

WORLD

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European
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24th Congress
CPSU

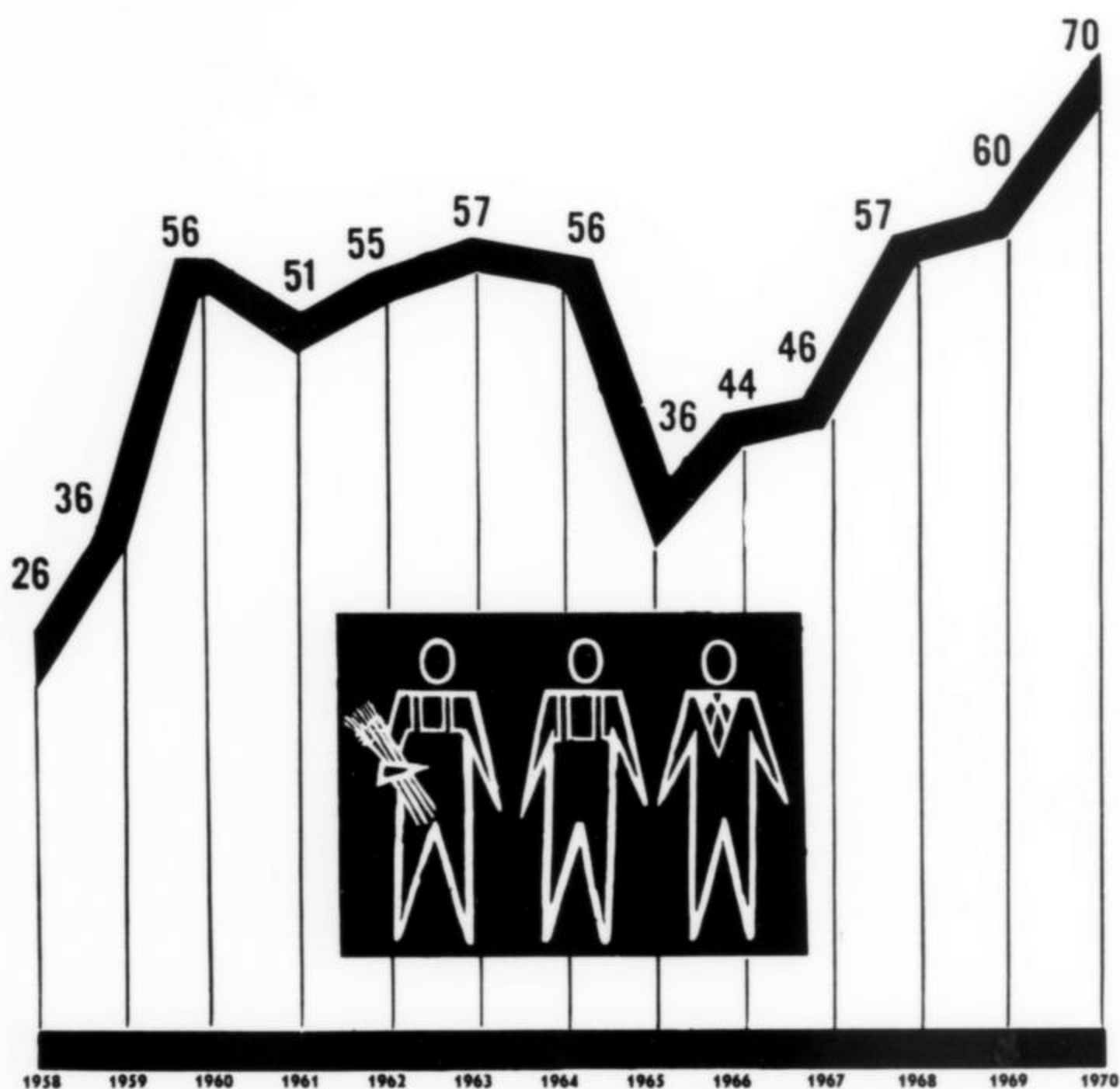
CP of Portugal
— 50 years

Neo-colonialism
in Africa

World labor
strike front

The USSR
census

STRIKE DYNAMICS IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES (mlns strikers)



Apart from **workers**, the strikes convulsing the capitalist world extensively involve **technicians** and **engineers**, the **intelligentsia** and **farmers**. Between the two world wars the average annual number of strikers was 3,800,000. The annual average in 1960-1970 was 53,400,000 (this includes the various new forms of strikes).

For an account of recent strikes see p. 65 of this issue.



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

Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

June 1971, Vol. 14, No. 6

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Under banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism

(24th Congress CPSU)

Boris Ponomaryov

The results of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union continue to be discussed in every part of the world. It is no exaggeration to say that the Congress was the focal point of attention everywhere. Even bourgeois circles felt that they could not afford to disregard its decisions and important conclusions. In the capitalist world, assessment of the Congress has become the subject of sharp ideological controversy.

Many fraternal parties have passed special resolutions on the Congress or have in other forms expressed their approval of its documents and decisions. These are being studied in the socialist countries. In other countries – for example in France and Italy, India and the United Arab Republic, Britain and Uruguay, Chile and West Germany – the Congress ideas have met with a wide response from the working people. Congress reports have found a very wide readership. Mass meetings have been held in many countries.

The unparalleled reverberations the Congress has had among wide circles of the world public are indicative of the appreciation that CPSU policy, the orientation it gives the people's effort, the course the Congress has charted out for fuller use of the country's growing economic and political might, is not merely an internal Soviet matter, but has more general, international implications.

Congress summed up a dynamic and eventful period, one of sharp confrontation of socialism and imperialism, in which world socialism strengthened its positions and won new opportunities. New gains have been made also by the other revolutionary forces of our time, the workers' movement in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement. In these years the Communist movement took a long step towards unity, increased its vanguard role, sharply stepped up the struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunism, against all anti-Leninist trends. Worldwide celebration

of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and the Lenin centenary enabled all revolutionary forces, and primarily the Communists, to review the road they have travelled, interpret present-day realities in the light of their accumulated experience and make a constructive contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. The ideological and political campaigns conducted in connection with the anniversaries involved hundreds of millions and helped strengthen the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism throughout the contemporary revolutionary movement.

For the Soviet Communists this was a period that saw elaboration of an economic policy consonant with the requirements of a developed socialist society and higher standards of economic management. Practice has proved the efficacy of the new methods in planning and stimulating production. The Party carried out far-reaching measures in agriculture, with the accent on creating stable economic conditions to stimulate farm output. This has considerably raised output and improved rural conditions.

The Party has successfully tackled a number of fundamentally new problems posed by the immense scale of Soviet industry and the unfolding of the scientific and technological revolution. It has also introduced and tested new methods of leadership in which continuity is combined with innovation to produce a stable policy that further strengthens the unity of the Party and the people, the moral and political unity of Soviet society and fosters a confident business-like atmosphere. In short, the results of this period have made it glaringly clear to the whole world that the Soviet Union has created real and durable preconditions for a fresh powerful advance along its chosen path.

The profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation contained in the Central Committee Report delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, shows the growing strength of socialism, the building of a communist society in the USSR, the sharpening of all the contradictions of capitalism and the upsurge of the class struggle in this last exploitive system.

The impressive revolutionary gains, both in the USSR and internationally, in which the CPSU played no small part, determine the 24th Congress's place in history, the degree and character of its international impact.

I. The experience of history has emphatically confirmed what Lenin said in the early years of Soviet power: 'We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy . . . The struggle in this field has now become global' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437). Release of the constructive potentialities of the socialist revolution played a determinative part

in the gigantic changes that have taken place in the world in the past decades.

However, the continued growth of its economic might makes new demands on socialism, both of an internal and international character, determined by the nature and scope of the present-stage struggle between imperialism and the revolutionary forces.

The economic policy problems of the socialist states are importantly related to the unfolding of the vast advantages of socialism, to maintaining at a proper level the material means needed to curb the forces of aggression and war, to the continued development and strengthening of the international socialist community, and effective support to peoples that have chosen independence and social progress. Last but not least, they have a direct bearing on the international ideological struggle, now a major factor of world development.

The 24th Congress ushered in a new major stage in building communist society. It formulated the *main target* of the five-year plan as a *substantial rise in the people's prosperity and standards*, based on a high growth rate of socialist production, its higher effectiveness, scientific and technological progress and accelerated growth of labor productivity. This is the distinguishing feature of the ninth five-year plan.

Of course, even in the most difficult times in our country's development the Party did everything within its power to realize the supreme aim of its economic policy, namely, satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual requirements. But now we have the economic wherewithal directly and more fully to gear economic development to all-round improvement of conditions, without, however, relaxing attention to the growth of heavy industry, including its defense-related branches.

Higher material standards are being achieved also through consistent implementation of a long-range integrated program of restructuring agriculture along industrial lines, accelerated growth of the consumer goods industries and continued expansion of service facilities. And to achieve that, heavy industry, too, including its defense-related branches, will enlarge production of consumer goods.

We envisage not only a further and substantial increase in per capita cash income, but also a very appreciable – 40 per cent – increase in social consumption funds. This will mean extension of medical and educational facilities and far-reaching measures in the social services to improve conditions for large and low-income families, working women, pensioners and students. The five-year plan assignments provide for continued expansion in housing, municipal services, town planning and for more general and cultural amenities.

Marxist-Leninists are irreconcilably opposed to those who maintain that the material well-being of the working people is not needed for the development of the revolution and the triumph of communism, that it is a superfluous, even harmful, undertaking. But we also flatly reject the philistine 'ideal' of complacent well-being compounded by political passivity.

Together with a high level of consumption in the proper meaning of the term, socialism develops the people's genuine human requirements, socialist consciousness and culture, creates new moral values. The whole question of prosperity, the Central Committee report stresses, has acquired a fundamentally new meaning: the purpose is to create conditions favoring the all-round development of the Soviet citizen's abilities and creative activity. In this way, the essence of socialism is demonstrated more concretely and convincingly than ever before.

That is the decisive difference between socialism and the bourgeois 'consumer society,' the class purpose of which is to perpetuate capitalist exploitation and oppression and make man subservient to the interests of capital.

The very content and social meaning of life is increasingly becoming an issue in the present struggle of the two worlds. That was eloquently expressed by Comrade Gus Hall in his speech of greeting to the 24th Congress: 'New criteria are taking shape in the minds of millions in the capitalist world,' he said. 'They enable people to compare the two world systems . . . The progressive decay of capitalism reduces its ability to respond to human needs, and vital values are disintegrating. In contrast, as socialism increases its stability to satisfy man's requirements, life flourishes ever more brightly.'

Social life organized on scientific principles, progressively fuller satisfaction of material and cultural requirements, maximum scope for the creative and spiritual potential of the personality – such is the prospect, and it can be realized only in socialism. The 24th CPSU Congress will go down in history as an important landmark on the road to that goal.

Simple re-allotment of resources is not enough to assure stable and uninterrupted rise of prosperity standards and, at the same time, strengthen the base for continued growth of our economic and defense capacity. The Congress emphatically, and in many ways innovatively, posed the question of how to secure this. And the key to a solution lies in raising the effectiveness of social production through scientific and technological progress and a more efficient economic management system.

The historic task set by the 24th Congress is organically to unite the achievements of the technological revolution with the ad-

vantages of socialism. The Soviet economy has reached a point when high and sustained growth rates in production and living standards can be secured only through universal employment of intensive development methods. This presupposes direct fusion of science and production to get more out of existing plant, with more emphasis on quality and the economic aspects of industrial operation. Such is the objective requirement of mature socialist society.

In stressing the importance of perfecting the economic management system, Congress considered this a cardinal politico-economic problem rather than a technical or purely organizational one. Comrade Brezhnev said in his report that it was essentially a matter of how best to organize the activity of society in accelerating economic and social development, in ensuring the fullest use of available possibilities, and in rallying even closer together hundreds of thousands of collectives, and tens of millions of working people around the main aims of the Party's policy.

In perfecting the management structure, priority will be given to developing the theory and practice of economic planning, that central link in directing the entire socialist economy. Centralized planning is one of the greatest gains of socialism. And planning multiplied by nationwide initiative is, properly speaking, the very substance of the superiority of socialist economics. Only within the framework of a uniform plan can we properly take stock of, correctly allot and use to maximum effect our available resources to attain scientifically grounded aims that accord with the people's interests.

The basic indicators of the new five-year plan, now widely known, provide for a substantial rise in national income, industrial and farm output, and real incomes of the people. These are balanced, realistic and achievable targets.

Qualitative renewal and continued expansion of the Soviet Union's economic potential, conversion of our huge economic structure into a better operating, closely coordinated mechanism, has not only important internal, but also international implications, of which the following should be especially noted:

- tying intensive technological progress to the socialist integration process will provide better conditions for the development of each member of the socialist community, that prototype of the future world commonwealth of free nations;

- wider perspectives will be opened for socialism's advance in the world economy, for more effective international division of labor and broader cooperation with countries that have chosen independence and social progress;

- greater possibilities will be afforded for continued change in the balance of strength to assure the preservation of world peace and foil aggressive imperialist schemes.

All this will bring out still more saliently socialism's superiority over capitalism, will increase the impact of the socialist system on world development and strengthen the factors that attract to it everything progressive and freedom-loving in the world today.

A cardinal feature of the course initiated by the 24th Congress is that the Party's economic program is organically tied in with the socio-political development of Soviet society at the present stage and with the continued convergence of the constituent classes, nations and social groups, with the working class retaining its leading role. Broad opportunities for activity by the working people, their increasing share in the functioning of the all-people's state, more scope for the realization of man's abilities in inseparable unity of his spiritual interests with those of society – in all these things socialism has already created for the working people conditions that are inconceivable in capitalist countries.

The 24th Congress goals in continued perfection of the political organization of Soviet society and the development of socialist democracy, are of fundamental importance both for communist construction in our country and for international development. That was emphasized by delegates from many fraternal parties.

Our Party is doing everything to stimulate participation of work collectives in the management of their enterprises through Party, trade-union and Komsomol branches, production conferences and general meetings. But the Party holds that the leading role of the working class should not be restricted to these primary production units. Accordingly, along with cultivating diverse forms in which the workers exercise their rights as masters at factory level, the 24th Congress called for their broader participation, together with the entire working people, in elaborating Party and government policy, in discussing nationwide plans and projects and control of their operation. It is in this that the Party sees the main content of socialist democracy.

And it is to this end that the Congress instituted measures to upgrade the role of the Soviets, raise the authority and jurisdiction of their Deputies, activate People's Control bodies and better adapt the work of all administrative bodies to the needs of the population.

The Communist Party is the supreme form of ideological-political organization of the working class, of all the front-rank forces of our society. In charting out new targets in communist construction, the 24th Congress emphasized the need to increase the Party's leading role in Soviet society. Essentially, this means closer ties with the masses, whose experience the Party accumulates and, animated by the supreme interests of all working people, translates into scientifically substantiated policy. It also means deeper knowledge of the needs and sentiments of the masses in order to raise

their political consciousness to the level of present requirements, instil in them Marxist-Leninist ideology in close association with their practical share in communist construction.

Socialist society is becoming more homogeneous, but, at the same time, more multiform in structure. The problems it has to solve become more complex, as also the interdependence of all spheres of economic, socio-political and cultural life. That imposes a bigger role and bigger responsibility on such an authoritative and competent leading force as the Communist Party.

On summing up the immense experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties in this regard, the 24th Congress enumerated the conditions necessary for raising the Party's leading role in the new stage of communist construction. First and foremost, this concerns the Communists' own ideological integrity and depth of conviction and intolerance of bourgeois influence, backward views and morals, activeness in combatting any and all impingements on the communist outlook. 'We have been and remain true to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism,' Comrade Brezhnev said at the Congress, 'and shall never make any concessions in questions of ideology.' That is why our Party rejects all attempts at assessing the historic gains of the Soviet people from a non-partisan, non-class standpoint, as well as all dogmatic notions that ignore the recent far-reaching positive changes in the life of Soviet society. The elimination of the consequences of the personality cult, and of the subjectivist errors too, the Congress noted, have had a benign effect on the country's general political and, primarily, ideological climate.

For the Party to fulfil its function of guiding all society successfully requires a further unfolding of inner-Party democracy and strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party life. The Congress called on the Party to unfold criticism and self-criticism and to maintain an effective and fruitful relationship between the leadership and the Party's branches and organizations. As stressed in the CC CPSU Report, 'anarchic lack of discipline, presented as democracy, and bureaucratic centralization, hindering the promotion of the initiative and activity of Communists, are equally injurious to the Marxist-Leninist Party.'

The Congress stressed that quality has become an increasingly important factor in the composition of Party ranks, both as regards the social-class and the moral and political aspects. The Party knows that its moral prestige will be the higher, the higher are the ideological and moral qualities of each Communist. That is why it will continue to show due concern for the purity of its ranks.

The Party's authority, and consequently the effectiveness of its guidance, depend in many respects on the competence of its cadres.

The Party worker of today must be highly mature in the political sense, combining this with deep knowledge of the sphere of his activity. He must be conversant with the latest methods of administration and must never lose sight of the general perspective of development.

The program of practical measures outlined by the Congress with regard to Party building is a new important advance in the teaching on the Party's leading role in the present stage. This is of fundamental importance. Not only we Soviet Communists, but all our friends as well, have every reason to regard the further enhancement of the CPSU's leading role in society as a dependable guarantee that the tasks set by the Congress will be successfully fulfilled – that communist construction in the USSR will triumph and that the Soviet Union will perform its internationalist revolutionary duty in the world arena.

The Congress stressed the decisive importance of the advanced revolutionary theory, from which the Party must unfailingly take guidance in fulfilling its vanguard role. The ever vital and developing teaching of Leninism will continue to be in the center of the Party's ideological life, the foundation of all its transforming revolutionary activity. Our Party stands for a genuinely creative attitude to theory. 'Repetition of old formulas where they have become outworn,' the CC CPSU Report says, 'and an inability or reluctance to adopt a new approach to new problems harm the cause and create additional possibilities for the spread of revisionist counterfeits of Marxism-Leninism. Criticism of bourgeois and revisionist attacks on our theory and practice becomes much more convincing when it is founded on the active and creative development of the social sciences, of Marxist-Leninist theory.'

Together with the other fraternal parties, the Central Committee Report noted, the CPSU has accomplished a great deal in elaborating some of the major theoretical problems, such as problems relating to communist construction, the characteristics of the common laws of socialist society in the present stage, the principles of socialist economic integration, the methods and forms of the influence exercised by world socialism on the development of the non-socialist world, the new phenomena in the development of modern capitalism, the new processes in capitalist economics, and the like. This is reflected in decisions of the CC meeting and the CC CPSU documents on the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. Substantial work was also done by our Party in the theoretical domain in relation to the 1969 International Meeting and such important dates in the history of the revolutionary movement as the 150th anniversaries of the birth of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and the 100th an-

niversary of the Paris Commune. As always, the Party took into account not only the rich experience of communist construction in our country, but also the experience of other fraternal parties and the results of world development as a whole.

The Congress oriented the Party on redoubling its attention to questions of Marxist-Leninist theory, to learning, creatively developing and defending it against all distortion. It stressed that 'theoretical work is an important element of our common international revolutionary duty.'

The Congress decisions have met with the wholehearted approval of the entire Soviet people. This is evidenced by the thousands of letters of approval to the Congress and the Party's Central Committee from collectives of working people and from individuals. It is evidenced by the meetings of Party activists and of working people across the length and breadth of the country. It is evidenced, too, by the fact that the Soviet people are not merely approving the Congress decisions, but are already working to put them into practice. The industrial plan for the first three months of 1971 has been fulfilled ahead of schedule. And the labor of the Soviet people is the guarantee that the plans of the CPSU will be realized.

II. Many of the delegations attending the 24th Congress of the CPSU described it as a 'world revolutionary forum.'

And it is quite true that no other communist party congress has ever had as many foreign guests. More than 100 delegations of Communist, national-democratic and Left-Socialist parties attended, representing all regions of the world and the great diversity of the present-day anti-imperialist liberation movement. The voices of all the main contingents of the world revolutionary movement resounded at the Congress. The representatives of fraternal parties from various countries spoke not only of the common tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle, but also of their own specific problems and difficulties. That kind of frankness is possible only where an atmosphere of genuine and active internationalism prevails and comrades-in-arms compare notes on their practical experience.

The CC CPSU Report, the other Congress materials and the speeches of the foreign guests yield a sweeping and comprehensive picture of the world revolutionary process. By its work and documents the Congress has contributed to a coming together of the revolutionary forces at an especially responsible moment, with important processes under way in all the main echelons of the world revolutionary movement and new opportunities arising for an offensive against imperialism.

The course of cementing the unity of action of all forces opposing imperialism, set by the Congress, is based on the political line work-

ed out collectively by the Marxist-Leninist parties at their 1969 Meeting. It reflects the rockbottom requirements of the liberation movement in the present stage and is oriented on the maximum effectuation of the giant revolutionary potential accumulated in the world.

Persevering efforts to enhance the cohesion of the Communist movement, to raise its role in the anti-imperialist struggle, were defined by the Congress as one of our Party's main tasks. The Congress stressed two closely related aspects of the struggle for the unity of the Communist ranks: dependable *political* cohesion and Marxist-Leninist *ideological* unity.

Like the other Marxist-Leninist parties, our Party, too, regards united action by Communist and Workers' parties and joint effectuation of the 1969 Meeting's program of anti-imperialist struggle as the proper way of further cementing political unity. Coordinating efforts in this struggle is connected with mutual study of the conditions in which each Party operates, with exchanges of experience and greater inter-party contacts. And international conferences of fraternal parties whenever necessary, the Congress stated, would serve this purpose well.

The Soviet Communist Party holds – and this was expressed in the Congress documents – that in this period struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles is gaining increasingly vital importance for the world Communist movement in cementing unity and accomplishing the practical tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle. This approach fully accords with the 1969 Meeting conclusions that the effectiveness of joint action depends wholly on fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, that is, on the ideological unity of the Communist parties.

Life sets the Communists a host of new problems, which can be correctly understood only on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, with fidelity to its fundamental principles. Past experience shows that those individuals and groups that assume Right or 'Left' revisionist and nationalist postures in theoretical matters injure both the political activity of their parties and the unity of anti-imperialist action, and impair the cohesion of the movement as a whole.

In the speeches of their representatives at our Congress the fraternal parties of different countries pointed to the reactionary essence of anti-Sovietism, which is aimed, in effect, not only against the Soviet Union and the CPSU, but also against all the revolutionary forces, against their unity. 'Indeed,' Comrade Georges Marchais told the Congress, 'all liberation movements, all battles for social emancipation, national independence and peace find support and aid in the world socialist system and first and foremost in the Soviet Union. For this reason, anti-Sovietism is a crime against the inter-

ests of the working class and the peoples, no matter what form it takes and from where it emanates.'

The Congress noted the positive developments of recent years as regards the unity of the Communist movement. At the same time, the Party showed its awareness of the grave obstacles in this area, referring first and foremost to the stance of the Chinese Communist Party leadership. 'It will be recalled,' Comrade Brezhnev said at the Congress, 'that the Chinese leaders have put forward an ideological-political platform of their own which is incompatible with Leninism on the key questions of international life and the world Communist movement, and have demanded that we should abandon the line of the 20th Congress and the Program of the CPSU. They unfolded an intensive and hostile propaganda campaign against our Party and country, made territorial claims on the Soviet Union, and in the spring and summer of 1969 brought things to the point of armed incidents along the border.'

The Party and the Soviet government have taken all due steps to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China. The Congress reiterated our readiness to persevere in this direction. It stands to reason that a constructive attitude by just one side is not enough to normalize relations. The Soviet Communist Party – and this, too, the Congress stressed – has taken a firm stand against those who distort Marxism-Leninism and divide the Communist movement, and will continue to do so.

In the time between the 23rd and 24th Congresses, CPSU policy has contributed extensively to the further consolidation of the militant alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movement, that extremely important anti-imperialist force. The Congress confirmed as correct the broad approach that is one of the pillars of this policy. We cooperate actively with all the anti-imperialist governments and political forces in the national-liberation regions and support their efforts of consolidating their countries' independence and developing their national economies. The CPSU will continue to extend and deepen friendly ties with the revolutionary-democratic parties, our comrades-in-arms against imperialism, against neo-colonialist attempts to impose the capitalist order on the liberated countries.

The participation of national-democratic parties in the work of the 24th Congress reflects the growth of our mutual ties. In recent years this has been one of the specific directions in the alliance between the CPSU and the national liberation forces. Ties of this kind, established these days by many fraternal parties, actually represent a fundamentally new form of solidarity between the world Communist movement and the forces of national liberation.

The participation of revolutionary democrats in the CPSU Con-

gress, our Party hopes, will not only stimulate their greater cooperation with our Party and the world Communist movement, but will also facilitate allied relations between them and the Communists in their own countries.

Acting on the decisions of the Congress, the CPSU will extend its relations with Left Socialist parties. This is important for uniting the working people, primarily the working class, and for building up the anti-imperialist front. The participation of representatives of Left Socialist parties in the work of the Congress, their speeches, revealed a broad basis for proletarian unity on the crucial issues of the present-day anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle. That is a reflection of the objective trend towards broader cooperation among the different political forces in the working-class movement.

In accordance with the line of the 1969 International Meeting, sacrificing none of their revolutionary principles, the Congress said, the Communists are prepared for joint action with Social-Democrats in the struggle for socialism, as well as for peace and democracy. Naturally, like the fraternal parties, the CPSU is aware of the fact that this line is stubbornly resisted by the Right leaders of the Social-Democratic movement. That is why the policy of united action requires an organic combination of consistency in repulsing the anti-communist Social-Democratic ideology and the policy of the Right Social-Democratic leaders with readiness for practical cooperation in fighting imperialism and the omnipotence of the monopolies, for world peace and security.

The presence at the Congress of representative delegations from fraternal parties and their participation in the deliberations made it possible once more to verify with the common course of the world revolutionary movement the main trends of activity and struggle against imperialism. 'As we listened to the speeches of our foreign friends and brothers,' Comrade Brezhnev said on this score in his speech at the closing of the Congress, 'we felt with new force that we are an inseparable component of the great international movement that is destined to transform the world.'

The Congress showed how our Party's struggle for communism and our efforts to resolve the urgent problems on the international scene, intertwine in practice with the struggle of the fraternal Communist parties, of other revolutionary parties and movements active in different regions of the world:

- the program outlined by the Congress for the further building of communism was acclaimed and approved by representatives of all the revolutionary contingents not simply as an undertaking of the Soviet people, but also as an undertaking conforming with the vital interests of the working man throughout the world;

- as evident from the speeches of their representatives at the

Congress, all parties are united by common positions in the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and war, which imperils all nations;

- the standpoint of the representatives of the ruling Communist parties concerning the necessity of strengthening the positions of world socialism, the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle and bearer of the ideas of socialist internationalism, was met with understanding and support;

- the voice of the working class of the developed capitalist countries, the decisive force in the struggle for socialism in the main centers of the imperialist system, a force without which victory over that system is inconceivable, resounded strongly and meaningfully in the speeches of the fraternal delegations;

- the Congress was a triumph for international solidarity with the people of Vietnam and the other peoples of Indochina fighting against American aggression and with the Arab peoples engaged in a just struggle against the U.S.-supported Israeli invaders. Defense of these peoples was the leitmotif of the Congress, an organic element of all its work;

- the Congress displayed militant internationalist support for the peoples fighting against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The speeches of prominent representatives of liberation movements engaged in armed struggle against colonial regimes showed that they regard the world Communist movement, the socialist countries, the Soviet Union, as a dependable bulwark, as their faithful allies.

The 24th Congress convened at a time when ideological struggle has become one of the decisive areas in the confrontation of the two social systems, the world revolutionary forces and reaction. In these circumstances, the positions and views expressed by the representatives of 102 Communist, national-democratic and Left Socialist parties testified to the greater ideological-political closeness of the main forces of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary movement of our time, and to the incompetence and increasing isolation of the trends which sow seeds of division in the ranks of the fighters against imperialism.

We can only welcome the fact that the practice of international intercourse among representatives of different revolutionary parties at the congress of one of the parties, is becoming more and more widespread. The use of fraternal congresses to extend contacts among Marxist-Leninist parties and among their comrades-in-arms in the anti-imperialist struggle will doubtless develop into an increasingly important form of communication among the forces aspiring to the revolutionary reconstruction of the world.

The internationalist *Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU* has a

strong impact on the struggle between the forces of peace, freedom and progress and the forces of oppression, reaction and aggression, a struggle forming the pivot of all international relations today.

The 24th Congress reaffirmed the immutability of the Soviet foreign policy principles evolved by Lenin. It fully approved the international activity of the CC CPSU over the past period and adopted an integral foreign policy program for the years to come.

This Soviet peace plan organically combines a principled approach to long-range tasks in solving the big problems of mankind with a constructive approach to the settlement of immediate and pressing problems. The Congress treated all foreign policy proposals as one complex and on this basis determined the main lines on which the CPSU and Soviet state are to go on working against the imperialist policy of aggression, against world war, for international peace and security.

The foreign policy line of the 24th Congress is noteworthy for its militant and dynamic character and its class approach to urgent international problems. The position of the CPSU in the world arena has never been passive or defensive. Our Party has always adhered to a Marxist-Leninist line and has steadfastly fought imperialism. It was Lenin who taught this to Soviet Communists. 'We,' he said over half a century ago, in the difficult year 1920, 'have repeatedly declared that we want peace, that we need peace. . . . But we are not going to allow anyone to choke us to death in the name of peace' (*Complete Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 40, p. 152).

The experience of the post-war decades has conclusively proved the foreign policy of the CPSU to be correct and effective. We owe it largely to this policy that the principle of peaceful coexistence has become a real factor in international development, as the 24th Congress pointed out.

The foreign policy of the CPSU, which expresses the fundamental interests of Soviet Communists and all Soviet people and the national and state interests of the country, is thoroughly internationalist. The Soviet Union's power and potentialities are used for providing the Soviet people with external conditions in which to build communism. They also serve to maintain world peace, to expose and foil imperialist plans of aggression and contribute actively to a further change in the alignment of world forces in favor of the revolutionary movement.

The Congress reaffirmed emphatically our Party's line aimed at furthering cooperation with socialist countries in world politics and at constantly coordinating action by our countries on the world scene. It reaffirmed the Party's policy of firm and unqualified support for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and the Arab peoples, and its policy of solidarity with all fighters for national

and social liberation, of growing cooperation with new states of a socialist orientation. In line with Congress decisions, the Party will continue this foreign policy that promotes the worldwide fight against imperialism and closer unity of the forces committed to it.

The Congress peace plan has been presented for consideration to states and governments. At the same time it is addressed to the working people of all countries, to all fighters against imperialism, for peace, democracy and national and social liberation. The CPSU has taken into account the objective requirements of the present-day liberation movement. It proceeded in this respect from the collective conclusions of the 1969 Meeting and the program of united anti-imperialist action formulated by the Meeting.

Our friends and allies rated highly the program of struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the peoples' freedom and independence, put forward by the Congress. Comrade Rodney Arismendi said that the examination of foreign policy problems at a congress of the CPSU reflected the historically coinciding aspirations of diverse social strata and political forces in the fight against imperialism. Soviet Communists and the whole Soviet people see such appraisals of the foreign policy of the CPSU as recognition of the decisive contribution which, to quote Comrade Enrico Berlinguer, 'the Soviet Union makes to world peace, to the effort to establish a society free from imperialism, hunger and war.' They also regard this as an indication of solidarity with the foreign policy program of our Party.

Brother parties note that the proposals of the 24th Congress are concrete and realistic and take into account the actual balance of world forces.

We can already say that these proposals have won widespread approval in many countries, among diverse social and political groups. It is highly important, however, that the peoples' will for lasting peace should translate itself into widespread mass actions and that the peace forces should act together and meaningfully. This, in turn, requires much persistent political and ideological work among the masses. Pressure from the masses is also bound to have its effect on the attitude of governments. What can bring about radical changes for the better in the international situation as a whole is precisely a combination of the socialist countries' foreign policy, which meets the interests of the peoples, and militant action by the masses in all countries.

Lenin taught Communists to plan their activity – always and in everything – from the standpoint of the international tasks of the world revolutionary movement. Our Party uses this criterion in assessing the significance of its 24th Congress.

The international significance of the Congress will come out more and more as time goes on. But even now we may speak quite definitely of the international results that realization of the main decisions of the Congress and key assignments of the ninth five-year plan is certain to produce.

First, in regard to the theory and practice of building the new, communist society. The Congress defined the content and formulated the main tasks of the new stage in communist building. These tasks are being accomplished for the first time in man's history. Our Party is traversing what is still unexplored ground. Acting on the general principles evolved by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the provisions of the Party Program and the practical experience gained by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the 24th Congress went a long way towards charting the main directions of building communist society; providing the material and technical base for communism; developing social relations by promoting the unity of the Soviet people and carrying forward socialist democracy; moulding people's communist consciousness and educating the new man. The Congress pointed specifically to the possibilities of solving these challenging problems and determined the ways and means of their realization.

Second, in regard to tilting the balance of world forces in favor of socialism. Carrying Congress decisions into effect will result in a further growth of the economic and defense power of the Soviet Union. This will enable the Soviet Union to contribute in greater measure to the development of the world socialist community, strengthen the positions of socialism in the world economy and extend the support and assistance given to the peoples that have taken the road of national freedom and social progress. Consistent and active implementation of the foreign policy line of the CPSU, reaffirmed and carried forward by the 24th Congress, and the increased economic might of the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth as a whole will augment socialism's leverage in world politics and strengthen the basis of the fight against imperialism, for international peace and security, for the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence in all international relations.

Third, in regard to the ideological struggle in the world arena.

Fulfilling decisions of the 24th Congress will strike a devastating blow at anti-communism. Even now Congress conclusions and decisions are operating – against the background of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, serious economic upheavals, growing inflation and unemployment, sharpening antagonisms between imperialist countries and growing militarism – as an important factor in the battle of ideas, helping to expose the capitalist system. Tens of millions in the capitalist countries are becoming more and more

keenly aware of the striking contrast between the growing instability of capitalism and the plight of the masses exploited by monopoly, on the one hand, and socialism's policy of steadily improving the people's life, on the other. Putting the plans of the 24th Congress into practice will enhance the appeal of socialism.

Our plans of building communism, which have a scientific foundation and are thoroughly realistic, meet the everyday needs of the masses. At the same time they are designed to achieve the ultimate revolutionary goals of the international working class. They are a living rejection of both 'barracks socialism,' which diverts the victorious revolution from the Leninist path, and the reformism of the Right-wing Social-Democrats and revisionists of every shade, who would like to reconcile the working classes with the capitalist system.

Fourth, in regard to fostering the international cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces. The Congress revealed to the world the deep and inseparable interconnection of the activities of the CPSU and brother parties, of all contingents of the revolutionary movement. It demonstrated the growing unity of the three main revolutionary streams of our time. The international significance of the activity of our Party and the Soviet people was pointed out at the Congress by our friends – Communists representing socialist countries, the working class and other working people of capitalist countries, as well as spokesmen of the national liberation movement. In following Congress deliberations, every working man or woman realized the intimate connection between his own life and future and the perspective of solving the problems on which the Congress concentrated.

The entire atmosphere of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the stand taken at it by brother parties are evidence of advance to the goal set by the 1969 Meeting, which called for a new quality of Communist unity to meet present-day requirements. We anticipate that the Congress decisions will promote this advance, Communist unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the fight against imperialism, for peace, national independence, social progress and socialism.



Epochal landmark

During the 24th Congress our correspondent asked several leaders of Communist and Workers' Parties to comment on this forum of Soviet Communists.

WALTER ULBRICHT

Question: Your assessment of the 24th CPSU Congress?

Answer: It should be seen as a truly historic event. It opens to the Soviet Union splendid vistas and signifies a qualitatively new period in its development. The Congress has also worldwide significance; it will influence international life for a long time to come and will be the starting point of deep-going processes. It was the most significant congress of scientific socialism the world has ever seen. In the Soviet Union – the world's biggest country, and one that is successfully building communism – the CPSU has proved the correctness and universality of the path charted out by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The Congress is of exceptional importance for our socialist community, for all Communist and Workers' Parties. It highlighted the vastly increased strength and new creative abilities of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. The impressive prospect of continued communist construction in the USSR will greatly stimulate the worldwide struggle for peace and against imperialism. It will give peoples aspiring to freedom and a better social system a deeper understanding of the road ahead and will fortify their confidence in victory.

Question: What impressed you most?

Answer: The strength and unity of the CPSU, its high political, moral and scientific standard, its close link with the working class, collective farmers, with the entire people.

The Congress demonstrated the Party's enhanced and remarkable

ability to direct social development. The Congress was proof that not only millions of Communists, but the entire Soviet people are united under the leadership of the Party and government and are confidently advancing into the future.

The Congress revealed more forcefully the *Party's leading role* in all fields of endeavor, and convincingly showed its ability to guide society and the state to meet the new, higher requirements, disclose the great potentialities of the social and natural sciences and apply them in guiding the country and in working out solutions for its chief problems. And with remarkable precision it has been able to merge the experience of workers, collective farmers and scientists into a social, political and scientific unity that has further strengthened the Land of Soviets and enabled its Communist Party to set and attain new and bigger goals.

Question: Your appraisal of the role of the Soviet working class?

Answer: Beyond all doubt it is the *leading class*, and the Congress has provided further confirmation of that. Nor is it merely a matter of the working class growing in numbers and reaching higher political and professional standards—indeed the Soviet working class is the most educated in the world. But it also has to be said that the working class has made a decisive contribution to the Soviet Union's advance to leading world positions, in education and culture as in other areas.

The Soviet system, socialist planning and Soviet democracy have combined to release the constructive abilities of the workers and the working people generally, encouraging their desire for all-round education and participation in cultural life. Society has fully supported that, and the working class itself is alive to its responsibility for the professional and general training of the young generation of workers.

Question: Your impressions of the development and community of the Soviet peoples?

Answer: I am especially impressed by the unity and fraternity of the nations that make up the USSR. The progress of Union and Autonomous republics and regions was described by their representatives at the Congress. Soviet power made possible comprehensive economic, political and cultural advancement for all the nationalities. Socialist planned economy, generous investment and concerted effort by all the nations and nationalities are behind this amazing progress, and they have also laid the foundations for even more impressive successes in the years to come. There is ample opportunity for the flourishing of creative ability. Everyone present at the Congress could see that all the constituent republics and peoples are making an increasingly valuable contribution to the

economic upbuilding of the USSR, that magnificent community of which they are part.

Question: Your opinion on the ninth five-year plan directives?

Answer: By successfully fulfilling the eighth five-year plan, the Soviet people have completed a long list of momentous achievements. Led by the party of Lenin, they have built socialism and are now successfully laying the material and technical basis of communism. The backwardness inherited from pre-revolutionary times is but a dim memory. With every passing year the Soviet state becomes stronger and the living standards of its people grow higher. Last year, for example, industrial output was double that of the total for all the pre-war five-year plans. That is the measure of the country's gigantic progress, and it provides a firm foundation for the new five-year plan. The Soviet Union can now undertake projects its people could only dream of in the past. The Directives show that the economy is entering a qualitatively new phase and that planning is now on an entirely new scale. Tasks of such magnitude can be accomplished only under the Soviet system with its socialist economic planning.

The Soviet plans are a powerful means of scientific and technical progress which, in turn, is central to building the material and technical basis of communism. Congress stressed the organic unity of the scientific and technological revolution and the advantages of the socialist economy. It declared that perfection of the intrinsically socialist forms of fusing science and production is a task of historic importance.

Both Comrade Brezhnev in his Central Committee Report and Comrade Kosygin in presenting the five-year plan Directives, drew attention to the link between optimal employment of the new technology and the struggle to further change the world's strength-balance in favor of socialism. The monopolies are widely using technological progress to shore up their positions, boost profits, heighten growth rates and intensify exploitation and oppression of the working people. The scientific and technological revolution, which aggravates capitalism's inherent social contradictions, cannot stabilize the capitalist system. Capitalism's general crisis continues to deepen.

Socialism alone provides limitless scope for progress in science and technology. And only under socialism can the technological revolution fully develop and, moreover, for the benefit of the working people.

The 24th Congress clearly showed that the Soviet Union, that great socialist power, ranks with the foremost countries in technological development. That has far-reaching international implications. The new five-year plan will be a big step forward in util-

izing all the achievements of the technological revolution, which is exerting a mounting influence on the economy. It has made it possible radically to change production techniques, devise fundamentally new machines and materials, start new industries and raise the efficiency of existing ones, thereby improving the overall production pattern. Our own experience, too, shows that we must consistently work in this direction if we want to tap all the potentialities of the technological revolution. And this calls for proper selection and priority development of lines of production that are central to technical progress and for elaboration and implementation of a uniform technical policy.

The primary task is to introduce qualitatively new types of machinery, new materials and more efficient methods. Congress emphasized the need to set our sights above world levels rather than cling to old standards. That is the only way to build the material and technical basis of communism, the only way to full victory in the economic competition with capitalism.

The Congress Directives on *perfecting economic planning and management* have implications that go beyond the Soviet Union. Here the main task is integrated and scientifically grounded planning based on long-range forecasts and long-term programs. This will require wider use of economico-mathematical methods, organization of computer centers, employment of modern organizational techniques and more effective telecommunications systems. The superiority of socialist economics makes it possible to regulate economic and social processes on a nationwide scale, using computers to produce more accurate plans and working out optimal decisions by comparing and assessing different variants.

The Congress showed that the Party, government and working class highly appreciate the *work of scientists*. But much is expected of them – they enjoy full confidence and are being brought into the great labor effort of the people. This provides the social conditions in which scientific workers can fruitfully pursue their calling, venture into new fields of research, enrich science with new discoveries for the benefit of the people in such branches as mathematics, cybernetics, physics, chemistry, biology. Obviously *only under socialism can the interests of the scientists and the interests of the people merge*, and only in a socialist society is the scientific worker fully integrated in the community.

Question: Your assessment of the Congress's international significance?

Answer: The 24th CPSU Congress reflected the far-reaching changes in the world alignment of forces, changes in favor of socialism that can have important long-range results.

With representatives of nearly all Communist and Workers' parties sharing in its proceedings, the Congress is of vast importance for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. CPSU policy and activity and Soviet achievements are convincing Social-Democrats of the correctness and universality of the Marxist-Leninist path. The Congress enhanced the influence of the Soviet Union and of the Communist movement.

Among the 102 foreign delegations from 91 countries were many representatives of national-democratic and Left Socialist parties. That is indicative of their strong feeling of kinship with the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement. I highly appreciate the unifying and constructive role of the Congress, which has helped to restore united action of the world Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces. It would be good if relations between Communist and Social Democrat organizations were to develop in this spirit of united action.

The Congress decisions open up immense prospects for closer all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community and for their economic integration. In the course of this cooperation between the GDR and the USSR and between all states of the socialist community we shall have to solve qualitatively new major problems.

We fully agree with the economic integration concept formulated by Comrades Brezhnev and Kosygin. We feel sure that cooperation in electronics, engineering and chemicals, and exchanges of experience in planning and automated systems will accelerate productivity growth in all the socialist countries concerned. We are resolved to continue along this joint path. Our economic relations with the USSR and other CMEA countries rest on a firm contractual basis and contribute to socialist economic integration, which has proved its value and effectiveness.

This Congress of Lenin's party made a very meaningful contribution to international security by advancing a *comprehensive program of peace acceptable to all the nations of the world*. It will strengthen unity of the peace-loving, anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

We also highly appreciate the vast opportunities revealed by the Congress for the cooperation of European states and peoples in conditions of peaceful coexistence and a European security system. The job now is to expedite improvement of the European climate by preparing and convening a European security conference. Normal relations between all European states and the German Democratic Republic would go a long way towards European security and peaceful cooperation and would benefit all the countries of our continent.

KHALED BAGDASH

The 24th CPSU Congress will go down in the history of the revolutionary movement as an event of immense significance not only for the Soviet people, but for world communism and for the whole of progressive mankind.

I should like to draw attention to two things. First, the Congress reaffirmed the CPSU's unswerving loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and demonstrated the unity of the Soviet people around the great party of Lenin. Second, no other party congress has had such a wide international representation – 102 delegations of Communist, Workers', Left-Socialist and progressive national parties from 91 countries. This is a testimonial to the affection and respect the world's first worker-peasant state enjoys in the socialist countries and in the international workers' and national liberation movements.

The imperialists, reactionaries and revisionists used all the information media at their disposal in an attempt to isolate the world's first socialist state, drive a wedge between it and the revolutionary movement in other countries and undermine the unity of the Soviet people. The Congress showed that all such hopes were futile. For it was a powerful demonstration of the unity of the three main forces of the world revolutionary process – the socialist countries, the workers' movement in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

The Central Committee Report delivered by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev and the report on the five-year plan Directives delivered by Comrad Alexei Kosygin, are evidence of the Soviet Union's tremendous successes in the economic, scientific and defense fields, and in raising the material and cultural standards of its people. Soviet achievements are welcomed by us Communists both as internationalists and as patriots concerned for the destiny of our country and people now locked in battle with world imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The Soviet Union is an immense economic, political and military factor in the fight against imperialism, that sworn enemy of all peoples. Hence, the Soviet Union's achievements and prospects inspire admiration in every worker, peasant and true patriot of every country.

The interests of the USSR are inseparable from those of the world Communist movement and of all the peoples. There are no contradictions between their genuine national interests and those of the great socialist state, the USSR. That, indeed, is the objective foundation of true internationalism, and we are confident that harmony and identity of genuine patriotic and international interests is fully possible.

Real proletarian internationalism is expressed in unity around the Soviet Union. In working out its strategy and tactics, each Communist party must of needs take into account the general line of the world revolutionary movement, of which the party of Lenin is the mainstay and vanguard.

In addressing Congress, Comrade Brezhnev rightly emphasized that 'success in the struggle against imperialism largely depends on the cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces, above all of the *world Communist movement*, their vanguard,' and that '. . . the struggle against revisionism and nationalism remains an important task of the Communist parties.'

I would point also to another aspect of the Congress which, I feel, will have wide reverberations throughout the world. Millions in all countries are concerned for their future and are anxious to prevent a third world war. In response to this anxiety, the CC CPSU formulated a concrete peace program that is the direct opposite of the policy of aggression American imperialism is pursuing in Indochina and the Middle East. And it might well be that this program will become a peace pact uniting, irrespective of political convictions, millions in every country, and thereby opening to mankind a realistic prospect of peace and security.

The Central Committee Report gives a correct picture of the Middle East situation and the role of American imperialism and its pliant tool, Zionism. We Communists and all progressive national forces of our country welcome the Congress appeal for a just and durable peace in the Middle East. It will meet with a ready response not only in the Arab countries, but throughout the world. The facts show that Israel and its American patrons are responsible for every new conflict in this region. And there need be no doubt that Arab patriots highly appreciate this declaration of the Soviet people's support of the Arab people in their courageous fight to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression by fulfilling the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. And that resolution, it will be recalled, provides, above all, for an Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territory. The Congress declaration of Soviet support for the Palestinian Arabs fighting for their lawful rights will likewise meet with wide appreciation.

The 24th CPSU Congress fortified in every revolutionary confidence in the future, in the victory of the great cause of national liberation, democracy and socialism.

JORGE DEL PRADO

From the very first days of the Congress, I realized that in this impressive, ultra-modern Kremlin Palace, we were sharing in an outstanding event of the age. For the Congress brought into sharp

focus the very essence of the developments that are changing the world we live in.

In listening to the vivid reports of Comrades Brezhnev and Kosygin, I could appreciate the magnificence of the plans and accomplishments of the party of Lenin and the heroic Soviet people. Gathered here in the Kremlin palace were nearly 5,000 delegates and more than a hundred delegations from fraternal and friendly parties of other countries. There is nothing in history to match this representative forum of the world revolutionary and liberation forces. The composition of the delegate body, the nature of the problems discussed, inspire in all of us a feeling of joy and pride and fortify our confidence in the triumph of communist ideals. This remarkable Congress will doubtlessly raise to a higher plane mankind's struggle for progress, expand its scope and make it more coordinated. And our Peruvian delegation was not indulging in rhetoric when it declared, in its warm message of greeting, that from this hall the whole world would come to appreciate the innermost aspirations of our age.

The imperialists were working in vain when they used their news media in an attempt to find some small, even minute, symptom of failure, some portent of a 'purge' or of differences within the CPSU. Not a single one of their 'predictions' has proved true. The main reports and the speeches of delegates and foreign guests effectively refuted all this enemy slander. The Soviet Communists gave a convincing demonstration of their ideological and political unity, of their enthusiastic support of Central Committee policy, of all the propositions set out in the Central Committee Report. The CPSU's constructive plans, its comprehensive program of international peace, met with approval from the delegations of all other parties represented at the Congress. The Congress raised aloft the Leninist banner of proletarian internationalism. It was a vivid manifestation of anti-imperialist solidarity.

Government delegations from a number of young African republics, Arab and Asian countries that had broken out of colonialism, shared in the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and of the Lenin centenary. This was indicative of the fact that for all the peoples of the world the first victorious proletarian revolution was the starting point of free development. And throughout the world Lenin is honored as the genius of revolution. At the 24th Congress this international class solidarity was even more pronounced. For together with Communists from various countries there were delegations from many national-democratic and Left Socialist parties. This is a testimonial to the much greater authority and influence of the Soviet Communist Party and of the Soviet Union, the entire socialist community and the international Communist movement.

Mankind is deeply indebted to the Soviet Union and its Communist Party for everything they have done and are doing to prevent another world war, which North American imperialism is frenziedly preparing and the menace of which has become especially acute in the past five years. In these five years U.S. military expenditure amounted to about 400 billion dollars, and last year's NATO expenditure on war preparations amounted to 103 billion dollars. Nor is it any great secret that the Pentagon has war bases sprawling across the world in preparation for aggression against socialist and Third World countries. In fact, even America's space flights largely serve military purposes. So-called American military aid to dependent countries is no more than a cover for using their armies, natural resources and strategic positions for aggressive purposes. American imperialism is justly described as the world gendarme. It nurtures the West German revanchists, Japanese militarists, Portuguese colonialists, Italian neo-fascists and, in our own continent, the gorilla regimes in Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay. It persists in its dirty war against the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, which the U.S. militarists regard as a huge proving ground for new types of tactical and strategic weapons the imperialists are anxious to perfect as part of their plans for fresh war crimes. Nixon and his Hawks are repeating, on a much bigger scale, what Hitler and Mussolini tried in Spain on the eve of World War II.

'To imperialism's aggressive policy,' Comrade Brezhnev told Congress, 'the Soviet Union opposes a policy of active defense of peace and promotion of international security.' There are many facts to bear that out and they explain why the working people of the world have followed the Congress with confidence and sympathy.

Today as yesterday, the socialist system exerts a decisive influence on world development. The socialist countries are showing the utmost determination in upholding international peace and promoting social progress. The eighth five-year plan considerably increased the Soviet Union's economic and defense capacity. The new plan endorsed by the 24th Congress is another and very profound manifestation of the Soviet Union's devotion to peace.

Its fulfilment will enable the party of Lenin and the Soviet people to make a still greater contribution to the world revolutionary process. The program for peace and international cooperation, freedom and independence, set out in the Central Committee Report inspires in mankind the hope that it will be spared another world war and infuses fresh energy in every opponent of imperialist oppression and tyranny.

The anti-Communists were loud in predicting failure of the eighth five-year plan and a resultant economic recession. They were joined

by the Chinese splitters, by some petty-bourgeois ideologists and Right and 'Left' revisionists. Some of these ill-starred critics maintained that the introduction of economic incentives represented a 'retreat' from socialism. Others argued that state planning had proved an unnecessary and stifling type of centralism. And there were some who would have us believe that the Soviet Union was degenerating into some kind of 'third' society which borrowed the 'good' elements of capitalism and discarded the 'bad' features of socialism. Some assessments of Soviet foreign policy were on the same level of absurdity.

The ten days of the Congress demolished all these fabrications. For behind every line of the decisions adopted by this Congress of Lenin's party we can see the continued rise of prosperity, economic and cultural standards, continued advances in science, further perfection of Soviet socialist democracy and continued indefatigable effort for peace.

The Latin American anti-imperialist movement has scored important victories in the past few years. Most Communist parties of our continent have travelled a long militant path and have accumulated rich experience in mass work. Our peoples are uniting under the banner of national liberation, democracy and socialism. Following the revolution in Cuba, where socialism is now being built, revolutionary processes are unfolding in other countries. In some of them the people have got rid of venal, chauvinist and pro-fascist dictatorships and have formed military anti-imperialist governments. Peru and Bolivia are two examples. The liberation struggle of their peoples has significantly changed the mentality of a considerable part of the army, including some of its officers. The result has been a more independent and democratic policy by the Peruvian and Bolivian governments, which are combatting American monopoly control and working for peace and friendship with neighboring countries. The victory of the Popular Unity forces in Chile should be seen as a major development in Latin American history.

The successes of the first land of socialism, the momentous decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, will inspire the peoples of Latin America and help to deepen the revolutionary process in Peru, where the working people are in the midst of sharp clashes with imperialism and the oligarchy.

The achievements of the socialist system and the prospects of communist construction in the USSR help to expose the frenzied anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaigns launched by imperialism and the oligarchy in an attempt to bully the government of Peru, isolate it from the masses and, by using the slogan of a 'third way' – neither capitalist nor communist – hamper the structural

changes begun on October 3, 1968. The economic, technical, scientific and cultural progress of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, their immense defense potential, open up new prospects of cooperation and trade that will facilitate our independent development, at the same time providing a very firm guarantee against imperialist aggression.

In sum, we have every reason to assess the 24th CPSU Congress as our own victory and to welcome its Directives for the Soviet Union's 1971-75 economic development plan.

JOHN MARKS

The 24th Congress of the CPSU is, without doubt, an event of the greatest historical significance. It blazed a new epoch-making trail in further strengthening the technical and material basis of communism. Great possibilities open up not only for attaining new heights in consolidating and advancing the economic might and defense potential of the Soviet Union, but also for raising the living standards of all its peoples.

The Congress bore full testimony to the monolithic unity of the Party of Lenin, and indeed, of all the working people of the Soviet Union.

One of its most salient features was the steadfast and loyal adherence of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people to the behests of Lenin, to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The Congress Address 'Freedom and Peace for the Peoples of Indochina!' and the Statement 'For a Just and Lasting Peace in the Middle East!' are vital documents re-affirming the full moral and material support of the Soviet Union for the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and the brave Arab peoples in their struggles. These declarations sounded a serious note of warning to the U.S. and Israeli aggressors and called for greater unity of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world in support of the just cause of the peoples of Indochina and the Arab lands.

The fact that 102 delegations of Communist, Workers', national-democratic and Left Socialist parties from 91 countries attended the Congress is recognition of the great role of the CPSU in the international working-class and revolutionary movement and a sign of the growing cohesion and unity of the world's revolutionary forces.

In the report of the Central Committee presented to the Congress by Comrade Brezhnev, one of the basic concrete tasks in the sphere of foreign policy is stated as follows: 'The UN decisions on the abolition of the remaining colonial regimes must be fully carried

out. Manifestations of racism and apartheid must be universally condemned and boycotted.'

This is of the utmost importance for the liberation movement in southern Africa, where the people are fighting the fascist white minority of the South African Republic, Smith's illegal regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and the fascist Portuguese colonial regimes in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. The principled Leninist stand of the CPSU and the peoples of the Soviet Union in rendering all-round fraternal assistance has been of immense value, as has been the constant moral and material support from other socialist countries in the struggle to overthrow reaction and racism and for freedom, democracy and social progress.

The decisions and documents of the Congress are a valuable addition to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism and will no doubt serve as an invaluable guide to all the revolutionaries throughout the world in dealing with some of the most complex and complicated issues concerning the transition from capitalism to socialism in our time of revolutionary struggles against imperialism, capitalism, racism and war.



Program for a developed socialist society

Stanko Todorov

Bulgaria's Communists and the entire people regard our recent 10th Communist Party Congress as an event of truly historic significance. It has been highly appraised also by the representatives of the 89 Communist and Workers', Socialist and democratic parties and organizations that attended it. The nature and impact of the congress can be judged by the documents it discussed and approved: Report of the Central Committee, presented by its First Secretary, Comrade Todor Zhivkov; the new Party Program, and the Directives for the sixth five-year plan. It also discussed the principal provisions of the country's new Constitution.

The 10th Congress was the highest point in our Party's 80-year history. And we could scale this summit thanks to the dedicated struggle of several generations of Bulgarian revolutionary Marxists. The Congress decisions epitomize the traits our Party has acquired in these long years – political acumen, revolutionary experience, optimism and an unshakable faith in the triumph of the Communist ideals.

I. The Congress coincided with the 15th anniversary of the historic April 1956 Central Committee plenum at which the Party clearly demonstrated its revolutionary-critical and innovating ability, discarding everything that impeded Bulgaria's accelerated development in socialism. This reorientation process called for political daring and perspicacity, and the Party showed that it possessed both. The plenum was a turning point in its policy and activity, the beginning of a new stage in operating the general line worked out by the Fifth Party Congress under Georgi Dimitrov's leadership. The Party set itself and the people higher goals and stricter criteria. The conditions were thus created for a faster advance in socialism.

The correctness of that course has been convincingly corroborated by our record of achievement since the Ninth Party Congress. The

Central Committee Report to the 10th Congress contained a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of our progress and formulated the tasks ahead. In this dynamic period Bulgaria reached new heights in economic and social progress. Rapid industrialization has gone hand in hand with development of a highly mechanized agriculture. New gains have been made in living standards, socialist culture and the political consciousness of the people.

Another feature of the inter-congress period is the enhanced leading role of the Party and its greater ability to tackle and solve theoretical and political problems from positions of creative Marxism-Leninism. Eloquent proof of that will be found in the resolutions of the July 1968 and subsequent Central Committee plenums.

Social management is bound to play a steadily increasing role as socialist social relations are enriched both in form and content. The interconnection between the various elements of public life is becoming more multiform and dynamic. Changes in one sphere necessitate corresponding changes in other spheres and in the entire social structure.

This should make it perfectly clear that the Party was right in adopting, at the July plenum, a conceptuated program for perfecting the entire system of social management based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and taking into account the requirements of the new stage of socialist construction, progress in the theory and practice of management and the specifics of scientific and technological advancement.

In the inter-congress period the Party mapped out, in line with the April 1956 decisions, the central directions and prospects of economic development and growth in individual industries in keeping with the technological revolution and Bulgaria's increasing share in socialist integration. This was programmed by the September 1969 plenum, whose decisions envisage consistent industrial concentration, technological progress and continued perfection of economic management. In combination, these measures will go a long way in raising economic efficiency, assuring higher and sustained growth of national income and a steady rise of prosperity standards. This is a realistic policy that has the people's full support and confidence.

Considering the present level of productive forces and production relations and modern trends in production, the Party has devised new forms of concentration, viz., state economic amalgamations and agrarian-industrial complexes. These economic units offer favorable conditions for optimal concentration of production both in industry and agriculture. In the next few years we shall be regrouping production capacities, expanding and technically re-

constructing enterprises, striving, at the same time, for closer specialization. Success will depend primarily on our ability to apply progressive management techniques.

Wider use of the new technology was central to the Party's economic policy in the years following its Ninth Congress. In line with this, the Central Committee made comprehensive automation of production and management processes the main target.

Effective use of advances in science and technology has far-reaching socio-political implications. It makes for rapid growth of productivity, with resultant fuller satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements and contributes to a more perfect pattern of socialist social relations.

We have found a workable form of linking research to production by giving the amalgamations research and experimental units. Better conditions are also being provided for research on wider technical, economic and social problems posed by advances in production. And we have a fund of valuable experience in applying automated and computer systems in management. The requisite personnel, including specialists in economico-mathematical modelling, prognostication, operational analysis and programming, are now being trained.

The Party is working on the premise that an efficient management system must be based on efficient functioning of all its subdivisions and elements. That is why the Central Committee has in recent years drawn up measures to improve the work of local government bodies, to reform the education system, boost power production and improve geographical allocation of the productive forces.

The results of this theoretical, political and organizational work by the Central Committee and Party branches to intensify economic development are spelled out in the figures of the last five-year plan: a 52 per cent increase in national income, which now works out at 1,234 leva per capita; an approximately 70 per cent increase in industrial and 26 per cent in agricultural output. Also this qualitatively new development: national income is growing faster than gross national product.

The industrial structure has been largely refashioned: more prominence to technically progressive industries, a bigger and more stable supply of power and raw materials and branches, closely related to our share in the international division of labor. Above-average growth rates have been secured in power, iron-and-steel, engineering and chemicals, which last year accounted for 45 per cent of gross output. At present 50 per cent of the national income is contributed by industry.

With Bulgaria's active participation in socialist integration, a

streamlined economic structure is of decisive importance in raising the level of social production. We are solving the problem in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Wide use of progressive technology plus better organization of production processes have made for higher productivity; in fact, the productivity rise accounts for about 95 per cent of the national-income increase.

Better economic performance has paid off in considerably higher material and cultural standards. Real incomes are up 33.5 per cent and social consumption funds all of 90 per cent. These and other achievements of the last five-year plan are very real and tangible expressions of the Party's concern for the prosperity of the Bulgarian people.

The solution of cardinal problems of socialist construction required intensive and concerted effort backed by theoretical daring and perspicacity. And the effort has yielded good results – they were the starting point for drafting the new Party Program and the directives for the 1971-75 economic development plan.

II. The immediate goal is a developed (mature) socialist society. The conditions for this were provided by our preceding work and achievements and by the development of theoretical research.

The Party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist postulate that the communist socio-economic formation passes through two phases, socialism and communism, differing from each other in degree of development of productive forces and socialization of the means of production, also in principles of remuneration, maturity of social relations and level of consciousness and culture.

In drafting the new Party Program, we drew on the historic experience of the Soviet Union, the theoretical and practical achievements of its great Leninist Party, which is leading the heroic Soviet people in blazing mankind's trail to communism. The decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress vividly highlight the Soviet Union's growing strength and are bound to have a beneficial influence on the international Communist and workers' movement, on the entire revolutionary process and on political developments in every part of the world. For the Soviet people they signify a new step on the road to realization of Communist ideals. We have also learned from the successes of Communist parties in other socialist countries, notably their work in building a developed socialist society. Our Party also takes into account the experience of the world Communist movement as synthesized in the documents of the 1957, 1960 and 1969 international conferences.

But in these 27 years of socialist construction the Bulgarian Communist Party has accumulated much experience of its own,

and from it it has drawn important theoretical and political conclusions. All our theoretical and practical work organically combines fidelity to the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with creative boldness and ability to devise correct solutions through concrete analyses of reality.

All this has enabled us to express in the program – to borrow the words of Lenin – what already exists and what we hope to achieve in the near and more distant future.

Completion of the transition from capitalism to socialism signifies the final victory of socialist production relations. The question 'Who will win?' has once and for all been resolved in favor of socialism. The Bulgarian people, by their dedicated labor, have laid an indestructible foundation of the new social structure. But the edifice of socialism is still far from complete. The need now is to shape the new society as an integrated and harmonious system following its own intrinsic laws of development. That is the sum and substance of the task before us.

In drawing up the Party Program, we took into account the new dynamics of social processes resulting from the scientific and technological revolution. Efficient application of its advantages presents fresh opportunities for attaining the Party's long-range goals in minimum time.

The Program defines the future developed socialist society as the highest and last stage of the first phase of the communist formation. Such a society gives full expression to the essence of socialism and full scope for its vast potential, provides all the conditions necessary for the balanced and harmonious development and functioning of society and full realization of its objective laws.

In this first phase of communism, society consolidates and extends the gains of the socialist revolution; rapidly advances to a modernized material and technical basis through intensive development, integrated automation and, subsequently, computerization, of production; assures more rational and scientifically grounded organization of production and management; a higher level of production relations, with closer unity of state and cooperative ownership, of workers, cooperative farmers and intellectuals; higher prosperity and cultural standards and a higher level of public consciousness. Also these features: a higher level of socialist democracy, with much bigger participation of the people. The state of proletarian dictatorship thus grows into a state of all the people with steadily expanding self-government. The uninterrupted progress and increasing maturity of socialist society is an essential condition for transition to the full-scale building of a communist society.

Starting from this general characteristic, the program then

defines the Party's tasks in perfecting all the components of the social organism. And here, too, there is organic unity of scientific objectivity and practical purposiveness, as befits a party that has assumed responsibility for the country's socialist and communist future.

And its priority task is *development of productive forces*, the primary and key condition for the all-round maturing and fashioning of socialist society. Here the Party's main orientation is on maximum use of intensive factors and the new technology for rapid economic expansion. Accordingly, we shall introduce radical changes to achieve higher productivity.

Some idea of the future pattern of productive forces is provided by a study of the State Planning Committee and Academy of Sciences. It prognosticates the results accruing from implementation of the Party Program in the year 2000. These are the figures: an approximately nine-fold increase in production assets compared with 1970, with priority development in technically progressive branches. Fixed assets in industry will increase more than 11-fold, about 8.5-fold in construction, more than 9-fold in transport and telecommunications, about 3-fold in agriculture, about 11-fold in trade, public catering, farm-produce procurement and technical equipment. This will be matched by more than an 11.5-fold rise of fixed assets in the non-productive sphere.

Major structural changes are contemplated: industry will contribute 82.7 per cent (compared with 62.8 in 1970) to gross national product, while the figure for agriculture and forestry will decline from 16.1 to 4.8 per cent. At the close of the century 29.8 per cent of the gainfully employed population will be working in industry and 10.3 per cent in agriculture and forestry (as against 36.3 in 1970), 5.2 per cent in transport and telecommunications, 8.6 per cent in trade, 12.9 per cent in other branches and 33 per cent in the non-productive sphere (compared with 13.3 per cent in 1970).

Mechanization and automation require large and increasing numbers of educated and technically trained personnel. That is one of the factors in the Party's increased attention, and bigger allocations, to education, which it regards as a vital area of social life. Our end-of-the-century target is to have about 50 per cent of all people engaged in industry with a secondary or higher education.

Among the measures designed to secure *intensive economic development* are the following: comprehensive automation to be followed by computerization, new principles in solving technological problems, wide use of electronics, notably micro-electronics, and accelerated chemicalization.

The program enumerates the main changes in *production rela-*

tions and social structure consequent on gigantic expansion of the productive forces. And in this context, the program foresees a development that has both theoretical and practical implications, namely, the continued growth and gradual merging, in the course of a dialectical process, of the two forms of socialist property, state and cooperative, into a single form of all-people's property.

Mature socialism creates the conditions for overcoming class differences and for a more *socially homogeneous society*. To this end the program emphasizes the need to cultivate closer unity of all social groups and classes, reveal and resolve in good time possible non-antagonistic contradictions between them, raise mass consciousness and strengthen socio-economic and ideological unity. In this way the program develops and concretizes the Marxist-Leninist theory of the emergence of a classless society.

Under socialism, growth of the productive forces, improvement of production relations and social structure are directed at the single aim of assuring the people the most favorable conditions. The Party program is fully expressive of socialist humanism, for it subordinates accelerated expansion of productive forces and perfection of production relations to its motto: 'Everything for man, everything for man's benefit!' The program charts a realistic policy to satisfy the people's manifold and constantly rising material and cultural requirements.

It will thus be seen that the Marxist-Leninist conception of man as the supreme value of society, and his well-being as the supreme aim of social progress, is being more fully realized in the process of building a mature socialist society.

The program contains an exhaustive analysis of socialist democracy as an essential characteristic of that society. It indicates the main directions of *extending democracy* in every field of public life and in management. This implies more public participation in economic management through elective supervisory bodies and election of economic executives at various levels.

Wider and better functioning democracy is indeed the main factor in building the socialist state. The program follows the principle, indicated by Marx, that representative bodies must be a 'working corporation' responsible for formulating and adopting decisions and supervising their fulfilment. The electoral system will be improved by transition to more developed principles of nominating and recalling deputies.

In subsequent years this will be complemented by more democratic procedures in the cultural field. One of them, combining administrative and social control over central and local cultural institutions, is of especial importance.

The building of a mature socialist society also heightens the role

of public organizations, gives them more rights and imposes more responsibility.

The genuine democracy of our society is embodied in the guarantees provided by the new Constitution endorsed in a nationwide referendum this May.

Still another essential feature of a mature socialism is the flourishing of *spiritual life* in all its wealth and multiformity. And here the program sets new goals in education, both general and technical, especially as concerns the younger generation, and in the sciences and arts. These goals reflect the qualitative changes in the social consciousness, psychology, behavior and aspirations of our people, and provide opportunities for the free manifestation of creative talents and abilities. All-round social progress multiplied by organized and purposive utilization of the subjective factor—such is the basis for solving the new problems.

And problems, difficulties and contradictions will inevitably arise. The notion that they do not exist in a mature socialist society is naive. Communists always take into account objective facts, realistically assess achievements and frankly point to the complexity of socialist construction. Wishful thinking is wholly alien to the Marxist-Leninist party, for it would lead to subjectivism and gross policy errors.

But realism is not the only strong point of Communist policy-thinking. The Marxist-Leninist classicists were bold dreamers, men capable of peering into the future to open up new prospects beyond the ken of the 'common-sense' philistine, to whom such prospects are sheer fantasy. And history has vindicated these so-called 'dreamers' for, basing themselves on the objective laws of social development, they foresaw the world's advance to communism.

Our new Party program is both realistic and venturesome. It looks ahead to bold innovation in all spheres of life, to a better pattern of social organization. It theoretically substantiates society's transition to the highest stage of socialism and, on this basis, explains the leading and guiding role of the Party. That is why we are fully justified in saying that the program gives a scientific, Marxist-Leninist description of a mature socialist society and, as such, is an inspiration to our people. It is clear proof of the Party's ability creatively to apply Marxism-Leninism in Bulgarian conditions, organically combining the national and international factors in building socialism. Comrade Todor Zhivkov said in the Central Committee report: *'The new Program is of exceptional importance in developing and perfecting the Party's leading role. It synthesizes and formulates the Party's general line which will guide future Party congresses and Central Committee plenums and the work of the entire Party and the state.'*

Our firm conviction that the program will be carried out in full rests on profound knowledge and use of objective laws, on scientific and technical progress and scientific prognostication, all of which are intrinsic to Marxism-Leninism. Our conviction rests also on the Party's ability not only to formulate, but also to attain the aims it sets. And its ultimate aim has always been communism. We see the building of developed socialism as the prelude to the gradual transition to its highest phase, Communism. And the Party program clearly formulates the economic, political and ideological means and methods that make that goal fully realizable.

Another fundamental document approved by Congress is the directives for the socio-economic development plan up to 1975. These are some of its indicators: national income is scheduled to rise by 47-50 per cent from 1970, real per capita income by 25-30 per cent, industrial output by 55-60 per cent and farm output by 17-20 per cent.

Guided by the program of the Bulgarian Communist Party and considering the problems the Party and people will have to solve in the sixth five-year plan to build a developed socialist society, the 10th Party Congress declared that the plan's main socio-economic aim is more fully to satisfy the people's growing material and spiritual requirements and to raise their socialist consciousness. The basis for that is full use of the scientific and technological revolution, higher productivity of social labor and accelerated economic development.

The Central Committee and government invested much theoretical and practical work in drawing up the directives. Our economic expansion targets, based as they are on careful prognosis, integrated programs and economic and structural models for the various branches, are fully substantiated.

The directives should be seen as an integral socio-economic and political blueprint for the development of the social organism as a whole, for they provide not only for the expansion of productive forces, but also indicate the ways and means of perfecting production relations and solving social problems. And it has to be re-emphasized that Bulgaria's economy is in a position more fully to satisfy the people's rising material and cultural requirements.

Accelerated industrialization, consistent introduction of new methods and technology based on comprehensive automation and optimal use of all the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, constitute the central, strategic line of economic development. Indeed they are essential conditions for attaining our immediate historic goal, a mature socialist society.

Socialist construction, notably after the April 1956 plenum, has given us a solid material and technical basis, which we continue

to perfect: in the coming five years about 35 per cent of all investments will go into industrial reconstruction and modernization. In some industries this is the main way of boosting production.

By fulfilling the five-year plan, Bulgaria will go a long way towards its goal. But much will have to be accomplished, and the guarantee that it will be accomplished is the existence of a strong material basis, complemented by a ramified network of research centers and organizations, high political consciousness and activity of the people led by the Party, wider participation in socialist economic integration and closer economic ties with the great Soviet Union.

III. The building of a developed socialist society in Bulgaria is both a national and international task. For Bulgaria's gains, its historic achievements, increase the strength and attractive power of communist ideas and of world socialism.

Our People's Republic arose and has developed as an inseparable organic part of the socialist world system. Our socialist revolution was a continuation of the Great October Revolution, a link in the process that determines social development in our era, the process of transition from capitalism to socialism. That is why our Party considers it its sacred duty in every way to facilitate the world revolutionary movement and its final victory.

The march of history confronts our Party with the crucial internationalist demand more closely to tie the present and future successes of socialism in Bulgaria to the general perspective and tasks of the socialist world system. Our Party's immediate historic aim is the building of a mature socialist society, and this accords with the strategic aim of the entire socialist system, namely, to become the leader of world economic progress. Our political orientation on mature socialism is fully synchronized with this aim.

The most essential international condition for building a mature socialist society is fuller integration with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This follows from the intrinsic laws of socialism and is expressive of the trend towards internationalization inherent in the productive forces of our time. In the words of Lenin, the trend is towards a single world economy regulated by the proletariat of all nations according to a common plan.

Socialist integration is dictated also by our national interests. The building of a developed socialist society in a country like Bulgaria (small, limited natural resources, etc.) is possible only given progressive integration with the economies of other socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union. This explains Bulgaria's active part in CMEA socialist division of labor, specialization and cooperation.

The building of a mature socialist society in close friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries represents our greatest contribution to the strength and influence of the socialist world system. Successful implementation of a consistent Marxist-Leninist policy in socialist construction in Bulgaria, as a firm link of the world socialist community, will exert a definite influence on the working people in capitalist and developing countries.

The socialist world system is a decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the revolutionary development of the world. Together with the CPSU and other fraternal parties we are anxious to see the socialist world system grow as a friendly family of peoples jointly building and defending the new society, benefiting from each other's experience and knowledge – a united and strong community in which, as Comrade Brezhnev emphasized at the 24th CPSU Congress, the peoples everywhere will see the prototype of the future world commonwealth of free nations.

In building a developed socialist society, and in actively sharing in the Warsaw Treaty defense organization, Bulgaria contributes to the effort to foil imperialist plans to unleash another world war, attempts at military and other interference and the export of counter-revolution. The Bulgarian Communist Party will continue to give the utmost support to the revolutionary and national liberation movements.

In sum, by building a developed socialist society, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is more effectively fulfilling Lenin's behest to do the maximum possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries.

Ours is a Party of action. It has never been content with what has already been achieved. It always looks ahead. And now, armed with the new Party Program approved by the 10th Congress, we are confidently marching into the future. The historic Congress decisions inspire all Bulgarian working people, open up to them new radiant vistas and stimulate their active participation in building a mature socialist society.



Lessons of history and struggle for peace

Dezso Nemes

Three decades have passed since Hitler Germany broke the Soviet-German treaty of non-aggression and went to war against the Soviet Union. German imperialism had subjugated nearly all capitalist countries of Europe and fascist troops had occupied sizable parts of North Africa. Hitler Germany, dreaming of world domination and backed by a military bloc compounded of Italian, Hungarian, Rumanian, Finnish and other partners and vassals, relying on the resources of countries with a population of 300 million and a developed industry, took up arms against the land of socialism. In preparation for this it had concluded an alliance with the Japanese militarists who held Korea and had overrun vast expanses of China. Furthermore, it had extended its influence to some countries of the Middle East.

By launching a surprise attack, Hitler's strategists hoped to repeat the kind of victorious blitzkrieg they had waged in Western Europe. They also hoped that the Anglo-Saxon bloc and the neutral countries would be sympathetic to their anti-Soviet crusade. In carrying out this sinister mission of world reaction, the fascist rulers of Germany expected to achieve a superiority in strength that would enable them to implement their plans of world domination.

Blinded by these plans, Hitler's strategists miscalculated hopelessly. Even in the difficult years of civil war, the Soviet people proved equal to throwing the invaders out of their country. And now, in the Great Patriotic War, they organized firm resistance to the German fascist invaders. Rallying together behind the Communist Party, the Soviet people and their heroic army at the cost of unparalleled efforts cleared their country of the invaders, defeated the main fascist forces, hoisted the flag of victory over the Reichstag in Berlin and carried the red banner of freedom into a number of countries enslaved by the fascists.

The Hitlerites' hope that their anti-Soviet war would push their differences with imperialist rivals into the background and they

would be able to come to terms with the Anglo-Saxon powers and secure direct support from them never materialized. True, Hitler's aspirations found response among Western leaders. But the vital interests of the countries concerned and their peoples' resolve to fight against fascism prevented Western governments from accepting the Nazis' conditions (which would have helped strengthen German imperialism) and prompted Britain and the United States to ally themselves with the Soviet Union and to form the anti-Hitler action.

However, the rulers of the West hoped that the Eastern front would remain the principal war theatre and that the war would bleed both Germany and the Soviet Union white. In the second stage of the war Anglo-American armed forces extended their combat operations against the fascist armies. But the Western powers' policy was, on the whole, one of protracting the war and delaying the Second Front. Their hope that the Soviet Union would be bled white, however, proved futile.

The Soviet Army, fulfilling its great liberation mission, victoriously carried out some of history's greatest campaigns. The Third Reich, that evil outgrowth of imperialism, was totally defeated. The war it unleashed and the war crimes of the Hitlerites resulted in the death of 50 million people and the devastation of many countries. The peoples will never forget this.

The liberation mission of the Soviet Army, which played the decisive role in the defeat of fascism and brought freedom to the enslaved nations, the heroic struggle of the European peoples whose very existence was placed in jeopardy by the Nazis, and the historic example of the formation and operation of the anti-Hitler coalition have for ever gone down in history as chapters of the great anti-fascist struggle.

To recall World War II means more than just marking dates, for it is most important to the present-day struggle for peace. We must learn the lessons of the past over and over again as we answer the question why German imperialism was not curbed before it kindled the flames of World War II. These lessons are a weapon in the struggle to foil today's imperialist plans of aggression.

I. A stubborn fight for peace began after World War I. It was necessary because the imperialist countries set out immediately to lay new war plans. They launched a new round of the arms race and the colonial powers engaged in one armed action after another. Aggressive imperialist groups tried again and again to form a united anti-Soviet front of capitalist states. They staged various anti-Soviet provocations, hoping to overcome contradictions

between imperialist countries at the expense of the Soviet Union.

The fight for peace included action against anti-Soviet war plans and imperialist wars of every type, for an end to the arms race, which placed so heavy a burden on the people, and for disarmament. In the forefront of this fight were the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement. International reaction resorted to anti-Communist propaganda in general and a vicious anti-Soviet press campaign in particular to justify its war preparations and, on the other hand, to prevent the unity of peace forces of different outlook and to foil joint actions by them. The defense of peace linked up naturally with the ideological and political struggle against anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda.

Let us review this struggle.

Pointing to the oneness of the Soviet policy for peace and the struggle of the world Communist movement against war, various anti-Communist quarters – convinced or bribed accomplices in the anti-Soviet plans of imperialist powers – described the Communist parties as ‘servitors’ of Soviet diplomacy in an effort to reduce the impact of the Leninist foreign policy of peace on the peoples. Right-wing Social-Democrats, followed by Trotskyites and other elements specializing in activities hostile to the Communist parties, readily joined in the propaganda campaign of bourgeois parties, press and radio.

Ever since they were founded, Communist parties have been motivated by the fundamental interests of their peoples and by those of mankind, and have fought to prevent the ruling classes of capitalist countries from dragging their peoples into an anti-Soviet or any other imperialist war. This policy of theirs, like the policy of the Soviet Union, has been a principled, Leninist policy.

Also among the traditional objectives of the revolutionary working-class movement was struggle against the arms race, for *general disarmament*. The Soviet Union took an active part in it. A noteworthy event in this respect was the Genoa conference in the spring of 1922, the first international meeting to which the Western powers invited a Soviet delegation. It submitted its memorable proposal for general disarmament. The Soviet delegation acted on Lenin’s instructions. The Communist parties supporting the proposal were, in their turn, following Lenin’s peace policy.

In the latter twenties the Soviet Union was invited to join in the preparation and holding of the League of Nations disarmament conference, which opened in 1932. However, what the powers that had sent the invitation wanted to negotiate was not disarmament but limits to the arms race, each seeking an agreement in its own favor. The Soviet delegation again took the initiative of proposing general disarmament. The Communist parties welcomed and sup-

ported the proposal, which furnished them with a new weapon in their fight against the war danger. Bourgeois politicians, as well as the right-wing Social-Democrats, hastened to declare the Soviet proposal 'unrealistic' and 'not serious,' and the League of Nations eventually shelved it. But in spite of imperialist attempts to play down this Soviet diplomatic move, it made a strong impression on world opinion. It showed again that the Soviet Union was in the van of the struggle for world peace and that it was the bulwark of all peace forces.

Naturally, the struggle against imperialist war plans linked up from the outset with aid to the peoples fighting against imperialism. An outstanding example of this was the extensive support rendered by the Soviet people and the world Communist movement to the Chinese revolution, which assumed considerable scope between 1925 and 1927. The Chinese revolution dealt a strong blow at imperialist interests, especially at British privileges in China. The revolution could not be carried through to the end in those years because the reactionary wing of the national bourgeoisie, which had usurped the leadership, struck a deal with the imperialist powers to suppress the popular forces of the revolution with their help. The bourgeoisie's treachery was accompanied by a terrible massacre. Both the heroism of the Chinese Communists in the people's revolution and the international solidarity of the world Communist movement were met by the bourgeoisie with a fierce anti-communist campaign. And the answer to the Soviet people's extensive support of the Chinese people was an anti-Soviet policy. However, the historic significance and value of international support for the people's revolution in China are no passing factors, both because this support helped divert considerable forces of world imperialism for years, and because it weakened imperialism, strengthened the oppressed people's movement for independence and aggravated the general crisis of capitalism.

The Leninist peace policy is a revolutionary policy. It implies the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, but is not restricted to this, for it rejects all imperialist wars of aggression. This policy is aimed at fostering peaceful relations between states irrespective of their social systems. At the same time it is directed against all attempts to reconcile the oppressed peoples with their colonialist oppressors. Consistent struggle against all imperialist war links up naturally with support for the liberation struggle of oppressed peoples.

After German fascism came to power the Soviet Union proposed a *collective security system*.

When, in 1935, the Italian fascists attacked Ethiopia the Soviet

Union, by then a member of the League of Nations, insisted that sanctions be applied against the aggressor and came out firmly in support of Ethiopia. The Western powers, making a show of condemning the aggressor, blocked effective measures against him and even left the Suez Canal open so that he was able to ship supplies to his army which had invaded Ethiopia.

When, in 1936, German and Italian fascist troops came to the aid of the Spanish fascists by intervening against democratic Spain, the Communists were the first to help the Spanish people. They called upon all anti-fascist forces to join in a common struggle. Communists formed the bulk of the International Brigades and the Soviet people provided the greater part of the aid to the Spanish anti-fascists. On the other hand, British and French imperialists announced a policy of 'non-intervention' and soon blockaded the Spanish Republic while leaving the routes through Portugal and by sea open to the fascist invaders.

These events immediately preceded the annexation of Austria by Hitler Germany in the spring of 1938, a move to which the Western powers reconciled themselves. Then, in the autumn of that year, came the infamous Munich agreement, under which the ruling classes of Britain and France made a deal with the Axis powers. And it was not long before World War II broke out. The Western powers failed to give Poland, attacked by the nazis, effective aid.

In the summer of 1939 Britain and France persisted in their Munich policy and double dealing, seeking to make fascist Germany moderate her demands on the West and to induce her to realize her plans of conquest at the Soviet Union's expense. At the same time they sent their delegate to Moscow to start talks on the *Soviet proposal for joint action against the aggressor*. However, Britain and France had no intention of signing a genuine defense agreement with the Soviet Union. They merely used the Moscow talks to exert pressure on fascist Germany and make her turn east and attack the USSR. The Soviet Union's efforts towards inducing Britain and France to reject their Munich policy and form a *defense alliance* for joint resistance to Hitler's aggression were ignored. It was in these circumstances that the Soviet Union signed the non-aggression treaty with Germany.

The West raised a hue and cry. Hitler, too, was berated for signing the treaty, for previously he had won concessions from Britain and France by promising an anti-Soviet crusade. But it was primarily the Soviet Union that Western propaganda assailed with the fury of one whose double game had failed. All who had supported the treacherous Munich deal, describing it as a 'triumph for peace,' now slandered the Soviet Union, which gained time by concluding the treaty. When, during the 'phoney war,' the armies

of the belligerents coexisted peacefully along the German-French frontier, the Western powers urged Finland to provoke an anti-Soviet war, trying at the same time to form a united anti-Soviet front involving Germany.

The Communist parties took a firm stand for the Soviet Union, braving all defamation and persecution. They told their peoples the truth, laying bare the underhand game of leading Western quarters and their attempts to reach an anti-Soviet agreement with the fascist bloc. The Communist parties were as persistent in their struggle to foil any anti-Soviet deal with Hitler Germany as they were resolute in their effective struggle against the fascist invaders. In the occupied countries they raised aloft the banner of the anti-fascist Resistance.

After Hitler Germany's sneak attack on the Soviet Union the Anglo-Saxon countries entered into military cooperation with the USSR against the fascist bloc. This was prompted to no small degree by the growing pressure of their own peoples, who put forward demands in keeping with the interests of their countries. The Communists were the most consistent backers of these demands. That a military alliance between the Western powers and the Soviet Union came into being in spite of many years of anti-Soviet propaganda was largely due to the explanatory work of Communist parties.

In attacking the Soviet Union, Hitler Germany hoped that all capitalist states would support her anti-Soviet campaign in one way or another since she was acting as a representative of the capitalist world as a whole. Several weeks before the attack Hitler's envoy, Hess, was sent to London to state the conditions on which German imperialism would be prepared to come to terms with the Western countries and align itself with them for joint anti-Soviet action. In London Hess had long talks. As for the British reply to his proposals, it is still a secret, but obviously Hitler's far-reaching demands were unacceptable to British ruling quarters, and so the attempt to form a united anti-Soviet front of capitalist states failed once again.

Soviet efforts contributed to most capitalist countries' refraining from joining in the war against the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Soviet Union formed a military alliance with some capitalist countries against the fascist bloc. This was achieved not only because the contradictions between the imperialists were so great that all attempts to overcome them proved fruitless. The decisive factor for the emergence of the anti-Hitler military alliance was that German imperialism threatened the national existence of Western countries as well, so that an alliance with the Soviet states, anathemized by them not long before, became a matter of

vital concern for them. *It was realized that fascist plans for world domination could be foiled, not through anti-Sovietism or anti-communism, but through an anti-Hitler coalition with the Soviet Union and anti-fascist national unity with the Communists.*

The Soviet people played the decisive role in defeating fascism. This, naturally, contributed tremendously to the scale of revolutionary movements in the final stage of World War II and subsequent years.

II. After World War II the Western powers refused to continue cooperating with the USSR and proceeded to organize imperialist blocs under Washington's leadership. They tried to foil the victory of socialist revolutions in the people's democracies, but failed. They tried to prevent the historic victory of the Chinese revolution, but failed again. And as regards the disintegration of their colonial empires, the best they could do was to delay but not to stop it.

A new stage began in the struggle against imperialist war. The U.S. monopolies, obsessed by the idea of world domination, began to threaten mankind with a more terrible catastrophe than ever before—a nuclear holocaust. On the other hand, *more powerful forces than ever before rose to maintain peace.* As the 20th Congress of the CPSU noted, there existed powerful forces capable of preventing a new world war.

The socialist countries, while taking steps to strengthen their defenses and to extend the defense cooperation of their armed forces, continued to work for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. They countered Washington's 'brinkmanship' with the Leninist policy of peace.

For many years the advocates of the celebrated 'positions of strength' policy and 'preventive war' against the socialist community called the peaceful coexistence championed by our countries a 'Communist maneuver,' a Communist policy of 'winning time.' They thereby conceded that time works for communism, which brings the peoples peace and blocks aggressive plans. They continued their anti-Communist propaganda, stinting no expense. Nevertheless, the idea of peaceful coexistence gained recognition in the capitalist countries.

The radical change in the alignment of world forces and the growing impact of the policy of peaceful coexistence created a situation in which many leading politicians of even the capitalist powers began to advocate peace. This was a change of tactic forced by the cohesion of the socialist states, the deterring nuclear and missile might of the Soviet Union and the pressure of the vast peace movement, which became an important political factor in the capitalist countries as well.

There are differences between the extreme Right-wing representatives of the capitalist countries oriented on war and realistic politicians. Those who reckon with the actual balance of forces are aware that peaceful coexistence is the only realistic policy and the only way to normal international relations. However, Washington persists in attempts to consolidate the positions of imperialism and to create conditions for carrying out its plans of world domination through local wars. It also pins hopes on the split in the anti-imperialist front caused by the leadership of the Communist Party of China in line with Mao Tse-tung's policies. It hopes that the Chinese leaders will continue to reject the joint action against imperialism proposed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This position of Peking made it easier for Nixon to extend the war against Vietnam to the rest of Indochina. However, the escalation of aggression has resulted primarily in still greater worldwide outrage at the criminal war being waged by the United States in Indochina.

Nixon and those around him say again and again that they 'seek' a peaceful settlement. But the road to peace does not lead through an escalation of the war but through the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops. There is no need to search for the road to a peaceful settlement – one has only to take it and follow it to the end. One must realize that the people of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos alike wish to and will decide their destinies, regardless of the U.S. aggressors and their puppets. The proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the Government of the DRV offer Washington the opportunity for an honorable retreat.

The imperialists will never get out of Indochina of their own free will or renounce their conquests in the Middle East, any more than they will surrender positions from which they are trying to implement their plans of world domination. It must be emphasized again and again that only joint struggle by the peoples can force them to retreat.

The struggle for a lasting peace involves all countries. One of its main fronts is in Europe. Here, under the aegis of NATO, the armed forces of West German revanchists have been reorganized and have become a key factor in imperialist military plans against the socialist states. To curb West Germany's revanchist forces is one of the main tasks in the struggle for peace on our continent and in the world. Europe was the main theatre of both world wars, and today its peoples are in the forefront of the struggle to prevent a third world war.

The socialist countries do their best to safeguard peace. *The Warsaw Treaty countries' initiative for a European security*

conference involving all European countries, without any preconditions, has evoked considerable response. As is known, the governments of a number of neutral countries, notably Finland and Austria, support this initiative and are ready to help in convening the conference.

The governments of the NATO countries are agreeing their positions on the problem. Some NATO countries take a more positive stand on the proposal, others are inclined to disapprove of it, but even they are at pains not to reject it *outright*. This alone shows that the socialist countries' peace initiative is in the best interest of all European nations. The support it enjoys among the peoples is a noteworthy moral gain for the Leninist policy of peace. But, of course, more efforts are needed for this initial gain to develop into a general political victory of the peace-loving peoples.

Fraternal parties hailed the initiative of the Warsaw Treaty countries as being of immense importance in the struggle for peace. The proposal was also favorably received by trade unions of different trends. Joint trade union action in favor of a security system guaranteeing a lasting peace is expanding. Other social strata are showing more readiness to help convene the conference.

On the other hand, official quarters in European NATO countries resort to delaying tactics by putting forward various pre-conditions. They want the United States and Canada to participate. U.S. participation in the planned conference is acceptable; what is unacceptable is that the conference should depend on conditions set by Washington. It is not security that these conditions promote but insecurity. The peoples of Europe, however, need security as a factor promoting diversified and fruitful cooperation between them.

An extremely important factor for European security is to establish normal relations between the FRG and the socialist countries of Europe, including a settlement of relations between the two German states, the GDR and FRG, under international law. A significant step forward in this respect was the Brandt government's recognition of the existence of the GDR as an independent state and the need to negotiate with it as such. This removed one of the obstacles to a settlement and contributed towards the conclusion of the Soviet-West German and Polish-West German treaties. By the terms of these treaties, the Brandt government recognizes the boundaries along the Oder-Neisse as well as those between the FRG and the GDR. In other words, it recognizes the *de facto* situation.

Ratification of these treaties will extend the opportunities for economic and technological cooperation between the contracting parties and strengthen the international position of the GDR, as well as that of the FRG, which is regarded by some of the latter's NATO partners with mixed feelings.

It will be recalled that the conclusion of the treaties was deeply resented by the Right in West Germany, which is trying to prevent their ratification by openly advancing revanchist expansionist slogans. Some Rightists demand that the treaties be ratified only in exchange for concessions over West Berlin that infringe the sovereignty of the GDR. If the Brandt government makes ratification conditional on the outcome of the four-power talks on West Berlin any one of the three Western powers will be in a position to prevent ratification by putting forward demands precluding agreement.

The Brandt government's policy towards recognizing the GDR is a dual one: while acknowledging the existence of the GDR as an independent state, it refuses to establish normal diplomatic relations with it. The same is true of West Germany's NATO partners.

Further steps towards a political settlement in Europe must include full recognition of the GDR by the FRG and other NATO powers under international law. This is indispensable to European security. Furthermore, the FRG must unequivocally declare the 1938 Munich agreement null and void from the beginning.

There can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of West Germans wish to avoid a new catastrophe and desire European security. But it is just as certain that revanchist and nationalist propaganda is confusing many people. Only joint struggle by all peace supporters can neutralize revanchist subversion. This is what the Communists seek in expanding their cooperation with Social-Democrats who take part in the struggle for peace and with other advocates of peaceful coexistence.

Brandt and his followers seem to have missed the tragic lesson of Weimar Germany, where the working people were unable to stop Nazism primarily because of the splitting policy of Rightwing Social-Democrats. The leaders of the SDP once again decline to cooperate with the Communists against the revanchists. Not long ago they passed a resolution forbidding SDP organizations and members any cooperation with Communists. This ban was imposed because of growing contacts. It will hardly end these contacts but is bound to make them more difficult. The Right-wing leaders of the SDP, demonstrating their anti-communism, are vying with reactionary parties for the favors of the bourgeoisie. This is more important to them than joint struggle by all anti-fascist forces against revanchist attacks. Yet *in the FRG, too, it is not anti-communism, but joint struggle by all anti-fascists and peace supporters that may lead to victory for peace and defeat for reaction.*

The international situation is tense today. U.S. imperialism, which has assumed the role of both defender of the capitalist world and leading neo-colonialist power, has not given up its plans of world

domination. It succeeded in setting up NATO and other blocs. However, neither the formation of military blocs nor the extensive system of U.S. military bases could prevent socialism from becoming a world system or avert the disintegration of the old colonial system.

On the plea of the alleged 'threat of attack' from the USSR, the United States launched an unprecedented arms race. The U.S. imperialists resorted to armed acts against three socialist countries: the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Cuba. These attacks failed, and it is in the war against the Vietnamese people that America is sustaining its worst reverses.

The United States places weaker capitalist countries in economic and political dependence and mercilessly exploits them. Its policies have shown the peoples graphically that neo-colonialism combines economic subjugation with reactionary conspiracies and coups and an atmosphere of civil war. The imperialist powers spark wars of this kind either jointly or severally – in an attempt to set up puppet governments of 'their own.' The result is mounting resistance and a general upsurge in the fight against neo-colonialism.

U.S. prestige has declined all over the world. Competition between the U.S. and its main partners is growing. However, American and other imperialists go on plotting, planning new coups and local wars. It is in this way, and especially by 'loosening' the socialist camp, that they hope to create more favorable conditions for a universal war against the socialist world and for suppressing people's independence movements. Their common propaganda weapon is anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, combined with chauvinism, racism and other varieties of ideological dope. This was the case in the days of Hitler and his partners, and it is the case now, in the days of Nixon and his partners.

Today the struggle against imperialist war and political reaction interlocks more than ever before with the struggle against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. *One of the main prerequisites of anti-imperialist unity is to defeat anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.* In the grim years of World War II this was achieved, and it played an historic role in saving mankind from the terrible fate prepared for it by Hitlerites.

The USSR and its allies and the world Communist movement are the foremost fighters against imperialist war. They are the mainstay of the international peace forces and they champion unity of the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces. The new peace program presented by L. I. Brezhnev in the CC CPSU report to the 24th Party Congress is an indication of this. Its specific provisions are ap-

proved by all sincere partisans of peace irrespective of their political views.

The unity of all peace forces proposed by the Communists and joint struggle by the working people of all countries and by the Soviet Union and other socialist states is the way to prevent new imperialist wars, push back and abolish neo-colonialism, safeguard peace and national independence and ensure the free development of nations. This is the lesson of the decades preceding World War II, the lesson of World War II, the lesson of the subsequent period of great change.



Fifty years of struggle and gains

Alvaro Cunhal

Last March the Portuguese Communist Party celebrated its 50th anniversary. Two important factors contributed to its foundation in 1921: the progress of the working-class movement in Portugal and the influence of the October Socialist Revolution. The PCP has since travelled an arduous road, carrying high the torch of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

Forming a revolutionary party

In 1910 the monarchy in Portugal was overthrown and gave way to a parliamentary republic. However, this development was a result of a bourgeois and not a popular revolution. To quote Lenin, 'the mass of the people, their vast majority,' did not 'come out actively, independently, with their own economic and political demands' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 416). The revolution was led by bourgeois parties and groups.

The government of the petty and middle bourgeoisie that took over carried out some democratic reforms but failed to solve any of the fundamental problems facing the working people in town and country. It stuck to the colonialist policy of its predecessors and tended to make the country subservient to British imperialism.

For all that, the winning of democratic freedoms helped to strengthen the organization of the working class and to extend its struggle. In 1911 alone there were as many strikes as in the previous decade.

Portugal's entry into World War I was deeply resented by the people. Rising prices and shortages led to numerous protests and demonstrations.

The working-class movement in our country was dominated by an anarcho-syndicalist trend at the time. The Portuguese Socialist Party, founded in 1875, had lost its influence over the trade unions. In 1919 a General Confederation of Working People (CGT) was

formed under an anarchist leadership. It had 120,000 members at first. However, the anarchists, like the Socialists, proved unable to offer the working-class movement as a whole a political and revolutionary perspective. The Socialist Party, torn by opportunism, had become a tool of the bourgeoisie. The anarchists scorned the opportunities provided by parliamentary democracy. They refused to join in political activity and used terroristic methods even in fighting for economic demands. This misled the working people, whom bourgeois parties had therefore no difficulty in exploiting for their own political aims. The militant anarchist leadership drifted further and further away from the masses. CGT membership dwindled to 50,000 in 1923.

The working-class movement made progress against all difficulties. Its foremost exponents saw the necessity for a genuinely revolutionary proletarian party.

In January 1918 Lenin said that 'every piece of information, every fragment of a report about our revolution, every name, the proletariat greets with loud and sympathetic cheers, because it knows that in Russia the common cause is being pursued, the cause of the proletariat's uprising, the international socialist revolution' (Vol. 26, p. 471). This was also the case in Portugal. Despite the hysterical campaign started by the bourgeoisie against the first worker-peasant state, the working people eagerly picked up every bit of information about the Russian revolution, which they regarded as their own cause. A broad movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia developed, there appeared political groups popularizing Bolshevik experience, and the newspaper *Bandeira Vermelha* (Red Banner) was founded.

Under the impact of the October Revolution the Portuguese proletariat, whose militancy and class consciousness were manifested in numerous actions from 1911 to 1920, realized the need to found their own revolutionary party.

In November 1920, workers' meetings in Lisbon formulated the main provisions of a program and set up the Organizing Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party. The Party's organizational principles were elaborated, discussed and approved over the next few months. Finally, on March 6, 1921, a conference was convened which heard the Organizing Committee's report and elected the leading bodies of the PCP.

That was how our Party came into being. It proceeded to form workers' and peasants' organizations and began to publish its newspaper, *O Comunista* (The Communist). In 1923 its First Congress met legally and in 1926, its Second Congress. At that time, however, the Party failed to become the genuinely revolutionary vanguard of the working class. According to inaccurate and con-

tradictory data, the Party had from 500 to 2,000 members at the time. Its work was affected by the anarchist and petty-bourgeois record of many of its leaders of that period, by their low theoretical standard and the absence of a revolutionary core in the Party.

The PCP was not prepared to resist the fascist coup which on May 28, 1926 imposed a dictatorship that has survived to this day. It was unable to mobilize the masses against fascism and its activity was virtually broken off. Hit by repression, branch organizations ceased to appear and numerous leaders withdrew from the struggle.

Nevertheless, the seeds sown by the PCP were not wasted. Despite the lack of unity and organization, many working people held communist ideas. Some comrades tried to re-establish the Party. But not until 1929 did it resume its activity under the leadership of Bento Goncalves.* Operating deep underground, it gradually developed into a militant Marxist-Leninist organization. However, it took the Party more than another decade to put its activity on a permanent basis and to become the recognized vanguard of the working class and the country's entire anti-fascist movement.

Except for the PCP, all the labor and democratic organizations that had existed before 1926 succumbed to repression and left the political scene after several years of dictatorship. The Socialist Party dissolved itself in 1933. The anarchists steadily lost ground in the trade unions, which were definitely fascisized in 1934. Anarchist organizations revived their underground activities for a brief period during the Spanish Civil War. With the war over, they gave no more sign of life.

The 45 years of dictatorship have seen more than one anti-fascist group of diverse political trends spring up, only to disappear after a short time. There are a few groups of this type today but they have not acquired national significance. The PCP is the only revolutionary force carrying on sustained political work. Despite repressive measures and its illegal status, it has become a strong and influential party, as even our enemies admit.

Gains and mistakes

What are the factors of our gains?

To begin with, the PCP is a genuine working-class party. Its organization and activity are based on the support of the industrial and rural proletariat. It has always had able functionaries of non-proletarian origin and in its ranks are many intellectuals and students. However, the workers make up a huge proportion of

*Steel worker, General Secretary of the Party. Arrested in 1935, he died in a Cape Verde prison camp in 1942. — Author's note.

the membership. A principle of the Party is that its leading committees should consist mainly of workers (and indeed, workers today constitute two-thirds of the Central Committee membership). This is an earnest of correct policy.

The extension of the Party's social base is due to capitalist development in our country over the past fifty years, that is, to a vastly important objective factor. While exact statistics are lacking, it is safe to say that the proportion of industrial workers has increased fourfold in this period, with 200,000 to 300,000 small farms going out of existence. The proletariat today makes up roughly two-thirds of the gainfully employed rural population.

The Party owes it to the revolutionary spirit, organization and devotion of the working class that it has not only survived but has gone on developing in the face of fascist repression.

Another factor of our gains is the fact that the PCP takes guidance from Marxism-Leninism, which has enabled it to adopt the right policy and to use appropriate forms of organization and struggle.

Theoretical training of revolutionaries is a formidable task in any conditions. It requires time, perseverance and experience. It is particularly difficult under a fascist dictatorship which has abolished all freedom of the press and banned Marxist-Leninist literature. On the other hand, the difficulty of underground work and the imprisonment of the finest Party leaders resulted occasionally in an underestimation of political and theoretical schooling.

But work in this field was carried on. Trips to the Soviet Union by Portuguese labor delegations, which began in the twenties, played a big role. Our Party was assisted in the ideological field by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, in the past, by the Comintern.

The foregoing is not to say that the PCP has made no mistakes. A Party which affirms that it never makes mistakes, or which conceals them, is deluding itself and the working people. Unless it learns the lessons of setbacks, these are bound to recur.

We paid dearly for certain miscalculations and found ourselves in great difficulties each time we took the offensive without support from the masses or used forms of struggle for which conditions were unfavorable. A case in point was the revolutionary strike on January 18, 1934. It was an expression of heroic protest against fascist control of the trade unions and constituted a turning point in the working-class movement, in which the Party has since won a leading position. However, the strike resulted in the destruction of a number of organizations and the loss of numerous valuable workers.

We found ourselves in a difficult situation whenever we sub-

stituted agitation for organizing work among the masses. In 1937 and 1938 all the Party committees virtually became agencies for the distribution of our underground press. Of course this strengthened links in the Party but, on the other hand, we tended to lose contact with the masses, to tone down work among them — one of the main reasons for the liquidation of most of the organizations in the 1939-1941 period and for the crisis in the Party. Our attempts to mobilize the masses by merely carrying on agitation at local level and in the enterprises had a similar result.

We incurred serious damage by underestimating the forces of the enemy when we neglected our defense after scoring substantial gains. As a result, we were struck telling blows in November 1935, January 1938, September 1942, March 1949 and December 1961.

We experienced difficulties whenever we did not make an adequate effort to know people, showed undue haste in selecting and promoting them and slackened our vigilance.

We benefited considerably from gains and victories. But set-backs and defeats were helpful too. The Party developed through criticism and self-criticism, thanks to its readiness to admit and eliminate mistakes and shortcomings and to draw proper conclusions from them.

The third factor in our Party's progress is that, operating under a fascist dictatorship, it has always fought for the interests of labor. It has always been the staunchest and most devoted defender of the people against the fascist government's policy of exploitation, repression, terrorism, obscurantism, submission to foreign imperialism and colonialist oppression. The PCP has become the vanguard of the working people, the fighter for unity of the working class and the democratic forces, the organizer and leader of the masses.

The function of the revolutionary vanguard is not that of a paternalist preceptor of the masses, nor of an 'active minority,' as some petty-bourgeois radicals believe; its function is to rouse the masses to struggle, to organize them and give them proper leadership.

An underground Party apparatus, however perfect and however courageous its members, cannot survive for decades in an atmosphere of repression if it lacks close links with the working class, with the masses at large, if it does not draw continuously on the revolutionary energy of its class and its people, seeking and receiving assistance and reserves to make up for losses sustained in battles with a cruel enemy like fascism.

The record of the PCP is inseparable from the people's history and struggle. The Party's activity finds vivid expression in all strikes, popular demonstrations and political campaigns, in actions taken in factories, villages and universities.

Another reason for the progress of our Party is the existence and growing strength of its underground organization, the development and use of methods safeguarding the Party in conditions of fascist dictatorship, in an atmosphere of unrelenting persecution. It takes strenuous effort over a long period to master the art of illegal work. Mistakes made in the process weaken the Party and affect revolutionary activity for a greater or lesser period of time, and occasionally exact a price in freedom or in human life. The methods we used in this work after 1929 were rather primitive. After the heavy police repression against the Party leadership, we lived through a trying period, 1938-1942. Not until after that did the Party finally succeed in really organizing its revolutionary activity.

This was made possible by setting up—in factories, in the countryside, among the intellectuals and youth—Party branches capable of recovering from even severe repression; by forming a core of professional revolutionaries thoroughly devoted to the Party and with the necessary technical facilities; by ensuring the continuous activity and security of the leadership; by a capacity for renewal, by the ability to make up for heavy losses inevitable in the bitter struggle we are committed to; by solid unity and discipline based on democratic centralism; by creating a regular underground press.

The Party's underground press, specifically *Avante* (Forward), the Central Committee organ whose first issue appeared on February 15, 1931, plays an important role in the Party's life. The fascist police repeatedly raided our illegal printing presses, arrested and tortured editors, typesetters and distributors of *Avante*, imprisoned them for many long years and even killed some of them, but it was unable to silence our Party. Ever since 1941 we have published *Avante* regularly, and moreover inside the country.

Diverse forms of struggle

A strong underground organization and skilful illegal work are indispensable to the Party's existence. It would be wrong to imagine, however, that this is enough to preserve and build up the Party. In view of the fascist dictatorship, it is very important continuously to use legal and semi-legal forms of organization and activity, doing it courageously, tenaciously and patiently. This is essential in strengthening the Party's links with the working class and the people, in mobilizing them.

Had the Party confined itself to improving its underground organization and activity, and had it hidden underground as in a shell, the result would have been isolation, the loss of contact

with the masses and defeat resulting from repression. A vanguard isolated from the masses and enjoying neither their confidence nor support can be active for a time, can carry out an occasional spectacular action, but will fail in the long run.

In our country, combining illegal, legal and semi-legal forms of activity has always been a condition not only for the development but for the very existence of the Party. The Party has used these forms for a long time, regarding them as the main forms of struggle. Pseudo-revolutionaries resent this. They believe that there are always opportunities for 'higher' forms, but Lenin teaches us that different historical periods see different forms of struggle come to the fore, and in connection with this, the secondary, auxiliary forms of struggle undergo change in their turn (See Vol. 11, p. 214). It is particularly important to remember this counsel under a fascist dictatorship.

Accordingly, the Party forms Unity Committees in the enterprises. Although they are regarded as 'unlawful,' they lead the working people's struggle for various demands and are already winning the employers' virtual recognition as spokesmen of the workers. The only trade unions allowed in Portugal are the fascist unions. But the Party is active even in these and many militants enjoying the working people's confidence are elected to their leadership. Ever since 1945 the Party has utilized even the fascists' bogus elections. Putting forward progressive candidates helps to bring into being legal and semi-legal organizations supporting them and to launch extensive political campaigns and mass action. The Party is also active in students' associations which are closely linked with the people's struggle and adhere to progressive positions. The development and use of various forms of legal and semi-legal activity is necessary both for promoting the mass struggle and for the Party's self-defense.

This is not a new experience. Speaking of the years of reaction in Russia, Lenin stressed that the Bolsheviks *could not have preserved* (let alone strengthened and developed) the core of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, had they not upheld, in a most strenuous struggle, the viewpoint that it was *obligatory* to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle' (Vol. 31, p. 36). The entire record of the Portuguese Communist Party proves this idea of Lenin's correct.

Because there is a strong centralized coercive apparatus, and because the fascists intend to continue denying the people elementary liberties, taking repressive measures, barring the way to a peaceable solution of inner political problems and following an aggressive and adventurist policy in Africa, big revolutionary battles are inevitable in Portugal. The delay of a cargo bound for

Africa and the destruction of important war material in Lisbon harbor and, later on, of 17 aircraft at the main training base for colonial troops were actions of great importance. However, there is still no revolutionary situation in the country and armed struggle is not the focus of the movement. Our main activity today is mass action for specific immediate objectives. It is necessary steadfastly to use the most diverse forms of struggle, refusing to give in to Leftist blackmail.

Succession of generations

Except for the first five years, the PCP has been operating underground ever since it was founded. It has been a target of fascist repression for 45 years. In these circumstances, solid revolutionary training of the membership is a requisite of the Party's development. We have trained several generations of revolutionaries thoroughly devoted to the working people's cause and capable of withstanding the severest trials.

Many prominent leaders and cadre members of the Party proved their loyalty to communism by giving their lives for it. Dozens of them died in Tarrafal prison camp on the Cape Verde islands, many more were killed by PIDE^{*} agents. Ferreira Soares, a doctor, was shot in 1942, shipyard worker Alfredo Dinis was killed on a highway in 1945, sculptor Dias Coelho was shot in a Lisbon street in 1961.

Dozens of activists were tortured to death during interrogation, refusing – in line with our tradition – to make any statements or answer any questions. Among them were Vieira Tomé, leader of the railwaymen, Germano Vidigal, PCP and trade union leader in one of the country's districts, Ferreira Marques, member of the Lisbon Party Committee, and José Moreira, a cadre member in charge of the underground press, who was killed for refusing to disclose the location of the *Avante* printing press.

Many Communists were killed during mass actions in town and country. The name of Catarina Eufémia, a peasant woman glorified in song and poem, has become a symbol of Communist heroism.

Thousands of Party activists were jailed and many of them spent long years in prison. Manuel Rodrigues da Silva, Secretary of the Central Committee, was jailed for 23 years and Francisco Miguel, cc member, for 22 years. José Vitoriano, Secretary of the Central Committee, spent 18 years behind bars. The members of the present Central Committee were held for a total of about 250 years. A number of prominent leaders, such as Pires Jorge, Dias Lourenço and

^{*}Fascist political police. – Author's note.

Blanqui Teixeira, are still in fascist prisons, serving long terms.

Some comrades succeeded in escaping and resumed their Party work. Many comrades wanted by police stayed underground for ten to twenty or more years. Not so long ago our Party paid tribute to two comrades who have been fighting in these conditions ever since 1945.

In our ranks there are Communists who have decades-long experience in underground activity and have gone through innumerable hardships. They are daily joined by new militants. Most of the Party members are young people prominent in leading bodies. Their influx is a guarantee of the Party's future.

National character and internationalism of the PCP

The Portuguese Communist Party, a national contingent of the great Communist movement, a standard-bearer of the ideas of the October Revolution and the international cause of the working class, came into being through the revolutionary effort of the Portuguese proletariat. It lives and makes progress thanks to the devotion of the thousands of its members and to the support and assistance of the working class and other working people, of the younger generation and the more politically conscious intellectuals. Its existence is inseparable from the victories and experiences of the world proletariat as a whole.

We have already stressed the role of the October Revolution and the experience of the Bolshevik Party in the foundation of our Party. The prestige and influence of the PCP also benefited from such historic achievements of the Soviet Union as the abolition of exploitation, the building of socialism, the solution of the nationalities problem, the victory in the war against German fascism and Japanese militarism, and the economic, social, political, cultural and scientific achievements of the great Land of Soviets.

The Party's strength also grew thanks to victorious socialist revolutions and achievements in other countries, to the gains and victories of brother parties operating in capitalist countries. The solidarity of the working people and brother parties of the world, primarily of the Soviet people and the CPSU, contributed in important measure to our struggle.

We Portuguese Communists never forget, and will never allow anyone to forget, that we owe much of our progress to the working people and Communists of other countries, to the sacrifices made by our class brothers. We remember and always remind others of the interconnection of the struggle in various countries, the international and internationalist character of the proletariat's cause, the fight for socialism and communism.

On its 50th anniversary our Party stresses that its national policy, objectives and tasks consist in upholding the interests of the working people, delivering Portugal from the fascist tyranny, winning genuine national independence, establishing a democratic state and paving the way for a socialist future. This is the meaning of our internationalism.

We are well aware of the significance of the USSR and CPSU to us and the working people of all countries, to the socialist community and the people's fight against imperialism. Enemy propaganda and Right and 'Left'-wing opportunists, who try to galvanize old anti-Communist calumnies, accuse us of submitting to and being dependent on Moscow. But we will not give in to the ideological pressure of the class enemy. We reaffirm our indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union and CPSU and the role of the Soviet Union as a bulwark of the revolutionary forces of the world, and combat all manifestations of anti-Sovietism.

The PCP reaffirms its friendship and solidarity with the socialist countries and brother parties, with the heroic and invincible people of Vietnam, the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, the Arab peoples, with all who are fighting against imperialism.

We fully identify ourselves with the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, whose struggle against Portuguese colonialism is linked with the Portuguese people's fight against the fascist dictatorship. We declare that we are resolved to step up action for an immediate end to the colonial war and for recognition of the people's right to complete independence. Thereby the Portuguese Communists are fulfilling their international, national and patriotic duty. Portugal cannot be free and independent unless the peoples of its colonies win freedom.

The Portuguese Communist Party is looking confidently ahead as it sums up the results of fifty years' activity, drawing conclusions and deriving resolve and faith from its past. We will go on building up our organization, our links with the masses and unity of action of the working class and other working people and the democratic forces. We will continue to promote the revolutionary movement of the masses, which is bound to culminate in the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, winning freedom and establishing a democratic system. And then we will set out to build a socialist and communist Portugal. We are certain as we march on shoulder to shoulder with the CPSU and other fraternal parties that the future belongs to us.



Battlefronts of labor

(end 1970 – beginning 1971)

One of the most salient features of the labor movement of the end of 1970 and beginning of 1971 is the continuity and militancy of the working-class struggle. The bourgeoisie has literally had no respite. The absence of any more or less lengthy 'breathing spells' in the succession of strikes is the result of the workers' realizing their strength, of their higher degree of organization, and the ability swiftly to change the forms of struggle. Factory stoppages alternate with strikes embracing whole industries, local working-class drives expand into nationwide actions. In Italy, France, Japan, Britain and a few Latin American countries large-scale actions have followed in quick succession, developing into steadily sustained pressure on the monopolies and the state. The scale and intensity of the class battles against the policies of monopoly capital and the greater role of the working class and its organizations in socio-economic and political affairs were described by representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the capitalist world in their speeches at the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

A review of the class struggles will show that all the basic features of the present-day strike movement (its mass nature, broader range of demands, involvement of broad sections of the population, closer intertwining of socio-economic and political demands, etc.) were in evidence, and perhaps were even more pronounced, in the latest working-class actions. Laying no claim to a comprehensive analysis, we shall deal here with some of the special features of the most recent battles.

The political initiative of the working class, its ability not only to defend itself or to wrest occasional concessions from the monopolies or the state, but also to conduct offensives all along the line, has become a strong factor in a growing number of capitalist countries. Many large-scale strikes, meetings and protest demonstrations had political slogans. Time and again, the working class foiled the plans of reaction, displaying its increasing strength. In Bolivia,

for example, a general strike led by the Labor Center in the autumn of 1970 prevented a coup d'état by pro-U.S. military elements. Supported by the working class, the peasants, students and the intelligentsia, power was assumed by the anti-imperialist government of General Torres. Emphasizing the decisive part played by the masses in these events, the *El Siglo*, the newspaper of the Chilean Communists, wrote 'The progressive, democratic forces have won in Bolivia. This triumph is the biggest setback suffered by U.S. imperialism on the continent since the Popular Unity victory in Chile's presidential election on September 4.' In January 1971, during a new reactionary army officers' plot, the workers went into the streets with the slogan, 'Death to military fascism!', frustrating the coup. Speaking at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, Jorge Kolle, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Bolivia, said: 'Experience shows that popular unity, direct mass action and general political strikes can not only frustrate reactionary plots, but also help pass on in the course of the struggle to new, higher methods of organization and revolutionary action . . . Orientation on broad popular unity, with the working class and the revolutionary political forces holding hegemony – that is the guideline of the policy of the Communist Party of Bolivia in the battle for a popular anti-imperialist government.'

In Italy, fascist groups resorting to organized violence, provocations and terrorist acts, were repulsed by progressive forces headed by the working class. In Spain and Portugal, defying great difficulties, strike actions are proliferating despite repressions, with many actions openly directed against the fascist dictatorship. The decision of the 15th CC Plenum of the Communist Party of Greece, in February 1971, says: 'The situation in Greece is highlighted by the fact that despite all junta efforts and the undisguised support it receives from the American imperialists, the process of the junta's isolation from the people and from nearly all political parties and groups, is continuing. Actions against the junta are multiplying, anti-imperialist and anti-American sentiment is mounting and the spirit of the people's militant anti-dictatorial unity is becoming stronger.'

In Italy, France and several other countries demands for fundamental socio-economic change and a reorientation of foreign policy have become a dominant element of industrial action. Demands for deep-going democratic reforms and for alternative solutions to the complex problems created by the scientific and technical revolution, contribute to the development of an offensive strategy and tactics of the working-class struggle.

In contrast to the previous years, the strikes of 1970 and early 1971 took place when the USA, the leading country of the capitalist

world, is proving its inability to extricate itself from one more economic crisis and the dark clouds of recession hang over a large group of West European states. Unemployment in the region is assuming dangerous proportions, with nearly eight million jobless in the developed capitalist states. The continuously growing inflation is now a major problem for the whole capitalist world, and wages and employment are the key issues in the workers' economic struggles.

Segments of the working class that were politically passive only recently, are becoming involved in the class confrontation. Strikes are erupting in the enterprises of the biggest monopolies where refined methods of 'class cooperation' and 'paternalism' succeeded in eliminating labor conflicts for decades. The class battles are spreading to more and more countries, including those of Northern Europe, regarded as a 'showcase of class cooperation' well into the sixties.

In the beginning of 1971, the Western press fulminated against the 47,000 civil servants who went on strike in Sweden and against the striking flight crews of three French airlines. In Sweden, stoppages brought the state-owned railways to a standstill, closed schools and universities and paralyzed many government offices and law courts. The conflict involved Sweden's army officers, who belong to the National Federation of Civil Servants. The press, radio and television decried these actions as 'luxury strikes' and 'rich men's strikes.' But the underlying purpose of these attacks was obvious: to prevent the different currents of social protest from merging into one stream.

There have been high and low tides in the strike movement of the past ten years (see diagram on inside cover), but as a whole the actions have grown into a powerful unintermittent movement embracing large segments of the people, the entire capitalist world.

Invariably, the working class has to contend with two trends in anti-labor policy: overt dictatorial methods of crushing labor action by brute military-police force or refined strategems of bourgeois reformism, attempts at integrating workers' organizations into state-monopoly capitalism. Of late, the monopoly bourgeoisie has been inclined to resort increasingly to extreme authoritarian anti-labor methods, setting into action the state's entire legislative and executive mechanism of oppression and suppression. Britain's industrial relations bill even eclipses the Taft-Hartley anti-union law passed in the United States at the height of the cold war and the anti-Communist hysteria of the late 1940s. British Communists stress that there has been nothing like it in any capitalist country, excepting the fascist Spain and Greece. The bill outlaws solidarity strikes protests against apartheid or the Vietnam war and, in

fact, any active demand deemed as contrary to the 'national interest.' One more bill was published in March reducing social security allowances to strikers, which even the Labor Party, which had engaged quite assiduously in anti-trade union activity, described as one of the most evil and pernicious acts ever contemplated by the government.

The biggest concerns in the FRG have gone into action of late, with the Federal Employers' Union accusing the government in its 1970 report of not being 'harsh enough' with the unions. Growing anti-labor tendencies in France have led to an increasing number of dismissals of union activists, employers' inflexibility in collective bargaining, and a growing number of lockouts. More than 70 bills are before the U.S. Congress at present, seeking a clamp-down on the right to strike. Monopoly capital is letting loose its shock force – the ultra-Right, pro-fascist forces. As noted by Luciano Lama, General Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labor, 'The reaction to the economic and political gains made by the Italian workers in the autumn and all through 1970 is now surfacing not only in refusals to meet demands at factory level or in resistance to reform, but also – and this is more dangerous and aggressive – in attempts to provoke rebellion, as in Reggio di Calabria and in the criminal violence of the Rightists and fascists.'

The unprecedented scale of the strike movement, the 'pressure from below,' results in a polarization of forces within the reformist trade union movement. The extreme Right-wing elements are drifting closer to monopoly capital, while other sections of the leadership are moving towards more resolute struggle against the monopolies and favor joint action with the Left-oriented unions. Life has taught them the harsh lesson that 'if they don't deal with politics, politics will deal with them.' The influence of Left-wing forces is growing in the trade-union movement not only in countries where the masses are traditionally militant and the Communist parties are a major force, but also where reformist syndicalist ideology still dominates.

It is no exaggeration to say that the working-class movement is entering a stage of greater solidarity on both the national and international scale. In Italy, for one, the question of uniting the country's trade union centers has already been raised. An important break-through was the joint sitting in October 1970 of the General Councils of the three major federations: the General Confederation of Labor, the Confederation of Workers' Trade Unions and the Italian Labor Union. Their secretariats have agreed on holding joint May Day celebrations. In the American unions unitarian tendencies have given rise to the movement centered round the National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and

Democracy, its 17 local organizations and the rank-and-file actions in many industries.

The problem of joint international working-class action is shifting from the discussion stage to practical action.

International monopolies, stretching like cancerous growths across the length and breadth of the capitalist world, have forged to the forefront in imperialism's economy and policy. Fighting the mass labor movement, they are intensifying competition in the labor market, a tactical dodge which Frederick Engels described as 'the strongest weapon the bourgeoisie has against the proletariat.' The U.S. monopolists, who are pumping huge profits out of Western Europe, for example, can afford to pay higher wages than the local enterprises, and at even the threat of a strike their foreign subsidiaries often comply with all wage demands, thus placing their personnel in a preferential position. Workers' organizations have coordinated action and cooperated in various forms within some international monopoly groups (Fiat-Citroen, General Electric, Phoenix Works, Michelen, Philips, Saint Gaubin, Peugeot, etc.). International solidarity has prompted meetings of trade union or factory delegates of different countries. In December 1970 delegates from Great Britain, the FRG and Belgium gathered at the second European conference of Ford workers. They examined working conditions, wages and the coordination of action on a European scale. An international conference of auto workers in London, March 1971, came out in support of the British Ford strikers. And the West German Metalworkers' Union offered them financial aid. In September 1970 the Eighth Congress of the International Graphical Federation formed a commission to coordinate union action in the Common Market countries.

There are no indications, moreover, that it will be quiet on the social front this year. Testimony to this are the strike battles of the first few months. This is confirmed by the now fashionable labor forecasts. In an article analyzing the balance of monopoly and working class strength *U.S. News and World Report* presented a diagram predicting when and where strikes could be expected in 1971.

Social tensions in the capitalist world are aggravated by the intertwining and growing interaction of the working-class struggle with the greatly expanded general democratic movements: those of peace champions, peasants, national minorities, students, etc. They are increasingly employing proletarian methods of struggle, chiefly strikes. Suffice it to recall the impressive 'farmers' rebellion,' with 100,000 farmers of the Common Market countries holding a mass demonstration in Brussels on March 26.

To be sure, it must not be overlooked that the workers and other

wage-earners face a strong and experienced adversary. However, though backed by the power of the state apparatus, monopoly capital's strategy – to paralyze the working-class movement and undermine the influence of the Communist parties, its vanguard – is anything but successful. And this the class battles of the past and present year convincingly bear out. Whatever the pseudo-revolutionary exponents of 'Left extremism' may have said to the contrary, the revolutionary potentialities of the working class in the imperialist countries are on the upgrade. 'The present period,' said the 1969 world Communist forum, '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.'

FACTS AND FIGURES

U.S.A. The year 1970 saw the highest number of strikers in 18 years: 3.3 million. The biggest strike in the latter half of the year was the December national railwaymen's strike in which 500,000 employees of 150 railways demanded higher wages and job security (since the war employment on railways dropped 47 per cent). A walkout of 18,000 miners halted work in the West Virginia coal-mines. In December 1970 a strike paralyzed the port of New York. Strikes by civil employees swept dozens of cities. *Newsweek* wrote that whether the nation liked it or not, it faces an uncontrollable increase in the militancy of 12.2 million employees of local, state and federal agencies.

The year 1971 began with stoppages by oilworkers in a number of cities and by firemen and police in Ohio. Fifteen thousand telephone workers walked out in New York. Teachers, printers, members of the teamsters local, and municipal employees struck in Pittsburg. In Chicago college teachers held a strike, and a teachers' walkout lasted more than four weeks. In April, a stoppage halted city transport in Philadelphia, fourth largest U.S. city.

Canada. Twenty-three thousand General Motors workers stopped work for 93 days, demanding the same wage rises as the United States auto workers. The January strike of 14,000 in five Ford Motor Company of Canada plants ended in a workers' victory.

Great Britain. In 1970, there were 3,888 strikes involving 1,784,000 workers, with a loss of nearly 11 million working days. As many as 600 thousand took part in the December 24-hour national strike

against the Tory government's anti-labor bill. The 128,000 electric power workers went on 'work to rule.'

A second national protest day was held January 12, 1971, with more than five million taking part in mass anti-government strikes, rallies and demonstrations. The postal workers' strike in February lasted six weeks. Some 50,000 workers laid down tools in 21 Ford factories. There were 418 strikes in the first two months of this year, with a loss of more than seven million working days (almost as much as during the whole of 1969). Two more 'Down with the Bill' national strikes were held in March. In scale and strength all these actions are comparable to the General Strike of 1926.

Belgium. A landmark in last fall's struggles was the victory of 7,000 workers of the ASEC plants U.S. Westinghouse-controlled winning the promise of guaranteed wages in job transfers. There were strikes in the Maas valley steel works, strikes by teachers and bank employees. For the first time in 75 years workers of the zinc factory in Balen waged a stubborn two months' struggle.

Greece. The first strike since the black colonels seized power was called by the building workers. The workers of Herakllion and the women workers of Livadeia walked out in the autumn of 1970, and work in the Orthomenos canning factory was halted several times.

Spain. Not a single industrial center was spared by strikes in 1970. According to the official press there had been 500 strikes between January and November. New detachments of the working class joined in: the farm laborers, building workers, printers, public transport workers and bank employees. Strikes and protest meetings swept the country against death sentences for the six Basque patriots. In Bilbao 50 women held a 23-hour sit-down strike in a church, demanding an end to the court proceedings against the Basques. The national strike lasted several days. Students were highly active in the protest movement, and were supported by the teaching staffs. Strikes erupted in all Spanish universities. About one million are estimated to have taken part in the protest movement. But that is an incomplete figure. Twice in 1971, Madrid university teachers called a strike.

Italy. The strike of 120,000 power workers in December 1970 paralyzed a large part of the country. In mid-December all Central Italy saw a general strike of industrial, commercial, banking, transport and communications workers. In January 1971 a million and a half building workers held a 24-hour stoppage for a town-building reform, development of the country's southern regions and for jobs. The police attack on a demonstration of solidarity with Spanish patriots in Milan sparked a series of strikes, rallies and demonstrations for democracy and reforms. General strikes hit 14 of Italy's

20 regions. This winter and spring a wave of strikes, meetings and protest marches rolled across Italy against pro-fascist acts of sabotage and terror. Left parties and organizations established a united national anti-fascist committee, with hundreds of such committees springing up at regional, provincial and municipal level. On April 7, eleven million took part in a 24-hour strike backing demands for urgent socio-economic reforms and democratic reconstruction.

The Netherlands. The first general strike since the war was called by the three trade union centers in December 1970 with the object of frustrating government attempts to set limits for wage rises.

Portugal. The workers' struggle for economic demands continued to spread. In 1970 railway, shipyard and hospital workers held strikes of an unprecedented scale. Stoppages or slowdowns of varying duration were held in many metal-producing, cork, chemical and automobile factories. In the town of Matozinhos seamen occupied ships and stationed pickets.

F R G. In September 1970 the strikes of just the 150,000 metalworkers resulted in 532,000 lost man-days. The striker total for all 1970, the Marxist Studies Institute (Frankfurt-on-Main) estimated, exceeded 700,000. For the first time in 18 years all Opel workers in Ruesselsheim went on strike, while 25,000 workers stopped work at the Daimler-Benz plant. Strikes for higher wages were called by civil servants, engineers and policemen. In January 1971, 15,000 Lufthansa employees held their first strike in 45 years.

France. The fight for higher wages, employment, tax reforms, better social security and union rights continued through the end of 1970 and the beginning of 1971. In February 1971 thirty-six thousand postal workers walked out, and there were short stoppages in the metal-producing industry, while 50,000 grape farmers in the south of France blocked roads and occupied railway crossings. In March, Paris school-teachers did not come to classes, and the dockers' strike in all the major ports begun last November continued.

Finland. The strike of 70,000 in the metalworking, metal-producing and mining industries was the biggest single action of the Finnish proletariat in 15 years.

Sweden. This January about 2,500 hospital workers demonstrated in the capital, demanding higher wages and better working conditions. A strike of 47,000 civil servants developed into the biggest labor conflict since 1945. Ten thousand electricians in Stockholm and other cities struck in protest against the new wage system.

Israel. There were 168 strikes in 1970 in which 120,000 took part. The workers of Israel opposed the 'general contract' policy of the trade union federation, which amounts to a wage reduction and higher prices and taxes. Schoolteachers stopped work twice. In the beginning of February 1971 a demonstration in Jerusalem protested atrocities by Israeli occupation forces against the stock Arab population of the Gaza strip. Workers, students and intellectuals participated. In March, Jerusalem Jews demonstrated against discrimination of citizens of a non-European background.

India. A 26-day strike of 3,000 textile workers in Madhya Pradesh begun in December 1970 ended in victory. In January 60,000 schoolteachers of the northern state of Uttar Pradesh stopped work to demand the nationalization of education, higher wages and an end to encroachments on their democratic rights and freedoms. In Kerala, civil servants held a strike.

Cyprus. An upward trend in strikes for higher wages and better working conditions has been in evidence over the past two years. Central bank and Cyprus Radio employees and Nikosia municipal workers went on strike in the beginning of 1971. There was a strike of workers building the big oil refinery, and local staff struck for 24 hours in the British naval bases in March.

Pakistan. Transport difficulties were caused by a strike of 20,000 Karachi taxi drivers and motor-rickshaws in January 1971. Ten thousand Pakistani International Airlines employees and 1,500 port workers in the capital stopped work in the same month.

Turkey. In January 1971, the textile workers union called a strike of weavers at 22 mills. In February workers of Shell, British Petroleum and Mobil enterprises struck against discrimination of Turkish workers.

South Korea. Bloodshed accompanied a mass demonstration of Seoul university students against conscription in April 1971.

Japan. As in previous years, the 1970 spring offensive went off on a grand scale. In October meetings and demonstrations all over the country demanded an end to U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina and the return of Okinawa, occupied by U.S. war bases. A million and a half took part in the antiwar actions. The 1971 spring offensive started with rallies and protest demonstrations against the Indochina war all over the country. Twenty unions in different industries took part in March strikes ranging from 30 minutes to 24 hours. On April 15, more than 1.2 million took part in acute class battles.

Ghana. In March 1971, African Timber and Plywood Co. workers went on strike, highlighted by a clash with the police during a demonstration to protest the management's abuses.

Kenya. In 1970 there were 84 strikes involving 19,000 persons. In March 1971 tire factory workers struck to protest the dismissal of 55 workers.

Lebanon. This year students of Lebanon University engaged in extensive strike actions, demanding jobs for graduates.

Morocco. At the end of 1970 two thousand miners stopped work for better working conditions and recognition of their union. Solidarity strikes were held by textile, chemical and railway workers.

Tunisia. In October 1970 a general strike of railway workers lasted six days.

Uganda. A wave of strikes swept the textile and garments industries in the first months of 1971.

Argentina. Last November a 36-hour general strike involving six million was held to protest the government's economic and social policies. A signal event was the action of teachers demanding democratization of the educational system. In January 1971, FIAT workers in Cordoba province took over the factory to protest dismissals. Solidarity strikes were staged by some 20,000 auto-workers in the province. During a printers' strike workers occupied the printshops. Workers occupied factories in the beef-packing and metal-producing industries. Walkouts were held by bank employees and university administrative personnel. Doctors of 18 Buenos Aires hospitals held a 24-hour strike for a reorganization of the sanitation services and higher wages. In the first three months of 1971, five major strikes took place in Cordoba province.

Bolivia. The October 1970 general strike thwarted the plot of a group of reactionary officers financed from abroad. In January 1971 the working people of the capital came out into the streets in support of the Torres government against fresh reactionary attempts at a coup d'etat.

Venezuela. In January 1971 ten thousand small banana growers struck against the price policy of the monopoly group controlling banana sales at home and abroad. In February, transport workers of Zulia State held a general strike.

Colombia. The 63 strikes in 1970 involved 143,400 people. In January-February 1971, 73,000 teachers of seven provinces stayed away. Thirteen hundred merchant seamen held a general strike. Defying the government's repeal of constitutional guarantees and the state of emergency in some of the towns, a 24-hour national general strike was held on March 8. Workers demanded higher wages and a stop to repressions.

Peru. At the beginning of 1971, workers of the internationally owned Bata shoe factory went on strike.

Uruguay. In 1970 the strike movement for economic demands merged with the struggle for democratic rights and sovereignty. The national strike of October 14 was the biggest labor action in the country's history. A 24-hour general strike was held in April.

Australia. In September 1970, 200,000 took part in a demonstration of protest against the country's participation in the Vietnam war; it was joined by a great number of schoolchildren and teachers. In December bus drivers and workers of the Canberra railway junction stopped work, while postal workers went on strike in Sydney. Ground crews of the state-owned airline stopped work in January 1971.



GDR Institute of Marxism-Leninism

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the cc of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany plays an important role in the Party's ideological work. Publication of the writings and collected works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, records of the German and international working-class movement and the writings of leaders of the movement has for years been the chief activity of the Institute, founded in 1949. In 1969 the Secretariat of the cc SUPG called on the Institute to extend historical research and work out topical problems of Lenin's theoretical legacy and scientific socialism.

The Institute has departments concerned with the life and work of Marx, Engels and Lenin and with problems of scientific socialism, as well as subdivisions doing research into the history of the German and international working-class movement. Besides, a special group promptly supplies staff members with information on instances and methods of bourgeois falsification of Marxism, first of all in West Germany. Ever since 1959 the Institute has had its own journal, *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, which publishes the more important results of research.

Publicizing an invaluable heritage

The first book to be brought out by Neuer Weg, the publishing house of the Communist Party of Germany, after the defeat of Hitlerism by the Soviet Army was the Communist Manifesto. Readers treasure this edition.

Publicizing the theoretical heritage of the founders of Marxism is a standing concern of the SUPG. Never in earlier German history have Marx and Engels been published on so large a scale. Immediately after 1949 'Selected Works' by Marx and Engels in two volumes, their correspondence in four volumes and a series of special collections were made available to the German reader. An outstanding event in the country's political and intellectual life was

the publication of the 'Collected Works' of the founders of Marxism in forty volumes, begun by the Institute in 1953 and completed in 1968, the year of the 150th anniversary of Marx's birth.

It is based on the second edition of 'Collected Works' published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CC CPSU. The Moscow Institute supplied for the German edition photographic copies of writings deposited in its archives and provided constant assistance in the preparation of explanatory notes and indexes. The Berlin Institute drew extensively on the Soviet experience in studying and publishing the classics of scientific socialism.

The 40-volume edition is the most complete edition of Marx's and Engels' literary heritage published in German. It comprises 1,700 works and over 4,000 letters, as well as numerous preparatory writings, drafts and abstracts. It enables the German reader to acquaint himself with works discovered by Soviet researchers and with many letters unknown before. The notes (over 16,000) and indexes are the result of research done in both countries.

The tremendous work carried out by the German and Soviet institutes of Marxism-Leninism made it possible to undertake MEGA, a joint edition of 'Historico-Critical Collected Works by Marx and Engels.' MEGA will reproduce all that was written by the two authors, and that has survived, in the original language, using the spelling of the time.

MEGA, which will exceed 100 volumes, will consist of four sections. Section One will comprise all completed works with the exception of 'Capital,' and items written in preparation for it, to be included in Section Two. Marx's and Engels' correspondence will go into Section Three, and Section Four will comprise excerpts, notebooks and uncompleted items.

Preparations for MEGA necessitated the development of uniform editing and publishing principles to reproduce the complex and diversified materials reflecting the distinctive character of Marx's and Engels' work. A trial volume containing the materials of all four sections has already gone to the printer. The purpose of printing it is to check methods of editing and presentation. Widespread discussion of this volume upon publication (1972) will make it possible to improve and specify publishing principles. It will also promote closer and more extensive scientific contacts.

MEGA, an undertaking of the SUPG and CPSU, will benefit from the cooperation of a number of other fraternal parties, to which end an international network of correspondents is being set up.

Publishing Marx's and Engels' literary heritage is inseparable from research into the history of Marxism. Popular biographies of Marx and Engels have been brought out and it is planned to produce a comprehensive study of their joint work. A collection of

articles about the impact of 'Capital' on the German working-class movement appeared on the eve of the centenary of 'Capital.' The general reader is offered a tastefully illustrated series of small books telling – on the basis of letters, diaries and other records – about various periods and episodes of the life and work of Marx and Engels.

Publication of Lenin's writings was initiated by the CPG before the seizure of power by the Nazis, who stopped it. By now there is a sufficiently complete German translation of Lenin due to the enormous work accomplished by the Institute. In 1965 the Institute finished publishing Lenin's 'Collected Works,' based on the fourth Soviet edition, and went on at once to translate 10 volumes of the fifth edition comprising Lenin's letters (seven volumes are out already) and five supplementary volumes.

Publishing Lenin's works goes hand in hand with intense research. The Institute gives meticulous care to terminology and uses the latest data of historical science to compile notes. In particular, it is preparing a subject index to Lenin's 'Selected Works' in six volumes. Propagandists and Party functionaries will find in it reference material on current problems of socialist building and the fight against imperialism.

Plans include a study of the distribution of Lenin's writings in the German working-class movement. A good beginning was made by publishing a list of Lenin's writings in German, prepared by the Institute for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. A monograph was published, entitled 'Lenin's Links with the German Working-Class Movement.' On the strength of numerous records, recollections by eyewitnesses and an analysis of Lenin's work, the book shows how Lenin helped German revolutionary Marxists in their struggle for a party of the new type.

Special collections, readers for youth, historical and biographical essays give an insight into the main aspect of Lenin's life and work, and help to assimilate his teachings. A ten-year plan provides for a deep analysis of Lenin's theoretical heritage, including further study of Lenin's contribution to Marxist thought, notably his theory of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism and its application in the GDR.

History and modern times

A scientific conception of history and knowledge of the progressive traditions of the German people and the revolutionary traditions of the working-class movement are regarded in the GDR as most important prerequisites for moulding the communist world outlook of the masses, primarily the younger generation. A key task of

historical science is to help this generation, which has no personal experience of the burden of capitalist exploitation, fascism and war, to evolve socialist class consciousness. Its fulfilment scored a noteworthy advance with the Institute's publication of 'A History of the German Working-Class Movement' (8 vols., 1966). The book was written by a large team of authors under the direction of Walter Ulbricht.

The Institute has supplemented this publication with a 'Chronicle of the History of the German Working-Class Movement' in three volumes, drawing on the Institute's vast archives, and with collections of articles and speeches by German proletarian leaders and outstanding theoreticians – August Bebel, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl. A series of publications based on records and the recollections of eye-witnesses deals with the history of the heroic fight against fascism.

The experience gained by historical science in the GDR made it possible to begin work on a voluminous 'History of the German People.' 'The time has come,' said Dr. G. Heyden, Director of the Institute, 'to show that the GDR is the successor and exponent of the finest humanitarian, progressive and revolutionary traditions of German history, and first of all modern history.' In planning this publication, the Institute intends to reveal the two opposed trends of development in postwar Germany and fully to present the GDR as the socialist alternative to German imperialism. Much attention will be given to exposing falsifiers of the history of the German people, above all of the German working-class movement. This is all the more important since West Germany's rulers have lately been trying to distort it so as to justify their anti-Communist policies and to foment nationalism.

The history of the international labor movement and its strategy and tactics, for their part, are becoming an object of bitter ideological battles. Attempts to distort them are being stepped up as the role of the Communist and Workers' parties and the influence of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook grows in the world.

In close contact with other fraternal parties, the Institute studies and elucidates important stages of the proletariat's international solidarity. Last year it published a collection of records of the Communist League, the first international organization of the revolutionary proletariat. It has translated a short outline history of the Communist International published in the Soviet Union, which it has supplied with illustrations and other items. Its plan provides for 'An Outline History of the International Communist Movement.'

Scholars of the GDR strive to acquaint the working people of the republic as fully as possible with the ideological legacy and revolutionary experience of the Comintern, which will always retain their

historic significance. Research will cover the role of the Comintern in establishing a united popular front, the connection between the labor movement and Marxist theory, the role of Lenin and the CPSU in the world Communist movement. Of special relevance to the German reader will be the history of the Comintern's struggle against fascism and war, and the exposure of falsifications of this struggle.

One of the Institute's new departments is carrying on research into the history of the German working-class movement since 1945. This eventful period encompasses the anti-fascist democratic and the socialist revolutions, and socialist development in the GDR. The staff is to go on studying the application of Marxist-Leninist principles in the GDR. The long-range plan envisages a history of the Party's economic policy, cooperation between the working class and other sections of the population, the history of the local labor movement (district and regional Party organizations), trade unions, Young Communist League, and the struggle for equal rights for women. An essay now in preparation deals with fraternal links and cooperation between the SUPG and CPSU. The fight of the working class and other working people of West Germany for democracy and progress is a theme earmarked for study. The growing role of the Marxist-Leninist party in building socialism is being studied in contact with scholars from a number of socialist countries. A team of staff members is engaged in publishing Walter Ulbricht's works.

The Institute is setting out to examine fundamental aspects of the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The new department of scientific socialism is only just getting off to a start. The first result of its effort will be a monograph, now in preparation, whose main themes are the laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism, the historical place and tasks of socialism, the stages of its development, and the criteria of mature, developed socialism. Special attention is given to the problems of building a developed socialist system in the GDR, the growing leading role of the working class, the integrated development of all public spheres and their intertwining in one dynamic system. Improving economic planning and management, and orientation towards full utilization of the creative potentialities of the new system are treated as a complex of social problems. Lastly, analysis of the creative development and application of Lenin's theory of socialism calls for criticism of un-Marxist and pseudo-Marxist theories of socialism and for exposure of their social and political functions.

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism effectively organizes creative

cooperation by scholars of the GDR. It expands and strengthens contacts with scientific institutions and Marxist centers in socialist and capitalist countries. Joint publications, exchange of information, and participation in forums and conferences are among the forms of its cooperation.

The Institute's young scholars are working in close cooperation with veterans of the German working-class movement who have gone through severe schooling in anti-fascist struggles. They are all resolved to fulfill the responsible tasks which the SUPG has set them. People at the Institute call this optimism based on realism. One can only wish the staff the best of success in its work.

Berlin-Prague.

A. Petrashik

Finland: aspects of our struggle

Unemployment is capitalism's constant companion. Not even when business is good does it disappear completely. All that bourgeois economists can argue about are the limits within which it could be regarded as 'normal.' Permanent unemployment suits the capitalists. Like the sword of Damocles, reserve labor threatens the employed, restraining their fight for higher wages.

Officially, Finland had some 100,000 unemployed in 1957-58. The high point, however, was in the first quarter of 1968, when the figure rose to 115,000, or to about four per cent of the able-bodied population.

The 1967-1968 unemployment coincided with the period when Communists and People's Democrats entered the government. The working people clamored for effective measures. However, pressure was exerted not directly on the capitalists, the main culprits, but on government and communal organs, because under existing legislation these are obliged to initiate steps to increase job opportunities. The government, however, could not cope with this situation. Some quarters, primarily the extreme Right, tried to shift the blame on the Communists in the government, seeking thereby to capitalize politically on the difficulties.

Emigration is closely linked with unemployment. Since the war, an annual average of some 10,000 Finns have abandoned the country, with the record high of about 45,000 migrants to Sweden recorded in 1970. Finland had known nothing like it since the terrible hunger of 1866-1867. The exodus continues, although unem-

ployment has declined and some industries, such as metalworking, even experience manpower shortages.

The 1967-1968 unemployment was spurred by recessions in the capitalist countries with which Finland maintains economic ties. Our trade balance left much to be desired. In 1966 through 1968 industrial output rose a mere two percent. With labor productivity climbing 5-6 per cent annually and the output growth rate insignificant, industry cannot absorb additional manpower. In the meantime, young people born after the war have attained adulthood. This means that a more numerous younger generation is looking for jobs. The situation is also complicated by the precipitous changes in the population structure. With mechanization under way in agriculture and timbering, 30,000-40,000 people are freed each year, and these the slowly growing industry cannot absorb.

While bourgeois economists theorize about 'normal' unemployment rates, the Communist Party of Finland is fighting for more jobs.

At the same time, the Party is promoting a mass movement for material aid to the unemployed and their families. Under the program of a government in which the CPF did not participate, the jobless received a miserable allowance. In 1957-1958 the unemployed organized their own food collections. The soup kitchens which they set up in the badly afflicted areas, supplied meals to the most needy and to large families.

Some progress has been achieved since. By virtue of our cooperation with other progressive forces and under the people's pressure a law has been adopted to form mutual aid banks and to pay allowances to dismissed working men. Dismissed trade union members receive an allowance equalling about two-thirds of the average wage, payable for not more than 200 days a year. Workers contribute seven per cent of the required sum to the mutual aid banks, the government 43 per cent and the employers 50 per cent. Those who are not members of trade unions receive a somewhat smaller allowance directly out of government funds.

This legislation is still deficient. Due to various restrictions, more than 25 per cent of the unemployed are, in effect, deprived of allowances and receive no social assistance whatever.

Fighting for more permanent jobs is still our foremost task. At national and local levels, Party branches have put forward programs for higher employment and are leading a mass movement for their implementation. Party congresses adopted economic policy programs. Furthermore, regional industrialization programs, including one for the industrial development of the North, were drawn up in 1965.

Countering capitalist programming, the Communist Party has advanced a plan of democratic changes to meet people's daily needs.

The main item in our program is the demand to establish large-scale government-controlled enterprises. This is quite feasible in certain industries, especially chemicals and metalworking. Also, we are advocating measures to encourage small-scale and medium private industry.

What we are doing goes against the grain of both Finnish and international big business. Suffice it to recall that during the campaign for a joint Soviet-Finnish metalworking plant project in Raahe, foreign capitalists resisted fiercely. At present, the enterprise is operating at full capacity and, with production growing steadily, some 200 new jobs may be expected annually in the seventies.

In capitalist society, even within a single country, some areas are industrially developed, whereas others trail behind. Northern Finland, though rich in timber, minerals and hydro resources, is a case in hand.

The CPF branches in the North are promoting a broad popular movement for industrialization. Our industrial development program has been submitted to the government and the local administration. Trade unions and other mass organizations are backing it. Thousands of letters are pouring in to the government, and special conferences are held, with Party spokesmen and local experts presenting their case. Short strikes have been held in some districts and enterprises in support of the legitimate northern demands. The campaign is part of the class struggle, a struggle for the solution of a problem vital to the working people.

The country should develop harmoniously, with the natural wealth and raw material sources of each province being taken into account. That is what we are fighting for. Here is an example.

Deposits in Northern Finland could keep a large high-grade steel mill amply supplied with ore. The project was assigned to Outokumpu, a government-controlled stock company, the key posts in which are occupied by people with a bourgeois background and Social Democrats. In November 1970 they decided that the plant, which will provide jobs directly to 1,400 people and indirectly to 4,000-6,000, should be located in Western Finland, in the town of Pori, several hundred kilometres distant from deposits of ore.

The people of Northern Finland, however, wanted the plant put up in or near Kemi-Tornio, since iron and chrome ores could be obtained in Lapland. Persevering elucidation by Communists and People's Democrats helped build up discontent among the masses over the incorrect placing of the mill. The government had the power to reverse the stock company's decision, and the working people insisted that it should. They knew that if nothing was done, the monopoly bourgeoisie would succeed in retaining Northern Finland purely as a supplier of raw materials.

The Lapland branch of the CPF approached the Governor and called on the local authorities to oppose the incorrect decision. Also, it suggested that the branches of parties represented in the local self-administration should negotiate the necessary action forthwith.

The district branches of the parties in the government coalition reached complete understanding. A large delegation was dispatched to Helsinki. The statement it submitted to the State Council and the Sejm, and then released to the press, radio and television, said, among other things: 'The government program says that "the government will steeply enliven the policy of developing the provinces." Consequently, we demand that the State Council should reverse the decision and site the projected steel mill wholly in the Kemi-Tornio economic area.' The petition was signed by the Lapland branches of all political parties and by 12 influential economic and communal organizations.

The protest campaign launched on Communist initiative spread across Northern Finland. Hundreds of meetings were called in enterprises, educational establishments and various organizations. These sent numerous telegrams to the government and the Sejm. A kind of 'steel mill party' emerged, demanding industrialization in place of promises.

Although Kemi is more than 700 kilometres from Helsinki, a delegation of nearly 200 went to the capital, joined by spokesmen of enterprises, communes and trade unions. A part of the delegation was received by the President of the Republic. People in Helsinki said the Laplanders had 'occupied' the Sejm building. And this was true. The big conference hall was crowded with people demanding that the ministers should revise the steel mill decision. Sit-down strikes were held in Lapland enterprises and educational establishments. Young people built barricades, bringing street traffic to a stop.

The government convened before the delegation left Helsinki, and the latter was informed that in principle the government acknowledges the wisdom of locating the mill in the Kemi-Tornio economic area. The declaration was subsequently backed up by action. Thus, Northern Finland has gained an important victory in the battle for industrialization.

That is just one example of our struggle. Being Communists we know that many of the grave problems and difficulties stem from the capitalist system, and can be resolved only under socialism. Yet we campaign for reforms that tend to limit the economic and political domination of monopoly capital, to improve the situation of the people. Fighting for this, our Party is gaining increasingly broader support among the masses.

*Benjamin Hampinen,
Tatu Moilanen*



Socialism and population

The Central Statistical Board of the Council of Ministers of the USSR recently published the results of the first survey of the January 1970 General Census, tabulating the country's population of 241,720,134 by source of income, education, nationality, language, sex, age and marital condition. (It will be recalled that the preliminary results of the census, exhibiting chiefly the territorial constitution of the population of the USSR and showing its urban and rural distribution, published a year ago, have already been extensively commented upon by demographers, economists and sociologists.)

The census testifies to social and cultural progress in the Soviet Union, and it is the aim of these summary notes to examine some of the returns which reveal population trends in socialist society.

Prevalent in socialist society, as we know, is the principle that working is everyone's birthright and duty. This is confirmed by the source-of-income enumeration.

<i>Chief source of livelihood</i>	<i>Enumeration</i>		<i>Millions</i>
	1959	1970	
Employment in the national economy	99.1	115.5	
Pension	12.4	33.1	
Scholarship, stipend	1.7	3.5	
Dependence on individuals, incl. family members working complementary personal farms	95.3	89.1	
Other sources, unindicated	0.3	0.5	
Total population	208.8	241.7	

This is a typically socialist tabulation of incomes. Employment in the national economy is the means of livelihood for as many as

47.8 per cent of the population. Another 15.2 per cent, living on a pension or stipend, derives its livelihood directly from the social consumption funds. Dependents of individuals (children, aged, and other persons engaged solely in the household or in bringing up children) comprise 36.8 per cent; this includes those members of collective farmers', workers' and other employees' families who work the complementary personal plots or farms. But the term, 'dependents of individuals,' needs clarifying. A large portion of the cost of maintaining these people is borne directly by the state: the state maintains nurseries and kindergartens, provides tuition-free education, free medical services, and the like.

Indicatively, the percentage of dependents in the total population is declining. Largely, this is due to the state's assuming a growing share of the burden of maintaining labor veterans, invalids, the aged, and of school and university students. The total of pensioners – gainfully working, as well as not working – was 40.1 million at the beginning of 1970 against about 20 million in 1959, the year of the previous census. The number of scholarship and stipend recipients has gone up from 1.7 million in 1959 to 3.5 million in 1970. And the Directives for the ninth five-year economic development plan envisage a further increase in social consumption funds. Among other things, it is planned to raise the allowances for families with many children and low-income families, and to increase pensions and stipends.

The very high Soviet employment and labor utilization percentage is another salient point. Out of the 130.5 million people of working age (under Soviet legislation this applies to ages 16-59 for men and 16-54 for women), those employed in the national economy, plus the students, numbered 120.6 million, that is, 92.4 per cent. In 1959 the figure was 82 per cent. Also pertinent are the following figures: 17.9 million persons of working age, excluding students, worked in the household or on the family plot in 1959, and only 5.9 million in 1970. Many, chiefly women, have taken jobs in the economy. This is the fruit of the social policy of the Soviet state, which devotes itself to upgrading public and community services, easing housekeeping chores and providing every-day conveniences to the Soviet citizen. These figures also show, however, that this source of raising the employment level has now shrunk substantially. In the years to come, it seems, the Soviet economy will grow through more effective use of manpower, increasing the mass of complex and skilled labor, rather than through a merely quantitative growth of employment in material production. The CPSU has taken note of this in its policy, accentuating the intensive factors in economic growth.

The development of socialism is inseparable from the development of the working man, society's main productive force. This is reflected in the continuously rising educational level and the progressive changes in the structure of education.

<i>Education of gainfully employed</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>	
	1959	1970
Below primary	24	10
Primary and incomplete seven- or eight-year schooling	33	25
Incomplete secondary	26	31
Secondary (general and specialized)	13	26
Higher (complete and incomplete)	4	8

One cannot help recalling the comment on previous Soviet censuses. In the past, the increase in the number and percentage of literates was underscored as a special token of progress in education, whereas now the token of progress is seen in the *decline* of the percentage not only of simply literate persons, but also of persons with just a primary or incomplete eight-year education, while the percentage of persons graduating secondary and higher schools is rising. And this is as it should be in a country that has totally wiped out illiteracy and where obligatory universal eight-year schooling for the young has been enacted in law. Today, some 80 per cent of those finishing eight years of school go on to complete their secondary (10-year) education. The Resolution of the 24th CPSU Congress sets the aim of securing 'in the next five years complete conversion to universal secondary education of young people.'

The orientation of Soviet society on an educational standard conforming with the needs of developed socialism, the needs of scientific and technical progress, affects the dynamics of secondary and higher education among the various social groups.

	<i>Those with a higher or secondary education (complete or incomplete) per 1,000 persons</i>	
	1959	1970
Among gainfully employed	433	653
men	434	654
women	431	651
urban	564	748
rural	316	499

The above reveals typically socialist trends in education. Significantly, the percentage of men and women with a secondary or

higher education is practically the same and has been rising at an equal rate in the case of both for at least the past 10 years. Nothing could illustrate the results of the true equality of women more strikingly. No less significantly, the rise in the educational standard is accounted for not only by a numerical increase of the intelligentsia, but also by higher educational standards among workers and collective farmers. In 1959, out of each 1,000 workers 386 had a higher or secondary education, whereas now the figure exceeds 550. The educational standard of the rural population, too, has gone up substantially. By the end of 1970 the percentage of persons with a higher or secondary education was over 75 in the towns and more than 50 for the employed population in the countryside. The census also shows that the difference in the educational standards of the union and autonomous republics is gradually disappearing, while the general level is steadily rising. Cumulatively, this is evidence of gradually lessening social distinctions, as reflected by the educational levels of the different population groups.

What Western commentators priding themselves on being 'experts' in Soviet affairs fastened on especially was the tabulation of the nationalities of the USSR. This is not surprising. Of late, imperialist propaganda has redoubled its attacks on the unity of the peoples of the USSR. More, it predicts 'national conflicts' in the country. Yet the outcome of the census shows clearly that the multinational Soviet people is continuing to consolidate on an internationalist base, that the objective process of the free development of all nationalities, the coming together of Soviet nations, is well under way. Here are a few facts to prove it.

The number of persons of all nationalities – with but one exception – has increased. Twenty-two nationalities number more than one million. The most numerous of these are the Russians with 129 million, Ukrainians 40.7 million, Uzbeks 9.2 million, Byelorussians 9 million, Tatars 5.9 million, Kazakhs 5.3 million, Azerbaijanians 4.4 million, Armenians 3.5 million, Georgians 3.2 million. Twenty-eight nationalities number from 100,000 to 1,000,000 and ten nationalities from 50,000 to 100,000. There are also dozens of other nations and nationalities. In all union republics the numerical growth of the nations that gave their names to them was accompanied by a growth in the number of persons of other nationalities. Territories with ethnically mixed populations are growing.

The national structure of the population has changed somewhat due to the different rates of natural population growth in the case of different nationalities the percentage of some has increased, while that of others declined. The rate of natural growth is highest in the case of the Uzbek, Tajik and Turkmen peoples. However,

the natural structure of the population of the USSR is recovering and improving. The gap between the number of men and women has grown smaller. Indeed, in 1970 men and women have struck a balance in the age groups up to 43 inclusive. With the aggregate population growth between 1959 and 1970 amounting to 15.8 per cent, the number of those married increased by 23.8 per cent, and the number of married women has gone up in all age brackets from 19 upwards. The age bracket of up to and including 15 has grown by 11.2 million against 1959. More than half the country's population is under 30. The percentage of people of working age was 54. As a result of the higher average life span, now up to 70 years in the USSR, the percentage of persons in the higher age groups has risen.

Not only has the census reflected the actual state of the population in the USSR today. It has also provided rich factual data helping the CPSU and the Soviet government to reach scientifically grounded solutions for the further growth of the socialist economy and culture.

E. Georgiev

Setting a substantial rise of the standard of living as the main task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the Central Committee estimates that this will determine not only our activity for the coming five years, but also the general orientation of the country's economic development over the long term. In setting this course the Party proceeds primarily from the postulate that under socialism the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements is the supreme aim of social production.

(From Report of CC CPSU to 24th Congress of the CPSU)



Next step wanted

Ryszard Frelek

I. Early in July 1966 the Warsaw Treaty countries outlined a realistic program for an all-European security system in their Bucharest declaration. The intervening years saw a great deal of pertinent political activity, with the European socialist countries searching for ways and means of resolving that extremely acute and topical issue. The Warsaw Treaty countries' conferences in Budapest, 1969, and in Berlin, 1970, and the Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties in 1967 gave fresh impetus to the preparations of a forum on European peace and cooperation. Concrete proposals were formulated to make it constructive and fruitful.

The drive for a conference has assumed prominence in European politics, has become part of it. The joint peace initiative and the persevering collective security efforts of the socialist countries have made a positive impact on Europe's political climate and are winning supporters among the public and in influential quarters of some of the bourgeois states. The realities show that the idea is entirely feasible and responds to the interests of the peoples. Though it is still too early to say when the conference will at last convene, it is a sign of the times that even its most bitter foes choose to abstain from open attacks.

The socialist countries' peace initiative and steps towards its realization have enlivened the diplomatic scene. Questions relating to the conference and its agenda have become an object of talk and of inter-governmental dialogue. The process has involved nearly all the countries of the continent. Poland, too, along with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, is taking an active part in the general effort. Like the other Warsaw Treaty members, she has held consultations with most of the European countries.

There have been bilateral negotiations in the past two years between socialist countries, NATO states and neutral countries. A 'dialogue' has also been under way between the Warsaw Treaty

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states and NATO countries through proposals and counter-proposals in their various documents. The Warsaw Treaty states set out their attitude at conferences in Budapest, Prague, Berlin and Bucharest, and the NATO members outlined their point of view through their Council at its Brussels session in December 1970.

Mention should also be made of the active role of Finland, which proposed preparatory contacts in Helsinki and consulted all countries concerned on this score.

What are the results?

First, nearly all European countries, save Portugal and Albania, have acknowledged that a conference is desirable. Even the United States, which takes a jaundiced or, more precisely, a hostile, view of the idea, has not dared attack it directly.

Second, there is understanding as to its participants. The two German states should obviously participate on equal terms; so should the United States and Canada, which, though not European powers, are members of NATO and, therefore, involved in the European security problem. There also seems to be a more or less common opinion concerning the venue: most of the countries favor Helsinki; at least, none has opposed it openly.

Third, it seems to be agreed that the conference should concern itself both with fundamental European security issues and with problems relating to greater economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other cooperation, including joint protection of the natural environment.

It does not follow, however, that the program of the conference is ready. The contacts have been bilateral so far, and have not come to the stage of multilateral preparatory meetings and adoption of joint decisions.

Considering the progress achieved, the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers, who met in Bucharest in February 1971, said: 'Bilateral contacts have laid the ground for multilateral preparatory work for convening an all-European conference. The task now is not to drag out transition to this new and more active phase in preparing an all-Europe conference.'

Europe's socialist countries back the Finnish proposal of holding multilateral preparatory meetings in Helsinki. Their stand is constructive and flexible. It stands to reason that the participation of all the interested countries in the new phase of the preparations is most desirable. Presumably, however, some other form could be accepted. It has been suggested, for example, that a working group comprising several countries could be set up, while other proposals concern regional meetings. Naturally, all these variants should accord with the main aim: the earliest convocation of the all-European security and cooperation conference.

All the ground that could be covered in bilateral contacts and talks seems to have been covered in the main, and the present phase should evidently be considered as closed, though it does not mean that contacts of this kind should be totally abandoned. On the contrary, they could be very useful in discussing particular points of the conference agenda. Yet, multilateral negotiations setting the date of the conference and framing its agenda are now necessary for its concrete effectuation.

II. The agenda is important for the success of the conference. The Warsaw Treaty countries have drawn up a realistic and comprehensive program, brought up-to-date (after exchanging opinions with other countries) in the 1970 Budapest Memorandum. It raises the question of renouncing force or the threat of force, and the question of the peaceful solution of all disputed problems. A pertinent treaty would greatly improve the situation in Europe and create preconditions for scaling down the armaments race. That could be a meaningful milestone on the way to an all-European collective security system, which could in the long term replace the now existing politico-military groupings. The signatories to the defensive Warsaw Treaty, it will be recalled, expressed their readiness to accept the simultaneous annulment of that treaty and the North Atlantic Alliance, or, as a first step, the dissolution of their respective military organizations.

The second item on the agenda drafted by the socialist countries was substantially extended in response to ideas expressed by the West European states, envisaging greater equal commercial, economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties and cooperation in protecting the natural environment.

The Budapest Memorandum suggests a permanent all-European security and cooperation body and proposes that the first all-European forum could be followed by others.

Lastly, the Budapest Memorandum declared the Warsaw Treaty members' readiness to examine the question of reducing foreign armed forces stationed in European countries, coming forward thereby with an important initiative designed to lessen tensions on the continent. A solution of this issue could be thrashed out at, or in connection with, the conference.

The program advanced by the NATO countries, in effect a reply to the proposals of the socialist states, is, regrettably, neither particularly clear nor particularly constructive, containing various reservations and conditions. The 1970 Rome Communique of the NATO Council, it is true, referred to renouncing the use of force and to developing cooperation, especially economic. It also touched on the question of a permanent all-European body. But by and large the

NATO members as a body (in the bilateral contacts their positions have been more differentiated) lay the main accent on the so-called balanced troop reductions which they have been propagating for a number of years, though so far nothing concrete has been said as to what should be the point of departure – reduction of the numerical strength or of the number of divisions; unknown, too, are the criteria in the question of disarmament, and the like. This is said to be under study by a specially formed NATO group. In any case, the NATO proposals are still too vague to warrant a final evaluation.

Speaking of the program of the conference, as I see it, special importance attaches to a permanent all-European body for security and cooperation. All interested countries would be represented on it and it would concern itself with the political, military and economic problems crucial for Europe's better future. The permanent body could doubtless develop into a splendid vehicle for discussing disarmament, an atom-free zone in Europe, and the like. Another of its functions could be to prepare subsequent all-European meetings. This would be one way of obviating the present problem of organizing multilateral preparatory consultations.

The only now available common organ of all the countries of our continent is the regional UN Economic Commission for Europe, whose powers are not especially broad, but which, to a certain degree, promotes the growth of economic relations. It could do much more in this respect if the all-European forum proved successful.

III. That is the shape of some of the problems relating to the security and cooperation conference. Our continent has seen many wars, including two world wars. To be sure, they cannot be blamed on the absence of appropriate conferences. But at present opportunities have arisen to avert international conflicts. The system of socialist states in Europe, a powerful peace factor, creates increasingly dependable barriers to imperialist-engineered wars. 'In Europe, where nearly half the states are socialist, there are opportunities to prevent any undesirable development of events,' said the Bucharest Declaration of 1966. 'The problem of European security can be solved by the joint efforts of the European states, of all socialist forces working for peace, regardless of their ideological views and their religious or other convictions.' There is every reason to believe, therefore, that the conference could open a new period in all-European cooperation.

From the Second World War Europe has inherited acute problems that require solving. Of late, positive changes have taken place on the continent. A start has been made in normalizing relations between the socialist countries and the Federal Republic of Germany. The treaty concluded between the Soviet Union and the FRG (Aug-

ust 1970) and the treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG (December 1970), are of cardinal significance. To improve the European climate, these accords should come into force as quickly as possible. There are also objective preconditions for better relations between Czechoslovakia and the FRG. Acceptance of the legitimate Czechoslovak demand that the Munich deal be declared null and void from the beginning would go a long way in making this possible. Important, too, are equal relations between the German Democratic Republic and the FRG based on universally recognized standards of international law. The Communique of the 1971 Bucharest conference points out rightly that similar relations should be established with the GDR also by other states. All this would help normalize the situation in an extremely important part of Central Europe, crucial for peace and security on our continent.

In sum, to advance the general process of détente set in motion in Europe, it is necessary to end the cold war fanned by the imperialists and to improve relations among the European countries. Indeed, the sole purpose behind the Right-wing West German opposition, as well as that of other architects of tension, to ratifying the FRG treaties with the USSR and Poland, is to block détente. The reactionary forces have clung to their position for all of 20 years, prejudicing the vital interests of the peoples of Europe and, at the same time, condemning themselves to increasing isolation.

IV. There is still strong resistance to the conference preparations. Some of the NATO countries make them conditional on various preliminary terms. In December 1970, for example, the NATO ministers affirmed 'the readiness of their governments, as soon as the talks on Berlin have reached a satisfactory conclusion and in so far as the other on-going talks are proceeding favorably, to enter into multilateral contacts with all interested governments to explore when it would be possible to convene a conference, or a series of conferences, on security and cooperation in Europe.' That sets the condition of a 'satisfactory conclusion' in the West Berlin negotiations.

An agreement on West Berlin would no doubt be very useful and important for improving the European situation. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has taken a realistic stand and, as everybody knows, is working for an agreement. What complicates the matter is precisely the fact that the West Berlin problem is being exploited by the NATO powers to block the conference preparations. It is also being used to obstruct the ratification of the treaties concluded by the FRG government with the Soviet Union and Poland. The West Berlin accommodation, meanwhile, depends first and foremost on the attitude of the NATO countries. If, like the Soviet Union, they proceed from the letter and spirit of the allied agreements defining

the special status of West Berlin and from respect for the sovereign rights of the GDR, an independent socialist state, the USSR-USA-France-Britain negotiations will be crowned with success to the advantage of all the countries concerned.

It is common knowledge that the Nixon government has been very cool to the European conference idea from the outset. It does not want developments in Europe to countervail U.S. imperialist global policy. Yet the content of that policy is all too starkly illustrated by the escalation of the U.S. military venture in Indochina and the U.S. support of the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. An easing of European tensions is evidently contrary to the plans of U.S. imperialism, which does not want to lose its dominance in the west of the continent. Washington fears that an improvement of the European political climate may weaken the North Atlantic bloc and isolate the United States on the world scene. That, indeed, is the reason for the erecting of various obstacles to the conference, delaying the beginning of immediate preparations for it.

Considering the counteraction of the imperialist forces it is now hard to say when the conference will materialize. But with due 'cautious optimism' one may expect progress in 1971, for the movement in its favor is growing.

One thing is certain; the idea of the conference will not be wiped off Europe's political slate, because it is necessary to end the cold-war chapter and lay the beginnings of a period of meaningful détente and broader cooperation. This process depends not solely on the good will of separate governments, though their good will, too, is important, but above all on the actual relation of strength between socialism and capitalism in Europe, on the vital interests of all the peoples of the continent aspiring to a peaceful future, and on the aspirations of the younger generations of Europeans born in peace and thirsting to safeguard it.

Speaking at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Comrade Edward Gierek, noted: 'Peace was preserved on the European continent throughout the past 25 years thanks to the relation of strength, in which the aggregate potential of the Warsaw Treaty countries, and especially the defensive might of the USSR, was of decisive significance.' And this peace could be made much more dependable by creating a European collective security system, for which the socialist countries and the Communist and working-class movement are fighting with resolve.

Detente and the stance of Western politologists

Of late, there have been many more investigations in the West relating to the problems of European security. This is symptomatic, because lasting peace in Europe has become a vital political necessity and efforts to consolidate it are acquiring concrete and constructive forms following on the proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist and peace-loving states.

Bourgeois researchers claiming impartiality have to reckon with the fact that the problems of European security are highly topical and that formidable forces are aspiring to their solution. Many of them acknowledge that, given the present relation and distribution of strength, the capitalist as well as the socialist forces on the continent have an objective stake in creating an international system ruling out armed conflict and promoting peaceful co-operation.

All too obviously, the advocates of tension have not laid down their arms. On the contrary, with efforts to consolidate European peace shifting to the practical sphere, some Western research centers, especially those of the United States, are fabricating concepts that 'in theory' justify the imperialist propaganda. Yet even the foes of détente are compelled to revise their ideas if not in substance then at least in form. The situation forces them to pay lip service to the idea of European peace and to conceal their negative attitude behind artful argument.

Probably the most typical exponents of this trend are the American international affairs experts Timothy W. Stanley and Zbigniew Brzezinski. Both are closely associated with the bellicose reactionary wing of the U.S. ruling hierarchy. Stanley, who has held high posts in the Pentagon and in NATO Headquarters, is now associated with Johns Hopkins University's Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research and works on commissions of the U.S. Atlantic Council headed by former American NATO military and political officers. Brzezinski, an ex-member of the State Department's Policy Planning Council, whose reputation as an anti-Communist is notorious, is now director of the Communist Affairs Institute of Columbia University.

Stanley's book, 'A Conference on European Security? Problems, Prospects, and Pitfalls' (Washington, 1970) and Brzezinski's article in *Foreign Affairs*, 'America and Europe' (Oct. 1970, Vol. 49, No. 1), the former commissioned by the U.S. Atlantic Council, have much in common. The writers of both profess allegiance to the principle

of maintaining, even consolidating, European peace, but their disquisitions leave little doubt that the contrary is the case.

Ignoring the objective stake that both East and West have in European security, the two writers maintain that only the socialist countries would benefit from it. Writing off the role of Western Europe in world politics with astonishing ease, Brzezinski predicts that if it enters a European security system, its weight and impact in international affairs will decline and it will be no more than 'a larger Sweden or a bigger Finland.' He tries to dishearten West European governments by warning them that a détente would impair their 'Atlantic' ties with the United States and censures all steps consonant with the initiative of the socialist countries; and he levels sharp criticism at Willy Brandt and his government for their 'eastern policy,' which, he maintains, represents a shift from 'maximal objectives at minimal cost to minimal objectives at maximum cost.'

To be sure, neither the 'Communist peril' bogey nor the stereotyped appeals for 'Atlantic solidarity' can stem the peoples' aspirations for a radical shift towards détente, European peace, and the convocation of an all-European conference. That is precisely why Stanley and Brzezinski insist that the United States should involve itself more actively in European affairs. Stanley advocates 'a forward policy of movement, having an eye to the pitfalls as well as the possible advantages in dealing with the European security problems.' Brzezinski puts the task more bluntly, recommending 'countervailing U.S. political involvement in the East-West European relationship.' The ultimate purpose of the 'policy of movement' or of involvement is to perpetuate the military confrontation on the continent.

The two American writers have the illusion that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries would be prepared to make concessions to the USA in a wide range of international issues just so as to blunt American opposition to an European détente. Accordingly, they have drawn up a long list of political and military points to be used in America's global diplomatic game to counter the preparations for an all-European security and cooperation conference. The political purpose of this 'agenda' is more than obvious: to set unacceptable conditions obstructing the European conference and meanwhile to try and secure more advantageous positions for U.S. imperialism.

True to type, Stanley and Brzezinski seek ways and means of reanimating the bridge-building policy. They suggest using the European security talks to saddle the socialist countries with demands that would, in effect, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and their class orientation in the effort to secure the peaceful coexistence of states with opposite social systems

and make economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation conditional on the imperialists' political and ideological terms. The ultimate aim, as Brzezinski conceives it, is the 're-association' of the eastern half of Europe with the Western half, implying disruption of the socialist community and restoration of the capitalist order in the European socialist countries.

Fellow-travellers of these American 'negativists' are still no rarity among West European scholars. True, these are less direct in their thinking (for it is increasingly unsafe in Europe to oppose her security), falling back on prolific references to history and on painstaking studies of particular problems, chiefly from the standpoint of the confrontation of the two military blocs. Extrapolation of the past into the future is their favorite method; the fact that many of the European problems are unsolved they parade as proof of their being unsolvable.

This scepticism is a keynote, among others, in the collection, 'European Security Conference,' which a group of West German specialists was commissioned to produce by the research institute of the German Foreign Policy Society.¹ Discoursing about the complexity and conflicting nature of the problems dividing Europe's east and west, the writers, in effect, see nothing but 'danger' in the concrete measures designed to erect a European security system. Dr. W. Wagner, Bonn publisher of *Europa-Archiv*, fears that European détente may impair the intrinsic ties of the North Atlantic Alliance and the closed West European economic and political groupings. He fears, too, that at an all-European conference the Western powers would not be able to secure for themselves the most favorable variant. H.-P. Schwarz, Hamburg University professor, maintains that consolidating European peace may affect the continent's 'political stability.'

Yet the authors are keenly aware that they must reply to the proposals of the socialist countries. U. Nerlich, research head of the Ebenhausen (FRG) Forschungsinstitut fuer Internationale Politik und Sicherheit, recognizes that a negative stand would be fruitless. The question of European security, he says, 'is on the agenda and requires a search for the optimum solution.'

To judge by recent literature, most of the West European bourgeois researchers, including the most conservative, are inclined to accept the territorial changes that followed the Second World War, and to acknowledge the immunity of the existing frontiers and the universal principle renouncing the use or threat of force in resolving points of conflict.

'Consequences of the War and War Prevention'², a collective

¹H.-P. Schwarz und H. Haftendorn. *Europäische Sicherheitskonferenz*. Opladen, 1970.

²*Kriegsfolgen und Kriegsverhütung*. Herausgeber C.-F. von Weizsäcker. München, 1971.

work recently published in West Germany, is highly indicative. Its contributors, headed by C.-F. von Weizsaecker, the well known physicist and philosopher, include specialists in various fields. The book examines the military doctrines behind the NATO 'deterrence' concept, the possible variants of the practical application of which lead the writers to conclude: the 'deterrence strategy,' useless as a guarantee of peace, is fraught with the danger of an armed conflict disastrous for the FRG and other countries. They conclude, too, that urgent action is required by governments, and much more by the public, to prevent war. Professor Weizsaecker implores people to appreciate the perils that arise if a 'politically guaranteed universal peace' is not made the prime objective of governmental policy.

For Europe there is no other sensible alternative but collective security. This is recognized by many West European researchers. Objective preconditions, they hold, are in evidence at present for building up a system guaranteeing peace. The most important of these is the socialist countries' effort in behalf of European security based on the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems, which is gaining ever broader public support. This the West European politologists cannot afford to overlook. L. Colot, an expert of Belgium's L'Institut Royal des Relations Internationales, writes: 'Whatever the ultimate aims of peaceful coexistence may be . . . it at least contains certain elements that may be a point of departure for a rapprochement between the two camps in the name of a phased advance to détente'.³ And Johan Galtung, Director of the International Peace Research Institute, of Oslo, holds that the desire for security is backed by positive trends in European affairs. 'The East,' he says, 'has learned to exist with their own doctrine of peaceful coexistence between different political and economic systems . . . The West has perhaps learnt that supernational structures . . . will fail if they are used as instruments for Western hegemony one way or another . . . East and West should now, ideally speaking, have arrived at a point in history where a basis exists for a more genuine East-West cooperation.'⁴

Realistic evaluations have begun to appear in the publications of the London Institute for Strategic Studies, that center of traditional bourgeois thinking. Its collection edited by A. Buchan, 'Europe's Futures, Europe's Choices. Models of Western Europe in the 1970s,' is a case in hand. It offers six models: 'evolutionary,' 'Atlanticized,' 'Europe des Etats,' 'fragmented,' 'partnership' and

³L. Colot. *La politique belge en matière de coopération en Europe* (Cooperation in Europe, Ed. by J. Galtung. New York, 1970).

⁴J. Galtung. *European Security - An Era of Negotiations? Society and Power During the 1970s*. Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Oslo, No. 1, January 1971.

'independent federal,' differing chiefly in the degree of European integration and the nature of Western Europe's relationship to the United States. Forecasting developments in the coming decade, it is true, the writers are held prisoner by old politico-military dogmas, and variants of the East-West confrontation are a built-in element of each of the six models, with peace conditional almost exclusively on the balance of strategic power. In evidence, too, is the traditional 'Atlantic' concept of securing 'stability' by NATO's continued military build-up. Yet a close look at the future political scene leads them to the following conclusion: the future relations between the two halves of Europe can no longer be viewed solely in the West-European or Atlantic perspective. The writers reject the extreme variants of 'Atlanticism' and 'Europeanism' as totally incompatible with European security.

Evidence of insistent, though in many ways conflicting, search is also seen in the work of F. Duchene, Director of the London Institute for Strategic Studies.⁵ For the West, he writes, a mere continuation of the present NATO arrangements cannot provide the necessary sense of cohesion for much longer. Though he does not wholly reject the old 'balance of power' concept, Duchene is aware that 'the major problem in Europe in the next phase will be to seize the opportunities of détente without losing the benefits provided by the security balance of the last generation.'

J. Klein, of the Paris Centre d'Etudes de Politique Etrangère, holds that détente would provide the most promising background for French foreign policy and European affairs in general.⁶ 'The demarche of French diplomacy,' he writes, 'would be incomprehensible without reference to the intervening changes in the world and notably in the nature of East-West relations.' Welcoming the sound trends in French policy, Klein stresses that they promote European security and enhance France's influence on the international scene, reinforcing her position, among other things, vis-à-vis the United States.

The French researcher holds that the idea of a system perpetuating the continent's division into two opposite politico-military groups, is sheer folly: 'Apart from at best maintaining the status quo, this system will inevitably and continuously postpone the solution of long since urgent problems.' Klein is also opposed to West European integration, which, as he sees it, only aggravates the political division. He regards universal renunciation of the use of force, preparations for the gradual renunciation of the use of force, preparations for the gradual dissolution of military blocs

⁵F. Duchene, *SALT, the Ostpolitik, and the Post-Cold War Context*, *The World Today*, December 1970.

⁶J. Klein, *Continuité et novations dans la politique européenne de la France* (Cooperation in Europe. Ed. by J. Galtung)

and equal mutually advantageous cooperation by all European states as the only sensible and realistic approach to a 'new organization of Europe.'

The unquestionable advantages of European security for Italy, too, are recognized by P. Calzini and A. Armellini, researchers of the Institute Affari Internazionali in Rome.⁷ While noting their country's several positive steps bettering relations with the socialist states, they hold that 'Atlantic' tendencies are still inhibiting Italian initiative and attack the 'Atlantic' dogmas, particularly the notion that, whatever the security system, Italy must rely on the United States and NATO as guarantors of her policy.

Mutually advantageous all-European cooperation as an important peace factor has become an object of extensive Western research. Mention may be made of the works of A. Khol, associate of the Austrian Gesellschaft fuer Aussenpolitik und Internationale Beziehungen⁸ and C. E. Stalvant, of Stockholm University.⁹ Noting the irreversible growth of economic exchanges despite Europe's political division, the two researchers show that it may be considerably stimulated in a setting of détente, serving as one of the pillars of the future security system. Examining the potentialities of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, they go beyond commercial and other traditional economic relationships, accentuating such promising fields as technico-scientific exchange, joint industrial projects and development of power and other natural resources, cooperation in transport and communications, protection of the natural environment, and the like.

Those are some of the aspects of the present-day European security research in the West. cursory though it is, this review of current literature shows that differentiation is in process between the friends and foes of détente in the West European scientific world. The cold war apologists are more frequently compelled to go on the defensive, falling back on all sorts of flanking maneuvers, while the influence and prestige of the champions of security is steadily growing. Although it is still too early to say that the realistic trend has won the day, there is hope that it will do so.

Not all Western researchers by far, including those convinced that European security is necessary, have abandoned the old tendentious notions and espoused objective analysis. Yet current European affairs pose concrete problems that require a conscientious scientific search. All Western scholars who are sincere in their striving for peace now have the opportunity to contribute to the movement of peoples and governments for a dependable system of collective security on the European continent. O. Bykov

⁷P. Calzini and A. Armellini. *Italy and Eastern Europe* (Cooperation in Europe).

⁸A. Khol. *Die Zusammenarbeit Oesterreichs mit dem Osten im Rahmen seiner Aussenpolitik* (Cooperation in Europe).

⁹C.-E. Stalvant. *Sweden and Eastern Europe: A Study in European Cooperation* (Cooperation in Europe).



Neo-colonialism in Africa: schemes and failures

Jack Woddis

In 1960, known as 'Africa Year,' the dam of colonialism in Africa was breached and the imperialists were compelled to terminate their direct political rule over a large part of Africa, and to enter into negotiation with national movements for independent rule. By 1961 there were 27 independent African states.

Of course, the struggle had begun long before the 1950s. Right up to the first decade of the present century the African people had fought against foreign conquest. For the next forty years they struggled against land seizures, forced labor, poll and hut tax, low wages, denial of trade union and democratic rights. But by the end of the Second World War the clear demand for national independence had emerged and the battle mounted for its achievement.

The experience of the spreading Afro-Asian postwar national liberation movement showed that the imperialists had no intention of surrendering their colonial rule.

France tried to re-establish its rule in Indochina, Holland in Indonesia, and Britain in Malaya – launching costly and savage wars for that purpose. They drowned the rising African protests in blood, notably in Madagascar in 1947, and later in Cameroun and Kenya. United States' imperialism strove to prevent the victory of national liberation in China and the Phillipines.

The Western powers, it should be emphasized, had every intention after 1945 of re-establishing the essential pattern of colonial rule; and for more than a decade they strove to that end. It was only the changed world situation, the formation of the world socialist system, the strength of the international working-class and national liberation movements which compelled colonialism to retreat.

The imperialist powers began to seek out new forms of colonial rule through which they could maintain the essentials of their economic domination and still wield political influence.

For them it was a question of preventing, at all costs, the coming to power of the most consistent anti-imperialist forces, especially

the workers and farmers. To achieve this goal, they stopped at nothing, openly resorting to force and supporting reactionary elements in every way. At the same time, the imperialists sought to make an accommodation which would partially satisfy the national aspirations of the people while at the same time protecting imperialist economic interests and assisting imperialism's general political and strategic aims. Where their tactics failed – as in China, North Vietnam and North Korea, and later in Cuba – the successful operation of neo-colonialism proved impossible.

It is a weakness of the older imperialist powers that they have been compelled to turn to new forms and methods of colonialism. But, at the same time, the ability of the imperialist powers to utilize neo-colonialist methods with some degree of temporary success in a number of countries is a sign of the insufficient strength and maturity of the national liberation movements in such countries, as well as of the insufficient unity amongst the forces arrayed against imperialism.

The balance of world forces and the strength of the national liberation movement are forcing imperialism to retreat. But this does not mean that in their struggle for political and economic independence the African states are guaranteed against setbacks.

The anti-colonial and anti-imperialist revolution has not been confined to any one continent, nor to the colonies of any single power. A most profound and powerful historical process is at work; this process is the end of direct colonial rule. Hence the turn by the imperialists to the strategy of neo-colonialism.

In a certain sense neo-colonialism is not an entirely new phenomenon. Lenin pointed out that 'finance capital is such a great, such a decisive, you might say, force in all economic and in all international relations, that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence' (Vol. 22, p. 259).

Lenin subsequently emphasized the necessity 'constantly to explain and expose among the broadest working masses of all countries, and particularly of the backward countries, the deception systematically practised by the imperialist powers, which, under the guise of politically independent states, set up states that are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily' (Vol. 31, p. 150).

Disguised forms of imperialist domination were practised mainly in Latin America and partially in the Middle East and in Africa (e.g., Liberia). Today, however, it can be said that *neo-colonialism has now become the dominant form and is no longer the exception*. This is demonstrated in the fact that most of the sixty countries liberated from direct colonial rule between 1945 and 1965, are objects of neo-colonialist policy.

That the Western powers were compelled to retreat in the face of the advancing national liberation movements after the Second World War, and that they recognized the need to come to terms with reality and find a new basis for pursuing their old policy is revealed in the statements of their leading political representatives.

At the beginning of 1960, Harold Macmillan, at that time British Prime Minister, made his famous 'wind of change' speech in Cape Town. In the course of his remarks he said:

'The most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago, is of the strength of this African national consciousness . . . The wind of change is blowing through the continent. Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact. Our national policies must take account of it . . . As I see it, the great issue in this second half of the twentieth century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the East or to the West. Will they be drawn into the Communist camp?'

The same recognition of the realities of the situation and of the need to work out a new approach is to be found in the speech of General de Gaulle to French officers at Blida, on October 9, 1960, a full year before the cease-fire agreement with the Algerian FLN. In this speech de Gaulle pleaded with his army officers to appreciate what was happening in the world, to understand that the old methods of outright suppression and domination by force of arms were becoming impossible, and that a new way must be found for 'the work of France in Algeria' to 'go on.'

In the speeches of De Gaulle and Macmillan one can sense the historic dilemma of the Western powers. They were compelled to face reality, however unpleasant it was, and to make the necessary adjustments. At the same time they made it clear that there was no intention of a complete retreat by imperialism but rather the establishment of a new basis on which to operate, and to keep the peoples of Africa and Asia under their influence and control.

Thus, Chester Bowles, former U.S. Ambassador to India, advised the United States to 'identify our own self-interests with those of the national liberation movements'; and further, to 'identify itself boldly with the social, economic and political revolution.' In the same way, Sir Andrew Cohen, former head of the African Department of the British Colonial Office, argued that 'successful cooperation with nationalism is our greatest bulwark against communism in Africa.' He recognized that 'nationalist movements are bound to grow steadily more powerful,' and therefore suggested that 'the intelligent thing is for governments to recognize this early, and by skillful anticipation to try and guide the energies of

nationalists into constructive channels.' In this way, he hoped, the national movements would be persuaded to be 'friendly in the Western world.'

To carry through these tactics the imperialists realized that they would have to find allies in the new states which would cooperate with imperialism and allow their countries to remain within the orbit of Western influence – economically, politically, militarily and ideologically. The question was how to seek out social and political forces which, in their own class interests, would not push the national revolution too far. The former colonial rule had been in reality an alliance – an alliance between the occupying imperialist power and the internal forces of conservatism. The policy of neo-colonialism was based on the idea of establishing a new alliance, one between imperialism and the local bourgeoisie.

In most cases the old pre-capitalist strata – feudal landlords and traditional rulers – were too discredited. They had been a bulwark of the old colonial system. The very fact that these sub-rulers had been protected and propped up by imperialist troops and often subsidized by payments from the colonial government's coffers generally placed limitations on their value to imperialism in the new stage. Even after the emergence of independent African states, the imperialists still utilized their old connections with feudalism and with tribal chiefs, as the experience of Ghana, Nigeria, Niger, Uganda and the Sudan, for example, has demonstrated only too well. Where these conservative forces have been squeezed out of positions of power, they have been held in reserve by imperialism, ready to be thrown into battle whenever the moment seems opportune or the need is urgently present, in order to create difficulties, promote division and tension or even threaten the very existence of the government.

Before independence, sections of the local capitalist class – the trading bourgeoisie linked with foreign monopoly firms – and sections of the intelligentsia, especially those employed in the civil service bureaucracy, were ready to cooperate with imperialism, although primarily the alliance under colonialism was with the traditional reactionary forces. The Western powers have understood that in this new epoch they can have major influence in the new states only by operating via the petty and middle bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the new administrators, technicians and military leaders.

Where colonialism and white settler domination made the emergence of an indigenous capitalist class very difficult the deliberate nurturing of such a class has been openly proclaimed by Western spokesmen. Thus, in 1959, the British Joint East African and Central Board placed its hopes on the prospect that 'an African middle class will emerge.'

This motive, to create a new social class as a potential ally, lay behind all the British sponsored schemes for land reform in East and Central Africa after 1945. Under such schemes, while the traditional forms of landownership and usage were weakened, the majority of peasants remained without land (or with insufficient good land), were denied credits, and were too poor to purchase machines, good quality seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides. At the same time, however, the emergence of a stratum of richer peasants employing wage labor became possible, and some landlords became capitalist farmers. It was on these richer strata in the countryside that the Western powers placed their hopes of providing a barrier to revolutionary change; while in the towns they banked on sections of the middle and petty bourgeoisie.

To judge how far neo-colonialism has been successful in its aims of keeping Africa under its thumb, it is necessary briefly to trace the events of the past decade.

The years 1960 to 1964 had been years of advance for Africa. By the end of 1964 there were 35 independent African states; there was an Organization of African Unity with a progressive and positive Charter; and, more significant still, there had emerged a group of advanced states – the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Congo (Brazzaville), and Tanganyika-Zanzibar (soon to be merged into the state of Tanzania). The emergence of such a group had not been in the calculations of imperialism when, in the early 1950s, it first embarked on its neo-colonialist path.

These seven states took a firm anti-imperialist position in their external policy, and began to make progressive, and in some cases quite fundamental modifications in their economic, social and political structure. *In brief, these seven states were taking the first tentative steps along the non-capitalist road.*

In a sense, the imperialists regarded this as the writing on the wall. The danger was that these seven advanced states would be progressively joined by other African states, and the dream of this vast continent as a neo-colonial haven and treasure house for the big imperialist monopolies would go up in smoke. The years 1963 and 1964 were particularly alarming to the imperialists. In August 1963 the puppet government of Fulbert Youlou was overthrown in Congo (Brazzaville) by the mass action of the people, and a new democratic government came to power. In October 1963 a widespread movement of the people, with the trade unions to the fore, helped to precipitate the fall of the reactionary government of Dahomey (though the military were able to step in and take over). A similar move by the people against the government of Gabon was thwarted by the intervention of French paratroops.

In October 1964 the military regime of General Abboud was overthrown by the people of Sudan, aided by the sympathy of sections of the armed forces. There had been a significant general strike in Nigeria, in October 1964, embracing nearly a million workers, followed by a deep political crisis. Huge anti-government demonstrations had shaken Senegal. The liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau, led by the PAIGC,* had made important gains, liberating by then nearly two-fifths of the country. In Angola, the Movement of the People for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) had regrouped its forces and launched a successful offensive against the Portuguese colonialists. In September, 1964, armed struggle was openly launched in Mozambique by the liberation forces connected with the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO).

These developments filled the imperialists with alarm. Unless this process was to be checked the whole neo-colonialist strategy for Africa would be jeopardized. From the end of 1964 therefore the imperialists began their counter-offensive in Africa. Central to their intrigues was the launching of the parachute attack on Stanleyville in November 1964. The intentions of the imperialists were partly revealed in the *Tribune des Nations*, on February 19, 1965. The landing of the paratroops in Stanleyville, it wrote, was only part of NATO's strategic aims in Africa. The real aim was 'a much vaster intervention which would transcend the frontiers of the Congo.' The months that followed certainly confirmed such intentions.

The counter-offensive, which shrank from nothing, took the form of assassinations of progressive leaders, plots to overthrow progressive governments, military coups and intrigues in the OAU, etc.

President Nyerere of Tanzania summed up this counter-offensive of the imperialists by declaring 'I think that we are at present passing through the stage of a second invasion of Africa.'

Thus, if the years 1960 to 1964 had been, broadly speaking, years of advance for the African people, the years 1965 to 1968, during which important advances continued to be made in a number of African countries, were also marked by some serious setbacks.

How should one now estimate the situation in Africa?

After 1960, it has been full of complexities and variations, which arise from external and internal factors. Among the latter is the early stage of development of the new African states, the specific features of their socio-economic structure, the new class alignments and shifts, and the particular problem of tribalism.

The first major (external) factor, however, is the policy of the

*African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde.

imperialist powers in Africa, accompanied by sharp conflict. Both the old colony-owning powers, as well as the new contenders for power in Africa – the United States, West Germany and latterly Japan – have invested, in this postwar period, hundreds of millions of pounds, largely in mineral extraction and related industry, in banking, insurance and some fields of manufacture. Huge trading monopolies from the West have made additional millions by buying up, at a low price, the agricultural products produced by the African peasants. Further millions have been made by Western manufacturers selling their finished goods to the African peoples at relatively high prices, goods which are often made from African raw or semi-processed materials.

In general, it is essentially this pattern of economic relationship that the imperialists wish to maintain though some further development of light industry, processing and infra-structure is also being encouraged.

No real understanding of these developments is possible without a closer consideration of the class structure of African societies and the character of the class relations and conflicts which have arisen since independence. In most of Africa, and especially tropical Africa, colonial rule so retarded and distorted economic growth that the formation of modern social classes – wage workers, capitalist employers and traders, wage-employing farmers, small-holders producing for the market, intellectuals, technicians and administrators – only really began in the past few decades. In the struggle for independence all classes which found themselves frustrated by the colonial system came together and, in different forms and to varying degree, worked for independence. With independence won, however, a new stage commenced. In varying forms, class struggle between different social forces in Africa has emerged as a strong factor in the post-independence period.

Only in a few cases were the new states headed by democrats and patriots whose main concern was the welfare of their own people and not themselves. In most countries, workers and peasants who expected independence to bring them a new life and not just a national flag and anthem, are becoming restless. Their expectations have not been fulfilled. Hundreds of thousands are without jobs, with poor homes, ill-clad and underfed.

In most cases the new bourgeois groupings have not yet reached a stage where they can be considered a completely homogeneous capitalist class. Rather, they are often rival cliques, sometimes but not always linked to tribal allegiances, and these conflicting groups vie with one another in their pursuit of the gains that can come from political domination. These corrupt forces rely on imperialist backing – and the imperialists are naturally always prepared to use such miserable careerists and climbers.

The hand of the imperialists is not always immediately obvious in reactionary coups in Africa, but clearly the imperialist intelligence services have been working overtime there. Nevertheless it would be wrong to advance a kind of 'theory of conspiracy' as the sole explanation of the partial successes of reaction in Africa.

It should be borne in mind that the CIA and the intelligence services of other Western powers can only operate within certain given conditions. They cannot remove a government unless they have something to install in its place; and those who are hoisted into power in this way, even when they govern by absolute terror and repression, need to base themselves on specific social forces.

In the new states of Africa there are internal forces with which neo-colonialism can come to terms. Feudal landlords anxious to maintain or regain their former economic status and privileged position in society; traders and speculators who wish to continue as middlemen of the big international monopolies and who fear progressive reforms; sections of the new élite, bribed and corrupted, in a hurry to grow rich from the fruits of office; all the hangers-on of capitalism, the career boys and diplomats, the police chiefs and generals. It is through these social forces that the Western powers strive to extend their influence in the African states, and it is an essential aim of neo-colonialism to nurture and mould such strata.

Another major aim of the neo-colonialists has been to maintain under direct rule the surviving colonies, together with the control of Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa), and South Africa. This is not only in order to stop the tide of liberation in these territories, and to continue the inhuman exploitation of the people and the resources there, but also to use the racist regimes as a bastion of imperialist rule in Africa, as a center of intrigue and conspiracy, a base for undermining the independent African states, and a jumping-off ground for aggression, especially against those states which challenge imperialism and stand to the fore in helping their brothers who are still fighting to win independence for their countries.

The liberation movements of South Africa and Zimbabwe, and Namibia, together with the struggle waged in the Portuguese colonies in Africa are a challenge not only to the existing racist regimes in these regions, but to the whole imperialist strategy of using Southern Africa as a military, political and economic launching pad against the independent states lying to its north. The struggles of these liberation movements, and the successes they have achieved in recent years, have partially checked the imperialist counter-offensive. They have also given time for progressive forces to rally in other African states. In Zambia and Tanzania, important inroads have been made into imperialist economic positions.

Guinea has successfully beaten off internal and external attacks on her government and her sovereignty. The UAR has survived all plots and dangers, and continues to strengthen its economy and its military defense. Reactionary regimes were swept away in the Sudan, Libya and Somalia.

Neo-colonialism has failed to destroy the advanced African states; today it is faced with even more. It hoped to crush the liberation struggles in the Portuguese territories and in Southern Africa; it has lost two-thirds of Guinea-Bissau, a third of Angola, a fifth of Mozambique, and now faces guerrillas in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

To sum up, it may be said that neo-colonialism has in the past ten years done much harm to the developing countries and the national liberation movement, but has failed in its major objectives. The main obstacle to their realization is the world socialist system, the leading revolutionary force and bulwark of the anti-imperialist movement. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have constantly raised their voices in the international arena, in the United Nations and its various agencies, exposing racialism and the intrigues of the imperialists. Of special significance has been their development of economic and trading relations with the African countries, which have helped to lessen their dependence on imperialism and assisted them in the creation of a more balanced and independent economy. The Soviet Union, for example, now trades with 30 African countries, to which it exports machines and other equipment to help them build their national industries. Between 1960 and 1967, the trade of the Soviet Union with Africa more than doubled. The Soviet Union's long-term credits provide for the construction or extension of 300 enterprises, of which 118 have already been completed. The credits are given on easy terms, on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have also helped to train technicians, cadres and skilled workers for Africa, some being trained while new constructions are under way (as in the case of the Aswan Dam), and some in the new training centers and polytechnical institutes built in Africa by the Soviet Union, as in Guinea.

The fight of the African peoples against neo-colonialism is greatly assisted also by the international workers' movement and the anti-imperialist activities of the Communist and democratic parties in the developed countries.

The Portuguese Communist Party has fought in a principled way for the rights of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau to have their national independence. The Belgian Communist Party, which first took up in Belgium the cause of the

national liberation movement in the Congo, continues to expose the neo-colonialist strivings of the international monopolies to continue their robbery of Congolese resources and labor. The French Communist Party, which has a long proud record of solidarity with the African peoples, expressed in their struggle against the Moroccan war (1925), in their fight against the French aggression in Algeria (1954-61), and in their support for the African workers' struggle for the Labor Code (1950s), has continued to expose the activities of French neo-colonialism in Africa. The British Communist Party, which has invariably exposed the colonial and neo-colonial policies of British imperialism, is actively opposing the Tory Government's decision to send arms to South Africa. Representatives of the British Communist Party have visited many African territories, and a number have worked in Africa, helping the new states in educational and economic activities. Symbolic of the British Communist Party's close concern with Africa was the visit of its General Secretary, John Gollan, to the Sudan in 1969, when he attended the Conference of Solidarity with the National Liberation Movements of Southern Africa and the Portuguese Colonies.

It would be idle to ignore the dangers that still confront the African people (as evidenced by the recent reactionary coup in Uganda) or to underestimate the immense tasks facing them. The majority of the African states are still very much under imperialist domination despite their independent status. Their economic position is weak; their internal political life is weakened by the lack of democratic participation allowed to the people. Revolutionary organizations are still in their early stage, the working class has been given little opportunity to acquire a socialist consciousness. Imperialism is still powerful, it still has its economic roots firmly established in Africa, and is ready to ride roughshod over the people if it calculates that it can get away with such blatant intervention.

The road to Africa's full liberation has been and will continue to be full of zigzags, of advances and retreats, of slow marches and rapid surges forward and almost as rapid surges back. Yet the ten years' experience of struggle against neo-colonialism has taught the people much and, in an overall sense, has provided the basis for their resistance to further imperialist pressure. Neo-colonialism can provide no solution to the problems of Africa. On the contrary, it can only worsen them and sharpen all the economic, social and political contradictions in African society. So it is up to the African peoples to prevent this.

Norway: against monopoly and the Common Market

Arne Pettersen

Growing inter-imperialist rivalry, in particular between U.S. and European capital, is a feature of capitalist development today.

U.S. monopoly capital controls four-fifths of the multi-national monopolies. This is a challenge to the rest of the capitalist world and it explains the attempt to unite capitalist Europe by both merging the big *monopolies* of Europe and integrating national states.

To maintain common interests, international capital tries in Europe and America alike to fight socialism by joint efforts. At the same time the imperialists fight among themselves to increase their influence and subordinate West European peoples to their schemes. It seems that as a battlefield between the imperialists themselves and between imperialism and democracy, this region is rapidly gaining in significance in the world-wide confrontation.

The solution of common problems of the Communist parties is made difficult, among others, by the lack of adequate information and contact between the parties. On the other hand, the imperialists, who control the mass media and have a wide network of organizations and agents, use them to distort the problems facing the peoples and block their solution. It must be said that their efforts in this respect are not entirely fruitless.

The world today is wrestling with a complex of problems arising from the scientific and technological revolution and its effect on inter-European and international relations now and in the future. Many other theoretical problems have not been studied properly and call for joint research. To solve them is in the best interest of all. However, the paramount task of the Communist parties is to fight in common for the pressing demands of the masses – blue and white collar workers, peasants, fishermen, intellectuals and other strata of the population.

The increased activity of international monopolies, our common and at times invisible enemy operating in various countries of capitalist Europe, makes it imperative to apply our theoretical conclusions about present-day imperialism in concrete terms. We

need to know more about the position of these monopolies and the character of their policy in each country. The Communist Party of Norway has little specific information on this subject but some of its members are working on the problem. Comrade Leif Johansen, member of the Party Secretariat and professor of economics at the University of Oslo, has made a substantial contribution by writing a brochure, 'Foreign Capital in Norway,' and a book, 'Norway and the Common Market.'

Surveys of the activity of multinational monopolies and their subsidiaries in various countries would be useful for the working people. When, for instance, a strike broke out in a pit or plant in one of the countries the strikers would know the situation in the enterprises of 'their' monopoly in other countries and could inform fellow-workers there about the strike. This would contribute effectively to the international solidarity of the proletariat.

To bring about closer direct links between the workers employed by one multinational monopoly, and not only between trade union federations (which is very difficult because the trade union movement is split), is a concrete and urgent task. It is only the Communist parties that can fulfil this task consistently so as to serve the workers' interests in the fight against international capital. In many European capitalist countries the trade unions are controlled by Social Democratic leaders who are in favor of class collaboration with the capitalists, the owners of the enterprises, regardless of whether the enterprises in question are national or multinational. These leaders champion the well-known Social Democratic conception of a United Europe on the basis of the Rome Treaty.

It would be advisable, in our view, to establish standing bodies of shop stewards and workers belonging to the same multinational firm in various countries in order to exchange information and delegations between enterprises and trade unions.

Closer cooperation and coordination of the activity of the Communist parties in suitable organizational forms must be achieved without delay on the basis of complete mutual understanding and in accordance with the democratic principles set forth in the documents of the world Communist movement.

As the campaign against Norway joining the Common Market grew into a broad movement the problem of foreign investments and multinational monopolies gained prominence.

Professor Arthur Stonehill of the USA tried to explain why opposition to foreign investment is so strong in Norway. Referring to Professor Leif Johansen and Professor Ragnar Frisch, Nobel Prize winner, he wrote in the book 'Foreign Ownership in Norwegian

Enterprises' that foreign interference in the Norwegian economy had always posed 'a threat to Norway's political and territorial integrity.'

The defense of national sovereignty is the central idea of the program of the People's Movement Against Norwegian Membership of the Common Market. The leading body of the Movement is composed of well-known personalities from all parties with the exception of Høyre, the party of the Norwegian Tories. The Movement is on the offensive, a fact reflected in the public discussions going on in the press and on radio and television. The Movement's pamphlets are distributed in schools, universities and factories, among peasants and fishermen. The leaderships of all the Norwegian political youth organizations except the conservative one have established a closely organized opposition on a common platform against Norwegian membership of the EEC. A representative Scandinavian youth conference early in January 1971 resolved to hold a Scandinavian Day of Protest against membership.

It would be wrong to infer from the action of the People's Movement that the classes and sections of the people supporting the Movement are against all international cooperation. Most people are in favor of cooperation meaning, however, free cooperation based on equality and national independence. People realize that it is important to extend relations with the Soviet Union and East European countries and they demand stronger links between East and West European countries.

The Communist Party takes an active part in the People's Movement and, together with the Socialist People's Party, it plays an important role in organizing the Movement. Although the Communists have joined the Movement on the basis of its program, many are of the opinion that it is not constructive and has no positive alternative to the government's Common Market policy.

The government and the Right-wing leaders of the Norwegian Labor Party have to some extent succeeded in exploiting the widespread ideas of European cooperation and international solidarity by distorting them. A key point of their propaganda is that the opponents of the official policy are isolationists who do not understand the trends of our time towards economic and political integration and modification of the principle of national sovereignty. They argue that Norwegian membership of the Common Market will result in enlarging the Norwegian market, stimulating the expansion of manufacturing export industries and increasing employment. This argument ignores reality. In the fifties Norway was already tied to U.S. imperialism by the 2,400 million Norwegian kroner granted under the Marshall Plan, and had to pay for it through economic and political concessions. In 1950 Norway joined NATO.

In 1959 a commission was established by the Labor Party gov-

ernment in connection with increasing foreign investments in the manufacturing industry and in trade. In 1962 the government declared that 'Norway cannot set up its own independent production' and that it planned therefore to encourage direct foreign investments.

It is these plans that account for the present policy of taking Norway into the EEC. The actual aim is to *keep Norway in NATO*. The effort to involve the country in the Common Market has its strongest supporters among the foreign companies – an indication of their active role in undermining Norway's national sovereignty.

Foreign capital in Norway today holds strong positions. It controls about 25 per cent of the total capital stock and 32 per cent in manufacturing and mining. The investments of U.S., British, French and Swiss firms are concentrated mainly in the iron, steel, chemical, electrotechnical and oil industries. Of the total foreign investment in capital stock, the USA accounts for 27 per cent, Britain 15, Sweden 13, Switzerland 11, France 11, Canada 10 and Denmark 3 per cent. Sweden has investments in many industries, especially in mining, with more investments in oil (in the North Sea) expected. The investments of EEC countries are minimal at the moment. But if Norway joins the Common Market they will increase, of course, and so will pressure on Norwegian sovereignty. This will make the people's fight for real democracy and socialism more difficult. The Communist Party of Norway considers, therefore, that its most important task is to organize the fight against Norwegian membership in the Common Market. We believe this effort will also be our Party's most effective contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle.

Bourgeois reformism in agrarian policy

Ten years ago the Colombian bourgeoisie devised a re-distribution of landed property which it pretentiously styled as a 'socio-agrarian reform.' However, the plan has yielded few, if any, benefits to the poor peasants or the agricultural semi-proletarians and proletarians, who comprise 89 per cent of the rural population. As a result, the fight for land erupted anew last year. Following the example of the thirties, land-hungry peasants forcibly occupied thousands of hectares of unworked land in hundreds of the big estates.

Alarmed by these developments, the government press fell back on the shop-worn dodge of placing the responsibility for this on

the Communists and their allies. The purpose of this charge, though flattering to us because, in substance, it acknowledges Communist influence on the revolutionary movement, is to conceal from the public the true reasons that drive land-hungry peasants to desperation. And as usual the reactionary forces began prodding the government into taking repressive measures. The situation in the countryside remains tense.

Colombia's semifeudal agrarian relations began crumbling some four decades ago under the pressure of the poor peasants. The bourgeoisie, too, mounted an offensive then against the latifundia, prompted largely by its class interests and the broad support of the urban masses for the peasant poor. But its economic weakness and built-in leaning to political compromise culminated in surrender to the semi-feudal landowners, and the agrarian reform was still-born.

The revival of the old reformist schemes abandoned in the heyday of reaction is traceable to the specifics of the situation in Latin America in the late fifties and early sixties. The revolution in Cuba and its subsequent progress along the socialist way ushered in a new stage in the popular struggles. The Cuban revolution weakened Yankee imperialism's stranglehold on Latin America, holding out the clear perspective of liberation. Not only did it show that imperialism and home reaction can be defeated, but also that agrarian revolution, economic independence and conversion to socialism were all feasible and, what is more, could be speedily accomplished.

In sum, it was dread of the influence of the Cuban revolution, of the force of example which it exercises, that was the main political reason behind the revival of the reformist schemes of the Colombian bourgeoisie. Revolutionary Cuba carried out an agrarian reform practically overnight, distributing land gratis to the peasants. The latifundia, the economic and political pillars of imperialism, were abolished for good. This was in sharp contrast to the pattern in other Latin American countries, where the big landowners, comprising but 2.8 per cent of the population, hold 53 per cent of the land. In Colombia, for one thing, the landowners or just 2.6 per cent of the population, control 57 per cent of the arable.

It was the people's solidarity with Cuba, their justified struggle against society's backward socio-economic structure that determined the behavior of the Colombian government, which came forward as one of the initiators of the Punta-del-Este accords that set the stage for the notorious Alliance for Progress. By its reformist plans the bourgeoisie expected to shore up its economic and political positions.

This was the actual motivation behind the 'socio-agrarian reform' – one of the 'preventive' operations mounted by U.S. imperialism with the support of the Latin American bourgeoisie to paralyze the popular liberation struggle by economic means.

Lenin pointed to two forms of capitalist development in agriculture. 'Bourgeois development,' he wrote, 'may proceed by having big landlord economies at the head, which will gradually become more and more bourgeois and gradually substitute bourgeois for feudal methods of exploitation. It may also proceed by having small peasant economies at the head, which in a revolutionary way, will remove the "excess" of the feudal latifundia from the social organism and then freely develop without them along the path of capitalist economy' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 13, p. 239).

The Colombian bourgeoisie has opted for the former way. The latifundia have not, to all intents and purposes, been affected by reform. Big landed property is still the main form of landownership and, consequently, the economic basis for landlord exploitation survives.

Despite the advantageous terms on which the land was 'ransomed' from the landowners, the bourgeoisie encountered the latter's strong resistance and was compelled to persuade them that changes 'from above' were necessary if an agrarian revolution 'from below' was to be avoided. The big landowners agreed to but insignificant concessions, assuming that their consent to sell a portion of their land was more than enough 'altruism.' They set in motion all their influence to block every initiative contrary to their interests.

The proponents of the 'socio-agrarian reform' maintain that land unused by the farm tycoons has at last acquired legitimate owners and it is quite true that in the ten years since it was initiated, the status of 95,000 peasant families farming land formerly held by landowners has been legitimized. But this does not mean that the land was given them by the bourgeoisie or the landlords. It was merely an official acknowledgement of the fact that they are the true owners of seized land cultivated by them for as long as 15-20 years.

The bulk of the rural population did not get any land. Yet the segment of prosperous peasants has increased somewhat, and the bourgeoisie is busy turning it into its social support in the countryside. To keep the Colombian farmers within the orbit of its influence, the bourgeoisie is promoting cooperatives and other peasant organizations, and to inhibit the struggle against the latifundia in densely populated farming areas, peasants are resettled on so-called national territory. This amounts to millions of hectares of

virgin soil, the colonization of which the authorities now vigorously promote. As a rule, the land is remote from the main markets, lacks roads and has adverse climatic conditions. The big landowners have thrown the weight of their support behind this trend. As they see it, the peasants will at first receive and develop the virgin land, from which they could be forcibly evicted later.

Following this policy of stick and carrot, the Colombian government, while extolling the reform in its propaganda, has stationed troops in some areas, especially where the socio-economic problems had been acute and the peasants had acted as an organized force. This was done on the pretext of preventing 'subversive activity.' The military move rang in a new phase in the peasants' guerrilla warfare. They were compelled to respond to official with revolutionary violence.

The bourgeoisie's attempt at resolving the agrarian problem was accompanied by dramatic events, because due to their inconsistency and conciliatory attitude their reformist activity could not but reckon with the interests and demands of the landed oligarchy and the imperialists.

Even a cursory glance at the present-day situation shows that the widely publicized 'socio-agrarian reform' amounted to but a few limited measures that fall far short of a radical solution. It may be proper to recall, therefore, what Lenin said on this score: 'No "aid" to the peasant, none of the measures of "assistance" beloved of the bureaucrats and liberals, will yield results of any importance so long as there remains the yoke of the feudal latifundia' (Vol. 15, p. 89).

Although capitalism has begun penetrating agriculture in some areas at a relatively rapid rate, the development of the countryside is generally slow, uneven and warped, and does not keep step with the country's needs. According to Colombia University's research center, in 1967 the country imported from the United States 194,200 tons of food that could have been produced domestically.

This is evidence of the failure of the bourgeoisie's reform scheme. 'Colombian experience shows,' writes Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia, 'that the bourgeoisie as a whole, the conciliatory big bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie alike, is incapable of accomplishing an effective agrarian reform.'

In the beginning, it is true, the 'socio-agrarian reform' misled the Colombians. Yet the facts soon dissipated their illusions. To avert an explosion of discontent, the ruling element resorted to all possible means, utilizing even the visit of Pope Paul VI. Addressing the peasants, the Pope said in August 1968: 'We intend to side with your good cause, the cause of the humble people, of

the poor. We know that economic development on the vast Latin American continent has been uneven; we know that although this development has benefited its initiators, it has bypassed the mass of the stock population, which is almost always compelled to live in ignoble conditions and has betimes been subjected to cruel treatment and exploitation.' The head of the Catholic church referred to the 'unjust economic inequality of the rich and poor, the abuses of the authorities,' and promised to help stop the repressions of the reactionary dictatorship. Yet in concluding his sermon, the Pope enjoined the peasants 'not to place their trust in either violence or revolution' and to back up the 'transforming' initiatives of the bourgeoisie.

However, at the time of his sermon a new wave of peasant unrest was rising in the country, with demands that the government should live up to its promises and, what is more, carry out radical changes in the countryside. The reformist schemes had failed to still the land hunger. Seizure of landed estates had reappeared on the agenda.

Some specialists, who note the deficiencies and demagogic nature of the bourgeois rural development plans, deny the significance of the current changes. For various historical reasons, the Colombian bourgeoisie cannot be consistent in resolving the agrarian question, though it has a definite stake in it. One of the purposes of its reformism, as we have pointed out, is to hold back the growth of the workers,' peasants' and national liberation movements. However, we should not overlook the contradictions between the local bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the landed oligarchy and foreign imperialists, on the other.

The Colombian Communists were among the first to criticize the bourgeois reformists in relation to the agrarian problem. We tried to show the public that they would inevitably end up in a vicious circle, while pointing to some of the positive aspects of the reform for the further development of the peasant movement, helping the peasants to benefit from the existing contradictions between the various classes affected by the current changes.

'The agrarian reform in Colombia,' Gilberto Vieira stressed, 'will be accomplished exclusively through revolutionary struggle by the peasants in alliance with the working class and the advanced sections of the petty bourgeoisie, with part of the national bourgeoisie also possibly involved in the struggle.' This approach offers good opportunities for a radical solution of the agrarian and other problems.

Our criticism of bourgeois reformism centers chiefly on showing the irrelevance of the 'socio-agrarian reform,' which was blocked

from the very beginning by landlord resistance. The masses had hoped to get land through it. It was not our job to disenchant them in their aspirations, but to help them understand the true economic and political aims of the bourgeoisie, to convince them that the Communist agrarian program is correct.

The changes in the system of land use have been insignificant. With the present economic policy aimed at converting the big estates to the capitalist mode of production, bank credits are granted chiefly to the landlords and then, to a lesser degree, to prosperous farmers. As for the middle and poor peasants, they are simply left out in the cold.

The bureaucratic apparatus formed by the government to carry out the agrarian reform is little concerned with its main function and is chiefly occupied with works designed to slow up unemployment growth in the countryside, that is, eliminate a grave threat to the big landed estates. However, this objective, too, was not attained. Whereas rural unemployment in 1964 applied to 17 per cent of the active rural population, it has increased markedly since.

With the government breaking its many promises, the peasant mass has gone over to action. The authorities are maneuvering. Attempts are made to invigorate certain peasant organizations such as the National Joint Action Movement, in order to divert the attention of the masses to those meagre changes that have materialized.

However, the facts show that these organizations will not help the bourgeoisie. Discontent is rife in their ranks, too, over the endless delays of promised changes. They have come forward with the demand to give land to those that need it and have even gone so far as to seize it on their own initiative.

This February the number of latifundia seized was 315. The Executive Committee of the National Association of Peasants, with 850,000 members, adopted the decision to participate in these actions and said that they were evidence of 'the awakening of the peasant, who is motivated by indignation over the injustice of the landholding system.'

The struggle of the peasant mass is spreading and gaining in intensity, and the worker-peasant alliance is growing steadily stronger, which stimulates the unitarian process among forces aspiring to change in the entire structure of Colombian society.

The demands of the present day, among others, are: formalization of the ownership by peasants of the seized unworked land and a peaceful accommodation of the conflicts that may arise; an end to importing agricultural surpluses and stimulation of home production; a fair minimum wage; credits to the rural population and social security for the countryside; return of land taken from peas-

ants in the so-called military operations zones; withdrawal of troops from the countryside, and a stop to government repressions.

These and many other demands are the basis for still closer co-operation among all democratic forces. The masses are becoming conscious of the fact that the main objectives of the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution are to achieve economic independence by eliminating neo-colonialism and radically to reconstruct the countryside. 'A far-reaching revolution like the abolition of landlordism,' Lenin pointed out, 'must, in itself, inevitably give a mighty impetus to the whole of social, economic and political development' (Vol. 10, p. 186).

The large scale of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle in Latin America has raised a number of questions which the progressive political forces must respond to in their practical activity. Among these is the agrarian question which, beyond doubt, must be resolved by revolutionary means. In Colombia's case this requires a Patriotic Front of National Liberation, a broad coalition of democratic forces working for the country's radical reconstruction.

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Anti-communism and its manifestations

Gunter Heyden

The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted that 'mankind has entered the last third of our century in a situation marked by a sharpening of the historic struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism. This struggle affects all the more important spheres of social life. While imperialism is still a serious and dangerous enemy, the forces of progress and socialism are optimistic and confident of victory, for they know that socialism can solve the big problems agitating the peoples, and that it has grown stronger in the struggle against imperialism and increasingly determines the situation in the world.

Anti-communism based on anti-Sovietism is the quintessence of the political and ideological struggle of the imperialist bourgeoisie against the revolutionary forces of our time. The Soviet Union has opened the road to socialism for the peoples of all continents and is now paving the way to communism. It bears the brunt of the struggle against imperialism and for this reason it is, directly or indirectly, the main target of anti-Communist activity.

The substance of anti-communism, one of the main components of imperialism's domestic and external strategy, is unchanged in spite of a certain evolution. It is hostility to the theory and practice of socialism, to the international working class and the national-liberation movement. The purpose of anti-communism is to 'contain' and 'roll back' the revolutionary forces and metamorphose them through 'convergence' with the ultimate object of eliminating them.

Anti-communism is a highly anti-humanitarian, anti-democratic and anti-progressive phenomenon. These qualities of anti-communism took shape and became more pronounced over a long period of history as a reaction to the growth of the revolutionary labor movement. They took final shape after the October Revolution and later, following the rise and consolidation of the world socialist system. What has plainly changed in anti-communism, especially in the past decade, is the forms in which it manifests itself, as well as its arguments and methods.

'A historical catastrophe of this century,' is how Franz Josef Strauss, one of the most reactionary spokesmen of Right-wing forces in the FRG, assesses the fact that as a result of World War II the world socialist system came into being and socialism succeeded in wresting important positions from imperialism. Strauss's words express the shock and fury caused by imperialism's second historic defeat since the October Revolution. From the early fifties on, the imperialists pinned all their hopes of overcoming 'both historical catastrophes' on the 'positions of strength policy.' They used nuclear blackmail in an attempt to 'roll back' socialism and regain the positions international monopoly capital had lost. The most outspoken champions of this strategy were Dulles and Adenauer. It was Dulles who formulated the policy of 'rolling back' socialism and 'balancing on the brink of war.' In line with this policy, Adenauer called for a 'new order in Eastern Europe,' the 'liberation' of the GDR from socialism and its incorporation into the imperialist system and NATO.

'In domestic policy,' West German politologist H. A. Jacobsen writes, 'Adenauer's concept was supplemented by an entirely undifferentiated anti-communism, whose success was predetermined by the fact alone that its tradition had been rooted in the German population ever since the Weimar Republic and had become stronger still under Hitler.' It is certainly a fact that after 1945 no systematic effort was made in the western part of Germany to eradicate anti-Communist and anti-democratic ideologies. There anti-communism and revanchism merge into one as features of German imperialist ideology conditioning and complementing each other.

The forms, arguments and methods of anti-communism were in keeping with 'cold war' strategy. Naked anti-communism questioned the viability of socialism in general and its ability to expand production and mould the new man in particular. It put socialism on the same level with fascism and posed the capitalist social system against it as the only 'free' alternative. Anti-communism slandered socialism and communism, depicting them as the embodiment of evil, aggressiveness and expansionism. It resorted to defense formulas to camouflage the growing militarization of imperialist countries and the steady curtailment of democratic rights and freedoms in them. Imperialism hoped to achieve its goal - 'the liberation of Eastern Europe from socialism' - by direct, frontal attack, without recourse to roundabout ways or subterfuges. The ideology of anti-communism was placed lock, stock and barrel in the service of this strategy.

In the late fifties and early sixties the futility of a frontal offensive was brought home to the politicians and ideologues of imperialism. The changed balance of forces between socialism and

imperialism became increasingly evident. Due to the increased strength of the world socialist system, first of all Soviet might, and to the growing militancy of the labor and national-liberation movements, this strategy of international counter-revolution and the forms of anti-communism associated with it miscarried. The measures to safeguard the borders of the GDR taken in Berlin in August 1961 made it perfectly clear to the world that the policy of 'all or nothing' ('better dead than Red'), i.e., of brazen, naked anti-communism, had failed completely.

The politicians and ideologues of imperialism, as well as of Right-wing Social-Democracy, were forced to reckon with this undeniable fact. Zbigniew Brzezinski, one of the leading U.S. strategists of anti-communism, admitted that imperialism had realized that it could not achieve German reunification (i.e., the inclusion of the GDR in the imperialist system and NATO - G.H.) through direct political action. 'In the past,' the Social-Democratic Party Executive noted, 'the so-called "positions of strength policy" never brought the Germans (meaning the German imperialists - G.H.) one step nearer reunification. . . . Adenauer's and Dulles' notion that Eastern Europe could be freed from communism has turned out to be an illusion.' The failure of this policy was put in a nutshell by the former U.S. Secretary of Defense, Robert MacNamara, who said that the aim was to liquidate the Communists but that he did not think this could be done through a strategic nuclear war. SDP Chairman Willy Brandt, for his part, conceded that 'in our time an "all or nothing" position . . . may prove fatal.'

Thus, the 'all or nothing' policy did not bring imperialism what it wanted - it did not enable imperialism either to regain the historic initiative or to turn the wheel of history back. Moreover, this policy failed to prevent a further deterioration of the position of imperialism and a sharpening of its inner contradictions. On the other hand, the socialist countries, in spite of certain difficulties, strengthened their positions, and the working class and democratic forces of capitalist countries, as well as the national-liberation movement, achieved new successes in the anti-imperialist struggle. As a result, Europe is enjoying its longest spell of peace in this century.

By the early seventies new opportunities had appeared of containing imperialism, foiling its aggressive, counter-revolutionary plans and compelling it to follow a policy of peaceful coexistence. The growing strength and unity of the socialist countries as a force organized on both a national and an international scale create more favorable conditions for anti-imperialist action.

However, Communists do not imagine at all that it has become easier to fight imperialism. They know that the struggle between

socialism and imperialism will be fierce and uncompromising, and will last long.

The new balance of forces compelled the imperialist bourgeoisie to take stock of the situation. It had to decide for itself how to achieve its *unchanged* goal – eliminating socialism and every progressive movement – in the *changed* conditions. Its answer was a new global strategy whose main points may be stated roughly as follows: neither socialism nor progressive movements can be defeated by frontal attack and in a short time; capitalist restoration in the socialist countries of Europe must be brought about gradually and by roundabout ways; the attainment of the ultimate goal must be preceded by a metamorphosis of socialism under the slogan of 'humanization' or 'democratization'; priority must be given to psychological warfare and ideological subversion without, however, ruling out either economic pressure or military conflicts.

All this is disguised with slogans such as 'cooperation instead of confrontation,' 'from division to rapprochement,' 'bridge-building between West and East,' 'convergence' of the two systems.

This strategy has sprouted what are outwardly more flexible and peaceful forms of anti-communism, which have not, however, completely replaced naked and frankly aggressive anti-communism, which would like nothing better than to wipe out socialism with the help of nuclear weapons. Today the ideologists of the monopoly bourgeoisie that speak for the groups seeking new ways and means of combating socialism come out against conservative anti-communism, which, they find, 'ignores realities' and holds no promise of fruitful ideas for the 'new Eastern policy.'

Martin Haenicke admits that undifferentiated anti-communism 'no longer corresponds to the level of development: firstly, because it is oriented mainly towards bourgeois and conservative forces which . . . have lost their ability to act; secondly, because it discounts the widespread and influential reformist currents which seek to create freer and more humane conditions precisely in the name of socialist ideals.'

These words of one of the 'more flexible' opponents of socialism reveal the dilemma confronting modern anti-communism. On the one hand, it is conceded that the might and international prestige of socialism have become so great that in the struggle against it imperialism's only hope of any success lies in speaking *in the name of socialism* – not scientific socialism, of course, but its so-called 'democratic,' 'humane,' 'free' or 'ethical' variety. On the other hand, it is admitted that the capitalist system is not a desirable alternative for the leading political forces of the socialist countries – the workers, farmers, intellectuals and other working people.

Socialism is continuing to develop successfully. It has become the pivot of the working people's life and has proved its viability in all public spheres. A new socialist consciousness has formed in the process of the revolutionary transformation of social life. It is a solid bastion against the strategy of blunt anti-communism, such as is still preached by Right-wing forces in the FRG, notably their most outspoken exponent, the CDU/CSU.

It is also recognized that without the aid of 'internal opposition forces,' i.e., Right and 'Left'-wing revisionists, anti-communism has no chance of working out a pseudo-socialist 'third way' program, let alone of attaining its proclaimed ultimate goal of liquidating socialism. 'Social-Democracy and Communism,' a document approved by the SDP leadership, states that 'a change in the communist system can come, if ever, only from within.' Brzezinski regards 'ideological erosion' as the decisive prerequisite for political change in communist societies.

Such statements, however, are accompanied by reservations to the effect that 'ideological erosion' of the socialist countries should steer clear of the 'rosy optimism' of the sixties so as not to repeat in the seventies the mistakes anti-Communists think were made before.

It may be useful at this point to recall an example from the history of the German labor movement. In the latter third of the last century bourgeois-junker reactionaries tried to crush the Social-Democratic Party, led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the whole revolutionary labor movement through a frontal attack and the ill-famed extraordinary law against the Socialists. The ignominious failure of this attempt induced the ruling classes of Germany to seek new ways and means of achieving their reactionary goals. The German bourgeoisie of the time must have reasoned, within the national framework, much along the same lines as the present-day authors of the global strategy of international counter-revolution. The idea is that when terrorism is no longer enough to suppress a revolutionary movement one must try harder to subvert it from within and disarm it ideologically.

The German bourgeoisie managed to do that with the aid of petty-bourgeois elements within the Social-Democratic Party. Thus it was due primarily to ideological erosion, to the fact that their party was laid 'open' ideologically, that the German Social-Democrats degenerated from the revolutionary workers' party into a bourgeois 'people's' party entirely committed to the defense of the foundations of capitalism. The history of the German labor movement shows that the ideological erosion caused by opportunism in the Social-Democratic Party at the turn of the century affected all its subsequent policies. In a number of works Lenin

revealed the connection between imperialism and opportunism and defined the dialectics of class struggle following the triumph of Marxism in the labor movement. 'It has been shown in practice,' Lenin wrote, 'that working-class activists who follow the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeois themselves. Without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie could not remain in power.'

In our time, the dialectics of class struggle which Lenin spoke of manifests itself at a new level: in the contest between the two social systems. In this case anti-communism uses flexible, subtle, differentiated forms. The experience of the sixties shows that anti-Communists of the revisionist and Social-Democratic brand operating from positions of a 'socialism' of sorts are better defenders of state-monopoly capitalism than diehard anti-Communists of the cold war years. The objective role of modern revisionism and Social-Democracy in attempts to 'erode' socialism ideologically is patent: they are variants of anti-communism trimmed to fit into the new balance of forces between socialism and imperialism.

Die Neue Gesellschaft, theoretical journal of the SDP, printed an article by Peter Lutz analyzing the part played by philosophical revisionism in the counter-revolutionary events in Czechoslovakia. The author posed the following questions:

What is the relationship between the immediate objective of the global strategy of imperialism ('humanization of socialism') and philosophical revisionism? Can the revisionist concept of 'universal humane socialism' provide the ideological basis for something greater than was achieved by the counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia? To what extent does revisionism take into account the 'acquired sense of national and moral distinctiveness'? Could not some forms of philosophical revisionism, such as philosophical anthropology, the philosophy of praxis, the alienation theory, etc., contribute more effectively to the ideological erosion of socialism?

Answering these questions, the author comes to the conclusion that philosophical revisionism is indispensable to making out the case for new models of socialism as alternatives to existing socialism. He criticizes philosophical revisionists for tactical mistakes due to which 'their criticism of the existing regime . . . could formulate no viable alternative to the socialist system.'

The first mistake, according to Lutz, was an abstract, utopian idealistic conception of man which failed to impress the masses; even the 'liberals' in the Party did not know what to do with it. He goes on to ask whether 'certain other forms of revising Marxism could not have provided more adequate and modern solutions to the numerous social and political problems facing the highly industrialized countries of the Eastern bloc.' He cites as examples forms

of revisionism oriented on cybernetics and sociology and tending towards positivist thinking.

The second mistake, Lutz thinks, was an overestimation of the role of the intellectuals, above all philosophers, writers and artists. Their abstract criticism of all organization and indiscriminate, absolute hostility to every form of organization ('bureaucratic structures') made them incapable of organizing the masses for effective action.

The third mistake, in Lutz's view, was that the counter-revolutionary forces failed to see the 'political advantage' of a more gradual process of 'humanizing socialism,' and also that they 'put forward the idea of radical clubs too soon.' Because they acted overhastily, Lutz laments, the true nature of their activities came out too soon.

The ideologists of anti-communism have drawn an important conclusion from the setbacks of their strategy of the sixties. They now consider it expedient to launch a process of change in the socialist countries that would be so gradual as to make it difficult (according to Brzezinski) to resist it effectively.

By 'gradual' is meant longer-term plans and more flexible methods of 'ideological erosion.' 'To erode the Communist and the whole revolutionary movement from within,' L. I. Brezhnev stressed at the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 'is now one of the most important directions of the class strategy of imperialism'.

I think the ideologues of Social-Democracy have been assigned a special role in the class strategy of imperialism. The 14th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany defined Social-Democracy as negation of the need for a revolutionary party of the working class; as ideological disarmament and division of the working class with the purpose of integrating it into the imperialist system, safeguarding capitalism against upheavals and actively supporting the expansionist aspirations of imperialism.

Spokesmen for West German Social-Democracy consider that the Right-wing bloc – the CDU/CSU – cannot effectively combat socialism, because it would like to do away with socialism in the GDR by bringing it closer to the FRG and incorporating it into NATO. Since this frankly counter-revolutionary concept could, in view of the present alignment of forces, prove 'fatal' to the rule of monopoly capital in the FRG, the Social-Democrats consider it more expedient to pursue the same goal in another way, namely, by 'democratizing' the GDR in the spirit of Social-Democracy. 'Socialism should not be liquidated but made more humane,' G. Schollmer, an ideo-

logue of Social-Democracy in West Germany, said in a radio broadcast on April 3, 1970.

Differences between the outspoken anti-communism of the CDU/CSU and the more 'flexible' anti-communism of the Right-wing Social-Democrats bear on only the ways of achieving the same objective, the *means* of liquidating existing socialism and effectively combatting Marxism-Leninism, the scientific theory of socialism. At the Eastbourne congress of the Socialist International, SDP Vice-Chairman Wehner said that the task was to 'soften up' the socialist countries, something which conservatives or neo-Nazis could hardly do. In the struggle against communism, Wehner holds, 'only democrats, that is, only Social-Democrats, can achieve a result that would benefit all.'

The Right-wing Social-Democrats are so confident of their special mission in the struggle against communism that they emphatically disclaim such gems as Wolfgang Leonhard's book, 'Triple Split of Marxism?', as representing what they call 'a variant of that anti-communism which is as artificial as it is outdated.'

By adopting their Godesberg program in 1959, the leaders of West Germany's Right-wing Social-Democrats repudiated Marxism and socialism on all fundamental questions of principle and deserted to state-monopoly capital. They now have a theory of how they should fight socialism and communism in the seventies, and they go on elaborating it. The main lines of the present anti-Communist ideology and policy were set forth as early as 1960, in the anti-communist pamphlet, 'Alternatives of Our Time: the Controversy Between Social-Democracy and Communism,' published by the Party leadership. This document calls for inner political change that would result in the economy, science, education, culture, the mass media, etc., being gradually geared to the struggle against communism.

This concept has found expression in numerous documents and decisions of the SDP Executive, in books, pamphlets and articles. The importance attached to it is amply revealed in the anti-Communist documents approved by the SDP leadership in Munich in November 1970. They ban all cooperation between Social-Democrats and Communists. The 14th Plenum of the CC SUPG emphasized that 'at the root of the Munich decisions lies the fact that the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders fully adopted the positions of the prevailing system of state-monopoly capital.'

The Munich decisions proceed from definite ideological premises. At the turn of the century the SDP threw its doors open to bourgeois ideology and undermined itself ideologically, so much so that its leaders today say their party does not represent any specific ideology and is open to all ideologies. Today representatives of

Social-Democracy try to ideologically erode the socialist countries, the GDR in the first place, with the ultimate purpose of bringing them back to the positions of capitalism.

The propaganda of pluralism is central to the struggle to 'social-democratize' the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties. Pluralism in ideology is advocated as a means of laying Marxism-Leninism 'open' to bourgeois ideology and thereby paralyzing it. Pluralism in the world socialist system is recommended as a means of destroying its internationalism, 'nationalizing' the socialist states and isolating them from the Soviet Union. Pluralism in Marxist-Leninist parties is aimed at weakening the unity and cohesion of their ranks by means of factions and at disavowing their role as the leading force in socialist society; in the socialist state its purpose is, by setting up opposition parties, to make the dictatorship of the proletariat 'wither away' and break up the unity of all democratic forces; in the economy of socialist states, to do away with socialist planned economy by bringing a capitalist commodity-money mechanism into it.

In the theoretical sphere, pluralism means rejecting Leninism as the Marxism of our epoch, and in the political, splitting the Communist and workers' movement and the community of socialist states, and destroying their internal ideological and political unity.

Marx, Engels and Lenin held that one of the basic tasks of scientific socialism is to demonstrate the universal validity of the laws of socialist revolution and socialist development. They maintained that the class condition of the workers in all countries is the same and that they have one common enemy, international capital. The proletariat's revolutionary struggle – economic, political and ideological – is essentially international, though its forms are national. To bring about unity of revolutionary action, Marx, Engels and Lenin considered it necessary to unite the proletarians of all countries on the basis of a common ideology. That is why they constantly and consistently rejected all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois attempts to 'discover' new philosophical trends and to foist them on the labor movement. They were just as irreconcilably opposed to the opportunist thesis of the 'ideological neutrality' of the workers' party and to appeals for its 'de-ideologization.' Lenin wrote that 'the genius of Marx and Engels lies precisely in the fact that during a very long period, *nearly half a century*, they developed materialism . . . mercilessly brushing aside as rubbish . . . the innumerable attempts to "discover" a "new" line in philosophy, to invent a "new" trend and so forth.'

Brandt calls the existence of a proletarian world outlook a 'misunderstanding.' This 'misunderstanding' is supposed to have led to 'erroneous ways and mistakes,' to a situation in which 'the

theories of Marx and Engels were later turned into state-sanctioned salutary doctrines.' According to Brandt, 'the *philosopher* Engels, who wanted to spread a "proletarian world outlook" in the German Social-Democratic movement and to popularize it as a doctrine of the "general laws of nature, society and human thinking" . . . met with a poor response.' It is not accidental that the Chairman of the SDP returns again and again to the question of the philosophical foundations of Social-Democracy. He declares it irrelevant 'whether the point of departure for a given individual is the Sermon on the Mount, Kant or the theory of Marx, whether he draws on religion, philosophy or social science.'

Right-wing Social-Democrats regard the propaganda of ideological pluralism as an essential prerequisite for laying socialism 'open' to bourgeois ideology, as a decisive step towards attaining the immediate goal of the global strategy of 'humanizing socialism.' This is the general postulate of present-day anti-communism. Summing up the results of the Czechoslovak events, Brzezinski, for one, described them as a new victory for the Eastern tradition in Marxism over its Western tradition. For Marxism, he says, is a 'Western doctrine' which Lenin 'adapted' to 'autocratic Russian conditions.' The result was, he adds, that Marxism lost its Western character. A careful analysis of what the 'Western tradition' of Marxism is supposed to stand for reveals that it is its 'Social-Democratic character.' In other words, it appears that the so-called 'Western tradition of Marxism' consists in rejecting Marxism and advocating a pluralistic philosophical hodge-podge, a line traditionally followed by Social-Democracy

Leninism is creative and consistent development of all the components of Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Leninism is the ideological basis of the unity and community of socialist states and the world Communist movement. Hence the struggle of the Communist and Workers' parties against ideological pluralism is a struggle, not against a 'tradition,' but against the rejection of the proletarian world outlook and the substitution of bourgeois for proletarian ideology. The philosophical foundations of Marxism and the ideology of Social-Democracy are absolutely incompatible. That is why there can be no such thing for Marxist-Leninists as neutrality or compromise on this issue. Speaking at the 1969 Meeting, L. I. Brezhnev said: 'Our stand in relation to Social-Democracy could not be clearer. We are combating and shall continue to combat our ideological and political opponents in its ranks from the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, we agree to cooperation, to joint action, with those genuinely prepared to fight imperialism, for peace, for the interests of the working people.'

Imperialism seeks to adapt itself to the changed balance of world forces and the new conditions of struggle between the two opposed social systems. Anti-communism changes its forms accordingly, without changing its counter-revolutionary nature. To defeat anti-communism and offer it continuous and effective resistance, it is necessary closely to follow all changes in anti-Communist strategy and tactics.

Structuralism

Notes on an aspect of French ideological life*

Lucien Sève

Modern structuralism is characterized by a certain *ambiguity*, both in content and implications.

Structuralism, no doubt, is a step forward from many past and present bourgeois philosophical schools. It emerged and spread at a time of crisis in bourgeois philosophy, when it became patently clear that the latter's traditional doctrines could not resolve crucial questions of being and cognition. This applies especially to subjectivist theories, compared with which structuralist ideas and method are indeed a step forward. For structuralism, which rejects the subjectivist conceptions of existentialism and personalism, proceeds from research on the human condition and analysis of objective structures – economic, historical, cultural, linguistic, etc. – and draws on extensive factual material to substantiate its conclusions.

Revival of metaphysics

But structuralism does not offer a scientific understanding of historical processes and, in effect, negates real progress in the development of mankind. In fact, structuralist ideas have influenced the revival of mystical concepts of history in the humanities; the true meaning of history is deprecated, human consciousness is divorced from real structures and presented as a self-contained entity. Structuralism is blind to dialectical contradictions in the historical process and cannot, therefore, establish the true causes of

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social phenomena or explain the emergence of different social structures or the factors determining their development and change. And it is no accident that it is obliged to postulate universal *a priori laws of the human spirit*. The structures themselves are regarded as derivatives of these laws, which brings us back to Cartesian notions of the innateness of ideas (cf. N. Chomsky, *La linguistique cartésienne*). But since structuralism claims to be a positive scientific doctrine, it naturally has no desire to give its postulates and laws theological meaning. Hence, the 'laws of the human spirit' are regarded not as preordained 'from above,' but as inherited eternal and immutable hypothetical structures of the human brain. Thus, in structuralism idealism and metaphysics merge with the confined and outdated principles of 19th-century biological materialism.

Marxism put an end to abstract metaphysical notions of eternal and universal human nature and provided a scientific solution for the traditional philosophical problem of the essence of man, revealing its deep-going social implications. In his famous sixth thesis on Feurbach, Marx states: 'The human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations.' This is the key to the whole problem. That is not to say that we should ignore the biological, geographical and other natural circumstances primary to man's development. The main consideration, however, is that in real life natural factors are increasingly transformed into social factors and mankind is increasingly basing its life on socio-historical factors. Social factors become decisive in man's life and activity and it is only natural that, in the final analysis, they determine his essence – not as an abstract person but as a *concrete historical individual*.

If the humanities are to achieve fruitful results, they must be based on an understanding of man as an ensemble of social relations. Structuralism, however, virtually ignores man's social nature and sidetracks the humanities into the realm of abstract, metaphysical speculation.

This has prevented structuralism from comprehending the true 'meaning of history,' particularly the laws of the class struggle, which, indeed, remain beyond its purview. Structuralism has proved incapable of revealing the inner essence of social processes veiled by their superficial manifestations. For real social phenomena, as Marxism has conclusively shown, can differ from the ideological forms in which they appear to the individual consciousness. For example, relations between people in the process of production and exchange may be mistaken for relations between things. However, mystified forms of consciousness always have a definite objective basis: social relations, which are quite cognizable through

practical experience. Hence, the possibility of progress from *false to true consciousness*, which is the purpose of scientific knowledge.

Structuralism, however, follows a different course. Ignoring the real essence of man and the laws of social development, it builds an insurmountable barrier between self-contained, impersonal social structures and the forms of consciousness in which they find expression. Writes Lévi-Strauss: 'We have approached a stage when we can conceive of social structures as objects independent of the nature of their representation in the consciousness of men . . . as objects differing from the imagery they acquire in men's notions, just as physical reality differs from our sensible conceptions and the hypothetical conclusions we formulate about it' (*Anthropologie structurale*, p. 134).

Significantly, Lévi-Strauss seeks support in Marx, whom, at the same time, he tries to refute. He cites 'Marx's celebrated formula,' which he 'quotes' as follows: 'Men make their own history, unaware that they are making it' (*Ibid.*, p. 31). There is no reference to the initial source, and with good reason, for the quotation is a fabrication, pure and simple, which was pointed out by Ch. Parain in the October 1967 issue of *La Pensée*. Marx had never written anything remotely resembling this; he *could not*, for his views were quite different.

Here is the pertinent quotation from the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 'Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.' Neither in this nor in other similar statements does Marx say that in making history men are doomed to ignorance of the meaning of their actions. What Marx says is that, in making history men proceed from objectively existing circumstances which they are incapable of changing at will. Appreciation of these circumstances does not, of course, come suddenly, but in the course of the working people's long and difficult liberation struggle. And it is the mission of the Communist Party to help the proletariat and its allies appreciate existing circumstances, see and understand the real prospects of victorious struggle for a better future, for elimination of old social relations of exploitation. Speaking of the importance of a conscious approach to the circumstances of that struggle, Marx writes in his *Critique of Political Economy*: 'Recognition of the fruits of their labor as their own and realization that the separation of their labor from the circumstances of its existence is unjust and forced, is an indication of great consciousness, which is a product of the mode of production based on capital and . . . sounds the death knell of that mode of production.'

All this has nothing in common with the 'celebrated formula of Marx,' invented by Lévi-Strauss in order to distort Marxism and justify his own unscientific notions of human history. And it should be noted, in passing, that distorting ideas, formulas and quotations from the Marxist-Leninist classics has become a fashion with bourgeois ideologues anxious to tailor Marxist ideas to suit their purpose and present them to the less sophisticated reader in a false light.

Critique of the 'critics'

Structuralism's ambiguity is also apparent in the way different philosophical trends reacted to its sudden incursion into French ideological life. French Marxists gave an objective and comprehensive assessment of its place and role, which, of course, does not preclude discussion among them on the important problems posed by structuralism.

The relationship between Marxism and structuralism is discussed in the twelve articles of a special issue of the magazine *La Pensée* (No. 135, October 1967). It aroused a good deal of comment and has been reprinted and translated in many countries. The positive and negative aspects of such a complex and heterogeneous trend in philosophical and scientific thought as structuralism can be objectively and correctly assessed only from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism.

The most significant reaction has come from Sartrean existentialism and Christian personalism, philosophies 'retired' by the emergence of structuralism. Their exponents, though differing on many points, accuse structuralism of anti-humanism, of depriving man both of his 'history and meaning.' Another charge is that structuralism is lending scientific support to the ideology of technocratism, which denigrates man and destroys his moral, cultural and religious values.

P. Ricoeur and J. M. Domenach, who criticize structuralism from positions of Christian personalism (cf. *Esprit*, November 1963, May 1967), oppose to it an abstract religious concept of man based on recognition of his 'eternal, divine' essence. Their purpose is to justify the dogmas and moral principles of Christianity. Hence, if one can accept their accusation of structuralism having 'forgotten man,' etc., one certainly cannot accept their positive views. For their own conception of man and humanism is based on unscientific notions about the non-existent 'divine' nature of man.

In Sartre's view, the dominant tendency of structuralism is its 'rejection of history' and the role of human practice. (He uses the term 'praxis,' deliberately, as we shall see, avoiding Marxist ter-

minology.) In condemning the structuralists' anti-historic approach, Sartre notes that the system of language and social structures in general bear 'traces of the impact of practice,' and for an analysis of the origin of structures we must, therefore, 'return to the concept of "praxis" as a universal process.' And then comes a typical Sartre assertion: 'It is quite obvious that in making history the target, the idea, is to destroy Marxism and devise a new ideology as the last obstacle the bourgeoisie can still erect against Marx' (*L'Arc*, No. 30, 1966). But it is also 'quite obvious' that Sartre criticizes structuralism, which claims an affinity with Marxism, not in the name of existentialism, but *in the name of Marxism!*

Nowadays everyone wants to be considered a 'Marxist', and this wholesale conversion to Marxism is symptomatic of French ideological life today. It is expressive of the deep social processes that are aggravating the ideological crisis, the crisis of bourgeois consciousness. It explains the heightened interest in Marxist ideas and their growing influence on different strata. Sartre's 'Marxism,' however, is not the genuine article – it bears the imprint of existentialist ideas and notions. In particular, his 'praxis' does not denote socio-historic activity of people, the ensemble of social relations, which is Marxism's understanding of practice, but merely the individual's subjective activity, his 'free' actions based on freedom of choice, etc.

The rational kernel in Sartre's reasoning is his acceptance of man as the maker of history. But the existentialist interpretation is highly subjective, so that the whole historical process becomes the embodiment of the subject's will and consciousness. In this respect, structuralism is right, for it recognizes the primacy of objective social structures over man's subjective goals and aspirations. In short, structuralism cannot be refuted from positions of existentialism or any other subjective philosophy. The existentialism-structuralism controversy is, if one can say so, 'structurally unresolvable,' since both are, at one and the same time, refuter and refuted. Both are subject to the inherent limitations of bourgeois ideas and views; hence the ambiguity and vagueness of their criticism of each other.

Static and genetic structuralism

Structuralist ambiguity is most saliently revealed in the clash of its differing *internal trends*. Many of its exponents virtually deny the historical development of structures, insisting on primacy of the synchronic approach over the diachronic. Thus, various reservations notwithstanding, their views of social phenomena are essentially static. This *static structuralism* has been criticized by J.

Piaget, a leading psychologist and acknowledged spokesman of genetic structuralism.

Static structuralism's main fault, he believes, is that it creates a gap between genesis and structure. Lévi-Strauss' method, he says, rests entirely on a static concept of structures and is oblivious to the process of their genesis. His harshest criticism is levelled at Foucault: 'He has taken from static structuralism all its negative aspects: deprecation of history and genesis, indifference to functions and, in the final analysis, negation of the subject itself' (*Le structuralisme*. Paris, 1968, p. 114). Piaget strongly emphasizes that 'there exists a necessary interconnection between genesis and structure, genesis is not a simple transition from one structure to another; it is a formative transition, one that leads to ever more complex formations. On the other hand, structure is not merely a system of transformations, but a system whose roots are in motion and action' (*Ibid.*, p. 121).

This critique of static structuralism, this persistent advocacy of genetic principle and of genesis as the determinant basis of every structure, prompts one to ask: Are Piaget's views Marxist? Is he not a structuralist Marxist? L. Goldmann and others believe he is. But in that case, why doesn't Piaget say so? How is one to explain his complete agreement with the views of M. Godelier, expressed in the article *Système, structure et contradiction dans 'Le Capital'* in the existentialist journal *Temps modernes* (November 1966)? It does not criticize Lévi-Strauss' views and accepts Marxist dialectics only to the extent, and as revised and 'corrected' to fit the Lévi-Strauss pattern – in other words, when it has, in effect, ceased to be dialectics.

Piaget saw in Althusser's works the possibility of 'translating Marxism into structuralism.' But let us quote Althusser, in the preface to the second edition of his *Lire Le Capital*: 'In deference to the current vogue, our interpretation has been accepted and assessed as "structuralist." We hold, however, that, notwithstanding terminological similarity, in their inner meaning our theses have nothing in common with the ideology of structuralism.' It stands to reason that the use of such concepts as structure, system, elements, etc., does not add up to structuralism.

The scientific value of Piaget's works, particularly his studies in various areas of psychology, is unquestionable, but his general theoretical, philosophical views are by no criterion Marxist. And that is borne out also by an analysis of the very concept of genesis, which Piaget – not at all accidentally – prefers to the categories of dialectics. As aptly noted by M. de Gandillac, the word 'genesis' derives not from the Greek 'genesis' – to become, but from 'genesis' – labor, birth (*Entretiens de Cerisy. Sur les notions de genèse et*

de structure. Paris, 1965, p. 338). Essentially, genesis denotes a continuous, recurrent process of the coming into being of one or another structure, a process each time culminating in consummation. It is from this standpoint that Piaget treats the concept of genesis when, in particular, he states: 'As for myself, I find it possible to reconcile genesis with structure by turning the latter into a specific form of equilibrium, towards which genesis tends' (Ibid., p. 18). That understanding of genesis as continuously producing new structures and 'tending towards equilibrium' can certainly not be equated to the dialectical understanding of historical development. For a simple succession of geneses in the overall historical process does not disclose its inner motive forces, dialectical contradictions, including history's 'negative work,' and not merely the positive creation of various structures, events, phenomena.

Obviously, a scientific investigation must of needs analyze the origin of various phenomena, i.e., establish their genesis. Within certain limits they can be abstracted from the inner contradictions of the historical process as a whole. It will be recalled that in *Capital* Marx readily employs this method in examining the genesis of capital. However, it was his profound analysis of the whole dialectics of capitalist production that enabled Marx to reveal its essence and inner laws of development. In the first approximation, for example in studying a child's intelligence, it is possible, and to a degree necessary, to abstract oneself from historical evolution. However, the genesis of child intelligence can be fully understood, and its real essence revealed, only in organic connection with the integrated development of the child's personality, with the dialectics of the whole system of social relations.

As noted above, Piaget's genetic-structuralist criticism of static structuralism is, on the whole, correct. But Piaget's concept of genesis prevents him from revealing the true causes and character of social development. More, it leads him to *biologization* of historical phenomena, thus resurrecting some of the long refuted views of exponents of 'organic theories' of society. Criticizing Chomsky's 'innateness of intellect' theory and Lévi-Strauss' 'permanency of the human intellect,' he writes: 'There is no such thing as innate structure: every structure presumes a process of origin. Such processes lead us to preceding structures, and ultimately . . . to the biological problem'; and further on: 'I do not think that the evolution of intellect differs in its nature from biological evolution' (*Entretiens de Cerisy*, pp. 42, 54). The biologization of social phenomena, effected in this case from positions of genetic structuralism, disregards the fundamental qualitative differences between society and nature. In the methodological aspect, this is mechanicism, a variety of metaphysical principles that make it

impossible to disclose the concrete essence of social phenomena and the true laws of historical development. Therefore, structuralism as a whole, despite the rational ideas of its genetic variety, objectively serves as an *anti-dialectical alternative to Marxism*.

This largely explains the enthusiasm structuralism has evoked among the most reactionary ideologues. It also explains its devastating downfall after the May-June 1968 events, which heralded the collapse of all types of staticism, the exposure of all dialectical contradictions, the 'revenge' of the philosophy of 'life,' 'freedom,' 'the individual,' the *revenge of history*, as it were. All this glaringly showed that structuralism was out of step with reality, with all its complexities, dynamism, contradictions.

Does this mean there is no place for structuralist ideas in French ideological life, now and in future? Any such conclusion would be premature, for structuralism, in spite of its setbacks, finds a nutritive soil in the peculiar situation that has developed in scientific and philosophical thought. On the other hand, there is the tremendous upsurge in the sciences, which objectively requires a philosophy closely connected with the process of scientific cognition. On the other hand, there is the lack of knowledge of dialectics among different sections of the scientific community which, naturally, facilitates the emergence of anti-dialectical concepts, especially when dressed up in scientific garb. This is not the first time Marxism has had to deal with such a situation. In his *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, Lenin showed its contradictions: when scientific progress, dominated by idealistic and metaphysical ideas, leads to a methodological crisis in the natural sciences and the spread of fashionable unscientific philosophical views.

The revival of structuralist ideas after their temporary setback following 1968 is, of course, not fortuitous in the present situation. The most notable example is the appearance, late last year, of a book by Jacques Monod, an eminent specialist in molecular biology and Nobel Prize-winner, *Le Hasard et la nécessité - essai sur la philosophie naturelle de la biologie moderne*, which immediately became a scientific best seller. It is not our purpose to analyze the philosophical problems of biology, to which the book is mainly devoted. But we do deem it necessary to single out the structuralist ideas and propositions that have found fairly clear expression in the book.

Reference is to the following: general application of the linguistic model to biological research ('The genetic code theory is the primary base of biology,' p. 12); the definition of the essence of man in terms of language concepts, to the total exclusion of labor or social relations (p. 144); acceptance of the 'natural' Cartesian

concept of the innateness of language (with reference to Chomsky and, through him, to Descartes, pp. 150 ff); negation, in the spirit of static structuralism, of evolution within structures and of the structures themselves (at best 'deformation of invariance,' i.e., of immutable formations, is conceded, p. 130); a concentrated attack on dialectics which is, furthermore, equated with Spencer's evolutionism (the author defines both as '19th-century scientific progressism,' p. 45). In general, the distinguishing characteristic is hostility to Marxism, which the author describes as the ideology of 'animism' and a 'travesty of science' (p. 194) 'fraught with many dangers which have become a reality' (p. 193), etc.

One is left with the impression that the structuralist ideas sprouted in 1970 are *naturally linked* with molecular biology, and there is the authoritative testimony of scientists to support this. But that impression is purely *superficial*. For all the basic structuralist ideas are borrowed not from Monod's field of research, not from cellular biochemistry; in fact, not from modern biology, in general. They are taken from *extraneous* sources, and not only from the structuralist works of the sixties, but also from such sources as Cartesian philosophy.

The critique of Marxist philosophy is directed not against the results of genuine scientific knowledge – with which, as Engels and Lenin convincingly demonstrated, it is organically linked – but against exploiting scientific achievement to bolster idealistic and metaphysical theories. Now, as in 1877 or 1909, Marxist philosophy performs its most natural and useful function for science: making it fully conscious of its true basis, essence and significance.

French intellectual life is today characterized by a wide division between the obsolescent systems of speculative philosophy and structuralist neo-scientism, that typical expression of positivist ideas on French soil (for all its efforts, Anglo-Saxon positivism has failed to win support in France). Though the rational aspects of its methodology are of undoubted value, structuralism offers no solution for the fundamental philosophical problems, notably the essence and laws of the historical process. More than ever before Marxism stands out as the only teaching capable of revealing the true ways to the cognition of truth and transformation of the world on the principles of genuine humanism and justice.

Marxism-Leninism is the Communists' most powerful weapon against all forms and types of bourgeois ideology and its attempts to exploit the difficulties and contradictions besetting the process of cognizing the world; a weapon in the struggle to win over the intelligentsia and the youth to the side of the working class for resolute action against the forces of monopoly and reaction.



United Front Government in Ceylon

S. A. Wickremasinghe

It was in May 1970 that the United Front consisting of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Socialist (Lanka Sama Samaj) Party, and the Communist Party won a sweeping victory in the seventh general elections in Ceylon. For the first time after 23 years of independence, a Left and democratic popular government, headed by Mr. Bandaranaike, was formed. Besides representatives of the Freedom Party, three Socialists and one Communist were included in the government. The people of Ceylon through the elections had conclusively rejected the policy of the Right-wing United National Party which was in power from 1965. That policy aimed at bringing in foreign monopoly capital on conditions encroaching upon national interests, encouraging private capitalism, upholding the privileges of the rural and urban propertied classes and total disregard for the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population.

On the other hand, the United Front put forward a program of anti-imperialist and democratic socio-economic changes. It call-

ed for the adoption of a new constitution and the proclamation of Ceylon as a republic. It proposed to nationalize private banks, to establish state control over the principal imports, and to give a bigger share in wholesale trade to state and co-operative organizations. The main aim of the United Front was to rapidly industrialize the country with concentration of key industries in the state sector.

The United Front program also provided for transfer of ownership of the land to those who actually till it. In the sphere of foreign policy, the United Front parties declared for non-involvement in military blocs, solidarity with all national liberation movements and struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Implementation of this program would undoubtedly give a new impetus to the development of the country's productive forces, improve the living conditions of the people and strengthen Ceylon's independence and international positions.

But the task was not at all

easy. There were many difficulties to be overcome and complex economic problems, accumulated during the period of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation, to be solved.

Our export earnings amount to about Rs 2,000 million annually; our foreign debt services amount to Rs 530 million. Therefore our own net resources for imports amount to Rs 1,470 million. Our import requirements in order to maintain a fair standard of living is Rs 2,600 million – hence we are faced with an external resources gap of about 1,100 million.

For the year 1971 the previous pro-imperialist government had negotiated with the Consortium of the five big imperialist powers, the World Bank and the IMF for credit at a high rate of interest and also for some short-term credits from foreign commercial banks. The previous government introduced several anti-national and anti-social measures at the bidding of the World Bank. There is no indication so far that help from these same imperialist sources will be available even partially. It has been revealed that negotiations are taking place and demands have been made to devalue the Rupee still further, to discontinue the rice subsidy, and for a reduction in the expenditure on social services, before loan and commodity aid could be considered.

The previous government had reduced the distribution of rice at subsidized price from two kilos to one kilo per person per week, but gave it free. The United Front Government continued the

free distribution of one kilo of rice, but reintroduced the sale of another kilo at a subsidized price. In addition, the government guarantees to the farmer the purchase of his harvest at a guaranteed price. About 25 per cent of the national revenue is spent on food subsidies which includes also subsidies on essential subsidiary foodstuffs. The rice subsidy is the only guarantee against starvation among the poorer sections of the population.

In spite of food subsidies to the consumer and producer we have to import a large proportion of essential foods including fish products, although ours is an island in the Indian Ocean. Milk consumption among our population is one of the lowest in the world – lower than in India, where the per capita income is lower than in Ceylon. The average diet of the worker does not contain the minimum calories required for muscular energy. The protein and vitamin content are also very low.

Most of the basic industries were initiated by the progressive Bandaranaike government which was in power prior to 1965, mostly with the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; but they were put into operation during the pro-imperialist UNP government. The UNP government encouraged foreign monopoly concerns to start industries jointly with local capitalists and gave tax and other concessions, most of these enterprises being for the manufacture of consumer goods. The selection of these industries was not based on priorities for es-

sential consumer goods but on the basis of the biggest profits and quickest returns on the capital invested.

Today we are faced not only with finding markets for our agricultural raw products – tea, rubber and coconuts, but also with the import of raw materials from developed capitalist countries for our consumer goods industries. The manufacture of these consumer goods involves only the final stage of processing the finished product in Ceylon. The excessive cost of raw materials and of production compels these industries to produce only for the home market.

With the steady decline of the prices for our agricultural products and the steady increase of prices for imported manufactured goods, the gap in the foreign exchange situation is ever widening. The United Front government is faced with the problem of finding additional foreign exchange for the import of raw materials for consumer goods. Several thousands are employed in these factories.

Since the United Front government came to power in May 1970, the main concentration has been on short-term plans for temporary measures to find additional employment; negotiations with foreign countries for commodity aid to solve the urgent problem of foreign exchange for essential imports, the reorganization of existing industries and development projects to increase productivity and eliminate corruption and inefficiency, inherited from the previous government. Now the government is seriously con-

cerned with setting up a fertilizer factory as a first step to establish a petro-chemical complex.

The development of a modern deep sea and coastal fishing industry with the help of the Soviet government has enormous possibilities but so far our government has not been able to explore the available opportunities, due to pressure from the imperialist powers. The quickest way to increase protein consumption is development of fisheries rather than livestock farming.

Land reform is a complex problem which has not been attempted so far; not even the preparation of a proper program for serious discussion has been attempted. The total land surface is about 16 million acres of which about four million are cultivated. Another three-four million acres are arable. Of the cultivated land rice cultivation occupies about 1,300,000 acres owned by over one million families – the average holding is below two acres, and the majority are below one acre. About 5,000 families own about 1,500,000 acres of tea, rubber and coconut lands.

The crux of land reform in rice cultivation is to end continuous fragmentation of land by cooperative farming. As regards tea, rubber and coconut plantations, nationalization involves other problems.

Tea constitutes nearly 65 per cent of the export income, and the best quality tea plantations are owned by British companies. The tea market is controlled by British monopolies and national-

ization of tea plantations and sales agency companies can lead to a further drop in tea prices through the manipulation of the markets by the big monopolies. For the U.K., USA, Australia and South Africa are the biggest markets for quality tea, and the Middle East buys large quantities of the medium and low grade cheaper teas.

All the undeveloped land belongs to the state—but so far the state has not made any attempt to establish large state or collective farms and open large tracts for cultivation with irrigation facilities. We use modern technology, heavy machinery, etc., for developing projects of irrigation; but for development of land, we still depend on small-scale subsistence farming of the medieval ages.

The problem of self-sufficiency in food is the socio-economic problem of large-scale collective and state farming in preference to the traditional village economy; it is now being seriously considered by the United Front government.

The government has nationalized the import-export trade and is gradually taking over the trade from monopoly concerns. This step was specially needed to prevent large-scale fraudulent transactions between local agents and foreign financiers, calculated to rob the country of the much needed foreign exchange.

Legislation was introduced to take over private enterprises which obstruct the activity of the state in order to rehabilitate the economy and launch economic reconstruction schemes.

But this legislation has been delayed by the reactionaries. But they are aware that they can only delay it for some time.

Thus the United Front government has taken a number of progressive measures. The foreign policy of the country has assumed a clear-cut anti-imperialist character. The German Democratic Republic was recognized. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam was also granted official recognition. Diplomatic relations with Tel Aviv were suspended. A new Constitution has been adopted by parliament, proclaiming Ceylon a republic, ending its dominion status inside the British Commonwealth. The entire property of foreign oil monopolies was nationalized. Severe curbs have been imposed on the activities of the profiteers and hoarders of 'black' money.

Still the economic problems facing the country are too complicated to be solved in a short period or at one stroke. For example, the number of unemployed or semi-employed exceeds 800,000 in a small country with a population of 12.5 million. And the population is increasing at an average rate of 220,000 per annum. The inflationary growth of prices and the shortage of certain essential consumer goods still continue.

These difficulties are being skillfully utilized by the internal reactionary forces, supported by the foreign monopolists and imperialists to discredit and dislodge the United Front government.

The recent disturbances in

Ceylon have attracted world-wide attention. There have been several instances of sporadic outbreaks of violence in the form of attacks on police stations, road blockades, attempts to damage one or two bridges, brutal murder of some law-abiding people who showed open defiance to acts of sabotage and senseless terrorism, and of several police officers who were carrying out their duties to protect life and property.

Foreign radio broadcasts, especially the Voice of America, attempted to give the impression that there is a widespread well-armed insurgent movement which is planning the overthrow of the legally constituted government by an armed insurrection — nothing is further from reality. In fact, foreign imperialists and their collaborationist local bourgeoisie provide the main sustenance for these scattered groups indulging in terrorism.

These insurgent groups consist mostly of anti-social and criminal elements who were patronized by the previous pro-imperialist collaborationist government of the United National Party. These anti-social elements constitute good material to be bribed into terrorist activity.

The political organization that has been advocating and organizing activities for overthrow of the government is called the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna — Peoples' Liberation Front. This party was formed only after the United Front government came to power. In isolated centers secret classes are held for train-

ing in terrorist activity. Public meetings are held in the main towns in all parts of the country. The campaign is mainly in the Sinhalese speaking areas and anti-Indian propaganda is resorted to to incite national strife. The support and sympathy for the movement comes mainly from the supporters of the reactionary United National Party. The youth who write slogans on walls and plaster posters at night are mainly from the families of UNP supporters.

The reactionary forces either became dormant and went underground or posed as collaborators of the United Front government, immediately after the defeat of the UNP. These forces now realize that within the next three or four years the government will be able to achieve an economic recovery. The reorganization of the existing industrial potential and the launching of large-scale irrigation and power development plans for the development of the natural resources will enable the country to be self-sufficient in food and to produce for export.

The reactionaries who are using the impatient and misguided youth to fight the United Front government hope that they will succeed in creating chaos by their terrorist actions and in delaying legislation essential for central economic planning, for control of plantations, for development of cooperative farming in food production and for people's management of the big plantations.

The government has the backing of the working people, the peasant masses and the over-

whelming majority of the intellectuals in its efforts to implement progressive socio-economic measures. There is no doubt that the strong and necessary measures taken by the Prime Minister will crush the terroristic activities. But the basic economic problems will still remain. The Communist Party of Ceylon, which is participating

in the United Front government, is vigorously campaigning for more quick, firm and effective measures to solve these problems, as envisaged in the program of the United Front, and for consolidating and enlarging the United Front at all levels. Only thus can the threat of Right reaction and 'Left' adventurism be effectively eliminated.

A discussion in Frankfurt-on-Main

Buergerhaus Nied, one of the biggest halls in Frankfurt-on-Main, was filled to capacity on Saturday, April 17. People lined the walls and many had to stand in the lobby. Despite the allure of spring and the weekend attractions, and despite the admission charge, more than 1,300 came to the opening of the academic conference 'Economic Theory, Political Strategy and the Trade Unions.' There were people from different walks of life, of different views and backgrounds, different parties, politically uncommitted, from all parts of the Federal Republic of Germany. What struck the eye was the prevalence of young people — students and workers in the now fashionable extravagant garb or in modest, even cheap clothes, some wearing the anti-war 'Amis Out!' badges in their lapels.

Invitations to the debate had

been accepted by Communist scholars from the German Democratic Republic, Britain, Belgium, the Soviet Union and France, and by *World Marxist Review*.

The small staff of the local Marxist Studies Institute (MSI), headed by Prof. Josef Schleifstein, the conference's initiator and organizer, was visibly excited: the diversity of the audience augured a sharp discussion.

In the opening remarks Dr. Heinz Schaefer stressed that neo-reformist and neo-syndicalist views and actions had become a serious impediment to the growth of the labor movement. 'The reason why we want the dialogue with exponents of fallacious trends is to secure close cooperation among all anti-monopoly forces,' he said.

The three main reports, 'The Theory of Monopolies and the

Criticism of Capitalism,' 'The Marxist Theory of Classes and the Ideology of the "New Working Class"' and 'The Neo-Reformist Conceptions and the Strategy of the Working-Class Movement,' were made respectively by Professor Peter Hess of the German Institute of Economics (GDR), Dr. Heinz Jung, Deputy Director of MSI, and Professor Josef Schleifstein. The theoretically-grounded reports, filled with facts from the West German scene and coming to grips with the latest theorizing of the apologists of 'neo-capitalism,' Right opportunists and 'Left' sectarians, captured the attention of the audience.

At least a hundred people took the floor in the debate, first in the three sections, each devoted to one of the reports, and then at the plenary conference. The discussion centered naturally on the more urgent issues relating to the practice of the class struggle, and these, in general terms, may be enumerated as follows:

- evaluation of the role of state-monopoly capitalism, its methods, the limitations of its mechanism, working-class ability to restrain and overcome its anti-humanitarian system;

- the criteria and the forms of correctly combining the economic and political struggle of the trade unions, all working people, against capitalist exploitation;

- the ways of securing united action by wage-earners, by all anti-monopoly forces at factory, industry and national levels, and the necessity for international solidarity;

- the role of the working-class organizations (principally the unions and the German Communist Party) in the working people's practical struggle safeguarding and extending their rights, their struggle for effective participation in running production, and the preconditions for passage to socialism.

The main opposition came from members of Left-Trotskyist groups, who charged the GCP with 'lack of revolutionism.' Many of the speakers, including Willi Gerns, Member of the GCP Presidium, young Communists and union activists, refuted these and other attacks of ultra-revolutionaries. Stormy applause erupted time and again in tribute to the unfading ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin, the achievements of real socialism in the GDR and other socialist countries, and the policy of the Communist and Workers' parties. The interventions of candid anti-Communist failed to win support, and some even evoked laughter.

The interventions and the reaction of the audience reflected the mounting tension of the politico-ideological struggle in the FRG. The conference showed that the sentiment of part of the working people, especially the younger generation, is shifting from pessimism, blind rebellion, anarchism, division and spontaneity to Marxism-Leninism, proletarian organization and unity. For many readers, the full transcript of the conference, which MSI intends to publish, will be of unquestionable interest. *P. Hentgès, Y. Kharitonov*
Frankfurt-on-Main - Prague



Neo-fascism — a real menace

Throughout these post-war years, bourgeois-liberal and bourgeois-reformist ideologists have persistently been spreading the idea that fascism is a thing of the past and should be treated as such. And to suit that thesis they wilfully disregard all indications of neo-fascist trends and dismiss fascist sallies and provocation as excesses of insignificant and uncontrolled groups. There is also the propaganda line that the Communists and other democratic forces, who draw attention to the rise of neo-fascism, are deliberately exaggerating the threat it presents.

These views still have their hold on some, but they are being shaken by recent developments. And of these, two deserve closer examination: first, consolidation of the extreme Right in the Federal German Republic and, second, heightened neo-fascist activity in some parts of Italy.

The trend towards consolidation of the West German extreme Right became especially pronounced when the Grand Coalition (CDU-CSU-SDP) had to make way for a Social-Democrat-led coalition government. Distinctions between the former moderate Rights and the out-

spoken ultras all but vanished as they joined forces for an all-out offensive against the present government, attacking it for its more or less realistic approach to policy issues. This has been paralleled by harsher attacks on all anti-fascist democratic forces. In the ideological sphere, Rightist unity has bred more hysterical nationalism. The ordinary citizen is deluged by a constant stream of propaganda designed to play on his base instincts and prejudices. There have been appeals for violence against supporters of common-sense policies and direct threats against high-ranking officials.

That is the kind of climate in which Right-wing terrorist groups thrive. And they are passing from propaganda to action. The new 'Resistance Action,' a conglomerate of extreme Right organizations, has been instigating mass violence, clashes and provocations. There was, for instance, the attack on the Soviet guard at the War Memorial in West Berlin and an abortive attempt on the life of West Germany's Social-Democrat President, Heinemann. Though the present government has refrained from action against the terrorists, its Interior Minister, Genscher, has warned the public

against 'underestimating the extent of political crime.' And yet only a short while ago official spokesmen, including Social-Democrat leaders, were contemptuously brushing aside Communist warnings about the growth of the Rightist menace.

In the entirely different political and social setting in Italy, the mass workers' and democratic movement has prevented a shift to the Right. The Rightists are divided (about 15 ultra-Right groups have surfaced in recent years) and attempts to consolidate their forces have so far proved largely ineffectual.

However, throughout the post-war period the neo-fascist political party, the Italian Social Movement (ISM) has enjoyed relative stability. It polls about five per cent of the vote and since the second half of the forties has been represented in parliament. For a long time bourgeois students of Italy's party and political system maintained that the ISM was a dying party. And to support that argument they cited some election setbacks, the inability of its leaders to win over new social groups and, lastly, the process of industrialization which, they claim, is wiping out the Party's main base, in the southern provinces.

The facts, however, add up to a different picture. For with the break-up of the traditional social structure in areas that have always been the Cinderella of economic development, and with relatively limited democracy and inadequate organization of the progressive labor movement, the neo-fascists can, if only for a time, channel and exploit spontaneous flare-ups of protest.

That has been demonstrated by the stormy and bloody events in Reggio-di-Calabria. The extreme Right, and more especially the neo-fascists, were to a certain extent able to channel the protest movement, though it was based on just demands. They directed it not against the system responsible for all the hardship, but against the Left political parties campaigning for regional autonomy and for comprehensive economic and social development for the south. The reality of the danger from the Right was emphasized anew by the stepped up activity of neo-fascist groups in connection with the Reggio-di-Calabria events. The terrorist 'National Front' led by the pro-fascist 'black prince,' Borghese, was preparing a coup d'état for the end of 1970.

Developments in West Germany and Italy are by no means isolated manifestations of the Rightist trend in the political system of present-day capitalism. True, they are the most outstanding manifestations, but in other parts of capitalist Europe groups and movements more or less closely associated with the neo-fascists have come out in the open. In fact, they are active in more than 60 countries of the capitalist world. They have even formed international organizations – the European Social Movement (the so-called Malmoe International), European National Party, North European Ring, World Union of National Socialists, etc.

Without exaggerating the political weight of these groups and organizations, we must nevertheless bear in mind that, by creating a specific ideological

and psychological atmosphere, they can, given a definite conjuncture of circumstances, become the fermenting medium for reactionary forces beyond their own ranks. And that has been demonstrated in Greece, where neo-fascist ideology combined with the conservative aspirations of the reactionary military, served as the leaven for the rise of the present dictatorship.

Right-wing radicalism is widespread in the United States — the very name 'ultra' is of U.S. coinage. The American Right-wing movement can be traced to the terrorist anti-Negro organizations formed in the south away back in the last century, and to the private armies used against the labor movement. But the present ultras cover a much wider spectrum. They include all the conservative forces prepared to use outright violence to maintain their political domination in the United States and beyond its boundaries.

The twilight of McCarthyism and Goldwater's defeat in the 1964 elections did not signify an ultra decline. The objective conditions that facilitate their growing influence have not disappeared. On the contrary, they have acquired greater force. The Vietnam war and the hardships it entails, the resultant anti-war sentiments in part of the population and the flare-up of chauvinism in another part, should be taken into account. The more frequent mass political and racial actions, which in a number of cases led to armed clashes, have powered the urge of the frightened 'silent majority' for a 'strong government' that would

guarantee 'law and order,' without, however, encroaching on their rights.

The ultras have exploited this to their advantage. The 1968 presidential elections are indicative; Wallace's 'American Independent Party' polled about 10 million votes or 13.5 per cent of the total. That is an impressive figure considering that a substantial part of conservative-minded Americans traditionally voted for the Republican candidate, Nixon, who likewise promised 'law and order.' In the 1970 congressional elections, the ultras were again able to capitalize on the crisis symptoms besetting American society.

The progressive forces, supporters of peace and social progress, have constantly drawn attention to the reality of the neo-fascist menace. And even bourgeois leaders, faced with recent developments, find themselves obliged to admit that the Rightists offer a threat to the parliamentary system and can provoke a sharp political crisis. But they carefully avoid the crucial question: why is fascism still alive, or in more contemporary terms, what is behind the rise of neo-fascism? Why does it remain a constant danger in this age of rapid socio-political change?

Fascism is a part of the system of state-monopoly capitalism which creates conditions favoring employment of authoritarian methods of government. Modern monopoly capitalism strengthens the mechanism of bourgeois power and provides more opportunity for uncontrolled interference in the functioning of the social organism.

Power is increasingly concentrated in one center; the relation between the legislative and executive branches changes in favor of the latter.

The ruling elite wants to have an effective political instrument it can use in critical situations to defend the exploiter system. And in this respect fascism has proved a 'good' model. That, in the final analysis, determines the close ties between extreme Right parties and groups and various factions of the ruling class in developed capitalist countries. These ties enable the Rightists to operate even without mass support, for they can always rely on financial support and with it can create the illusion of intensive political activity.

However the value of the extreme Rightist movements to the ruling elite depends on their real political strength, on whether or not they warrant the money spent on them. Of course, the neo-fascists are making a special effort to win over the masses. And unlike bourgeois conservative or centrist parties, who argue that capitalism can heal itself of all its ill, the Rightists exploit dissatisfaction with the existing system, its inability to solve pressing social problems.

Does the objective development of present-day capitalism help them? It certainly does. The scientific and technological revolution is painfully altering the social structure. For millions industrialization of rural areas means the loss of their traditional material and social status. Their integration in the urban environment is a difficult pro-

cess. The same applies to artisans, small businessmen and shopkeepers. Furthermore, near-elite white-collar professions are becoming mass professions, and this undermines the privileged position of middle-ranking government officials, a section of the liberal professions, etc.

All these categories have traditionally been on the conservative side of politics. The upheavals technological progress produces in a monopoly-capitalist society breed widespread resentment, which at times destroys ingrained conservative ideas. Representatives of these discontented strata begin to show sympathy for the democratic and revolutionary demands of the working class and its allies. But not infrequently discontent with the existing social system is simply superimposed on an already conservative mentality. The net result is to make these strata an easy prey to neo-fascist propaganda.

Needless to say, fascist movements and fascist regimes in each given case acquire a specific form. No mean role is played, for example, by national peculiarities, for we know that even such 'classical' forms of fascism as the Italian and German differed markedly.

So-called exported fascism is in a category of its own. Its origins can be traced to the 1930s. Before and during the Second World War the implanting of fascist regimes was widely used by the axis powers for imperialist expansion. But fascism is still being exported. We have only to cite the example of the United States, which has installed fascist-like regimes in

South Korea and South Vietnam, has played an important part in preparing the reactionary coup in Greece, is the main bulwark of the Rightist military regimes in Latin America, etc.

But there are several new features in the exported fascist regimes. Since they are dependent on outside support, they can, to a certain extent, be independent of internal social forces. The interests of their foreign patrons play a relatively bigger role in determining policy. Exported fascism can come to power without mass support. In such cases it uses new methods of manipulating public opinion, plus physical and psychological terror, to build up a mass basis out of de-politicized sections of the population.

But for all these differences, there are a number of common features, and these make it possible to regard the neo-fascist parties and regimes in various countries and at various times as an interconnected socio-political phenomenon.

In politics, the neo-fascist organizations stand at the extreme Right, in opposition to the most conservative governments of the bourgeois parliamentary system. Once in power, they employ outright terror against the organized labor movement and all other opposition forces, in combination with various forms of social maneuvering.

Pathological anti-communism and extreme socio-political conservatism are typical of all neo-fascist movements and regimes. Incitement of racial and national enmity helps the neo-fascists win over those who are frightened by the urge of national

minorities and ex-colonial peoples for freedom and independence. The sharper the struggle for national liberation, the more receptive are groups educated in the spirit of national superiority to racialist slogans.

Neo-fascism's foreign policy is imperialist expansion or aiding it, depending on the concrete potentialities of one or another regime.

In defining the ways and means of countering the neo-fascist menace, the Communist movement proceeds from the understanding that the situation does not favor a neo-fascist offensive. Fascism was discredited during the war and in the post-war years, its man-hating nature has been exposed throughout the world. This substantially limits extension of its influence. In the past 10 years, the democratic forces, and primarily the working class led by the Communist parties, which are decisively repelling attacks from the far Right, have been exerting much more influence on social and political development. Furthermore, they have the rich and varied experience of the anti-fascist struggle of the 1920s-1940s.

Account should also be taken of the fact that the monopoly bourgeoisie itself is not of one mind as to how to utilize the neo-fascist movement. There is the apprehension that an extreme Right regime could be used by some monopoly groups to the detriment of others. The experience of *der Fuehrer* and *Il Duce* have raised doubts about neo-fascism being the 'best bet'. The more far-seeing capitalist spokesmen realize that outright

terror would, in the end, only aggravate the socio-political crisis. Last but not least, even the more adventuristic elements of the monopoly elite have to reckon with the powerful resistance the ultras meet from the organized working class and its allies.

Nevertheless, the fight against the Rightist danger calls for energetic, purposive and effective action by Communists. Now as in the past, it is especially important to secure unity of all the forces of democracy and progress. Such unity can be based on an anti-monopoly movement aimed at preventing neo-fascism from exploiting mounting social discontent and at liquidating the positions from which it tries to launch its offensive.

It is important, too, to utilize existing legal opportunities to

restrict Rightist activity. Neo-fascism will persist in its attempts to deprive the working people of democratic rights won in long and hard struggle. That being so, defense of even curtailed bourgeois democracy is a cardinal element of the anti-fascist struggle. Public opinion in the countries where neo-fascism is especially active has every justification for demanding prohibition of all organizations that violate the law and encroach on the people's democratic rights.

A successful fight against the far Right presupposes overcoming underestimation of the threat it presents. Disclosing the magnitude of this threat and its concrete forms, solidarity with peoples oppressed by fascism—these tasks have retained all their urgency.

Jan Prazsky

Fascism is intensifying its activity at a time when the crisis of imperialism is growing sharper, when reaction is increasingly inclined to use brutal methods to crush the democratic and revolutionary forces. In Greece neo-fascism has seized power. In Spain the ultras are trying to return to fascist methods of repression and are making futile efforts to halt a powerful mass movement. In Portugal, fascism, gripped by a crisis under the onslaught of the growing popular movement, is resorting to demagoguery about liberalization in an effort to cover up the actual continuation of its terroristic policy. In West Germany the neo-Nazis have laid open claim to power, neo-fascist forces are also becoming more active in other countries. Neo-fascist activity links up with that of imperialist intelligence agencies, which engineer reactionary coups.

All these manifestations of fascism are coming up against growing resistance from the people, and this demands united action by all the anti-fascist forces, and also greater international support from the Communist and Workers' parties, from all democratic and progressive movements in every country.



Socialism, which Marx and Engels transformed from a utopia into a science, has become a reality in a vast part of the globe. The remarkable achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that confirm in practice the validity of scientific communism, and the manifold organizing and ideological activities of the Communist and Workers' parties contribute towards an unprecedented growth of the prestige and influence of Marxism-Leninism. It is safe to say that no other teaching has ever had so powerful and increasingly decisive an impact on the social development of the human race.

On the other hand, the past few decades have seen various non-Marxist concepts of socialism gain a measure of recognition in the non-socialist world. These concepts range from frankly anti-Marxist-Leninist ones to theories borrowing certain ideas of Marxism-Leninism and adapting them to the interests of definite social groups; from those aimed at bolstering the capitalist system to those claiming to have discovered a 'third way' differing from both capitalism and the socialism existing today.

Analysis of the various trends of modern non-Marxist socialism is important both theoretically and politically. Ascertaining their origins and class substance and the nature of the social forces behind them helps to work out a correct political approach to each particular trend.

The new series this journal is now opening will be concerned with the main modern theories of non-Marxist socialism. The first article, which follows, is introductory and deals with the general methodological principles of studying and evaluating these theories. The second surveys non-Marxist socialist theories current in Asian and African countries.

Origins and criteria

The Communist Manifesto and a number of other works by Marx and Engels provide a comprehensive critique of the main

trends of non-scientific socialism – reactionary, conservative, or bourgeois, and utopian. Lenin's writings expose the essence of

Narodnik, petty-bourgeois romantic and other concepts of socialism. The founders of Marxism-Leninism evolved the principles on which various socialist theories should be classified and which should guide Communists in dealing with them. These principles, enriched by the experience of the world Communist and working-class movement, form a reliable methodological basis for revealing the class nature of modern non-Marxist and anti-Marxist concepts of socialism.

I. What is the social soil on which non-Marxist socialism thrives today? What are its sources?

These questions can only be answered on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the main distinctive features of our epoch.

Its primary feature is that the world socialist system has become the decisive factor in historical progress. The material and ideological power of the world socialist system is present in all ideological battles of our time. It is practical proof of the validity of scientific socialism and accounts to an enormous degree for its growing influence.

Engels defined scientific socialism as the 'theoretical expression of the proletarian movement.' Of all the classes of modern society, the working class is the only one whose vital interests make it the leading revolutionary force capable of destroying capitalism and building a socialist society. A key prerequisite for attaining this goal is to combine scientific so-

cialism with the labor movement.

The scientific ideology of the proletariat is steadily gaining ground among the working people. Their spontaneous protest against capitalism and their revolutionary critical attitude towards it often take (at least initially) the form of vague and uncrystallized socialistic aspirations. Due to the growing influence of scientific socialism and the expanding world revolutionary process, these aspirations assume an ever more conscious character and spread to new sections of the population. This extends the opportunities of disseminating Marxism-Leninism in unprecedented measure, for the ideals of socialism upheld by the proletariat are also the aspirations of all working people. However, these spontaneous socialist impulses of the masses interlace with the illusions, prejudices and misconceptions typical of non-proletarian strata by virtue of their class nature, making for the rise, among others, of non-Marxist theories of socialism.

The appearance of various socialist-like concepts today is largely due to the scientific and technological revolution, which aggravates the antagonisms of capitalism and brings about substantial changes in the social structure of society which different strata see and interpret differently. The use of scientific and technological achievements for solving management problems and for economic prognostication and programming has bred in some quarters the illusion that modern technology is omnipotent and enables the capi-

talist system painlessly to rid itself of its evils. This, in turn, has given rise to the most diverse technocratic concepts which dismiss all existing socialism as 'outdated' and claim to be the last word in socialist thought. These trends generally treat social and technological revolution as anti-theses, which makes them conservative or utopian, and often both, irrespective of the purpose of their exponents.

Perhaps the biggest source of non-Marxist socialist theories today is the distinctive socio-economic relations prevailing in the developing countries. Lenin emphasized at the turn of the century that the 'lack of economic development results in the survival and revival, in one form or another, of the backward forms of . . . socialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, p. 309). This is exemplified today by many countries in which the growing struggle for independence has been accompanied, in addition to a considerable growth of the influence of scientific socialism, by a revival of various forms of so-called African, Islamic and other concepts of socialism.

One of the traditional sources of non-Marxist socialist concepts is the bourgeoisie's constant effort to adapt to the requirements of social development and to 'fit' into the picture of the day. This gives rise to various kinds of modern reformist socialism which, like its Bernsteinian-Kautskian predecessors, 'exerts the bourgeoisie's influence on the proletariat *from within* the working-class movement' (Vol. 31, p. 281). It is characterized by the rejection of Marx-

ism as the theoretical foundation of the labor movement and by convergence with monopoly bourgeois positions on many important problems of theory and policy. Criticism of existing socialism and of Leninism by Right-wing Socialist ideologues often assumes a frankly anti-Communist character. The ideology and policies of the Right-wing leadership of Social-Democratic parties are the main obstacle to cooperation between Communists and Social-Democrats.

Naturally, reformism has become especially active now that capitalism is forced to yield one position after another to the world socialist system and to retreat before the labor and national liberation movement. In fact, wherever and whenever the monopoly bourgeoisie is unable to give its rule a new lease of life by force, it carries out grudging reforms that serve it as a last refuge and are its last hope of prolonging the existence of the capitalist system.

'Instead of waging an open, principled and direct struggle against all the fundamental tenets of socialism in defense of the absolute inviolability of private property and freedom of competition,' Lenin wrote, 'the bourgeoisie of Europe and America, as represented by their ideologists and political leaders, are opposed to the idea of social revolution. Not liberalism versus socialism, but reformism versus socialist revolution - is the formula of the modern, advanced, educated bourgeoisie' (Vol. 17, p. 229). All the different variants of 'democratic socialism,' 'transformed capitalism,' 'mixed

economy,' 'convergence,' etc., owe their appearance specifically to bourgeois reformism.

Speaking of the origins of non-Marxist socialism, special mention should be made of ideological vacillation within the revolutionary movement. The inevitable difficulties attending revolutionary development, coupled with the survival of petty-bourgeois prejudices, frequently lead to the breaking away from Communist parties or groups upholding programs of their own and seeking to oppose themselves to the organized labor movement. These small opportunist groups of a Right or 'Left'-wing character put forward their own 'socialist' views and concepts. What we have in all these cases is a kind of waste product of the revolutionary movement.

It is important to distinguish between revisionist concepts and debate within the framework and on the principles of scientific communism. Marxism-Leninism is a highly creative teaching. Like every genuine science, it can develop only through continuous confrontation of views and assessments of reality, an unrelenting quest for new solutions with due regard to new experiences gained in struggle. Obviously, if various original viewpoints were rejected out of hand because 'the classics said nothing about it,' this would be the end of Marxist-Leninist science. That is why the Communist movement considers itself in duty bound to engage constantly in creative discussions. International meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties are an excellent example of this.

On the other hand, no claims to creativity can justify attempts to revise the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. Every departure from these principles inevitably invites political mistakes and may end in betraying the cause of the revolutionary proletariat. As for distinguishing between creative debate within the framework of Marxist-Leninist theory and encroachments on its principles, the criterion is provided by life itself. Thus, Lenin for years criticized the mistakes of Kautsky and his followers. Even after the October Revolution they could have recognized that their views were barren and harmful, and returned to Marxism. But they preferred to break with scientific socialism and doomed themselves to the status of sectarians outside the revolutionary stream. The same fate befell the revisionist trend that formed in the recent past and found final expression in the views of Garaudy, Sik and Fischer. This trend virtually discarded the principles of scientific communism and was rejected by the Communist movement.

The fact that non-Marxist socialist ideas have a certain following is by no means an indication of the success of bourgeois ideology in its fierce and unremitting struggle against our revolutionary theory. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie realizes its helplessness against Marxism-Leninism, and this compels it to resort to various social and ideological maneuvers. In particular, it peddles the illusion that social progress can be achieved without class struggle and socialist revolution. In an effort to undermine scientific so-

cialism from within, it uses non-Marxist socialist concepts to weaken the impact of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the appeal of existing socialism. And it is hardly surprising that bourgeois propaganda tries hard to profit from Right- and Left-wing opportunist trends.

II. It would be wrong to believe that the rise or revival of all social theories alien to Marxism-Leninism is a result only of deliberate deceit or the errors of individuals. Actually it is a manifestation of the class struggle in the theoretical domain, the clash of ideas behind which are the interests of definite classes. Lenin insisted on the need 'to seek out the *interests* of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises' (Vol. 19, p. 28).

The classics of Marxism-Leninism allowed for no compromise on ideology and consistently upheld the principles of scientific socialism. However, they never regarded criticism of alien theories as an end in itself. Their criticism was invariably constructive and revolutionary. They subordinated it to the proletariat's struggle, which finds its fullest expression in the policy of rallying all classes and groups opposed to capitalism. There is Lenin's well-known statement that no social revolution is possible without the participation of the petty bourgeoisie and backward workers, who bring their weaknesses, reactionary fantasies and mistakes into it. 'But *objectively*,' Lenin wrote, 'they will attack *capital*, and the class-conscious van-

guard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant motley and outwardly fragmented, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it' (Vol. 22, p. 356). That is why Lenin drew a clear line between relentless, uncompromising ideological struggle against theories hostile to Marxism-Leninism and political activity aimed at helping the working people get rid of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudice and become class-conscious fighters against imperialism.

Most non-Marxist socialist theories of today are an eclectic hodge-podge of philosophical, economic, social, religious and ethical views. Even those that lay claim to system lack inner logic and this, naturally, obscures their political essence.

What are the criteria for defining the orientation of any given concept? Obviously, its *attitude towards capitalism* to begin with.

It may be argued that every socialist theory criticizes capitalism, otherwise it would not be socialist even in form nor entitled to bear that name. What matters, however, is the nature of the criticism. It can be carried on from the positions of the proletariat, the only class capable of scientifically expressing the fundamental interests of the exploited. It can also be carried on from the position of a bourgeoisie 'desirous of redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society' (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*). Lastly, it can be carried on from petty-

bourgeois positions, in which case it reflects the dual nature of the petty bourgeoisie with its simultaneous gravitation towards capitalism and its rejection of it. Quite obviously, the class content of criticism of capitalism stands out most clearly in the attitude towards such of its fundamental institutions as private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeois state and the omnipotence of monopoly, and towards the main contradiction of the capitalist system – that between labor and capital.

To have a correct idea of the class positions from which capitalism is criticized, it is evidently important to take account of the inner dynamics of classes. The existence within them of strata and groups having special interests leaves its mark on each particular concept. Thus, the various alignments calling themselves the 'New Left' are extremely motley and contradictory. They are indicative of the growth of anti-capitalist sentiment among the intellectuals and youth, especially among students.

In classifying non-Marxist theories and movements according to their attitude towards capitalism, one should remember that the objective interests of the different social groups involved in these movements are ideologically misrepresented through non-Marxist concepts. It follows that by carefully cleansing their ideologies of all that is extraneous they can evolve an attitude towards capitalism in accord with their vital interests and expressed in scientific terms by Marxism-Leninism.

In our time, when socialism is a developing reality, the *attitude towards the experience and practice of socialist change* is, in our view, very important in evaluating any social theory or political movement.

This criterion is particularly important if the non-Marxist socialist theory in question has been adopted by an influential party or political movement. The point is not what this party declares but the policy it pursues, the side it takes in the struggle between capitalism and socialism.

Non-Marxist socialist theories express a vast variety of attitudes towards socialist reality. Some accept its essential traits while rejecting certain of its specific aspects. These theories study the experience of socialist building and adopt some principles of scientific socialism. Cases in point are the socialist concepts current in certain developing countries which have taken up a number of Marxist-Leninist ideas and methods of socialist change.

There are non-Marxist theories which camouflage their hostility to the practice of socialist building with talk about 'improving,' 'enriching' or 'humanizing' it. There are, for example, the attempts to create new 'models' of socialism by opposing the 'young' Marx to the 'old' Marx or the views of Marx to those of Lenin, and by distorting the essence of Lenin's teaching.

Evaluation of the nature of this or that non-Marxist concept according to its attitude towards socialist reality is a sure guide to establishing how far it is

genuinely revolutionary. This approach helps to reveal, for example, the true role of ultra-revolutionary theories which viciously attack the principles of scientific communism from the 'Left' and in the final analysis render invaluable services to capitalism by discrediting socialist ideals in the eyes of the masses.

To ascertain the political message of social concepts, it is important to look into their *theoretical* origins.

Most of the unscientific socialist constructions proceed from bourgeois or petty-bourgeois philosophical, economic and sociological doctrines. They are often characterized by an indiscriminate borrowing of unrelated or even mutually exclusive ideas. One of them is the "democratic," or, to use the author's term, 'existentialist' socialism evolved by L. Senghor. He takes his ideas from H. Bergson, T. Teilhard de Chardin, Jean-Paul Sartre, S. Kierkegaard, O. Spengler, 'industrial society' theories, L. Levy-Bruhl's sociology, religion, etc.

There are concepts which derive from so-called 'neo-Marxist schools.' They pose Leninism against Marxism while trying to create the impression of being close to scientific socialism. Characteristic of this approach are the devices of Right-wing revisionist theoreticians who would counter dialectical materialism as the philosophical foundation of scientific socialism with their constructions of 'humane Marxism.'

Religion - Catholic, Protestant, Islam, Buddhist, etc. - is an important ideological source of

non-Marxist socialism. Religious ideas are used in dealing with specific socio-economic problems, such as those of property or equality. They serve as an ideological basis for a number of Right-wing socialist theories, notably doctrines of 'ethical' socialism. On the other hand, many exponents of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church, 'Christian socialism' argue that the moral ideals of religion and the ideas of Marxist socialism are identical.

The legacy of the old socialists, especially those whose views were challenged by the founders of Marxism, occupies an important place in the ideological arsenal of modern non-Marxist socialism. The views of Proudhon, Lassalle, Bakunin and others have never been completely forgotten, and they are now being used more widely than ever as an alternative to scientific socialism. In particular, it is easy enough to trace the ideas of the contemporary Right-wing Socialists to those of Lassalle and Bernstein.

Of late attempts have been made to revive the weaker aspects of the views of such great utopian Socialists as Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen. Some ideologues today try to use Saint-Simon's concept of 'industrial class' as a new basis for technocratic concepts and theories of "class harmony."

Some erroneous views have an epistemological origin. Various individuals, groups or parties take a particular aspect of actual social development out of its objective context to elevate it to a theoretical principle. They may, for example, attach

excessive, universal importance to a particular aspect of their national experience, which results in nationalist mistakes. And they persist in these mistakes, even raise them to theoretical principles without regard to the international experience of the Communist movement or the tenets of scientific socialism.

The class content of non-Marxist concepts of socialism fully expresses itself in the ideals advanced by them. To some the ideal is an anarchist society while others place their faith in state authority based on refurbished principles of bourgeois democracy. Worthy of special note are the objectives sought in the economic sphere. There is, for example, the advocacy of applying egalitarian principles of distribution or fragmenting the means of production among diverse communes, cooperatives or corporations.

Of course, the ideals or ultimate goals that are advocated do not always provide a basis for clearcut judgment. The point is that they are probably more grossly falsified than anything else. Even the most reactionary trends prefer to conceal their true goals behind the attractive façade of lofty ideals.

The nature of any socialist movement can also be revealed by assessing the methods by which it proposes to transform society. Reformism and scien-

tific socialism are poles apart as regards the assumption of power by the working class. Scientific socialism is also opposed to the Leftist notions of assuming power which substitute various theories of rebellion, coups, etc., for the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution as a science and art.

Life itself bears out the validity of the ideas of scientific socialism. There can be no doubt that historical practice will ultimately prove all non-Marxist construction untenable. Communists realize, however, that to make the masses socialist-minded it is necessary steadfastly to publicize and explain Marxist-Leninist theory and to combat its every reformist or revisionist distortion. And in doing so, Communists proceed from theoretical arguments as well as from the practice of successful socialist and communist building, the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the national liberation movement.

Communists have never been sectarians. They have always sought cooperation with all forces fighting against imperialism. In carrying forward Marxism-Leninism, they adopt all that is valuable in the experience gained by revolutionary movements and at the same time uphold the principles of genuinely scientific socialism.

A. Sommer

Afro-Asian concepts of socialism

A. Dansoko, N. Simonia,
C. Unni Raja

The national liberation movement in Asia and Africa is often inspired by one or another national version of socialism. This is largely due to the tremendous changes the world has undergone over the past five decades, the socialist progress in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the growing international revolutionary movement. The formation of the socialist commonwealth of nations and, on the other hand, the winning of political independence by the overwhelming majority of colonies and dependencies, contributed to the spread of socialist ideas in these countries.

Why is it that the various social forces involved in the liberation movement in these countries are so receptive to socialist ideas and slogans despite the relative immaturity of the socio-economic conditions needed for direct socialist remaking of society? It is important to look into the origins of diverse notions of socialism, the channels through which they reach diverse socio-political forces and the results this produces in practice. We will see these problems more clearly if we turn to Lenin's analysis of

the nature and role of national liberation movements.

1. Lenin regarded the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa as a continuation and component of the uneven worldwide revolutionary process. In 'The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination' and other writings, he classifies the semi-colonies and colonies where 'the bourgeois-democratic movements either have hardly begun, or have still a long way to go' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 151) among the main streams of this process.

'Here,' Lenin said in his 'Report on the Tactics of the RCP' to the Third Congress of the Communist International, 'I would also like to emphasize the significance of the movement in the colonies . . . It has undergone great change since the beginning of the twentieth century: millions and hundreds of millions, in fact the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe, are now coming forward as independent, active and revolutionary factors. It is perfectly clear that in the impending decisive battles in the word revolution, the

movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect (Vol. 32, pp. 481-2).

These ideas of Lenin's help to trace socialist trends in Asia and Africa to their sources. National liberation revolutions were once part and parcel of bourgeois democratic changes in the world. This is true, in particular, of the American War of Independence, in which the progressive section of the British and French bourgeoisie backed the American people. In the entirely new conditions of our era, however, it is the socialist community and the working people of the capitalist countries that back the national liberation movement. National liberation revolutions have become part and parcel of the world proletarian revolution.

The social revolution, Lenin wrote, can come only in the form of an epoch in which are combined revolution by the proletariat in the advanced countries and 'a whole series of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national liberation movement, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations' (Vol. 23, p. 60). From this followed one of the fundamental demands of the revolutionary strategy of the world Communist movement: 'We cannot,' Lenin wrote, 'contrast the revolutionary struggle of the masses for socialism to a consistent revolutionary program of settling the national question. We must

combine the former with the latter' (*Complete Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 54, pp. 463-4).

Like Marx and Engels, Lenin came to the conclusion that even before the final victory of communism various contingents of the liberation movement might go beyond the bourgeois democratic revolution. Indeed, the experience of Asian and African peoples shows that the world revolutionary process by no means connotes the 'parallel coexistence' of two streams, the national liberation, or bourgeois democratic, stream and the socialist stream. Their interaction is not confirmed to unity in the fight against imperialism, meaning the general democratic, that is, anti-colonial and anti-feudal, aspects of this fight. Here and there the impact of socialism gives rise to new objective and subjective factors in the social reality of newly free countries. In these countries, modern problems may be said to superimpose themselves on unsolved problems of the past. This is fairly universal and manifests itself when peoples at differing levels of social development come into close contact.

For all the enormous differences between them as regards the situation at home and abroad, the new free countries must choose between confining themselves to the solution of general democratic problems and going further.

2. If they are to go further, how should they do it? After all, the task is not merely to appreciate this necessity but actually to go further through struggle on a mass scale.

Now that there is the socialist community whose influence over socialist processes is growing throughout the world, we have seen social forces whose spokesmen advocate anti-capitalist development come to power in a number of one-time colonies and semi-colonies. The record of some of these countries reveals that such regimes are no longer doomed to defeat as they would have been in the past. Accordingly, the leaders of these countries are faced with the objective need to grapple with fundamentally diverse historical tasks: the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution.

This invites reference to certain statements by the late Gamal Abdel Nasser. In his book 'The Philosophy of the Revolution' he notes, among other things, that the development of every people goes through a political revolution (to achieve national sovereignty) and a social revolution (to achieve 'universal justice' through class struggle). These revolutions are generally separated by a fairly long period of history. According to Nasser, it is a characteristic of Egypt that it must accomplish both revolutions simultaneously. This poses a special problem, since the requisites of the two revolutions are mutually contradictory. The former calls for national unity while the latter means class differentiation and sharper struggles.

What we have here is, strictly speaking, two stages of one revolutionary process involving the United Arab Republic and other one-time colonies and de-

pendencies. The winning of political independence merely consummates the first stage of the democratic revolution. Thereafter comes a set of problems or national renaissance and social progress—getting rid of imperialist domination, building up economic sovereignty, raising the living and cultural standards of the people, effecting an agrarian reform and other anti-feudal measures, promoting democracy, and so on. It is perfectly natural that spokesmen of the different social classes and strata that contributed their share to national liberation should propose different solutions of key economic, social and political problems.

In these circumstances capitalism, which is closely associated with colonial rule, is losing ground among the masses. By contrast, the example of the socialist countries, which have solved problems largely similar to those facing the new states today, the opportunities of receiving aid from the socialist countries in various forms to foster national progress, and the fight against the imperialist policy of war and oppression greatly encourage socialist trends.

Furthermore, the diverse forms of traditional collectivist socio-economic relations typical of the period preceding that of commodity production which persist (and are, indeed, dominant in the case of Tropical Africa) afford fertile ground for various socialist theories.

Identifying socialist principles with certain humanitarian tenets of the main religions of the East (Islam, Buddhism, Hin-

duism) contributed in large measure to the rise and growing influence of national concepts of socialism, including concepts with a religious coloring. Mention may be made in this respect of the tradition of political thought as represented by various religious-philosophical trends. In India, a social trend was manifest in the doctrine of the Bhakti movement, which rejected the caste system and denounced social inequality. There have been Moslem religious reformers who called for a society and an equitable state based on a renovated Islam. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw revolutionary democratic trends advocating a democratic political system and demanding that the working people be granted a fair share in the distribution of products. Modern Asian and African concepts of socialism bear above all the imprint of the world outlook of Gandhi and Nehru. Gandhi's social and political program—a looser and more utopian one than the political concepts of Nehru—which expressed the aspirations of the bulk of the Indian peasantry for justice, is reflected in many of today's petty-bourgeois concepts of socialism calling for a non-violent society, a state free from exploitation and class antagonisms, etc. They owe much of their anti-imperialist tendency to Gandhi's ideology of rejecting capitalism and fighting for national independence.

Another source of socialist doctrines current in the Middle East and the Maghreb are the ideas of progressive Arab thinkers and enlighteners of the

ninth to the 16th centuries. These men were against inequality in property and in social rights, and championed sovereignty of the people and peaceful, friendly relations among nations. Progressive Arab social and political thought is determined largely by the teachings of Abh ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi, outstanding ideologist of the fight against feudalism, one of the most radical social and political thinkers.

Today the ideologists and politicians of even non-proletarian classes and strata put socialist wrappings on their methods of solving urgent problems. This explains the emergence of the most diverse petty-bourgeois and bourgeois theories of 'socialism' in Asia and Africa.

Their classification is rather relative. Petty-bourgeois socialism has a revolutionary democratic trend (UAR, Algeria, Syria, Guinea and other countries), a communal-peasant trend (Tanzania prior to the adoption of the Arusha Declaration in 1967), a revolutionary nationalist (Indonesia, 1957-1960) and a reactionary bureaucratic trend.

Nor are bourgeois socialist theories alike. There are 'democratic socialisms,' Indian version, 'Senegalese socialism,' and the Kenyan model. They are all strongly influenced by Western reformism and Right-Socialist concepts. Their advocates are at pains to tone down the social evils of bourgeois society, prevent sharpening of the class struggle and curb revolutionary trends. But there is more to it than the use of socialist phrases. Capitalist development

in some new states shows that the national bourgeoisie makes use of (within what it regards as safe limits) planning, a state sector, cooperation in production and other forms and methods of economic management.

A sophisticated Right-Socialist trend has only gained considerable currency in countries that have made considerable headway on capitalist lines, such as India, Senegal, Singapore and the Malagasy Republic (in the latter two, the Right Socialists are in power). In most of the other new states the Right Socialists failed to take root and soon they began losing political influence. This applies to the Socialist Party of Indonesia (SPI), which at first carried some weight on the political scene. However, its influence dwindled as the true meaning of the 'socialist' doctrine of Sultan Sjahrir, its founder, became apparent. In the end, the SPI was pushed into the background and then banned. Much the same fate befell the Right-wing socialists U Kyaw Nyein (Burma) and Ait Ahmad (Algeria).

When socialist slogans are used by the more conservative sections of the bourgeoisie their 'socialism' assumes a negative character. Reactionary bureaucratic petty-bourgeois 'socialism' generally results in establishing a bureaucratic one-man dictatorship—civilian or military.

The relative character of the classification of non-Marxist socialist trends is also revealed by the fact that in terms of concrete history the exponents of diverse 'socialisms' may be

closer together than those of one and the same variety. For example, reactionary bureaucratic petty-bourgeois socialism and bourgeois religious 'socialism' may be backed in equal measure by the conservative forces at home and may, in turn, be a reliable anti-Communist partner of foreign imperialist reaction. Some varieties of bourgeois 'democratic socialism' have much in common with Left-wing petty-bourgeois socialism in regard to, say, internal struggle against monopoly and the feudal system, the attitude to the socialist countries, resistance to imperialist pressures or refusal to join aggressive alignments.

3. Non-Marxist socialist trends should be assessed historically. Many diverse modern concepts of socialism have been hatched from one egg, so to speak. Organizationally the rise of corresponding political trends took place, as a rule, within one and the same nationwide organization. These organizations were Sjarikat Islam in Indonesia, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League in Burma, the Baath Socialist Party in Syria, the Indian National Congress, the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) in Kenya. The result was that ideologically members of the political trends which had broken away from the original organization and dissociated from one another continued for a long time afterwards to use the same socialist concept, and that only gradually did they modify it by giving it ever more divergent shadings.

In Indonesia the Sukarno doc-

trine of the ordinary man eventually produced both petty-bourgeois and bourgeois versions of socialism.

In Kenya, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialisms first developed within the common framework of the Kenyan variety of 'African socialism.' Shortly after the winning of independence, however, and more particularly from 1965 onwards, contradictions between the two trends assumed a fundamental character and led to a definitive ideological and organizational differentiation, which culminated in founding the Union of the People of Kenya under Oginga Odinga (April 1966), and to an exacerbation of inner political strife.

Socialist doctrines underwent curious metamorphoses in Turkey in the sixties, when there sprouted various kinds of a legal 'Turkish socialism' expressing definite class trends, all of them on the common ideological basis of Kemalism.

Reality in the newly-free countries shows that all socialist trends there are in a state of continuous flux. The evolution of a trend may follow the most diverse lines depending on the social and political development of the country, the balance of political forces, including world forces, and numerous other factors.

Thus, the evolution of 'Egyptian socialism' started from revolutionary nationalism in 1952. In the early sixties, following dissociation from the big bourgeoisie, it assumed a revolutionary democratic character and today Egyptian leaders speak of the need for closer as-

sociation with scientific socialism. In Tanzania, the communal-peasant content of petty-bourgeois socialism began to give way to a revolutionary democratic one after the adoption of the Arusha Declaration. In Indonesia, however, the years from 1957 to 1965 witnessed a grim contest between trends of the prevailing petty-bourgeois revolutionary nationalist ideology: the revolutionary democratic trend and the reactionary bureaucratic trend. However, the formal proclamation of 'Indonesian socialism' as the only and ruling ideology did not lead to a real unification of the revolutionary democratic and other progressive forces. It ended in consolidating the positions of the reactionary bureaucracy in government and in the economy.

These facts suggest that non-Marxist socialist trends in Asia and Africa should be evaluated on the strength of a specific analysis of each particular variety, taking into account all the subjective and objective aspects and results of the activity of the political leaders and organizations advocating the doctrines concerned. On the whole, the rise of non-Marxist socialist doctrines in the Afro-Asian world is a reflection of the search by exponents of various non-proletarian sections of society for a 'third' path running somewhere between capitalism and socialism. They often present distinctive features of the transition to capitalism or to socialism as a 'particular' path differing from both.

The search for a 'third road' may be due to a faulty knowl-

edge of the general laws of social development and to sincere faith in the possibility of this road, or it may be intended to camouflage the adoption of a capitalist road. Whatever the reasons, however, the fertile ground on which illusions or deceit sprout is bound to be washed away as social, economic and political progress is achieved. This process is speeded by the overall intensification of the struggle of the masses, the growing organization and development of the socialist awareness of the working class, ideological and political contacts between these countries, on the one hand, and the socialist countries, the international Communist and working-class movement, on the other, and improving knowledge of scientific socialism. As a result, the class meaning of Afro-Asian socialist doctrines will stand out more and more.

The evolution of utopian socialist thought in Europe took

no less than two centuries — from the English bourgeois revolution to the Paris Commune. The rise of Asia's national consciousness began at the end of the last century. Non-Marxist socialist concepts became widespread in some Asian countries as early as the beginning of this century and have by now entered the stage of maturity and a more explicit social orientation. Similar processes in Africa take less historical time due to the general acceleration of world development.

This acceleration cannot but hasten the defeat of unscientific notions of socialism. We speak primarily of the working class of the developing countries, which is influencing social development in increasing measure as it grows stronger. The combination of the working-class movement with scientific socialism will play a decisive part in shaping the fortunes of Asia and Africa.

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KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The Second Central Committee Plenum of the Korean Party of Labor, held in April, discussed the current international situation and the question of the country's reunification. Tasks were set for Party and public organizations in carrying forward the Party's policy.

Touching on the vital economic problems, the Plenum took note of the impressive successes in the '100-day battle' for the fulfilment of this year's economic plan. Party guidance in the economy, it was pointed out, should be reinforced. Measures were outlined to assure fulfilment of the current annual and the six-year economic development plans. The Plenum emphasized the importance of further enhancing political work among the people, enlivening the ideological struggle against outdated concepts, which impede advance, and of painstaking, meaningful organizational work.

CUBA

Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, First Secretary of the cc, Com-

munist Party of Cuba, addressed a public meeting dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the Playa Giron victory. He stressed the historic role of this victory in consolidating socialism's positions on the American continent.

Castro pointed out the importance of the Soviet Union's prompt aid in defeating the invaders and upholding the gains of the revolution.

Speaking of events in Chile, Castro said: 'Today we heard with deep satisfaction the voice of another fraternal people that has taken the road of the revolution and launched a long and arduous struggle.' The Chilean people could count on Cuba's aid and free Cuban sugar should imperialism and the oligarchy aggravate the food situation in Chile. And should Chile be attacked from without, Castro added, millions of Cubans would be ready to defend it.

Speaking at an airforce base on the 10th anniversary of the imperialists' Playa Giron defeat, Comrade Raoul Castro, Minister of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces, said that the island's proximity to the world's main imperialist power is compelling the nation to attend to its defenses and to be in a state of constant preparedness.

The Cuban armed forces, he said, have made technical headway, their personnel has learned the military art and acquired political knowledge. Nearly the entire top personnel and three out of every four officers are members of either the Communist Party or the Young Communist League.

SYRIA

The Political Bureau of the cc, Syrian Communist Party, published a statement in support of the Federation of Arab Republics.

The pillars of the Federation, the statement said, are in content democratic, progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist. The Federation's principles are realistic and consistent, and respond to the situation in the progressive Arab lands. As the Communist Party sees it, the Federation will strongly stimulate the power of resistance to imperialist intrigue and is an effective force in the fight to liberate occupied Arab territory and eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression.

The Political Bureau of the Syrian Communist Party holds that cohesion of all the progressive forces and active efforts to build up a progressive national front are essential for the further growth of the important tendency towards unity.

SOVIET UNION

Party *aktivs* and Party Committee plenums discussed and approved the results of the 24th CPSU Congress in all republican, territorial and regional centers, and the towns and districts of the country. The Congress materials are studied at general meetings of Party branches and meetings of working people. Congress delegates and leaders of Party, government, economic, trade union and Komsomol bodies take part in elucidating

the content and significance of the Congress documents.

Results of the Congress are being discussed in a creative atmosphere. A meeting of the Moscow Party organization backed the initiative of the foremost enterprises of the capital, which had committed themselves to reach the first plan year's targets for industry, construction, transport and the municipal services on December 28, 1971 at the latest. This initiative has met with widespread response and support in the country.

In line with a Congress decision, the USSR Council of Ministers discussed steps to draft the economic development plan for 1971-1975. It instructed the State Planning Commission to draft the plan according to Congress Directives by years, ministries, central departments and Union republics and submit it to the Council of Ministers before July 20, 1971.

The tasks of the trade unions flowing from Congress decisions were discussed at a plenary meeting of the USSR Central Council of Trade Unions. The meeting expressed its approval of the decisions of the Congress, the proposals and conclusions contained in the cc Report, and the Congress Directives for the five-year plan. Trade union councils and committees are taking a direct part in the drafting of five-year plans, involving in the work enterprise collectives and organizations and trade unionists. The Central Committee of the Komsomol, for its part, met in plenary session to discuss the decisions of the Congress and

the Komsomol's role in putting them into practice.

FRANCE

Last April the Central Committee of the FCP heard a report by Gaston Plissonnier, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC, on the lessons of the municipal elections and the tasks of the Party. The Communist Party scored definite gains in the elections. The number of Communist mayors had reached 1,111 against 996 in the past. Another sign of growing Communist influence was the increased proportion of Communist councillors in rural communes. Whereas in 1965 there had been 19,535 Communists or sympathizers holding the office of councillor, their number stands at 23,242.

Summing up the results of the municipal elections, Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the FCP, said the most noteworthy of these results was the failure of the ruling party and its allies to increase their influence in the municipalities, the winning of stronger positions by the FCP, and a stronger effort for Left unity.

DIARY

Visiting the offices of *World Marxist Review* during his stop-over in Prague, Comrade Jorge Kolle, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Bolivia, told the journal's staff of current developments in his country and of the role in the unfolding events of the workers, the small urban bourgeoisie, students and intelligentsia.

JAPAN

The country's democratic forces have won a resounding victory in the April elections to local self-government bodies. Forming a united front, the Communist and Socialist parties had their candidates elected as governors in the two key prefectures of Tokyo and Osaka with nearly one-fifth of the country's population. Democratic candidates were elected mayors in ten cities, including Kawasaki, the country's third most important industrial center.

Comrade S. Nosaka, Chairman of the CC CPJ, stressed that the elections reaffirmed the effectiveness of united action by Communists and Socialists.

The success of the Communist Party is particularly striking. The Party now has 105 deputies in prefectural assemblies across the country, which is three times as many as in the previous elections. All the 128 CPJ candidates to Tokyo's district assemblies were elected. Before the latest elections, the Communist Party was not represented in 97 city assemblies, and now in but 18. At present, the CPJ has 2,362 deputies in local self-government bodies.

The victory of Bolivia's popular forces, he stressed, is not safe, for reaction has not reconciled itself to defeat. If the revolutionary process is to make headway, he pointed out, it is important to expose the subversive activity of the U.S. imperialists and their agents in Latin America and to fortify the solidarity of the progressive forces of the continent and in the rest of the world.



VENEZUELAN RENEGADE

T. Petkoff, author of 'Socialism for Venezuela?*', was expelled from the Communist Party of Venezuela by its Fourth Congress last January. He had been carrying on factional activities ever since 1962 and had tried, by taking advantage of his position in the Party leadership, to reduce the vanguard of the working class to a bourgeois-type reformist organization.**

Petkoff's book appeared when Venezuela's Communists were discussing materials of the coming Party Congress. On its very first page the main purpose of the book is described as 'a kind of critical revision of the fundamental postulates of the Communist Party of Venezuela regarding the country, as well as the Party's behavior at certain periods of recent history.'

What exactly is Petkoff 'critically revising'? He is against the organizational principles of Communist parties in general. He rejects the Leninist postulate of Party unity, considering that factions and groups should

*Teodoro Petkoff: 'Socialismo para Venezuela?' Caracas, 1970.

**See Jesus Faria, 'Failure of a Conspiracy' in the previous issue of this journal.

exist. He wants the vanguard role in the class struggle to be played by social strata which 'by virtue of their cultural development can perceive the drama of underdevelopment and dependence more readily than strata and classes at a lower cultural level, even though these are the main actors in this drama.' In other words, the struggle of the workers and peasants, of the whole people, should be led by an intelligentsia close to the 'pressure groups,' political institutions and state machinery. This concept, Petkoff claims, 'rules out all hegemony decreed a priori.' Yet Marxist-Leninist postulates regarding proletarian hegemony are neither decreed nor a priori. They are based on scientific evidence and generalize the experience of class struggles past and present. Petkoff denies the proletariat's vanguard role saying that Marx's conclusions are outdated, since the working class is no longer revolutionary. He wants the proletarian party to give way to what is in effect a supra-class, specialized professional organization proceeding from mutually exclusive premises such as 'Revolution or reformism? Renovation and modernization or maintenance of the organizational status quo? An independent and national party or an alienated and vassal party?' As for work among the masses, Petkoff does not think it is necessary. He affirms that he is a genuine and perfectly independent 'Marxist.' What he clearly means by 'independence,' however, is his revising Leninism, fomenting anti-Sovietism, smearing the world Communist movement and com-

bating the Communist Party of his country.

Petkoff takes a stand against Lenin's ideas about the allies of the working class and minimizes, in particular, the worker-peasant alliance. Yet there is an enormous proportion of landless peasants and small holders in rural Latin America as well as numerous Indian communes. It is common knowledge that the vast army of peasants is a potential ally of the urban proletariat, which must take account of the demands of the rural masses if it is really to fulfil its role of revolutionary vanguard, and must seek their support and participation in the struggle for social rights, against the latifundia, for a people's government.

However, Petkoff is against all alliance with those non-proletarian sections, small and medium capitalists and their organizations which are nationalistic and opposed to U.S. imperialism. Posing as a fighter against compromise, he accuses Latin America's Communist parties of maintaining the myth of a national bourgeoisie. He denies the need for a broad anti-imperialist front and a struggle for democratic reform. 'In our time,' he says demagogically, 'a revolution has to become a socialist revolution or it is no revolution at all.' His views arise from a lack of comprehension of the relationship of social and political forces determined by the economic structure of Latin American countries. There is no ignoring the fact that imperialist penetration into the economy of these countries – first into mining and agriculture and then into the processing

industries, trade and the services – has made their capitalist development lopsided. This has created serious difficulties in those branches of medium and small-scale industry, trade and agriculture which do not enjoy the kind of privileges granted to foreign monopolies. This is why the effort to break free from foreign capitalist economic oppression by political means assumes specific nationalist forms in many of the more developed countries of the continent.

Penetration by imperialist monopolies and their merger with the national oligarchy depress small-commodity production. Small proprietors are dependent on credits from the big banks and usurious monopoly consortiums buying their output and selling them plant.

This means that Communists must take into account the demands of every segment of the population hit by imperialist plunder, in which the national financial and industrial oligarchy has a share. They must include these demands in their national liberation program, which by no means implies a compromise leaving the bourgeois status quo intact or promoting capitalism. Real struggle against imperialism does not consist in just talking about socialist revolution but in seeking changes conducive to the building up of an economy independent of the monopolies and banks and latifundia. This is one of the preconditions for the country's development on socialist lines. The need is for a policy of co-operation based on real possibilities of alliance with all sections whose interests clash,

or may eventually clash, with those of imperialism and the oligarchy.

'Socialism for Venezuela?' is a -synthesis of opportunism and anti-Communism, features typical of all defectors from working-class positions. Now that imperialist propaganda is stepping up its overt and covert attacks on the Communists to sever the masses from their vanguard, Petkoff is trying, in vain, to undermine the prestige of Leninist principles, the foundation of the Communist parties' life and tactics. A few months after the appearance of his book, the actual developments bore out that it is a collection of ideological contortions by a renegade who has deserted to reaction and imperialism.

Comrade Guillermo Garcia Ponce, member of the Political Bureau, CC, CPV, read the above review at the journal's request during his stopover in Prague.

'We welcome the journal's critique of Petkoff's revisionist views,' he said. 'Petkoff openly repudiated the Leninist principles of the working-class party before he published his latest book. Last year he told an editor of *Deslinde* that the Leninist principles of party organization had "never existed" and were an "invention of Stalin". Petkoff's book advocates "freedom" for inner-party factions and opposes Lenin's well-known thesis that unity of action and will is indispensable

if the party is to cope with challenging tasks in the class struggle. Petkoff takes a scornful view of the leading role of the Communist party and the working class. He assigns the role of chief motive force of the revolutionary process to any "organization or revolutionary party" or to several organizations. He ignores the class ideological and political factors which determine the place of each participant in the revolutionary process.

'Petkoff believes "differences" to be a condition for ideological development. This approach to ideology lacks a scientific basis and is typical of a petty-bourgeois world outlook. Petkoff regards the Communists' effort for solid unity of their ranks as a "deformation" of the past. His opportunist views suggest that the more differences and antagonisms there are in a party, the stronger it becomes...

'The book "Socialism for Venezuela?" contains a few general statements about the working class. However, it plainly assigns hegemony in the revolutionary process to so-called "inter-class forces," which are supposed by virtue of their cultural level to be more capable of "perceiving Venezuela's drama" than the working class... The most that Petkoff is willing to grant to the working class is *sharing* leadership with the petty bourgeoisie. From the first page to the last, the book betrays the author's fear of the Marxist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat.'

BOOKS IN BRIEF

V. I. *Lenin i mezhdunarodnoye kommunisticheskoye dvizheniye.* (V. I. Lenin and the World Communist Movement). A Collection of Articles. Moscow, Politizdat, 1970. 279 pp.

Cooperation between the theoretical research institutions of brother parties in studying and generalizing the latest experience of the revolutionary movement is becoming ever more fruitful. An instance of such cooperation is this collection of articles by Marxist scholars of Bulgaria, Hungary, the DRV, GDR, Italy, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union, France and Czechoslovakia. The authors elucidate Lenin's role in the world Communist movement and the application of his ideas today. Speaking of Communist activity in their countries, they stress that key problems of the Communist movement can only be solved according to Lenin and his legacy.

The book affords scientific insight into such problems as the leading role of the working class in the fight for socialism, correct dialectical combination of the international and national aspects of the Communist movement in general and the activity of each party in particular. It furnishes arguments in support of Marxist-Leninist principles, against opportunist would-be critics of the old and latter-day type. Analyzing the causes of difficulties and differences in the world Communist movement, the authors reveal the need for cohesion and unity of action of

the Communists and progressives against the common enemy, imperialism. N. Pronsky

N. IRIBAJAKOV. *Leninizam, filosofia, ideologicheska borba.* (Lenin, Philosophy, the Ideological Struggle). Sofia, Nauka i izkustvo, 1970. 426 pp.

The main topic dealt with in this book by the Bulgarian philosopher Nikolai Iribajakov is the significance of Lenin's philosophical and sociological legacy in the ideological battle of the present day. Discussing the substance of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxist philosophy, the author exposes bourgeois and revisionist attempts to portray it as a departure from Marxist determinism towards voluntarism, as a Soviet Russian phenomenon of no international relevance. The book repulses the attacks of so-called philosophical realism against dialectical materialism and criticizes J. Huxley's 'revolutionary humanism.' It points to the inflation of bourgeois sociological theories and calls attention to the appearance of various 'ideological hybrids' containing particles of diametrically opposite outlooks. Setting out Lenin's ideas of how to combat bourgeois ideology, Iribajakov accentuates the question of allies in the Communists' ideological battles, especially from among natural scientists espousing materialism.

Of special interest is that section of the book which sets out a sociological interpretation of the problem of a developed, or mature, socialist so-

ciety, and defines some of the methodological principles for its solution.

J. Yorgen

Politicheskaya ekonomia sovremennogo monopolisticheskogo kapitalizma (The Political Economy of Contemporary Monopoly Capitalism). Moscow, Mysl, 1970. Vol. I, 455 pp.; Vol. II, 413 pp.

This new book of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the Soviet Academy of Sciences is one of the noteworthy collective treatises written by Soviet economists in recent years. It sums up many years of research into new developments in capitalist economy and politics since World War II, and the changes which imperialism has undergone in the course of the contest between the two social systems and the scientific and technological revolution. The authors proceed from Lenin's theory of imperialism and draw on the achievements of world Marxist-Leninist thought.

The book reveals imperialism's place in the world of today, the main economic trends of contemporary monopoly capitalism, the role of the bourgeois state and methods of government regulation, including use of the nationalized sector, the programming and prognostication of economic processes, the effects of militarization on the capitalist economy, trends of imperialist economic relations and of the class struggle under state-monopoly capitalism.

The abundant analytical evidence cited in the book shows

that in post-war years state-monopoly regulation of economic and social relations has made it possible to moderate for a while contradictions generated by rapid technological progress. On the other hand, the authors come to the conclusion that the main contradictions of bourgeois society are going deeper while measures aimed at preserving capitalism ultimately boomerang.

The closing part of the book is concerned with changes in the class structure of present-day capitalist society, the interconnection between socio-economic conditions and the nature of social movements, trends of the proletariat's economic and political struggle, and the growing cooperation of the revolutionary forces opposing imperialism.

V. Brennan

O. TRASNEA. *Stiinta politica. Studiu istoric-epistemologic* (Political Science. A Historico-Epistemological Study). Bucharest, Editura politica, 1970. 395 pp.

This book by a Rumanian scholar is composed of two parts. Part One investigates the study of politics from the rise of political thought in the ancient East and slave-holding Greece to the writings of bourgeois politologists of the middle of this century. Marx's and Engels' scientific theory of society and their disclosure of the nature and laws of politics, the author writes, 'renovated and advanced the study of politics' by placing it on a scientific basis. Lenin creatively synthesized political science and

the art of politics, using his synthesis to guide the activity of the new type of party. The author shows that the science of politics goes on developing, and suggests making it an independent discipline.

Part Two defines political science. It says, among other things, that this science studies the political superstructure with all its relationships and links, its institutions and establishments, from the standpoint of their socio-historical and class identity, examining the forms and methods of political action and specifying the functions of politics as an activity that organizes and directs all spheres of social life. None but the Marxist-Leninist outlook, O. Trasnea writes, can be a dependable philosophical and methodological basis for political science, and none but historical materialism and scientific communism can be its immediate theoretical foundation. A close scrutiny is made of the functions of political science (elucidatory, predictive, axiological, normative and practical), with emphasis on their unity. The writer also investigates the boundaries and relationships between political science and contiguous disciplines (constitutional law, the general theory of state and law, etc.), giving his conception of the system of political sciences. The book raises a number of controversial issues.

M. Gandrabura

Marxist Miscellany. New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1970-1971. Vol. I, 140 pp.; Vol. II, 181 pp.

This is a publication containing articles and studies by Marxist scholars and leaders of the Communist Party of India. Its purpose is to promote elaboration of problems of Marxist theory, with special emphasis on its application in India. The first two volumes deal with specific problems of Indian economy and politics and generalize the experience of mass movements in India. The authors discuss the problem of establishing an alliance of anti-imperialist forces and its significance in the struggle for power, as well as the role of united front governments in the conditions of India today. On the basis of concrete experience it is shown how the struggle to unite all contingents of the national democratic movement is accompanied by sharp polemics with right-wing opportunists and 'left' wing sectarians.

Of special interest are two articles by the veteran Communist leader and scholar, Dr. G. Adhikari: 'Lenin on Roy's Supplementary Colonial Theses' and 'The Comintern Congresses and the CPI.' They are, in our view, valuable contributions to the study of the history of the Communist and working-class movement in India. The author refutes the inventions of certain bourgeois analysts who allege that Lenin compromised with the sectarian approach in Roy's 'Supplementary Theses.' It is held by some that the CPI did not join the Comintern until 1933. Basing himself on the documents and proceedings of Comintern congresses, the au-

thor shows that that is a misconception. Representatives of the Indian Communists, as members of an affiliated party, attended and made their contributions to the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth congresses of the Comintern.

It is to be hoped that this publication will be brought out more frequently. U.R.

I. PINTER. *A Magyar Front és az ellenallas* (The Hungarian Front and Resistance). Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1970. 254 pp.

On March 19-21, 1944 fascist Germany overran Hungary. The Hungarian Communists called for an armed struggle against the German fascists and their underlings. Istvan Pinter's book records the history of the Hungarian Resistance. It covers a dark period in the nation's history, March 1944 to liberation in April 1945. It tells about the peace party's efforts to set up a Hungarian Front (union of democratic forces), the armed struggle, passive resistance to the Sztojay puppet government, and plans for linking up with the Soviet Army. The country's internal patriotic forces were unable to free it of fascism. This task was accomplished by the Soviet Army.

The book is the most complete study thus far of the Hungarian Resistance based on a wealth of documentary evidence. S.K.

WILLIAM PROXMIRE. *Report*

from Wasteland. America's Military-Industrial Complex. New York, Praeger Publishers, 1970. 248 pp.

Senator William Proxmire's main concern is militarism's excessive influence on the country's home and foreign affairs. Aiming the darts of his Report from Wasteland against the omnipotence of the military-industrial complex, Proxmire deplores America's unproportional participation in European 'defense,' questions the maintenance of more than 3,400 military bases abroad, and notes that the 'time of gunboats on the Yangtze are over' and that 'no nation can be omnipotent.' The writer, Chairman of the Sub-committee for Economy in Government, invokes prolific factual material to show how the military-industrial octopus has penetrated all the nooks and crannies of American society, drawing attention to the perils which galloping militarization holds for the present and future of his country.

However, the Senator ascribes the gigantic American military budget to the exigencies of 'national security,' devoting a whole chapter to shopworn anti-Soviet constructions. He is essentially troubled by what he describes as an irrational waste of funds and resources by the military-industrial complex, by the prevailing corruption, pointing out that the Pentagon could provide far more effective 'defense' for fewer dollars. V. Snowden

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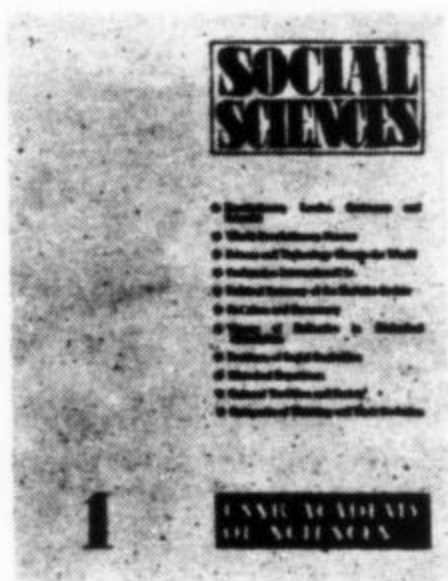
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