for these ten years, and the Communist Party proposed as the standards of policy for the renovation of national administration last January, before the election campaign 1) to break with the Japan-U.S. military alliance, 2) to overthrow the administration serving the interests of big capital and establish an administration working for the life and interests of the people, and 3) to fight against the complete revival and consolidation of militarism and work for the democratic management of the Diet and establishment of democracy. The Communist Party called on every political party, organization and individual capable of agreeing on these three points to rally around a united front for the renovation of national administration. Then in February, the Communist Party made a proposal that local united fronts should be established in the field of local administration with five common political aims. This was an appeal for a broad joint struggle, which assumed that the formation of regional progressive united fronts would be possible once agreement is reached on the democratization of the local administration, even if there might be differences of opinion over questions of national administration, including the attitude toward the Japan-U.S. military alliance.

What has been produced as an idea opposed thereto is the conception of the so-called 'opposition party reorganization' proposed by the Democratic Socialist Party, an anti-communist Right-wing social-democratic party. It was first proposed after the Democratic Socialist and Komei Parties challenged the progressive united front in an open anti-communist reactionary coalition with the Liberal Democratic Party and were miserably defeated in election for the Governor of Kyoto Prefecture in

April last year, which was said to be the 'first decisive political battle in the 1970s.' Though its professed aim was the formation of a 'united progressive party' to replace the Liberal Democratic regime, its real content was the concentration of midway parties on the premise of anti-communism, and its essential motive was to hinder the progressive united front by a new form of rallying the anti-communist opposition parties in place of the open coalition with the Liberal Democratic Party, which has failed in Kyoto, to check the advance of the Communist Party of Japan and to reinforce the Liberal Democratic administration indirectly. The unprogressive and divisive nature of this conception was evident from the fact that the Democratic Socialist Party, its proponent, was a 'second conservative' entity basically accepting the Japan-U.S. military alliance and regarding anti-communism as its biggest mission in close collusion with monopoly capital, and this was proved by the fact that the financial circles and Liberal Democratic Party themselves had from the first welcomed this conception of 'opposition party reorganization.'

The attitude toward this confrontation between the progressive united front and anti-communist opposition front was a testing stone to see which party takes the genuine progressive stand. The Komei Party, which denounced Marxism-Leninism as a 'philosophy of hatred' and once again expressed its anti-communist stand at its party Convention of last year, has become an active driving force of the anti-communist 'opposition reorganization' in response to the proposal of the Democratic Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party adopted a most ambivalent attitude in regard to this question. In the local elections of April, it took part in the regional progressive united fronts in response to the appeal of the Communist Party in a number of places including Tokyo and Osaka, but it opposed the Communist Party in coalition with the Liberal Democratic Party in the election of governors in some other prefectures or stood at the head of the campaign to overthrow the Communist mayor. Though the present leadership of the Socialist Party expresses a critical view on the conception of an anti-communist opposition front, it rejected a united front with the Communist Party on the level of national politics and adopted the policy of cooperating with the Democratic Socialist and Komei Parties aiming at an anti-communist front in the election to the House of Councillors. This reflects the present state of the Socialist Party, which takes a progressive stand on a series of questions of Japanese administration, including the attitude toward the Japan-U.S. military alliance, on the one hand, and, on the other, has not yet basically liquidated anti-communism in its party program calling for 'conquest of communism', and still has many unprogressive factors in its policies and activities.

Now, what answers have the two election campaigns given to this debate in the context of renovation of administration?

The progressive united front line won a new victory in the election of heads of administration in Tokyo, Osaka, Kawasaki and other places in the local elections of April and proved that it was indeed a trend of genuine renovation capable of rallying the hopes and the support of many people and really carrying forward the cause of political renovation in the 1970s. Though the progressive united front was not formed in the election to the House of Councillors because of the negative attitude of the Socialist Party, the great advance made by the Communist Party as its driving force has in the long run and in a wide view created the conditions for the formation of this progressive united front.

In striking contrast, the conception of forming an anti-communist opposition front could not be definitely realized, in spite of a year-long effort, in this election campaign decisive for the course in the 1970s. And, in April, the 'opposition reorganization' group opposed the progressive united fronts in overt or covert collaboration with the Liberal Democratic Party in the elections of heads in Tokyo, Osaka and other places and itself exposed its 'pro-Liberal Democratic, anti-communist and unprogressive' nature. Though the 'three party joint struggle' in the form of assistance by the Democratic Socialist and Komei Parties to the Socialist Party was realized in the election to the House of Councillors as a preparation for the anti-communist front, this joint struggle could have no common commitment to be presented to the people. On the contrary, the internal policy contradictions within the 'opposition reorganization' group on the Security Treaty and other questions even came to the fore during the election campaign.

Thus, the important political significance of these two election campaigns lies in the fact that the practical test of nation-wide political battle confirmed that the progressive united front line advocated by the Communist Party of Japan is the only realistic way to the political renovation in the 1970s.

Thirdly, the political weight of the Communist Party of Japan—a genuine progressive party, which has defended the interests of the people in square confrontation with the Japan-U.S. ruling circles and Liberal Democratic Party and which has been the motive power of political renovation and the united front line for that purpose—has become still greater through these election campaigns both in national politics and local politics. The meaning of the advance of the Communist Party in these election campaigns in the beginning of the 1970s will become clearer if we review the development in these more than ten years. Ten years have elapsed since the Communist Party of Japan adopted the Party Program. At that

time, when the Party eliminated the split and confusion that had appeared in its line since the first half of the 1950s, and succeeded in recovering its unity and in establishing a programmatic line, setting out on the way to a new advance at its Seventh Congress (1958) and Eighth Congress (1961), the political weight of the Communist Party in Japanese politics was very small, the total number of Dietmen in the two Houses being three, that of prefectural assemblymen twelve and the percentage of votes being still on the level of 1-3 per cent (Table II, p. 74). Later, it rapidly expanded its influence through its activities in the 1960s and made progress so great as to have a political strength of 24 Dietmen, 124 prefectural assemblymen and a rate of votes of 8-12 per cent. This rapid development first of all testifies to the correctness of the Party Program drawn up by the Communist Party of Japan independently and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the situation of Japan, to the correctness of the political and organizational line based thereon.

The progress of the Communist Party of Japan in the two election campaigns and the advance of the progressive united fronts in local politics, as well as the decline of the Liberal Democratic Party in cities and villages, have only opened the primary phase in our historic task of achieving fundamental transformation of politics in the 1970s, but beyond doubt have shown the basic current determining the political development in the 1970s.

Summarizing the results of the election campaigns and clarifying the present situation and tasks at the Fifth CC Plenum held after the elections in July, the Communist Party of Japan has called on organizations and individuals in various fields to mount a broad joint struggle of all democratic forces in Japan against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Indochina, for the restoration of Japan-China diplomatic relations, for the restoration of the representation of China in the United Nations; and (especially in the situation just before the Diet session to ratify the Japan-U.S. Agreement on Okinawa) against the Okinawa agreement, for the complete return of Okinawa and against the Japan-U.S. military alliance as our common tasks. And our Party is trying to make this a concrete step for the present toward the formation of the progressive united front.

Of course, the way to the progressive united front cannot be straight, but is anticipated to be a complicated zigzag line further in the future. Even after the election, the Democratic Socialist and Komei Parties have not abandoned the conception of forming an anti-communist opposition front, and are trying to achieve it on the basis of 'three party joint struggle' in election campaigns. The Socialist Party also still maintains its negative attitude toward a united front definitely opposing the Japan-U.S. military alliance. But we are convinced that the inevitable development of the

(Table 2) ADVANCE OF THE CPJ IN MAJOR ELECTIONS

Date	House of Councillors			House of Representatives		Prefectural Assemblies	
	Rate of Votes Obtained			Rate of Votes Obtained		Rate of Votes Obtained	
	Local	National	Seats	Date	Seats.	Date	Seats
1959 June	3.3 %	1.9 %	2	1960 Nov.	2.9 %	1959 Apr.	1.1 %
1962 July	4.8	3.1	4	1963 Oct	4.0	1963 Apr.	2.2
1965 July	6.9	4.4	6	1967 Jan.	4.8	1967 Apr.*	4.6
1968 July	8.3	5.0	7	1969 Dec.	6.8	1971 Apr.*	8.1
1971 June	12.0	8.1	10				124

* The election to Tokyo metropolitan assembly was held in June of 1965 and 1969, and to Ibaragi prefecture in December of 1966 and 1970.

struggle over the course of the country between the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles and Japanese people, the trust of the mass of the people in a progressive united front and the indomitable struggle of the Communist Party of Japan and the conscious democratic forces - all this is certain to pave the way for the formation of a progressive united front and the establishment of a democratic coalition government.



The Party in the factories

Letters from the Soviet Union

Revolutionaries throughout the world will always draw on the experiences of the Soviet Union. Progressives everywhere followed with keen interest the 24th Congress of the CPSU, considering it of exceptional importance not only for the first land of socialism, but also for every aspect of international life. Soviet workers, collective farmers and intellectuals have set an inspiring example for Communists and progressives in the battle against imperialism, for a new, socialist and communist society.

We three Communist journalists, a Dane, Austrian and Czech, visited the Soviet Union with the express purpose of gaining first-hand knowledge of the development of Soviet society at this new stage and of the people's effort in implementing the 24th Congress decisions. Bourgeois propaganda and all manner of revisionists have been at pains to belittle socialism's achievements, and we wanted to hear what Soviet people had to say on this. In short, we wanted to see what was new in this great country, its economy, social system and science, for each of us had been to the Soviet Union and could compare past and present. The CPSU Central Committee and local party organizations provided every help in this.

We visited the Likhachov automobile plant (ZIL) in Moscow, the Friendship of the Peoples collective farm in the Crimea and the big research center in Novosibirsk. We met and talked with many people, workers and collective farmers, Party officials and economic managers, academicians and researchers. We studied documents, met people at their work and home, and everywhere we observed and compared. We wanted to match what we were told against what we saw.

Everywhere our hosts, the various Party organizations, considered it their duty to acquaint us with the position in their particular area and with the problems now being solved.

And it is with these encounters that we begin our account.

We started out by forming a rounded-out picture of Communist activity at one of the Soviet Union's biggest industrial plants. And, we believe, we succeeded in this. This first letter is mainly about that plant.

Moscow today and tomorrow

But first, a few words about the city in which it is located, Moscow. The reader will doubtlessly want to know what the Soviet capital is like today and what it will be like in the next few years. We were given detailed information on this by the Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, Vladimir Yagodkin, an alternate member of the CC CPSU.

Socialist Moscow is a huge city of seven million, an important industrial, scientific, cultural and arts center. In a way, the Soviet capital is going through a historic stage in its development. The aim (first set by L. I. Brezhnev in his 24th Congress report) is to make it a model communist city. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have approved a general development plan which is now being carried out.

Population growth will be slight. Industrial development will center on technical reconstruction and modernization to extend output through higher productivity.

Housing construction in Moscow is at a much higher rate than anywhere in the world. In the past five years, 15 million square metres of new housing were commissioned, or 450,000 modern flats, which has meant improved housing conditions for approximately two million people and an annual average of 3.5 million sq. metres will be built in the current five-year period. Moscow also leads the world in solving the transport problems of a huge metropolis, notably by expanding the Metro (28.9 kilometres were added in the last five years and another 38 will be commissioned in the next five years). The number of cafes, canteens and restaurants will be upped 50 per cent. Hospital accommodation was increased by 10,000 beds in the past five years, and another 10,000 are being added this year. Kindergarten and nursery accommodation is no longer a problem, and the next job is to eliminate afternoon shifts in schools, which in the new school term will account for only five per cent of total attendance. Moscow is surrounded by a green belt, in which not a single tree can be felled.

Also these interesting data about the population. The 1959 census revealed 630 persons with higher or secondary education for every 1,000 employed; in 1970 the figure was already 809; every fifth person employed has a higher education. People of over 100 nationalities live in Moscow.

These figures on Moscow's social and cultural progress helped us

appreciate what we saw at the ZIL plant, one of the Soviet capital's biggest enterprises with one of its biggest working-class detachments.

Up to world standards

It was with some emotion that we started our inspection of the plant. We were cordially welcomed by Veniamin Gorbunov, the Party Committee Secretary, who impressed us both by his knowledge and easy manner.

The plant, which produces the well-known ZIL truck, is the embodiment of Lenin's ideas and plans. The deputy director and chief economist, Alexander Buzhinsky, gave us a few facts about its history.

In 1916, two Moscow capitalists, the Ryabushinsky brothers, decided to build Russia's first automobile plant and put up a few repair shops. They were visited by Lenin in 1918 and in a talk with the workers he expressed his confidence that one day these shops would become a big automobile plant. In 1924, the first ZIL trucks drove across Red Square in the parade for the seventh anniversary of the revolution.

When industrialization began with the first five-year plan, an automobile plant, quite modern for its day, was built alongside the old repair shops. This was one of the key projects of those unforgettable years. And not an easy one: the plant's former director, Ivan Likhachov, put it very aptly: 'We are sewing the coat on the button.' Construction of another big auto plant, at Gorky, was begun about the same time.

Then followed several reconstruction operations. We are now finishing the fourth, (Buzhinsky said) begun five or six years ago. The idea is to modernize production, maximize mechanization and automation of all processes, improve working conditions, launch out on new models — in short we want the ZIL truck to be up to the highest world standards.

The plant can only be described as an industrial giant, employing tens of thousands and producing hundreds of thousands of six-ton ZIL-130 trucks, some of which are exported. It also produces many other items. Most of the equipment is automated and in some shops you seldom see men at work. In short, a fully modernized plant. But ZIL runs eight branch plants in other cities, has its own housing estates, sanatoria, restaurants, kindergartens, summer children's camps, stadiums, and so on. The ZIL Palace of Culture in Moscow can accommodate up to 10,000 in its theatre, concert halls, sports facilities, etc. Last but not least, ZIL is a huge and complex social collective. Describing it in every aspect is, of course, no easy matter.

And so, reaching world technological standards is now the key goal, and one that has implications not only for the Soviet people, but also for the economic competition of the two systems (and, we might add, for the work of Communists in capitalist countries). We asked how the problem was being solved at ZIL. We remarked that a few years ago the Soviet press had criticized the quality of the ZIL truck. Had things changed since then?

Opinions varied. This is the opinion of chief engineer Viktor Melnikov (44, joined the army in 1943, took degree in mechanics after the war, at ZIL advanced from foreman to shop superintendent to assistant production chief and to chief engineer): 'The last reconstruction gave us a much higher technological structure. Last year we were visited by Henry Ford who said that none of his truck plants were a match for ours. We now have about 80 kilometres of assembly conveyors. The length of conveyor per worker is greater than at Ford, General Motors, Mercedes or Fiat plants, which produce also passenger cars, and at such plants there is usually more conveyor mileage than at those producing trucks.'

'The ZIL-130 truck represents the highest achievement in automotive technology. It is adapted to our conditions, highly reliable, has a long life — 300,000 kilometres without major overhauling with an engine designed for 180,000 kilometres.'

We asked for a comparison of productivity levels at ZIL and similar capitalist plants.

Comrade Buzhinsky replied that it was difficult to compare productivity. This required thoroughgoing research. 'What criteria could be used? We manufacture our own instruments and motors, whereas foreign plants as a rule get them ready-made. In this respect, and also in volume of production, it is hard to draw comparisons. In 1962 we worked out a set of criteria, allowing for a large margin of error so as not to exaggerate our standards. And we found that in terms of productivity we are not so very far behind Ford, Chrysler and General Motors. In fact we know for certain that in some operations we are ahead.'

The 24th Congress directives provide for a 50 per cent increase in truck output by 1975. For ZIL this will mean 50,000 more trucks a year and with relatively small new investment compared with the cost of a new plant.

The ZIL collective had an active part in discussing the draft directives for the current five-year plan. They were brought before workers' meetings where many proposals were made. In preparation for the Party Congress there was a campaign to reveal untapped reserves, and here, too, there were many suggestions, 19,000 in fact, for improving production, working conditions, welfare facilities, etc.

Fulfilment of expansion plans will depend upon workers, technicians, engineers and executive personnel. All of them share a feeling of dedication and responsibility, and every one feels sure that the targets of this, ninth five-year plan will be attained.

The economic reform process

Another aspect we inquired into was the system of economic measures designed to stimulate creative thought and energy to secure the results formulated in the 24th Congress decisions. Accordingly, we made a special point of studying the economic reform and its operation.

This is the view of chief economist Buzhinsky:

'The old planning system was highly effective. It enabled us to carry through a complex industrialization program and to create the basis that made possible victory in the war and swift postwar rehabilitation. But the scientific and technological revolution has posed new problems. The reform, an objective necessity, carries further everything of value in the old system and raises effectiveness levels to meet the new requirements and make better use of our increased potential.

'Factory managements have been granted wider rights within the framework of central planning. The number of indicators relating to output volume, labor expenditure and production costs we get from the central planners has been cut from eight to three.

'These are our results for the past five years: production up 66 per cent, productivity 44, average wages 29, profit 170 and profitability nearly 200 per cent. The figures are clear evidence that the economic reform is operating successfully.

'Funds available for expanding production, for social and cultural needs and material incentives have been considerably increased. We now have twice as much money for modernization as we formerly received from the central authorities. And we are in a much better position to meet the social and cultural requirements of our workers. The interests of the individual worker, the collective and society are now more closely identical.'

But now that the plant has a wider margin in planning production, we asked, is there not a tendency to set lower targets?

That would not be to our advantage for it would decrease revenues, we were told. We are interested in higher targets so as to make more profit and have more for material incentives.

How has the reform affected quality standards?

'The reform gives considerably more leeway in improving quality. First, we have more money for investment in new technology, and second, the more flexible price structure is geared to quality standards. The ZIL-130 has been awarded the Quality Badge. That should speak for itself. However, the Quality Badge is only for three years and if we do not further improve our truck, we'll lose the badge and the incentives that go with it. Every year we invest as much as two million rubles on model improvement.

'By the end of the five-year period we shall have increased the motor indicator from 180,000 to 250,000 kilometres, and in 1974 we will begin putting out a new model, the 8-ton 6-wheel ZIL-133. Nevertheless, we are aware of the need to improve our system of stimulating higher quality.'

The reform increased the role of material incentives; the bonus is now equal to 15-17 per cent of the total payroll, compared with seven per cent a few years ago. But doesn't this lead to a 'money-grabbing' attitude, and doesn't it adversely affect Communist education? We asked the chief engineer, the Party secretary and the chief economist for their views.

Comrade Melnikov: To some extent this could be the case. For if we were motivated solely by higher profits, this might rebound on quality. For instance, our refrigerators have a very good market, but if, in an all-out drive for profits, we boosted their production beyond all measure, we might lose sight of our perspective, for the main thing is to produce more and better automobiles.

Comrade Gorbunov: Material incentives also have moral significance as an expression of society's reward for good work. No one is rewarded simply for production results. The bonus system, worked out and approved by the trade union, has built-in elements of public control. Such things as a man's attitude to his job, his discipline at work, his attitude to the interests of the collective, are always taken into account.

Comrade Buzhinsky: It would be wrong to think that moral incentives are losing their importance. Of course, some people have an abnormal interest in getting more money. But there is no general and irresponsible drive for more money. More, a while ago our sociologists conducted a poll to find out what type of incentives the workers prefer. Frankly speaking, the result came as a surprise — more than 40 per cent said they preferred moral incentives, an item in the factory newspaper, say, an expression of thanks from management, a Merit Scroll, an entry in the Honor Book, the title of Communist Shock Worker, etc.

We discussed many other aspects of the reform. And we agreed with the

ZIL comrades that the reform should be seen as a continuing process of constant perfection. In this day of technological revolution there is no one solution, no miraculous device, to accelerate progress. And the people at ZIL do not pretend that they have found such a solution. There is constant search for new ways and means of boosting production.

New type of worker

Naturally, we were interested in processes within the working class, the changes it is undergoing, the role it plays in industry and society.

And one of the first questions was automation, the cause of much suffering for the worker in capitalist countries. At ZIL it is carried out on a large scale and according to plan. Technological advances over the past five years have resulted in machinery doing the work of more than 31,000 men. On some jobs manual labor has been eliminated altogether. But there is no 'technological unemployment' — all workers are retrained, no one is left without a job. But there is another problem, the constant labor shortage, and not only at ZIL. And this, incidentally, is one of the factors that makes automation necessary.

In capitalist countries, the conveyor has always been the symbol of ruthless exploitation, of physical and spiritual exhaustion of the worker. How do things stand at ZIL, where the conveyor is being lengthened all the time?

Without a detailed study it is hardly possible to cite figures on the intensity of conveyor work. But we can vouch for the following: first, there is no attempt to intensify work on automated lines or on conveyor systems (the trade union makes sure of that). In a socialist society the welfare of the worker is always taken into consideration. This is what we were told by the chief economist who is responsible for measures to heighten production and productivity:

'Capitalist industry employs some highly productive automated lines, but we cannot always buy them or manufacture them, though they would, on certain operations, cut production costs and increase productivity. We cannot use them because they lay too great a physical strain on the worker. We have bought only such automated lines that help to eliminate strenuous manual labor, for instance, on such operations as front axle, crank-shaft, etc.

'We have made it a rule to teach conveyor workers a second job. This gives them more variety and more interest in their work. Some 3,000 mastered a second job in the past three years, and "two-job" men get an extra bonus.'

Skill levels are constantly growing as people with higher educational standards join the work force, a thing that is typical of Soviet society. The following figures show the percentage of various education categories among the ZIL workforce:

	<u>1967</u>	<u>1970</u>
Primary education	37.2	28.4
Secondary and specialized secondary	62.2	70.8
Full and unfinished higher education	0.6	0.8

The primary-education group is made up mostly of men above 55, engaged on light auxiliary operations. About half of the workers are in the high-skill category and most of the rest are engaged on a conveyor or automated lines. The proportion of unskilled workers (cleaners, loaders, etc.) now stands only at about 3.7 per cent. The share of high-skilled workers is steadily increasing, for there are ample opportunities to learn new trades.

Most newcomers are secondary and technical school leavers. They choose their own profession, have a go at it and then master it in a two-year or three-year technical school or in our training shops, which offer six-month and 18-month courses, or in a mechanical school, or in shop training teams. Last year we trained 3,480 newcomers. There are other training facilities open to all workers: Communist Work Schools, courses run by veteran workers, etc. Last year, more than 10,000 went through refresher courses.

ZIL runs its own Higher Technical Institute, which graduates 150 engineers a year, a technical school with an annual graduating class of about 250, and a three-year school to train about 100 foremen a year. The list also includes a consultation center for correspondence students. This system has many advantages, since all students are intimately associated with production. All tuition is, of course, free of charge and ZIL provides all the necessary equipment. Students are given an extra holiday for examinations, are paid for the two weeks they spend attending classes at the ZIL Technical Institute – the other two weeks are spent on practical work at the plant and they are paid their regular wages, bringing their monthly earnings up to 100–120 rubles.

All this is a tremendous gain for the working class. But what of the men employed on unskilled jobs?

The ZIL comrades said this, indeed, was a problem. For instance, youngsters just out of secondary school are reluctant to take on unskilled jobs. It is already very hard to find cleaners, say, and they are considering

having production workers, including the most highly skilled, take turns in doing the cleaning. Nobody will have reason to grumble and everybody will probably take more care in keeping the shops tidy, we were told.

Average worker's wages are 160 rubles a month and those of engineers 180, but top-skill workers can earn more than an engineer. Doesn't this discourage people from training for an engineer's diploma? And doesn't it cause disappointment, even resentment, in engineers who have had to spend many years training?

This is how ZIL comrades explain the situation: Apparently the present payment system is justified. Judge for yourselves. Everyone entering some higher educational institute knows beforehand what his pay will be compared with that of skilled workers, and yet the competition is great. Evidently people think not only in terms of wages, but also in terms of choosing a profession that interests them.

To a certain extent we agree, but we still think that the problem is much more complex. In particular, it is probably a case of the workers' role in society not being popularized with adequate conviction. Incidentally, during our stay in Moscow there was an article in *Pravda* by a leading Soviet economist on the results of a poll among students and school leavers. It appears that most of them choose professions not widely applied in the economy. And the author commented: 'The "choice pyramid" revealed by the poll is the very reverse of the economic "requirement pyramid".' There are several explanations — youth mentality, history, ideology, even, possibly, lingering prejudices. But that should not be taken to mean that the working class no longer plays a leading role in Soviet society. All the evidence shows that it does.

Is the working class being 'pressured'?

At times we acted as the 'mouthpiece' of bourgeois propaganda, couching our questions in terms typical of that propaganda. We wanted our impressions to be based not only on what we saw, but also on what we heard from workers, executives, Party and non-Party people.

For instance, during our travels we asked people for their life stories. What was our aim? The bourgeois press has produced all manner of figments about Party and economic cadres in the socialist countries, invariably referring to them as the 'new class,' the 'elite.' Bourgeois writers never tire of repeating that the 'bureaucratic aristocracy' which, allegedly, has arisen in the Soviet Union, speaks of the leading role of the working class only as a propaganda exercise, while there is constant pressure on the working class, and so on and so forth. That there was not a grain of logic in this we

knew before, but we wanted to have the opinion of the ZIL people. The following are some of their answers to our questions:

E.M. Shustov, sector manager: Well, first of all, who wants to pressure the working class and why? You won't find any "pressurers" at ZIL. Take my own case. I am now in charge of an important sector, but I began as an ordinary mechanic. In fact all supervisory personnel in our press and forge department began as ordinary workers. Does that mean that the working class is being disparaged? And who is going to impose on the working class something that runs against our common interests? Besides, do you think the workers will stand for anything of the kind? They certainly won't. Our worker is an educated man. He knows what he is working for and can look after his interests. Our country has always been known as a workers' state and it is that. Though we are developing, the workers remain the leading class, the ruling class.

N.G. Myachin, mechanic, veteran worker: We workers have no conflict with management. Anyone who says we are being pressured doesn't know what he is talking about. Both as worker and Party member I have a share in discussing all problems on an equal footing with management. All problems are taken up at workers' meetings, by Party Committees, the Party bureau, trade union bodies, production conferences, not in some backroom atmosphere.

V.K. Manuilov, model maker, chairman of shop trade union committee: It's a moot question of who is 'pressuring' whom. Far from allowing management to pressure us, we are usually the ones that do the 'pressuring.' Any wrong management decision, any act unworthy of a manager, is immediately made the subject of discussion at a workers' meeting and by our shop committee, which has wide powers indeed. For instance, we can demand the removal of a member of the managerial staff. So you see, the workers' collective controls management and all our public organizations have a meaningful share in this.

N.G. Kutikin, vice-chairman, trade union committee: There are days when the shop superintendent or his assistants don't know where to go first — so many public organizations want them to report on their work. Nothing is left without public control.

In replying to our questions, the comrades repeatedly emphasized that most of the managerial staff had begun as workers and it was inconceivable that they should have a disparaging attitude towards the workers. The following table tells the story in figures:

Div., shop, dept., sector heads & ass'nts.	Education			Work at ZIL			Began work as	
	Higher	Secondary specialized	Sec- ond- ary	Up to 10 years	11 to 15	Over 15 Years	Work- er	Young speci- alist
383	201	134	48	39	60	284	220	49

More than 200 workers were promoted to foremen last year alone.

Practically all managerial staff were trained at the plant. The former director, I.A. Likhachov, after whom the plant is named, was a chauffeur; the present director, P.D. Borodin, a member of the CC CPSU, began as a worker; Party secretary Gorbunov began as a mechanic; deputy director in charge of personnel, V.V. Kalinin, as an electrician; chief technologist Prof. Stepashkin, holder of a State Prize, as a machine setter, and factory trade union chairman A.E. Andreyev as a mechanic.

Galina Lukyanova, technical quality inspector, told us: I began as a stewardess — I wanted to see the world, and I did, at least a large part of it. It was interesting, of course, but about 20 years ago I decided to take a job in industry, and I have never regretted it. Now about my work: what are our relations with engineers and technicians? I am in charge of a team made up of workers, engineers and office personnel. Our work is very important, in a way we are the custodians of the ZIL reputation. And there have been any number of cases where we detected shortcomings and helped to eliminate them. For instance, the gear box was causing a lot of worry and we decided to find out what was wrong. The workers suggested a number of improvements. The engineers probably weren't very happy, but in the end they thanked us. Management and shop superintendents being dictatorial? Never heard of any such thing . . .

And this is from *A.I. Buzhinsky*: the mentality of a manager in the Soviet Union differs fundamentally from what you will find in a capitalist country. We have abolished private property in means of production. That is of primary importance, and besides, the whole climate of life and work, the spirit of mutual understanding and comradeship, the innate democracy of Soviet Life, all make for close cooperation. We share with the worker common origins and common aims.

That thought was developed by *Hero of Socialist Labor Vavara Markina, shop foreman*:

Scientists and engineers resolve all problems in cooperation with us. The worker can give the engineer many useful pointers — how to raise

productivity, for instance, make work easier, or cut the time for some complex operation, for the worker knows all the details. And you will find that workers and intellectuals always work together.

There is also the important fact that engineers, technicians, industrial managers and Party officials do not essentially differ from workers in standard of living; housing, for instance, is much the same, and there is no wide gap in earnings: even top executives receive only about twice or three times as much as a skilled worker. That point was made by chief engineer Melnikov who had recently been to Italy. He told us that at the Fiat plants a department head — by no means a top figure — is paid about ten times more than a skilled worker.

Everyone we spoke to, whether in the Party committee or to workers at the bench, we found that Party and economic officials were knowledgeable men, capable of approaching a problem in all its implications, men of experience and organizational ability. That is why they hold managerial posts, and not because they belong to some 'elite' or because of their family background, and so on.

More than 40 per cent of Soviet Communist Party members are industrial workers, and among those listed as professionals many come from the working class. Of course, the class character of the Party is not entirely determined by the social composition of its members. The Party is guided by Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class. The Party's ultimate aim is communism, and is this not the ultimate aim of the working class? Lastly, the entire people is educated in the world outlook of the working class. These are basic features of Soviet society. The place of the working class in production, its link with the system of property of the entire people, the special traits that follow therefrom (discipline, organization, consciousness) determine its leading role. The Party accounts for only nine per cent of the adult population, and to carry out its policy and decisions it must rely on the working class, the mass public organizations, on government by the people. Were it only a matter of a dictatorship relying on individuals or on a small group — even the Party — the achievements of the past years would have been inconceivable. They could only be accomplished by the creative effort of the masses.

Are there no differences at ZIL? Of course there are but they never grow into political or social conflicts. There are differences over wage rates (wage cuts are something unknown), production planning, working conditions, housing and other problems. Differences requiring settlement 'at the summit,' that is, by management and the trade union, arise, we were told, about 15 or 20 times a year. The reason, we think, is that there is a ramified and effective system of worker participation in all major matters of production and in all social problems.

We wanted to make a closer study of worker participation in management, now a major demand of the workers and other social strata in most capitalist countries. Time and again we noticed that, unwittingly, we were using one and the same yardstick for Soviet and capitalist industry. That approach was, needless to say, wrong. For under capitalism the interests of employer and worker are irreconcilable, a fact no amount of social demagoguery can conceal or obscure. In socialist countries the workers are given every opportunity to participate in managing the affairs of society.

The concrete forms of such participation are much more varied and much more meaningful than anything the worker can wrest from the capitalist. Under socialism, worker participation is through the trade unions (collective agreements, permanently functioning production conferences, workers' meetings, control commissions), People's Control, the 'YCL searchlight.' And these are only a few out of the much longer list.

Party Secretary Gorbunov remarked that the Party organization plays the leading role. 'It directs the efforts of all public organizations to the attainment of our common goals and exercises control over management. In all this work it relies on the collective, enlisting it to help solve problems as they arise. The general workers' conference elects the following permanently functioning (and functioning is the operative word) commissions: quality control, economic operation, new technology, verification of adopted decisions, etc. The Party organization unites – and I do not feel immodest in saying this – the finest people in the plant. They take an active part in our meetings and in the work of public organizations. In combination, all these measures assure effective control of everything at every sector and, consequently, fulfilment of our plans and observance of our laws.'

We asked about the labor emulation movement and were given this typical example. Klavdia Artyomova, a young press operator, undertook to fulfil her five-year production program by the Lenin centenary. She accomplished this and her example was emulated not only by 12,000 ZIL workers, but by many other collectives throughout the country. The ZIL collective is now working towards pro-schedule fulfilment of its plan for the first year of the present five-year program. There are at ZIL 325 inventors and 6,300 production innovators; 32,786 have won the title of Communist Shock Worker and thousands are aspiring to it.

One recalls the 30s, when the emulation drive was rightly described as a manifestation of revolutionary criticism from below, as revision by the masses of obsolete production norms that were impeding effective use of latent reserves. And what was this if not a concrete form of workers'

participation in industrial management? Today, too, we think, emulation should be seen in the same light. And if, occasionally, it is treated in a formal way, that should be ascribed to subjective factors and not to the 'objective' conditions of socialist society.

We asked: the bourgeois press maintains that the Soviet trade unions are concerned only with emulation and do not look out for the workers' interests. Is that true?

Trade union chairman A.E. Andreyev: I would like to say to those responsible for that piece of propaganda: You should have our worries. Defending the workers' interests? Yes, from the cradle to the grave. Just look at the facts. The trade union is concerned with such things as providing kindergarten and nursery accommodation — a problem we have already solved. Tomorrow we are sending 2,000 children to summer camp. Last year the trade union allocated 1,700 flats, 20,000 tickets to rest camps, tourist hostels, etc., 1,300 vouchers to dietetic dining halls, etc. What is this if not looking after the requirements and defending the interests of the workers? It would take a long time to describe everything the trade union does for the workers, all of whom are trade union members. . .

The trade union factory organization has wide jurisdiction, determined by law, in all matters of production and with regard to management. No production plan, and no report of its fulfilment, can be adopted without prior discussion with the trade union and, moreover, without its consent. The trade union concludes collective agreements which precisely set out management's obligations. The trade union operates the social insurance scheme, controls medical, education and cultural facilities. It looks after the training and welfare of young workers, shows special concern for women workers, sees to the proper maintenance of the ZIL housing estate (at present totalling 500,000 sq.m) controls safety arrangements and work conditions generally. No wage rates can be changed without union consent, and no bonus system can be introduced without its prior approval. And, of course, it is totally inconceivable that a worker be discharged without the matter first having been taken up by the trade union.

The permanently functioning production conferences, a form of worker participation in management established by law, were explained to us by worker *V.K. Manuilov*: 'Elected at a general meeting, the conference consists of workers, engineers and technicians. It elects its presidium which prepares the agenda of the full conference meeting. This might include such questions as how to raise quality standards. As a rule, many workers share in preparing the discussion. The presidium drafts the decision, which it brings before the full conference attended by representatives of

management and by everyone concerned with carrying out conference recommendations. These become obligatory when confirmed by the shop superintendent and plant director. At the next meeting we check on how the recommendations are being carried out.'

There was ample evidence that these conferences exist in every shop and that over 1,000 people are involved in their work. And though their decisions are only recommendations, they have done much to raise operation efficiency and accelerate technical progress.

Another important element in worker participation, the People's Control Committees involving 3,147 persons, see to stringent observance of relevant laws. The committees can fine persons for abuse of authority or infringement of established rules, and this applies both to rank-and-file workers and managers.

One thing that struck us was that everyone we spoke to, whether worker, engineer, member of the managerial staff or official of some public organization, was fully conversant with the state of affairs not only on his own particular sector, but at the huge plant as a whole. This, too, sharply sets the Soviet people apart from workers in capitalist industry where very much is kept secret, especially profit figures. Yet knowledge of everything happening at the plant is part of effective worker participation.

'When we say there are 15,000 activists at ZIL, that is no exaggeration,' Comrade Andreyev emphasized. 'The figure includes men and women engaged in some area of public activity. And the figure would be greater still if we included everyone actively concerned for the plant's good health.'

This brought back to mind the words of Lenin in 1918, when Soviet power was taking its first steps: 'Henceforth we have nothing to fear, because we have established our own new state power and because we hold the reins of government . . . But the chief pillar of the new system is the organizational measures we shall be implementing for the sake of socialism . . . The victorious proletariat looks out on a land that has now become a public good and it will be quite able to organize the new production and consumption on socialist lines' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 481).

Confidence in the future

Fear of the morrow constantly haunts the worker in every capitalist country. What is the position of the Soviet worker in this respect? And what, on a wider plane, are the prospects for higher prosperity standards?

As mentioned above, the average wage at ZIL last year was 160 rubles for workers and 180 for engineers. This is somewhat higher than the average for Soviet industry, and that is understandable for ZIL is a plant with high technical and economic standards.

We inquired about average family incomes and were shown the statistics for 1970: average annual income for family of three in which two are working, amounted to 3,251 rubles, an increase of 27.4 per cent over 1965. And these are the expenses of an average family: meals in the factory canteen 6.7 per cent; food 36.7; rent, gas, electricity, etc., 3.3; consumer goods other than food 25.7; theatre and similar expenses 1.1 per cent; transport* and postage 3.5 per cent; sanatoria and rest homes 1.8 per cent; miscellaneous 11 per cent.

We visited worker Nikolai Sobolin in his three-room and kitchen flat in one of the new buildings. They have a radio and television set, fridge, modern furniture. But Soviet living standards should not be judged by wages alone or by what people buy, though we found that they buy durable, often expensive, things. Many requirements are met out of the social consumption funds — a fact bourgeois propaganda studiously avoids.

In 1969 these social consumption funds, that is, grants or services over and above wages and collective-farmer incomes, represented a very substantial gain: more than 248 rubles per capita, or more than 400 rubles per person employed, or about 1,000 rubles per family of four.

Total expenditure out of the social consumption funds is 14 times higher than in 1940 and nearly five times higher than in 1950. At the close of the present five-year plan it will increase by 40 per cent, amounting to 350 rubles per capita and more than 1,400 rubles per family of four. The social funds, it will thus be seen, are a very weighty factor in steadily improving living standards. Indeed, if there were no such funds, rents would be three times higher (the USSR has the world's lowest rent), parents would have to pay from four to six times more for kindergarten accommodation, which costs the state between 400 to 500 rubles a year for each child, though the parents contribute only 15-25 per cent. Last year there were 9,300,000 children in kindergartens and day nurseries and by 1975 the figure will have risen to 11.5 million.

At present more than 100 rubles a year is being spent out of the social consumption funds on every school child, and 180 rubles on every child receiving after-school care. A university student costs society 850 rubles a year.

* The USSR has the world's lowest public transport charges.

The USSR has a uniform pension system, and at the beginning of this year there were 41 million pensioners (16.8 per cent of the population). The pension age (55 for women and 60 for men) is considerably lower than in developed capitalist countries, where it ranges from 62 to 70 years. The average old-age pension is 60 per cent of former earnings, whereas in Britain it is 23 per cent and in the U.S. and Italy 20 per cent.

These are the figures for the whole country and, obviously, they apply to every worker at ZIL.

The plant has 28 kindergartens and nurseries, several summer camps for children to accommodate 5,000, with a new camp for 6,000 now under construction. Parents pay either nothing or, in the high-wage categories, from nine to 18 rubles for a 26-day stay. Housing construction is financed out of public funds, and every year ZIL allocates up to 40,000 square metres of new housing. Rents, as mentioned above, are very low — the Sobolin family, for instance, pays 13 rubles a month for their flat, and this includes gas, electricity, etc.

All medical care in the USSR is free of charge, and at ZIL much is being done to improve the health services. The plant runs its own polyclinic employing a staff of 600, of whom 150 are physicians, two hospitals with a third one for 1,100 beds now being built. It has its own rest homes and sanatoria on the Black Sea, the North Caucasus and near Moscow and is building new ones. Besides, it buys accommodation for its workers in other sanatoria and rest homes.

The ZIL Palace of Culture (now being reconstructed) and its branches are the accepted centers of political and cultural activity, but not the only ones, for every shop has its own library. And in this context, it might be added that the workers are avid readers. A poll of 1,500 revealed that 45 per cent have their own libraries of up to 30 books, 48 per cent from 30 to 150 and 7 per cent from 150 to 2,000.

Sports is still another 'development area.' The ZIL 'Torpedo' sports club is well known throughout the USSR. There are 56 shop football teams and dozens of other athletic circles. Besides, the trade union organizes excursions, etc., at minimum cost. A four-hour boat trip on the Moscow river, for instance, costs as little as 30 kopeks. And then there are hikes, excursions to places of historical interest, etc.

In describing life at ZIL it is important, we think, to emphasize the prevailing spirit of collectivism, the feeling of comradeship. The 24th CPSU Congress noted the growing role of the work collective as the social nucleus of society. We saw this in practice at ZIL and were greatly

impressed by the general interest in production, the atmosphere of mutual respect, intolerance of hypocrisy and deceit.

For instance, it was gratifying to know that everyone at the plant, from worker to Party secretary to director, took part in the traditional Lenin Volunteer Labor Day.

There is a pensioners' council (about 10,000 former ZIL workers are on pension) working in conjunction with the trade union committee. The pensioners do not want to lose contact with the collective and have an active part in its life and undertakings. Several thousand have volunteered to teach young workers, something entirely inconceivable in a capitalist factory. And, incidentally, is this not part of the solution for the problem of solitude in old age, a problem that has become so acute in the capitalist world?

Walking through the shops we saw the touching messages on the wall newspapers to young men about to leave for their military service. Their pictures were prominently displayed. A detail, we might be told, yes, but a very significant one.

In talks with us, the workers said they were satisfied with the way things were going. Yes, there were shortcomings and they made no attempt to gloss over them, nor does the Party — at the 24th Congress, for instance, there was much sharp criticism of defects in the service industries and of shortages of certain goods.

'People are the same everywhere, I suppose,' N.G. Myachin, a veteran worker, remarked. 'They are always looking for something better. We used to have one shop and everyone was happy. Now there are ten and everyone wants more. Time was when people dreamed of buying a cupboard, say, now everyone complains about not enough cars being on sale. Yes, we have our problems.'

Every unbiassed observer will admit that the Soviet people have sufficient reason to look with confidence to the future, the confidence the worker in capitalist countries lacks. To be sure, the Soviet people have some so-far unsatisfied needs, and new needs arise as old ones are satisfied. But everyone can see how much has been accomplished in recent years in the economic and social fields, and in relations between people. Everyone can see, also, that the targets mapped out by the 24th Congress will be attained. And we repeat: one can envy the confidence of the Soviet worker.

We headed the letter 'The Party in the Factories.' It might appear that we have not given enough attention to the activity of the ZIL Party organization with its 10,000 or so members. Perhaps there should have been a

special section on the Party. But we think that everything in this article is about the Party. For its work is felt in every aspect of the collective's life. And the Communists, as we saw, enjoy no privilege; if anything, more is expected of them than of others. Everywhere they set an example, organize the workers' initiative, explain Party policy, take into account every suggestion made by the workers. And as Communists, class brothers, and simply humans, we were elated by all the evidence we saw of the Soviet Communists' stamina, devotion and fidelity to ideals.

Moscow-Prague

*Ib Norlund,
Erwin Zucker-Schilling,
Ilja Sedivy*

French CP and the peasantry

Fernand Clavaud

The personal power regime introduced in 1958 has made France a state ruled directly by the big capitalist monopolies. The bankers and industrialists who used to rule the country through their placemen have now taken over the main levers of power. And the country is run to their advantage and to the disadvantage of the people, primarily the working class and the laboring peasantry.

Agricultural policy, as all other policy for that matter, is geared to the interests of Big Business and pursues three basic aims: depress farm prices; depress the position of the small and middle peasants to drive them from the land and force them into the industrial labor market; accelerate concentration of farming in the hands of the privileged minority.

A series of laws, decrees and ordinances have been promulgated to achieve these aims. All farms are classed as viable and unviable, with the latter denied the subsidies, easy long-term credits and other privileges enjoyed by the former. This worsens the already difficult position of the small and middle peasants who have to compete with the big mechanized farms.

The result of this outright discrimination has been a constant and increasing exodus from the farms: an annual average of more than 100,000, and as much as 160,000 in the 1960s.

According to official statistics, the able-bodied rural population has declined from 5,127,000 (26.7 per cent of the total of gainfully employed) in 1954 to 3,062,400 (15.2 per cent) in 1968 and the figure today is probably not higher than 14 per cent. The number of farms declined from 2,284,000 in 1955 to 1,689,000 in 1967 and to probably less than 1,500,000 at the present time.

This flight from the land usually follows a set pattern: first the young people leave to seek jobs elsewhere for the family farm can no longer support them, then the parents, determined to hold on, stop buying new machinery, economize on everything, even food, but in the end have to follow their sons and look for city jobs.

All they can find is unskilled work. Their farms are taken up by the better-off peasants or by capitalist farmers. There are plenty of buyers in the more fertile regions, but not in the mountainous areas. Here you will often find old people left to shift for themselves.

Does France face an early food shortage? In a way, yes, for some lines of farming that could produce a surplus do not produce enough for the country's needs. This applies mostly to branches where manual labor predominates and to branches hard hit by Common Market competition. For instance, production of pork — the annual deficit is now in excess of 200,000 tons though time was when France was a major exporter of pork. Much the same goes for mutton, essential oils, fruit, vegetables and tobacco. There is also a declining supply of milk, apples and pears.

This, however, should not be taken to mean that there is a shortage of farm produce. What it does mean is that there is a gaping disproportion. Though hundreds of thousands have left the farms, gross output continues to increase as a result of higher productivity. With a relatively small population, France has a surplus of wheat, barley, corn and sugar beet. In short, the country's agricultural potential is not being properly used. For we have fertile soil, a congenial climate, and plenty of farm machinery. Even now, France could feed ten, even twenty million more people.

I might be told: why worry? Let the poor quit the land and let the rich take it over and all problems will be solved. It's that simple! Alas, reality is not that simple.

Yes, many impoverished peasants have quit the land, but not all. Besides, those who only yesterday were considered middle peasants are today in the poor-peasant category and the outlook for them is bleak indeed.

The Common Market helps government policy. And now that there are no customs barriers, Common Market competition is accelerating the ruin of the small farms.

The Common Market was presented to the French peasant as an outlet for his surplus produce, as a 'lucky strike for French agriculture.' It has proved anything but that. Agricultural exports have increased, especially to Federal Germany, but the peasant has to compete with Italian fruit, vegetables and wine, also with Dutch meat and poultry. On top of that, he is hard hit by the low prices established by the Common Market, which lag far behind constantly growing production costs. No wonder the peasants have been vigorously protesting against government and Common Market policy. There have been any number of public meetings, demonstrations in the big towns, blocking of rail and road traffic, etc.

The most exploited are farm laborers, their wages are the country's lowest. Today they number no more than 600,000, but 25 years ago there were more than a million. The decline is due to mechanization. Most farm laborers receive the national minimum wage, a paltry 3.68 francs an hour, and it is only natural that they should look for jobs in industry. Usually they are replaced by foreign, chiefly Spanish, workers, and it is estimated that there is one foreigner for every five French farm workers.

What is the policy of the Communist Party in this situation? It is based on the understanding that the vital interests of the working class and laboring peasantry are identical. Satisfaction of their demands, and assurance of their future, depends on their joint struggle against a common foe, the monopolies and their government.

In a country like France where, despite declining numbers, the peasantry remains a considerable force, alliance of the two main laboring classes determines their success in the fight for both their immediate demands and for a democratic system followed by the building of socialism.

We are fully aware, of course, that there are exploiters and exploited in rural communities just as in the towns. We want to win over those who live by their work, farm laborers, small peasants who sell their labor power or produce only enough to make ends meet, irrespective of whether they are independent or tenant farmers or sharecroppers.

In relation to the middle peasants, i.e., those who in good harvest years can put away a little money, our policy is to support only those of their demands that do not conflict with the interests of the working class. And there are many such demands, relating to prices, taxes, marketing facilities, the Common Market, etc.

We are implacably opposed to capitalists in agriculture and to the big landowners who exploit agricultural workers, tenant farmers and sharecroppers and are shouldering the small and middle peasants out of the land. We offer the peasants a program that accords with their immediate

and more distant interests. It covers both the stage of advanced democracy and the subsequent socialist stage. These are its main provisions:

Structure of agriculture. Small and middle peasants shall enjoy priority in purchasing or renting land, with low-interest long-term credits and no title or registration tax. And to make this effective, we propose: restriction of capitalist farms by limiting concentration or ownership of a large number of plots; limiting the size of plots sold to non-farmers and foreigners; adequate relief for old-age farmers, including tenant farmers and sharecroppers who no longer cultivate their plots; reform of the law on tenant farms and sharecropping to lower the present excessive rent and enable sharecroppers to become tenant farmers; stringent limitation of the landowner's right to abrogate a tenancy agreement; longer tenancy agreements; fair compensation for farmers ending their tenancy; more housing construction in rural areas.

Agricultural cooperatives. We suggest the following to enable cooperative organizations to combat capitalist concentration: democratization of the Statutes and administration of agricultural cooperatives, more financial assistance and measures to promote joint use of agricultural machinery, which should be sold or leased on easy terms; support for small and middle peasants who have decided to pool their plots.

Our *development plan* envisages: agricultural development to be a component of a democratic, economic program providing for maximum use of the country's agricultural potential and adjusting output to balance demand and supply; effective marketing arrangements and development of cooperative procurement and processing facilities; more trade with all countries, with imports to be brought into strict conformity with requirements of the home market; special assistance to farmers in mountainous and unfavorable climate areas, giving them priority subsidies; encouraging mechanization, modernizing the economic infrastructure and revision of transport charges; more credits for land improvement, machinery, road-building, housing, water supply, irrigation, etc.

Economic and social measures: lower prices on manufactured goods by cutting taxes and capitalist profits;

- special aid to the small and middle peasants through tax reduction, easier instalment payments, loans and subsidies;
- special loans to help young farmers buy equipment;
- democratization of the agricultural credit system;
- working farmers to be assured profitable stable prices for their produce;
- expansion of the farm-produce market by raising the purchasing power of the people;
- expansion of general, technical and occupational training; more and

bigger scholarships, especially for students from low-income families; organization of specialized agricultural training; dissemination of economic and technical information among the rural population;

- organization of a broad network of sports facilities (stadiums, swimming pools, gymnasiums, etc.) and also rural cultural centres, libraries, cinemas, etc.;

- better social maintenance for peasant families, and to this end democratization of the financing system, higher grants, lower pension age, better medical care;

- a guaranteed cost of living minimum, with additional grants to needy families;

- satisfaction of farm laborers' demands: fair wages and price escalator, shorter working time, overtime pay, guaranteed employment and income, lower pension age, inclusion in the national social insurance system, provision of housing irrespective of whether or not provided for by contract, incapacity pay, vocational training and wider trade-union rights.

At the next stage, the transition to socialism, we tell the peasant, there will be agrarian reform under which the land will belong to those who till it and cooperative farming will become widespread. This will make possible a shorter workday, a weekly rest-day and annual holiday. Economic planning, regulation of agricultural output and use of modern storage and processing techniques will assure the peasant stable prices for his produce. Socialism will abolish all fear of the morrow and give everyone full confidence in the future.

I might be asked: What about the present time and the near future? We are campaigning for some of our program demands even before the achievement of an advanced democracy, and experience has shown that they can be won even under the present regime. However, in campaigning for better conditions we always tell the peasants that even if some of their demands are satisfied, even if there is a measure of reform, their problems will not be fully solved, for this does not suit the big financial interests. Fundamental improvement of the peasants' lot necessitates the replacement of the present system by an advanced democracy as a transition stage to socialism.

We tell the peasants that the fight for their demands is inseparable from the fight for democracy, and to win there must be a firm alliance with the working class and other laboring strata of town and country. Our policy, both in urban and rural communities, is to unite all democrats, and primarily Communists, Socialists and all the other Left forces.

Some people in France, even among those who call themselves Lefts and are opposed to Big Business, reproach us for standing up for the small peasant farm. The Communists, they say, should cooperate with the

government and with those who want to merge the small farms in big profitable enterprises. In other words, we are advised to approve ruination of the small peasants and help consolidate capitalist relations in agriculture. But we Communists have no intention of keeping capitalism alive: we want to abolish it. That is why the French Communist Party refuses to have any part in campaigns for so-called 'structural reforms' whose only result is to put the small peasant out of business.

And to those who accuse us of trying to save the 'unviable,' 'unprofitable' farms and present our policy in a distorted light, we say that we are defending the exploited, not their exploited farms. The difference is a very essential one.

As for the 'unviability' of the small farm, we say that our program provides for priorities and for monetary support (long-term and low-interest credits) in purchasing and renting land.

There is also the contention that small farms cannot afford long-term investments in modern machinery, nor make efficient use of it. And from this the conclusion is drawn that, in defending the exploited, the Communists are campaigning against technical progress. Nothing could be further from the truth. A cursory reading of our program will show that we support cooperative farming in all its diverse forms. And without waiting for socialism or its preceding stage, advanced democracy, we urge organization of cooperative machinery pools and producers' cooperatives. That there is not much opportunity for this under the present system needs hardly be proved. And it is equally true that cooperatives alone will not convert capitalist agriculture into socialist. But even if the cooperatives do not solve all the problems, at any rate they will make things easier for the peasant and will provide a better defense against government policy.

Some pretend to be surprised that our defense of small farms under capitalism goes hand in hand with advocacy of large-scale farming under socialism. These individuals wilfully ignore the difference between capitalist concentration, which serves the interests of the minority, and socialist, which serves the interests of society.

It is only natural that, in defending the small peasants, our Party does not want to hold back agrarian concentration. But we are trenchantly opposed to capitalist policy and methods designed to worsen the conditions of the poor, the peasant families who till the land and live by their labor. In contrast to the technocrats and politicians, we are not motivated exclusively by technical and economic considerations in solving the problems of the small and middle peasant, in total disregard of the social and humane aspects of agricultural reform.

Now as always, we defend the laboring peasants, including the small and

middle farmers. If we were not to do that, we would be leaving them to the tender mercies of the big landowners and the financial and industrial monopolies. We would be putting them under the influence of reaction, the corrupt trade union leaders and, very likely, fascist adventurers. More, we would be renouncing any effort to bring them into alliance with the working class, an alliance essential to the struggle for political transformations.

In defending these peasants we are building up our influence among the farming population. Despite the mass exodus of the peasant poor, i.e., those closest to us, we have maintained our influence and in many places are increasing our vote. The circulation of our peasant weekly *Terre* (Land) increases at the rate of about 2,000 or 3,000 a year and now has a stable readership of 200,000.

To sum up, I would like to formulate our main tasks as we French Communists understand them.

First, we must intensify our propaganda to wrest the peasant mass from the influence of the government and reactionary politicians. And for this purpose, Party branches must use all means at their command, including *Terre*, which has proved an effective vehicle for disseminating Communist ideas and defending peasant interests. Party branches must, besides activating their own work, give every support to peasant demands and activate the work of farm laborers and Communist peasants in the farming trade unions.

Communist farm laborers are working within the Farmers' Federation, a CGT affiliate, and Communist farmers, including sharecroppers and tenants, are active in many trade union and cooperative organizations. These include the Movement in Defense of Family Farms, which at the last elections to the Agricultural Chambers polled 33 per cent of the vote in the 132 (out of 199) districts where it ran candidates.

This organization, founded on democratic initiative, has won considerable influence by its defense of the small and middle peasants, its opposition to government policy and its exposure of the subservient farmer trade union leaders.

In activizing the work of Communist agricultural laborers and peasants in the mass organizations, Party branches must show more initiative, particularly in areas where our influence is still weak and where, as a result, Communists play a minor role. Besides, even where we have a big role in the trade unions, Communist influence and organized action are limited because of the political heterogeneity of the rural population. The Communist Party explains to the peasants the real causes of their diffi-

culties and how they can be removed. If we were not to take a clear-cut stand on all issues, the reactionary leaders of some trade unions could pose as champions of the peasants while grossly deceiving them. Guided by its agrarian program, the Party is actively defending the peasants' interests through its local branches, parliamentary deputies and Party officials.

The Party appeals to the rural youth, explaining its policy and helping to strengthen the Rural Youth League as part of the Young Communist movement. We are also working to bring women peasants into active politics.

We are constantly strengthening our rural nuclei, now numbering 5,600, recruiting new members and setting up new nuclei in areas where, as the last elections have shown, we have sufficient influence.

The growth of our influence among the rural population and improvement of every aspect of Party work depend to a large extent on better selection and training of Party cadres. That problem acquires particular importance in view of the difficulties connected with the exodus of youth from the farms.

Let me repeat: the laboring peasants make up a large segment of the French population, and our Party considers it its prime duty to strengthen their alliance with the working class.

Scanning the theoretical journals

Marxist-Leninist analysis of topical problems, the fight for peace and democracy, the building of socialism and communism exposure of revisionist and reformist falsifications — such are some of the subjects dealt with in the theoretical journals of the Communist and Workers' parties. Three articles from recent issues are reviewed on this and the following pages.

The first, 'Development of the People's Councils,' by Sylwester Zawadzki, appeared in the No. 8 issue of *Nowe Drogi*, theoretical and political organ of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee.

The People's Councils are elective local authorities whose political and economic role and impact on the life of the community have steadily increased. They fulfil four basic functions: political, socio-cultural, economic and administrative as elements of the mechanism of state power and of the system of socialist democracy. This alone is indicative of the contribution they make to the building of the new, socialist Poland.

Their achievements, the author remarks, clearly stand out in the record of the past quarter-century. The People's Councils are a democratic model of popular participation both in local and national affairs. A model, moreover, that enables central planning to combine with encouragement of public initiative to fuse national and local interests.

But the record also shows that the advantages of this system have not always been fully utilized. Certain deformations in socialist construction have, to one or another degree, bred negative tendencies. One is excessive centralism in planning and administration. This restricts the independence of local government and hamstring its initiative by a welter of unnecessary directives and instructions from above. Another factor that has had an equally adverse effect is the tendency to apply administrative rather than political and ideological methods of Party leadership and to interfere in the day-to-day work of administrative bodies. This tends to weaken the role of elective bodies at all levels. The present methods employed by local government bodies do not always conform to the increasingly complex problems of socialist construction.

Poland's continued development has made it necessary to assure more efficient functioning of the People's Councils. This requires, first, a higher level of Party leadership, with concentration on major political problems, and clearer delimitation of functions of the Party and state apparatus. Another requirement is more effective operation of administrative bodies by improving organizational structure, making wider use of modern office techniques, clearly defining the jurisdiction and responsibility of administrative agencies at all levels, perfecting the legislative pattern of their organization and activity, and accentuating the democratic principles of administration.

All this, the author stresses, will promote public initiative which, in turn, will help accelerate economic development and raise living standards.

In strengthening Party guidance of the People's councils, it is important, the author says, to concentrate on such problems as planned socio-economic development, control of operation of Party policy at local level, promotion of all aspects of democratic government and other measures to increase the effectiveness of local administration.

Comrade Zawadzki suggests concrete measures to improve the organization and functioning of the People's Councils. Some of these are open to discussion — changes in the electoral system, altering the structure of urban and rural Councils, etc. It is also important to strengthen legality, and one way of doing that is by extending the range of administrative acts and decisions whose legality can be tested in the courts.

Better training of cadres is an essential condition of improving the work of the People's Councils. Important, too, is closer study of the theoretical problems of administration.

The important problem of the relation of the fight for national independence and for socialism is the subject of an article by James Stewart in the first issue of *The Irish Socialist Review*, theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Ireland. Many of the author's conclusions, based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Irish national-liberation movement are of especial interest in the light of the present events in Northern Ireland.

There are many lessons to be learned from the Movement's failures and successes in this and the last century, the author remarks. One of these is the danger of the economic and social struggle being divorced from the fight for political power. Another weakness is its divorcement from the social needs of the working people. Still another, and one that runs through the entire period and is very much felt today, is the prevailing theory of physical force.

The British bourgeoisie has dexterously exploited this to secure its continued control over Ireland and has worked to split the forces of national liberation to ensure continued political and economic domination. And to do this, it split all classes in Ireland along sectarian lines. Taking advantage of religious prejudices, fears and fanaticism and utilizing economic promises, the splitters were able to win the support of the Protestant part of the working class and small farmers. The consequences were truly tragic: the split of the working class led to its divorcement from the national independence movement. This was the major factor in giving bourgeois nationalists leadership of the movement, while the working class, though it bore the brunt of the struggle, played a minor political role.

In examining the salient features of the present crisis in Northern Ireland, the author notes the sharpening contradiction between the aims of British imperialism and the policy of its traditional partner, the North Irish bourgeoisie. The imperialists, he says, look upon the whole of Ireland as a unit for exploitation. And with British monopoly control becoming stronger in both parts of the country, partition becomes a stumbling block

to the long-term interests of monopoly capitalism. That is why, beginning with the late 60s, the British bourgeoisie has been trying to solve this problem by bringing the entire island into a 'federation' with Britain.

These plans were supported by influential sections of the Irish bourgeoisie, but met with strong opposition from a large segment of the Unionist Party, which fears loss of its political monopoly and privileged position in the North.

It was against this background that the Catholic minority, the most oppressed, proletarian, part of the population, began its civil rights movement three years ago. The result of that mass movement, the author says, has forced Britain, for the first time in 50 years, to come out in the open as directly involved in Irish affairs. As a result of the 1969 Right-wing pogrom the pretence of Unionist autonomy was brushed aside by Britain's direct political and military intervention.

In these three years the Catholic civil rights movement has won a number of concessions and has broken the conspiracy of silence which for years surrounded the police regime in the North. However, this mass movement – and this the author strongly emphasizes – has not been guaranteed against its traditional shortcomings and weaknesses. It failed to bring in the trade unions, which still belittle the importance of the national issue; there has been a split in the Republican ranks, and the Protestant part of the working class has, in effect, stood aside from the civil rights campaign. This disunity within the labor and national-liberation movements, especially in the North, militates against united action and creates a very dangerous political vacuum in which adventurist and terrorist policies develop.

A close analysis of the situation, the author says in conclusion, suggests that only the working class is capable of sustained and consistent struggle against imperialism and for full national independence. Even in present conditions the working class is strong enough to lead the anti-imperialist fight. The present crisis of British imperialism demands a political solution. It is our task, Comrade Stewart says, to assure that the solution is not in the interests of imperialism. This requires the mobilization of the entire working class. Our strategy, the author stresses, must be to counter imperialism's proposed 'federal' solution. And our alternative is progressive governments in both parts of the country, based on an alliance of the parties of the working class, small farmers and small businessmen. That is the way to win over these sections for national independence and socialism – the only way of solving the problems created by the imperialist partition of Ireland.

Regular publication of the Party journal is especially important for a Party

forced into clandestinity. For 23 years now, despite unabating repression, the Communist Party of Argentina has regularly put out its theoretical and political journal, *Nueva Era*. It publishes Party documents, resolutions of Party congresses and plenums and reports of regional and international Communist conferences. Characteristic of the magazine is its close link with the masses, their needs and struggles, and this has enabled it to treat theoretical problems in the light of revolutionary experience, notably the popular fight against the dictatorship. The magazine can thus summarize the movement's concrete experience and set the tasks ahead.

The cardinal problem at the present stage is unity of all anti-dictatorial political and social forces on a common platform and in a common national-democratic front. This problem is closely examined in an article by Alcira de la Pena, a member of the Party Central Committee Executive, 'Mass Movements and the National Meeting of Argentinians,' in the No. 2 issue for 1971. Inspired by the success of the Popular Unity movement in Chile, the author notes, the Argentine people have, with the emergence of the National Meeting (ENA), set out on the road that will put an end to the dictatorship, replacing it by a genuinely representative, democratic and popular provisional government that will carry out a minimum program and convene a constituent assembly to determine the country's future.

The unanimous decision of the highly representative November 1970 Rosario Assembly (4,700 delegates from all strata of society and of differing political and religious persuasions) alarmed the reactionaries. And fearing the growing unity of the patriotic and democratic forces – and more so a Chilean variant in Argentina – they shifted to a more subtle policy of combining repression with political maneuvering. The idea is to use demagogic talk of democracy to split the movement and hold back the popular struggle for revolutionary change. Comrade Pena exposes this plan, emphasizing the urgent need for unity of the working class and consolidation of all the popular forces to thwart the criminal plans of the Pentagon and Argentine reaction to turn the country into an operational base against the Latin American revolutionary movement, especially in Chile.

Examining the nature of ENA, Comrade Pena says its emergence is evidence of the people's resolve to build an organization capable of defeating the dictatorship and laying the foundations for a new type of political power. This fully corroborates the correctness of the Communist policy of concentrating on mass work. For in organizing the masses to fight for their vital interests the Party is at the same time preparing the conditions for a determined struggle for power. It has contributed in no small measure to the organization of ENA. It foresaw, at its 13th Congress, that the mass struggle would create the conditions for bringing together the various patriotic forces. ENA is proof that this was the correct policy.

Official representatives of other political parties, Comrade Pena writes, have so far abstained from joining ENA. The Communist Party emphasizes that affiliation of other organizations and movements will not deprive them of their political independence. On the contrary, acting on a common platform, each movement broadens its own opportunities and potentialities. The Party urges the strengthening of all anti-dictatorial organizations. It is working to raise mass consciousness, to give the demands of the people a more pronounced political coloring in order to bring them into joint struggle with the working class and all democratic forces to overthrow the dictatorship.

The Party is fully aware that much hard work lies ahead. And it will depend upon its effort and on the development of the mass movement whether or not ENA, that formidable instrument of unity of the working class and people, will become the coordinating center of all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces capable of replacing the dictatorship by a provisional government embracing all civilian and military trends opposed to the present regime. But to accomplish that — and this is emphasized in the Party's Central Committee statement of July 14 — there must be unity of the working class as the decisive and most revolutionary force, unity of workers and peasants, and rallying of the entire people into a broad front that will overthrow the present regime and bring to power a government of an entirely different socio-political orientation. The time for such a government, the Party's statement says in conclusion, has come. The Argentine people can and should march in step with all the peoples of the world in building the new society.



Chile: first year of popular government

Jorge Texier

In terms of revolutionary change, Chile's popular government has in its first year in office accomplished more than had been achieved in the whole of the country's history. The people have taken the first, difficult step in undermining the power of the monopolists, bankers and latifundists. Chile is strengthening its national sovereignty and is pursuing an independent foreign policy. And for all its specific features, the revolutionary process follows the general laws operative in all countries committed to fundamental change as the beginning of the road to socialism. The 14th Communist Party Congress declared: 'We regard the Chilean revolution as a movement of the working class and the organized people, which through mass struggle will deprive the ruling classes of their power, eliminate the old government apparatus, change the pattern of production relations which is hampering development of the productive forces, and carry out deep-going transformations in the economic, social and political structure, thereby paving the road to socialism.' The facts have fully borne out that estimation of the Chilean revolution.

Unity landmarks

The process of change is developing under the leadership of the Popular Unity bloc and the Allende government. Unity of the Left is the logical and natural sequel to the people's sustained fight against imperialism and the oligarchy; the result, also, of their growing democratic consciousness. The Popular Unity Alliance was formed by parties speaking for various progressive social trends, but the leading role was played by the Communist and Socialist parties and their firm political alliance.

The Socialists' General Secretary, Carlos Altamirano, told his Party Central Committee in April 1971: 'Our unity has been possible thanks to the Communist Party's fair and correct attitude and to the fact that our own Party, in contrast to all the Western Socialist parties, has championed the vital interests of the working people and of the revolutionary movement.'

It placed unity of the proletarian and peasant vanguard above all ideological differences and old grudges and discarded all minor considerations.'

Throughout its long history, the Communist Party of Chile has always sought to show the masses the need for united action of all revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces. It has always seen its vanguard role in strengthening unity of the people and its political organizations. Without that victory would have been inconceivable. The Party's General Secretary, Luis Corvalan, has said: 'The Chilean revolution cannot be the work of some one Party, but Communist participation and activity are essential to its successful development. The growth of Communist Party membership, its organizational, ideological and political development, bring nearer the day of victory and are decisive factors in our firm and consistent struggle for national emancipation, democracy and socialism.'

Over many years the Party concentrated on activity among the workers. This gave it a secure social base, enabling it to withstand all the trying ordeals of sharpening class struggle. And firmly entrenched in the main industrial centers, it began systematic work among other sections of the population. It declared in a statement issued in 1965, in preparation for its 13th Congress: 'We want to raise the level of consciousness of wide sections of the people, secure far-reaching reforms and explain to the masses that the only correct path is their own struggle — they themselves can and will solve their problems. We Communists are educating the masses to understand that deep-going change is directly dependent on the advent of a popular government.'

Our Party had to wage a strenuous struggle against ultra-Left views and actions. We had to explain that revolution should not be confused with anarchy. Though the ultra-Lefts did much damage to the Popular Unity forces, especially in the Presidential campaign, the people rejected their tactics as inimical to the development of the workers' and anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy movements.

The Party was especially anxious to promote unity of the working class as the motive force of the revolutionary process. It was able to bring the vast majority of organized workers into a single trade-union center (CUT), did much to promote the peasants' struggle for agrarian reform and was instrumental in fostering the growth of mass organizations.

In June 1968, when the election campaign was only just beginning, the Party Central Committee met to work out policy. Speaking for the Political Commission, Victor Diaz formulated our priority task as follows: 'The situation is ripe for popular government embracing all the forces prepared to carry out much needed changes. There are two distinct trends: the first, the majority, want change; the second is against change. The task

now is to extend the mass struggle through concrete actions, unite the first trend on a common program and isolate and defeat the reactionary forces.'

The Party widely popularized the idea of a democratic multi-party coalition government. It called on the working class to vote for such a government and share in its work. But first, public attention had to be concentrated on achieving unity of the progressive parties.

The Communist Party Central Committee, meeting early in 1969, emphasized the need to change the alignment of political forces. The working class and the working people generally, it declared, are the axis of the popular movement. The Party called for broader unity in the course of the fight for concrete demands. Before agreeing on a presidential candidate, it was necessary to agree on the essence of the future popular government and draw up a common program.

A resolution of our 14th Congress (November 1969) contains this significant passage: 'We understand popular unity as unity around the working class, but we believe that other classes and progressive circles and their political organizations should play their part and assume their share of responsibility.'

The Communist program, clear and concrete, was consonant with the interests and aspirations of the Chilean people and was brought to their knowledge. This enabled us to draw them into active struggle for jobs, homes, fair wages and radical agrarian reform.

The reactionaries and imperialist agents went to all lengths to vilify the Community Party — one of their allegations was that the Communists were imposing their will on the Left. The terror campaign unleashed at the height of the election contest was attended by slander in the press and over the radio designed to discredit Communist policy and to foil our alliance with other parties.

All these reactionary plans failed dismally. The progressive forces accepted the Popular Unity program which became the basis of a broad popular coalition.

The program spelled out the following measures to free Chile of the domination of local and foreign monopolies and of the financial and landed oligarchy:

- popular rule to deprive the big capitalists of their economic and political positions;
- fundamental constitutional reform, including a one-chamber parliament, to create a people's state;
- a new economic system with three types of property — state, private

and mixed, as a compromise between the forces comprising the Popular Unity Alliance; more thorough agrarian reform culminating in complete abolition of the latifundia; maximum economic development with measures to raise living standards; — a foreign policy based on respect for and friendship with all people and states, especially those fighting imperialism; close cooperation with the socialist countries and diplomatic relations with all states in accord with Chile's national interests.

This program mapped out the path to socialism through agreed and concerted action by the Left parties and other progressive forces. Adopted at the close of 1969, it became the basis of the Popular Unity Alliance. Agreement was also reached on joint action in the Presidential elections and on representation of the various parties in the popular government. Salvador Allende was unanimously nominated the Alliance's presidential candidate.

Victory at the polls

In this broad campaign to win power, the working class and the mass organizations played the main part. About 15,000 Popular Unity committees were set up in the towns and villages, at factories and offices, in ministries and universities. There were thousands of public meetings and demonstrations. The CUT and other trade union federations urged industrial and office workers and peasants to fight for their demands with vigor and determination. This appeal was seconded by organizations of peasants, youth, intellectuals and small trades people. In July 1970, the CUT called a national strike involving nearly one million people, and before that there were numerous successful peasant strikes. The workers took swift and energetic action, including occupation of factories, to ward off the danger of a coup d'état. These and other mass actions continued throughout the election campaign: the people were demonstrating their support of the Popular Unity program and their resolve to win political power.

It was working-class organization and support that assured Dr. Allende's election — he polled most of his votes among workers. The working people of Arauco, Atacama, Tarapaca, Concepcion, Magallanes and Antofagasta provinces together with the industrial proletariat of Santiago and Valparaiso made his victory possible.

The reactionaries stepped up their campaign in the period between September 4 and November 4, 1970, when President Allende's election was to be confirmed by the National Congress. There was the assassination of General Schneider, the Army Commander-in-Chief, and numerous other terrorist acts, notably bomb explosions, in an attempt to sow panic among the population. Weapons were being smuggled into the country. But,

again, the reactionary plans failed. The firmness displayed by the Popular Unity Alliance and working-class organizations in the face of outright provocation, the devotion and courage they showed in defending the gains made in the elections, were decisive in scotching reactionary and imperialist attempts to disrupt the process of democratic development, and strongly influenced the Christian Democrat party in deciding to vote with the Popular Unity Alliance to confirm Salvador Allende's election.

The Popular Unity victory signifies a radical change in the very pattern of Chilean life. For the working class, peasants and progressive intellectuals it is the first step to achievement of the hopes and aspirations of many generations. Thousands had given their lives to make this victory a reality. Abolition of the unjust exploitive capitalist system and its replacement by a new, socialist society — that was the aim set half a century ago by Luis Emilio Recabarren, the founder of our Communist Party.

The earnest of Popular Unity success lies in close ties with the masses. And the record has convincingly proved that only the Left forces have a solution for Chile's problems. The mechanism for adopting agreed decisions within the Alliance consists of these elements: collective effort, consultation between leading organs of affiliated organizations, common responsibility, and resolution of all differences in a spirit of mutual respect and fraternal cooperation.

The Popular Unity victory came as the acme of the joint struggle waged by democratic organizations in defense of constitutional rights and freedoms, of legislative power and legality. All Alliance parties contributed to that struggle and its success has been enthusiastically hailed by workers and democratic organizations in every part of the world. For, after the Cuban revolution, this is the greatest victory over imperialism in Latin America. It has helped to change the alignment of forces throughout the continent, created a favorable atmosphere for powerful united action in a number of its countries, where there is now a new opportunity for mutual understanding between the various revolutionary and democratic forces. And it is very likely that in some of these countries united action will become the specific form of resolving the internal crisis. This can be said for certain: while the victory in Chile stimulates unity of the progressive forces in other countries, their workers' struggle helps to consolidate that victory.

The Latin American revolution, with all its multiformity and differing historical conditions, is now acquiring a deeper content and a qualitatively new level. U.S. imperialism is already feeling the volcanic force of the Latin American liberation movement.

The advent of popular government in Chile is a revolutionary

achievement whose importance goes far beyond Latin America. The international working class considers it one of the outstanding gains of the postwar years. The distinctive feature of the Left unity process in Chile, the implementation of revolutionary transformations while retaining constitutional norms, the specific form of the offensive against U.S. imperialism — all this brings out the importance of the Chilean revolution which assured the constitutional winning of power by the working people. Chile's example enriches the international workers' movement and reaffirms the Marxist-Leninist proposition that in our age the fight for socialism can assume different concrete forms.

Revolutionary transformations

The momentous changes of the past year should be seen against the background of tense class struggle. The reactionary parties and agents of imperialism are still very much alive in Chile. The Rightist press is constantly slandering the government and unscrupulously distorting its policy. The big capitalists and landowners have not accepted defeat, nor given up their plans of counter-revolution. They are building up stocks of arms. There have been several attempts on the life of President Allende. The reactionaries are using their old weapon, anti-communism, for all manner of intrigue in the hope of creating difficulties and differences between the President and the Popular Alliance parties.

Addressing a meeting of the Socialist Party Central Committee in March, the President declared: 'They tried everything, from flattery of the president to drive a wedge between him and the political forces, and allegations that the Popular Unity bloc was dominated by a hegemon party, to attempts to provoke economic chaos ... But they will never alienate me from the popular parties and movements that assured my election. I am their standard-bearer. I was their candidate and I will remain the Popular Unity President!'

The April municipal elections demonstrated anew the confidence the majority of our people have in their government. At the polls, the people administered a fitting rebuff to reactionary intrigue: Popular Unity candidates polled 50.86 per cent of the vote, compared with 36.3 in the Presidential elections. The reactionary parties' vote dropped from 34.9 to 22.44 per cent. The election results are thus clear evidence of the consolidation of the Allende government, of growing support for the Popular Unity Alliance and of the people's faith in its policy. To quote the President: 'The Chilean people have reaffirmed their will to carry out vitally needed change.'

And the new government's measures have contributed in no small way to strengthening the Popular Alliance. This applies above all to its policy

on wages and pensions, the supply of food and other consumer goods, in short, measures that improve the standard of life. The minimum wage has increased 66 per cent; price controls have been instituted and the rise of living costs has been sharply decelerated. As a result of these measures, purchasing power is up 30 per cent and consumption 20 per cent. There are plans for building 100,000 housing units, extensive town planning and far-reaching measures to wipe out unemployment, one of the evil legacies of past governments.

Much is being done to improve education. Accommodation in primary schools is up 18 per cent, 3.4 per cent in elementary and 26.8 per cent in secondary schools, with 1,800 more class rooms to be made available by the end of the year.

Also these important measures: 500,000 pairs of shoes and large quantities of school supplies distributed to school children free of charge, 1,800,000 lunches and 600,000 dinners provided daily, plus a half-litre of milk for every child. Scholarships will be increased by 50 per cent to 60,000. More money has been allocated for universities, now open to workers and their children. University enrolment is up 62.8 per cent. The government has taken over control of the Zig-Zag publishing firm, which will mean publication of progressive books and cheaper textbooks.

Significant headway has also been made in the health services. Infantile mortality from diarrhea is down 28 per cent. Workers and unemployed now get free medical aid and medicine under the National Health Service; dental treatment and first aid are likewise free of charge. The entire medical service is being made more democratic and more efficient.

Despite reactionary sabotage, things are changing in industry too, especially in copper, saltpetre, coal, textile and several other branches.

Nationalization of the country's basic resources, now under way, will mean far-reaching socio-economic changes. Of vast importance in this context is the following constitutional amendment approved by the National Congress: 'In conformity with the national interest, the basic wealth of the country can be nationalized under the law, or the state can be granted exclusive rights to the utilization of all natural resources, production and other assets of prime importance for the country's economic, social or cultural life.'

Copper and coal mining have already been nationalized and having acquired the stock of Acero del Pacifico and the Bethlehem Steel Co., Chile has started a large-scale metallurgical industry. Formerly monopoly-owned textile mills and a number of food-industry enterprises

are now under government control. The government has also taken over production of cement and is taking over trade in manufactured goods, liquid gas and oil products. Foreign trade is listed for nationalization — the state is to supervise the import of industrial equipment and other goods formerly monopolized by North American and British concerns.

A telling blow has been dealt the financial oligarchy and the U.S. imperialists, who had huge investments in Chile and reaped huge profits. More than half of all banks have been nationalized through the purchase of their stock. The state is now in control of 70 per cent of banking assets. The capitalists have thus lost an important lever of economic control. The government is now in a position to restructure the entire credit system and provide more money for agricultural cooperatives, state enterprises, small and medium businesses. All credits are being granted at a lower interest rate and with a view to promoting national production.

There have been stringent measures against the big landed interests; more than 1,000 estates totalling more than two million hectares have been expropriated. A National Peasant Council on which peasant trade unions are represented, has been set up.

This year's economic development plan emphasizes that the revolutionary transformations 'are meant to improve the lot of the people who have suffered for so many long years, carry out deep-going structural changes that will make possible consistent solution of the basic problems of our society through economic reorganization, and with the prospect of building socialism.'

Operation of all these plans is the result of Popular Alliance Policy supported by the working people, intellectuals and the middle strata. The Popular Unity bloc has recently been extended by bringing in progressive Christian-Democrats, who have formed a new party.

Notwithstanding reactionary attempts to provoke chaos and civil war, despite attempts to oppose a reactionary bloc to the Allende government, its first year in office has been marked by political achievements, expansion and strengthening of its social base, diminishing reactionary influence, deep-going social and economic change. Unity of the workers and the entire Chilean people is the earnest of continued success in revolutionary transformations, the earnest of their full realisation.

The Party and the masses

Our Party plays a big role in all these transformations. It is conducting intensive work among various sections of the population, including the

youth, which has an important part in building Chile's new society. The Party has tried to focus attention on the problems and demands that are especially important for the people. It is concentrating on victory on the production front, for this is decisive to fulfilment of the government's plans. In this context, the Party attaches much importance to the organization of production committees at state and mixed enterprises, also production-control committees in private industry. It is working towards wider involvement of the workers in the management of state industries. It is also encouraging organization of residential block supply committees to combat profiteering in consumer goods.

Our Party has always combined the struggle for economic demands with the effort to raise the workers' class consciousness. And to do that, Party members constantly explain the goals of the popular movement and bring home the fact that solution of economic problems depends primarily on final elimination of Chile's economic dependence.

Choosing the correct forms of struggle at each stage is a major element of Party work and policy. In this respect, the experience of the masses, combined with painstaking work by Party members, has helped most trade unions to choose the correct tactical forms in the fight for their demands. We always proceed on the understanding that a trade union leader is a political leader for whom the interests of the working class take precedence over everything else. He must see the close tie between the union movement, the wider struggle of the people and the goals the Communist Party sets at each stage. Overcoming 'economism' in the unions — it has taken firm hold on a section of the workers — will enrich and deepen the political understanding of the working class and win the trust of the people.

However, we are combating not only 'economism,' but also the erroneous ideas current among some sections of the people. What we have, essentially, is a dialectical problem of unity and struggle of diverse political forces carrying out a common program. In concrete situations, differing views are often expressed and differing solutions proposed. But members of the Alliance, guided by their common program, reach agreement by majority decisions.

Bringing the masses to share in the revolutionary transformations and extending the social base of the Popular Alliance government is a continuing task. And experience has fully confirmed the correctness of our policy of concentrating on mass activity. Our Party Program, scientifically grounded, concrete and clearly formulated, is of immense importance in charting and operating a policy that will win the masses over to our side. For the Program is expressive of the demands of our people; it indicates the way to resolving their pressing problems and

helps them to identify their principal foe, the forces responsible for the country's backwardness.

The wide spread of anti-imperialist sentiments, the upsurge of the struggle against the monopoly and landed interests, the victory of the broad coalition of popular forces – these are all largely the work of our Party which, now as always, is guided by Leninist principles. They are the result also of the political maturity and urge for unity of the other organizations participating in the leadership of the Chilean revolutionary movement.

A high priority: to invigorate the anti-imperialist front

*Notes from Congress of Arab
Socialist Union*

In Cairo University's large assembly hall, named after Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) convened its Second General National Congress at the end of July to examine the political, economic and military aspects of the anti-imperialist struggle and discuss the main objectives of Egypt: liberating occupied territories, repulsing Zionist aggression and continuing to build a modern industrially developed state.

The opening of the Congress was timed to coincide with the 19th anniversary of the July 23, 1952 revolution, which gave a start to far-reaching changes. The far from complete list of changes includes agrarian reform, introduction of a minimum wage and an eight-hour work day, extension of school education, restriction of foreign and large local capital, and development of a state sector in the economy. By virtue of progressive socio-economic reconstruction and anti-imperialist policy, Egypt grew swiftly from a backward semi-feudal country into an agrarian-industrial state, making headway in independent national development.

Certainly, the way of the revolution has not been smooth. In the economy a highly ramified private sector still exists alongside the state sector, which controls 85 per cent of the industrial potential and 30 per

cent of the farm output. And nearly half the factory and office workers (some 500,000) are employed in private workshops, repair establishments and minor factories. These account for a substantial portion of the consumer supply and have of late also entered the foreign market. Though the private sector is supervised and controlled by the authorities, its growth produces specific social effects due to the attachment to capitalist traditions. The Congress called on public organizations and government bodies to pay closer attention to the matter.

The ASU holds an important place in effectuating the revolution. Founded in 1962, it is in a way a national front embracing fellahs, workers, intellectuals and people belonging to what is here known as 'national non-exploitative capital.' Leaders and rank-and-file delegates alike, emphasized that the 1962 Charter of National Action and the March 30, 1968 Program, both associated with Nasser's name, still furnish the guidelines for the progressive forces of Egypt. They reflect the fact that the fight of the former colonial peoples for national liberation grows over logically into a struggle against exploitation, for constructive labor in the name of the socialist future. Recent events show beyond doubt that the vast majority of Egyptians aspire to socialism, that socialism embodies their dreams of a better life.

The Congress opened with an address by President Anwar Sadat. He demonstrated the importance of the economic changes wrought in the country since the 1952 revolution. In 1969 steel output was 450 thousand tons (none was produced before the revolution), oil 15 million tons and cement 3,600,000 tons. The 1968 power output was 7,000 million kwh, nitrogen fertilizer 1,032,000 tons and phosphate fertilizer 600,000 tons. Furthermore, the nation built more than 1,200 new factories.

Sadat's speech, his summing up and the Congress resolution stressed the role of the Soviet Union in invigorating the Egyptian economy and in the four years of struggle against Israel's aggression.

The Congress issued a ten-year program of national action, defining the basic trends in the country's development. Among other things, it envisages:

- construction of 4,000,000 dwellings for 20 million rural inhabitants;
- compulsory six-year schooling for all children by 1981;
- doubling the national income within ten years, and growth of annual steel output to 2,000,000 tons, cement 6,000,000, petroleum products 6,000,000, electric power 19,000 million kwh, and agricultural produce by more than 50 per cent.

The Congress underscored the leading role of the state sector 'as the bulwark of socialist development and, in effect, the basis of the modern state.'

The Congress pointed out that present policy continues and projects the progressive principles of the revolution set out in the Charter of National Action and the March 30 Program. Consistent effectuation of this course will reaffirm the nation's determination to follow Nasser's way of anti-imperialist struggle.

The efforts to cope with the objective difficulties of national development are in many ways complicated by external factors — the continuing aggression of the Israeli invaders aided and abetted by the U.S. imperialists.

Imperialist and reactionary forces stop at nothing to undermine the revolutionary regimes, employing conspiracies, provocations, sabotage, economic blockade, blackmail and misinformation. In the years since the revolution imperialism has twice resorted to direct armed aggression against Egypt with the help of its Israeli running-dogs in attempts at overthrowing the anti-imperialist regime, reversing the country's advance and placing the people in abject servility.

Delegates stressed the importance of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation concluded by the UAR and the Soviet Union on May 27, 1971. Impartial observers hold that the Soviet-Egyptian treaty will have a positive effect in the fight against imperialist designs, rallying fresh strength in the international arena to support the legitimate struggle of Egypt and other Arab countries against aggression. Implementation of the treaty will doubtless facilitate the solution of many of the country's vital problems.

A deep impression was made on the delegates and guests by the speech of Boris Ponomarev, head of the Soviet Communist Party delegation, who conveyed the greetings of the CC CPSU, its Political Bureau, and the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev. The delegation expressed the readiness of Soviet Communists to extend ties and contacts with the ASU in the name of common aims in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for the freedom and social progress of nations.

'We are convinced,' said the head of the Soviet delegation, 'that the joint efforts of the peace-loving peoples can compel the aggressors and their transatlantic patrons to respect the legitimate rights and interests of the UAR and other Arab countries. We want the foes of peace to know that attempts to saddle the Arabs with unequal terms of

settlement, which would in effect reward the Israeli aggressors for their crimes, are doomed to failure. The firm stand of the UAR government in the matter of a Middle East settlement, and particularly in demanding the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and securing the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, has our understanding and support. The Israeli aggressor must and will be driven off Arab soil! '

The delegates repeatedly hailed the Soviet delegation with calls, in Russian, of 'Druzhba!' (Friendship).

In his concluding remarks, ASU Chairman Sadat stressed that effectuating the resolutions was a formidable task aimed at implementing changes in the interest of the masses and uniting the Egyptian people on the basis of the national action program.

. . . Attending the sittings, hearing the delegates' speeches, I ruminated on what the Congress meant for the Arab peoples, whose future depends so much on the position of Egypt, the biggest of the Arab countries, and the role of the Egyptian revolution performed under Gamal Abdel Nasser's leadership, which awakened the peoples of the entire region.

The revolutionary movement in the Arab countries is gaining momentum. Many obstacles still stand in its way. Word of the bloody terror against Communists was coming in from Khartoum at the time. Need one say that acts of that kind do tremendous damage to the struggle against imperialism, to the unity of the progressive forces. It is no secret either that waves of anti-communist hysteria rise up in other Arab countries from time to time. Yet the history of the Communist movement shows beyond doubt that Communists have always stood in the van of the fight for social progress, for their countries' genuine independence. It is fitting, therefore, to quote from the official report on the talks between the delegations of the CPSU and ASU, which I saw several days after the Congress had closed: 'The sides expressed their conviction that anti-communism is damaging to the aspirations of freedom and the national interests of the peoples, and that there should be no place for it. It serves none but the interests of international imperialist and reactionary quarters.'

That is why I conclude these notes with a reminder of a patent fact recorded by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and confirmed over and over: the struggle against imperialism, for democracy and social progress, for the national revival of peoples and development towards socialism requires the unity of all revolutionary forces and their greater solidarity.

Pierre Hentges

Cairo-Prague

The capitalist currency fever

This year has seen recurring flareups of capitalism's general monetary crisis. The world press has headlined its depth, scale and ruinous economic and social consequences, describing in detail the many plans for solving it. A scientifically grounded analysis of these developments and their relation to the general crisis of capitalism will be given in early issues of this journal. The purpose of this article is to comment on some of the recent developments.

In mid-August President Nixon came out with a program designed, in his words, to shore up the dollar. It envisages a 90-day (so far) wages and prices freeze, suspension of sales of gold for dollars, a 10 per cent import surcharge, reduction of corporate taxes to stimulate investment, reduction of budgetary expenditure (non-military, of course) and a 10 per cent cut in foreign aid.

The Presidential announcement came like a bombshell to the West. It was the culminating point of the steadily developing crisis of capitalism's monetary system.

There is, of course, a direct link between sharp currency fluctuations and the cyclical development of the capitalist economy. The present upheavals of the world money markets can be directly traced to America's present economic crisis begun in mid-1969, with its concomitant of inflation and anti-crisis credit, budgetary and tax policies. And that is no more than natural, for everything that tends to undermine the stability and reliability of the dollar, that 'key currency' of the capitalist world, recoils on the international monetary and credit mechanism. America's balance of payments position has deteriorated sharply in recent years: from an annual rate of \$3.5 billion ten years ago, the deficit climbed to \$7 billion in 1969, \$10.7 in 1970 and \$12.5 in the first half of 1971. Furthermore, the 'dollar standard' mechanism operates in a way that the devalued dollar exports inflation and all the other results of economic instability to other coun-

tries. Fluctuations of the dollar as a settlement medium undermine foreign trade and adversely affect the export industries in many capitalist countries and production and employment throughout the economy. The social consequences are an imminent danger of lower wages and more unemployment. A statement by the French Communist Party Political Bureau says that capitalist governments are using the monetary crisis as a pretext for an onslaught on wages and for imposing a still heavier burden on the people.

Capitalism's currency problems, however, go beyond the economic cycle: devaluation of the two reserve currencies, the dollar and the pound, the sharp fluctuations in the parity of many other currencies, have become chronic, and this has frustrated all attempts to overhaul the monetary structure. America's balance of payments deficit for the past 20 years adds up to \$60 billion. A small part of it is covered by the gold reserve, now standing at \$10 billion, compared with about \$25 billion at the close of the 1940s. The rest of the deficit is 'compensated' by non-resident short term bank deposits, now totalling more than \$50 billion. But foreigners can at any moment demand payment in gold and the gold reserve, even if all of it were used for that purpose, would cover less than one-fifth of outstanding liabilities. Of course, this is all purely hypothetical: it would take a panic of 1929 dimensions to induce all foreigners to demand payment in gold, and the U.S. financial authorities find consolation in the fact that, so far, no such panic is in the offing.

Nor are these currency upheavals due to the malfunctioning of the financial, or even the economic mechanism. The crisis of the dollar-based monetary system is an expression of the deep-going economic, social and political contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism. Nor does it require much acumen to see the connection between America's balance of payments position and imperialism's aggressive strategy — the Indochina war, maintenance of troops and bases in other countries, generous aid to reactionary regimes, and the vast amounts sunk into police operations in many parts of the world. Much of the dollar outflow is due to the expansionist policy of the U.S.-controlled international monopolies.

But, then, perhaps the balance of payments crisis is a purely American problem — if the U.S. government were to tackle it with wisdom and determination, everything would go back to normal: faith in the dollar would be restored and the world's money markets would be back at business as usual. It's not that simple: capitalism's monetary worries are not due only to the sick dollar.

Let us look at the key problem of the capitalist monetary system, the problem of international liquidity. The function of every currency is to serve as a payment medium in international economic intercourse, and

there has to be enough liquidity to cover trade and settlements. The quantitative measure of liquidity is the ratio between foreign-exchange and gold reserves and the volume of world trade. Since the war, the aggregate reserves of capitalist countries have grown substantially, but foreign trade has increased faster still. Prewar foreign-exchange and gold reserves were more than enough to cover imports. Immediately after the war they covered 70-80 per cent and at present the figure is down to 25-30 per cent. The decline has been steady and consistent. Capitalism's monetary and credit mechanism, fashioned at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944 and based on the dollar and sterling as reserve currencies, has proved vulnerable irrespective of the two countries' balance of payments position. The fact is that no capitalist currency — and this has been borne out by experience — can serve as a reliable medium of international payments and settlements. And it is no mere accident that the capitalist financial authorities have been casting about for some surrogate world currency, an 'internationally controlled monetary unit,' a 'uniform European currency.' There has even been an attempt to produce a substitute currency in the form of the International Monetary Fund's Special Drawing Rights.

All attempts to reform the capitalist monetary system (through the International Monetary Fund, the group of ten leading capitalist countries, or through some West European arrangement) have so far been unproductive of results. True, there have been unilateral measures by several countries, but they have only further disturbed international settlements.

For instance, this spring several European central banks suspended purchase of dollars. Federal Germany, followed by the Netherlands, gave up the attempt and allowed their currencies to float. Switzerland and Austria revalued, thereby lowering the dollar's exchange rate. Gold prices in London and Paris rose from the official \$35 a Troy ounce to more than \$40. By the end of the summer, Japan, Canada and Belgium followed the FRG and the Netherlands in allowing their currencies to float against the dollar. In August, the London and Rome exchanges were closed for a week. France and Switzerland imposed more currency controls and restricted acceptance of dollar deposits. Once all-powerful, the pace setter of all capitalist currencies, the dollar is now beginning to be treated with contempt.

The Nixon program, avowedly egoistic and self-centered, has failed to normalize the situation. The Western press has dubbed it 'shock therapy.'

The measures it provides for, notably the import surcharge, have aroused angry protests from America's partners. At the special conference at GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) 15 representatives condemned Washington for violating GATT rules. A Common Market spokesman, Dahrendorf, declared that the Six would not deal with the U.S. until

it repealed the import surcharge, which affects 88 per cent of EEC trade with the U.S. The Japanese delegate strongly protested against the surcharge, pointing that it affects more than 90 per cent of exports to the U.S., which account for one-third of Japan's total foreign trade. The Canadian and Latin American representatives spoke in much the same tones.

Most Western financial experts believe that the only option now is to devalue the dollar. That has been suggested even by a U.S. Congress subcommittee. Washington has tried to prevent that blow to dollar prestige, preferring to have West European countries and Japan revalue their currencies.

What stands out in all these developments is that all attempts to renovate the capitalist monetary mechanism through national or international half-measures have not produced any tangible long-term results. What they have done, however, is to exacerbate the built-in fallacies of the Bretton Woods system. All the measures now introduced, or discussed, are fraught with new flareups of the monetary crisis, new inter-imperialist conflicts and new social upheavals.

The import surcharge has already set off a chain reaction in capitalist countries trading with the United States. Their people are faced with the very real menace of production cuts, mass layoffs or more wage freeze, for the monopolies can be relied upon to shift the burden onto the workers. This has aroused mounting protest in many capitalist countries. Attempts to make the working people bear the brunt of the crisis are meeting with opposition in the United States itself. Representatives from many cities took part in a mass demonstration in Washington against the Nixon package. Mindful of this widespread resentment, even AFL-CIO President George Meany, a firm advocate of 'partnership' with the Administration, has sharply criticized its 'new economic policy'. Several trade unions have angrily rejected the President's appeal to refrain from strike action. The Auto Workers' union, the country's second biggest, has urged the AFL-CIO and the independent Teamsters to take joint action. Appeals for action against this new monopoly onslaught have come from Gus Hall, General Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, the French General Confederation of Labor, the leadership of the Italian Communist Party and labor spokesmen in many countries.

V. Dagmar

What are they afraid of in Tananarive?

We asked that question upon learning of the confiscation, in July, of four consecutive issues of *Imongo Vaovao*, the Madagascar Independence Congress newspaper.

Before looking for an answer, let us look at the background to the confiscation.

Since it became independent in 1960, the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar), has had a Social-Democratic government, the only one in the whole of Africa. It has close ties with the French Socialist Party and West German Social-Democrats, and reportedly has the benefit of their advice and financial aid. The party's Chairman, Philibert Tsiranana, is President of the Republic with virtually dictatorial powers.

The only legal opposition party, the Independence Congress, adheres to scientific socialism, enjoys wide influence, notably in larger towns, and its Chairman, Rischard Andriamanjato, has been mayor of Tananarive, the country's capital, since 1959.

The political situation on the island is extremely tense. Economic stagnation, low income levels, mounting discontent and abject poverty, provide fertile soil for Leftist trends, fostered in many cases with assistance from abroad.

A peasant revolt broke out last April in the South, the country's poorest region. The government raised a hue and cry about a 'Communist threat,' brutally suppressed the revolt and intensified its attacks on the Independence Congress.

It uses the same Communist bogey in foreign policy too. It has set out on the slippery path of a 'dialogue' with South Africa and, flouting the opinion of the vast majority of African states, is considering plans for

joint economic projects with the South African racists and Portuguese colonialists.

The ruling party itself is in a state of crisis, rent by tribal strife and an unending power struggle. And the struggle is particularly intense in preparation for the 1972 presidential elections and in view of President Tsiranana's deteriorating health. The crisis came to a head with the resignation and arrest, on June 1, of Vice-President and former party General Secretary, André Resampa, leader of the party's 'southern clan,' considered the main contestant for the presidency.

It was in this situation that the government stepped up its anti-democratic measures, the press becoming the first victim. On June 29 the Madagascar Press Union published a statement denouncing repeated confiscations of Malagasy and French-language newspapers. And two weeks later came the events with which we began our story.

And so, what are they afraid of in Tananarive?

One issue of *Imongo Vaovao* was confiscated for an article entitled: 'The Imperialists are Dragging the Malagasy Government into a Quagmire.' This is what it said:

'C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* says President Tsiranana told him of a visit to Madagascar, shortly after the events in the South, of a South African general, who, according to Sulzberger, discussed with high ranking officials common policy and action to block the road to communism ...

'It is our duty to draw public attention to the government's policy on international security. And if the people speak up, they can force the government to abandon its present dangerous policy. For that policy, based on anti-communism, is isolating the country from our Black African brothers and driving it towards cooperation with the exploiters

'Do the Malagasy rulers really want us to believe that alliance with South Africa is needed to defend us against the Soviet Union? Yet the mere appearance of a Soviet ship in the Indian Ocean is used to justify that policy. The imperialists are dragging the government into a quagmire, and it is blindly following them.

'The imperialists have set themselves up as the sole masters of all the oceans. And when other powers, in the natural course of progress, put their ships on the world's sea routes, it is immediately denounced as a "Communist threat". That might impress some statesmen, but it will not fool the peoples.

'The whole world welcomes this statement of Leonid Brezhnev, leader of the Soviet Communist Party: "We have never regarded and do not regard now as ideal a situation in which the navies of the great powers spend long periods in far-off seas. We are prepared to settle this problem.

'That proposal accords with the interests of the Malagasy and all other peoples. Its realization would make for stronger international security. It merges with the Independence Congress proposal to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. And this is an essential condition for concentrating the efforts of the entire people on the development of our economy.'

And so, what is the Tananarive government afraid of: the newspaper's call for peace, exposure of its policy of collusion with South Africa, justified criticism of its anti-communism or, lastly, that the Malagasy people would learn about the Soviet Union's peace proposals?

Three other articles cited in the confiscation order deal with internal issues.

After confiscation of the issue with the foreign-policy article, the editors decided to replace it with another but it, too, incurred the displeasure of the Interior Ministry. It reported the maltreatment of a peasant in Andapa, a commune in the North, who had complained of embezzlement.

Having stated the facts, the paper added: 'To this day there has been no action on complaints lodged by many victims of the violence, robbery and arson during the 1965 elections. And this inaction is encouraging more violence. One wonders what next year's elections will be like.'

Next day the paper reported the two confiscations and the banning of another paper, *Hita Sy Re* for its article 'Imperialist Culture Dominates Education in Madagascar.' It concluded:

'*Imongo Vaovao* protests against such actions as gross violations of the freedom of the press and opinion and calls on the people to support it. Such bans are intended to silence the people.'

That issue was confiscated too. Does the government object to appeals to defend democracy, which it has always professed to champion? Or does it fear exposure of the anti-democratic nature of the regime and of the coming elections? Or are the confiscations part of its campaign against progressive organizations?

The answers to these questions are contained in the fourth article that so infuriated the Tananarive rulers. It reads in part:

'Independence Congress branches are appearing everywhere, but there are those who, instead of advancing their own organization, are using all their energies on repressions against the Congress, resorting even to arson and assassination.

'When elections draw near, instead of presenting a convincing case to the electorate, they perpetrate lawless acts, forgeries and frauds, violence and perjury ...'

A statement issued by the Independence Congress on June 5 says that its branches are not allowed to function, that 'all manner of provocations are being plotted to justify dissolution of the Congress, sow dissent and set the rank and file against the national leadership. Malicious rumors are being spread. Some papers have even published patently false articles claiming, for instance, that the Congress is working hand-in-glove with A. Resampa and its leaders should therefore be arrested.'

And so, we have the answer to the question in the heading of this article.

A government that calls itself socialist is frightened by the prospect of the objective advanced by progressive citizens and their organizations becoming reality. And that objective is clearly formulated in the June 5 statement, 'Economic independence within a socialist framework.' The people's growing urge for socialism — that's what is causing so much anxiety to the Malagasy Social-Democrats, who are faithfully following in the footsteps of their 'elder brothers,' the Right Social-Democrats in the capitalist countries.

A Mukancha



Range and limits of the dialogue between Marxists and Christians

Robert Steigerwald

I. The dialogue between Marxists and Christians, which is involving ever broader Christian groups, is one of the more portentous developments of recent times. Marxists have never doubted the necessity of joint action by industrial and white-collar workers and other sections of working people in the battle against capitalist exploitation. Communists and Christians have been on the same side in many class battles, especially during the struggle against fascism, though, admittedly, in recent years the cold war and anti-communism had their ill effects. Yes, as Kurt Bachmann, Chairman of the German Communist Party, noted aptly at an Evangelical Church congress in Stuttgart on July 18, 1969, 'many Christians -- Catholic and Evangelical -- resisted the Nazi dictatorship and opposed the Second World War by reason of their faith and beliefs. Likewise, since the founding of the Federal Republic Christians have taken part in promoting social progress. No longer can we speak of them as of Christians only ... For many people in the Federal Republic religious beliefs are no longer an obstacle, but an incentive to participate in the struggle for peace and social progress. That is why we Communists draw a distinction between devout Christians and those Church groups which exploit the Christian faith in the interest of the ruling reactionary forces and try to put the Church in the service of reaction.'

In sum, the change in the attitude of the leaders of the Christian Church, their abandoning their former negative views, is one of the conditions that make the dialogue possible. We refer to the leaders, because there has always been a counter-tendency among religious working men, while in the case of the upper stratum we may recall that in 1937, at the height of the life-and-death battle for the Spanish Republic, despite evidence of German and Italian fascist brutality, the Vatican, which had not a word of censure for Hitler's concentration camps, published an anti-Communist encyclical, *Divina redemptoris*. We may also remember that but a few years ago Communists of the

Catholic faith were excommunicated, that the encyclical *Mater et magistra* censured class struggle as contrary to human nature, and that Bishop Dibelius, formerly Chairman of the Evangelical Church Council in Germany, publicly said that atomic death was preferable to life in communist conditions.

Since the early 1950s, with the emergence of the socialist world system and the change in the relation of forces in socialism's favor, a countertendency has been gaining. One of its earliest symptoms was the lecture in Graz of the Dominican pater, Marcel Reding, 'Marx and Thomas Aquinas', followed in the mid 50s by Jesuit Klemens Brockmoeller's book, *Christianity at the Dawn of the Atomic Age*, which propounded that the Church had no relation to any social system and could exist equally well under socialism. As Brockmoeller saw it, the Church should reckon with the likelihood of the socialist future, though adding that, in the manner of Aristotle, Karl Marx, too, needs to be 'Christianized.' Subsequently, the II Vatican Council dissociated itself cautiously from the overly primitive anti-communism of Pope Pius XII, and, impressed by developments in Latin America, took a more progressive stand on various social problems, such as that of property. At approximately the same time, the encyclical *Pacem in terris* first allowed Catholics to act jointly with Marxists in the economic and political domains, and, finally, the encyclical *Ecclesiam Suam* set out rules for the dialogue of Catholics and Marxists.

II. What is behind this shift in views and actions? The Program Statement of the GCP evaluated it thus:

'Far-reaching social changes have caused many devout Christians to alter their political thinking and behavior. Participation of many Evangelical pastors and ordinary parishioners in the fight against atomic arming and the emergency legislation, coupled with new winds in the Catholic Church, are paving the way for broader cooperation between Communists and Christians in the struggle for world peace and social progress. Hence the call in the Program Statement that Communists should seek 'a dialogue and joint action with all progressive and peace-loving Christian working people.'

The new attitude in the upper strata of the Church has objective reasons. Socialism is gaining ever more influence across the globe. The contradictions of the capitalist system have never been more acute. The scientific-technical revolution has activated colossal new productive forces, the incompatibility of which with capitalist relations of production no amount of state-monopoly regulation can eliminate.

Scientific-technical progress is conducive to the spread of the scientific outlook on the world around us. Compare the schoolbooks of 20 years ago with those of today, and you will see it at once. The urban concen-

tration of huge masses of people that had formerly lived in village isolation, leads gradually to the extinction of 'agrarian' forms of consciousness, always a nutritive medium for religion.

The liberation movements in former colonial countries caused re-evaluation of national cultural traditions, reducing the influence of the 'European forms' of ideology imposed and exploited by the colonialists. Not least does this apply to Christianity. On the other hand, the influence of Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the revolutionary working-class movement, has been steadily growing. The successes of the liberation struggle have increased the self-perception of millions of people, with the corollary that the Christian sermon lost influence.

The contradiction between Christian ethical notions and the anti-social and anti-democratic reality of capitalism, growing sharper due to the increasing influence of socialism and the pro-imperialist posture of the Church dignitaries, has given impulse to opposition trends in religious communities. The answers (or, often, the lack of answers) of the Church fathers to many a vital problem, are unconvincing. More and more of the faithful are looking for solutions elsewhere, and getting them more and more frequently from Socialists. The undemocratic structure of the Church, especially its hierarchy, celibacy and restricted participation of parishioners in Church decisions — all this incites opposition among the mass of believers, creating unrest among young Christians, including the clergy. On a few occasions the Church went so far as to obstruct believers' practical actions for peace, against the American imperialist war in Vietnam.

The Christian working man has learned that it is possible and necessary to fight imperialism. As often as not, he takes his bearings from socialist ideas, frequently from Marxism. Many are beginning to understand that the Communists had apprehended the anti-popular essence of imperialism before anyone else, and that their fight against it has been unrelenting and determined. The false image of communism created by anti-Communists, is gradually eroding. There is more readiness these days to join hands with Communists against war and exploitation, for renovation of the world and social progress.

Finally, the Catholic Church was compelled to concede that its anti-Communist crusade, as the capitalist paper, *Die Welt*, pointed out in 1966, 'was increasingly reducing its influence in the Communists' sphere of domination.' This was why, the paper pointed out, the Church was eager 'through dialogue to regain a more dependable foothold in Eastern Europe, the neutral world and among the Marxist workers in the West.'

That is precisely the purpose which the fathers of the Church attach to

the dialogue, seeking to diminish the influence of Communist ideas in different zones and countries, to maintain their positions or regain lost ones, including those among the working class. Hence the rapprochement of the Church and Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, facilitated by the German Socialist Party leadership's espousal of Christian religious ideas as a spiritual means of influencing the masses.

We Communists know perfectly well that the Church fathers' willingness to conduct a dialogue is motivated mostly by the change in socialism's favor of the balance of forces. It is obviously prompted by tactical considerations. Yet we take a positive view of this new perspective and the real opportunities arising from it for joint action by Marxists and Christians, believers and non-believers.

III. By reason of the heterogeneous class structure of Christians, their view and approach to dialogue is diverse. The Church has a hold on broad sections of working people. But it is not the kind of organization that will act in the interest of the masses. Like all social institutions, it is subject to the laws of class relations and class struggle. It is not a simple structureless amalgamation of different social forces. It has a clear-cut organization, a hierarchy with distinct class affiliations. Throughout history, it was always closely connected with the ruling classes — feudal, then capitalist — and as a rule recruited its leaders among those classes. This has not changed.

However, it does not apply to the mass of believers. True, they are influenced by the false religious notion of 'fraternal bonds' with the Church hierarchy and of 'partnership' between antagonistic classes. And that certainly does not help millions of working men spiritually tied to the Church in protecting their class interests. Dissemination of the 'social partnership' idea, negating class struggle and blunting social contradictions, is, indeed, the Church's political function in the antagonistic society. Pronouncements like that of Pius XII that 'the Church of Christ follows the way preordained by the Saviour,' that it 'does not interfere in purely ... economic matters,' are meant to cover up concerns in behalf of the capitalist system and active intervention in economic and social processes, with a cloak of outward impartiality.

We considered it necessary to recall these facts, borne out in history, because some of the enthusiastic advocates of the dialogue too easily forget the actual posture of the Church leadership, its class role, its real aims.

Neither Christianity as a whole, nor the Church, develop immanently, on their own, isolated from the history of classes and the class struggle. The class battles of our century, the victorious spread of socialism across the

world, the anti-imperialist anti-colonial revolution and the unfolding of the labor movement in the developed capitalist countries have generated profoundly critical processes in the ideology and policy of the Church hierarchy. Deep-going contradictions have surfaced among Christians, giving rise to a differentiation. What, apart from the most general religious concepts, does the American Cardinal Spellman, who blessed the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, have in common with Church President Martin Niemoeller, who heads the Vietnam Aid Committee in the Federal Republic of Germany? What is there in common between 'Christian' Franz-Josef Strauss, headman of revanchism and nationalism, and progressive, consistently anti-imperialist Christians like Renate Riemeck, Herbert Mochalski or Clara Maria Fassbinder? The differentiation is causing the Church fathers grave concern. They have no choice but to alter their own views, their organizational and tactical approaches, to prevent a mass separation of the faithful from the Church.

This is what lies behind the change in the Church's attitude to the dialogue. The virulent reaction evinced to these changes by the ultra-conservative clergy is no more than natural. Just as certain imperialist groups espied 'betrayal' in the FRG treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland, so certain clerical groups and parties calling themselves Christian are bitterly opposed to the dialogue. In the FRG, this applies first and foremost to forces in the CDU/CSU, but, as recent evidence shows, it is also true of elements in the Social-Democratic Party leadership.

Another group in the Christian Church seeks but a 'liberalization' of the religious dogma and Church structures that would not affect the basic socio-political orientation of the Church. It wants merely to jettison the overly conservative ideas, the obsolete elements of theology, the non-democratic hierarchic structure, to but 'modernize' the Church. And some 'liberal' churchmen want nothing but a reformation of the liturgy.

We should not overlook the following peculiar feature of the dialogue in the Federal Republic. Here Christian workers belong to different organizations with a distinctive political and syndicalist orientation. To mention a few, there are the Christian-Social Fellowship in the German Trade Union League, the Catholic workers' movement, the social committees of the Christian Democratic Union, the breakaway Christian trade unions, and, to round out the list, the Evangelical seminars held under the auspices of the Protestant Church. Opposition sentiment in these organizations is relatively feeble. Of late, however, new tendencies auguring more serious opposition and closer to the workers' interests have surfaced in the CDU social committees. The evangelical seminars, though they have fairly close ties with the Socialist Party, have on a few occasions evinced interest in a dialogue with Communists; they hold quite serious discussions about Marxism-Leninism and its aspects.

The more critically-minded religious masses do not belong to these organizations. They are concentrated in other numerous, though still relatively small bodies — the Regional Committee of the Christian Peace Conference or the Circle of Church Friends, who have their own periodical, *Voice of the Community*, etc. These show an interest in the important socio-political problems and in foreign affairs, are active champions of peace, work for genuine mutual understanding with the socialist countries and support the workers' campaign for participation in management and economic improvement. Many of them take a class view of the role of the Church as a political instrument of the capitalist system. But it needs to be said that 'fashionable' anarchist, Left extremist and Trotskyite trends, too, are in evidence among these opposition Christians.

All this goes to show that the dialogue problem is many-sided and complicated. To begin with there must be one approach to the dialogue with Left Catholics and another to that with Protestants. Much depends on whether it is taking place in a unitarian trade union, and whether it is associated with the battle for specific class demands. It is one thing to be dealing with forces that have cooperated with Communists over the years and are, in effect, gradually approaching socialist class positions, and quite another to hold the dialogue with the official Church. We must always ask: with whom, for what and over what the discussion is conducted, and act accordingly.

IV. Since we have referred to the leaderships of the Christian Church of the developed European capitalist countries, especially the FRG (in other parts of the world, say Latin America, the situation is different), we may say — somewhat simplistically, it is true, but nonetheless correctly — that their acceptance of the need for a dialogue with Communists stems from imperialism's new strategy: to adapt to the existing relation of world forces, to use more flexible methods, and to admit that a head-on collision with socialism is increasingly hazardous for the survival of capitalism, especially due to the rapidly growing combined strength of the socialist forces. That is why economic and ideological means of struggle are now taking precedence.

The reactionary forces in the Christian Church want to use the dialogue as a means of spreading bourgeois ideas among Marxist workers, of ideologically disrupting the socialist countries. They want to use it for spotting or inventing 'weaknesses' in the Communist movement, for injecting ideas of ideological coexistence and stimulating revisionist trends.

The International St. Paul's Society came to the fore in recent years as a significant instrument of ideological diversion. Financed among others by the Kiesinger government, it received considerable press publicity and

pursued aims that were worlds removed from any joint action with Communists in resolving the vital issues of our time. Its ideological organ, *Das neue Forum*, published in Vienna, has become a rallying center for clericals and revisionists. Symptomatically, intellectuals who had once been Communists, who betrayed Marxism and joined the camp of its 'critics,' are the chief partners of the clerical exponents of the new imperialist strategy.

The clerical program in the dialogue takes issue with the Marxist appraisal of the present epoch as one of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, scorns the role of the working class and the socialist world system as the main social force of our time, and extols the intelligentsia as the elite that will solve all social problems. Highest among these problems it ranks such 'universal' anthropological issues as that of alienation, alleging that it is equally acute under socialism. Humanism it tears out by the roots from the social soil, robbing it of its concrete class content and fashioning it into a passive, contemplative humanism dissociated from activity against imperialism and war, from the confrontation of the two world systems. The two systems are censured in the context of the convergence theory. A 'third way' is advocated with the object of diverting the masses from the struggle for socialism. What this turns out to be is a variety of the petty-bourgeois 'anti-étatist' socialism, vehemently opposed to working-class power, to the socialist states.

The program, as we see, is patterned after the present-day concepts of bourgeois-revisionist critics of Marxism and socialism. But it has a specific 'feature': the umbrella of Christianity, the motto, 'We are always but sinners,' calling on Marxists to disarm ideologically in the name of abstract ideals of humanity and exhorting them to adopt Christian values in the interests of the dialogue and the 'further development' of Marxism.

The modern revisionist critics of Marxism, as we have said, work in close ideological alliance with the clericals. In effect, they share their basic views. Take Fischer, Garaudy, Machovec and Gardawski. They preach ideological coexistence, primarily in the pluralist context. Speaking over Munich Radio, Machovec said socialism should pass from its 'monological' to a 'dialogo-pluralistic' period. He called for reconciliation with the Christian ideology, a maximum 'communion' of Marxism and Christianity, and for filling in the 'blanks' he, Machovec, had discovered in Marxism with organic elements of Christianity.

Revisionists are trying to devise a 'new outlook' out of their ideological coexistence idea and their specific conception of the dialogue. This centers on the concept of man in general, fully in keeping with the spirit of the abstract bourgeois-religious humanitarianism. In a paper,

Jesus in the Marxist View, which Machovec presented in Mainz in 1967, he reduced the Marxist view of Christ to 'his meaning for man,' and concluded: since Christians associate the notion of God with the fraternity of man, 'Christianity can be for us a friendly theory.' As he put it, the Bible is the 'word about man' and, consequently, its ideas all but blend with Marxist ideas.

Marxism does indeed offer a truly scientific theory of man, the personality and humanism. But it is not based on abstract anthropologism. It discloses the concrete social essence of man, apprehends the laws of the class struggle, the struggle against capital, which, to use Marx's expression, emits blood and dirt from all its pores and exists by exploiting and oppressing man by man. These fundamental Marxist truths have been 'forgotten' by the modern revisionists. In fact, they have been disavowed in favor of bourgeois pseudo-humanitarian ideas garnished with Christian pronouncements of 'love of neighbor' and 'universal brotherhood.' Instead of a clear class orientation, they prefer participation in the 'anthropological' gimmicks of the clerical reactionaries.

The putatively new revisionist outlook cuts humanism down to the size of the individual. Garaudy, for one, sees the universal criteria of humanism, which, he maintains, are also obligatory for Marxists, precisely in Christian individualism. Gardawski, in his disquisitions, arrives at a variety of existentialist subjectivism, accentuating the individualist 'I' in the life of human society. Machovec avers that Marxism ignores the problems of the individual man and that, for this reason, religion should quench our thirst for the spiritual values of the individual, that we should accept spiritual guidance from professional priests, or in other words, go to the clericals for counsel.

It may be proper to point out that Marxism deals with the individual problems of man on the basis of an analysis of the sum-total of social relationships. The answer to the question, what is the purpose of each man's life, will elude us unless we proceed from the supreme purpose of social life. As Nikolai Ostrovsky, the Soviet Communist writer, said, the purpose of life should be to devote all one's energy, all one's ability, to liberating man from all forms of exploitation and oppression.

It is a heartening sign that many Christians are beginning to understand that the problem of the individual should be resolved on collectivist principles. In other words, our progressive Christian friends understand the present-day problems of man much more clearly, ideologically as well as politically, than the revisionist turncoats.

Though the clerico-revisionist 'dialogue' is a liability for the anti-

imperialist movement, we Communists seek a dialogue with the official representatives of the Church in order to find points of contact for joint action. If clear and consistently Marxist-Leninist positions are maintained, if bourgeois and clerical ideas are properly repulsed, the dialogue with conservative clericals can also be useful, because it shows up their attitude, helps expose reactionary aims and identify their bearers, and facilitates definition of concrete formulas and methods of action in the interests of the common anti-imperialist struggle.

V. In sum, for us the dialogue between Marxists and Christians is principally a political problem. Our express purpose is to achieve united action in fighting monopoly capitalism and its state, and imperialistic policy.

Undeniably, the scientific Marxist conception of the world is the complete opposite of the religious notions, which produce a distorted picture. Religion, being a false spiritual perception of reality, may distract millions of people from the struggle against oppressors and exploiters for a genuinely humane order. What it propounds are intangible dreams and hopes of a 'better' afterlife.

But the objective social factors and the real motive forces of the revolution are much stronger than the ideological differences between Marxists and Christians. Our policy is based on the common interests of all sections of the working class (regardless of their views, be they religious or Marxist), on the fundamental interests of the vast majority. That is the only way to attain joint action by the masses, that essential precondition of victory over imperialism, militarism and war, of securing peace, democracy and socialism.

In his Stuttgart speech Comrade Kurt Bachmann also outlined the significance of joint struggle:

'In the Federal Republic nothing can prevent Christians, Socialists and Communists carrying forward a jointly framed program of action, aimed at bridling the neo-fascist and Rightist forces, defending the remnants of the Constitution, creating a new, favorable climate in the relations between the two German states through formal recognition in international law of the GDR, and thereby securing the right conditions for European peace.

'If we act in common, nothing can prevent us from effecting a democratic renovation of the state and society, assuring popular participation in administration and control at all levels — in the enterprises, the economy in general, the schools, universities, bodies of government and the state as a whole.'

This idea is acquiring international dimensions. There is every reason to say that if the joint action of millions of working people oriented on Communist, Christian or democratic organizations, espousing Communist, Christian or democratic views, could be achieved in the struggle against imperialist war and aggression, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the adverse effects of the scientific-technical revolution, such as environmental pollution, then no force on earth could prevent us from succeeding in this common struggle of all the progressive forces of our time.

This does not mean that we have lost sight of the basic difference between Marxist and religious ideas. Our task is to unite the workers for the fight for their vital interests, not to set them against each other. 'Unity in this really revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class for the creation of a paradise on earth,' Lenin wrote, 'is more important to us than unity of proletarian opinion on paradise in heaven' (*Socialism and Religion. Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, p. 87).

With social contradictions growing more acute in many capitalist countries, realistic opportunities have appeared for an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist alliance of the revolutionary working-class movement with the mass of believers. Hence, in the center of the dialogue we see the problem of joint social practice by Marxists and Christians. Gaining in importance is the dialogue over such issues as war and peace, capitalism and socialism, neo-colonialism and the developing countries, and joint action against imperialism, for democracy and socialism. The Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties says that this is the way — a way of broad contacts and joint actions — along which the mass of believers becomes an active force in the anti-imperialist struggle and the radical social reconstruction.

We want to find common ground with Christians in appraising the policy of the reactionary social forces, fraught with danger to peace. We should like to reach agreement with them as to the ways of opposing the war in Indochina and the danger of war emanating from the FRG, seat of the inflammatory nationalist propaganda of the revenge-seeking forces, and on steps against the arms drive. We should be happy to achieve a greater measure of clarity about the causes behind the anti-democratic and fascist trends in our country. And we should be happy, too, to reach an understanding with our Christian partners and take joint action against neo-colonialism, giving effective aid to the peoples of developing countries.

We have fought jointly for higher wages, for participation in management, against the emergency laws. We have concluded election alliances with progressive Christians, cooperated with them in the German

Alliance for Peace, taken part in church councils, public discussions and seminars. We could name cases where good Christians, including some theologians, became active members of Marxist parties. One of them, who joined the CPG back in the days of the Weimar Republic, was Erwin Eckert of Mannheim who had been a priest for several decades, and after 1945 a state secretary representing the CPG in South Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern. At present, too, the German Communist Party has a number of young Christians, including priests and theologians, in its ranks.

As we see it, the dialogue should also encompass theoretical problems of Marxist and Christian humanism, freedom, social progress, and the criteria and character of the socialist system, for which, ultimately we shall work hand in hand. The discussions are doubly necessary, because many prominent Christians have put forward new, interesting propositions, such, for example, as the relationship between the individual and society, social progress, and the struggle for freedom. In this context, in particular, we could list such theologians as Reding, Rahner, Metz and Moltmann.

We come to these discussions not empty-handed. We have enough to offer. We do not require our partner to give up his independence or any of his ideas. Nor do we have any intention of giving up our ideological and political independence, our Marxist-Leninist outlook.

We should like to arrive at the common view with Christians, our partners in the dialogue, that the main problems of our time cannot be resolved in the capitalist environment. The contradictions arising on capitalist soil cannot be eliminated in the framework of capitalism. We should like to arrive at a common view with our partners on the criteria of the future socialist system, the most important being the establishment of workers' political power, because that is the only power that will socialize the means of production, the decisive source of the people's life. A coordinating political force is required to guide this social system — the working-class party, acting in alliance with all forces espousing socialism.

The anti-imperialist struggle is of the utmost significance for the future, as well as the present. Dependable ties and united action in the struggle are the best guarantee that the relationship between Marxists and Christians will still be fraternal in the jointly achieved socialist system. Unfortunately, it has been the rule so far that the mass of Christians took no active part in the fight for social progress, while the Church leaders sided with the counter-revolution. Not until recently did visible changes occur in this respect.

Naturally, the socialist state resulting from this joint struggle cannot be

neutral to Marxism. In that jointly achieved socialist state there should be every opportunity to work along socialist lines in keeping with the Marxist and Christian conceptions of socialism. This does not mean that the honest and purposeful discussion will cease on problems of religion as a form of irrational consciousness, and on problems of Marxism. Our position on this score is absolutely clear: we are completely convinced of the Marxist theory of religion. Our Christian partners have a different opinion. If they are as firmly convinced in their beliefs as we are in ours, then the matter will be settled by the future development of society.

The facts of reality, the class struggle, have given birth on an international scale to many topical issues relating to the dialogue and cooperation of Marxists and Christians. The time has come to evaluate all available experience, to carry on, and open a new chapter in the annals of the class struggle.



A revolutionary of the Lenin school

This October it is 90 years since the birth of Otto Kuusinen (1881-1964), a prominent figure of the international Communist and working-class movement.

The son of a village tailor in Laukaa, Finland, Kuusinen was a professional revolutionary throughout his eventful life, equally known in his own country, where he was active in the socialist movement and a co-founder of the Communist Party of Finland, the world Communist and working-class movement, in which he gained everyone's affection as a secretary and member of the Presidium of the Comintern Executive Committee, and in the Soviet Union, where for more than two decades at the close of his life he had been Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, member of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee and, from 1957 to 1964, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Kuusinen first met Lenin in August 1917, working later under his guidance in the Communist International. Lenin had high praise for Kuusinen's contribution to the strategy and tactics of the then burgeoning Communist movement. In his 18 years of Comintern work Kuusinen devoted his strength, knowledge and experience to effectuating Lenin's policy and consolidating Communist unity. Contributing significantly to the united front policy, he carried on the fight against dogmatism and sectarianism, Right and 'Left' opportunism.

A gifted organizer and practitioner, Kuusinen was also a theorist. A well-grounded Marxist-Leninist, scholar and publicist, he wrote many books and papers on the key issues of the Communist movement. Below, we present a brief appreciation of the outstanding revolutionary by his daughter, Hertta Kuusinen, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland and Chairman of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Otto Kuusinen is known and respected among the elder generation in the Communist and working class movement. Travelling to different parts of the world, I keep running into people who had either met him, read his articles or know of him from veterans of their respective parties. Almost always, these comrades mention Kuusinen's familiarity with their country's problems and his unstinting help to their party. Often they add that he was 'one of the last men of the old Leninist guard' in the sense that he had been Lenin's immediate associate. Kuusinen regarded himself as Lenin's pupil. And this he was. By virtue of this fact he developed into a truly creative Marxist theorist and politician.

I do not intend to go into my father's revolutionary work or his role as co-founder of the Communist Party of Finland. Neither do I intend to go into his work as a secretary of the Comintern and member of the Comintern Executive Committee, or as a builder of Soviet Karelia and a long-time member of the collective leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet state. That would be an impossible task in a brief article, and doubly so because these aspects of his life have only just been tackled by researchers. An institute known as the Kuusinen Fund has been founded in Finland to encourage studies of the history of the Finnish labor movement, which, as its name implies, is also gathering and examining materials

relating to Kuusinen's life and work.

The purpose of this article is merely to pay tribute to one of the founders of the world Communist movement and, at most, to draw attention to some of the currently more important aspects of his life's work.

The importance Lenin attached to the Party press — newspapers as well as theoretical journals — is well known. 'The newspaper,' he said, 'is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer' ('Where to Begin?', 1901).

At approximately the same time, Otto Kuusinen, then a young staff writer of the newspaper *Työmies* (Worker), who had shortly before, with a few of his comrades, started a theoretical journal, *Sosialistinen Aikakauslehti*, showed a similar appreciation of the party press. And it should be borne in mind that at the time, he had not yet properly mastered Marxist theory and hardly could have read Lenin's articles. Yet here is what he wrote in a Social-Democratic Party leaflet, 'Don't Touch the Freedom of the Press' (1906) about the importance of the printed word for the class-conscious labor movement:

"The *printed word* is a powerful weapon in the fight for working-class emancipation. It has immense advantages over the spoken word. To begin with, it is *heard farther*

than the loudest speech (neither the radio nor TV existed then — *H.K.*) . . . and, secondly, it *lives longer* than the spoken word. Just suppose that Marx, for example, had set out his doctrine in a speech. How much of it would have come down to us? . . . While socialist literature — newspapers included — blaze like an undying fire, the sparks and flames of which reach all the crannies of bourgeois society.

‘And, what is more important, the printed word *unites and holds us together* more effectively than any speech . . . We owe it to the printed word that the biggest movement of all time — the modern international liberation movement of the proletariat — has come into being . . . The importance of the printed word for the proletarian liberation struggle is incalculable, because without it lasting success would be truly impossible.’

As one more example, I should like to quote a passage from the theses on the structure and organizational work of Communist parties, written by Kuusinen for the Third Comintern Congress with the advice and close cooperation of Lenin. The sixth chapter of these theses, entitled ‘The Party Press,’ says:

‘A Communist newspaper should concern itself principally with the interests of the exploited and embattled workers. It should be our best propagandist and agitator,

the leading propagandist of proletarian revolution.

‘It should be the purpose of our newspaper to gather the valuable experience of all Party members and pass on this experience as a guideline for verifying and improving Communist methods. In this way the Party press as a whole, and each newspaper will be the best organizer of our revolutionary activity.

‘The Party’s historic mission is hardly conceivable without this generalization and conscious organizational work of Communist newspapers.’

I gave these two examples to show the prominent place which the Communist press and its use for the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas occupied in Kuusinen’s highly versatile activity. cursory mention has already been made of his contribution to the development of the working-class press in Finland. Subsequently, he also took part in founding the underground Communist press.

Since Comintern times, his articles in the *Communist International* and the weekly *Inprecor* have come to be known all over the world. During the Second World War and the early postwar years, while performing other duties, he was also a member of the editorial board of *New Times*, contributing to this journal many editorials and articles signed with his own name or a *nom de plume*.

One of these I should like to quote below, because its title, 'Are You For or Against the Soviet Union?' as well as its content, shows my father's attitude to the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist country. It calls for international working people's solidarity in combating imperialism and the danger of a new world war. Describing the Soviet people as the 'standard-bearer of all progressive mankind,' Kuusinen wrote that if the madness of the imperialists plunged mankind into a new criminal war, this would inevitably confront the masses with a vital question:

'Are you for or against the Soviet Union? . . . Are you for or against peace and the fraternity of peoples? What do you want to fight for: socialist life free from exploitation or the old capitalist slavery?'

The working people, he continued, can prevent war by fighting against

it. 'The more resolutely the working people of all countries fight against the warmongers and their henchmen, the greater are the chances that the advance to socialism will be accomplished without a new war' (*New Times*, No. 39, 1948).

Possibly, I have confined myself to a somewhat narrow area in my father's activity as an internationalist revolutionary. But I had my reasons, for since the October there has scarcely been an international Marxist publication, the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* included, in founding which Kuusinen did not participate enthusiastically and to which he did not contribute. He appreciated the necessity of treating Marxist-Leninist theory creatively, summing up the collective experience of the Communist and Workers' parties to the advantage of our common cause, that of peace, democracy and socialism.

Hertta Kuusinen



Franz Mehring

125th birth anniversary



The best works of Franz Mehring are part of the treasury of Marxist thought. The theoretical worth of his legacy is great. Philosopher, historian and journalist, a scholar of literature and the art of war, Mehring championed Marxism with uncompromising fervor, applying its principles creatively in his own research. He was a man, Lenin said, who 'not only wants to be, but who knows how to be a Marxist' (*Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Coll. Works, Vol. 14, p. 355).

Mehring was a renowned leader of the German working class and

international labor movement. He joined the Left, revolutionary wing of the German Social-Democratic movement and subsequently took an active part in founding the Communist Party of Germany. He was among the first in his country to appreciate the historic impact of the October Revolution and to come out in support of Soviet Russian. Had Marx lived, Mehring wrote, he would have welcomed Soviet power as he had welcomed the Paris Commune.

Mehring's political and ideological evolution from bourgeois democrat to Communist, from idealism and Feuerbach to Marxist philosophy, was an arduous one. He began his career in Berlin in the bourgeois democratic and liberal press in 1869. In the 70s and 80s he was at times close to the labor movement, and at times drifted away from it. Gradually, Bismarck's reactionary policy and the German workers' fight against the anti-Socialist law prompted him to revise his attitude and, finally, break with the bourgeois press and bourgeois

society. Feuerbach's influence altered his initially idealistic philosophical views, and on reading Marx and Engels, seeing the limitations of Feuerbachian materialism, he fully accepted Marxism, discarding his bourgeois democratic illusions.

The 80s and 90s saw Mehring move conclusively to scientific communism. His activity as theoretician, organizer and journalist, he devoted to the German labor movement. As editor-in-chief of the Leipzig *Volkszeitung*, he campaigned against the anti-Socialist law and defended the persecuted Social-Democratic Party. In 1891 he became an editor of *Die Neue Zeit*, the theoretical journal of the Social-Democrats, which printed many of his works. In 1913, he joined Rosa Luxemburg and Julian Marchlewski in founding the first independent Left periodical, *Sozial-demokratische Korrespondenz* and during World War I *The International*, an anti-war journal. In 1916 Mehring, then 70 years old, was arrested for publishing the latter, a forum of the foremost revolutionary Social-Democrats, and spent many months in prison.

The Left revolutionary organization, Spartacus Union, which Mehring joined, became the nucleus of the Communist Party of Germany. With other members of the Union, Mehring opposed the anti-Soviet intervention, calling on the German workers to defend Soviet Russia and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He denounced the betrayal of

the Right-wing Social-Democrats and the Center. His articles, 'Marx and the Bolsheviks' and 'Marx and the Paris Commune,' stressed that the Russian revolutionaries were equipped with a thorough knowledge of the science of socialism, which gave them calm confidence. Mehring, Lenin wrote in June 1918, 'has been showing the German workers that the Bolsheviks alone have properly understood what socialism is' (Vol. 27, p. 481).

The assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht was for Mehring, then severely ill, a hard blow. He died a fortnight later, January 29, 1919.

For most German Social-Democratic theoreticians the turn of the century was a time of preoccupation with Marx's political, sociological and economic theory. Few Social-Democrats of that time conceived Marxism as a comprehensive outlook encompassing nature, as well as society, as a unity of all its components. Most parties in the Second International divorced theory from practice and either underestimated or ignored the philosophical aspect of Marxism. Hence their calls for freedom of 'philosophical conscience,' the revisionist demand of supplementing Marxism with neo-Kantian, Machian and various other bourgeois philosophical trends. Bourgeois professors slandered the materialist conception of history, describing it as vulgar economic materialism denying the role of the subjective factor, the role of ideas, and so on.

The followers of Marx and Engels had to defend Marxism against these attacks, to uphold the materialist conception of history against falsifiers and revisionists. Mehring, that 'uncompromising Marxist,' was one of them, earning credit for his able and forceful defense and elaboration of historical materialism.

Mehring understood the revolutionary nature of Marxism. He saw it not as an abstract theory, but as a guide to action, as the scientific outlook of the proletariat, whom it helped to make, as well as apprehend, history.

In 1893 Mehring wrote 'On Historical Materialism,' an article against Paul Barth, a bourgeois philosopher who was 'tearing down' Marxism. The wide range of problems raised in it lifted it far above an ordinary passage of words. Engels described it as superb and convincing. Mehring argued in it and in later works that the materialist conception of history was a thundering revolution in science and its discoverers — 'thinkers who created an epoch in the history of thought.' The correctly conceived materialist approach to history, he said, is the only method to apprehend the complex dialectics of social processes and phenomena. 'Historical materialism,' he wrote, 'is not a closed system crowned by the absolute truth. It is a scientific method for investigating the process of man's development.'

Mehring repudiated the vulgar view that historical materialism is a stereotype or pattern into which its exponents endeavor to fit the

multiformity and complexity of social phenomena. 'In fact,' he wrote, 'it is the exact opposite. Historical materialism delivers the death blow to all arbitrary historical constructions; it eliminates all general formulas which some use to cut the variable life of all mankind to the same pattern.'

Fighting bourgeois and revisionist falsification of Marxism, Mehring maintained that nothing could be more groundless than the contention that Marx and Engels advocated fatalism and banished all ideal motives from man's historical development. Opposing the exponents of 'economic materialism,' especially Eduard Bernstein, he said that by asserting the primacy of social being historical materialism explains the material motives behind men's ideal impulses and the reverse effect of political and ideological factors on economy.

He left us striking examples of how to apply historical materialism to research in literature, ethics and art. For him art and literature were a reflection of social reality. They were not purely creative, he said, but ideological forms of the class struggle. 'If we should present the history of letters of some epoch without knowing its economic and political history,' he wrote, 'our exposition would be at best a loose aesthetic and philological disquisition.'

The Lessing Legend was Mehring's most significant work on the history of literature. 'It is gratifying to see,' Engels wrote to August Bebel on March 16, 1892, about this

book, 'that the materialist conception of history, which for twenty years amounted to strident rhetoric in the works of young Party members, is finally being applied in the right way as a guiding principle in studying history.'

The Lessing Legend exposes the Prussian ideology and aims its darts at bourgeois and Junker historians and literary critics who credited Friedrich II with creating a national German culture. Mehring tears down this legend by showing that the German autocracy of the 17th and 18th centuries was hostile to progressive culture, whose outstanding exponents, including Lessing, expressed the aspirations of their epoch, and but posthumously were made victims of an official version, which linked them with Prussian autocracy.

Mehring pioneered the Marxist conception of 18th- and 19th-century German literature. Like Engels, he maintained that the working class was the sole heir and successor to the finest traditions of the Enlightenment and German classical literature.

Mehring wrote the following fundamental historical works: *History of Germany from the late Middle Ages On*; *History of German Social Democracy* (4 vols.); *An Outline History of Wars and the Art of War*, and others. But for him history was not an end in itself. Knowledge of history, he said, should help the working class to change the world. As he traced the fortunes of the German nation, he primarily exam-

ined the record of struggle of the working classes. He was the first to provide a complete and detailed history of the German labor movement from its inception to the Erfurt Congress in 1891, showing the German workers' first steps towards organization, the awakening of their class consciousness, the formation of Marxism, the fusion of the labor movement with scientific socialism and the heroic summits in proletarian class battles.

Mehring was one of Marx's early biographers and one of the earliest students of the history of Marxism. His crowning work, *Karl Marx: A History of His Life* (1918), is despite certain errors still among the best books on the life and work of the founders of scientific socialism. He showed the unity of Marxist theory and practice. 'Marx's incomparable greatness,' he wrote, 'is due largely to the unquestionable fact that in him the man of thought and the man of action are inseparably fused, complementing and supporting each other.'

In his analysis of the writings of the founders of Marxism, Mehring examined them in association with key events in the international labor movement. He also contributed to the publication of Marx and Engels by bringing out three volumes of their *Literary Heritage* in 1902 and making their early writings available to the general reader. For this he was attacked by German Social-Democratic leaders who resented their revolutionary critical content (described by Kautsky as a 'Jacobin-Blanquist

shell'). It was no mere chance that these writings were kept in the German Social-Democrats' archives for decades.

Typical of Mehring's numerous articles on the history of philosophy is a precise social-class analysis of philosophical schools and trends from antiquity to his day. 'Philosophy,' he wrote, 'is an ideological concomitant of the class struggle, one of the ideological forms in which people perceive and fight this struggle . . . Only the history of the class struggle can throw light on what seems to be a boundless maze of philosophical systems; that is the only way they can be sorted out and classified.' Studying pre-Marxian philosophical thought, Mehring proved that Marxism, the legitimate successor to its finest traditions, is a qualitatively new philosophical doctrine.

Unlike the revisionists, who called for 'freedom of philosophical conscience,' Mehring insisted that the materialist conception of nature and society is the only revolutionary theory for the proletariat. He saw the fundamental error of revisionism in the fact that it did not know and ignored dialectics, and exposed Bernstein's attempt to substitute sophistry and eclecticism for dialectics. 'He who knows the laws of dialectical thinking,' he wrote, 'delves into the dialectics of reality in a way entirely different from those who rack their brains over facts that are incomprehensible to them until they finally grasp their real interrelation more or less clearly.'

At the turn of the century, Mehring came to grips with idealist trends in natural science and bourgeois philosophy. His scathing critique of neo-Kantianism and Machism, neo-Hegelianism and neo-vitalism, and the reactionary theories of Schopenhauer, Hartmann and Nietzsche, exposed bourgeois philosophy's hostility to Marxism and the revolutionary movement. Mehring showed Nietzscheanism as the morality of the bourgeois 'superman,' a 'crusade against the proletarian class struggle.'

Mehring's fight against neo-Kantianism and its revision of Marxism, which gained widespread acceptance among theoreticians of the Second International, was highly important. Whereas revisionists and centrists tried to 'renovate' socialism by means of the Kantian categorical imperative, Mehring maintained that Kant's ethics and philosophy as a whole, had nothing in common with scientific communism. The so-called ethical socialism and the slogan, 'Back to Kant,' were directed against Marxism and the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

His deep faith and encyclopaedic knowledge, vivid style and creative approach earned Mehring legitimate popularity. However, one should not forget some of his errors.

While acknowledging the immense revolutionary significance of historical materialism, Mehring held the erroneous view that in explaining nature Marx and Engels adhered to the concepts of earlier materialism

and did not treat the world as one entity. (Characteristically, Mehring never used the term 'dialectical materialism.') Hence Mehring's simplified approach to the history of Marxism, which he saw as having advanced from Hegel to Feuerbach and then to historical materialism.

Mehring stressed the significance of the dialectical method in investigating social phenomena, but underated its importance in cognizing nature, and failed to see dialectics as the logic and theory of knowledge of Marxism.

Like the other German Left-wingers, Mehring showed certain elements of mechanicism in expounding the intricate interconnection between basis and superstructure, and, as Engels noted, was inclined to search for direct economic equivalents of complicated ideological phenomena.

He committed grave theoretical and political mistakes trying to efface the disparities between Lassalleian reformism and the revolutionary line of Marx and Engels. He failed to see the substance of their fundamental differences and made certain concessions to Lassalleian ideas.

However, it is not his various mistakes, which opportunists tried to canonize after his death, that characterize Mehring, for he was a creative Marxist and a revolutionary. In the last years of his life, Mehring, drawing ever nearer to Leninism, discarded some of his former misconceptions.

He won the affection and respect of generations of revolutionary German workers. His contribution to the liberation struggle of the international working class was acknowledged when he was elected member of the Socialist Academy of Social Sciences of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic in 1918.

The establishment of the German Democratic Republic opened a new chapter in the study and use of Mehring's heritage in his homeland. A 15-volume edition of his works was begun in 1960 on Wilhelm Pieck's initiative and has now been completed. Scholars of the GDR and Marxists in other countries have produced works showing the various stages of Mehring's political and ideological development and assessing his contribution to the history of Marxist thought.

Mehring's writings have never left the battlefield. His life and work are a model of consistency in the fight for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Joachim Streisand



They shall never be forgotten

Reader Myra Barouli of Nanterre, France, has written us asking for an account of the trial in the United States in the 1920s of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Just as half a century ago, no one in America would today take much notice of the murder in a small town of a shoe-factory cashier carrying \$15,000 in payroll money. The story would not make front-page news.

But in the spring of 1920, the murder of a factory cashier in South Braintree, Massachusetts, had far-reaching consequences indeed. It was decided in certain quarters to make it the pretext for persecuting men who had no relation whatever to the crime, ordinary workers, 'nameless' men in a nameless crowd,' as one of them described himself and his comrade.

Two workers were arrested on suspicion of having committed the crime, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Born and brought up in Italy, they emigrated to the United States in 1908 in search of a

better lot. What they found, however, was even more exploitation, more subtle, 'scientific' methods of getting the most out of the worker, and an inhuman attitude to immigrant workers.

The two men were arrested while riding in a street car. A draft of a leaflet found on Sacco advertised a lecture by Vanzetti. The subject was 'the fight for a decent living,' and the leaflet said: 'Everybody welcome, free discussion, come with your wives.'

Their trial began on May 31, 1921. On July 14 the jury pronounced them guilty, and under American law that meant the death sentence.

'Everything is against me: my nationality, my views, my modest status,' Vanzetti wrote from prison, adding that he and Sacco, the victims of American plutocratic reaction, were being tried and condemned because they were against exploitation and cruelty.

The Sacco and Vanzetti case was not some accidental development.

It was part of the reactionary onslaught on the workers, their struggle inspired by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The American proletariat expressed its support for the young Soviet Republic by a powerful strike wave: 4,300 strikes in 1917 involving over 1,000,000 workers, and 4,600,000 in 1919. The big steel strike of that year, involving 350,000 workers, shook the country. The demand was for an eight-hour day (instead of 12 hours), higher wages and the right to organize. The strike was led by William Z. Foster, one of the greatest names in American labor history.

The sweep of the strike movement influenced by the Great October Revolution, mounting protest against anti-Soviet intervention, the founding of the U.S. Communist Party — all this alarmed Big Business.

A rabid anti-Communist campaign was launched, the infamous 'Red Scare,' masterminded by Attorney-General Palmer. Immigrant workers were his special target; the bourgeois press referred to them as the chief vehicles of the 'red contagion.'

The purpose, of course, was to split the working class, drive a wedge between American and foreign-born workers. This was followed in 1921 by enactment of the first immigration quota — no more than three per cent of the 1910 foreign-born population of any given nationality. This was accompanied by propaganda meant to instil the idea that foreign-born workers were 'second-

grade' people. And to drive that home, they were tried on trumped-up charges, for crimes they had never committed.

When sentence was pronounced, the world reacted with a veritable storm of protest. Workers in the Soviet Union came out in defense of the two men; there were protest demonstrations in all the main cities of the world; thousands picketed U.S. embassies and consulates. And the protest came not only from workers, but also from world cultural leaders — Anatole France, Henri Barbusse, Albert Einstein, Bernard Shaw and many more.

The American court rejected all demands for a re-trial even after one of the real criminals, Madeiros, admitted in 1925 that he had been involved in the South Braintree murder and that Sacco and Vanzetti had had no part in it.

For six long years the two men fought for their freedom, supported by the international proletariat and by progressives throughout the world. But to no avail — they were electrocuted on the night of August 22, 1927. To the very end they remained true to their ideals, refused to ask for a pardon and died as heroes. Just before they were led to the electric chair a telegram was delivered to them in prison: 'Be brave, justice is being killed. Sacco and Vanzetti will always live in people's minds.'

All that was many years ago, but U.S. reaction has not changed. There are still the witch-hunts, rep-

ression against all who oppose Big Business, persecution of Communists for their convictions. The trial of Angela Davis is typical of all that. She, too, is being kept in prison for her convictions. Democrats in every country demand freedom for this courageous American

Communist.

Progressive mankind has not forgotten Sacco and Vanzetti. It has not forgotten their trial, that heinous crime in a long chain of crimes committed by American reaction.

Yu. Sharapov

Who stands to gain?

This article is in reply to a question from reader W. Mitchell (Sydney, Australia), on what is behind the present bourgeois publicity build up of Trotskyism.

In the late 1920s the bourgeois press acquired a new contributor, Trotsky. Reactionary newspapers sensationalized his articles and bourgeois publishers were eager to put out his books. The monopoly press had good reason to rejoice, for both articles and books breathed rabid hatred of Leninism and viciously slandered the Communist International and the Soviet Union, the country that had blazed the path to socialism. All this fetched generous royalties.

That was many years ago. The world has changed, has undergone a political transformation. Socialism is firmly established on one-third of the globe, signifying the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. But bourgeois

propaganda shows an unflagging interest in Trotskyism. And though it has not lived up to its hopes, the capitalist-serving press continues assiduously to boost Trotskyist ideas.

Whence this undying passion, this eternal love?

To answer that, we must clearly understand the essence of imperialism's present strategy. One of its cardinal elements is erosion of the Communist and working-class movement from within. And to that end it uses every form of anti-Communist ideology and every variety of reformist and revisionist falsification of Marxism-Leninism. In this expertly orchestrated anti-Communist chorus, the Trotskyist voice is most vociferous.*

The bourgeoisie is only too ready to use Trotskyism for subversion against communism, the more so that at one time the Trotskyists claimed to be the Communist ultra-Left, and were adept at splitting activities, double-dealing and mani-

* No. 10, 1970, of this journal carried an article, 'Adventurism Exposed,' showing why attempts were being made to galvanize Trotskyism, and revealing its reactionary anti-communist essence.

pulating revolutionary phraseology. No wonder the Eighth Plenum of the Comintern Executive described them as individual political defectors standing opposed to the world Communist front. Latter-day Trotskyism, too, cannot of course have anything like a firm base in the labor movement, but its ideology can find response among certain groups, especially among some sections of the youth and a sizeable segment of immigrant workers with little experience of political struggle.

The Trotskyists suit the bourgeoisie also for another reason: they adjust to any situation, have scant regard for principles and adroitly exploit both the successes and shortcomings of the revolutionary movement to further their own ends. They can therefore be used at all turns of history, both in periods of revolutionary upsurge and temporary retreat and regrouping of forces.

There is also the fact that on a number of fundamental issues Trotskyism, especially its present-day variety, shares the 'latest' bourgeois theories and can give the imperialist ideologists 'fresh' arguments for their attacks on Marxism-Leninism. Strange as it may seem, Trotskyism's ultra-revolutionary rhetoric, e.g., calls for immediate and universal destruction of bourgeois society, goes hand in hand with anti-communism. But there is no paradox here, for Trotskyism's revolutionism is merely the facade, while its anti-communism is the reality behind it. The bourgeoisie has no reason to fear Trotskyist

bombast: it knows that Trotskyism is anti-revolutionary.

One of the main Trotskyist dogmas is 'revolution everywhere.' But as they see it, the revolution must start with overthrowing . . . popular rule in the socialist countries and eliminating Communist Party leadership. Renunciation of the main gain of the international working class, such is the reality of Trotskyist ultra-revolutionariness.

The same applies to their appeal for immediate 'colonial revolution.' The success of the national liberation movement depends in decisive degree on unity of all the anti-imperialist forces and on close ties with the socialist world system. But the Trotskyist 'colonial revolution' has nothing in common with real historical processes, serving merely as the theoretical basis for instigating discord among the different streams of the anti-imperialist movement. The Trotskyist contention that the world revolutionary struggle now centers on the 'backward countries of the East' is directly related to the fallacious idea that the 'contradiction now is between the world city and the world village,' an idea meant to obscure the *class* antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist systems.

The Trotskyists ignore the fundamental contradiction of our epoch. The course of history, they contend, is determined only by armed conflicts and their hope of revolution hinges on military

gambles, even on world war. They vie with other 'Left' splitters for authorship of the thesis that the road to a better society lies through nuclear war and the sacrifice of millions of human lives. They support all forms of 'barracks socialism' and all war-oriented policies.

In a definite sense, even the Trotskyist 'version of the 'proletarian revolution' is acceptable to the imperialist bourgeoisie. It helps it bolster up its domination, for it negates the revolutionary potentialities of the proletariat, to which it opposes petty-bourgeois strata, the intelligentsia, and extremist-minded youth and students. The Trotskyists have always flirted with the youth, calling it the 'barometer of revolution,' and setting it against the older generations tempered in class battles. Today, too, they play up to the 'young vanguard,' seeking to involve it — often provoking it — in anarchist actions that have nothing in common with the anti-imperialist struggle.

'Revolution must be prodded,' they maintain, and call for armed uprisings everywhere. E. Mandel, leader of the Belgian Trotskyists, told the 1968 'international conference' of Trotskyist groups that a 'revolutionary situation' had arisen in Western Europe and the time was ripe for 'resolute action,' in other words, for armed struggle. That, lacking the necessary conditions, such uprisings are doomed to failure and their participants to harsh repression at the hands of the imperialists, does not seem to both these revolutionary phasemongers.

Imperialist reaction also profits from the Trotskyists' campaign against the Communist parties' efforts to win more democratic rights and freedoms. Arguing that this can only 'blunt' the 'revolutionary initiative of the masses,' the Trotskyists insist on 'all or nothing' policy, in total disregard of concrete historical conditions and the vital demands of the working people. This maximalist stand actually means a call for passivity, for the Trotskyists are least of all concerned with achieving real objectives, but with disseminating their reactionary fantasies.

Thus, on all issues the Trotskyist policy runs counter to that of the international Communist movement. Having reneged on Marxism-Leninism, the Trotskyists went the way of all renegades, becoming enemies of the forces of peace and progress and direct accomplices of imperialist reaction. And no one should be surprised that, while Communists are baited and persecuted and all means are used to stem the spread of Communist ideas, the activities of Trotskyist groups are permitted, even encouraged, and Trotskyist propaganda thrives.

The tactics of Trotskyism are designed to facilitate the penetration of its pseudo-revolutionary ideology into the working-class and democratic movement. The Fourth International, set up by Trotsky in the late thirties and now split into at least four rival international groups, follows the 'entrism'

method of infiltrating mass organizations and contacting other extremist and subversive groupings for joint anti-Communist activity. This tactic has the 'advantage' of enabling them to spread their views under false colors, as 'criticism' of Communist ideology from the 'Left.' The ruling bourgeoisie encourages this, seeing it as a means of weakening Communist Party influence. In fact, it holds up the Trotskyists as 'genuine Communists,' even helps set up groups more 'Left' than the Communists, reckoning that in this way it will wean vacillating elements away from the Communist parties. Trotskyism is a trump card in this insidious political game: its anti-communism and opposition to unity of workers and democratic forces serve the aims of the ruling class. The French bourgeois *Combat*, wrote in April 1969 that the Trotskyists' primary aim is to 'make trouble for the Communist Party.' By provoking violence, anarchist revolts and organizing 'militant groups,' the Trotskyists objectively help the bourgeoisie set public opinion against the workers' movement, intimidate and confuse individual social groups, disorganize the class struggle and justify brutal repressions against the anti-imperialist movement.

It can be definitely said that the present revival of Trotskyist activity is traceable to the moral and, possibly, also material support they receive, directly or indirectly, from imperialist quarters. Torn by the constant squabbling between groups competing for dominance, the Trotskyists seek and find

appreciable support among the new defectors from the Communist movement. They actively support E. Fischer, R. Garaudy and other 'Left' splitters and Right-opportunists. Typical of these gentry is J. Pelikan, a Right-wing Czechoslovak opportunist now in emigration, who has begun to peddle Trotskyist ideas.

Lenin's characterization of Trotsky and his accomplices fully applies to modern Trotskyism: 'Trotsky unites all to whom ideological decay is dear, all who are not concerned with the defense of Marxism; all philistines who do not understand the reasons for the struggle and who do not wish to learn, think, and discover the ideological roots of the divergence of view . . . It is easy for Trotsky to become the "hero of the hour" and gather all the shabby elements around himself.' (Vol. 17, p. 21).

Today, these 'heroes of the hour' are fighting world socialism, the Communist and Workers' parties, the unity of the anti-imperialist forces. And the bourgeoisie readily exploits this for its own purposes. Therein lies the main danger and the main harm of latter-day Trotskyism.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are closely watching the adventurist sallies of the Trotskyist renegades, foiling their attempts to emerge on the broad international arena, resolutely combating their subversion. Experience has shown that a successful fight against Trotskyism depends largely on the

Communist parties' ability to take the initiative in solving new problems, and to wage a day-to-day struggle for the workers' demands. Trotskyist 'Leftism' — and this the Communist press has convincingly shown — is not a deviation or 'infantile disorder,' but a conscious ideologico-theoretical and political concept fundamentally hostile to the interests of the proletariat and the anti-imperialist forces that are rallying around it. The Trotskyists cannot, therefore, be put on a par with the different 'Leftist' trends, reflecting, albeit in distorted form the revolutionary impatience of

non-proletarian sections and their striving for swift and radical social change. The Communists can win them over to their side through sustained explanatory work and direct their efforts towards truly revolutionary action for democracy and socialism.

But that does not apply to inveterate Trotskyists. The Communists have waged and are waging an irreconcilable struggle against them as enemies of Marxism-Leninism and the international Communist and working-class movement.

M. Sandros

new from the ussr

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CONFERENCE OF FOUR COMMUNIST PARTIES

A conference of the Communist parties of Britain, Denmark, Norway and Ireland, whose governments are seeking admission to the Common Market, was held in August under the auspices of the Danish Communist Party Central Committee.

The conference statement says Common Market extension would bolster monopoly domination in Western Europe, intensify exploitation, deprive the working people of hard-won democratic and social rights and provide more scope for the international monopolies. Common Market membership would jeopardize the four countries' sovereignty. Extension of the Common Market would deepen divisions in Europe and set the stage for a new round of militarization and a more aggressive NATO policy.

Resistance to monopoly plans calls for closer international cooperation, primarily between working-class organizations, the statement

says, stressing the importance of cooperation between the public organizations campaigning against Common Market entry in the four countries.

The four parties agreed to exchange information and experience and concert their efforts in the common struggle.

BELGIUM

Politbureau member Jan Debrouwere and CC member S. Nudelhole of the Belgian Communist Party called on the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam at the Paris peace talks and handed over 31,880 Belgian francs, the first donation from the South Vietnam Fighting Fund sponsored by the Belgian Communist Party.

GUADELOUPE

Thousands took part in the festival to celebrate the 27th anniversary of *L'Etincelle* (The Spark) organ of the Guadeloupe Communist Party. It was held in St. Anne, where the Party is especially influential and where it polled a record vote at the last municipal elections. The mayor of St. Anne was one of the speakers.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

The Science and Education Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the Ministry of

Education and the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh League of Working Youth held a joint meeting to analyze the experience of the 'Front-Rank Education Brigades' and to chart a three-year education program.

Addressing the meeting, Party Secretary To Huu said education must be geared to attainment of the Party's revolutionary goals, e.g., promoting socialist consciousness and readiness to fight and work devotedly to defend and strengthen the socialist motherland and achieve full national liberation. He commended the Brigades, observing that their successes were due to their ability to formulate a concrete program of action and to tie in their work with the Marxist-Leninist principles in education and with the Party's guidelines and the situation in Vietnam.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

During his recent visit to Cuba, Narsiso Iza Conde, General Secretary of the Dominican Communist Party, exposed the CIA-subsidized terrorist organizations in his country in an interview to *Granma*. These organizations, he said, are made up of police agents, renegades and criminals and operate freely and openly under government protection. Progressives fighting U.S. imperialist domination are their main target.

There are 400,000 jobless in the Dominican Republic and this

creates social instability, which the propertied classes use in an attempt to split the working people.

The Party is working to end divisions in the trade union movement. Though the core of the working class was formed only in the past ten years, it plays an important role.

MARTINIQUE

The Martinique Communist Party recently celebrated its 50th anniversary. Addressing the jubilee meeting, General Secretary Armand Nicolas reviewed its activity over the past half-century, described the life and work of its founder, Jules Monnerot, and of his associates, among them J. Linval and J. Dal. L. Bissol, the Party's oldest member, was presented with the Lenin Centenary commemorative medal on behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Politbureau member Georges Mauvois read messages of greetings from fraternal parties.

PAKISTAN

The first exhibition of Marxist-Leninist classics in English and Urdu held in Peshawar included a wide range of Lenin's works and the materials of the 24th CPSU Congress. Its opening was attended by Peshawar public leaders, activists of the Pakistan-USSR friendship society and students.

PHILIPPINES

The Communist Party has resumed publication of the newsletter *Ang Komunista*. It will carry news reports and Marxist-Leninist analyses of the situation at home and abroad, elucidate the Party's policy, publish materials for Party study circles, and discuss organizational and ideological problems. Published illegally in Tagalog and English, it will also reprint documents of fraternal parties and articles from the Communist press and will in this way promote theoretical research and exchange of experience.

URUGUAY

The House of Representatives of the Uruguayan Parliament honored Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party, on the occasion of his 25 years in Parliament. Deputies of all the parties spoke of Arismendi's loyalty to, and fervent championship of, the ideals for which he has worked all his life, his integrity and humanism.

In its leading article on the jubilee, *El Popular* said that Arismendi's parliamentary speeches have always met with a lively response. 'The hundreds of bills bearing his signature have been drawn up jointly with the working people, at workers' meetings and in creative discussions with trade union leaders,' the paper wrote.

CEYLON

In a resolution on the political and economic situation, the Communist Party Central Committee urges the government to draw up a program of fundamental socio-economic changes, introduce agrarian reform, limit the size of private holdings, establish price controls and take urgent measures against unemployment.

The resolution also calls for mass organizations to share in formulating economic development plans, stresses the need to strengthen the United Front of Left and Democratic Forces, giving more influence to its working-class component.

The resolution assesses the April anti-government revolt as a reactionary counter-revolutionary action carried out largely by petty-bourgeois nationalist and ultra-Left elements.

CHILE

A National Assembly of Communist factory nuclei was held in Santiago to exchange experience of work in the new conditions, now that a Popular Unity government is in power. Measures were formulated to enhance the role of Communists in the battle for higher production, extend their link with the masses and improve Party Propaganda on the shop floor.

SOUTH AFRICA

The South African Communist Party has started publication of an underground newspaper, *Inkukuleko* (Freedom), the name of its legal predecessor of the

1930s. 'In the new conditions,' it wrote, 'organization decides everything. The revolutionary newspaper is an organizer, uniting around itself foremost representatives of the working class and liberation movement.'

DIARY

World Marxist Review was recently visited by E. Papaioannou, General Secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), A. Ferreto, Political Commission and Executive Secretariat member of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, and Hertta Kuusinen, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Finland and President of the Women's International Democratic Federation. In the course of the conversations, they discussed the work of the journal and continued cooperation with it.

A conference on publication and

circulation of the journal was held in Prague on September 1-2. It discussed means of increasing the circulation of national editions, shorter publication schedules and improvement of make-up.

World Marxist Review is now published in Lima, Peru, the seventh national edition in Latin America. All told, the journal now appears in 24 languages in 32 national editions.

The price of the Lima edition is 15 sols and subscriptions should be addressed to: Ideologia & politica

Jr. Moquegua 718-203
Lima, Peru



LADDER OF AGGRESSION AND DUPLICITY

This June *The New York Times*, followed by a few other influential American newspapers, published secret Pentagon papers revealing the background to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

A book by a group of Soviet authors, 'The Stepladder of War and Deception,'* responding to the revelations, tells how the stage was set for the U.S. imperialist aggression, how the aggression began and how it unfolded. The reader is shown escalation in the raw, and all the unmitigated falsehood that was to conceal it from the general public.

'The road of the "dirty war" is paved with a big lie,' says the book. 'This big lie is a pattern of subterfuges and deceptions — that the United States bore peace to Asia, would respect the Geneva agreements, would not bring in land troops, would launch no air war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and then that the so-called Gulf of Tonkin Incident was an unprovoked Communist attack.'

Add to this the lies that the boss of the Pentagon knew nothing of the CIA 'secret operations' and the moves of its own General Westmoreland, that the 'bombing pauses' in the air assault on the DRV were motivated by the wish to find a peaceful accommodation, that the United States would never invade Cambodia, would respect Laos neutrality and, the biggest lie of all, that the United States is dedicated to the principle of 'free popular expression.'

To each of these falsehoods the writers present well argued and documented counter-evidence.

The U.S. aggression in Vietnam has a long history. The decision to aid France in her colonial Indochina war was taken when Truman was still in the White House. In 1954 came Dienbienphu. French colonialism collapsed. The struggle of the people of Vietnam for independence did not suit the United States rulers. To this, in fact, is traceable the coinage of 'escalation,' meaning stoking up tension, ascending the ladder of war.

But the idea of the Geneva conference on Indochina was swiftly materializing, which, hell-bent on escalation, the United States in the person of State Secretary John Foster Dulles vainly endeavored to torpedo. The book shows how and why he failed. Unabashed, Dulles placed his bets on puppet Ngo Dinh

* *The Stepladder of War and Deception. The Evidence of the Secret Pentagon Documents.* Compiled by A.N. Yakovlev (head of group), S.I. Beglov, V.V. Zhurkin, L.M. Zamyatin and V.S. Zorin. Moscow, Politizdat, 1971, 127 pp.

Diem. Both he and Eisenhower, the Pentagon papers show, backed the mercenary Diem regime in Saigon to the hilt.

During the Kennedy administration it sank in that Diem's precarious tenure in Saigon was better ended. Many guessed that the U.S. cloak-and-dagger fraternity had done its part in the coup that threw down and assassinated Diem. Now this is confirmed in the papers.

Pentagon's Vietnam archive lifts the veil on the backstage preparations of America's intervention in Indochina. In the spring of 1964, the documents show, the Johnson administration started planning an open war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. June 1-2, 1964, in Honolulu State Secretary Dean Rusk presided over a conference involving Defense Secretary McNamara, Joint Chiefs-of-Staff Chairman General Taylor, CIA Director McCone, U.S. Pacific Forces Commander Admiral Felt and U.S. Ambassador in Saigon Cabot Lodge. The topic was an air war against the DRV. And they went into minute detail, with the resultant enumeration of 94 objectives — from bridges to factories.

In the meanwhile, campaigning for election, President Johnson, who had sanctioned the war preparations, spoke honeyed words of peace, presenting himself as a man at odds with the warlike generals and admirals: a subterfuge in the war of words against the Republican candidate Barry Goldwater, a White House show of 'dovishness'

via-à-vis that irrepressible 'hawk.' The Tonkin Gulf incident, and this we now know for a fact, was entirely and completely a provocation. The U.S. military machine was already poised for action. D-Day could no longer be delayed. A credible motive was required for opening up the war against the DRV.

The U.S. destroyer 'Maddox' left its Yokosuka anchorage in Japan on July 23, 1964. Patrolling in the vicinity of the DRV island of Hon Me it radioed that it had been compelled to open fire on 'pursuing torpedo-boats.' President Johnson promptly convened the National Security Council and ordered 'retaliatory action.' At dusk on August 4, before any Congress decision on the matter, U.S. Air Force bombers attacked DRV territory. Not until August 7 did the Senate and the House of Representatives vote in support of the President's move. The House was unanimous, while out of the 90 Senators only two, Gruening and Morse, voted against, with the latter describing the resolution as a monumental blunder.

The next phase in the U.S. imperialist escalation was the all-out air war against the DRV, code-named 'Rolling Thunder,' in favor of which President Johnson was strongly influenced by McGeorge Bundy, his assistant for national security, whose memorandum even Pentagon officials called a unique act in behalf of the operation.

Planning the Vietnam escalation, the U.S. government could not, of

course, write off the reactions of other countries, especially the Soviet Union. The Pentagon papers contain revealing references thereto. The firm stand and fraternal aid of the USSR was of immense help to the Vietnam patriots.

Operation Rolling Thunder was put off time and again, but the psychotic militarism reigning in the White House and Pentagon finally won the day over common sense. And in March 1965 over a hundred U.S. planes bombed the DRV.

Very soon General Westmoreland asked President Johnson to upgrade the U.S. military presence in Vietnam to 44 battalions, a total of 200,000 men. This was a new step up the war ladder. Bowing to Westmoreland's request, Johnson naturally concealed his decision from the public, which, in plain terms, was a step up the ladder of deceit.

The requested figure of 200,000 men and officers was reached by the close of 1965. In October 1967 it had climbed to over 525,000. And in February 1968 General Westmoreland asked the White House for 200,000 more men.

The lie factory was working overtime. At all costs the aggression had to be underpropped propaganda-wise. This, more than anything else, was behind the 'bombing pauses,' as

the Pentagon papers amply bear out.

On a February morning in 1971 U.S.-supported Saigon troops invaded Laos. The Laos and Cambodia aggressions were blatantly a projection of the general U.S. Indochina policy.

And so, step by step, the book unfolds the dirty story of the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and of the crass deception of the home public. What shows up clearly, in page upon page, is the continuity of the policy of the two U.S. bourgeois parties. 'This is a major crime,' the book sums up, 'for which the responsibility falls squarely on the entire American ruling class, the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations, the Big Business tycoons, U.S. Congress, the Democratic and Republican leaderships, and the big monopoly press.'

The publication of the Pentagon papers exposes the imperialists' sinister dealings against world peace, and also tears down the disguises of those who elevated deceit and hypocrisy to the rank of state policy.

The book is a welcome addition to the prolific material condemning U.S. imperialism, a blow in the battle for peace.

Y. P.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

S. SUTOTSKY, *Slovo-polkovodets* (The Word Is Our Leader). Moscow, 1971. 253 pp.

'We have *only the word* at our disposal,' said Lenin in reference to the Bolshevik press, the Marxists' principal weapon in tsarist Russia.

This book by Sergei Sutotsky is, in a manner of speaking a biography of Lenin's various publications – in leaflets, books, and newspapers published underground or abroad.

The book abounds in fascinating detail, little known facts and interesting utterances, reconstructing the atmosphere of the ideological battle of those years and giving the reader a view of the alluring force of Lenin's writing, which, coupled with action, prepared the triumph of the socialist revolution.

The author writes with warmth about the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, in which Lenin fulfilled his wish of writing for the workers. It was an up-hill fight. For *Pravda* had had to stave off over 200 repressive attacks of the authorities during 1912-14. There were fines, many issues were confiscated, and editors were imprisoned. True, the latter were but 'stand-ins,' specially appointed for this purpose. The abuses of censorship forced Lenin to be cautious and resort to '... that confounded Aesopian language.' Many of his articles contain hints that he could not fully express his views and could not, 'from a certain rostrum' say everything he

wished in retorting to his opponents.

The Bolshevik press was widely supported by the workers, who collected funds for the *Pravda* and helped distribute the paper in factories and residential areas.

The paper carried the texts of resolutions drawn up by workers at factories, letters and articles in which workers voiced their support for Lenin's policy and branded splitters as 'gravediggers of the Party.' Lenin who once described the workers' desire to write for the press as a noble urge, was gladdened by their lively response. He wrote: 'The workers' party has set *all* parties in Russia an example of *how* the *masses* of the rank-and-file members should be drawn into an open and all-round discussion of controversial issues' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 539).

In improving their press, Lenin is constantly a source of counsel for Communist and Workers' parties. Each detail, each little stroke is important, helping to understand and apply Lenin's experience, to learn the practical side and the concrete forms and methods, to acquire the skills.

Sutotsky brings closer the present generation to the heroic past of the Party founded and led by Lenin, who was also its first historian. His book is based on authentic facts and the presentation is vivid and interesting, leading the reader into a world of great ideas and events and giving him a picture of the life and

work of the great man. Surely, the book will be read with interest in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

N. Pronsky

E. LABARCA GODDARD, *Chile al rojo. Reportaje a una revolucion que nace* (Chile: A Nascent Revolution). Santiago, Ediciones de la Universidad Técnica del Estado, 1971. 398 pp.

Progressive Chilean journalist Labarca Goddard gives the background to the Popular Unity bloc's victory in last year's presidential elections. He traces the evolution and crisis of the Right-wing parties and groups, the collapse of Demochristian reformism and the insolvency of the ultra-Left. Central to his account is the rise and development of the Popular Unity bloc and the difficulties encountered in formulating a progressive program that made that bloc a reality. His massively documented account generalizes the experience in building a broad anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic coalition.

Polemics with 'Left' adventurist theories and practice holds an important place in the book. The 'Left' impeded unity of the progressive forces and, objectively, were playing reaction's game. They accused the Communist Party and its allies of reformism, their own slogan being 'Guns Instead of Ballots.' They completely misread the situation created by the upsurge of the popular movement. Though the 'Chilean Communists never regarded unarmed struggle as an abso-

lute,' the author writes, they were alive to the possibility of victory without recourse to arms (p. 131). The Communists took into account such factors as the high level of working-class organization and consciousness, the firm alliance of the Communist and Socialist parties, the army's observance of the Constitution and legality, etc. Labarca Goddard concludes that the victory of the Popular Unity bloc showed that the Communists and the other bloc parties had followed a correct strategy and tactics which helped activate the masses.

J. Pereira

JIM ARNISON, *The Million Pound Strike*. London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1971. 85 pp.

Millions of workers in capitalist and socialist countries know of the 18-month strike in Stockport in 1967-68. And not only from the press or TV, but also from their part in the solidarity movement in support of the strikers at the Roberts-Arundel factory. To this day employers still tremble whenever their workers say: 'We will not have another Roberts-Arundel here.' The words are quoted by Jim Arnison, the *Morning Star* Lancashire correspondent, in his moving description of the long battle in Stockport.

He draws the lessons of the workers' victory, and they are relevant to British trade-unionism today. For one of the issues in the Roberts-Arundel conflict was the right of the workers to organize

unions, a right on which the plant's new American owner had grossly encroached.

At first only 145 workers were involved in the stoppage at this small factory, but it was not long before many thousands more were involved directly or indirectly. For there were mass demonstrations, solidarity strikes, boycotts of 245 companies in one or another way associated with Roberts-Arundel and black-listed by the strikers. Management tried to find a market for its 'blackened' product in the socialist countries, but their trade unions stood in solid support of their British class brothers. Help came also from the workers of Belgium and Italy where the firm has plants. The organized might of the working class compelled the American owner to give in. The strike cost him one million pounds.

Arnison's account helps to understand how effective methods can be found to resist employer encroachment on the workers' rights. The reader is shown the value of mass action, the devotion of the strike leaders, the strength of international proletarian solidarity. He is also shown the bogus neutralism of the government in this class battle and the legislation it uses to justify police assaults on strikers.

E. Yorgen

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, *American Trade Unionism. Principles, Organization, Strategy, Tactics*. Selected Writings. New York, International Publishers, 1970. 383 pp.

This new edition of Foster's writings relates to the American trade union movement in the first half of the century. The volume contains articles and book-chapters published over a period of 35 years. The author, an outstanding figure in the U. S. labor movement, gives an interpretative generalization of the American workers' struggle and a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the principles, organization, strategy and tactics of the trade union movement and of the part played by Communists and other Left forces.

Foster draws from the movement's successes and setbacks conclusions that have lost none of their validity in our day. He convincingly demonstrates the need for close cooperation between Communists and other progressive forces, emphasizes that the movement's key to success is unity — unity of the entire people, Negroes and white, workers and poor farmers; unity, also, of the American workers with those of all other countries. That, Foster stresses, is the guarantee of successful struggle.

Foster's campaign for industry-wide unions and organization of the millions of unorganized in the World-War I years, played a significant role in labor's progress in later years.

Trade union militancy, Foster declares, is an essential condition of successful struggle. But this requires democratization of the unions and an independent policy by their leaders oriented in the workers'

interests. He points to the importance of disseminating the scientific socialist ideology among the workers and calls for a stronger Communist Party.

Foster assesses labor actions in the light of the struggle for labor's ultimate aim, socialism. 'We believe that a fundamental reorganization of society — socialism — is the only final solution of the workers' problems,' he writes.

Though the events analyzed in this book now belong to history, Foster's account will help towards a better understanding of the American labor movement today and of the many complex problems it still has to solve.

P. Bart

M. T. MESHCHERYAKOV, *Vsya zhizn--borba* (A Life of Struggle), Moscow. Politizdat, 1971. 191 pp.

This is a book about the life and work of an outstanding personality in the Spanish and world Communist movement. In the ten years Jose Diaz was secretary of Spain's Communist Party it grew into a mass and influential political force that united the democratic camp and led the people in the fight against fascism. The story of Jose Diaz's life is part of the history of the Spanish proletariat's revolutionary struggle against reaction, for democracy and socialism.

The chapters on the Popular and National front have a very topical ring. The author shows how the

Communist Party formulated and put into practice the tactics of bringing together Spain's progressive forces for democratic revolution in conditions of a national revolutionary war against fascism and Italian, German and Portuguese intervention. The reader is told how the Communist International and its delegation in Spain helped strengthen the Party organizationally, ideologically and politically to face the ordeals of the anti-fascist war. And it was this close link with the world Communist movement, the creative application of its accumulated experience, proletarian internationalism and Soviet assistance that enabled the Communist Party of Spain successfully to prosecute the long fight against fascism.

The author draws on the works of Diaz and Dolores Ibarruri and on a wealth of other documents, including reminiscences of Diaz's close associates, published here for the first time.

N. Doren

Voluntari Romani in Spania. 1936-1939. Amintiri si documente. (Rumanian Volunteers in Spain. 1936-1939). Bucharest, Editura politica, 1971. 607 pp.

This is a collection of documents of the Rumanian Communist Party, reminiscences of International Brigade veterans and other materials illustrative of the bravery and self-sacrifice of the famous Brigades who fought for Republican Spain in 1936-39 and of the Rumanian

Communists' and democrats' solidarity with the Spanish people.

In the very first days of the war, the Rumanian Communist Party took the initiative in setting up a coordinating committee to help the Spanish people and organized the despatch of volunteers. The most moving pages of this book are written by men who fought at Irun and Madrid, at Jarama and Guadalajara, in Andalusia and Catalonia.

The book contains photographs and maps of the major battles. *G. Oancea*

K.N. KABRA, R.R. SURESH, *Public Sector Banking*. New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1970. 178pp.

In developing countries, the nationalization of banking holds an important place in Marxist theoretical research. The question is of especial importance for India, where 14 of the country's biggest banks have been nationalized and plans are under discussion for concentrating all banking in the public sector. The authors of this book make out a convincing and theoretically substantiated case for that. But they also effectively refute the many objections raised by supporters of private enterprise and criticize Morarji Desai, who counselled such half-measures as 'public control' as a substitute for nationalization.

The authors make the point that radical social changes, and specifically bank nationalization, must always be carried to completion.

Not all banks and other financial institutions have so far been nationalized, and this, the authors say, hampers centralized economic planning. They suggest that India give up its 'traditional' capitalist principles of banking, which must be socially motivated and assessed by the degree to which it helps economic development and the achievement of social aims. That applies also to the way the banks serve agriculture, which in the past was practically ignored, though India is predominantly an agricultural country. They also discuss the role of the banks in expanding credit and money relations as a factor in accelerating economic growth.

Public ownership of the banks, they point out, must be accompanied by abandonment of bourgeois economic policy in order to avoid possible negative repercussions of nationalization. This is of particular importance for India, where progressive-sounding slogans are often designed to cover up attempts to maintain the *status quo*. The authors draw attention to the danger of 'a revival of the coterie rule of banks which is indifferent to social objectives' (p. 125) and suggest measures to obviate this, among them effective representation of the working people on management boards, and parliamentary control. *M. Atchutham*

Ekonomichesky mekhanizm sotrudnichestva stran sotsializma (Economic Mechanism of Cooperation of the Socialist Countries).

Questions of Theory and Methodology. Moscow, Mysl, 1970. 271 pp.

World foreign trade has more than quadrupled in less than 20 years, outpacing the growth of national income and industrial production. This lends much more importance to foreign economic contacts. In fact, a rational pattern of economic relations has become the major element in the competition of the two socio-economic systems. How to achieve maximum effectiveness in this vital sphere? That is an axial problem discussed by the Soviet economists who compiled this book.

After explaining the foundations of the socialist world economy and its specific features and regularities, they examine a wide range of problems: development trends, forms and methods of CMEA cooperation, from plan coordination and production specialization to economic integration; new directions in cooperation, especially in the investment and financial areas.

The chapters on formation of the mechanism of international cooperation and its methodological problems are of particular interest. The authors take up such complex problems as international criteria of value indicators and productivity levels, ways and means of measuring the effectiveness of different cooperation variants. There is an interesting discussion on operation of the law of value in international economics and on combining planned coordination of foreign economic activity with use of

commodity-money levers and stimulators.
O. Behr

Sovremenniyemye problemy teorii poznaniy dialekticheskogo materializma (Contemporary Problems of the Theory of Cognition of Dialectical Materialism). Moscow, Mysl, 1970. Vol. I, Matter and Reflection — 327 pp; Vol. II, Truth, Cognition, Logic — 430 pp.

Elucidation of the theoretico-cognitive problems and philosophical interpretation of the new gnosiological elements in modern science and what science can expect of gnosiology, is one of the main areas of Marxist philosophical research. In this collective study Soviet philosophers deal both with traditional problems of the Marxist-Leninist theory of cognition and with the new problems posed by the scientific and technological revolution, including the logico-methodological questions of the verifiability of scientific theory, the theoretico-cognitive role of special research methods (probability statistics, modelling, etc.). The book analyzes the structural principle of studying the main concepts of modern physics, chemistry and biology, some aspects of present-day formal logic and the significance of language in cognition.

All analyses are based on a generalization of new scientific data, especially in cybernetics and semiotics. In philosophical literature one often finds scientific data used to substantiate theoretical proposi-

tions or illustrate them by citing new facts. The authors, however, examine gnosiological problems in organic contact with the substance of scientific cognition, reveal the inner logic of the cognitive process, how it produces new concepts and categories, and single out its differing levels and aspects — empirical, logical, mathematical, symbolical — and establish their interrelation. There is argumented criticism of the gnosiological views of neo-positivism, existentialism and neo-Thomism. However, criticism of contemporary phenomenology and structuralism is less articulate. It is to be regretted that the authors did not draw more on the social sciences, for the principles and concepts of the theory of cognition of dialectical materialism stem from the entire complex of scientific knowledge.

G. Kursanov

ANOUAR ABDEL-MALEK, *La pensée politique arabe contemporaine* (Contemporary Arab Political Thought). Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1970. 382 pp.

The compiler, Anouar Abdel-Malek, has brought together and skilfully organized the writings and pronouncements of political thinkers and leaders of the major Arab countries. Altogether there are 57 texts — articles, speeches, documents, book excerpts — and more than 50 are for the first time given in translation from the Arabic. The material is subdivided into eight topical rubrics: history and the present time, political Islam,

national liberation struggle, revival of national consciousness, problems of power (masses, intelligentsia, army), Arab unity, socialism, Palestine — from resistance to revolution. Each rubric contains what the author believes to be the most representative pronouncements.

The book opens with excerpts from *The Path of Egyptian Hearts to the Benefits of Modern Times*, first published in Cairo in 1869, and written by R. Tahtawi, a philosopher strongly influenced by the French Revolution and the utopian socialism of Saint-Simon. Other items include an article in defense of Bolshevism by the Syrian Islamic theoretician M. Rida, and published in 1919 in the Cairo newspaper *Al Manar*; a lecture by A. Tariqi, a Saudi-Arabian oil expert on 'Oil and Imperialism' (1963); articles by M. Aflaq and C. Bitar, founders of Baath Party; the political manifesto of the National Front of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen (now the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen); a declaration of Al-Fatah and President Nasser's interview to *Le Monde* (February 19, 1970) on the military and political situation in Egypt and the Middle East.

Articles and speeches by Arab Marxists are given a prominent place. And here the list includes works by such well-known figures of the international Communist movement as Khaled Bagdash, Ali Yata and Abdal Khalek Mahgoub, who, a victim of terror, was recently executed. (Mahgoub's article in No. 10, 1969 of this journal).

The theoretical introduction and brief notes about the authors and their times help the reader form a rounded-out picture.

This collection provides an idea of the various political, social and economic views in the Arab world over the past 100 years. *A. Said*

COLIN CROUCH, *The Student Revolt*. London, The Bodley Head, 1970, 251 pp.

This book is valuable for its facts. And there are many of them, about various aspects of the student movement in Britain, student

actions, an analysis of student demands, the chief of which are democratic education, participation in university government, no government interference in the universities, and against racialism. And the facts show that part of the youth is disoriented on social issues, lacks a strong student organization and at times succumbs to ultra-Left slogans. However, one cannot agree with the author, a supporter of the Labor Right wing, in contending that radicalism among the students is due to policy mistakes by the government, certain shortcomings of bourgeois society and the 'inflexible forms' of the political system. *E. Luan*

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication),

MARX K., ENGELS F., LENIN V.I. *O zhenskoy vopros* (On the Question of Women). Moscow, Politizdat, 1971. 224 pp.

MARX K., ENGELS F. *On Ireland*. A full collection of articles, excerpts from large works, letters, notes, speeches, reports, including new manuscript material. New York, International Publishers, 1971. 432 pp.

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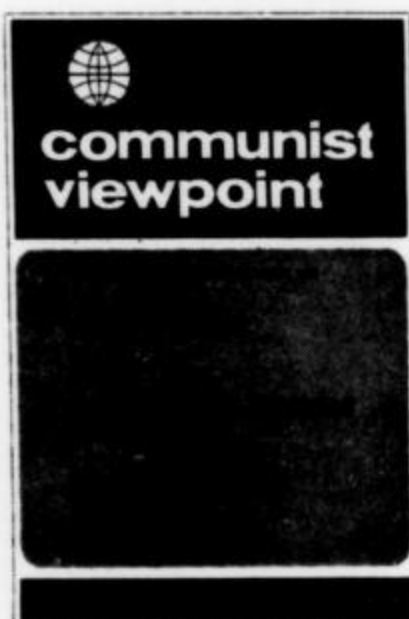
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