

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

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**Report
on India**

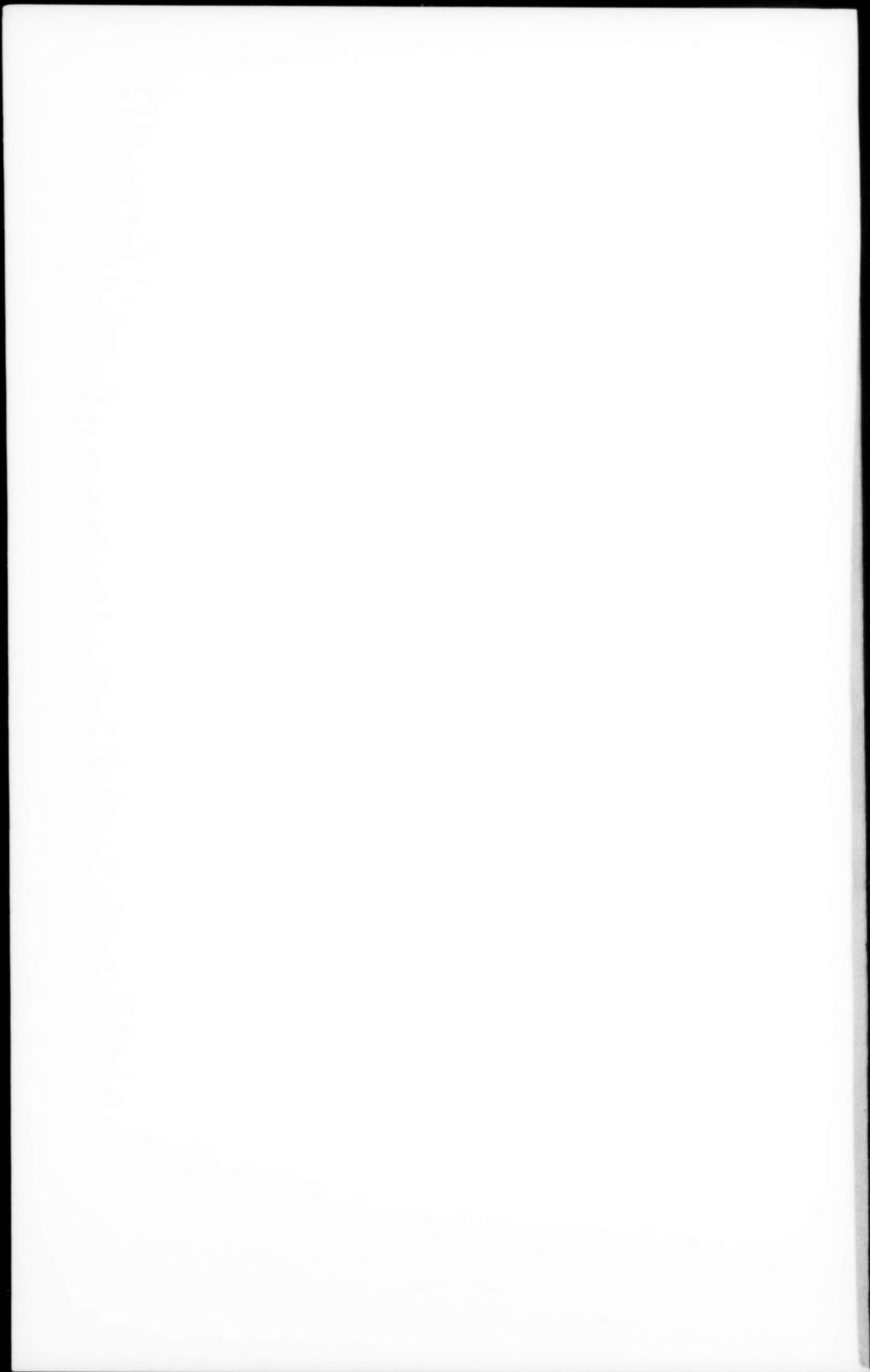
**New data
on working class**

**Class view
of ecology crisis**

**World monopoly
—role today**

**Socialism and
technology**

**50 years
of USSR**





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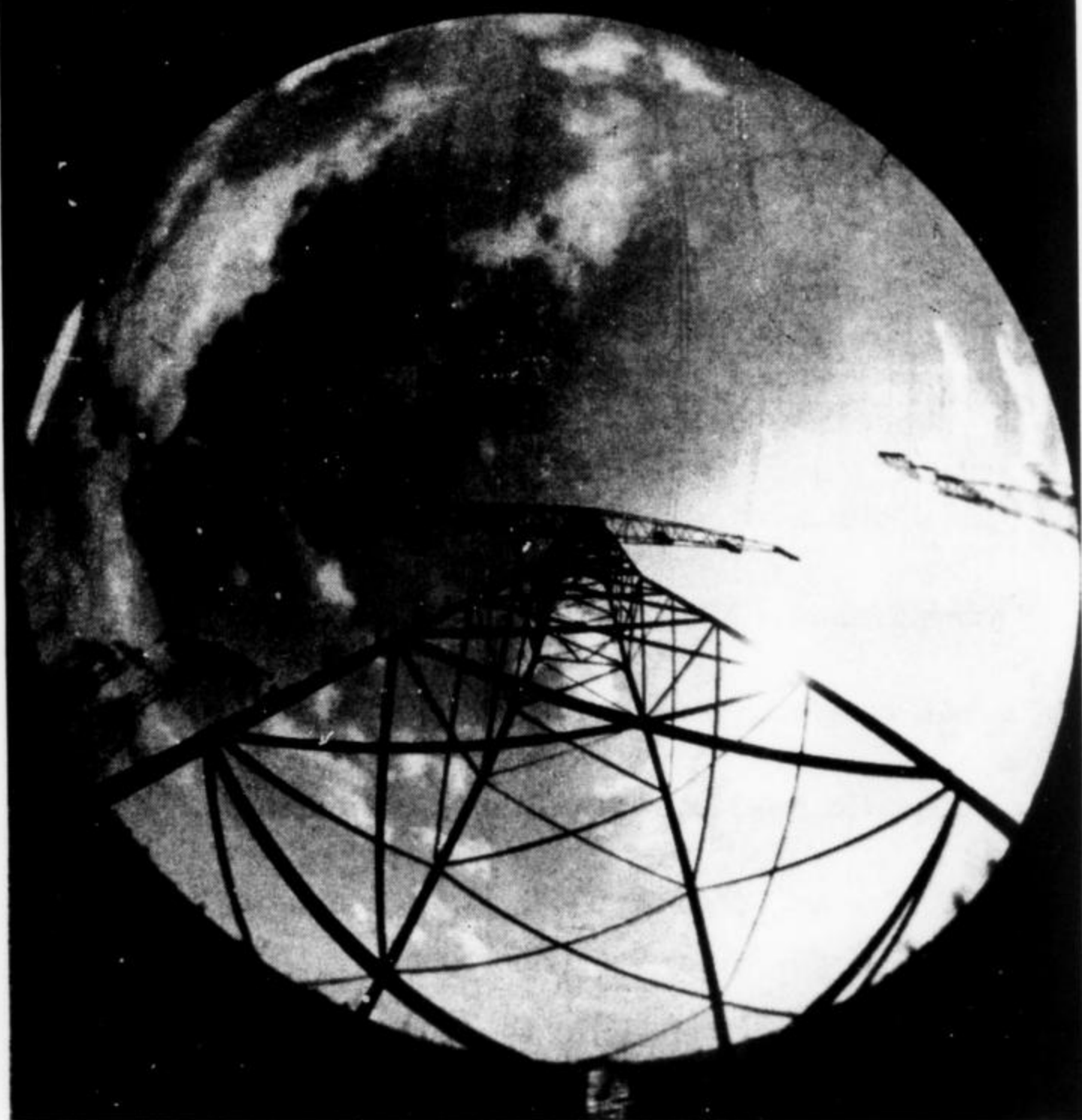
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Lenins Rat unsere Tat



Lenin's Advice—Our Action (Poster issued in German Democratic Republic)

See survey of international symposium,
*The Achievements of the Scientific-Technical Revolution
and the Advantages of Socialism* (p. 5)



The scientific-technical revolution and socialism

This was the theme of a symposium sponsored by **Problems of Peace and Socialism** and the Institute of Social Sciences of the CC SUPG. The symposium, held in Berlin on June 7-8, brought together scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union, and a number of party representatives on the journal.

The participants were greeted on behalf of the CC SUPG by *Kurt Hager*, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC. This discussion, he said, is devoted to a highly topical subject of fundamental significance to the progress of the socialist world system, the construction of a developed socialist society and the fight against imperialism. The 24th Congress of the CPSU, the Eighth Congress of the SUPG and congresses of other fraternal parties pointed out that full use of the advantages of socialism is a prerequisite of speeding scientific and technological progress.

The SUPG, like other fraternal parties, has for years concerned itself with problems of the scientific and technological revolution (STR). We have adopted a variety of measures to promote science, technology, education and culture. A careful analysis of results and a realistic assessment of possibilities prompted the Eighth Congress of the SUPG to set far-reaching yet realistic tasks in advancing science and production. We are now implementing the economic and science policy evolved by the Congress to improve the people's living and cultural standards.

The key issue of building socialism and the material and technical basis for communism is to forge close links between science and production. The role of science in transforming social production and its impact on every aspect of social life have grown immensely. More than ever before, the efforts of scientists in the natural, technical and social sciences must be concerted. In a developed socialist society, long-range forecasts cannot be prepared nor science, technology, production and social conditions planned according to only the parameters of science and technology. To solve

the whole set of political, social, economic, spiritual, cultural and other problems, we also need the creative contribution of social scientists.

We never forget that science and technology and all economic activity are important fields of contest between the two world systems. Imperialist monopolies and governments make ample use of technological achievement to boost profit and bolster their power. Some of their gains in production cannot be discounted. Ultimately, however, scientific and technological progress carries capitalism's inherent contradictions deeper.

Socialism has such fundamental advantages as social ownership of the means of production, a science and economy developing on a plan basis, and creative activity of workers, cooperative peasants, intellectuals and other working people. Socialist economic integration affords vast opportunities of steadily concentrating the socialist countries' social forces and scientific and economic potentialities on accomplishing common tasks.

THE DIALECTICS OF TECHNOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Aligning the revolution in science and technology with socialism • Higher productivity: now or later? • Scientists as one team • Producing knowledge: a key industry • Technocracy or democracy?

Closely combining the STR with the advantages of the socialist economic system, and improving the socialist methods of combining science with production, is the momentous task set by fraternal party congresses. An essential characteristic of developed socialist society is that it steadfastly carries out this task, said Professor G. Schulz (Berlin), Dr. Ec., in his opening remarks.

The advantages of the new system have been confirmed by the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which are characterized by continuous economic growth and ever higher living and cultural standards. In 1970 industrial production in socialist countries was almost 13 times as great as on the same territory in 1937, while the capitalist countries showed only a 4.5-fold increase.

The STR is not a socially neutral process, nor is it restricted to science and technology. It is an inseparable component of the people's activity under the leadership of the working class and its Party in building developed socialism and communism. This connection between socialism and science found expression, among other things in SUPG initiatives to advance science, technology, education and culture, moulding a socialist intelligentsia from the working class and peasantry and further the all-round development of the working class itself.

The GDR commands a large and effective scientific and technological potential, which is growing due to fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Seventy per cent

of this potential is concentrated in industrial research, experimentation and designing. The new five-year plan envisages an 86 per cent increase in research appropriations, a greater one than in any other field.

The STR is not merely the sum of individual discoveries. It brings about *deep-going changes in production techniques, managing methods and organization*. Comprehensive automation of production and management and the increased role of science in the science-technology-production system are a concentrated expression of the substance of the STR. Qualitative advances in the productive forces and progressive changes in the structure of the economy require continuous training and improvement of skills, and broad participation of working people in management and planning. Radical changes of this nature cannot be effected overnight. This is why the decisive short-term tasks facing the GDR's economy are still technological modernization, mechanization and partial or complete automation.

In utilizing achievements of the STR, we must proceed from the *economic laws of socialism*. This puts high demands on planners, who must carefully investigate the actual possibilities of society, the economic advisability of various solutions and their likely social effects. Unrealistic planing breeds imbalances and reduces efficiency.

One of the tasks of an integrated scientific and technological policy is to achieve a proper balance between revolutionary and evolutionary changes in the productive forces. This is of vital importance if we want to coordinate current and long-term interests and to ensure balanced economic development.

The SUPG has taken important steps to revolutionize science, technology and production. However, our Party is against one-sided emphasis on revolutionary changes in the productive forces, for this tends to obscure proper use of available resources, the movement of innovators and rationalizers and tested management methods. It tends to set the priority on building more new enterprises or sections to the detriment of existing production facilities.

On the other hand, the SUPG is against underestimating radical changes in the productive forces because they are determinative for steady economic progress, higher efficiency and the building of a developed socialist society. Analysis of revolutionary and evolutionary changes in the productive forces leads to the decisive conclusion that we must ensure scientific and technological progress in all its magnitude and variety by using intensive production methods and focussing the emulation movement on socialist rationalization and plan fulfilment.

We are sometimes asked whether Lenin's thesis about higher labor productivity compared with capitalism is a criterion of developed socialism or whether its prerequisites will only be created under communism. Our answer is that *in the period of the STR this requirement determines the decisive task of developed socialist society* and is a major condition for its gradual development into communism.

Socialism must advance to higher labor productivity in its own

way, by its own methods. To accelerate the STR, it is important to take account of the *dialectical unity of scientific, technological, economic, social and spiritual progress*. One of the principal advantages of socialism is that there are no antagonistic contradictions between these processes and that their unity can be assured.

To solve the socio-economic problems of developed socialism, we must effect qualitative changes in the material and technical basis of the economy. Two objectives are particularly important: to provide scope for the creative talents of man, to attain the highest possible labor productivity, and secondly, to assure that all-round development of the individual, specifically through further qualitative changes in the content and conditions of labour.

The GDR has some positive experience in this respect. However, the preparation of technological projects is not always accompanied by estimates of their economic effect or provisions for improving living and working conditions. Sometimes, the projects are entrusted solely to technicians, and not until later are economists called upon to estimate their effect. What we get is a belated substantiation of the project rather than a search for optimal variants.

Nor did things work out any better where scientific and technological improvements were introduced without consulting the workers and trade unions. Party and trade union organizations insist that the workers be not mere executors of projects and that their experience and ideas be drawn on at the preparatory and final stages of decision-making. If working and living conditions are not determined until after the project is completed, the possibilities of using the advantages of socialism are reduced. We can solve problems of the STR effectively, provided we rule out a one-sided, purely technical approach and take account of the economic and social as well as the technological aspects of the matter from the outset.

Socialist solutions of economic and technological issues require political guidance by the Party in the enterprises and research centers. The working class can exercise its leading role only where scientific and technological progress is planned and achieved in collaboration with workers' collectives. To be sure, it is also necessary to supply adequate information, raise the standard of political and economic thinking and apply the latest achievements of science in management.

With a view to putting scientific achievements to speedy use in production, the planning of scientific and technological activity must be made a component of both the long term and current planning of the reproduction process. Comprehensive research plans must be coordinated with the production programs of industrial complexes and enterprises and the plans of higher educational institutions and local government bodies. Resources for the rapid introduction in production of the results of a research project should be provided for in the initial stage, when setting its objectives.

To use science and technology on an extensive scale, we must strengthen the alliance of the workers and intellectuals, deepen their cooperation, and steadily improve the scientific competence and

ideological and political standards of the intelligentsia. The intellectuals make the greatest contribution to the advancement of science, technology, education and culture on a plan basis for the good of the working class and other working people. This is why the SUPG opposes any minimizing the intellectuals' social role.

The enhancement of the leading role of the working class and its Party, the ever more extensive organizing activity of the socialist state, the steadily improving management and planning of scientific progress, the increasing activity of the trade unions and the working people's growing socialist awareness – those are the decisive factors for coordinating technological and social progress.

Question: Do any non-antagonistic contradictions arise in the course of the STR? If so, how are they eliminated?

G. Schulz: Mention may be made of the contradiction between the new technology and old methods of organizing work, between the new technology and the working people's standard of proficiency, and so on. There is also the difficult problem of improving working conditions when a new plant is designed and installed and the problem of cooperation between intellectuals and workers to solve scientific and technological problems. Through proper political guidance and long-term planning, and by affording material incentives, these contradictions are resolved in a socialist way.

Question: What is the experience of social planning in the GDR?

G. Schulz: We carefully study the Soviet experience of social planning and intend to generalize and gradually apply it in the GDR. We also have some experience of our own. The enterprise plan includes measures to improve working and living conditions and the workers' skills. Comprehensive rationalization concepts coordinate the solution of scientific, technological, economic and social problems.

Participants in the discussion noted that the coincidence of the fundamental social processes of the STR with the prospects of social development along socialist lines is not accidental. The classics of Marxism-Leninism associated the historical inevitability of socialism and communism with the laws of development of the productive forces. Marx foresaw that these forces would attain a level at which the creation of wealth would depend less on working time than on instruments of production, which, in turn, do not in any way correspond (in efficiency) 'to the working time needed for their production but rather depend on the general level of science in production.' Marx linked revolutionary change in socio-economic relations – a change which meant going over to communist production – with this development of productive forces, which the STR is to secure in the long term.

Scientific and technical progress and the use of its achievements in production in the interest of the working people objectively requires a socialist reorganization of society. This was stressed in his contribution by S. R. Mikulinski, Corresponding Member, Soviet Academy of Science (Moscow). The STR itself was made possible by the high degree of production socialization, which brought on

the general crisis of capitalism and created the objective prerequisites of the transition to socialism. In this sense, the STR is an expression of today's worldwide process of revolutionary change. On the other hand, scientific and technical advance strengthens and advances socialism. In the socialist countries, scientific and technological progress is a direct continuation and result of social change.

The thesis of closely combining achievements of the STR with the advantages of socialism was formulated in the CC CPSU Report to the 24th Party Congress presented by L. I. Brezhnev. It means knowing and applying the methods by which the advantages of socialism can be used to meet the working people's fast-growing material and spiritual requirements and foster the development of the individual.

Combining the achievements of the STR with the advantages of socialism implies that there is a dialectical connection between the productive forces and relations of production, which, in turn, implies incessant perfection of the management of economic and other public affairs.

Scientific and technological research today entails enormous spending. This makes effective research and the early application of its results in production all the more important. Hence the need for careful analysis and for a strategy of promoting science and technology. In these conditions, Communist parties have a bigger role to play in determining the main lines of social progress, including scientific and technological progress.

The growing intricacy of social and economic processes and the increasing role of science objectively necessitate a centralized approach to the specification of objectives and the main lines of research and to the distribution of resources. However, greater centralization must go with extended democratic principles of managing production and public affairs.

Question: Are there stages in uniting the achievements of the STR with the advantages of socialism?

S. R. Mikulinsky: It is, of course, a long process and it goes through various stages. The problem is concretely to specify these stages. The present stage is characterized, in particular, by a change in the relationship between scientific and technological progress. A mere 50-70 years ago there was a scientific revolution and separately a revolution in technology. True, they were closely connected, but were two distinct processes all the same. They merged in the middle of the century, the relationship between science, technology and production changed, and man's place in production has been changing too. The various socialist countries are at different stages of scientific and technological development. However, the socialist world system, especially economic integration within its framework, enables a number of countries to pass through certain stages more rapidly than would otherwise have been possible.

I. Huszar, member of the CC HSWP, State Secretary (Budapest), noted that the significance of the STR goes beyond technological achievement, just as the industrial revolution meant something more

than designing the mechanical loom or making discoveries which gave rise to large-scale industry. To reduce its significance to technological change is to discount the inevitability of revolutionary change in society and leave the field free for the convergence theory.

The STR is also developing in the capitalist world but socio-economic conditions there handicap it. Under socialism, however, there are no social restrictions to impede it and the STR helps to create the material and technical basis for communism, bring nature under society's control and realize the ideals of humanism. However, this does not come about automatically but is an objective potentiality which the Party and the socialist state must effectuate through organizational work.

Of course, this should be based on fundamental theoretical research. In analyzing problems of the STR, we bear in mind that once some socialist countries were industrially underdeveloped and began to build the new society mainly through industrial development by the extensive method. That period is not over yet but the potentialities of this kind of development are being exhausted, giving away to the characteristics of an intensive economy.

The developed capitalist countries have valuable scientific and technological achievements that can also be used in our conditions. However, many achievements of the STR in the capitalist countries have negative effects. We must not use technological innovations that may deform socialist economic and social structures; hence we must carefully analyze the socio-economic changes and law-governed processes which the STR in the capitalist world involves. We must also devise a socio-economic mechanism for using achievements of the STR in accordance with the objectives of socialist society.

'Our epoch,' the CC HSWP points out in its science policy directives (1969), 'is characterized, in addition to social revolutions and the rapid growth of the productive forces, by the extraordinarily rapid development of every branch of science and by their growing social function.' The long-range plan of research approved by the Council of Ministers in 1972 was drawn up along with the long-range economic development plan. In the past decade the growth rate of expenditures for research and technological development has been twice as high as the growth rate of the national income. We are far from imagining that spending money on research is a guarantee of success in the STR. This is why, in carrying on the economic reform, we included numerous centralized and decentralized regulators in the management mechanism. They include reorganization of the Academy of Sciences; centralized support for university research; the allocation of technological development funds; contractual relations between enterprises and research centers; a customs policy favoring technological progress and research; reorganization of the procedure of introducing new discoveries and other innovations, and so on. Of course, regulators stimulating research and technological development cannot be set once and for all. The dynamic progress of society and the steadily growing scope of research will necessitate modifications.

More and more factors influencing social and production processes are analyzed scientifically. The result is not only an increase in the potential of various fields of science but a stronger interconnection between the natural and social sciences. Of course, research in a country like Hungary cannot possibly cover every field and the long-range plan therefore is focussed on the key problems. International cooperation is very important in the circumstances. Hungary promotes its scientific relations primarily with socialist countries in keeping with socialist economic integration.

The economic structure is changing fast. The power supply system is being modernized and the correlation of industries is improving. Expanding industrial manpower is no longer a decisive factor in Hungary's economic development, for output hinges more and more on higher productivity. Organization and management are continuously adjusted to this trend.

The interconnection between technological and social development, said Professor G. N. Volkov, Dr. Ph. (Moscow), should be examined primarily in terms of the individual. The advantages of socialism may, in the final analysis, be reduced to the material and spiritual factors of the individual's development. Unlike capitalism (under which production is the objective of man while wealth is the object of production), material production and material wealth under socialism are only means of fully developing man's spiritual and physical capacities and it is the developed productive power of all individuals that constitutes real wealth.

A revolution is going on in both science and technology. In the technological field it involves primarily automation, which leads to a fundamental redistribution of functions between man and machine. Technology is entrusted with the direct regulation and control of working mechanisms and technological processes with the aid of computers. This means that eventually man will be excluded from the immediate production cycle, placed beside it and enabled to move from technological, executive functions to research and designing, that is, a freer, more interesting and more creative activity.

The problem is more complicated in the case of science. It is apparently not enough to approach it as merely the sum total of knowledge or a flow of information. It must be regarded as a field of social activity specially geared to producing more knowledge.

We should single out two aspects of modern science: the one whose immediate object is to renew techniques, technologies and material wealth, and the other which is directly aimed at increasing and renewing the intellectual wealth of man, at fostering his creative talents and 'producing' his spiritual world. This differentiation is relative, of course, for there are no insuperable boundary lines between the two aspects. Nor is it tantamount to the traditional division of science into natural science and the humanities since natural science, for its part, exerts a powerful influence on spiritual activity.

The relationship between the orientation of science on man and

on objects changed in the different periods of history. Since the industrial revolution the orientation was chiefly on objects, on the technology. Marx's *Capital* shows that scientific knowledge was alienated in those days from the producers of material wealth.

The situation has changed. Modern technology demands that the worker should be both physically fit for labor and versed in the fundamentals of science. Science today can make headway and rapidly bear fruit provided all producers have a stake in it. The most important index of the power of a contemporary economy is not only an adequate technology but adequate knowledge – scientific, technological, economic, organizational, and even sociological and aesthetic. The intellectual development of the working class is becoming a central factor for scientific, technological and economic progress. It is important to bear this in mind in analyzing the growing role of the working class in socialist society.

The most up-to-date technology may prove inadequate where knowledge of production techniques is inadequate. The STR demands that this knowledge be ahead of technology. This alone is revolutionizing our notions of the social function of science. Science is expected to produce knowledge as an active factor in shaping the creative abilities of large segments of the population, a factor raising the quality and intensity of their labor and improving its content. The qualitatively new historical stage of the development of science as a social institution is connected, in the speaker's view, precisely with the shift of 'emphasis' on man in the production of scientific knowledge.

The dissemination of knowledge is becoming a major social activity in the socialist countries. This branch now ranks third for the number of employed after industry and agriculture, and as for growth rate, it is in the lead. To apply science in production effectively it is essential to impart scientific knowledge to all producers. Science increasingly requires a special processing of knowledge for individual use. This processing is a matter for science itself, one of its most important activities. And this need is also acutely felt by the general school.

Concepts of revising teaching methods and intellectual education are being developed and tested. The social sciences actively influence the formation of the new man and his Marxist-Leninist world outlook, extend his mental horizons, and help him to think dialectically and cultivate his intellect. Our social life is thus translating into reality Marx's statement that '*the development of science . . . is only one aspect, one form, of the development of man's productive forces.*'

Until recently, said Docent I. Boichev, Cand. Ec. (Sofia), most economists held that the material and technical basis of socialism is large-scale machine production in every economic branch. They regarded achievements of the STR as characteristics of communism. Changes in production under the impact of scientific and technological innovations brought corrections into our ideas. It is becoming manifest that today the material and technical basis of devel-

oped socialism does not mean replacing manufacture by machine production but making extensive use of the achievements of the STR.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, drawing on Marxism-Leninism and the experience of our country and other socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, defined the productive forces under developed socialism as increasing comprehensive mechanization and automation, and subsequently computerization, of production and management. These processes are gradually encompassing both industry and agriculture. The emergence of large agrarian-industrial complexes stimulated concentration and specialization on an industrial basis.

The domestic and international factors needed for the dynamic growth of Bulgaria's economy are at hand. Between now and 2000, fixed production assets should increase ninefold. Links between science and production are becoming closer. So that country's participation in socialist economic integration is of the utmost importance.

Intensive economic development and progressive structural changes are interconnected. In 1970 industry supplied almost half the national income. By 1975 its share will be roughly 55 per cent. And in industry the fastest-growing fields are mechanical engineering, power, metals and chemicals, and within mechanical engineering, electronic computers, radio electronics, instruments, shipbuilding and metal-cutting machines.

The construction of the material and technical basis of developed socialism will make for a rapid increase in the productivity of social labor. This, in turn, will make it possible to cut working time and meet the material and spiritual needs of the population the more fully. It will lead to further improvements in social relations and to a higher degree of socialist awareness.

Social ownership of the means of production, cooperation and mutual assistance of people free from exploitation, people's rule and unity of the working people behind the Communist Party are the social conditions in which the STR makes the greatest progress, said *I. Achim*, Dr. Ph. (Bucharest). The Rumanian Communist Party is concentrating the people's efforts on rapidly increasing the country's economic potential and on scientific and technological progress. As we all know, Rumania inherited from the bourgeois and landowner system a backward economy in which agriculture predominated. The change-over to the new system transformed the country. For over 20 years the annual growth rate in industry averaged 13 per cent. In 1970 industrial production was 17 times greater than at any time before the war. Agriculture has been put on a cooperative basis.

For all that, there is still a considerable gap in economic development between our country and highly industrialized countries. To bridge it, Rumania must develop its economy at a high rate, with emphasis on qualitative factors for material production. This is particularly important now that we are building a comprehensively developed socialist society.

Continued socialist industrialization is one of the main lines on which the STR is advancing and the country's economic potential is growing. Under the current five-year plan, industry will grow at an annual rate averaging 12 per cent. In 1975 the share of industry in the national income should be 65 per cent.

Rumania has a ramified network of institutes and laboratories, numerous research workers, teachers, engineers and technologists. In 1970 we had 303 research centers employing over 37,000 people against 51 centers staffed by 5,000 people in 1938. The number of engineers in 1970 was 12 times as large as before the revolution. Cooperation among scientists, engineers and workers is increasing and the movement of inventors and innovators is on the rise. We have taken steps to improve the organization of research and to pool personnel and resources. We have assigned an important role to the National Council for Science and Technology, whose main task is to draw up an integrated program of research and personnel training.

Our Party has always promoted education at all levels. Only recently one-third of our population could not read or write. Now we are introducing compulsory 10-year education, and vocational training and higher education are now widespread. Education, science and production are drawing closer together. We have organized refresher training for every category of worker.

We have adopted a long-term program to perfect the information system, introduce automatic control systems and computerize the economy. The Central Party and State Commission, set up recently, works on forecasts of Rumania's development till 1990, and even till 2000 in some fields.

In addition to the maximum use of a country's own resources, the STR calls for more extensive scientific and technical relations between all countries of the world on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, complete equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. Coordination and cooperation between socialist countries are particularly important today.

The scientific, technological, economic and social aspects of progress are interdependent, said *S. Zhumdaan*, Cand. Ec. (Ulan Bator). Accelerating the STR and rational use of its achievements is one of the strategic objectives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries.

Our countries are at different stages of scientific and technological progress. Some of them, already drawn into diverse processes of the STR thanks to the present rapid exchange of technology and knowledge, have yet to complete the industrialization of certain economic branches. The industrialization of these countries, such as Mongolia, is now nearing completion on modern technological lines but their productive forces are developing in conditions differing from those of countries which had an industrial basis before the STR.

Using the advantages of the socialist world system and drawing on the economic cooperation of fraternal countries, Mongolia is

shaping its national economic complex on a diversified pattern, using the achievements of science and technology and aligning industry with agriculture and the extractive with the manufacturing industries. The comprehensive program of socialist economic integration provides for the rapid advancement of our economy with due regard to natural and economic conditions and on the basis of accelerated scientific and technological progress.

Notwithstanding advances in technology, productivity is still climbing slowly compared with the introduction of new machinery and output still lags behind expansion of plant. To eliminate these shortcomings, the 16th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party decided to shift from partial measures to scientifically grounded and clearly formulated comprehensive measures, such as one-year and longer-term technical development plans.

'There have been marked changes in the social structure. Technological progress makes for growth of the working class, better working conditions and gives a new meaning to one's job, with resultant heightening of cultural and technical standards. In the past herdsmen would come to the factory without any training whatever. Now that we have compulsory seven-year schooling, most of the new workers are graduates of general and vocational schools.

Our specialized secondary schools and colleges are training more personnel too. In 1969 we started a polytechnical institute as part of the State University. Many workers and specialists are trained in the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

We are expanding our network of research establishments, and there has been a marked rise in the number and qualification of research workers. The task of raising the socialist countries economic potential and gradually evening out their economic levels, the task of completing socialist construction in Mongolia, call for a new approach, and a uniform policy, on science and technology. It will be worked out by the new committee on science and technology and the prognostication and long-range planning department of the State Planning Committee.

The problem of merging the achievements of the STR with the advantages of socialism is understood basically in its economic and social implications, G. H. Shakhnazarov, Dr. Law (Moscow) said. But there is another and no less important aspect: the impact of STR on democracy and the socialist state.

Bourgeois ideologues maintain that the STR deprives the capitalists of their power, and there is no need for social revolution. There is also the allegation that the STR hands all real power to the technocrats and is the very negation of socialist democracy.

These conceptions have already been exposed in Marxist literature. And it has been proved, both in theory and in practice, that progress in science and technology cannot eliminate monopoly domination in capitalist countries. But we must understand that uniting the STR with democracy in conditions of socialism is not without its complexities. It is not a simple mechanical process. For

the more management becomes a special branch of science with all the consequences following therefrom (use of computers, mathematical methods, special system of concepts) conscious participation in decision making requires a much higher standard of knowledge.

That contradiction, however, is by no means insoluble. It can be resolved because of two decisive features of the socialist political system. First, the constantly rising educational and cultural level of the people, and this includes their level of political knowledge and understanding. Fifty years ago Lenin emphasized the need to teach the entire population to read and write, for an illiterate person, he said, stood outside politics. The present development of education is on an incomparably higher level. For we are teaching the people not merely to read and write, but the fundamentals of Marxist philosophy, political economy, concrete economics, law – in short, the entire complex of social sciences essential for administering the affairs of state.

Second, there is this principle of socialist democracy formulated by Lenin: 'The more resolutely we now have to stand for a ruthlessly firm government, for the dictatorship of individuals in *definite processes of work*, in definite aspects of *purely executive* functions, the more varied must be the forms and methods of control from below in order to counteract every shadow of a possibility of distorting the principles of Soviet government, in order repeatedly and tirelessly to weed out bureaucracy' (Vol. 27, p. 275). Hence, the need to concentrate democratic control on elements of the management cycle where it will not hamstring the initiative of the specialists, while enabling the masses to take an active and meaningful part in framing state policy.

This does not deprecate the growing role of specialists. On the contrary, they can fully apply their creative potentialities only in a society led by the working class and the Communist Party. Allotting a bigger role to specialists and scientists raises in a new way the problem of their ideological education.

And so, more complex managerial functions are no obstacle to promoting and extending socialist democracy. But there is no ready recipe for correctly combining the STR with the political system of socialism. There has to be a constant search for optimal forms.

On the other hand, the STR contains factors contributing to the promotion of democracy. It allows, for instance, rapid dissemination of information, direct contact between managerial staff and workers and, what is perhaps most important, more free time for millions of workers to acquire the general and political knowledge needed for direct participation in decision-making at their own place of work and on national issues.

In its January 1964 issue the U.S. nuclear scientists' Bulletin remarked that the scientific revolution was beginning to corrode traditional democratic institutions and would become a serious political challenge in the coming century. One can agree with that,

but with the reservation that the challenge is not to democratic institutions in general, but to bourgeois democracy as a form of the exploitive state. As for socialism, the STR helps broaden socialist democracy; indeed, socialism is the reply to the STR challenge.

ECONOMICS-SCIENCE-MANAGEMENT

New interests, new stimuli • Criterion of effective management • Choosing a strategy for science • Uniting science with production: forms and content

The policy of the Communist Party and the socialist state is the decisive factor in uniting STR achievements with the advantages of socialism. Speakers pointed out that the STR lends especial importance to devising an optimal conception of economic and social development based on scientific, Marxist-Leninist elaboration of cardinal social problems. The Party and state must define, with scientific accuracy, the country's development level, establish objectively substantiated immediate and long-range goals, devise and apply the most effective means of their attainment. Intensive economic development and the crucial problem of the effectiveness of science and production require a more perfected management system at all levels.

The socialist countries have everything needed to accelerate the scientific-technological revolution, Y. Goorgiev, Cand. Ec. (Sofia), emphasized in his contribution. They have made splendid progress in this, and the Soviet Union is generally recognized as pioneer in many areas of science and technology. Apparently, uniting the achievements of the STR with the advantages of socialism should not be regarded merely as a mechanical combination of two isolated elements. For, above all, it implies favorable conditions, within the framework of our system, for the full development of all its components.

Needless to say, not everything can be achieved simply by improving organization and management. Growth rates depend on available material resources and on the levels already attained in science and production. These are objective factors and there is no underestimating their role. At the present stage, however, the subjective factor acquires greater weight. What urgent problems does this pose? One of them is proper organization and supervision of all scientific endeavor. In Bulgaria, the number of research workers increased 150 per cent in 1960-70, while total employment rose only 55 per cent. This indicates extensive rather than intensive development in science. And we can hardly say that the effectiveness of science has increased in proportion to the increase in personnel.

Training scientific personnel is a long and costly process. Naturally, society wants to receive a fair return, which cannot always be measured in money, especially in the social sciences. But, expenditure must yield tangible results. The Party Central Committee has

initiated measures that will completely reorganize the scientific front to bring it closer to production. Research and experimental centers have been set up under the state economic amalgamations, with the center director ex officio deputy of the amalgamation's general director. We are now working on a system of remuneration for scientific personnel hinged to the results of their research and to the amalgamation's performance.

New organizational forms are also being introduced in the academic research institutes and higher educational establishments. Research personnel are being encouraged to take up teaching and university instructors to join in research projects.

Assimilating the achievements of science and technology cannot be left to a narrow circle of experts—we have to marshal the creative efforts of all the people. And here the main prerequisite is unity of fundamental interests, a general and keen interest in speeding technological progress, for which the socialist system provides all the necessary conditions. But this does not come automatically—material and moral incentives are a very big factor.

This year we have been conducting a nationwide emulation drive for higher productivity. Factories, economic amalgamations and industries have come out with counter-plans. They set higher goals than the original state assignment and work collectives have a direct interest in achieving them: all payroll economy and 40 per cent of all profits accruing from these counter-plans remain at the disposal of the factory. It has been estimated that counter-plan fulfilment in industry will give our workers an additional 200 million levas.

We are concentrating on overcoming, as speedily as possible, the productivity lag compared with economically more developed countries. And we have worked out a special methodology that enables every collective to attain world productivity standards.

Having established public property of the means of production F. Kutta, Dr. Soc., (Prague) said, socialism attains a high level of socialized labor and provides a tremendous incentive for planned production cooperation on a nationwide scale. Lenin pointed out that 'the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organization of labor compared with capitalism. This is what is important, this is the source of the strength and the guarantee that the final triumph of communism is inevitable' (Vol. 29, p. 419).

Socialism gives a new purpose and function to planning and management, thus changing their very essence, their means and methods. Capitalism's maximum intensification of labor gives way to optimal conditions of labor; capitalism's despotic manipulation of workers gives way to the workers' increasing participation in management; democratic centralism becomes the underlying principle of management.

Uniting the achievements of the STR with the advantages of socialism depends above all on full realization of the latter's ability purposively to direct social processes. From this follows the need

for prognostication and long-term planning. Socialist economic integration is paving the way for their application throughout the socialist world system.

As distinct from the previous stage of industrialization, the STR is characterized by qualitative leaps. The methods of extrapolation used hitherto and adapted to linear development are now insufficient. We must employ the method of modelling future situations for the whole of society so as to foresee and project optimal technical, economic and social parameters. Modelling is inconceivable without cybernetic methods and techniques. The concept 'economic management' expounded by Lenin, is thus being expanded by the theory and practice of 'automated management.'

Scientific and technological progress is producing socio-economic complexes based on the formula 'science-technics-production,' involving intricate connections. We can control the process as a system only by employing the most modern analysis techniques.

Socialist management encompasses the entire process in all its interconnections. Technical and economic management is enriched by social planning. And the latter includes both social prognostication as the preparatory stage in drawing up long-range plans, and the system of social measures needed to accomplish them. At factory level social planning is a potent factor not only in promoting more rational techniques, but also in shaping the new, socialist mentality.

The technical aspect of management is based on cybernetics, the economic on political economy, and the social on Marxist sociology. The socialist theory of management, taken as a whole, combines various scientific disciplines with the theory and practice of optimal socio-economic planning.

An important precondition of the STR, *L. Pasierny*, Dr. Econ. (Warsaw), remarked, is an effective system of socialist economic management which constantly adapts itself to the new, changing conditions. At definite stages there can arise a system that fully serves the needs of initial industrialization and the more complex aims of the STR. A management system designed for earlier stages need not be an obstacle to closer international socialist division of labor. But it will not give us a high tempo of structural change in the economy and, what is no less important, will not make for maximum use of objective opportunities. Furthermore, it requires large capital outlays, more than would be needed under a more sophisticated management system.

It was precisely the need to accelerate socio-economic development and raise its effectiveness that prompted the socialist countries to reform their economic management systems. They proceeded from the basic principles of socialist management, but have to deal with such a wide range of changes that we can speak of a qualitatively new stage in management. In Poland it has to be adapted to our rapidly expanding production potential and to the abrupt qualitative changes in the economy. Planning and economic

incentives must also take into account such specific conditions as the sizable accretion of Poland's manpower resources in the second half of the 70s. All this complicates both management and decision-making.

The volume and methods of planning have to be carefully considered. Our amalgamations and enterprises now enjoy more independence in choosing the methods to meet plan targets, but we are also perfecting centralized planning. And since central planning organs do not have to deal with details, they can concentrate on cardinal problems. Better centralized planning involves prognosis, working out several plan variants to fit different socio-economic conditions and based on differing optimum criteria.

The STR gives greater weight to the time factor. Changes in the planning and economic incentive system have accelerated structural changes by shortening the investment, designing and plant-commissioning cycles. The changes in financing, material incentives and price-formation are likewise meant to reduce the time factor.

Rational organization of research and designing is of exceptional importance. In common with other countries, Poland is concentrating on selected fields of research, at the same time expanding its system of scientific information and more closely cooperating with other socialist states. Research results are an important indicator of efficient management.

Effective operation of the management mechanism depends in considerable measure on the competence and skill of executive personnel, their business and political qualities. New criteria are being used to assess their work. Inculcating the efficiency habit is still another major factor.

Question: How do you determine the direction of research in Poland?

L. Pasiecny: This is a complicated question and it has been the subject of much discussion. Some hold that in a country like Poland the most rational course would be to concentrate on technological 'bottlenecks.' Others suggest equal development of all changes and fields of research. Still others would employ the entire scientific-technological potential to develop leading branches of the economy. In practice, we are guided mainly by pressing economic requirements.

We have been applying a new method in recent years – it might be described as the 'expert method' – in formulating policy on science and technology. A large number of specialists covering a wide range of research cooperate in elaborating priority orientations. The program they work out is then subjected to public discussion.

The CPSU and the Soviet government, *E. I. Sklyarov*, Collegium Member of the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee on Science and Technology, said, approach scientific and technological progress from the standpoint of the long-range economic strategy set out in the Party's policy statements. The 1968 decision of the

CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers on measures to heighten the effectiveness of research and stimulate use by the economy of achievements in science and technology, clearly outlines the ways and means of improving planning of science and technology, the organization of research and the speedy introduction of its results in industry.

Our most important consideration is to merge planning in science and technology with planning of social and economic development. This means that targets in scientific and technological progress must be included in the general economic plan.

Of course, we do not always find the best solutions and we are continuing to search for ways of making maximum use of STR achievements in planning socio-economic development. But we can already speak of a definite system. First, we draw up long-term (15-20 years) prognoses on major social and scientifico-technical problems. The prognoses on socio-economic problems set out the country's goals in science and technology, and the scientifico-technical prognoses indicate the ways and means of attaining them. All this work is organized by the State Planning Committee, the State Committee on Science and Technology and the Academy of Sciences. By way of example, I might mention the prognoses worked out two years ago on the country's fuel and power requirements, metals, freight carriage, oceanic research and use of ocean resources, public education, social and hygienic aspects of labor protection and industrial safety, etc.

The next stage is elaboration of basic orientations in science and technology. This is done by the State Committee on Science and Technology in conjunction with the Academy of Sciences prior to the drafting of the five-year economic plans. The proposed orientations are then submitted for approval by the government. After that comes compilation of the five-year plans for research and the use of its results in the national economy. These are then incorporated in the state five-year economic development plan. Lastly, there are more detailed assignments for each year, each industry, each union republic. This uniform technical policy is implemented through our uniform system of directing scientific development and research.

Many scientifico-technological problems are reflected in the joint-project plans of the CMEA countries. Nor should we underestimate cooperation with capitalist countries, which have a large number of scientists and rich experience in evolving and utilizing new techniques.

An understanding of the philosophical and political-economy aspects of the key problems posed by the STR is of vast importance in directing the reproduction process, Prof. F. Haberland, Dr. Econ. (Berlin), said in his contribution. The STR makes higher demands on members of society, on their social relations. On the other hand, it influences the development of the individual and the collective and fosters a higher level of consciousness. This does not mean

that socialist management aims primarily at adapting social processes to existing material and technical conditions. On the contrary, scientific and technological progress helps to develop the individual and the collective.

The working people are deeply interested in devising and employing new techniques, for this is closely related to the improvement of their general and working conditions. This interest is evident in the spread of the innovators' movement: in 1971 it involved every fifth person employed in the economy. And there is closer association of workers and intellectuals – it has already paid off in the solution of complex problems. The workers bring to the scientists their rich professional knowledge and practical experience. Most scientists draw from this cooperation valuable results and, in their turn, pass on their knowledge to the workers.

Lastly, the STR is intimately linked with the interests and prospects of all production collectives. And problems affecting their interests have to be solved in good time. Many different branches of science can help in this. For the new technology not only cuts production costs but, in the final analysis, does away with heavy and health-hazard work. This particular branch of science, work engineering, must contribute to creating conditions that fully meet the requirements of developed socialism. That, too, is a priority task of work and engineering psychology. And much depends also on practical application of scientific management, for the quality of management (and, essentially, it is always political guidance of the collective) has a direct bearing on the collective's performance, and determines the successful fulfilment of the main task set by the Eighth Congress of the SUPG.

Uniting science with production, the dialectics of the form and content of this process, figured prominently in the discussion.

Shortly after the October Revolution, Lenin wrote: 'In the old days, human genius, the brain of man, created only to give some the benefits of technology and culture, and to deprive others of the bare necessities, education and development. From now on all the marvels of science and the gains of culture belong to the nation as a whole, and never again will man's brain and human genius be used for oppression and exploitation' (VI. 26, pp. 481-2). Expressed in these words, and with consummate accuracy, is the difference between the socialist and capitalist use of the achievements of science, technology and culture.

However, the organizational forms, manifestations and results of scientific and technological development coincide to one or another extent in countries with different social systems (and this, incidentally, is exploited by exponents of the convergence, 'industrial society' and similar theories). This poses a number of theoretical and practical questions. Is it permissible for socialism to use one or another form originating under capitalism, and what changes does such a form undergo in the new society? Can capitalism employ certain forms created by socialism? What concrete

forms of uniting science with production belong only to socialism and do not belong to capitalism?

This last question was put to G. Schulz. In reply he named as typically socialist forms planned training and retraining of personnel, dissemination of technical and economic knowledge as a means of raising skill standards; the innovators movement as a means of speeding technical progress; planned cooperation of scientists and workers in socialist collectives in resolving complex problems of rationalization; public discussion by production collectives, of conceptions of scientifico-technological development, a uniform technological policy, and, lastly, planned development of production, science and technology.

O. Lacis, Cand. Econ. (Problems of Peace and Socialism), remarked that some technico-organizational forms are employed both under capitalism and under socialism. The difference lies not so much in the form as in the purpose for which it is used, the interests it serves. For instance, capitalism is trying to take over some of the socialist planning experience. On the other hand, there have been instances of socialism utilizing forms that originated under capitalism.

In 1922, when the first Soviet syndicates were founded, some were apprehensive lest the capitalists use them against socialist enterprises. But in 1926, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, then Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, was able to announce: Our syndicates have ousted the private dealer from wholesale trade. Later these syndicates, representing the interests of our enterprises, gradually developed from marketing to management organizations and did much to promote technological progress. In 1929 they became the core of the large production amalgamations that played a crucial part in carrying out the first five-year plan. And so, in the concrete conditions of socialist construction, a capitalist form, radically restructured and given a new, democratic content, served the collective interests of socialist enterprises.

G. Schulz: The form of uniting science with production is determined by the interests of the social system. Under socialism, the supreme aim of production is to further the interests of the working people. But socialist production relations are an active form of the dynamics of the productive forces. They have a powerful impact on relations between science and production. The forms I mentioned are specifically socialist, even if some of them have an external similarity with capitalist forms. In discussing the dialectics of form and content, I regard form not as the external shell, but in its direct context with the aim of building a developed socialist society. As for planning, under socialism it is not merely a form of contact between science and production, not merely a technico-methodological or purely information factor, but a cardinal aspect of working class power.

G. N. Volkov: In analyzing the process of uniting science with production we must consider it not only in terms of material pro-

duction, but also in terms of social production as a whole, the production of social life, to use Marx's words. We must see the socio-economic and socio-political rather than the technological or narrow production aspects.

It is not the forms as such that matter, but the object of scientific and technical progress and the aim of social development. This problem should be considered from the standpoint of the development of the human personality. By its very nature, socialism can direct all the time economized as a result of technological progress to the production of this basic capital, man. On the other hand, the development of man determines the substance and results of the scientific and technological revolution. Hence, the problem of accelerating the STR is, essentially, a problem of stimulating the constructive efforts of man, of the worker first of all; a problem of the allround development of the personality. We often refer to the way the STR influences man. But man is also the subject of the STR, the creator of science and technology.

More and more we are being convinced of the need for direct organizational merging of research centers and industrial enterprises. Basically, there are two ways to achieve this: attach research centers to industrial establishments or the establishments to research centers. Both methods are justified, but the former does not always produce the desired result. For the factory tends to restrict the work of its research unit to its own requirements which, more often than not, are modernization of existing plants rather than introduction of new technology. The tendency to convert science into the leading force of technological development and material production finds its fullest expression in an arrangement in which major research centers are given a complex of industrial enterprises. The Novosibirsk research center is a good example.

G. Shakhnazarov: Evidently we should differentiate between types of contact between science and production and between the STR and the social system. One might recall the thought Lenin expressed in his 'Philosophical Notebooks' that the form is always of essential importance and cannot be divorced from its content. Forms of ties between the STR and the socialist social system have their specific features. And though there are some STR phenomena that occur in both societies, this has no relevance to STR ties with the social system.

We cannot, for instance, consider state-monopoly economic regulation as planning in the full sense of the term. Some monopoly complexes employ programming, even elements of planning. But when you program production for capitalist profit, that is not planning, but simply a form of production organization.

During my recent visit to Austria for the Socialist Party Congress I was shown the fairly wide program drawn up by the Austrian government. Much the same as in socialist countries, it calls for a production growth of so many per cent, etc. But that is not planning. In conversation with a prominent Socialist Party leader,

I asked: 'Do you feel that you are in control of the entire economy, that you can give it a definite orientation and set definite goals?' He replied: 'Of course not. Everything depends on a number of factors beyond our control.' And this in Austria, where a large part of big industry has been nationalized. It applies even more to other countries, where much of what might be taken for planning is merely the result of efficient accounting and information. Can we equate this to the system of planning in a socialist society?

Prof. H. Koziolk, Dr. Econ. (Berlin): Naturally, under socialism the STR is effectuated by people and for people. The important thing, however, is how we master the process. Once we understand its essence, we must also understand its mechanism. In my view, the link between the STR and the advantages of socialism should be seen in the fact, above all, that socialist society can consciously and in a planned way carry out the STR in the interests of the working people.

How does socialist society consciously master this process through its own specific forms? First, I think, it does so through the process of socialization. The tie between science and production takes the form of the combines and amalgamations set up in the GDR, the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. They are expressive of the dialectics of the productive forces and production relations. These specific organizational forms are essential to directing the process of uniting the STR with the advantages of socialism. Of course, there are other forms, too. For instance, the close link between the working class and the intelligentsia. Their cooperation is one of the means of mastering the development process and a manifestation of the advantages of socialism. Mention should also be made of the new quality of planning, the continued development of production collectives, rational organization of the reproduction process, improvement of general and working conditions, wider worker participation in management, better general and vocational education.

There was unanimous agreement that, under socialism, uniting science with production is part of the general process of perfecting the direction of economic and social development. And this includes continued expansion of socialist planning, a better management structure, more incentives, wider worker participation in management.

SOCIAL PROCESSES IN THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

Man and technology under socialism • The factory makes its choice • Educational reform – Against the 'obsolescence' of knowledge • Real and fictitious humanism • 'From each according to his abilities'

The STR is changing the very nature and content of labor. That was foreseen by Marx: 'Labor no longer appears as something

included in the process of production, but as labor in which man's relation to production is that of controller and regulator.'

The growing proportion of mental labor is conditioned, on the one hand, by the growing number of technical personnel in production and, on the other, by the growing number of operations requiring of the worker mental rather than manual labor. This calls for higher and more complex skills, a higher level of general education and culture. There begins the gradual obliteration of the boundary between the work of the engineer and the worker.

The share of farm labor declines and then, also, the share of those employed in material production, with a larger proportion of the active population employed in education, culture, science, trade and the service industries.

In the final analysis, the social processes begun by the STR coincide with the communist perspective of social development, which includes eliminating essential differences between physical and mental labor and between town and country. There is a real possibility of substantially reducing working time and making labor man's prime necessity. However, full development of these processes will take decades. Their intertwining in various countries and at various stages of social and economic development will pose many concrete problems, the solution of which will require conscious and purposive effort.

Some of these concrete problems were discussed by G. Schulz. He cited this example: dial-operated lathes were being introduced at the Mikromat plant in Dresden. Their operation does not require any particular skill. But the new machines require highly skilled job-setters. There were two suggestions for coping with the problem: job-setting should be separated from operating, with the result that there would be two groups of workers of differing skill levels. That, however, would only reproduce the old, capitalist division of labor. The other suggestion (which was adopted) was to combine the two functions. This necessitated training a larger group of top-skill workers and somewhat reducing the staff, but now everyone took a keen interest in his job.

H. Werner, First Deputy General Director of the glass industry amalgamation (GDR): There are always difficulties whenever technical problems are solved in isolation from economic, social, cultural and educational ones. The worker must be made to see how general and working conditions are being improved; he must feel that science and technology serve his interests. This is of decisive importance in accelerating rationalization. We closely follow the discussion on social planning in the Soviet Union, study Soviet experience and believe that all these questions should be seriously studied and discussed in the GDR.

In my particular industry, when the workers have to deal only with the results of research and experiments, there are difficulties in applying them in production. Socialist collective labor, based on mutual confidence and aimed at maximum effect, does not come automatically. It has to be organized. And our amalgamation insists

that worker innovators should be consulted by researchers and engineers in drawing up plans for the solution of one or another technical problem.

We should study the changes in man caused by the STR, and see how he is involved in its effectuation, said *I. Huszar*. In Hungary, where industrialization and elements of the STR tend to interweave, we should also study the action of heterogeneous factors.

If automation is partial, for example, labor does not necessarily become more creative. The expansion of mass production techniques tends to raise the percentage of workers who need no high degree of education or proficiency to do their job. And since personal involvement declines, the administration has to fortify the collective or group ties. Due to the monotony of the work and the limited opportunities for initiative, operating semi-automated equipment usually attracts the kind of worker who is chiefly interested in the emoluments. Workers with initiative and enterprise prefer to handle fully automated equipment. Yet separating these two groups may have conflicting effects. It is up to the administrator, therefore, to find the right solution.

Communism presupposes harmoniously developed people. Harmony, however, does not mean proficiency in several trades or professions. It is the sum total of profound professional knowledge and general culture. Yet learning one of the modern complex trades consumes so much effort that, at least temporarily, it may relegate the significance of general education and political and moral development to the background. The negative effects of this should be avoided.

We shall not arrive at communist-type work overnight. As we come closer to it, we should consider the so-called extraneous factors—economic incentives and human relations. For this we must study the micro-climate at shopfloor level, group relationships, the motivating impulse of information, and the effects of centralization and decentralization. Not only must we teach administrators to control modern technical processes, but also to deal with people, to take into account the political, sociological and psychological objectives.

Technology can doubtless be developed more swiftly than the intellectual and production factors motivating the worker's behavior. Consequently, these factors should not be allowed to tail behind technical progress. In Hungary, 20-25 per cent of the manual workers are planning to improve themselves, and almost every second one submits ideas of how to rationalize or innovate production. In factories, our studies show, most of the political and social activists are skilled workers with excellent production records.

Knowledge, as we can already see, *Huszar* said, tends to become obsolescent more quickly than before. So we must remould the educational system, occupational training, and the re-training scheme. What we need is a system assuring rapid adaptation and a broader scope of vision. A revision of the educational system

has begun by decision of the 10th Congress of our Socialist Workers' Party, which will take into account the progress since liberation. The standard of our schools is almost equal to that of the more developed countries, and the supply of middle and top-level technical personnel is better than in the capitalist states at the same level of industrial development. All the same, we require 'extended reproduction' along modern lines of knowledge and proficiency.

The problem of educating and moulding the socialist individual was the subject of the contribution made by Professor G. Neuner, Alternate Member of the CC SUPG and President of the GDR Academy of Pedagogics. Not only are scientific achievements impregnating production, he said, but science has also begun to 'saturate' man's whole life. The obvious result is a substantial growth of the scientific and technical personnel. The content of the labor of millions of workers is changing. The worker is required to regulate the process of production, quickly to grasp and analyze incoming information, to make decisions and to adapt flexibly to new requirements. In addition, he is also required to participate in management, planning and organization. For this he needs knowledge and breadth; without this democracy is inconceivable.

Education influences the processes of social growth. The objective, therefore, is to build up a reserve for society's further progress. So it is not surprising that the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries have launched scientifically-grounded educational reforms.

The main objective is to make 10-year secondary education universal. In 1975 as many as 92 per cent of the boys and girls finishing the 8th grade will go on to the 9th and 10th. The curriculums lay increasing stress on fundamental knowledge. The program of occupational training, for example, includes the fundamentals of electronics, control and measuring instruments, information processing, the economics of socialist enterprises, and social science. In the higher educational establishments the relation between the fundamental and special disciplines is also changing in favor of the former.

This does not go to say that we are underestimating specialization. But with the present high rate of social, scientific and technical progress none can predict the changes in the division of labor and in the professional structure. And the broader the education, the greater the capacity to assimilate special knowledge and skills.

Some prominent scholars say that education will inevitably tail behind science. Robert Oppenheimer, for example, said there will be a crisis of civilization by the end of the century, because man will no longer be able to assimilate and fruitfully use the accumulated scientific wealth. Our own experience, however, shows that these pessimistic forecasts are groundless. The main conceptions and categories enabling us to conceptualize phenomena, are increasingly substantiated by the latest discoveries.

In the socialist countries education is tied in with our humanistic social conception, our orientation on broad democratism. In education and pedagogical practice man will not be subordinated to external scientific-technical requirements; on the contrary, these will be regarded as the avenue to a richer life and more interesting work for the harmoniously developed socialist individual.

According to some estimates, said Y. Georgiyev, the volume of scientific information doubles on the average every eight years. No educational establishment is able to provide enough knowledge for one's entire working life. 'In the present stage, in the setting of a swiftly progressing scientific-technical revolution,' the Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party stresses, 'education ceases to be a singular process of instruction. It is essential that socialist working people should continue to learn, to improve their proficiency, to extend their specialization throughout their active creative life.'

This is bound up with the content of instruction in the primary and secondary school. The school's purpose is not confined by far to imparting a certain amount of knowledge. What is much more important is to stimulate the thirst for knowledge, to equip the young with the 'technology' of discovery, coupled with new truths, and to teach them to analyze the facts. Those are the objectives of the educational reform launched by the Central Committee of our Party and the government, to be completed in the main by 1975.

A system of stimuli is important to encourage people to continuously improve their proficiency. A decision has been passed to re-certify research and teaching personnel. A system of criteria has been approved, whereby authoritative commissions elected by academic councils will evaluate the work of every researcher, recommending either promotion, continued employment, or re-employment outside the research field. Researchers holding an academic degree will be recertified every five years, those without a degree every three. Also, a system of full-time short-term instruction is being set up for managers and specialists.

The socialist approach to some of the social problems of the STR was examined by A. Bodnar, Dr. Econ. (Warsaw). The countries of the socialist community, he said, have by and large completed building the traditional industrial structures and have attained a high cultural level. Gradually we are also overcoming the consequences of the fact that socialism had first triumphed in economically less developed countries. This will apparently take another ten years.

This decade, in which our Party expects at least to double Poland's economic potential, will also be a period of preparation for the technico-economic and organizational requirements of a highly-industrialized economy. In this period we shall tackle the complex socio-economic problems on which the rate of the STR depends.

Due to deficiencies in the infra-structure and the great accretion of manpower, the factor of extensive development will still play

no small part in the 1970's. Yet the scientific-technical revolution requires primarily intensive growth. We shall therefore have to harmonize these two types of development.

It is safe to assume that the STR is only beginning to unfold, raising the efficiency of social labor. Analyzing the elements involved in this growth is therefore more important than ever. Science-technical progress provides objective premises for an active social policy, particularly as regards wage and real incomes, and for positive modifications in the structure of consumption. Organizational progress is another important factor, which, apart from its varied influence on the material basis of production, assures better use of personnel and their knowledge. Improvement of proficiency is another increasingly important factor in economic growth. By the year 2000, we estimate, 60-70 out of every 100 gainfully employed will have a higher or secondary education against 16 in 1970. Lastly, higher productivity of labor is also tied to the socialist system of incentives.

By 2000, according to forecasts, the percentage in the total labor force of those employed in agriculture and forestry will decline to 10 from 38 in 1970, while the percentage of those employed in industry and building will rise from the present 35 per cent to 45. The other fields, which we can roughly describe as the service industry, will account for 45 per cent against the present 27. Poland still has to attain the employment structure of the highly-industrialized countries. That is a specific feature in Poland and those socialist countries which began accelerated industrialization at a low level.

The allocations for education, according to some estimates, will rise from five per cent of the national income in 1970 to approximately eight per cent in 2000, and for scientific research from two per cent to six. This growth should produce adequate results. However, this depends first and foremost on the forms of scientific development, which will probably differ radically from those of the present. Mobility of research personnel is required not only in the science-production link-up, but in science itself.

By the end of the century, the growth of qualified personnel in our countries will outstrip changes in the professional and production structure. With the living standard rising, a mass exodus may begin from trades and occupations which people choose only for income motives. A conflict is already in sight between the cultural level of large groups and the division of labor, regarded as antiquated and socially unjust. This situation should be anticipated and our scholars should concentrate their efforts and find solutions for which socialism provides ample opportunities.

Rising education and culture implies more knowledge and social energy, not all of which can be consumed in production. Also, the time spent in production and in housework, and for travel in the city, is declining. The 'price' of leisure is rising. The need appears to deliberately cultivate the habit of using leisure time in socially useful pursuits. With the substantial growth of the social

consumption funds, possible only in the socialist environment, all these problems can be resolved.

The social problems of the STR, the symposium noted, is a sphere where socialism displays its advantages even more convincingly than elsewhere, while capitalism is most clearly a historical anachronism. The communication by G. Kwiatowski, who represents the German Communist Party on the journal, showed the contrast between the capitalist solutions of social problems and what the scholars from socialist countries related at the symposium. He described a recent conference held in Oberhausen under the auspices of the Metalworkers Union, under the motto, 'Future objective - better living.' It discussed the effects of the scientific-technical revolution on man and his environment. The fact that such a conference was convened by one of the biggest FRG labor unions underscores the relevance of the problem for millions of factory and office workers in the capitalist countries.

The scientific-technical revolution stresses the relevance of the traditional issue: to what extent will man succeed in controlling the powerful forces of technology. Most bourgeois authors, *Jakub Netopilik*, Cand. Phil., (Prague), said, regard science and technology as a threat to humanism - the threat of 'rationalization' of thought and activity, 'depersonalization,' 'splitting' of personality, and loss of human values and of creative initiative. They blame man's degradation caused by capitalist relations on the growth of science and technology. Let us not be deceived by the outward humanism of such theories, for they regard the working class merely as an appendage of the complex technical machinery.

Marxism-Leninism sees true humanism in mastering the natural and social conditions of life. The unity of the socialist and the scientific-technical revolutions is the earnest for the free and harmonious development of the individual.

In 1968-69 some Czechoslovak revisionists described the theory of the scientific-technical revolution as a falsehood, a figment of the 'technical mind,' which, ostensibly, creates a system of universal manipulation. But we have had an opportunity to see that abstract humanism blind to the concrete regularities of socialist construction and the social forces behind it, is a dangerous enemy of real humanism.

Bourgeois ideologues point to some negative consequences of industrialization in socialist society. While we do not deny this, we should bear in mind that until now socialism has been developing on an inadequate technical basis. Though alienated social relations disappear under socialism, their indirect consequences are overcome but gradually.

In substance, real humanism has an economic foundation. All talk of emancipating the individual, the 'integral' man, is no more than an abstract postulate in the absence of an economy developed to the maximum. No less false is the notion that rationalization of production and all social life produces a standard man who thinks of nothing but effectiveness and is incapable of absorbing ethical and humanistic values.

It is quite true, and we could see it in Czechoslovakia, that development of the individual is not an automatic process. It is tied in with the development not only of the economy, technology and science, but also of socialist democracy, culture, education, upbringing and, above all, the Marxist-Leninist ideology. And decisive in this area is the work of the Communist Party.

Another revisionist notion was that to enhance the efficiency of production managers and technocrats should take over the administration of society. Countering Marxist-Leninist ideology, they call for so-called 'cybernetic-systemic thought.' The working class was denied its historic mission; its role was reduced to but capturing political power, while building socialism and effectuating the scientific-technical revolution was entrusted to none but the scientific-technical intelligentsia. Thereby, the working class became the object of manipulation for various groups. We know perfectly well, J. Netopilik said in conclusion, that the idea of communism as consummate humanism in Marx's spirit will be attained solely by the fusion of the STR with socialism.

Scholars are trying to predict the number of researchers in 30 and more years, said G. N. Volkov. If we extrapolate the present growth rates we shall soon have exhausted all human resources. The rate of growth is clearly bound to decline. It is already declining, and science is going over from extensive to intensive development. We shall require (apart from a numerical growth of personnel) improvements in organization and control, the information service, and in the productivity of research.

New principles of scientific guidance will be required. A mere 20-30 years ago, the accent lay on the priority growth of the leading disciplines – physics and chemistry – at the expense of the 'peripheral' sciences, whereas now such a policy would act as a brake on the STR. With the greater integration of science, the lag of any so-called unpromising field of knowledge would in the final count affect the entire front of research. There is no longer any such things as 'peripheral science.' It stands to reason, however, that this does not write off the problem of determining the optimal proportions for the various trend of research.

It is increasingly evident, Volkov continued, that there is a contradiction between the nature of scientific knowledge and the laws of the economy governing capitalist production. What is of fundamental importance is that the essential processes of scientific growth and the reconstruction of the world in line with socialist and communist principles proceed, so to speak, in unison. Both these processes have a common element – their relation to man. Socialism and communism turn man from a means into an aim, and an appropriate reorientation is sparked in the realm of science.

This shows the irrelevance of capitalist relations in regard to the nature of scientific production. No matter who the creator of a new scientific idea may be, no matter what private company may hold the sole right to using it, all mankind sooner or later becomes the beneficiary. The universal mode of appropriation follows from the

very nature of production; it contradicts the laws of capitalism and accords fully with the laws of communism.

Scientific labor is precisely that type of activity where we can fully effectuate the requirement 'from each according to his abilities.' For this society must, firstly, give free play to these abilities and develop them to the maximum, and, secondly, provide everyone with the opportunity to display them at work. The present level of material production does not fully provide for either requirement. There are still many trades and professions that require no creative ability. But that is in the economy. It is different in science. Here the nature of the work makes constant use and development of diverse creative abilities a rule, an objective necessity. The abilities of each are not simply realized, but also cultivated. They are continuously improved and accumulated. Consequently, in the scientific field man does not suffer self-alienation and asserts his personality.

Moulding the universality of creative abilities, scientific work at once moulds the universality of truly human requirements, principally the requirement for research and investigative activity. Work cannot become an organic requirement as long as it is mechanical and monotonous, centered on the performance of a single technical function, performed under the extraneous pressure of necessity (e.g., earning a livelihood). Scientific labor, on the other hand, is by nature antagonistic to mechanical, standardized activity. It is effective only if it serves as the expression of the organic need for creativity.

Unlike material wealth, knowledge resulting from scientific activity is most naturally distributed not in accordance with the capital, not in accordance with the contribution of each to social production, not in accordance with any other external criteria, but precisely in accordance with requirements. And the means of appropriating the results of scientific labor conform with communist social relations.

The social universality attained under communism presupposes as its natural foundation universality of labor and universal (i.e., scientific) labor as the dominant type of activity. One conceives communist society only as a society of highly intellectual people in command of the scientific-theoretical and aesthetic wealth produced by mankind, as a society in which the free development of each is the condition for the development of all.

The concluding remarks were made by Vilem Novy, Member of the Central Committee of the CP of Czechoslovakia and Executive Secretary of this journal. Our symposium, he said, is one in a succession of such symposia of scholars from the socialist countries held under the auspices of this journal jointly with the fraternal parties following the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. In the past 10 months we have held exchanges of opinion on such important subjects as 'Socialism's Place in History, the Stages and Criteria of Its Development,' 'Socialist Statehood and

Democracy,' 'The Laws Governing the Development of the Socialist World System,' and 'The Dialectics of the National and the International in the Socialist World System.'* The interest shown in the present-day problems of world socialism reflects the need for profound theoretical conceptualization of the basic issues relating to the growth of the new society, and, at the same time, speaks of the far-flung creative activity of the fraternal parties.

The discussion illustrated the level of our knowledge on this subject, a subject important for the further development of socialism in our countries and the socialist system as a whole. Naturally, we still have to do much theoretical work, which requires coordinated international cooperation of scientists from different fields of knowledge. The symposium has shown once more how important it is for Marxists of the socialist countries to cooperate in studying the topical problems relating to the development of the new social system.

The scientific-technical revolution is a varied, long and all-embracing process, whose social effects coincide with the communist perspective of social development. Difficulties and contradictions are therefore inevitable. And the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class, and also the role of the socialist state, are therefore much greater. The merging of the achievements of the STR with the advantages of socialism is crucial for the activity of the fraternal parties. The significance of our symposium is, in particular, that we have examined a number of important theoretical problems related to the further improvement of the scientific standard of leadership in the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, the optimum criteria of management and planning, etc. The discussion has again shown the need for harmonizing the theoretical and political aspects of the problem, for conceptualizing the practice of socialist and communist construction.

*See WMR, No. 12, 1970; Nos. 8, 10, 1971; No. 7, 1972.



Class aspects of ecological crisis

Gus Hall

I

The environmental crisis is qualitatively a new kind of problem. Human society and all forms of life on this planet are confronted with a new and most critical challenge. It is a choice between the earth continuing as a celestial body that sustains living, growing matter, or an earth that will join the moon and countless planets that are dead and desolate. If human society continues as at present, the outcome is more and more debatable. In some areas, we are speeding to an environmental disaster. The processes that are propelling the crisis are in motion now. They are fundamentally affecting living, growing things now. They are killing now. They are in the process of preparing the environment for a dead planet now. Such appraisals are the conclusions of a growing number of serious-minded scientists.

Ralph Lapp, a well known U.S. scientist, has written:

'No one, not even the most brilliant scientist alive today really knows where science is taking us. We are aboard a train which is gathering speed, racing down a track on which there are an unknown number of switches leading to unknown destinations. No single scientist is in the engine cab and there may be *demons* at the switch. Most of society is in the caboose looking backwards.' Lapp is speaking about a capitalist train. In the capitalist world the question of preservation of a livable environment has become an important political issue. It is forcing millions to think about basic, sound and political issues.* It has become a new anti-monopoly issue. It has raised a new question about capitalism. Millions are seriously asking the question: *Can human society avoid an environmental point of no return while life and production remain organized along capitalist lines?*

To this point, humankind has exploited nature without experienc-

*An international symposium, 'Marxism-Leninism and Problems of the Environment,' held at the end of March under the auspices of this journal, was attended by scholars and representatives of Communist and Workers' parties from 36 countries (see WMR, 1972, No. 6). The exchange of opinion continues: this is an article by the General Secretary of the CP USA, Gus Hall, which he sent in to us in the beginning of May. —Ed.

ing catastrophe. Nature has been able to counteract and clean up the mess mankind has created and thereby, through renewal, maintain a livable environment on this earth. Resources have appeared limitless. It was once possible to exhaust nature in one area, abandon the debris and move on to another. The aftermath of the scorched earth policy of the private monopoly corporations can be seen in the craters and gutted mountains in the mining areas and in the hurricane-like scenes where once beautiful forests stood. In the United States the forests once occupied 900 million acres of land. And today there are only 40 million acres of forests.

This seemingly eternal interplay between human society and nature can no longer be taken for granted. That era is ending. Without a planned, scientific approach the environment will choke. Contamination and pollution levels are reaching the danger point. The rapid advances of technology, the acres of new factories that sprout each year, have thrust us into a crisis of the environment. And the fields of possible exploitation shrink. The crisis of the environment has brought into sharp focus all of the criminal and irresponsible practices of the private monopoly corporations that ignore all human and social concerns in their mad drive for profits.

Pollution is not only a serious social problem for the future but it dangerously affects the lives and health of people today. It threatens all life on this planet.

Preserving a livable environment is also a class problem. The most polluted areas are inside the factories where the workers work. The most direct victims of pollution are the workers, the people who are forced to live in the racial and industrial ghettos, the poor and the oppressed generally. Ironically, where capitalism reaches its greatest productive capacity pollution rises to the highest level.

The rich executives of monopoly corporations who are the direct polluters have moved into the distant countryside. They are now in the process of shifting their corporate business offices into the less polluted areas. The residents of the racial and industrial ghettos are left behind as prisoners within the poisoned cities.

The destruction of the environment is, of course, related to the technological revolution. But the cause for the crisis is not in the breakthroughs in science and technology. The 'demons' at the switch are not the scientists. Curbing of science is not a solution to the crisis.

Pollution of the environment did not start in our time. The flow of industrial wastes into the rivers and lakes is as old as industry. But there is something critically new that has appeared on the horizon. This process has reached a critical turning point. The dramatic breakthrough in science and technology have brought with them corresponding levels of destruction of a livable environment. This new level of pollution is being added to the accumulation left over from past pollutions.

Industries have poured mercury wastes into the lakes and rivers for decades. But we are only now seeing the cumulative effects of

that pollution in the poisoned fish that have become inedible. Mercury pollution went unnoticed until it began to kill human beings as a poison. How long it has been the cause of sickness and, indirectly, the cause of death no one knows. And if mercury pollution were totally stopped today, its poisoning would not only continue, but would escalate for the next thousand years. No one has come up with any proposals on how to gather up the mercury that now lies in the bottom of rivers and lakes. Each year it will poison more fish.

Up to a year or two ago, all scientists assumed that the discard of industrial mercury would sink into the soil of river and lake bottoms and lie there in a harmless state. No one suspected it would be transformed into a killer poison that would enter nature's food chain and kill human beings because the process was not evident to the human eye. No one had any idea of its effects on the soil, plants, animals or on human beings.

The most critical processes accumulating death are unseen and many more are unknown. And the most criminal are the deadly processes known but deliberately covered up and hidden from the public by corporation executives and government officials.

There is a developing crisis of radiation. Of the presently known dangers, radiation is the greatest hazard to life and health to present and future generations.

The danger from radiation is of utmost gravity because it is unseen. Its effects accumulate in the same invisible manner. When the effects of these processes become visible and calculable in most cases they have reached the point where remedy appears almost hopeless. It is estimated that something like seven per cent of all cases of cancer and leukemia are caused by natural radiation. That is about 20,000 cases a year. But because of the genetic effects, it is estimated that 50,000 and more deaths result from this every year. This is the cumulative effect of radiation from natural sources.

In 1963 a ban was placed on nuclear testing because it increased the radiation levels. But today, for the peaceful use of atomic energy, the federal government allows 20 times as much radiation for the average American as he could have received from the weapons testing fallout before the test ban. These standards have been increased without any scientific proof of their safety. The invisible genetic damage from this radiation could explode 15, 20 or 25 years from now in massive epidemics of cancer, leukemia or other causes of death or deformation. There is no proof to the contrary. There is growing indication that it is a serious danger.

But the contamination continues, each process adding to the cumulative results. The dumping of atomic industrial wastes into the seas and oceans of the world is unchecked. The European Atomic Energy Agency reports that in the year of 1968 alone Britain, Belgium, West Germany, France and the Netherlands dumped 11,000 tons of radioactive wastes, packed in unproved containers into the Atlantic Ocean. The contaminated water used to cool the

atomic reactors at Hanford flows along the Columbia River into the Pacific Ocean. The atomic installations of Great Britain discharge their poisonous wastes into the Irish Sea, and the French plutonium installations flush their poisonous wastes into the Rhone River that contaminates the fisheries in the Mediterranean Sea. Thus all oceans and seas of the world are affected. There is no hiding place from radioactive wastes.

There are processes affecting the total supply of the earth's oxygen. Whether this will reach a point of crisis is not known. In fact, it is not being seriously studied.

Some of the industrially developed countries now consume more oxygen than green vegetation in their countries can return to the atmosphere. For these countries, the point of no return has not been reached only because they are using the oxygen produced by vegetation in countries which have not been building such large-scale industries. It is another parasitic form of exploitation of colonial nations by the imperialist countries. But the trend is toward industrialization in all parts of the world. The total volume of atmosphere is not infinite and it is being consumed at an accelerated pace.

There is increasing evidence that air pollution is the biggest contribution to most respiratory diseases, such as emphysema and chronic bronchitis, two of the fastest growing causes of death in the United States. The study of what effects airborne chemicals have on birth defects is only getting under way. The initial results are already cause for serious concern. There is reason to fear that some chemicals may constitute as important a risk as radiation, possibly a more serious one. Although knowledge of chemical mutagenesis in man is much less certain than that of radiation. The list of potentially dangerous materials keeps growing. It includes such heavy metals as beryllium, copper, antimony and arsenic. Lead, chromium, cadmium, barium, cobalt and nickel are also on the list. There is no escaping from air pollution. It is only possible to escape from the most heavily polluted areas.

In spite of worldwide protests, on August 18, 1970, the United States sank 418 large containers of nerve gas into the Atlantic Ocean. There is no one in authority anywhere who knows or guarantees what is going to happen to these containers a year from now, or ten years from now. If they break up they will dangerously contaminate the North Atlantic Ocean from Florida to Europe. Further, these containers were placed in the Gulf Stream which will carry the poisonous substance far beyond the Atlantic.

The danger to a livable environment appears in all areas. New, vast areas of contamination are rising in the world's oceans. The rivers are like huge sewers overflowing into the oceans with the pollution of cities, industries and farms. Metals, poisonous chemicals, acids of every description pour into the seas. The oceans receive one-half as much iron as is used in the production of steel; over six million tons of phosphorous each year; over two million

tons of lead. Pollution enters the oceans by water and by air. Not only Lake Erie is 'dead.' The oceans near the shore and the industrial centers are now becoming 'dead seas.' In these areas the environment for marine life has been destroyed. Some chemicals kill marine organisms outright, increasing the load of decomposing matter that eats up oxygen; others stimulate the surviving plants and animals, adding to the oxygen demand; and still other chemicals and oil products themselves demand oxygen from the water. Michael Harwood wrote in the *New York Times Magazine Section* (Oct. 24, 1971):

'Thus the fish smother and lobsters, crabs and other marine life has been found to developed cancerous growths and other pollution related diseases.

'The pollution of the oceans has set into motion processes. They endanger the balance set and maintained by nature. They are time bombs that very well may go off at the point of no return. It is very doubtful whether human society can live on a planet surrounded by dead seas.'

Science is capable of safeguarding the environment. What has emerged as a serious question is whether that is possible as long as monopoly capitalism rules the roost in a number of industrially developed countries. The burning issue of preserving a livable environment has added a new urgent reason why capitalism as a social system has outlived its time and usefulness. A new weighty argument has emerged as to why the people of the United States and the world must consider the bringing into being of a responsive social system, a system that will be geared to resolving this universal danger.

The crisis of the environment, like other crises, has its roots in the inherent characteristics of capitalism. The drive for private profit which insists on exploitation and racism, and promotes imperialist wars of aggression and domestic violence also includes an utterly reckless disregard for natural resources and the consequent contamination of the environment.

II

The problem of overall environment has focused attention on the oldest and most brutal of all of capitalism's crimes. It is the mass murder that has been going on in the factories and mines for over a hundred years. The number of victims runs into millions. The crime is hidden behind the biggest of all lies, the 'death certificates' signed by medical authorities bought off by corporations.

This mass murder, because it takes place within the industrial processes, has always been acceptable to capitalist society a necessary and normal. Workers' lives have always been expendable for the corporations. Sixty die from industrial accidents every day. Thousands are maimed and crippled. This, industry cannot deny. In spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the coal companies still try to deny that the black lung disease, from which

hundreds of thousands of coal miners have died, is related to the unhealthy conditions in their coal mines. Corporations in other industries are no different. On the scale of profits, human lives are worthless.

The realization that the human race faces a critical challenge from pollution brings with it a rising consciousness about other crises and dangers. In Vietnam, indeed in all of Indochina, the United States is hard at work trying to do there what pollution threatens to do to the world. The orders at My Lai were not at cross purposes with the U.S. military policy for all of Indochina. Millions of tons of napalm have burned the flesh off the bones of hundreds of thousands of living human beings. The aerial bombardment has never differentiated between military and civilian villages. The death toll of civilians is in the millions. This is the result of a policy of 'kill every living thing that moves' and 'destroy everything that grows.'

There is a chemical called 2-2-5-T. It is used in the United States for killing weeds. When some of this killer chemical was blown by the winds into a flock of sheep and goats in Nevada, 60 per cent of the offspring were born dead or deformed. The rest died. In 1968, in this same area 6,400 sheep died because the winds carried a whiff of nerve gas being tested by the army. About 45 per cent of the land area in South Vietnam has now been sprayed with 2-2-5-T that is 13 times more powerful, more concentrated than that permitted in the United States. It has now been proved that these chemicals produce human cancer, possibly for generations, in an escalating spiral. Is there a more heinous crime in all of history? The fires of these crematoriums will burn for generations to come.

This is as deliberate and premeditated as the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is no less a crime than the death camps of Hitler fascism. Hiroshima, Buchenwald, My Lai — they are all the offspring of a morality that is generated by the very nature of capitalism. In the struggle to end the destruction of the environment the people are going to have to fight against the same class having the same morality.

What is involved is a conflict of class values. What is important? Profits for a few already rich, or an environment in which life on this planet can continue?

There is a basic concept, a fundamental approach — an attitude that underlies corporations' response. It is a response, a sense of values that is devoid of any social responsibility. Any entrepreneur who might dream of deviating from the rules of profit knows that this is the path of suicide. If he is to survive he must play by the rules set by the system. The root of the problem is not to be found in the evilness of individuals.

Capitalist corporations refuse to take any responsibility for the pollution which they originate. They go to any lengths to cover up their guilt. The corporations are for doing something about the pollution if it does not in any way affect their rate of profit. Corporate

response reveals its true colors when there is public pressure against an industry polluting the environment of a city. Time after time they say, 'You force us to spend money on ending the pollution and we will move our industry out of the city.' Time after time, they say in effect, 'Take it or leave it! You have a choice of clean air, clean water and no jobs, or polluted air and water, shorter lives and possible jobs.' Bethlehem Steel is the biggest polluter of the Buffalo area in New York. The people of Buffalo and the surrounding areas started a movement to clean the air, the rivers and the lakes around the city. The executives of Bethlehem Steel called a public press conference. Through this means they publicly made the following arrogant demands. From the people they demanded fewer taxes to be collected from Bethlehem Steel, higher productivity by the workers in their plants and an end to all 'prodding' of Bethlehem Steel about cleaning the environment. In effect, these pillars of society coldbloodedly said, 'Either you, the people of Buffalo, accept our conditions or we close the steel mills in Buffalo for all time.'

There are other problems reflecting the same anti-human sense of values by monopoly corporations. The monopoly corporations in a basic sense dominate all governmental bodies. This domination has now been extended to problems of pollution control. A Colorado hearing on pollution of a stream was presided over by the so-called Pollution Control Director of the brewery that was polluting the stream under investigation. There are anti-pollution boards in most of the 50 states. But a check shows that at least 35 such boards are dominated by representatives of the corporations who are the main polluters. The most influential member of the Los Angeles Harbor Anti-Pollution Board is an executive of an oil corporation that is the biggest polluter of the harbor area.

Because of public pressure recently the Atomic Energy Commission financed a study, by a top-ranking group of atomic scientists, of the effects of radiation that come from non-military use of atomic and nuclear energy. After a serious study, they reported that the dangers from radiation are now 20 times as great as was the official judgment accepted by the people in the government and by the Atomic Energy Commission itself. The report was buried. The group was dissolved. Eleven of the 12 scientists were quietly fired. The study was discontinued.

Criminal conspiracy and destruction of the environment are not limited to corporations. They extend to the very top governmental bodies. The crime on the governmental level is covered up by demagogic speeches about ecology and calling for 'earth days.' The Nixon-Agnew gang was the first to use the ecology demagoguery on a wide scale. It thought it could make meaningless speeches about clear air and clean water, and involve youth in a meaningless movement. But the strategy backfired. Youth quickly discovered collecting discarded cans and bottles, while not without merit, was not tackling the problem at its source. There is an important lesson to

be learned here: the mass can move very quickly from revulsion at the effect to condemnation of the cause. We are witnessing the same educational process that took place in the peace movement.

III

To move on remedial action, opens the key question for consideration. How can human society continue to use the benefits of the technological breakthrough while placing a permanent and continuous control over the negative features resulting from these processes? In the United States we are dealing with the crisis of the environment as it is related to the system and structure of capitalism. Therefore the most fundamental question facing the people of the United States is whether controls can be placed on the negative effects of the technological revolution while permitting capitalism to continue as an economic and social structure.

The present level of productive processes places the problem: Can civilization continue to move ahead in a society where the main questions are: Is it profitable? How much does it cost? It seems rather obvious that civilization has reached the plateau where these questions must be replaced by: Is it in the interest of the people, of society? Will it move humankind a step higher on the ladder of progress? It is this that must mold values and set priorities.

Socialism corrects the basic flaw of capitalism. It sets human society on a new path. The means of production, factories, mines and mills become the property of the people. They operate and produce *only* to fulfill human needs. This is the foundation for a new set of priorities – for new values. This then is the framework in which all questions are determined. If a process does not serve the common good, it does not take place. A clean environment is for the common good. It is therefore pursued.

Under capitalism there is a contradiction between the drive for profits and cleaning the environment. Under socialism this contradiction is eliminated. Saving the environment becomes a social necessity. Under capitalism, the main pressure on the production processes is maximum private profit. The environment is a casualty of these pressures. Under socialism this pressure is eliminated. It is replaced by a pressure to do that which is in the best interests of all in society. This pressure guarantees that no process will take place that endangers a continuation of life on this planet.

The contradiction the countries of socialism do face is the urgent need to build a modern industrial foundation on the highest possible scientific and technological base, while spending the necessary resources for preserving a livable atmosphere for the future. Anti-pollution measures cost time, *material* and capital.

But under socialism, the means are present through which society can resolve the problem of the environment before it reaches the point of no return. The socialist states are resolving the problem successfully. The reversal of the dead-end processes of pollu-

tion requires overall planning that is possible only under socialism. Socialism, motivated by doing only that which serves society as a whole has values and priorities that make the preservation of the environment a part of the overall human activity. The socialist sense of values is expressed in environmental laws that are strictly enforced.

The struggle to save the environment has emerged as a broad issue. There is an unusual urgency about the issue. Masses who after all are the power of any revolution do not, as a rule, set their directions through academic studies. They reach conclusions through experiences, through the medium of struggle. The struggles are for reforming the old system. They are not convinced that the old system is beyond repair. This is true in the struggle to save the environment. What is new, however, is that the knowledge of the point of no return gives this struggle an unusual urgency. Masses are not going to wait and see if it works. Those of us who know that capitalism cannot basically be reformed, must work with and for people who have not yet come to that conclusion. We must be the organizers, the leaders of these movements. We must give these struggles the benefit of our deeper understanding.

The immediate goals of the struggle must be a demand for federal laws — without the Nixon clauses that make them meaningless.* The demand must be for laws with provisions through which the people, workers, the people in the ghettos, trade unionists, can be the enforcers. The demand must be for the nationalization of industry that violate anti-pollution laws. The demand must be for laws that guarantee that the cost of all anti-pollution measures comes from corporate profits. The power of environmental control must be with the people.

The social forces that carry out a revolutionary transition never arrive on the scene from the blue. They are never hatched in some isolated hot house. They mature, they become conscious of their historic mission and their collective power, in the struggles around the immediate grievances they face in their daily lives. The tens of millions who are in the struggle against pollution are not yet ready to save the environment by fighting for socialism. This they will learn through the experience of struggle against specific acts of pollution. But even this does not take place spontaneously. Experiences of struggle open up the mind to ideas, to concepts. Marxism-Leninism is a social science. It is the science of the revolutionary transition. It embodies the basic essence, the wisdom, the might that comes from all of human revolutionary experience. Marxism-Leninism is the theory of the historic transition.

The experience that comes from the struggle around the daily needs and grievances, combined with a study of the nature of the social and economic system, and its class forces, transforms the fighters into fighters for the revolutionary transition to socialism.

*The ecological bills introduced by the Nixon Administration contained the following provision: '...taking into account the practicability of compliance...'—Ed.

Thus the forces of transition are hatched and matured in the struggles for immediate needs. With the help of a science, Marxism-Leninism, the processes can be greatly speeded up.

The new levels of science and technology always fire the boilers of a transition. But they also have always provided tools of combat. The boilers of the changeover have developed a heavy head of steam. Science and technology have taken a qualitative leap: with the new technology has come a qualitative leap in the means of destruction. Human society has come to a crossroads. It can now provide abundance for all or it can now destroy every living thing. Nuclear, chemical and bacteriological stockpiles can now kill every living thing 100 times over. For the first time the human race is forced to consider the difficult question: how can it proceed with social progress, with the transition to a higher social order without a nuclear disaster? The struggle against nuclear war of course must be placed in an overall framework. Human society will not accept a status quo. It is rejecting values and priorities based on exploitation and private profits. It will not accept imperialist oppression as a way of life. The struggle for social progress will go on. The transition to a new economic and social system will not wait. The struggle must now be joined with the struggle against a nuclear war. This only adds a new dimension to the crisis quality of the moment.

The struggles against both nuclear and environmental disaster are closely linked. The root causes are the same. The line-up of class and political forces on both sides is the same. They are critical problems peculiar to this moment of transition.

Mass struggles can prevent capitalism from totally destroying civilization either by nuclear war or by uprooting the environment. But the threat is ever present because of the predatory character of capitalism. That threat can be erased for good only when capitalism, with its anti-human outlook, is discarded and replaced by a social order that is motivated and propelled only by the consideration of the public welfare.

In a general sense, the ecological crisis exists because the environment that sustains life on this earth is being destroyed. The sky is getting grayer; the leaves on the trees are getting browner; the rivers and the lakes are getting murkier. At an alarming rate, animals, trees and plants are becoming extinct. These are but the danger signals that life in any form on this planet is in danger. An environmental time bomb is being constructed. The genetic mechanism controlling the hereditary processes is being re-programmed by blind forces. Radiation and contamination may result in an explosion of abnormalities and deformities in the generations that will follow.

There is a crisis because in the United States and in the rest of the capitalist world, we are dealing with the problem of the environment within an outmoded social and economic system dominated by a class whose policy is maximum private profits regard-

less of human cost. There is a crisis because the same basic policy of monopoly capitalism that is expressed in Vietnam, which led to the brutal massacre at My Lai, is reflected in its basic policy toward the environment. There is a crisis because capitalism is not motivated by human needs or desires.

The extinction of all forms of life on earth is not going to take place this year or the next or even during this decade. This fact, however, should not lead to complacency about the urgency of a solution. The processes now in motion do carry within them a point of no return. But the problem is also immediate. Pollution is causing sickness and death now. With each day the death rate caused by pollution is increasing. It may well be that human society will reach the point where it can detach itself and exist without the support of other living things. But such a possibility is in serious trouble if the environment of all living things including man is destroyed before technology and science reach such heights.

The crisis of the environment forces everyone to re-examine values, tables of priorities and the long-range outlook. Thus the crisis has emerged as a new social and political problem which is interwoven with all other social and economic problems. Its solution cannot be intelligently explained without examining it within the structures of society.

Capitalism is a doomed system. It is on its way out. Capitalism's record of social responsibility is very thin indeed. This, its imperialist, last stage of development is totally devoid of even pretenses of social responsibility. The void is being filled more and more by the working class. It is the working class that now shoulders the social, the public interests. This shift in class responsibility shows up in attitudes to the present and future of society. Capitalism behaves as if the future of human society is unalterably bound to its decaying and dying system. The only thing that concerns it is the maximum profits of today.

The working class does not tie either its own future or the future of human society to the declining destinies of capitalism. That is why the working class is the force to replace capitalism with a system that has a future. That is why the working class has a different attitude to problems and processes that are putting into question the future of human society. They want to produce a liveable environment in which to build a decent social order. Ecology is a class issue.



Alliance with the Communists

Georgi Traikov

A distinctive feature of socialist democracy in Bulgaria is that the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union (BAPU) takes part in socialist building in common with the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The recent 32nd Congress of BAPU defined the Union's tasks at the new stage of development in Bulgaria. It adopted the Communist party goal – building a developed socialist society – as a goal of the Union as well. The Congress reaffirmed that BAPU is, and will always be, a loyal ally of the BCP and will work for closer Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, lasting international peace and security and the policy of peaceful coexistence.

As the second ruling party, BAPU plays an active role in the top government bodies and the entire system of administration. It has 100 deputies in the People's Assembly and is represented on the State Council by the First Deputy Chairman and four members and on the Council of Ministers, by the First Deputy Chairman and three ministers. As many as 30,000 BAPU members are active in people's councils, the Fatherland Front, agricultural cooperatives and other economic or non-governmental organizations. They include 863 district council and 8,350 communal council members. The Union does much to promote and perfect socialist democracy by bringing the greatest possible number of working people into government and economic management. Tens of thousands of its members deal with tasks set before people's councils, primarily in the economic sphere, education, the service industry and rural modernization.

BAPU is also involved in the country's foreign affairs. It maintains and promotes relations with more than fifty democratic peasant parties and related parties and organizations of the world. Its international activity helps to popularize Bulgaria's gains in socialist building and to unite the peasants for peace, social progress and the solution of problems agitating farmers all over the world.

The above facts should give an idea of BAPU's participation in the political activity and democratic system of socialist Bulgaria.

Reality has given the lie to those who prophesized that the nearer BAPU drew to the BCP, the sooner it would lose its signi-

ficance and prestige. Indeed, life and socialist building have shown that as the Union draws nearer to the Communist Party its political unity of action is growing and so are its influence and prestige. This is the Party's Dimitrovist policy towards its ally, BAPU, a policy which triumphed after the April 1956 meeting of the CC BCP.

As we examine the 72-year-long record of the Union, one of the oldest peasant organizations in Europe, we realize that never before has it been so homogeneous in class composition and goals nor made so notable a contribution to the attainment of our people's great ideals as today. The Union has long since outgrown the objectives that were set at its inception. It has become a consistently democratic organization, avoiding the fate of some West European peasant parties which became reactionary and had to leave the social scene. Cooperation with the Communist Party was decisive in evolving the policies of BAPU.

The unity of BAPU members and Communists has had a solid political basis ever since September 9, 1944. But before this meaningful and fruitful alliance of two brother parties was established the Union had to travel a long road of courageous struggles and severe trials and eliminate errors as it searched for the only correct solution, which was to recognize the leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. To show how life and the logic of the struggle led the Union to this conclusion, it may not be amiss to look back a little.

To begin with, we must evidently indicate the objective historical conditions which made for close links between BAPU and the BCP. Unlike a number of other European countries, the peasant movement in Bulgaria did not until September 9, 1944 develop as an anti-feudal movement or a movement seeking an end to survivals of the feudal system. Its salient characteristic was struggle against capitalist exploitation in the countryside, against the reactionary forces of big capital, the monarchy, and imperialist dependence. This also expressed itself in the activity of BAPU, which united mostly small and medium agricultural producers. 'The Agricultural Union,' the great Dimitrov stressed, 'sprang up and grew in struggle against the bourgeoisie and its parties. In terms of ideology and policy, it was a purely social-estate, peasant, anti-capitalist organization.' It was anything but accidental, therefore, that the Union developed as a political organization opposed to the parties of big predatory capital and that the working-class and peasant movements were close to each other as regards the nature and trend of their class struggle.

Founded in 1899, when spontaneous peasant action against usurers and profiteers was on the rise, BAPU became a mass political organization. The economic situation in the country, torn by social antagonism, took sharp turn for the worse in the first decade of the Union's existence. Thanks to the more militant forces led by Alexander Stamboliski, a prominent democratic republican, there developed progressive features which largely

determined the Union's orientation. These features were the struggle against capitalist exploitation, the big bourgeoisie and its parties, for democratic reforms and the advancement of cooperative farming; the struggle against the monarchy, which had brought so many misfortunes on our people, for democracy and a republic; the struggle for peace and international understanding, against Bulgaria's involvement in disastrous wars.

While remembering the radical changes which BAPU activities underwent with the victory of the socialist revolution, we cherish the historical record of the Union and continue its progressive traditions, putting into practice what its finest men fought and died for.

The Union's devotion to the people's interests found vivid expression in the campaign for the withdrawal of Bulgaria from World War I. Thousands of its members joined illegal soldiers' committees along with Communists and helped to establish the Union as a supporter of peace and democracy by urging the servicemen to rise against the war. And when, in 1918, the soldiers did rise the Union leaders put themselves at the head of the revolt and proclaimed the Radomir Republic. This was a serious attempt to break with a decrepit regime and embark on social progress.

Participation in those momentous political events strengthened BAPU as an organization enjoying great influence among the people. Despite its fallacious idea of autonomous rural power based on a social-estate ideology, and despite attempts by alien elements to worm their way into its ranks and put it in the service of reaction, the Union continued to uphold the interests of the peasant masses.

In the years of BAPU rule (1920-1923) the Stamboliski government carried out a series of democratic changes. It effected an agrarian reform, democratized public education and justice and encouraged cooperative farming. This socio-economic policy of the Union struck at the people's exploiters and the interests of big capital. It was indicative of a sincere effort to democratize government.

There were also changes in foreign policy. Bulgaria refused to join imperialist blocs, and set out to establish good-neighbor relations and mutual understanding between Balkan nations and to improve relations with the young Soviet Republic. And when a collection was started of foodstuffs and funds for Soviet Russia on the Communists' initiatives, the BAPU government did not yield to the bourgeoisie's vicious attacks and permitted the collected resources to be shipped tax and duty-free.

Those progressive steps would seem to have made it possible for BAPU and the BCP to join efforts on a lasting basis. But just then the Union leaders made a series of mistakes that proved fatal. The worst of them stemmed from the illusion of autonomous peasant power, viewed as dogma. It tended to isolate the Union peasants and set them against the workers. The result was that no durable BCP-BAPU cooperation could be achieved despite participation in several joint actions. This not only suited the reac-

tionaries but enabled them to engineer, with imperialist backing from the West, a counter-revolutionary military coup on June 9, 1923. The Stamboliski government was overthrown and he himself was assassinated.

The tragic events of 1923 were highly instructive to the Union membership. After them more and more members awakened to the fallacy of the principle of autonomous peasant power and realized that genuine people's power could be won and held only if the workers and peasants, the Communists and Union members, fought in common. 'A worker-peasant government,' Georgi Dimitrov wrote in those days, 'could satisfy the masses and bring tranquility to the country.'

The Communist Party likewise drew proper conclusions from the June events. With due regard to reality, to the fact that along with the working-class party there was a mass peasant organization wielding great political influence over the poor and middle peasants, the Party adopted unity of action with BAPU as a principle of its effort to unite the country's democratic and patriotic forces. Under the slogan of a United Front it paved the way for worker-peasant unity and the formation of an alliance of the BCP and BAPU and all working people against the monarcho-fascist distatorship. The idea of a worker-peasant government advanced by the Communist Party became the political slogan of the September 1923 rising. This slogan was also adopted by BAPU, and a United Front of the two brother parties was formed to put the slogan into effect. The Party's policy and activity encouraging friendship and unity with the Union constituted a feature of the revolutionary process in our country before September 9, 1944.

BAPU participation in the Popular Front and then in the Fatherland Front played a decisive part in the progress of the Union and in determining its character and its place in social life and the working people's struggles. In the battle against fascism the unity of Communists and Union members was the most important political factor. It helped decisively in promoting the revolutionary anti-fascist movement, in freeing the country from the tyranny of the Bulgarian fascists and Hitlerite invaders and in achieving victory for the socialist revolution, the people's greatest accomplishment in a thousand years of history.

The worker-peasant alliance was the motive force of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism and fascism. The revolution was carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party, to which credit is due for the historic unification of all genuinely democratic, progressive and patriotic forces. Due to the Party's efforts, the revolutionary struggle of the Bulgarian working class and other working people against capitalism merged with the fight of the whole people against fascism and imperialism, for social and national emancipation. This virtually sealed the fate of capitalism in Bulgaria and, with the decisive aid of the Soviet Army, led to the victory of the socialist revolution. The revolution realized the Union members' dream of a republic, people's rule, progressive and democratic development, and peace and friendship

among nations. BAPU participation in government after the victory of the revolution as an ally of the BCP was perfectly natural and logical.

The Union's historic Supreme Council in 1946 renounced the social-estate principle as erroneous and harmful. It adopted the class principle, accepted as historically necessary the leading role of the Communist Party, and proclaimed the task of building socialism in Bulgaria.

In that way the issue of the practicability of autonomous peasant power in Bulgaria was settled on the strength of historical experience. The issue was 'consigned to the archives,' as Georgi Dimitrov put it. The objective necessity for the leading role of the working class in socialist building, disputed so often on paper and never refuted in practice, was reaffirmed.

During the period of socialist construction, the BCP continued and carried deeper the Leninist policy of cooperation and united action with BAPU. It fostered the Union's development as a political party having its specifics and approaching the rural working people in its own way. This is further proof that the BCP cooperates with BAPU on a profoundly scientific basis, not for any transient tactical reasons, but because this is a very important component of the Party's policy towards the allies of the working class in socialist building.

The qualitatively new features of the Union enabled it to cooperate more closely with the BCP, take an active part in building socialist society and gear its activity to the development of the country and the vital interests of the peasants. The ideological and political evolution of the Union was a logical result of its effort to take definite shape as a consistently democratic progressive peasant organization building a new society in alliance with the working-class party.

In conclusion of this brief historical survey, I should like to stress the role which Georgi Dimitrov played as the founder of the BCP-BAPU alliance in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, as the man who achieved unity of action in socialist building. He was keenly aware of the progressive trends arising in the organization and acclaimed BAPU's search for new ways and methods. This, he said, stood for everything 'viable, new and sound,' in the Union.

It is not only by virtue of its past record or its traditional influence on the rural masses that BAPU takes part in government and in socialist building. It has a share in the management of public affairs and in economic and cultural development also because it really and actively helps to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, advance the countryside on socialist lines, build up the people's ideological and political unity, further Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which is sacred to us, and promote cooperation with other members of the socialist community of nations.

Bulgaria has confidently followed the socialist path for almost three decades. In this period our people have scored historic gains

in every sphere and have thoroughly transformed their country. Much of the credit for these remarkable achievements goes to BAPU. It is well known, even abroad, that the Union takes an active part in building up the material and technical basis of socialism, and first of all the cooperative system. The Union has done much to develop and consolidate new social relations, promote socialist democracy, strengthen the Fatherland Front as the largest socio-political organization of Bulgaria's working people and heighten the role and prestige of the people's councils – the local organs of people's power and self-government.

We are building a developed socialist society under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Tenth BCP Congress approved a scientifically based Program determining the country's development for decades ahead. The Party leads the construction of developed socialism in close cooperation with BAPU. The new Constitution, adopted after a nationwide referendum in May 1971, makes this principle a legal norm. The new Party Program also defines the role and place of BAPU at the new stages of the country's development. We see this as further evidence of the Communist Party's Leninist approach to its ally.

'Our Party,' said Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, at the Tenth Party Congress, 'will work in the future, as it has in the past, shoulder to shoulder with its loyal ally and active champion of people's happiness, the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union. The draft Party Program, too, says that this brother organization plays, and will play, a big role in advancing socialist society, strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and the people's socio-political and ideological unity. Continued socialist building will make the bonds between the BCP and BAPU closer still. It will make the joint activity of the two organizations richer and deeper and gradually bring them closer together in the common struggle and work for common goals, for the triumph of a common ideal.'

We know from experience that socialist building can be effectively carried out with the active participation of other democratic parties committed to building the new society. New, socialist relations based on complete mutual trust and understanding have developed between BAPU and the BCP.

Our membership today devotes all its knowledge and energy to the tasks facing the whole people. Agriculture remains a key field of our political and organizational activity. BAPU members must take part in the concentration and specialization of agriculture, introducing industrial techniques and technologies and consolidating the agrarian-industrial complexes.

As it builds a developed socialist society in collaboration with the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union will continue to do its duty to the people and country by taking part in the framing and implementation of the country's home and foreign policy and in the material and spiritual advancement of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.



Composed by Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties: Philip Bart (USA), George Batal (Lebanon), Larbi Bouhali (Algeria), Amath Dansoko (Senegal), Barbu Zaharescu (Rumania), Idris Cox (Great Britain), Felipe Malaya (Philippines), Laszlo Nagy (Hungary), Paul Courtieu (France), Mahgoub Osman (Sudan), Kostas Pafitis (Cyprus), Hamid Safari (Iran), Jorge Texier (Chile), George Toubi (Israel), Jaime Fuchs (Argentina), Mohamed Harmel (Tunisia), Ara Khachadoor (Iraq), Lars Junttila (Finland).

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Constituted – 1922

Area – 22,402,000 sq. kms.

Population – 246,259,000

System— a socialist federation of Soviet republics

Leading political force – Communist Party of the Soviet Union

* * *

We have returned from a trip across the Soviet Union, made on the invitation of the CC CPSU. Divided into groups, we visited Moscow, Kiev, Tbilisi, Tashkent, Kishinev, Tallinn, Kazan and many other cities, had an opportunity to see the socialist republics, and were received at the CC CPSU by Comrade B. N. Ponomaryov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU. Our group was made up of representatives of 18 Communist and Workers' Parties on this journal.

The reason for our trip was the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We wanted to see and understand how the national policy is being effectuated, how the principles of socialist federation are being put into practice, and the results of socialist construction now being summed up by those who cherish the ideal of peace, democracy and socialism.

Our travel notes, and conservations, lay no claim to being an exhaustive account. They are but a particle of our impressions. The

subject will be dealt with by a special symposium, and as we write these lines guests are arriving at the journal from many countries to take part in this representative international forum, at which we, too, intend to speak. We are also going to write about our trip for the press of our respective parties.

We said in our title that this report is documentary – it is based on facts, figures, and shorthand notes of conversations with Soviet people of different ages, professions, social standing and education.

Speaking to them we heard not only of successes, but also of deficiencies. Our hosts did not conceal them from us. But they spoke of them as masters in their own home, determined to make it better.

In our time, a time of steeply rising social and technical progress, many things are being converted from dream into reality. But no matter how great and audacious the conquests of the human intellect, we are still in a world where more than one-third of the people cannot read or write and where every second – less than it takes to write this line – a human being dies of hunger.

The socialist equality attained in the socialist countries is the boldest and most magnificent materialization of man's dreams.

Here is what Russia was like a mere fifty years ago, as described by Lenin, the genius who designed the revolutionary reconstruction of the world:

"There is room for dozens of large civilized states in those vast areas which lie to the north of Vologda, the south-east of Rostov-on-Don and Saratov, the south of Orenburg and Omsk, and the north of Tomsk. They are a realm of patriarchy, and semi- and downright barbarism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 349-50).

Today, this country ranks first in Europe and second in the world for industrial output.

The economy is 100 per cent socialist and such social designations as bourgeois, landowner, merchant or kulak are long since nonexistent.

Everybody in the country can read and write. The passage to universal secondary education is almost completed and every fourth scientist in the world is a citizen of the Soviet Union.

The last of the unemployed was registered here over 40 years ago. The real incomes of factory and office workers have gone up more than 8-fold over 1913, and those of farmers nearly 12-fold. Life expectancy has risen from 32 years to 70.

We recall what L. I. Brezhnev said at the 24th Congress of the CPSU: the creative genius of the Soviet people, their dedication, and their unity round the Communist Party, have been, are, and ever will be the earnest of all the successes of the USSR.

And so, the tour of the multinational Soviet country.

A STATE OF AND FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE

These words broke the solemn silence in the hall: The third session of the Eighth Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist

Republic is declared open. They were spoken by Hero of Socialist Labor Mikhail Vakhula, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Republic. This was not the first opening of a legislative assembly that we have attended. But for most of us it was the first to be opened by a worker, for Mikhail Vakhula is a lathe operator of the Lvov Handling Equipment Factory.

In the hall we saw a few of our new acquaintances: first row, left, Deputy Maria Bukir, tractor operator of the Martovo State Farm in Kharkov Region. A few days before, we had looked in when she was having her reception hours as Supreme Soviet Deputy. Electors came to her with all kinds of problems. She was asked to look into the administrative snags holding up the commissioning of a completed power transmission line, to prod someone into reconstructing a kindergarten, to help a family get a new flat. This amazing alternation of matters of state importance and purely personal questions is typical in the life of Soviet people, for whom personal affairs interweave with the affairs of society as a whole; it is also a special feature of Soviet democracy, which encompasses the entire width and breadth, the diversity of life.

Elsewhere in the hall we saw a man known to us from photographs – Pavel Popovich, the first Ukrainian cosmonaut. We had a talk with him later, in a compartment of the Kiev-Moscow express. It lasted into the small hours of the morning. The son of a peasant family, Popovich, now known all over the world, is a Supreme Soviet Deputy.

We came to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session after we had gained a first-hand knowledge of the system of Soviet socialist democracy and the participation of workers and farmers in state administration. And impressions gained in one republic we tried to align with the facts and figures supplied at our request about the political activity of millions of people across the entire Soviet Union.

LOCAL SOVIETS

Total deputies of more than 100 nationalities – 2,166,004

Workers	36.5 per cent
Collective farmers	28.8 per cent
CPSU Members	44.5 per cent
Non-members	55.5 per cent

Ustimov Rural Soviet, Vasilkovo District, Kiev Region

VASILI MARTYNENKO, Chairman of the Soviet Executive said:

The rural Soviets are the most mass organs of power in the USSR. What matters do we deal with? The mandate we get from the voters covers practically every aspect of public life: collective farm operation, secondary schools, kindergartens, shops and canteens, construction of a House of Culture. In short, we try to carry out the mandate in every detail.

Kharkov City Soviet

Question put to deputy **KONSTANTIN KISLYAKOV**, Hero of Socialist Labor, holder of a State Prize, Central Committee Member, Communist Party of the Ukraine:

What contact has the deputy with his constituents?

Answer: To all the above titles I would add the most important of all, worker, lathe operator at the Kharkov Turbine Plant. That is the title I am most proud of. Now to answer your question: we deputies share the interests of the people who elected us, the people with whom we work. For instance, fellow workers constantly come to me for advice and assistance. They come during the lunch break, or on the way home. Of course, there are regular hours for receiving my constituents. The Deputy Groups set up in every electoral district, also make for closer contact with the voters. There are 80 such groups in Kharkov and they include deputies of Soviets at all levels.

SUPREME SOVIETS OF UNION REPUBLICS

Total deputies – 5,879, of 66 nationalities

Workers	29.6 per cent
Collective farmers	20.8 per cent
CPSU Members	67.5 per cent
Non-members	32.4 per cent

We met with a group of deputies at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, talked to them, put many questions. Here are some of the answers:

OLGA ANUFRIEVA, cutter, Kiev Shoe Factory:

This is my third term as deputy. You know how Kiev suffered during the war. Most of the devastation was in housing and in the early post-war years we built new houses. But we also had to think about child care, nurseries and kindergartens. We built these too. Many constituents come to me with proposals to beautify our streets, build new shops, general service enterprises, and so on. In the factory my comrades have asked me to look into the quality of the raw materials we get. Production problems are resolved together with factory management.

IVAN RADZIEVSKY, milling machine team leader, Leninskaya Kuznitsa Plant, Kiev: member of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium:

The problems are many and they require different solutions. For instance, the voters suggested planting more trees in our district. I brought the question up at a meeting of the District Soviet Executive, which approved of the idea. We organized a voluntary labor day and planted 30,000 trees. Laying on telephones in the new residential areas was a more difficult problem. I raised it at a session of the Supreme Soviet and the Telecommunications Ministry had to give a satisfactory reply. Now things have improved markedly.

GEORGI MAIBORODA, composer: I am head of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Culture. We have been examining the work of the Broadcasting and Television Committee, the theatres, the introduction of new technology in the printing industry. Right now we are looking into the state and prospects of musical culture in the Ukrainian republic.

To round out the picture. . . .

We asked FYODOR OVCHARENKO, Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Ukraine:

How do you achieve interaction of Party and Soviet activity?

Under the USSR Constitution, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state. In the Ukraine, Communists make up 47 per cent in the local Soviets (that is, less than half, despite the contention of the bourgeois press that all deputies are Communists). But it is not merely a matter of numbers. The Party is closely linked with the masses and enjoys their full support. Hence, there is not, nor can there be, any contradiction between the organs of our state of all the people and the Party, the vanguard of the Soviet people. Organic unity of Party, state and people is the very foundation of our socialist political system.

Question put to ALEXANDER LYASHKO, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine: *

We could see for ourselves that workers and peasants are widely represented in all the organs of Soviet power. What is the outlook for their still greater participation in governing the country?

Answer: Worker and peasant deputies as, I hope, you were able to see for yourselves, are the full-fledged representatives of the people and are able more fully and comprehensively to express their needs and interests. One of our Party's fundamental aims is transition from a state of all the people to communist social self-government. This can be accomplished only if all the people are in one form or another taught to share in administering the affairs of state. The effort to build communism, the 24th CPSU Congress emphasized in its resolution, is inseparable from the all-round development of socialist democracy and strengthening of the Soviet state. And towards that end we are consistently and on an ever wider scale bringing workers and peasants to share in running the state.

USSR SUPREME SOVIET

Total deputies – 1,517, of 62 nationalities

Workers	31.7 per cent
Collective farmers	18.6 per cent
CPSU Members	72.3 per cent
Non-members	27.7 per cent

*Comrade Lyashko is now Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR.

We completed our first-hand acquaintance with the political organization of Soviet society by examining the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the highest organ of power, the custodian of the sovereignty of the multi-national Soviet people. And we can say, first, that socialism requires and assures a fundamentally new role for the masses in the life of the country, their participation in the affairs of state. That is the aim of all CPSU activity in developing socialist democracy.

Second, we wish strongly to emphasize that democracy is measurable above all in the *real* benefits it brings the working people.

Third, what has been achieved to date is not seen as the end. On the contrary, our Soviet comrades are concentrating on perfecting socialist democracy which they see as a process of constant development of the creative initiative and activity of the masses.

ECONOMIC UNITY

A problem we examined in Moscow. . . .

Our questions were answered by:

NIKOLAI LEBEDINSKY, Deputy Chairman, USSR State Planning Committee.

Question: In your country political unity is matched by economic unity. How is this expressed?

Answer: First of all, of course, in our socialist economic system and socialist ownership of the means of production which, as our Constitution says, represents the economic basis of our state. Our national economy develops according to a uniform overall plan.

Let us consider why multinational states disintegrate under the bourgeois system. The answer is that contacts based on exploitation and oppression not only harden the backwardness of whole regions and countries, but doom their economies to national isolation. Why has imperialism's colonial system collapsed, despite long established economic relations between colonies and colonial powers? Because by its very nature, such relations could not be stable. More, they aggravated the deep-rooted differences in development levels and interests of the colonial powers and their colonies.

Socialism has produced a new type of ties between nations, based on the principles of equality and voluntary cooperation. This has had the effect of levelling out the economies of the various republics.

Take Uzbekistan. Its wealth, pressed into the service of the people, comprises vast deposits of natural gas and oil. Above all, however, it is our biggest cotton-growing area. This was also true in the past, but before the revolution all the cotton was shipped to Central Russia. Today, it is taken for granted that Uzbekistan twists its own yarn, weaves its own fabrics, and, besides, makes its own fertilizers and machines to work the cotton fields.

This is how the economic complex of each republic is built up — as a complex, not a monoculture typical of colonial exploitation.

Question: Has the process of levelling out the economies of republics been completed?

Answer: The five-year economic development plan for 1971-1975 envisages higher industrial growth rates in some republics. In the Russian Federation, for example, growth will be 47 per cent, in Byelorussia 58, and in Armenia and Turkmenia 64. But that is no longer the main issue. All the republics have highly developed industrial-agrarian economies. The 24th Congress of our Party has set the sights on intensification, on fuller use of all resources and swiftly rising efficiency, which will enable us to fulfil the main objective of this five-year plan: to raise substantially the material and cultural level of our people.

This is what all the targets in the union republics are based on, for technical progress implies powerful turbines and generators made in the Ukraine, computers from Byelorussia, Lithuanian appliances, Armenian chemicals, Uzbek cotton-harvesting and irrigation machines, and manganese and diesel engines from Georgia. Every republic contributes to the general effort.

NIKOLAI NEKRASOV, Academician, Chairman of the Productive Forces Council

Question: What is the outlook for building up economic unity in the Soviet Union?

Answer: Take our economic map. You will see railways, thousands of kilometres of pipeline, a web of power grids. They join up various industrial areas, and will continue to expand swiftly. The existing complex of the world's greatest hydro-power stations will be augmented with still greater hydro-projects. The over 100,000,000 kW power grid operated in the European part of the Soviet Union (there is none to match it in the world) will merge with the grids of Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

A joint system of oil and gas supply is now in the building stage, and at least 30,000 kilometres of trunk pipeline will be laid in the five-year period.

Those are just a few elements in the solution of the major economic and social problem – a scientifically-grounded economy stretching across our vast country. We have a General Scheme (basic guidelines) for the distribution of the productive forces for 1971-1980. It includes schemes for the union republics and economic areas, and schemes of large national economic complexes. It was produced by a large group of scientists, designers, planners and administrators, and covers the great diversity of economic and social factors of each republic.

. . . and saw it solved in a republic

The process of levelling economies may be traced back in each Soviet republic. We saw it in Georgia.

When Soviet power was constituted Georgia had a few textile and food-processing factories, and manganese and coal mines.

Nearly 1,000 large enterprises have been built since. They include the iron-and-steel works in Rustavi and the ferrous alloys plant in Zestafoni, a motor works in Kutaisi, an oil refinery in Batumi, a cotton combine in Gori, and plants making lathes, electric locomotives and aircraft.

The collective-farm system completely repatterned farming. The land in ancient Colchis was drained, and the fertile soil of the Alazan Valley irrigated. Farmers learned to grow tea. And, of course, vine-growing made spectacular progress: the coat-of-arms of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic even has a bunch of grapes woven in.

These days, Georgia makes electric locomotives and high-speed aircraft, lorries, computers, complex metal-cutting equipment, precision instruments and electric motors, tower cranes and artesian pumps, building materials, and plastic goods. The output of lathes of all kinds exceeds that of all tsarist Russia several times over.

We were shown a New York letter to the Poti ship repair plant. A Mr. Rennerts, representing a U.S. firm, writes: 'It was a real delight to see a flying "Komet" in the Caribbean. Your ship performs beautifully. She has already accommodated more than 25,000 passengers.'

Comments by RAFAIL YELIGULASHVILI, President of the Chamber of Commerce of Georgia

Foreign orders come to 116 Georgian enterprises. The Batumi oil processing plant alone ships its products to 35 countries, including Britain, Brazil, Canada, Sweden, Japan, Italy and Uruguay. This is real recognition of the world standard attained by the economy of a formerly backward country.

Hydrofoils of the 'Komet' type ply many seas and rivers. They are comfortable, fast and easy to handle. Hence their popularity abroad.

The Georgian economy is abreast with that of any industrially developed country in, say, Central Europe. And it manufactures items such as airliners, which are mostly too big an assignment for countries of similar size.

What opportunities are there for the republic in the union-wide division of labor? This is the question we asked at the Georgian Planning Administration.

IRAKLI MIKELADZE, Academician, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Administration of Georgia

The all-Union division of labor is the main criterion in defining the basic trends of our economic development. Our plans provide for a higher output of commodities needed by the Union as a whole. The idea is not to deliver raw materials, but the ready product: not manganese but ferrous alloys, and pipes, machines and equipment rather than metal. Industries serving the country as a whole work

harmoniously alongside those filling our own demands in power, building materials, and the like.

Are there contradictions between the economic interests of the republic and the country as a whole? Certainly. But we always have a chance of finding an optimum solution, for that is in the interest of all concerned. The USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, for example, suggested using coke gas as fuel in our Rustavi plant. The Georgian government, however, thought it more desirable to use it for making mineral fertilizer. This was also in the interest of the whole country, and our proposal was accepted.

The all-union problems are also solved with consideration for the specifics of the republics. Take this passage from the 24th CPSU Congress Directives: 'To increase the industrial output of the Georgian SSR by 39-42 per cent with higher development rates for the non-metal-consuming fields in engineering and the chemical industry . . .' Why this special accent? We lack powerful enough facilities to produce pig iron, steel casts, and stamps. Yet we have good opportunities for building machines, with the minimum use of metals, to boost the production of tea, grapes, tobacco and citrus crops. This is constant with the requirements of scientific-technical progress, the republic's specialization, and the needs of the country's economy.

Summing up by GIVI DZHAVAKHISHVILI, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic

Like all other republics, we are preparing for the 50th anniversary of the USSR. The achievements of the past fifty years confirm our Party's Leninist nationalities policy. I hope you have seen the benefits of this fraternal union to the peoples of our country. But growth of industry and expansion of agriculture are not a goal in itself. They are but the means of attaining socialism's essential aim — steady improvement of the conditions of life, and satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements. This is the main economic target of the present five-year plan, which the entire Soviet people are working devotedly to put into effect, and also the basic purpose of the Program of the CPSU.

SCIENCE: ON THE ASCENT

The next point is Uzbekistan.

Time was when people in Arab countries, in India or in the Far East, hearing someone mention Tashkent, did not know where it was. Not until they were told that it was close to Bukhara and Samarkand. Now the name speaks for itself.

Tashkent is the center of a far-flung territory where nature has been especially generous.

Tashkent is the center of a rapidly growing industry, the chief

arsenal equipping the republic's agriculture with first-class machines.

Tashkent is an international center. Writers, scientists and specialists came there from all parts of the world to international forums. In the past year alone, the Uzbek SSR was visited by 532 delegations from 65 countries. We arrived on the closing day of the Second International Afro-Asian Film Festival, held under the motto, 'For peace, social progress and freedom!'

Tashkent is the Uzbek center of science, culture and art.

Two Questions to ABID SADYKOV, President of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences

Question One: Bourgeois ideologues frequently use the term 'Soviet colonialism.' Have you anything to say on this score?

Answer: What they say is groundless. The facts refute it, hundreds of facts. Let me cite but two.

In our conditions, water means fertility; without water the land will yield nothing. In 1918 Lenin signed a decree on irrigation projects in Turkestan and the Soviet government allotted 50 million rubles for the purpose.

Before the revolution there was only one major irrigation system in Uzbekistan, now there are more than 900. Uzbek engineers and designers are helping build irrigation systems in Afghanistan, Algeria and other countries.

And this fact of the recent past – the rebuilding of Tashkent after the 1966 earthquake. All the Soviet republics helped in building new housing estates. Tashkent reborn stands as a symbol of friendship, mutual assistance and solidarity of the Soviet peoples.

Such are the facts. And let those who would cast aspersion on Soviet reality find in the history of their own countries examples of such 'colonialism'. . . .

In Uzbekistan we heard the name Norbutabekov. What made him famous? Before the revolution the lawyer Norbutabekov was the only person in what is now Uzbekistan who could boast a higher education. Today, it has 570,000 people with higher or specialized secondary education – three times the figure for the whole of tsarist Russia.

Before the revolution, only two per cent of the population could read and write – a woman who could sign her name was a celebrity. Now Tashkent has a nuclear physics institute and we met Uzbek girl engineers at the controls of its reactor. There are more than 9,000 women on the republic's teaching and research staff, and among them five full or corresponding members of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, 39 are professors, 69 doctors and 1,727 candidates of science.

Question Two: How was the national intelligentsia – scientists, technicians, artists – formed?

Answer: In 1920 Lenin signed a decree establishing the Tashkent State University. In February of that year a rather unusual train left Moscow for Tashkent. Its passengers were professors and instructors of the Moscow and Petrograd universities. Transport was dislocated and it took them nearly two months to reach their destination. After that, there were four more trains.

The work of these men, who left the country's main scientific centers to build a center of science and higher education in a former colony of tsarist Russia, is one of the most illustrious pages in the history of our university. Patriots and internationalists, they brought knowledge to the Uzbek people.

Myself, I entered the university in the 20s. There were 33 students in our first Uzbek group – at that time we could not recruit more. Our teachers had to work hard and show great patience. At first the language barrier seemed insuperable. But the teachers always helped us, staying after lectures or coming to our hostel to give extra instruction. Prof. G. V. Lazuryevsky, now vice-president of the Moldavian Academy of Sciences, was especially helpful, even explaining some of the more difficult points in Uzbek. In organic chemistry there is the term 'Morkovnikov rule' and I recall how hard Lazuryevsky tried to make us remember these difficult words. 'All right,' he finally said, 'the Uzbek word for *morkov* (carrot – Tr.) is *sabza*, so we'll call it the Sabziev rule.' I still remember it by that name.

Of course, that might be regarded as a linguistic curiosity. But coining a scientific terminology proved a formidable task. Our Linguistics and Literature Institute is putting out a comprehensive dictionary of the modern Uzbek language, a fundamental two-volume work of nearly 6,000 pages and about 60,000 entries. We are also putting out the 15-volume "Uzbek Soviet Encyclopaedia." Practically all branches of modern science are represented in Soviet Uzbekistan and in some fields our research centres hold a leading position in the Soviet Union.

Throughout the trip there were daily meetings with representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia. They live a full creative life, are knowledgeable, surprised us by their interesting thoughts, their vision and singleness of purpose. They are passionately devoted to their work, always aware of its importance, of their responsibility to society and their role in society. Bourgeois sociologists cannot deny that a native intelligentsia has come to the fore in all the Soviet republics. But using their own yardstick they say that it is afflicted with the maladies of intellectuals under capitalism, where, in the words of an English writer, the intellectual is faced with a dilemma – he must choose between the dictates of his conscience and the need to make a living.

The socialist intelligentsia is a new social phenomenon and it cannot be measured by the bourgeois yardstick. It is part of the people, shares its interests and has an active part in the building of communism.

CULTURE IN ONE REPUBLIC AND THE UNION AS A WHOLE

WALTER KLAUSON, *Chairman, Council of Ministers, Estonian SSR, told us:*

Heavy industry is the basis of our economy, and it is complemented by a modern agriculture. We have every reason, therefore, to consider Soviet Estonia economically developed. Industrial output is 30 times the pre-war figure.

Our progress is obvious, but bourgeois propaganda uses every conceivable fabrication to paint life in Estonia in the darkest colours.

With an area of about 45,000 sq. km. and a population of less than 1.5 million, the Estonian SSR is the smallest of the 15 Union Republics. It is one of the three Baltic republics in which the working people were able to re-establish their power only in 1940, after a long interval. Estonia is a favorite subject of the 'Sovietologists,' who contend that the interests of its people are impaired. What are their arguments?

One, for example, is that Estonia has always been a developed country and its entry into the Soviet Union has had a ruinous effect on its culture.

But let us turn to the facts. In bourgeois Estonia the number of secondary schools was steadily declining, and only eight per cent of their pupils came from the working people. Also this figure: 40 per cent of children of low-income families did not attend even the six-year school.

So much for the past. Now the present: the transition to universal secondary schooling is being completed; there are 22,000 university and college students; there is an Academy of Sciences and 70 research establishments; the number of persons with a higher education is nearly 10 times the prewar figure.

In 10 years bourgeois Estonia published a total of 550,000 books; the figure today is 13 million a year, of which 11 million are in the Estonian language. The republic's libraries have a total of 9 million books.

There is also this allegation: century-long traditions of national culture are being forgotten.

Everyone coming to Estonia is impressed by the national coloring and folk character of its culture. There is a universal love of national songs, of the theatre. Every sixth Estonian is a member of a choir. The national song festivals go back more than 100 years, but now they bring together tens of thousands of participants and hundreds of thousands of spectators.

The republic has nine professional and 12 amateur theatres directed by professional actors. To this should be added drama circles with a membership of 5,000.

From 20 to 30 new works of prose and about the same number of poetry by Estonian writers appear every year. The theatre reper-

tory contains 15-20 Estonian plays. Books by Estonian authors are translated into many languages and are widely known in the USSR and abroad.

Such are the facts. In the new Estonia culture serves the socialist ideals. That is not to the liking of those who speak of its 'decline.' But the ideological orientation of culture is decided upon by the people, not by outside observers.

Enu Poldros, a young artist, told us: 'Socialist realism is the artist's civic approach, the idea-content of our art.'

The same thought was expressed by writers, composers and architects in Estonia and in other republics. The attitude of the Soviet citizen, they said, logically leads him to socialist realism, which absorbs all the riches of the traditions of national art.

We continued these talks in Moscow.

This is what we were told by *Ekaterina Furtseva*, USSR Minister of Culture:

Socialist culture plays a decisive role in forming the new man, the builder of communism, in shaping his rich spiritual world. Ever since the revolution, we have perseveringly worked to solve the dual problem of bringing culture and art to the people and the people to culture and art.

And our first problem was education. It was estimated before the revolution that Russia would require 200 years, and Central Asia 4,600 years, to wipe out illiteracy. We did the job in a little over 20 years. The USSR holds first place in book publication, and our books are cheap.

Question: Are cheap books justified from a commercial point of view?

Answer: We do not approach questions of culture from a commercial point of view. We are prepared to subsidize books on art and socio-political literature. I might add that fiction makes up for the loss.

Question: What is the attitude towards Western literature and art?

Answer: We follow the Lenin principle that the new culture must absorb the spiritual achievements of the whole of mankind. It is safe to say that the classics of world literature have found a second home in the USSR. For instance, Mark Twain has been published in total printings of 18 million copies and Jack London in 29 million. They have never enjoyed such a wide readership in their own country. And speaking of the United States, I might add that we have published 150 million copies of books by American authors.

There is a similarly wide interest in the graphic arts. The exhibition of French impressionists in Moscow attracted huge crowds — people stood in line up to six hours in freezing weather. You will agree that this requires a very high appreciation of art.

Next year there will be an exchange visit by La Scala. During its first season in the Soviet Union there were more than two million applications for the 600,000 tickets to its performances.

The USSR has cultural ties with 120 countries and our artists,

professional and amateur, are known in every part of the world. All this helps promote international friendship and mutual understanding.

Question: Could you tell us something about the interaction of the cultures of the various Soviet peoples?

Answer: The emergence of multi-national culture is one of our biggest achievements. Mutual enrichment of national cultures helps the general growth of Soviet culture. Many factors go into this process. For instance, publication of literature in all the languages of the Soviet peoples. Our theatres give performances in 45 languages and many of the plays are by authors from the national republics – 100 such plays are being staged this year in the Ukraine alone. The Literature and Art Weeks of the various republics held in Moscow, also art and cinema festivals, theatrical performances, exhibitions, have become an established tradition.

The Russian language, which has become the means of intra-national intercourse, plays an important part in the development and mutual enrichment of national cultures and in the spiritual growth of our people. Russian is not imposed, but people are anxious to study it. Most Soviet citizens speak Russian, but this does not mean that the spiritual values of other nationalities are shedding their inimitable national character. The languages, literature and art of all the peoples of the USSR are developing, becoming richer, more vivid, more colorful.

Question: What are the principles of Party and government policy on culture at the present stage?

Answer: In accordance with the directives of the 24th CPSU Congress, we are working to remove differences in cultural services in urban and rural communities. Another aim is to heighten the artistic and ideological value of works of culture. Much is being done also to provide the cultural services with better facilities.

In this context, I might recall what was done in the grim years of the Civil War and the Second World War. For this, too, is indicative of our policy on culture. In 1919 we opened 17 musical schools in Petrograd. Or take the Second World War – we started an opera and ballet theatre in Tashkent. The fascists were advancing on Moscow, and yet it was decided not to draft actors and musicians into the army. We made great sacrifices, but we never stinted means and effort to promote education and culture.

Today, the development of culture, which is a factor in building up the socialist personality, acquires still greater importance.

UNION OF EQUALS

We are in Moldavia . . . Besides the indigenous population there are people of 40 different nationalities: Russians and Ukrainians, Bulgarians and Gagauzi, Jews and Armenians, Gypsies, Greeks . . . What interested us most was how they got along together.

Our travels took us to towns and villages and we talked to many

people and put many, what we thought, were 'pointed,' questions about relations between the different nationalities. We asked, for instance, whether parents prevented mixed marriages, whether there were violations of the law on derogation of national dignity, or cases of national discrimination. Frankly speaking, we were always embarrassed, for our questions only evoked surprise, sometimes annoyance.

The trip through Moldavia, acquaintance with the life of its multinational population, friendly talks in town and country, personal observations – all this convinced us that there is no alienation in relations between people of differing nationality, just as there is no alienation in relations between the various republics. In Moldavia we interviewed dozens of people, and of these many interviews we publish three.

THREE COMMENTARIES ON A PROBLEM ALREADY SOLVED

STEPAN MINDRIANU, Fitter at Kishinev Tractor Works and Deputy of USSR Supreme Soviet.

People of 26 nationalities work in our shop: turner Agapov is Russian, assembly foreman Ilyashenko – Ukrainian, carpenter Ladutko – Byelorussian, general assembly foreman Papyan – Armenian, fitter Marinova – Gagauz, turner Pechorsky – Jewish, engineer Ryabov – Karelian, electrician Shamgulov – Tatar . . . We are like brothers in a close-knit family where a person is judged not by his nationality, but by what he can do, by his contribution.

A few words about myself. My life, like that of hundreds of thousands of other Moldavians, has benefitted from the results of Lenin's national policy. I began working in 1944, when, after our republic was liberated from the Nazi invaders, we began building Moldavian industry and training personnel. I learned to be a fitter. My first teacher was Russian, foreman Stepan Petrovich Nogovitsin. He was like a father to me, and helped me become a skilled worker.

Now I am a top-grade fitter and I am given the more tricky operations. I have my own apprentices now, and do my best to teach them with the same sense of responsibility for their future as my teacher had for mine. That is but one example, and there are countless more. The Moldavian industry was built with the help of the Russian and other peoples of the Soviet Union, and it was with their help that our working class developed, and our life became so much better.

DMITRI KRIANGE, Sheepbreeder, Albota State Farm

We are prosperous, we work hard, and we know how to make merry. The state farm has people of fourteen nationalities. Our

friendship is close. Why should it not be, if land is commonly owned, and national oppression is long since forgotten. None but people of my own advanced age know what national strife there had been. Generally speaking, little time has passed, but everything has changed so! There is no sign of the former national segregation, unfriendliness, and hostility. Peace, friendship and fraternity have come to our land.

IVAN BODUL, First Secretary, CC CP of Moldavia

The sovereign national development of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic as a constituent of the Soviet Union has had an immensely beneficial influence on the consciousness and unity of the people.

There is yet another aspect: our independence, like that of the other Soviet republics—primarily in economic matters—has enabled us to preserve the national specifics of our economy, to make effective use of Moldavia's natural and climatic assets and to leap, literally in two decades, from the realm of abject poverty to a full-blooded, prosperous life. We should never have achieved this if we had to go it alone, without the fraternal and selfless aid of the other Soviet peoples. Every citizen of Moldavia, whatever his nationality, has a sense of deep respect, deep gratitude to the Russian, Ukrainian and other peoples of the USSR.

The development of friendly relations among nationalities in Moldavia was one of the crucial problems of socialist construction. There were many difficulties. It was difficult, for example, to settle the gypsies. They had been compelled to lead a nomadic life for hundreds of years, and this could not but reflect on their consciousness and psychology. And to remake the mode of life of a people is very difficult, and doubly so because pressure of any kind will not help, will only make matters worse.

Knowing this, we have never tried to resolve the national question by administrative means, and met the wishes of the various nationalities half-way, even if we regarded them as not entirely justified.

Some time ago the Gagauzi, of whom there are about 100,000 in Moldavia, asked the republican government to introduce their language in schools. We thought this would complicate matters when their children would want to go on to the secondary and higher schools, where instruction is in Moldavian and Russian. But we bowed to their wish. And very soon they saw that their choice had not been altogether wise, and asked us to repeal the decision.

The equal development of all Soviet nations and nationalities is assured not only by state autonomy, but in many other ways tested in practice, in the daily intercourse of nations and nationalities. They are the fruit of the free creativity of the masses, for which the Communist Party seeks to offer the best possible opportunities.

THE CEMENTING FORCE

In the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, one of the sixteen autonomous republics comprising the Russian Federation, we saw the many features it has in common with other republics and regions of the Soviet Union.

The common destiny of many peoples, their steady advance to the common goal, are evidence of the leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, concerting the efforts of so many millions of people.

FIKRYAT TABEYEV, First Secretary, Tatar Committee of the CPSU

The national question, as we know, is one of the most difficult to solve. The Party faced what was truly a formidable problem. The only way to solve it was on the basis of scientific theory, a knowledge of the laws of social development. The October Revolution created the political conditions for the effectuation of Lenin's program, which envisaged complete equality for all peoples and the elimination of national oppression. Naturally, this could not be achieved by decrees alone.

In Tataria, the difficulties in operating the nationalities program were complicated by specific problems: the Tatars had had no statehood of their own prior to the Revolution, and were not a majority in the territory where they were to build an autonomous republic.

The spadework done before we constituted the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was tremendous. Suffice it to say that eleven sittings of the Political Bureau of the Soviet Communist Party dealt with the matter from May 1918 to June 1920. They examined the various aspects of the Tatars' self-determination under the chairmanship of V. I. Lenin.

Once the autonomous republic was constituted we gathered pace in eliminating economic and cultural backwardness. The aggregate output of Tatar industry now surpasses the 1913 level as much as 337-fold.

Let us stray a bit from the main topic to see the quality behind this quantity indicator.

A few years before the Revolution, Kazan was the site of an all-Russian industrial exhibition. Kazan gubernia exhibited soap, sheepskin coats, barn locks and candles.

Now, Tataria produces synthetic rubber, aircraft, and as much as 100 million tons of oil annually.

This would have been inconceivable, Tabeyev said, if we had not solved the question of national cadres. And that had been the first problem tackled by the Mussulman Commissariat. A Muslim Teachers College was founded in the 20s, as well as a number of technical schools and other educational establishments.

But let us stray from our subject once more and look at some

of the features of present-day life. We visited Almetyevsk, the new oil town, the wealthy Biriulinsk fur farm, the Kuibyshev Chemical Works, and many other enterprises.

The vast majority of workers (total about 8,700) at the Lower Kama petrochemical plant, we learned, had a secondary general or special education. The plant has its own evening technical schools and the Evening Institute of Chemical Technology (university level) with over 1,000 students.

We visited Kazan's Secondary School No. 122 and were pleasantly surprised when a girl smoothly recited a Shakespeare sonnet in excellent English. Asked about her nationality, she said: 'I am a Soviet schoolgirl.' We repeated the question in Russian. Shyly, she said she had never given it any thought – mummy was Russian and daddy Tatar. They spoke Russian and Tatar at home . . .

The most striking result of the Party's national policy, the First Secretary said, was that a new man had evolved, internationalist in spirit and education.

In all things, in the busy life of the country, he continued, we feel the Party's steady hand. Its policy opens up magnificent vistas. The perspective was set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. In the present, ninth five-year plan period more than three billion rubles (nearly as much as in the first 40 years of the republic) will be invested in Tataria's economy. And when the automobile works on the Kama and the big organic synthesis works are built and put into operation, the industrial potential of the republic, its contribution to the Soviet nation's wealth, will increase immeasurably. The Party has made these building projects a national concern, which redoubles our responsibility for them.

The Party gave us everything. But it requires that we carry forward Lenin's national policy, the fruits of which are enjoyed by the entire great Soviet Community of peoples.

The trip across the Soviet Union is over. We saw that each nation and nationality has its history, its own customs and traditions, its culture and its own way of life. But nowhere did we see this national specifics over-stressed or counterposed to others. Nowhere did we see national conceit. The national blends harmoniously with such features common to all as loyalty to communism, socialist patriotism and internationalism, dedication at work, socio-political involvement, and revulsion at national and racial prejudice.

No trace remains of the former hostility among nations and nationalities. Unbreakable friendship, cooperation, mutual aid, respect and equality are the essential traits – in deed, as well as in word. This truly socialist type of relations between nations is, in fact, the basic feature of the new historical community of people.

Our trip to the USSR brought home to us the immense practical purport of the Marxist-Leninist view about the emergence of a new historical community – the Soviet people, whose every member – whatever his nationality – spoke to us with deep pride of the entire

Soviet land as a conscious and deeply convinced follower of socialism.

Most of our encounters were unofficial, in the manner of uninhibited friendly conversations. This we wish to emphasize, because capitalist propaganda still tries to portray such meetings as 'pre-arranged performance.' That, we saw, is untrue. A Soviet individual does not have to be 'pre-arranged' – his patriotism and true internationalism, his unshakable faith in the new system, his broad and creative thinking, and his sound judgments of the crucial problems of social practice come to him from the socialist reality in which he lives.

To conclude, we want to repeat a toast made by one of us in a remote mountain state farm:

'Everyone comes to the revolution in his own way. For me it was opened by my elder brother, who first acquainted me with Marxist literature, with Leninist ideas. I followed my brother and his comrades, and thereby acquired millions of brothers – brothers by class, brothers by the communist cause. And here, today, I greet and admire my brothers of the close-knit family of Soviet peoples, who are the prototype of the great brotherhood of all men.'

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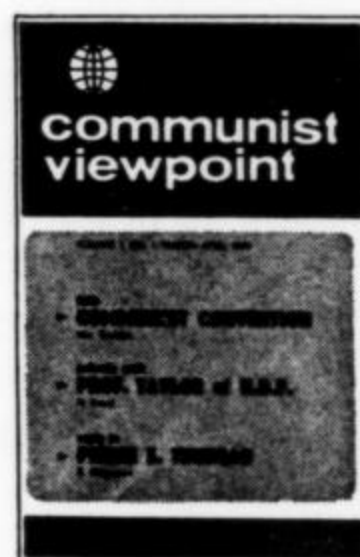
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Continuing our series,* we offer a selection of articles and other items on French economy and policy, and the socio-economic situation.

A country with a population in excess of 50 million, France is one of the biggest industrially developed states in Western Europe. It is abreast of other developed capitalist states in many economic areas, and is prominent in world affairs.

'Unlike British, colonial, imperialism, the French may be described as usurer imperialism,' wrote Lenin in 1916. Since then it has undergone a labyrinthine economic and political evolution. The changes after the Second World War have been especially great, spurred by the break-up of the French colonial empire, the pronounced state-monopolistic tendencies and the unfolding of the scientific-technical revolution. The concentration of production and finance in the hands of a few industrial and banking groups is exceedingly high. A few giant monopolies, the recent plenary meeting of the CC FCP (May 1972) noted, control entire branches of the national economy. The French iron-and-steel industry, for example, is ruled by two trusts, chemicals by three, etc. In this omnipotence of monopoly capital are the roots of the crisis of present-day French society, a crisis pinpointed in many documents of the French Communist Party.

Our selection provides a survey picture.

What is France's place in the system of modern imperialism? What are the peculiarities and specific features of French state-monopoly capitalism as compared with that of the other great capitalist states? Are her present positions stronger or weaker?

The replies to these questions are given in the article by Jacques Kahn.

The development of present-day capitalism is a succession of modifications in the system of monopoly rule, the striving of the bourgeoisie to improve the methods and forms of exploitation. The article by Claude Poperen examines the new means and features of class oppression, the operation of the mechanism of exploitation at

*Earlier articles - 'Imperialist America Today,' No. 1 for 1970, and 'FRG,' No. 7, 1970.

factory level, and the regulation of the reproduction of manpower.

There are also facts and figures illustrating the economic conditions of the French working class, its fight against the monopolies and the bourgeois state.

International monopoly

Jacques Kahn

French society is in crisis. This estimation, given in the French Communist Party's *Program for a Democratic Popular Unity Government*, is shared by numerous people outside the FCP.

The crisis reaches deep and affects diverse aspects of national life. Socio-economically, it expresses itself in growing unemployment. In more general terms, it means social insecurity, above all among youth. The future is viewed with apprehension by both the less skilled categories of working people and the most competent, including engineers and managerial personnel. Nor is the crisis purely economic, or a classical crisis of over-production. It is shaking the foundations of monopoly power, a social crisis that is bound to grow in depth and breadth, reaching into the political, ideological and moral sphere.

According to the Party's definition, state and monopoly power is up against the consequences of the policy of strengthening the influence of the financial oligarchy, whose measures made in the end for instability. The Communists' unbiased analysis of the situation at home shows that state-monopoly capitalism has entered a period of deep structural crisis.

The vast social movement of May and June 1968 was the first significant clash of recent years between the people and state-monopoly capitalism. It revealed the strength of pent-up discontent. Among the external signs of the crisis are political and financial scandals reflecting on men close to the regime. These scandals are a recurrent event in an unhealthy and contradictory situation.

Both in national life and in the complicated sphere of foreign policy, the various alignments expressing the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie are compelled to take the crisis into account. They must also bear in mind such new factors as the international aspects of the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism, the mounting difficulties besetting the imperialist system as a whole, the further exacerbation of inter-imperialist antagonisms and, most important of all, the growth of the main contradiction of our time, that between capitalism and socialism.

The 19th FCP Congress (February 1970) stressed that French monopoly policy had entered a new stage. To hasten monopoly concentration on a national and multinational scale and check the growing struggle of the masses, the monopolies are giving access to the levers of power to various reactionary groups of the ruling class. In foreign policy there is a trend towards toning down earlier criticisms of the United States. Favorable comments are made on the extension of the Common Market. These facts, while not amounting to a complete reversal of policy, are indicative of a certain turn.

French foreign policy, the Party Congress noted, is designed 'to uphold the ambitions of French monopoly capital' and win more advantageous positions for it within the overall strategy of imperialism. Due to its class character, this policy subordinates the national interest to the monopoly groups' international deals which are, moreover, precarious.

French foreign policy has gone through several stages since World War II. Once the big bourgeoisie was closely associated with U.S.-sponsored 'Atlantic integration.' After that France withdrew from the military organization of NATO without, however, breaking with it completely. It is well known that in that period French foreign policy departed largely from the policy of U.S. imperialism, both in Europe and elsewhere. There are now certain signs, as has been said, pointing to an evolution of this French attitude, which in the past had rather strong repercussions. Careful analysis shows, however, that even when it stressed its critical stance on U.S. activity, French diplomacy retained its class character by contributing to inter-imperialist solidarity. On the other hand, being aware of the trends of the time, France has always sought a definite balance in its foreign policy strategy.

The crisis of French society and a complicated international situation accentuate this duality of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Now that capital is becoming internationalized, financial groups have gained enormous economic power and show a twofold trend—towards inter-imperialist solidarity and sharper inter-imperialist rivalries. Anyone assessing the specifics of France and its place in the capitalist world system should take these factors into account, should avoid drawing one-sided conclusions.

Last year the economic department of the CC FCP brought out a collective work entitled *State-Monopoly Capitalism: A Marxist Treatise on Political Economy*.^{*} The book gives data on the role of French finance groups in the imperialist world economy. As of 1969, the hundred top monopolies included 68 U.S., 10 West German, seven Anglo-Dutch, seven Japanese and only three French monopolies.

The size of a monopoly is not the only criterion of its competitive capacity, of course. Nevertheless, monopoly and the state in France have lately made a considerable effort to speed concentration of production and capital. By 1971 some French groups were doing

^{*}*Le capitalisme monopoliste d'état. Traité marxiste d'économie politique.* Vol. 1, 447 pp.; Vol. 2, 448 pp. Paris, 1971.

business worth \$2 billion. They are comparable in size to Nestlé (U.S.-Swiss, foodstuffs) and Siemens (West German, electrical engineering). They include Régie Renault (state-owned automobile plants), Compagnie Française des Pétroles (state-cum-private) and four private monopoly groups based in France: Pont à Mousson-Saint Gobain (iron and steel, glass and building equipment), Péchiney (non-ferrous metals), Rhône-Poulenc (chemicals) and Compagnie Générale d'Electricité-Alsthom (electrical engineering)*. Some French products, even those of the most modern industries, can now compete on the world market. In labor productivity growth rate, France is second to none but the United States. It has skilled workers and competent engineers. Unlike Britain or the U.S., France still has substantial potentialities of increasing the numerical strength of its wage labor.

Concentration of production and capital is accompanied by ruin of the middle strata, mostly peasants, who have become a new source of manpower for factories and the service industry. Exploitation is on the rise. Hourly wages in France are lower than in the United States or in Common Market countries except Italy. Out of the industrially developed capitalist countries, we have the longest working week. The state gives the monopolies substantial help, both economic (subsidizing companies, a policy aimed at stepping up exploitation and increasing the army of wage labor, and so on) and political.

Politically, the positions of France have become stronger since the war. It is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and shares with other states the responsibility for implementing the Potsdam agreements on Germany. France is one of the nuclear powers. After colonial wars that depleted its resources, the ruling classes contrived to retain their positions in many one-time possessions by using neo-colonialist methods. France is still the main investor, and often the main exporter and importer, in the French-speaking countries of Africa and in Madagascar. Arms sales to other countries are both a source of profit for financial groups and a channel for political infiltration. On the other hand, the monopoly bourgeoisie, taking realistic stock of things, was sensible enough to choose cooperation with the socialist countries despite its rabid anti-communism.

One can, of course, speak of the relative weakness of France's economic position in the imperialist system. However, the monopolies are working hard to improve it.

Evidently, if the French big bourgeoisie had carried on along the antiquated way when rentiers lived in style by exporting loan capital and exploiting colonial peoples, the country would long since have dropped to the last place among the imperialist powers. For most of the countries once dominated by French usurer capital have won political independence.

But French imperialism held its own. While it does not play a

*Including the Thomson-Brandt monopoly group (electrical machinery and instruments). The merger of Générale d'Electricité and Thomson-Brandt has only just begun.

key role in imperialist deals, it is a partner who cannot be ignored. In half a century, and particularly over the past twenty-five years, the big bourgeoisie has been able to find new sources and new methods of making profit, and has derived great benefits from the country's rapid industrial progress.

After World War I the growth of heavy-industry trusts was encouraged by the generosity of a state that gave them a free hand with the natural resources of the part of Lorraine held by Germany from 1871 to 1918. The various manufacturing industries, especially automobiles, aircraft and mechanical engineering generally, developed at a fairly high rate between the two world wars.

Let us look into the factors for the rapid economic advance after 1945. The French economy lay in shambles at the end of World War II. Industrial production was down to half the prewar amount and plant was antiquated. In that period, the rehabilitation of big industry was an achievement of the working class, which wielded great political influence and whose role as the main patriotic force in the fight against fascism was acknowledged by all. In the years 1944-1947 the government included Communists. France owed it to the working class and Communist Party that economic dislocation was overcome.

After 1947 the monopoly bourgeoisie, backed by foreign reaction, increased economic and political pressure. Its class interests prompted it to support U.S. imperialism's global plans against socialism and the peoples' struggle for independence. For the same reason, it lent a hand in setting up the Common Market. Starting the war in Indochina and later in Algeria, the French imperialists tried in vain to retain their colonies. The working people of France had to pay dearly for this. In particular, they had to pay for rapid production concentration and the restructuring of the economy.

The evolution of French capitalism over the past decades has been characterized, among other things, by constant government encouragement of big capital accumulation. The monopoly bourgeoisie, which lacked powerful production facilities comparable to those of the U.S. or even British and West German monopolies, had a special stake in state-monopoly measures. Direct and indirect government financing of the monopolies assumed a large scale and went on through diverse channels. Provisions for it were made in both the development plans of various industries and in the general five-year plans whose targets and trends were decided on by government agencies in close contact with representatives of the principal private groups.

The magnitude of the nationalized sector is evidence of expanding state-monopoly capitalism. The sector encompasses almost the entire power industry, the greater part of transport and the aircraft industry. The state owns the biggest automobile firm, and its financial institutions account for a substantial part of bank deposits and insurance funds. The existence of the nationalized sector is a factor spurring the growth of surplus value in the private capitalist sector.

Surplus value is redistributed in favor of the monopolies by various means, such as granting the monopolies low tariffs for the products and services of government enterprises or the high market prices at which nationalized enterprises are compelled to buy products of the private sector. This is why, despite considerable government spending on the nationalized industries, they generally operate at a deficit.

The French economy has gone a long way towards capitalist socialization, which transcends the merely material elements of the productive forces. The reproduction of manpower, too, is now impossible without the participation of the state. A least 30 per cent of the working people's requirements today (apart from outlays for the training of labor power) are met mainly out of the state's social appropriations. At the same time, deductions from wages and salaries, especially in direct or indirect taxes, are increasing. Incorporated in the budget, they are spent in the final analysis on financing monopoly exploitation of the working people.

French industry over the past quarter of a century has been growing faster than in some other leading capitalist countries. Economic and social structures were modified. The big bourgeoisie had to reckon with the pressure of the working class, the democratic forces and the peoples freed from colonial oppression. And it is no accident that the surging expansion of the state sector and the introduction of social security schemes coincided with periods of high tide in the democratic movement headed by the working class—the Popular Front period (1936-1937) and, especially, the period following the liberation from Nazi bondage. With the collapse of the colonial empire, the monopolies directed capital formerly invested overseas in the French economy. But while increasing these investments, the ruling class also wanted to regain the basis for capital exports to imperialist countries and for a neo-colonialist policy.

It may seem paradoxical that the French monopoly bourgeoisie should have profited from its partial reverses. But this is no more than a seeming paradox. Big capital adapted to changing conditions at the cost of tremendous economic and political strain. The process was historically unstable and was possible only to the extent that big capital succeeded in holding its main positions in the economy and the administration. But this meant that the financial oligarchy had to concentrate power in its own hands, which inevitably led to a political restructuring of French capitalism and bred new problems.

In 1958 authoritarian rule substantially curtailing the powers of elected bodies was introduced to withstand the reverses sustained in colonial wars and prepare for entry into the Common Market, where the French imperialists would be confronted by powerful partner-rivals, and to make the people shoulder the financial burden of the imperialist policy of the nation's rulers. This was made possible by the split of the democratic forces.

A new phase of economic policy set in in 1963. Government fin-

ancing of capital accumulation became more selective. Formerly even non-monopoly capital had profited from government measures aimed at stepping up production. Ever since 1963 programming has been increasingly geared to monopoly interests, government agencies often making direct deals with groups controlled by the financial oligarchy. Government policy gave strong impulse to monopoly concentration. Absorptions and mergers assumed unprecedented scope.

This process was, needless to say, accompanied by growing social contradictions. On the other hand, concentration stimulated monopoly internationalization of production. The formation of giant monopoly groups unprecedented in France accentuates the cosmopolitan character of the financial oligarchy and forges direct links between these and foreign groups.

What is the geography of the foreign economic links of France? In French foreign trade, Common Market countries account for slightly more than 40 per cent, West Germany's share being close on 20 per cent. Trade with the capitalist countries of Europe outside the Common Market slightly exceeds 20 per cent of the total. From 10 to 12 per cent of the imports and 7 per cent of the exports fall to the United States. Other developed capitalist countries outside Europe account for 3 or 4 per cent of the imports and 2 or 3 per cent of the exports.

It follows that 70 per cent of French foreign trade falls to the developed capitalist countries and only 4 or 5 per cent to the socialist countries. Yet growing trade with these countries, which are reliable partners, would greatly benefit France.

Trade with the developing countries is declining, but is still 25 per cent.

Roughly two-thirds of the physical volume of French foreign trade consists of industrial raw materials, semi-manufactured goods and plant.

It is worthy of note that the exchange recorded in customs statistics as taking place between nations actually goes on between firms having branches in various countries. For them, it is merely internal, linking consecutive or related production operations. These multinational monopolies use internationalization of the productive forces to make profit and increase exploitation.

Some monopoly groups controlled by French capital produce half or more of their output abroad. Among them are Saint-Gobain (operating under the patronage of Financière de Suez) and the Pechiney group linked with Financière de Paris et des Pays-Bas. There are also older groups like L'Air Liquide or the non-ferrous metal firms of the Rothschild empire. New electrical engineering and electronics groups likewise seek international imperialist links.

These corporations carry considerable weight in the French economy and many of them boast up-to-date facilities. Financially and economically, however, they are far behind their more powerful imperialist rivals. Besides, most of them are a product of recent

mergers and have yet to come out of the crucial period of reorganization. This explains their continuing search for both European and extra-European partners and their frequent deals with U.S. corporations. Indeed, commercial banks have specialized in encouraging deals of this nature and in promoting the penetration of private U.S. groups into the economy of Common Market countries.

Monopoly capitalist pressure on the peoples grows as a result of the interlacing processes of setting up branches in other capitalist countries and of increasing foreign, especially U.S. investment in France. The talk about the need to maintain a high competitive capacity is merely intended to justify greater exploitation of the working people.

Judging from what government and big business spokesmen say, French imperialism is thrusting out, and primarily into the Mediterranean area, the Arab countries, Africa and, when possible, into Latin America. and secondly, into Common Market countries, with which the French economy has been closely linked ever since 1959. Within the Common Market, France advocates agricultural integration, hoping to be relieved of part of the expenditures for supporting surplus exports. It insists on unifying the monetary system within the EEC. On the other hand, it is reserved on political integration. France has agreed to British entry to the ECC, withdrawing its earlier objections and the claim that London would promote U.S. influence.

It is indisputable, therefore, that while French imperialism pursues aims of its own, it has to compromise more and more often with actual or potential partners and rivals so as to offset the effects of the growing instability of the imperialist world system. Once the French government condemned the currency measures proposed by the United States, particularly the Special Drawing Rights of members of the International Monetary Fund. But eventually it subscribed to them. We have said that official French criticism of the U.S. war of aggression in Indochina was appreciably toned down.

These are some of the reasons that prompted the FCP to note at its 19th Congress (February 1970) that the reactionary power 'is today emphasizing clear links with U.S. imperialism, to which it concedes a privileged role.'

Yet experience shows that French capitalism is objectively in a position to preserve a measure of independence from foreign imperialist forces—London, Bonn and Tokyo. Despite their links and a partial interlocking of their interests with those of foreign monopolies, the main monopoly groups are not 'saturated' with British capital, as, say, the Dutch groups Shell or Unilever. While U.S. capitalist expansion in France is something to be reckoned with, it has not gone as far as in Britain or West Germany. Paris is not so vast a cosmopolitan money market as London or Zurich. Nor are French imperialism's world strategic positions linked with U.S. strategy as closely as the positions of British imperialism.

Whereas the imperialist world was once divided into areas reserved for itself by this or that power, these days financial groups are often forced to operate and obtain profits jointly, in the same areas. This is what the more influential private French groups actually do and it largely explains the contradictory character of inter-imperialist relations today. In view of the internal crisis and the difficulties experienced by imperialism throughout the world, the French financial oligarchy follows a policy in which elements of a permanent sharp or subdued rivalry combine with efforts to conclude alliances and with manifestations of inter-imperialist solidarity.

The working class and the democratic forces of France have a splendid tradition of anti-imperialist struggle. Solidarity with the Soviet Union ever since it came into being, admiration for the gains of socialism, internationalist bonds with the working class of all countries and fraternal support for the liberation fight of the peoples oppressed by French imperialism are invaluable assets of this legacy. The foremost sons and daughters of the French people regard victories over imperialism in any part of the globe as their own. They wholeheartedly identify themselves with those who are in the frontline of the fight against imperialism, above all with the heroic peoples of Indochina.

There are considerable opportunities to resist imperialist policy and isolate its more aggressive exponents. An early European conference for security and cooperation could go a long way in easing international tensions and establishing fruitful relations between all European peoples.

The activity of the Communist Party and the intensity of the class struggle restrain the monopoly bourgeoisie's selfish ambitions. The French people's greatest historic contribution to the common struggle will unquestionably be the deliverance of the country from monopoly domination. A democratic France, having eliminated capitalist monopoly and opened up the prospect of the early advent of socialism, will establish new relations with all countries and do its utmost to foster international cooperation without any discrimination whatever. France will contribute to friendship among nations on a new basis respecting their independence.

New elements in exploitation of working class

Claude Poperen

Concentration of capital attains staggering proportions with the growth of state-monopoly capitalism. To a considerable extent this is brought about by state financing of large-scale production with the object of raising monopoly profits. Exploitation, engulfing ever new population groups, becomes more intensive as a result.

This article is about the variety of pressures exerted on the working class, the phased offensive against the workers' standard of living and working conditions, and the influences brought into play in all areas of life.

What are the most typical consequences of the intensification and extension of exploitation? Limited purchasing power, wages and salaries rising slower than prices, attempts to freeze wages — these are constant factors in the present situation of the French workers. This is accompanied by growing unemployment, with reserves of low-paid declassed manpower building in the various trades, in whole industries, and in the departments and the country as a whole. In the meantime, the inflow of immigrants keeps swelling, so that by now they constitute one-fourth of the country's working class. The part-time work force is expanding too. This applies particularly to women seeking additional earnings to balance the family budget. The monopolies use these manpower resources to exert pressure on the living and working conditions of the working class as a whole, to step up exploitation. Special firms are recruiting labor on a temporary basis. They do not have to conclude collective agreements and can sidestep the provisions of labor legislation. In a way, these firms may be described as latter-day slave-traffickers.

The concentration in agriculture is ruining countless small and medium-sized farms. An average of 150,000 farmers per year have been driven off the land in the past twenty years. By 1985 the farming population of France is expected to diminish to 700,000. Young people have little choice but to abandon family farms and, though lacking occupational training, join the army of wage labor. In the towns, where the number of large modern retail centers is growing steadily, a process of expropriation and proletarianization is under way among craftsmen and shopkeepers. In sum, the development of modern capitalism is fresh proof of the objective law revealed by Karl Marx that 'gainful independent' labor in the capitalist environment turns gradually into wage labor.

New entrants to the labor force and immigrants are constantly augmenting the large mass of under-skilled, so-called specialized, workers in the big enterprises.* And lacking the experience and tradition of class struggle, they are subjected to the harshest exploitation.

New techniques are raising the tempo of work and breaking down production into countless simple and monotonous operations. In some cases this intensification brings the work process right up to the physiological barrier. As a result accidents, including fatal, are on the increase, and the incidence of nervous disorders is rising. The capitalist uses the new techniques to lower the required skill, thus paying the price of less skilled labor for highly skilled.

The evolution of capitalist rationalization is tied in with new payment forms and wage schemes. They are now differentiated to the maximum. One such method is the so-called classification of work places, with definite fixed emoluments for every set of operations, on the one hand, and workers of proficiency and practical knowhow attaining the maximum efficiency, on the other. Having 'squeezed' these men dry, they are transferred to less skilled jobs, with an accompanying pay reduction. By manipulating payments, the employer also succeeds in dividing the workers.

Capitalist use of technical progress causes not only tremendous physical, but also nervous, strain. Intensification, coupled with longer working time, has now become the determinate factor of greater exploitation.

Dismissals caused by capitalist innovations in production add to the amount of work to be coped with by the remaining personnel. Proper safety techniques and labor hygiene are lacking. Promotions are arbitrary, left totally to the discretion of the administration. And there is unscrupulous exploitation of the workers' sense of professional pride.

The personnel departments in large enterprises have found that the present methods make workers indifferent to their work. While preserving the high degree of specialization, employers are therefore experimenting with gimmicks that keep the operators' interest awake. While allotting not one, but several operations to every worker, which pushes up efficiency and output, they also get the workers involved in elaborating production problems and working out solutions. Exploitation is thus brought to a point of refinement where the exploited in a way becomes an accomplice. Various forms of paternalism, nothing but another, somewhat better camouflaged, means of exploitation, are introduced.

De-individualization of labor affects chiefly 'specialized' workers, but also extends to other brackets. The skilled workers, whose labor is continuously intensified, also see their job broken down into an endless succession of petty and repetitive operations. Some technicians and engineers, and some administrative employees, too, suffer the same treatment. By dividing the functions of mental

*In 1954-1968 their number grew by 850 thousand, and they now comprise one-third of the working class.

work, the capitalist exploits the engineer's brain just as he exploits the worker's muscle. These ploys are particularly widespread in factories operated by the multinational monopolies, which make the most of the internationalization of the productive forces for their selfish ends.

Scientific-technical progress raises the general proficiency and technical competence of the working class, pushing up its material and spiritual requirements, though, on the other hand, the capitalist's improved 'speed-up' system has a destructive effect on manpower and impedes its development. The monopolies deny it the fruits of progress and use the discoveries of science and technology for their own enrichment. Yet the scientific-technical revolution collides with the impediments implicit in the capitalist ownership of the means of production. In France, for example, expenditures for research amount to but 2.28 per cent of the gross national product.

The steadily mounting oppression on the shopfloor is accompanied by an assault on trade-union rights and freedoms. The dominant class wants to rob the masses of all means of self-defense, all chances of deterring exploitation. That is a characteristic feature of its socio-economic policy.

State-monopoly capitalism is building up a standard mechanism of class oppression, of exploiting the working class and all other population groups under the boot of the financial oligarchy. The state as a collective capitalist has arrogated the functions of regulating the most crucial processes of exploitation, of the reproduction of the aggregate work force, to suit the interest of monopoly capital. In the present-day setting this objective law has imparted new features to exploitation as such. And the state tends to give added impulse to its operation, among other things, by its tax and credits policy, price-setting, various wage deductions, and the like. Helping consolidate the monopoly structure of the French economy, it presses all available resources into the service of capitalist accumulation. The substance of capitalist planning, 'incomes policy,' and other attributes of state management, is that they help to redistribute the national income in favor of big capital by keeping down the incomes and consumption.

The state intervenes in the process of social reproduction and labor-capital relations to step up the exploitation of the working class, slow down the rise of wages, preserve the excessive length of the work week, and limit the building of socialist institutions and community enterprises. Raising taxes is another way of intensifying exploitation. Direct taxes exacted from workers during the year are often equivalent to a monthly wage. And 70 per cent of the state budget consist of revenue from indirect taxes. The state's share in financing municipal undertakings is diminishing.

The monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to gain immediate control over the state's social insurance and maintenance funds. It wants to have the final say in setting social benefits, mainly in the interest of capital accumulation. To this there is yet another side. For

egoistic purposes, the financial oligarchy raises or reduces family grants to control the employment of women, that important reserve of labor. In sum, the socio-economic policy of the governing class is to regulate outlay in compensation for the value of labor in a way meeting only the most necessary requirements of labor's reproduction at each given stage.

The size of the wage, as we know, does not necessarily reflect the degree of capitalist exploitation. The right gauge of exploitation is the rate of surplus value, that is, the relation of surplus to necessary labor. We must therefore consider the duration of the work day and the intensiveness of labor at constant wages. And even though the workers may have their wages raised, this, too, does not yield an accurate idea of their condition.

The requirements of people are expanding swiftly. Normal replacement of the value of labor power and satisfaction of the new requirements of workers' families involve the problem of housing, transport, public education, public health, various community services, sports and culture. Briefly, reproduction of manpower requires the participation of society as a whole. And part of the responsibility devolves on the state. Consequently, any reduction or restriction of state expenditure in this area is equivalent to an intensification of exploitation. Allotting miserably small sums for social services, the state thereby operates as a collective organizer of exploitation in the interest of the monopolies.

One more thing. Reducing or limiting allocations for social maintenance, housing development, education, and the like, the state compels people to put aside a substantial portion of their income for a 'rainy day.' These savings, concentrated in banks, are also being used for the accumulation of capital, that is, for extended reproduction of the relations of exploitation, for their continuous renewal.

There are, of course, other factors. Take the housing or transport problems. People are compelled either to pay high rents or to purchase housing at high prices. Transport fares are going up. And when the government lowers the compensation for 'slight illness,' this, too, affects the family budget.

That is the objective basis for the growing discontent in France. The May-June 1968 events showed that wage- and salary-earners do not wish to live as they lived before. Yet monopoly capital, supported by the state, is developing its offensive on the workers' standard of living, and trying to wipe out their hard-won gains. Prices are climbing, the pressure of taxes is heavier.

To defend the interests of the people is to fight for every component of their income not separately, but as an aggregate. To fight successfully is not to separate the purely economic, 'quantitative' demands from the demands for a general improvement of the quality of living. Failing this, the bourgeoisie will continue to have a free hand for juggling with the various components of workers' incomes.

The Communist Party is showing the masses the close link between the deterioration of their living conditions and the policy of the governing class. Communists at factory and shop level are backing all socio-economic demands aimed at restricting capitalist exploitation and mitigating its pernicious effects. Though liable to be erased at any moment, gains in this area help the working class to improve its conditions, and, at the same time, provide a staging ground for further struggle against the employers' abuses. Also, the French Communist Party is pressing for a solution of national problems—higher wages (a monthly minimum of 1,000 francs); normal housing; vocational training, refresher and improvement courses, especially for the youth; better transport facilities and better health services; freedom of speech (particularly, democratization of television and radio); winding up of the force de frappe and nuclear arming policy.

The campaign for these national demands is conducted in different ways: petitions, meetings and rallies, mass manifestations, work stoppages. In the process, the working class consolidates its role as the main mover of social progress. Success in the struggle will also help workers to improve their socio-economic conditions in the capitalist framework. But only provided the battle is fought day after day. Any other approach would be tantamount to disarming the working class at a time when it is continuously subjected to the 'mechanical pressure' of exploitation sustained jointly by the monopolies and the state.

Daily struggle for better living and working conditions gives the people a new awareness of the need for political struggle. And the formation of the workers' revolutionary consciousness requires continuous political and ideological Party guidance, principally at factories, for that is where the worker feels the immediate effects of capitalist exploitation. This is why the FCP national conference in November 1971 was devoted entirely to Communist work at factory and shop level. We must also work in the cities and towns, where the working class is concentrated, and among the most needy: unskilled workers, families with many children, families with but one breadwinner, unmarried mothers, the unemployed youth.

The FCP has drawn up a Program for a democratic popular unity government. It shows a clear perspective for replacing monopoly power with advanced democracy opening up the road to socialism. This Program is now being explained to the working people, principally the working class. Nearly 800,000 copies have been distributed. At thousands of meetings Communists elucidate its content, the substance of the call for 'changing course.'*

The popular alliance slogan is in line with the Party's objective of building a broad united force round the working class for the battle for radical changes in French policy. It will be decisive for

*The issue was ready for the printer when the Communist and Socialist parties concluded their agreement on a joint government program, setting the scene for a powerful popular anti-monopoly front.—Ed.

the outcome of that battle. That is why Party cells at enterprises, especially where the demand for democratic nationalization resounds the loudest, should now be highly active.

The greater involvement of the working class, its grown political awareness, also adds to the role and expands the sphere of activity of those labor unions that support the class struggle and the idea of a mass movement. The unions, their branches, and their Communist members, who act jointly with all working people against the oppression and abuses of the employers, are stepping up the struggle. Some of the demands reflect the interests of occupational groups, others of workers at one enterprise or in one industry, and others of the working class as a whole. Yet all of them should be fought for all down the line. This presupposes a democratic approach to formulating slogans suited for this or that phase of the battle or, in other words, the participation of working people in drawing up and advancing demands. It also presupposes a search for the most effective forms of class struggle. That is how the unions can best contribute to the battle of ideas without superseding the Communist Party as the leading force in the struggle for a society consonant with the aspirations and interests of the working class and all working people. And this contribution fits in with the traditions and specific features of the trade union movement, its class approach, and its mass nature.

The contradictions between monopoly capital interests, the present regime's policy in behalf of an insignificant minority, and the interests of the vast majority, have become deeper and more acute. The question of political change stands high up on the agenda. And it is the purpose of our Party to bring this home to the people.

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From bourgeois philosophy to Marxism

Andras Gedo

I. The tendency to depart from bourgeois philosophy and approach and accept Marxism, is not easily spotted, for the different schools have elaborated their own criticism and interpretation of Marxism, with nearly all blending outspoken anti-Marxism with attempts to adapt some of Marx's ideas to their own system. The decay of the main trends, however, is accompanied by a more or less conscious striving to break out of the old straitjacket into the domain of materialism and dialectics. And in terms of the historical and theoretical result these two tendencies – the re-interpretation of Marxism by bourgeois philosophers and the real advance to Marxism – are not hard to distinguish from each other as opposites. Subjectively, however, their disparity in essence is not instantly, and not always, manifest. Some of the ideas arising in the advance to Marxism are often akin to propositions expressing a departure or retreat from Marxism to bourgeois philosophy. But the similarity of some of the propositions does not eliminate the *polarity* of the tendencies of these processes as a whole. 'Neo-Marxism' encompasses some concepts borrowed from Marxism. Their acceptance by some exponents of pseudo-Marxism is subjectively traceable to an intention to come nearer to Marx's ideas. But if these concepts are subordinated to a 'pluralistic' or 'authentic' Marxism contrasted to Marxism-Leninism, then, objectively in the theoretical and social senses, it is not an advance, but opposition to Marxism. Yet in the search for revolutionary theory many people come under the influence of imitators of Marxism, or of revisionists, and must advance to Marxism-Leninism *in spite of*, or *overcoming*, this influence.

The forms of advance to Marxism present a gaudy spectrum. Sometimes they look like isolated sallies by lone men; their philosophical orientation and social content, their implicit tendencies, are often not understood even by their bearers and are comprehensible only in the context of the struggle between the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. As a rule, they react keenly to changes in political strength and the ideological influence of the revolutionary working-class movement, to the high and low tides of the

class struggle, to the successes and occasional difficulties of the socialist society. And they are *tangible* chiefly at times of an up-swing of the revolutionary working-class movement, when the tie-up of individual quest and changing views with the mass struggle, with objective practice, is more pronounced. And the *result* of the intellectual metamorphosis – acceptance of Marxism – necessarily engulfs the conquered past, the process of inward and outward struggle, the *tortuous crossing of the bridge to Marxism*.

The directions taken in the advance from bourgeois philosophy to Marxism are part of the *class struggle in the field of theory*; they are also related to the *political and ideological differentiation* among the intelligentsia and to its changed attitude towards the revolutionary working-class movement. When scientific communism had only just been born, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels saw that 'in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour . . . a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole' (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*). The existence and development of Marxist theory, the magnetism of the revolutionary working-class movement and the reality of socialist revolution and socialist society have created a new situation: for the intelligentsia, too, the way to Marxism is now opened up principally by the influence of the existing socialism, the experience of struggle jointly with the proletariat. The present condition of a considerable portion of the intelligentsia in capitalist countries, its interests, social psychology, knowledge and problems, contains factors that push it closer to Marxism. But the break with bourgeois philosophy and acceptance of the scientific working-class ideology imply a conflict not only with the external political and spiritual pressures of imperialism, but also with one's own misconceptions grown into prejudices. The intellectual must overcome not only his illusions, and his individualistic and idealistic inclinations, but also the class bias stemming from his dependence on capital (and the bourgeois state¹) – factors which scientific truth *as such* cannot completely eliminate and which only the real impact of the class struggle can effectively suppress.

II. Hence the peculiar contradiction: cognition of the socio-historical reality *keenly requires* Marxism, but in precisely this field it is *hardest* for non-Marxist thought to break with bourgeois philosophy. It follows from the *ideological nature of theoretical* cognition that the change in philosophical outlook is particularly sharp, while the connection between this change and the socio-political stance is direct. But the mutation is not necessarily immediate. Engels wrote of Morgan, the scholar of ancient society, that he had 'discovered the Marxian materialist conception of history independently within the limits prescribed by his subject and concludes in relation to present-day society with directly Communist demands' (Engels in letter to Kautsky, Feb. 16, 1884). In

those days it must have been a rare thing, whereas now it is a distinct tendency for non-Marxist scholars to discover Marx and Marxism. They encounter problems – pivotal for their subject – that they cannot resolve in the scientific philosophical context unless they take the materialist view of history. In their scientific search ideas close to Marxism come into conflict as substantive factors with conceptions of the bourgeois philosophy they espouse. In the case of V. G. Childe, for example, it was Marxism that suggested conclusions in archaeology and ancient history² which largely cleared up important philosophical points relating to the genesis of society, though they diverged in many ways from the sociological relativist theory of knowledge³ professed by the author. Though the philosophical views of J. Needham, the English scientist and historian of science, are influenced by a variety of bourgeois schools, he found in his research that 'the vast historical differences between the cultures can be explained by sociological studies, and that some day they will be. The further I penetrate into the detailed history of the achievements of Chinese science and technology before the time when like all other ethnic cultural rivers they flowed into the sea of modern science, the more convinced I become that the cause for the breakthrough occurring only in Europe was connected with the special social and economic conditions prevailing there at the Renaissance. . . . Such a point of view may or may not be a Marxist one – for me is based on personal experience of life and study.'⁴

Knowledge of contemporary social reality is the crucial point in the passage from bourgeois philosophy to Marxism. It is the point where 'pressure of the subject' combines with socio-political experience, thinking correlates with action and philosophy with practice. It is the point where we see the conflict most clearly between bourgeois philosophy and the social reality, especially at times of revolution, of upswings in the workers' and democratic movement, and of capitalist economic and political crises.⁵ However, the deadweight of bourgeois ideology, too, comes into the picture – in the shape of the theory and method of idealistic philosophy, or as doubt and mistrust of real socialism, of the working class and the Communist movement. The more visibly the aggregate of the socio-historical processes is determined by the clash of the socialist and capitalist system, the more obvious the superiority of real socialism, the greater the revolutionary activity of the masses, the stronger are the socio-political motives of advancing to, and accepting, the Marxist philosophy, the broader are the social groups and movements performing this advance, and the more numerous are the factors acting as its impulse.

Addressing the 'power elite' in his latest book, C. Wright Mills, theorist of the American petty-bourgeois intellectual opposition, wrote: 'Whatever else Marxism may be, it provides the foremost intellectual drama of our time, intellectual, because its doctrine is used politically. For the same reason it is the foremost political drama. In Marxism, ideas confront politics: intellectuals, politicians,

passions, conceptions, the coldest analysis, the hottest moral condemnation – all meet. They meet – immediately, dramatically – and make history.’⁶ Mills lived through this drama with tense passion, but without a catharsis, without fulfilment. Marxist ideas visibly influenced his writing. But he did not espouse Marxism, of which, he said, only the method or ‘model’ weeded of theoretical content, was acceptable. Mills’ ‘intellectual drama’ overlooked the working class and the revolutionary working-class movement; his view of the social system in the Soviet Union and the socialist world did not transcend the ‘industrial society’ concept. He was a captive of utopian ideas, identifying socialism with liberalism, which he conceived as a moral principle. Mills criticized the ‘grand theory’ of modern American bourgeois sociology, but generally spared its foundation – the doctrine of Max Weber, while attacking dialectical materialism with arguments borrowed from idealistic philosophy. As a result, Marxism, as he conceived it, is shed of true meaning. (Of course, this reflected the isolated condition of the left intellectuals and the weakness of the contemporary U.S. labor movement).

Democratic criticism of modern capitalism borrows some of its ideas from, and therefore contains *possibilities* of drawing closer to, Marxism. The dialectics of democratic criticism and struggle is that they can be *consequent* only if they reject the theoretical postulates and political illusions of petty-bourgeois intellectual radicalism, and if their misconceptions of Marxism are obliterated by the awareness of Marxism’s creative role, the awareness that there is but *one* Marxism conceived and projected in the Leninist sense, translated into practice in the *socialist system* and the *revolutionary working-class movement*.

III. The way is paved by the correct conception of history. But the motives for drawing closer to dialectical materialism stem not only from the knowledge of social conflicts and are not confined to the social sciences alone. Physics, Lenin observed at the turn of the century, is in travail, giving birth to dialectical materialism. It is advancing towards ‘the only true philosophy of natural science not directly, but by zigzags, not consciously but instinctively, not clearly perceiving its “final goal,” but drawing closer to it gropingly unsteadily, and sometimes even with its back turned to it’ (Vol. 14, p. 313). Some points in natural science taken out of context, in isolation from its history, and raised to an absolute, may give impulse to various idealistic constructions and changes in the forms of idealism. But the main philosophical content of this process is its advance – along different avenues – towards dialectical materialism, contributing to its progress.

Acceptance of dialectical materialism implies acceptance of new philosophico-theoretical knowledge, which is at the same time the *intrinsic* requirement of science. This makes the dialectics conscious. Lenin spotted dialectical ideas in an early work of Paul Langevin’s, written in almost total ignorance of dialectics. On becoming a conscious adherent of dialectical materialism, Langevin

said that he had found in Marxism-Leninism 'the explanation for things he could never have understood in his own science.'⁷

Natural science (and mathematics, cybernetics, etc.) moves forward to dialectical materialism usually ahead of the natural scientists. The dialectics of cognition follows a tortuous path before it manifests itself in the philosophical consciousness. It is present in the principle and categories relating to marginal areas of philosophy and natural science. Discovered by scientists often far removed from Marxism, they are found to be outside the limits of the positivist 'philosophy of science' and modern bourgeois philosophy in general, and are consonant with the theory of dialectical materialism; it is only in the context of that theory that they can be appropriately philosophically conceptualized. They contain elements and potentialities for new philosophical generalizations.

The acceptance, mutation and increasing influence of materialism in natural science reflect the objective logic of scientific cognition and represent a departure from bourgeois philosophy. This by Albert Einstein in the early 1930s: 'Faith in an outside world independent from the observing subject is the foundation of all natural science. But since sensory observations yield information about that outside world, or about the "physically real" only indirectly, we can grasp it only by speculation.'⁸ Einstein attacked positivism and referred to the modern theoretico-cognitive problems of natural-science materialism. In the past 15-20 years the latter has gained in vigor. This may be traced to the crisis of neo-positivism and the progress of scientific knowledge, principally physics, especially the physics of elementary particles, which posed the problem of fundamental and universal laws of nature.

Acknowledgement of the primacy of the objective reality (for positivism it is the main stumbling block) is now much more evident in the philosophical outlook of some physicists once subjected to the influence of positivism. 'The natural scientist must be a realist, must perceive in his sensory impressions . . . the messages coming from the real outside world,' said M. Born despite all his philosophical vacillation.⁹ The present-day materialism of natural science in the main theoretico-cognitive areas (primacy of reality independent from consciousness, objectiveness of scientific cognition) is the successor to the old-time instinctive realism. But it does not simply repeat, or merely revive, it. It re-defines and it modifies. The old spontaneous, metaphysical mechanistic materialism of classical physics has suffered such hard knocks that it cannot be revived in its original form. However, the newly-defined materialism in natural science is not always able to escape the attraction of metaphysics – not so much in publicly declared general principles as in the philosophical interpretation of the theories and methods of natural science. It is plagued by problems that the traditional metaphysical materialism and the no less metaphysical present-day bourgeois 'philosophy of science' could not and have not solved. The theoretico-cognitive approach of natural-science materialism is now more conscious than before. Its apprehension of

the *philosophical problems* is clearer, and its materialistic orientation is less a natural philosophical background, and rather a conscious attitude, the reverse of positivist subjectivism which frightens scientists gravitating towards theoretico-cognitive realism with its scarecrow 'metaphysics.'¹⁰ Yet materialism in natural science is not a philosophical theory or a formed trend; its propositions frequently interweave with idealistic notions.

'The idealistic philosophy consists, essentially, in interpreting every kind of human knowledge as self-knowledge being, according to idealists, the only reliable kind of knowledge,' writes E. W. Beth, logician and mathematician, with reference to the philosophical problems of mathematics and formal logic. 'We cannot separate the spheres of physical and subjective reality, so long as we remain inside the circle of our personal experience. A separation of these spheres urges itself upon us as soon as we take into account the experiences of other people; this involves however at the same time the necessity of penetrating into the social sphere of reality.'¹¹ As we see, this transcends natural-science materialism; it contains the seed of the conclusion that consistent realism requires a comprehensive *materialist philosophy* encompassing in theory also the social realities.

IV. Even the absence of any direct Marxist influence, conscious acknowledgement of materialism as a philosophical concept signifies a departure from the main content of modern bourgeois philosophy. However, its exponents cannot avoid determining their relation to dialectical materialism. They take support in it, no matter how substantial their differences with the Marxist philosophy. That has been the case, for more than half a century, with R. W. Sellars, the American thinker, who is at loggerheads with all idealism, both the subjective variety – from Berkeley to the neo-positivists – and the objective – from the Thomists to Whitehead. Historical materialism he will not accept; brought up in the spirit of the pre-World War I bourgeois liberalism, he now gravitates towards Lippmann and Galbraith. Therefore, the class nature of the idealistic philosophical views he now assaults, escapes him. But as he sees it, his views 'are undeniably confirmatory of the basic lead of dialectical materialism.' Accepting well-known propositions of dialectical materialism, Sellars says that 'material things are denoted and described and *become objective for us*. Their structure, behavior, and relations are actively deciphered by us and thus our thoughts come approximately to reflect them and disclose them.'¹² 'The need for a realistic foundation' and criticism of positivism, he says, associate this philosophical position with dialectical materialism.¹³ Defending the basic postulates of materialism and contending against the idealistic theory of knowledge, he refers to V. I. Lenin's "Materialism and Empiriocriticism."¹⁴ And close to some of the propositions of *dialectical materialism* are his own ideas on the fusion of the principle of development with materialism, the concept of levels of causality, and his study of the correlation between the activeness of

perception and its content, which reflects the reality. But he argues against materialist dialectics; the instinctive elements of dialectics are not strong enough to put down his conscious objections. Yet without materialist dialectics and historical materialism he cannot consistently effectuate his program and carry forward his materialist principle, and is consequently compelled to make certain concessions to idealism in the theory of knowledge. But all the same, materialism is the main lead in Sellar's philosophical activity. It is high time, he writes, for materialism to stop being the 'suppressed alternative,' adding: 'surely it is time to bring it into the foreground, to consider neglected possibilities, to take it as something which should be studied in the light of every relevant objection.'¹⁵ This is why he refers so respectfully to the 'basic lead' of dialectical materialism, its uncompromising position vis-à-vis idealism.

Sellar's is not a conclusive trend. But his philosophy displays a definite striving—shared with others—to resolve the crisis of modern bourgeois philosophy, they converge in theoretical and social essence, and are components of *one and the same* condition of crisis. Hence, the search for a way out, too, is a *common tendency*.

The 'naturalism' of U.S. philosopher M. Farber, who assails Husserlian phenomenology and existentialism,¹⁶ is akin in materialist orientation to 'scientific realism,' which is at war with the dogmas of both the logical and linguistic variants of neo-positivism,¹⁷ and which draws strength from their decay. There is only one way out: to move forward from the basic materialist theoretico-cognitive approach to an integral materialist philosophy, a philosophical conceptualisation of the *dialectics* of the objective reality, a *dialectics* of knowledge reflecting the reality, the materiality of society and the social nature of *cognition*. Failing this, effective and consistent opposition to positivism and the 'philosophy of life' is impossible and the ways are cut off to the modern scientific philosophy.

A conscious attempt to *blend* gnosiological realism with elements of dialectics is made by the 'open philosophy' of F. Gonseth and P. Bernays. Unlike some other philosophical systems, which, though centered on the dialectics of scientific knowledge, recognize only 'immanent or methodological dialectics' and reject 'philosophical dialectics'¹⁸ (thus espousing philosophical prejudices alien to dialectics and materialism), that of Gonseth and Bernays, which proceeds from the philosophical implications of mathematics, is oriented on developing a dialectical philosophy. Dialectics, says Gonseth, is a 'system of concepts, an adequate, coherent and effective operation of ideas'; and the erection of such a system, he says, serves 'a better apprehension of reality.'¹⁹ True, the 'open philosophy' is also open to some strains of idealism. Neither has it shaken off the illusion that materialism and idealism can be reconciled. But the main stress is on the dialectics of theory and experience, the historicity and objectiveness of scientific knowledge. In this respect, it is deliberately contrasted to neo-positivism, which divorces theory from experience. However, Gonseth holds that dialectics is only

peculiar to knowledge; the idea and problem of objective dialectics are well out of his field of vision. 'Open philosophy' says knowledge is objective; consequently, the dialectics of scientific knowledge must ultimately reflect the dialectics of objective reality. Yet the 'open' philosophy balks at the thought that judgments which dialectics organizes into a system 'refer to the (in principle temporal) horizon of reality or truth.'²⁰ Subjectiveness, Gonseth maintains, cannot be apprehended on the sole basis of subjectiveness. He admits that 'the structure of subjectiveness . . . depends not only (or not primarily) on the intrusion of the subject into the natural environment, but also on his integration in the social environment.'²¹ Here the problem is posed, rather than resolved.²² In some points Gonseth and Bernays come close to materialist dialectics, though as a whole, their philosophy falls far short of it.

The theoretical results of the materialistic and dialectical quest of non-Marxist philosophers are fruitful and valuable, but invariably fragmentary. They cannot create a philosophical synthesis, an all-embracing and consequent philosophical theory, though that is what they want, what they regard as necessary. *The tendency of approximation is not yet transition to Marxism.* It is very difficult to overcome bourgeois philosophy for good or find the way out of its crisis, because of the power of spiritual decadence – the product of the pressures of social decadence which gives the present state of bourgeois philosophy the appearance of being natural and immutable. Transition to Marxism stands for a *conscious remaking of the world outlook as a whole*, for acceptance of the *class positions of the proletariat*.

V. Ideological collisions, especially the struggle for and against Marxism, involve large sections of society. The transition from bourgeois philosophy to Marxism involves the operation of two factors – the *experience and impact of the class struggle* (disenchantment in capitalism, socio-political attraction to socialism) and the *necessity of cognizing reality*. Subjectively the advance to Marxism is not always directly associated with the experience of socialist society, the workers' class struggle, the democratic movement. In some cases, in fact, social motives appear to be absent (especially where the revolutionary working-class movement has not yet breached the police, political, ideological and moral barriers to Marxism-Leninism erected by the bourgeoisie). Philosophical issues and ideas objectively consonant with the content of dialectical materialism may arise without its immediate influence. But their perspective is connected with Marxism, they are socially effective and significant, and they countervail the pressures or attractions of idealism, because behind the theoretical processes is the reality of world socialism, of the global class struggle. In the passage to Marxism the practice of the class struggle is primary, because it contains the point of departure and the main motive of the transition.

Thinkers who cross from bourgeois philosophy to Marxism, who

abandon illusions of intellectual isolation and enter on democratic and socialist struggle, which rejuvenates their personality, cannot but have a sense of involvement in the *conflict* between the bourgeois philosophy and the progressive movements, and cannot but feel that bourgeois philosophy and the capitalist system are *inter-connected*. There is always a theoretical and moral crisis, but not an *intrinsic crisis* of bourgeois philosophy; it is a crisis stemming from the experience of collisions with the social and individual reality, affecting bourgeois thinking from *outside*. The memoirs of many philosophers shows the agonizing process of such crises and doubts – a complex interlacement of historical twists, social movements, individual evolutions and philosophical metamorphoses,²³ the joy of discovering Marxism and the immense difficulty of mastering it. But it is a path from uncertainty to certainty, a certainty scientifically grounded and tested by the practice of the revolutionary working-class movement.

The tendency of advancing to, and accepting, Marxism stems from *remote*, often *unrelated* areas of social action and knowledge. It is reproduced in the knowledge of modern social reality, in historical research, in the philosophical conceptualization of science, in the search for a way out of the crisis of modern bourgeois thinking. Lenin's idea that 'communism is emerging in positively every sphere of public life; its beginnings are to be seen literally everywhere' (Vol. 31, p. 101), also refers to the intellectual domain. The processes of rupture with bourgeois philosophy, of the approach to, and acceptance of Marxism, while relatively independent, are subordinate and secondary to the practice of revolution, to the theoretical force of Marxism and its impact on the masses. This derivative character may, from the standpoint of the idealistic 'pure spirit,' appear to be a weakness. In fact, however, the philosophical quest leading to Marxism is, on the whole, irreversible, being impelled by objective social necessity and, in the final analysis, supported and stimulated by the revolutionary activity of the masses. Some individuals and groups may relent and turn back to bourgeois philosophy. In the historical context, however, the passage from bourgeois philosophy to Marxism is irreversible. Due to the political and ideological pressure of the bourgeoisie the process may not be identifiable at this time. But like subterranean rivers, it will finally break to the surface and pour into the general stream, where revolutionary thought and revolutionary action merge as one.

1. In the USA, wrote American philosopher H. Parsons, 'most . . . philosophers have been situated in universities dependent upon and responsive to bourgeois interests and ideas. Lenin's passion for the socialist revolution and his philosophy of communism run through all his writings. In capitalist society it has normally been dangerous and illegal to study and to disseminate such a philosophy. What is surprising, therefore, is that his thought has had as much influence as it has . . . Even when after 1917 U.S. philosophers ignored Lenin's thought, they could not avoid being influenced by the pervasive effects which the Communist movement was having upon men and societies throughout the world.' (H. L. Parsons, 'The Influence of Lenin's Thought on U.S. Philosophers.' In: *New World Review*, Winter 1970, p. 182).

2. Cf. V. G. Childe, 'The Story of Tools,' London, 1944; 'What Happened in History,' London, 1954; 'The Prehistory of European Society,' London, 1958; 'Man Makes Himself,' London, 1965.

3. Cf. V. G. Childe, 'Society and Knowledge,' London, 1956.

4. J. Needham: 'Science and Society in East and West.' In: *The Science of Science. Society in the Technological Age*. Ed. by M. Goldsmith and A. Mackay. London, 1964. p. 128.

5. B. Dunham attests in his 'Man Against Myth' that in the early thirties he never stopped asking economists how to explain the absurdity of poverty alongside abundance, or the still greater absurdity of poverty caused by abundance. Failing to get an answer from the leading (now disavowed) bourgeois economists, he turned to Marx and found the explanation he had looked for. He also found something he had not expected: respect for philosophy and recognition of its social usefulness. The painful gap between daily practice and pure theory, Dunham concluded, was thus filled in.

6. C. Wright Mills, 'The Marxists.' New York, 1962, p. 30.

7. Paul Langevin, 'La pensée et l'action,' Paris, 1950, p. 301.

8. A. Einstein, 'Mein Weltbild.' Amsterdam, 1934. p. 208.

9. M. Born, 'Physik im Wandel meiner Zeit,' Braunschweig/Berlin, 1958.

10. Einstein, 'Bemerkungen zu Bertrand Russell's Erkenntnis-Theorie,' in: *The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell*, ed. by P. A. Schilpp. Vol. I, New York, Evanston and London, 1963.

11. E. W. Beth, 'The Foundations of Mathematics. A Study in the Philosophy of Science.' Amsterdam, 1959, pp. 643, 645.

12. R. W. Sellars, 'Reflections on Dialectical Materialism,' in: *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. V, No. 2, 1944, pp. 161, 176.

13. Sellars, 'Existentialism, Realistic Empiricism, and Materialism,' in: *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, 1965, p. 315.

14. Cf. Sellars, 'Reflections on American Philosophy from Within,' Notre Dame, 1969, p. 102 ff.

15. Sellars, 'Materialism and Human Knowing,' in: *Philosophy for the Future. The Quest of Modern Materialism*, Ed. by R. W. Sellars, V. I. McGill and M. Farber, New York, 1949, p. 78.

16. Cf. M. Farber, 'Naturalism and Subjectivism,' Springfield, Ill., 1959; 'Phenomenology and Existence. Towards a Philosophy Within Nature.' New York, Evanston and London, 1967.

17. E.g., see J. K. Feibleman, 'Inside the Great Mirror. A Critical Examination of the Philosophy of Russell, Wittgenstein, and Their Followers.' The Hague, 1958; J. J. Smart, 'Philosophy and Scientific Realism,' London, 1963. 'Scientific realism' harbors great possibilities; this is evident from M. W. Wartofsky's 'Conceptual Foundations of Scientific Thought,' New York/London, 1968, which deals with the philosophical aspects of scientific cognition in terms close to materialism.

Bourgeois anti-Marxism reduces the possibilities of 'scientific realism' and acts against its progressive tendencies. M. Bunge's treatment of some of the categories principally relating to the philosophical interpretation of the theories and methods of natural science, shows a visible resemblance to some ideas of dialectical materialism. Yet Bunge accepts stereotyped anti-Marxist ideas (see *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. LIX, No. 25, 1962, p. 805 ff). For his 'new revolution' in philosophy and study of 'metaphysical theories and systems,' he, who is a critic of positivism, can therefore find no better point of support than the traditions of the Vienna circle, that is, logical positivism. (Cf. M. Bunge, 'Problems and Games in the Current Philosophy of Natural Science,' in: *Akten des XIV Internationalen Kongresses fuer Philosophie*, Vol. 1, Vienna, 1968, p. 573 ff).

18. Cf. J. Piaget, 'La situation des sciences de l'homme dans le systeme des sciences,' in: *Tendances principales de la recherche dans les sciences sociales et humaines*. Premiere partie: *Sciences sociales*. Paris and Le Haye, 1970, pp. 40, 41. The relationship between this philosophical conception and Marxism is a special subject, which transcends the framework of this article.

19. F. Gonseth, 'La géométrie et le problème de l'espace,' Neuchatel and Paris, 1945/1949, p. 51.

20. Gonseth, 'De l'unité du savoir.' In: *Dialectica*, No. 14, 1950, p. 163.

21. Gonseth, 'La philosophie ouverte.' In: *Akten des XIV Internationalen Kongresses fuer Philosophie*. Vol. 1, Vienna, 1968, p. 556.

22. In search of a solution, a conceptualization of the relation between mathematical, logical and linguistic structures and the reality, the French philosopher N. Mouloud goes beyond the 'open philosophy' to the idea of objective dialectics and its link with the subjective. 'Science is dialectical,' he says, 'because it ascends to a systematization of concepts, defined one by one as they complement each other. . . . But it is also dialectical because the aspects of reality which it investigates are compounded into a real totality approachable only by synthesizing the aspects, by progressive systematization.' (N. Mouloud, 'Language et structures. Essais de logique et de sémiologie.' Paris, 1969, p. 74.)

23. E.g., see Ide Takasi, 'Before My Shift to Materialist Positions,' in: *The Modern Progressive Philosophers of Japan*, Moscow, in Russian, 1964.



A theoretical conference on the subject 'A New Stage in the Afro-Asian National-Liberation Movement and Problems of Anti-Imperialist Unity' was held under the auspices of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* in Prague June 27-29, 1972.

The Conference was attended by representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Algeria, Argentina, Bulgaria, Bolivia, Brazil, Great Britain, Hungary, GDR, Greece, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, Italy, Canada, Cyprus, Colombia, Lebanon, Mongolia, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Senegal, Syria, the Soviet Union, Sudan, USA, Tunisia, Turkey, the Philippines, Finland, France, Czechoslovakia, South African Republic, Japan, and by representatives of progressive parties and national liberation movements of Angola (MPLA), Arab Socialist Union (Arab Republic of Egypt), Arab Socialist Baath Party (Iraq), Democratic Party of Kurdistan (Iraq), Arab Socialist Baath Party (Syria), South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Namibia) and a member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of Somalia.

The Conference examined such questions as the motive forces of the national-democratic revolution in the present conditions, the distinguishing features of its development in different countries and especially in countries with progressive regimes, the social and state structures in the Asian and African countries, the united front of anti-imperialist and progressive forces, and problems related to the intrigues of imperialism, colonialism and home reaction, which are trying to use anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism in their struggle against social progress and peace.

The Conference, which passed in an atmosphere of broad, friendly and creative discussion, proved the usefulness of meetings of representatives of Communist and other Left and progressive political parties and forces, meetings that provide the opportunity for exchanges of experience concerning the struggle for social transformations and for a further strengthening of the international anti-imperialist front.

The materials of the Conference will be published in this journal soon.

Situation in India and tasks of the CPI

Narayana Krishnan

I. The results of the elections held in March of this year to the Assemblies in 16 states of India and two Union territories signified a big defeat for the forces of Right reaction, as well as for the forces of Left opportunism and disruption and a victory for policies of anti-imperialism and self-reliance.

The Assembly elections took place against the background of the continuing radicalization of the masses and anti-imperialist upsurge. It is these two factors, especially the liberation of Bangla Desh and India's role in that historic event, which have decisively influenced current political trends and, in particular, the pattern of voting in the recent elections.

After the rout suffered by the Right reactionary parties in last year's parliamentary elections these parties (the Jana Sangh, the Syndicate Congress and the Swatantra, representing Hindu communal, pro-imperialist, pro-landlord and pro-monopoly forces) together with their ally, the Socialist Party, regrouped themselves and entered the Assembly elections this time on the basis of a commonly arrived understanding, setting before them the goal of capturing power and securing vantage points in States like Bihar, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi and Mysore. Their electoral campaign was based on vicious anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

In the State of West Bengal, the Communist Party (Marxist), whose Trotskyite policies and tactics of terrorism had wrecked the earlier Left United Front, this time formed another front with a number of Left splinter groups and parties and made a powerful bid to capture power. This front, led by the Communist Party (Marxist), directed its main fire against the Indira Gandhi Congress and against the Communist Party of India. Its main propaganda line was that Indira Gandhi of India and Yahya Khan of Pakistan are one and the same; that while Yahya Khan made East Bengal (now Bangla Desh) a colony of West Pakistan, Indira Gandhi has made West Bengal a colony of India. The Communist Party (Marxist) front also let loose slanderous propaganda against the Soviet Union and against the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. The Communist Party (Marxist) made clandestine alliances with the parties of the Right reactionary front in many States.

The Communist Party of India entered the elections with the electoral tactics of uniting all the progressive forces in the country, including the radical and democratic sections inside the Indira

Gandhi Congress in order to defeat the forces of Right reaction and of Left disruption and to still further carry forward the shift to the Left in the nation's political life. In its electoral propaganda, the Party sharply focussed the crucial issue of choice of paths facing the Indian people and stressed the urgency of breaking away from the capitalist path and taking radical democratic measures to break up the power of the monopolies, effect radical land reforms, tackle the problems of unemployment and rapidly advance the living standards of the working people.

In Punjab, Bihar and several other States the Communist Party could come to an electoral understanding with the Indira Gandhi Congress to put up a joint fight against the forces of Right reaction and Left disruption, winning important positions. In the capital city of Delhi, where the Jana Sangh was the ruling party till now, it has been dislodged from power and the Congress-Communist Party alliance has scored a big majority. In the State of West Bengal, the Progressive Democratic Alliance formed by the Indira Gandhi Congress and the Communist Party of India has secured a massive majority. The Communist Party (Marxist), which had won 114 seats in the 1969 elections, has been reduced to a bare 14 this time. The Communist Party of India has won 35 seats (as against 13 seats it had won in the 1969 elections) and has advanced to the second place after the Indira Gandhi Congress.

Though in such States as Andhra, Assam, Maharashtra, Manipur, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana no such understanding could come about due to obstruction from the Right-wing of the Congress Party, the Communist Party of India has significantly increased its votes as compared with the votes polled in the 1971 Parliamentary elections. In Andhra, the Communist Party of India has secured eight seats as against the Communist Party (Marxist) tally of one seat. In the State of Manipur, on the North East border of India, it could win five seats out of a total of 60 in the State Assembly. In terms of the total number of seats won, the Communist Party of India has secured 114 seats in all and has emerged as the biggest national opposition party in the country. As against this, the Communist Party (Marxist) could secure only 34 seats in all. In most of the States it could not secure even a single seat.

The Indira Gandhi Congress has won massive victories in almost all the States, by relying on the radicalization of the masses and on the impact created by the Congress Government headed by Indira Gandhi on the minds of the people because of certain radical measures taken during the last two years, climaxed by its role in relation to the liberation of Bangla Desh.

The election results have thrown the parties of the Right reactionary camp into utter confusion and disarray. The Socialist Party, which acted as an ally of the reactionary camp, came up against the prospect of a major split. The political-ideological crisis inside the Communist Party (Marxist) has intensified since its election debacle. While serious re-thinking and questioning of their leader-

ship's policies has started in lower sections of the party and some branches (as in the State of Andhra Pradesh) have started breaking away from that Party and rejoining the Communist Party of India, the top leadership of the Communist Party (Marxist) have so far refused to make any serious self-criticism and review. They have come out with a campaign denouncing the elections as a 'rigged affair' and demanding fresh elections. Their leaders have appealed for the common front of *all* opposition parties to fight 'Indira Gandhi's fascism.' The Right reactionary parties readily responded to this appeal. The C.P. (Marxist) has also raised the slogan of 'full autonomy' for the States of the Indian Union, a slogan that would only lead to the disintegration of Indian unity and fit into the conspiracies being hatched against India by imperialism with the collusion of Maoist China. This whole line will lead to the Communist Party (Marxist)'s closer and more open alignment with the forces of national and international reaction, and its masses being pitched against the mainstream of progressive forces inside the country.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India has appealed to the Communist Party (Marxist) 'to abandon its present suicidal policies and adopt positions that would enable it to play its proper role in the mainstream of the Left and democratic movement in the country.'

II. The National Council of the Communist Party of India, which met in Delhi from April 14 to 18, 1972, reviewed the election results and gave its assessment of the political situation facing the Indian sub-continent. The resolution emphasizes that 'the liberation of Bangla Desh, followed by the recent Assembly elections, have meant a big advance for the forces of the national democratic revolution in our country.' The CPI assesses the election results as a firm mandate from the masses for urgent radical measures against imperialism, against landlordism and against monopolist capital and for ending the scourge of high prices and inflation, unemployment and poverty. The election results have vindicated the CPI's positions, as well as the tactical line given at the Cochin Congress of building up and strengthening joint action with the democratic and progressive sections inside the ruling Congress and the masses following the Congress, as the *main immediate direction of advance* in building up the National Democratic Front.

The biggest achievement of the election campaign and the election results has been united action and cooperation between our Party and Party masses on the one hand and the radical democratic sections inside the ruling Congress and the Congress masses on the other, to effect a shift to the Left in policies at the State level. The struggle for Left democratic unity of all patriotic and progressive forces of the country opens up the prospects of further advance of the national-democratic revolution.

Describing the international situation the National Council of the

CPI noted that American imperialism has stepped up its neo-colonialist aggressiveness in South Asia. Military preparations are being stepped up in the Indian Ocean which today occupies an important place in the aggressive global strategy. A chain of military bases, stretching out from the Australian coast to Africa, is being set up with Diego Garcia as its center. Bahrein has been converted into an American base. The U.S. announced that it would establish a 'permanent presence' of the Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean. The CIA is intensifying its activities in Ceylon, as well as in Bangla Desh. Inside India, too, the American espionage organizations have stepped up their nefarious activities. With their talk of 'fighting both the super-powers,' the Chinese leaders are objectively shielding and giving an alibi to the increased aggressiveness of Anglo-American imperialism.

Attempts are being made by both Washington and Peking to re-arm Pakistan and encourage the forces of anti-Indian revanchism in that State, to undermine India's unity and independence and subvert the newly-won freedom of Bangla Desh, hamper and prevent the normalization of relations between India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh, as well as disrupt the friendly ties between India, Bangla Desh and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet-Bangla Desh joint declaration and the Indo-Bangla Desh Treaty, coming in the background of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed last year, are big positive developments.

The CPI holds that normalization of relations in this sub-continent can be achieved only by direct talks between the three States of India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh. There can be no negotiations with Pakistan about the status of Kashmir, which is an integral part of our country. The CPI repeatedly stated that the cease-fire line of 1948 in Jammu and Kashmir should be accepted by mutual agreement between India and Pakistan as the permanent international boundary with such adjustments as may be found necessary in the interests of the two sides.

The principles of the Indo-Soviet Treaty and of the Indo-Bangla Desh Treaty will undoubtedly promote the establishment of a system of collective security in Asia and help safeguard peace in Asia. Such a system of collective security must be based on principles of renunciation of the use of force in solving issues between states, respect for sovereignty and inviolability of borders, peaceful co-existence, and mutually-advantageous economic cooperation. Such a system of collective security can be established only on the basis of Asian states quitting imperialist military blocs like SEATO and CENTO and removing all foreign military bases from their territory as well as from the Indian Ocean islands.

To achieve these aims, all patriots must be united in the struggle against American imperialism and its penetration into all fields of Indian life – social, economic, cultural, political and military. The CPI will continue to concretely expose and fight all American neo-

colonialist pressures and attacks in South Asia. It will work for building up a system of Asian collective security and cooperation, for strengthening and extending friendship and cooperation between the states in our sub-continent and the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp.

III. After the election certain positive developments have taken place in the country's political life. In the recent period the Indian Government has taken a more forthright stand than ever before against the escalation of U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. The Indian Government has also recently announced an import policy which would lessen India's dependence on the USA in our foreign trade. Trade agreements have also been recently signed by India with the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries, providing for vastly increased economic cooperation between India and the countries of the socialist camp. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has also categorically declared that India would strive its hardest to do away with U.S. aid and to build up national self-reliance.

After the Assembly elections, the Congress Government leadership at the Center is taking steps to force the State Governments to take early action to implement the Congress election pledges regarding radical agrarian reform and reduction of the ceiling on land permissible to be held by a family, as well as imposition of a ceiling on urban property. These steps are intended to break the hold of the rural and urban vested interests and release millions of acres of surplus land for distribution to the landless.

At the same time, certain negative features have also appeared in the recent period. The victory won by the democratic forces in the elections has not been fully and uniformly reflected in the composition of the newly-elected State Assemblies. Along with progressive and democratic Congressmen, who have been elected, are a large number of others who are linked up with the vested interests. Right-wing elements in the Congress Party are trying to stifle radical criticism within and to blunt and play down the actual and rapid fulfilment of radical commitments made in the election campaign, even while keeping them alive in slogans or tinkering with the problems by minor measures.

In this connection, it must be pointed out that policy pronouncements have come recently from some Union Ministers and even from the Prime Minister herself, which are extremely disturbing. While taking up firmer anti-imperialist and anti-feudal positions, Government spokesmen have displayed a trend of playing down the anti-monopoly struggle. Attempts are being made, in fact, in the name of self-reliance, eradication of unemployment and replacement of American aid, to give concessions to foreign and Indian monopolies, as well as to imperialist countries of the European Economic Community. Far from helping to break away from the capitalist path by complete take over of the monopolies and the

75 Monopoly Houses who dominate many fields of Indian economy, which is basically the only way of effectively tackling the acute problems of rising prices, growing unemployment and stagnation of industrial production, such steps will only further buttress the positions of capitalism and of monopoly in the country and lead to aggravation of the economic crisis.

It is evident that a conflict is developing inside the Central Government over the direction and content of its economic policy. It reflects the sharp struggle between the radical, progressive wing in the Congress Party and the spokesmen for the interests of monopolies, big landowners, and the village rich.

The resolution passed by the National Council of the CPI at its April session warned seriously against these negative features. The CPI is aware that the national bourgeoisie will try, if possible, to 'contain' our Party and weaken it organizationally, to step up its ideological influence over the working masses and the progressive intelligentsia. This underlines the urgent importance of strengthening the Party organizationally. The propaganda and ideological work of the Party must also be considerably strengthened, particularly among the basic masses and among students, youth and the radical intelligentsia. 'In fact, in the period ahead, the resolution emphasizes, *'the independent role of the Party, its role in projecting its independent image before the people in terms of its class policies and program, class struggles and mass actions, assumes crucial importance.* The enhancement of the independent role of the Party and the expansion of its independent mass base is essential for the further growth of the united front itself.'

In the fields of industrial relations and trade union recognition, as well as efficient management of the State sector undertakings, a break from the past policies so far pursued by the Congress Government has become urgently necessary. In the recent period, the All-India Trade Union Congress has taken significant initiatives to build up trade union unity between itself, the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and the Indian National Trade Union Congress (the three main national trade union organizations in the country), in order to force a change in Government policies in the field of industrial relations. After prolonged discussions, the three centers have now set up a National Council of Trade Unions 'for the purpose of promoting understanding, cooperation, and coordination in the activities of the central trade unions, to defend the interests of the working class and trade union movement, to advance the interests of the working people and help forward the development of national economy on a democratic, self-reliant and non-monopoly basis and to overcome trade union rivalry and bring about trade union unity for common objectives and action.' Discussions on the new industrial relations policy on which some differences still persist will be continued in this forum.

Our Party intends to continue carrying forward and further strengthening the links already built up between our Party and

Party masses on the one side and the radical democratic sections inside the Congress and the Congress masses on the other, to develop united political campaigns and mass struggles in order to achieve further democratization of Indian society. At the same time, the Party will strive to draw the masses following the traditional Left parties to joint actions on common issues and make systematic efforts to win them over to correct political positions.

The joint statement issued after the talks in June between delegations of the CPSU and CPI says that the historical experience of the struggle waged by the peoples, including the Indian people, shows that unity of the Left, democratic forces, organization of a united national-democratic front, is an important condition for successful struggle against foreign and local monopolies, neo-colonialism and the feudal landowning element.

The Communist Party has outlined a program of national demands, taking as the basis the promises made by the Congress Election Manifesto in the Assembly elections and further concretising these. This program of national demands includes the following:

- Radical land reforms, establishment of popular committees and special administrative machinery for the implementation of land reform laws.

- State monopoly of wholesale trade in foodgrains, pulses, sugar and edible oils; these items and cheap cloth to be supplied through Government-controlled shops.

- Nationalization of sugar and cloth mills.

- Development of self-reliant economy in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries.

- Declaration of a moratorium on repayment of foreign debts involving foreign exchange.

- Mobilization of resources to carry on developmental programs, through unearthing of black money by demonetization, imposition of income-tax on the rural rich.

- Fixation and implementation of a national need-based minimum wage for the working class; enlargement of trade union and democratic rights; workers' participation at all levels of management in state sector undertakings; opening of all closed factories; fixation and implementation of a fair wage for agricultural laborers.

- Voting right for youth at the age of 18 (instead of 21 as at present).

The Communist Party has launched an all-India national-political campaign on May Day, calling upon the Central and State Governments to 'implement the people's mandate.' The campaign will be linked up with movements and struggles of different sections of the people for their just demands, in defense of their rights and democratic freedoms.

The post-election situation in India, the sharpening of the in-

ternal struggle in the Congress leadership call for swift and vigorous action by all Left and democratic forces and parties to achieve a decisive shift to the Left in the political and socio-economic spheres of national life.

Economic cooperation in place of imperialist robbery

Idris Cox

About 3,000 representatives from 142 countries – capitalist, socialist, and the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, together with 'experts' from the United Nations and other international institutions, attended the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held in Santiago in April-May, 1972.*

Out of the matters discussed at the conference, we shall here deal with those directly related to the needs of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In his inaugural speech, the Chilean leader, President Allende, exposed the exploiter substance of the imperialist world system and its multi-national monopoly firms, stating that their attitude towards developing countries was a travesty of the United Nations Charter. President Allende declared that three times more profit (four times in Latin America) was flowing out of these countries than the new investments going in. Forty years ago, said President Allende, the copper monopolies invested \$30 million in Chile, and since then have extracted \$4,000 million in profits, without making new investments. For Latin America as a whole new investments from 1966 to 1969 amounted to \$1,107 million but profits rose to \$4,418 million, nearly four times (*Survey of Current Business*, No. 10, 1970).

The average income in the developed capitalist countries had risen during the past decade by \$650 per head, but only \$40 in the developing countries.

The main emphasis by President Allende was that these countries must change this situation mainly by their own efforts. This was not just a matter of words, for one week after the conference opened Allende declared to a cheering crowd of 300,000 at Santiago that he was sending a Bill to the Chilean Congress to provide for taking over the holdings of the giant United States corporation, the International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT). 'We, the depressed

*The first UNCTAD conference was at Geneva in 1964 and the second at New Delhi in 1968.

nations,' he declared, 'should fight tirelessly to change the old economic structure, which is unequal and unjust, but also to secure compensation for centuries of past exploitation.' And the only way this can be done, Allende added, is to advance on the new road to socialism which we have embarked upon.'

Because UNCTAD comprises different states, most of its decisions are in the nature of compromise. Meeting in Algiers in 1967 the developing countries formed the 'Algiers 77 Group' (now enlarged to 96 members) and again met in November 1971 to make their proposals for Santiago. Differences came to light, which were carried over – with added vehemence – to Santiago. As a result, despite contradictions in their own camp, the capitalist states succeeded in torpedoing proposals aimed at fortifying the position of the developing countries in the world economy.

The solution of the problems of Asia, Africa and Latin America is closely linked with radical structural changes in the entire system of international economic relations. On the initiative of the socialist countries, the conference adopted a resolution on international trade development. The socialist countries backed the demand that the capitalist world should, at least in part, compensate the colossal damage inflicted by past centuries of colonial plunder and robbery. But in this respect the progress at UNCTAD was even less than modest, due to the neo-colonialist policy of the imperialist countries, which continue to regard the developing countries as mainly a source of profit for their monopolies.

'Rich,' 'poor' and 'poorer'

The battle against the conditions of poverty and hunger in the developing countries has yielded no palpable results so far. The promises of Western statesmen that the era of exploitation will be superseded by an era of cooperation and aid are still so like pies in the sky. Bourgeois 'experts' and journalists blame the highly-developed capitalist countries' own economic difficulties for this failure. One of these 'experts' (William Clark) writing in the *Times* (14.9.71) special supplement 'Nations in Need' posing the prospects for the 1970s, pointed out: 'There seems to be a real danger that the richest countries got into some kind of panic about the mechanics of their affluence, and that, if they follow the Nixon economic policies, they will cut aid to the poor to balance their payments with the rich.'

The bourgeois science and press constantly use the terms 'rich' and 'poor' without distinction between the capitalist and the socialist world. They pretend that the socialist countries, too, are responsible for the desperate state of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, diverting attention from the fact that relations of exploitation reign in most of the developing states, as well as in the entire capitalist world. The real situation is that the vast majority of people in the capitalist world have to struggle to maintain living standards against rising prices and increased exploita-

tion. The rich minority in the imperialist world exploit both their own people and most of those of the Third World. Also, within the Third World itself, there is a rich minority in many countries. 'Taking Brazil as an example, while the share of the rich 5 per cent had increased from 29 per cent in 1960 to 38 per cent in 1970, the country's poorest 40 per cent had seen their share drop from 10 per cent to 8 per cent in 1970.'*

At the same time, the main exploiters of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are not the indigenous capitalist elements, but foreign imperialism, upon which many of these indigenous elements depend. To the extent that the indigenous national bourgeoisie cooperate in building an independent national economy, its role may even be regarded as constructive.

Thus, consolidation of national independence and socio-economic progress in the developing countries are hindered by the system of imperialist exploitation. That is the essential point. And, symptomatically, the positions of the developing and socialist states turned out to be either very close or identical in this respect.

The problem of the 'poorest countries,' raised on the initiative of the 'group of 77,' was a new one. It was applied to 25 countries where the average annual income per head is \$100 or less, where illiteracy is 80 per cent and manufacturing industry accounts for 10 per cent or less of the gross national product. Sixteen of these countries are in Africa, seven in Asia, one (Haiti) in Latin America, and one (West Samoa) in Oceania. The African countries are:

Botswana, Burundi, Chad, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Guinea, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, and Upper Volta.

The Asian countries are: Afghanistan, Bhutan, Laos, Maldives, Nepal, Sikkim, and Yemen.

It was proposed these countries should be exempt from cuts in their commodity quota agreements, from payment of dues and prescriptions, and from the pre-financing of buffer stocks.* There should also be 'liberalization' of their tariff barriers, and they would be given priority in multilateral negotiations. Revenue duties and other fiscal charges on the consumption of tropical products should also be reduced or eliminated, and a special fund created to establish industries, diversify production and trade. Resources for this fund would come from voluntary contributions and international financial institutions. These countries would also benefit from any concessions to the developing countries as a whole.

Some capitalist countries made 'generous' gestures. Canada proposed that the proportion of grants and low-interest loans should be increased for these 25 countries, and would itself take this step. Britain proposed for them a long-term low-interest loan, but only

*The Times, April 17, 1972.

*Special financing of surpluses of goods traditionally manufactured and exported by developing countries. Such financing should clearly be by developed capitalist states responsible for the present plight of the developing countries in the world market.

on condition they would purchase British-made merchant ships. The EEC countries announced they would allow eight more Third World countries to export their manufactured goods free of duty. Among the eight are Bhutan, Sikkim and Oman, and the *Observer* remarked that: 'None of these countries have been known to manufacture anything, much less export to Europe.'*

Some of these proposals certainly represent a small advance, designed to mitigate the plight of the 'poorest.' But even if put into operation, they will not resolve the crucial problems of the developing countries in the system of capitalist international economic relations.

Legacy of colonial past

Poverty and hunger are not confined to these 25 countries, but extends throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. Words are inadequate to describe the terrible housing conditions (many with no houses at all). Most of the children born have no access to modern medical care during childhood, and more than half of them suffer from malnutrition during the crucial period of weaning and the toddler age.

According to a United Nations publication 'Trends in the Social Situation of Children' in May 1970, the actual number of children in Asia, Africa, and Latin America under 15 years of age was about 1,000 million. Less than 400 million were attending school—260 million in Asia, 75 million in Africa, and 58 million in Latin America. Only four out of ten of them completed the elementary grade. The U.N. World Economic Survey (1968) pointed out that: 'In a group of Asian countries "drop-out" rates in the first four years of primary school were more than 80 per cent in some, and 50 per cent is quite common. In Africa as a whole the 'dropout' rate is 68 per cent . . . The general cause of these high rates of wastage lies in the poverty of the families from which these children come.'

The basic reason for these atrocious social conditions is that these countries, after winning political independence, were left with the legacy of a colonial economy. And still, from the standpoint of imperialism, they remain the main source for the raw materials and primary goods. Striving to maintain their domination, the imperialist countries force down the prices of Third World exports on the world market, while pushing up their own prices for their exports of capital and manufactured goods. During the 1960s the gap between the low prices for Third World exports and the high prices of their imports from the capitalist world is estimated to have cost them £11,000 million.

Almost 80 per cent of their exports consist of raw materials and primary goods. So they have striven to cope with this serious loss in doing their utmost to produce more manufactured and semi-

**Observer*, May 7, 1972.

manufactured goods, only to find serious barriers facing them in the capitalist world. More than 75 per cent of their exports are to the capitalist world market. Most manufactured goods from Asia, Africa, and Latin America are subject to tariffs. Raw leather can be exported to Britain without payment of tariffs, but if processed into belts, jackets and shoes it is subject to a 25 per cent tariff. Raw cocoa beans enter the Common Market from non-associated countries with only 3 per cent duty, but if processed, is subject to a tariff of 18 per cent. Moreover, in 1970 the Common Market countries enforced quota restrictions on 65 types of manufactured goods and 100 types of farm produce.

The monetary crisis in the United States has worsened this situation. Nixon's imposition of a 10 per cent surcharge on imports was a serious blow to the developing countries. By January 1972 this had already deprived India of no less than £23 million in the value of its exports.

Together with the outright robbery in relation to prices on the capitalist world market, vast profits are being extracted from the direct investments of big monopoly firms in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The value of these investments reached the record level of £5,480 million in 1970, of which £1,800 million was from Britain, and the bulk of the remainder from the United States. The annual profit flowing back to the capitalist world rose from £1,330 million in 1960 to £2,160 million in 1970.

'Aid and debts

Partly to conceal this increasing exploitation the capitalist countries have been engaged in operating 'economic aid' schemes. To some extent grants and loans have assisted many developing countries, but have also provided more scope for profits for the monopoly firms. The 1969 Pearson Report (commissioned by the World Bank) openly admits that: 'Indeed, for most countries, official aid to finance schools, roads, hospitals, and other infrastructure is a prerequisite for, and a stimulant to, private investment.'

However, having provided these 'social overhead costs,' the capitalist states have switched to mutual investments within the developed countries and in recent years have been cutting down the scale of their official 'aid.'

Since 1967 United States official aid has steadily declined. It was down to \$1,930 million for 1969-70, and cut to \$930 million for 1971-72, and is likely to be less again next year. British official 'aid' was at the level of £225 million in 1971. But due to the declining value of the pound sterling the real value of this aid is far less. Moreover, most of the official 'aid' is subject to the condition of using it to purchase American and British goods. The London *Times* pointed out that: '64 per cent of British aid is tied, and this reduces its nominal value by at least 25 per cent.'*

**Times*, April 28, 1972.

Earlier loans from capitalist states at high interest rates (6-8 per cent, often even more) have imposed so heavy a burden that most developing countries have been unable even to pay the interest on them. The result is an outstanding debt of \$69,000 million in 1970. The annual repayments amount to something like \$5,750 million and many new states try to pay the interest by incurring new loans, and so find themselves in a vicious circle.

Socialist aid

In contrast to this situation there is the fundamentally different approach in the international economic policy of the socialist world. Socialist aid is in complete contrast to the tied aid of the imperialist states in both purpose and practical value. This contrast can be summed up from four main angles:

- It goes to the state and public sector of production instead of paving the way for the extraction of profit;

- industrial enterprises, when completed, become the property of the recipient state;

- loans and credits are at low interest rates of two to three per cent (many are interest-free) and can be repaid in the local currency or in kind;

- its aim is to assist in transforming the old backward colonial economy and to encourage the production and export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods, upon which the socialist countries have abolished tariffs since 1965.

Between 1955 and 1970 the volume of Soviet trade with these countries increased seven times, that of the German Democratic Republic four times, and Poland by 200 per cent. These countries, together with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania have also built or are helping to build about 2,500 industrial and other projects. The Soviet Union has inter-governmental and technical cooperation agreements with 40 countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and 490 industrial and other projects have been built in these countries with Soviet aid. Moreover, the Soviet Union has assisted in training no less than 250,000 skilled workers and technicians.

The socialist countries' approach to international economic co-operation was also constructive in Santiago. They made a joint declaration, setting out a set of measures to expand economic assistance and to consolidate the national independence of developing states. Ultimately, this program was worked into the resolution on developing international commerce.

A statement was issued by the Soviet delegation that the USSR is prepared to work with governments of interested countries in framing plans for broader long-term economic and trade relations. The Soviet Union, the statement said, is ready to make provisions in its own economic plans for aid to expand the productive forces

and economic potential of the developing countries, to help promote their scientific-technical growth.

A deep impression was made by the announced Soviet figures of planned imports from the developing countries before the end of the present five-year period. Many of the Asian, African and Latin American delegations expressed the view that this would give their countries' trade a new perspective and help them plan national economic development for the long term.

Some of the developing countries showed interest in the socialist states' experience of building up growth rates and gradually approximating and balancing out their economic levels. As noted at the conference, the essential factor, apart from the marshalling of all home resources, was economic cooperation on a basis of socialist internationalism.

The realization is growing in Africa, Asia and Latin America that the main battle against the growth of poverty and hunger will have to be waged in their countries. This will involve firm resistance to imperialist threats, opposition to the strategy of neo-colonialism, and broader economic cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage and equality. Above all, it means putting into operation decisive measures to transform the economic and political systems in the developing countries and to build democratic states which will advance along the path of non-capitalist development.

Peronist variety of 'national socialism'

Rubens Iscaro

The ideas of the Communist Party of Argentina have reached so deeply into the public consciousness that other forces are beginning to manipulate them. There is talk of 'national liberation,' 'structural change' and 'socialism,' though the semantics are naturally quite individual. Even advocates of bourgeois reformism have no choice but to adjust their policy to the new trends at home and abroad.

Of late, the idea of 'national socialism' has been getting considerable publicity among Peron's* worker followers. It is advocated not only by Peronist political and labor leaders ('stalwarts'), but also by outspoken partisans of collaboration with the reactionary military dictatorship. Such Rightist 'audacity' is not novel, for the same kind of 'doctrine' has been current for some time in other

*President of Argentina in 1946-1955. A trend in the Argentine labor movement is associated with his name.—Ed.

countries, designed to convert the workers' common ideal into a notion bounded by geographic frontiers, race and language. Peron, too, has found tactical uses for it.

Peronist leaders portray their movement as a working people's party, and, indeed, a survey of the social background of most of their followers will show that it does wield some influence among workers. But this says nothing as to its real nature. Some governing parties have a decisive influence among, say, the bourgeoisie and middle strata, though their policy really represents imperialist and oligarchic interests. Their true essence is to be gauged by their aims.

A movement may adopt anti-imperialist democratic postures and plead for social justice. But its influence on the working class is measured by the extent to which the ideas it professes are carried into practice. The face of an organization claiming to be a spokesman of the working people depends not only on the presence of workers in its ranks, though that, too, is important. First and foremost, however, it must have a class ideology and class program.

Peronism is a bourgeois force seeking to impose its specific ideological conceptions on the working class. Its leaders believe in class peace, and champion private ownership of the means of production as against public ownership, the basis of genuine socialism. They talk of socialism, but give it a national complexion, that is, offer the working class rabbit-pie without rabbit.

Peron, once a military attache in Hitler Germany, knows that despite its name, national-socialism was fascism pure and simple. Now, 27 years after fascism was defeated in the battlefield, it has lost all its outward ideological attractions. Meanwhile, the attraction of socialism has doubled and redoubled, and even advocates of the 'law and order' society proclaimed by fascism, speak of socialism to give their tainted goods a more respectable look.

Where carried into practice, socialism has common features, since it has one foundation – public ownership of the means of production, assured by the political power of the working class. Differences in the way of building socialism depend on many factors, but none can override this basic fact common for all countries.

Our workers are seeing for themselves that the present system is impotent to resolve society's vital problems and are beginning to demand structural changes of a socialist type. And their sentiments naturally have nothing in common with the specious idea of 'national socialism' fashioned to confuse and divert the masses from genuine socialism. The working people's revolutionary consciousness has increased substantially in recent years. The General Confederation of Labor (GCL) Congress which pilloried mercenary union leaders in March 1968, the Cordoba events of June 1969,* the big strike in Chocon and the strikes of dockers, oilmen, printers, metalworkers, automobile and sugar refinery workers, and the 24-

*Large-scale popular actions which in June 1969 resulted in seizure of the city by the workers. The authorities declared martial law. Clashes occurred between strikers and government troops. There were many casualties.—Ed.

and 48-hour general strikes – all these are phases of one process which, having transcended passive and unorganized resistance, is moving gradually towards a universal mobilization of wage- and salary-earners, and other segments of the nation. Actions in support of economic demands are merging with actions for democratic freedoms, national sovereignty, against the political despotism of the reactionary military dictatorship that has ruled the country since 1966 in the interest of imperialist companies and the national oligarchy.

To assure the survival of the existing system, the ruling class falls back on despotic, totalitarian methods of government, abolishing all constitutional guarantees. The Argentine rulers live in fear of the growing revolutionary consciousness of the masses, who are learning from the daily struggle that a new way is required if the country's potentialities and wealth are to be of any benefit to the people.

The Communists were the first, and for a long time the only ones, to call for changes consonant with the country's conditions of development. Back in 1928 the Eighth CP of Argentina Congress drew attention to the specific features of our revolution, defining it as anti-imperialist, agrarian, and democratic: anti-imperialist because the country was – and still is – under the boot of international, especially U.S. monopolies, which exploit its wealth and use Argentina as an economic appendage; agrarian, because the big landed estates keep us backward and underdeveloped, depress the home market so sorely needed by industry, and are the pillars of the parasite oligarchy exercising political power jointly with the big bourgeoisie; democratic, because only a broad coalition government representative of the people's aspirations can fling off the yoke of foreign monopolies and the national oligarchy, and work for a better life.

What we want is a system based on public ownership of the means of production with all wealth distributed according to the socialist principle, and with all parasite classes now appropriating 65 per cent of the national income removed from power. We know that stages of development must not be by-passed: the struggle for national emancipation, the agrarian reform and popular government will lead inevitably to socialism, for the revolution is oriented on that historic goal.

Though advocating social changes, the 'national socialism' ideologists distort their sense and purpose. Take the Peronist trade unions. The apparatus of the GCL, for example, with a membership of 2.5 million workers, is shot through with collaborationists – put there with the bourgeois government's help – who preach class peace between labor and capital. The clique describes itself as 'the dam holding back communism,' and, parading as a champion of public interest, is continuously forced to resort to social demagoguery.

Under labor pressure the 1963 GCL Congress adopted a charter defining its duty to struggle 'for a more just socio-political system that will abolish exploitation of man by man and alter the antiquated economic and juridical structures which give an insignificant minority outrageous economic privileges and absurd political advantages.' But the GCL leadership had its own idea of structural changes. In 1965, the Confederation published the results of an economic, political and social investigation, but prescribed not revolutionary, but reformist changes in the spirit of the now bankrupt Alliance for Progress. The researchers, blind to the main contradiction of modern times, overlooked the difference between capitalism and socialism, and the conflict between the two social systems as the materialization of the class struggle between labor and capital on a world scale. And their false premises led to an incorrect conclusion—a special, 'third position,' which in practice connotes class reconciliation. On September 29, 1969, for example, a GCL statement stressed the exclusive nature of the Argentine unions, their wish to come to terms with industrialists on a mutually-acceptable basis, their respect for religious tradition and the armed forces, imbued, we are told, 'by the interests they have in common with the people in the struggle for a national revolution.' Seen in the abstract, this revolution is world's removed from the objective of genuinely revolutionary reconstruction. A plenary meeting of GCL regional branches in March 1971, said 'we need not seek inspiration in foreign ideologies,' because there is an indigenous doctrine, an 'alloy of humanism and Christianity.'

Recent GCL statements admit that the Argentine system of today is incapable of resolving the country's most pressing problems, opening up the way to progress and general prosperity, and that for this we need structural changes, a revolution. But how do the Peronist leaders conceive revolution? It must not follow the socialist model, they say, because socialism and capitalism are equally imperialistic and aspire equally to dominating and enslaving other countries, while Argentina does not belong to either system and is part of the Third World. The country's national exclusiveness is thus defined as the main factor. In substance, this bourgeois-nationalist posture is but a projection of the 'third position' between labor and capital.

What is the 'national socialism' preached by the Peronist trade-union leaders? Since it contains no hint of public ownership of the means of production or of agrarian reform, and the like, we may legitimately assume that its purpose is to preserve capitalist property and large-scale landownership. But let us see what Juan Domingo Peron himself says on this score. Describing himself as a 'national socialist,' he stresses, however, that he is faithful to capitalism. Real social justice, he says, is based on the harmony of the interests of workers, masters and the state. Social problems, he holds, are resolved not by struggle, but in harmony. This is why he and his followers, he claims, promote not conflicts, but accord

between labor and capital. And the full weight of the state and its prestige, he concludes, should encourage this.

In sum, Peron has at no time aspired to socialization of production, and still less to abolition of large-scale landownership. On these points the Peronists confined themselves to specious declarations that were never to be put into practice. It was farthest from their intentions to carry through a real agrarian reform. In the few cases where a latifundium was nationalized, its owner was invariably generously recompensed, while the peasants who received parcels of the land had to pay for them. In the ten years of Peron's rule, in fact, the land magnates visibly enlarged the scope of their privileges.

Peron's lieutenants are clinging to their leader's view. Asked whether the class of big bourgeois would be eliminated under 'national socialism,' one of them, Jorge Antonio, said, 'certainly not.' On the contrary, he said, they were deserving of every assistance as 'one of the pillars of the nation, as promoters of social progress.' Not surprisingly, the Peronist leadership assails anyone who opposes the present system. The Peronist youth organization in Neuquen, which criticized the capitalist order in its leaflets, was severely reprimanded and told 'never to attack capitalism.'

In its war against communism, the Peronist movement has always sided with capitalism. In 1947, when the economy had a good spell, Peron declaimed: 'We have been supplying Europe for all of two years, and that it has managed to ward off communism is due to some extent to our supplies.' In 1944, speaking at the Commercial Exchange, he said: 'Gentlemen, capitalists, have no fear of my syndicalism . . . It neutralizes ideological and revolutionary trends that may endanger our capitalist society in the postwar period. All we need is slightly to improve the workers' condition and they will become easily manageable.' A zealous champion of capitalism, Peron was aware, however, that an undisguised harsh anti-labor policy would but undermine, rather than fortify, the system, only intensifying the class struggle. He described social revolution as a 'calamity' and urged capitalists to make concessions, lest they lose all.

Marxism-Leninism, on the other hand, regards revolution as a radical remaking of society with the overthrow of the outdated and establishment of a more progressive regime. The revolution resolves the contradiction between the growing productive forces and the antiquated relations of production. The main question of the revolution is that of political power: it passes from the exploiters to the revolutionary class in the course of a bitter class struggle. The revolution is the highest form of that struggle.

Peron was a foe of class struggle. He admitted as much. And the Peronist trade-union leaders of today have not budged an inch from this stance. 'Our syndicalism,' said Felix Perez, 'is the opposite of class struggle.' And Rogelio Coria said: 'We were always inspired by the conviction that mutual understanding between capital and labor is possible, and that so is cooperation.'

What could be clearer? These gentlemen fancy revolution without class struggle, revolution equally consonant with the interests of capitalists and proletarians, rich and poor, fat and lean, exploiters and exploited.

The Peronist leadership never fails to emphasize that its projected revolution is in complexion national. But does it consider the interests of the Argentine working class, or the specific structure of the country, where capitalist rule is exercised within the bounds imposed by her dependence on large foreign monopolies and by the survival of semi-feudal forms of landownership?

No, the single fact that the Peronist movement is headed by conciliators and champions of imperialist interests such as Antonio Caffiero and Jorge Antonio, landowners such as Manuel de Anchorena, Alejandro Leloir and Delia Cavanagh, and conservatives such as Hector Campora, the top Peronist leader today, is evidence of the contrary. Their 'national socialism' is not designed to eliminate class antagonisms by socializing property; it expects to harmonize the opposite interests of the classes, including the exploiters, in an 'impartial' totalitarian state professing a common national ideal. Here we may remind the reader that fascism, which for euphemistic reasons named itself 'national-socialism,' called for exactly the same thing.

The people of Argentina have had an opportunity to see the doctrine of Peron, who ruled the country for ten years, in action. Whereas in Cuba, Chile and Peru (albeit under entirely different conditions) it took but a few months to limit monopoly domination and end the latifundian system, nothing of the kind was done throughout Peron's tenure of power. Nor were the few partial economic concessions to the workingman, which Peron made in the favorable postwar economic situation, ever consolidated.

Peronist theorists like Mastrorilli claim that Peron was prevented from making far-reaching alterations by lack of the required socio-economic conditions, and completely ignore the international factor. They could not care less that a socialist world system emerged soon after fascism's defeat, and that in 1950-1954 the democratic Arbenz government in Guatemala launched revolutionary transformations for the first time in Latin American history, concerning which, by the way Peronists have never let drop a single word of solidarity. The truth is that, though his government was supported by the majority of the nation, it never entered Peron's mind to effect any radical changes, for this was the purpose of his policy and did not fit into his conception of 'national socialism.'

We Communists hold that the aim of a real revolution in Argentina is not to start building socialism overnight, but to lay a foundation for national emancipation and social progress by removing from political power and eliminating the economic might of the landowning oligarchy, the big compradore bourgeoisie and imperialist monopolies, and putting the political and economic levers of

government into the hands of those classes and groups that have a stake in the country's independent development. We are for the nationalization of large industrial enterprises, banking, foreign trade, transport, the power industry, natural wealth, and the transfer of land to its tillers. These aims fit into the concept of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution which will ultimately lead to the social emancipation of the working class and destroy the roots of exploitation. In other words, it will inevitably grow into a socialist revolution.

The Peron government never set such aims. Peron's few and hesitant acts of nationalization have in the final count benefited the foreign companies. The nationalization of railways, for example, proved highly profitable for the British trusts. In 1949, foreign investments in Argentina were double those of 1943, and the Yankee monopolies increased their investments threefold, while the number of their enterprises doubled. The profits of the Argentina-based foreign oil trusts totalled 16 million pesos in 1947, and as much as 229 million in 1949. And these are just a few of the indicators of the country's grown economic dependence, which belies Peron's demagogic claims of 'national sovereignty.'

Or take the agrarian question, which Peronism conceived in entirely its own way. 'Our reform,' Peron said, 'was and will be carried out without any expropriation of land from those who own it.' This, in effect, was aimed to perpetuate the situation of 1946, when a small number of joint-stock companies controlled nearly 26 million hectares of arable land, or more than the area in the possession of the over 450 thousand farmers. Only some 4,000 families received land in Peron's agrarian reform. The big landowners were still virtual masters of the country, together with the compradore bourgeoisie and the foreign, especially North American, monopolies. The 1949 Constitution altered nothing.

In sum, the changes in the country following Peron's seizure of power were no more than formal. 'The change of government,' the CP of Argentina Program says, 'brought to power not the working masses, as some would have them believe, but those sections of the bourgeoisie which—since their basic interests blended (or were beginning to blend) with those of the landowning oligarchy and imperialism—opposed progressive changes in the backward economic structure. The industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, which had a stake in but a few limited reforms consistent with its class interests, did not set out to effect deep-going changes that would put an end to latifundian property and to imperialist domination in the economy.'

In 1955 Peron was overthrown by those very reactionary forces which he was so reluctant to deprive of economic and political levers of power, and whose interests he had, in the final analysis, defended so zealously.

In the time since Peron's downfall the general crisis of capitalism, and that of the existing system in Argentina, continued to

grow deeper. And though Peronism still holds commanding heights in the labor movement, some politically sound groups have appeared among its followers. While still professing the Peronist ideology, these have begun to make more progressive demands and to insist on far-reaching changes that Peron had never even contemplated.

The determination gradually to dissociate themselves from the conciliators and advocates of cooperation with the government has been building up of late among a considerable portion of worker Peronists, and even in the '62' trade-union group.* The process is slow and tortuous, of course. Many are still held captive by the 'third position' Concept, which they wish to adapt to the new times. Anti-Communist prejudice has not been entirely bridged, a negative view of working class unity is still alive, and the Peronist claim to a special place and hegemony in the labor movement still has currency among them. We Communists have not abandoned hope, however, that those Peronist leaders who are beginning to shift to more militant positions and whose honesty we have never placed in doubt, will gradually shed the pernicious legacies of the past and begin to appreciate the true aims and aspirations of the working class.

Greater political consciousness of the masses, Peron fears, will tend to add to the influence of the Left forces. This is why he is trying to consolidate all Peronist groups in the '62' association under Rightist guidance. Peronist leaders maintain that their movement is monolithic and has no contending trends, that there is but one political orientation from top to bottom.

Conducting our propaganda among workers in favor of class unity, we are doing our utmost to fortify ties with rank-and-file Peronist followers and their medium-level leaders. The unions, as we see it, are not party organizations, and no ideological group should hold sway in them. And since they are part of the workingmen's united front, regardless of convictions, they should consequently have a unitarian leadership on which all working-class trends should be represented proportionately to their influence. In contrast to the false Peronist idea about the homogeneity of the people's movement, designed to place the masses under the control of leaders serving the class enemy, we Communists advocate genuine class unity, which will enable the labor movement to play an independent and revolutionary role. It is the mission of the proletariat to complete the democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution and build socialism in our country in alliance with the peasants and other popular forces.

*A Peronist association formed in 1957 following the split in the GCL. In effect, it comprises 56 labor unions.—Ed.



A blow at oil monopolies

Ara Khachadoor

The liberation struggle in the Middle East is intimately connected with the problem of oil. Its production (about 1,000 million tons a year) is mainly in the hands of giant international monopolies operating on the basis of concession treaties concluded when the countries of the area were colonies or semi-colonies of imperialist powers. It is these treaties that ensure the companies their huge profits.

In the last few years the struggle against the oil monopolies has been expanding, its forms have become more varied and effective. Several months ago the countries of OPEC, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries set up with the aim of jointly upholding their interests, demanded 20 per cent participation in companies extracting oil within their territories. The representatives of the lucrative oil business were forced to agree 'in principle.' However, when it came to practical measures these foundered on endless discussions.

Yet the need for a decisive attack against monopoly positions is becoming increasingly apparent. Substantial successes in this had been achieved in Algeria, Egypt and Libya. Then on June 1, the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) was nationalized. For many years it had exploited one of the richest Middle East oil fields. Its business partners include some of the major oil monopolies of Great Britain, the Netherlands and the United States, notably British Petroleum, Royal Dutch Shell, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Mobil Oil, and also the Compagnie Française de Pétrole. Simultaneously, in a solidarity gesture, Syria nationalized the IPC pipelines passing through its territory.

The first blow against oil imperialism in Iraq was dealt in 1961 with the passing of a law depriving IPC of 99.5 per cent of its concession territories not under operation. However, at the time Iraq was still unable to organize oil production on its own, and the leading branch of industry (50 per cent of revenues and 80 per cent of investments) continued to remain in foreign hands.

The stand of the forces in power on the oil question has always been the decisive criterion for the Iraqi Communist Party. Com-

rade Faheed, founder of the Party, said that British imperialism was represented in Iraq not so much by the military bases at Habaniya and Al Shuaba as by the oil companies. It is the Party's conviction that complete political independence is impossible without economic independence, and the basis of this is to deprive the imperialist monopolies of their oil rights by annulling their concessions and refusing them in future.

Refusing to concede that times had changed in the Middle East, just as in the world as a whole, IPC has, from 1961, been quite openly encroaching on Iraq's national interests as 'punishment' for opposition to the oil cartel.* It reduced its investments sharply, as a consequence of which the growth of oil expansion in our country has been three times slower than in other countries of the area. The company, furthermore, owes the government some \$343 million dollars in royalties and taxes.

The Iraqi government had attempted to reach an agreement, but in February of this year the talks broke down, because, as *Le Monde* noted, 'the cartel was more concerned with forcing a decision that would be to its own advantage than with reaching an agreement.'* Continuing its sabotage to this end, IPC cut the output of the Kirkuk oil fields, the largest, by one half, which, economists estimate, could have cost the country a loss of \$300 million by the end of the year.

When President Bakr announced the IPC nationalization decree, Baghdad radio hailed it as 'the end of the colonial era.' Significantly, a query by a conservative MP to the Prime Minister during a debate on the nationalization in the British Parliament, 'why don't you send a gunboat to Basra?', evoked the laughter of the House.

Of course, even the Tories realize that the days of gunboats are over. However, the Iraqi government's resolute action aroused an angry reaction in Western circles, which assessed the nationalization of the IPC as, in the words of the *New York Times*, a highly risky gamble of the radical Baghdad regime in the oil game.

The Iraqi government's decision was not taken on the spur of the moment. It represents a considered action the conditions for which had matured. Why did it become possible now, after more than 10 years of conflict with the IPC?

First of all, because, for the first time since 1958, Iraq has taken really serious steps along the road of national unity and rallying all progressive forces in the country.

The road of the Iraqi revolution has been a difficult one. Violations of democracy made it possible for reactionary elements supported by imperialist circles to exploit secondary contradictions in the national movement and blow them up into serious conflicts. This retarded social progress and, in effect, prevented the masses from taking an active part in advancing the revolution. Bloody re-

*Besides the IPC it includes Standard Oil of California, Gulf Oil and Texaco.

**Le Monde*, June 14, 1972.

pressions against Communists, real patriots, and the fratricidal war against the Kurdish people weakened successive regimes and prevented them from joining the great mainstream of the anti-imperialist forces that could stand up to the pressure of international monopolies.

Iraq's patriotic movement and its Communist vanguard waged a stubborn fight against the anti-popular policies highly detrimental to the whole cause of Arab liberation, social and economic advance. Today it can be noted with satisfaction that significant successes have been achieved.

An agreement was signed last year, settling the Kurdish problem, which creates favorable conditions for the peaceful life of a people formerly oppressed and deprived of national rights. The task now is to have it faithfully carried out. This will make it a genuine contribution towards national unity and consolidation of the nation's leading forces. Another important step towards these objectives is the National Charter advanced by the ruling Arab Socialist Baath Party, which provides for the establishment of a united front of progressive and revolutionary forces, including the Communist Party and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, as well as the inclusion of two Central Committee members of the Iraqi Communist Party as ministers in the government.

We consider that the country is developing in the right direction, and we hope that the recent steps will be followed by others, that effective cooperation of the progressive forces will be achieved and the conditions created for genuinely mass participation in the defense of the nation's political and economic gains.

The measures already taken are of vital importance in strengthening Iraq, freeing it of exploitation and enabling it to oppose imperialist encroachments. That was fully demonstrated at the time of the IPC nationalization. The people stood solidly behind the government. The Political Bureau of the CC ICP said in a message to President Ahmed Hassan al Bakr that the decision to nationalize the IPC expresses the will of the people, who are fighting to wrest their oil riches from imperialist monopoly control.

Another highly important factor which enabled the country to challenge the oil cartel is that Iraq now has the know-how and personnel to exploit its natural resources.

The first major oil-field of the Iraqi National Oil Co. went into operation a short time ago. Earlier, when Iraq asked the West to help it organize the operation of the oil-fields expropriated from the IPC, the West refused. It was the Soviet Union which offered the help. With its economic and technological assistance the Northern Rumeila deposits were put into operation in a short time. What is particularly important is that with Soviet aid, national personnel was trained to run the industry. In this way a firm foundation is being built for Iraq's economic independence.

Soviet aid in this case is not fortuitous. The relations between the two countries have now been formalized by the Treaty of

Friendship and Cooperation signed in Baghdad on April 9, 1972. The Treaty affords vast opportunities for cooperation in the political, economic, technological, educational and cultural spheres on the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference. By providing the prerequisites of rapid, independent economic progress in Iraq, it enables the country to overcome the difficulties created by imperialist conspiracies and makes for closer national unity.

The Treaty with the Soviet Union is an achievement of Iraq's working people's and revolutionary movement, an asset of the whole people. By concluding it, the Arab Socialist Baath Party expressed our people's fundamental economic and social interests. This makes it the duty of the progressive and revolutionary forces of our country fully to support this courageous and momentous move.

The Soviet-Iraqi Treaty, like the Soviet-Egyptian Treaty, lays a workable groundwork for friendly cooperation between socialism and the national liberation movement in the Middle East.

Our people regard the Treaty as a new proof that revolutionary aspirations inevitably prompt the fighters to overcome their differences and close their ranks. The Soviet Union backs the Arab peoples' just cause, which arouses the imperialists' intense hatred. Regrettably, some people in the Arab countries echo the smear campaign against the Treaty, objectively playing into the hands of the enemies of the liberation movement and covering up their opportunism with talk about 'superpowers.' But the course of development and the attitude to the struggle against imperialism show who is intent on promoting the revolutionary movement and who does his utmost to raise obstacles to it and bring on a split.

Recent years have shown that for all the monopoly plotting, cooperation between the Arab and other oil exporting countries has expanded. This is still another important factor enabling the producer countries to establish control over their oil.

A mere enumeration of the actions launched at the same time in support of the decisions of the Iraqi and Syrian governments speaks for itself. The Eighth Conference of Arab countries on petrol in Algiers last June passed a resolution calling for joint action against the monopolies which encroach on the Arabs' right to protect their natural resources. It was followed in Beirut by extraordinary sessions of OPEC (which includes Iran, Indonesia, Venezuela, and Nigeria in addition to Arab countries) and the OAPEC (Organization of Arab Petroleum-Exporting Countries). Both sessions approved of the nationalization of the IPC and decided on a series of concrete steps to help Iraq. Statements in support of the Iraqi and Syrian action were made by Algeria, Kuwait and other countries, and it was also decided to offer them over \$160 million in financial aid. This solidarity did not take long to produce its effect, for the IPC agreed to make concessions at the coming talks with Iraq about the terms of compensation for nationalization.

That is how imperialist hopes of imposing their diktat on Iraq and other oil-producing countries are being dashed. To be sure, the oil monopolies' cartel is not broken as yet. It still controls 76 per cent of the oil production of the capitalist countries (excepting North America), 59 per cent of the refining and 54 per cent of the market. But its one-time omnipotence has been struck a telling blow. The fight for oil today links up more and more closely with a progressive line in the foreign and home policy of Mideast countries. It is bound, therefore, to end in favor of the true owners of the oil.

Lessons of the battle for Angela Davis

James Jackson

Angela Davis, elected member of the National Committee of the CP USA by the Party's 20th National Convention, is back in the struggle for the better future of the workers of America, for lasting world peace. The name of the intrepid American Communist is known across the length and breadth of the world.

Angela Davis, scholar of philosophical systems and student of Marxism-Leninism, University lecturer and publicist; Angela Davis, courageous Communist who in the face of the nearly two-year ordeal of imprisonment and official persecution conducted herself in the lofty tradition of Georgi Dimitrov at Leipzig, of the U.S. Communist Party leaders at Foley Square and won the hearts and admiration of millions; Angela Davis has triumphed over the political plot of the ultra-reactionary clique in the ruling class to make a sacrifice of her freedom and even her life as an act of legal terrorism and intimidation against the sweeping progressive, peace and revolutionary currents which have been arising to challenge the ruling class in the United States at this time.

Many factors entered into the making of the victory won in the freedom of Angela Davis.

First of all, Angela's innocence of the diabolical accusations made against her was apparent from the beginning. Basing herself upon this truth, Angela came forward confidently to turn the tables on her accusers, to show that the motive of the prosecution was really to perpetrate a legal lynching in order to throw fear into the hearts of the masses in struggle for an end to the aggressive war which the U.S. wages in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, to divert the movement and discredit the leaders of struggles for

democratic reforms, in behalf of the rights and equality of the Black Americans, and to inflame a new wave of hysteria against and persecution of the Communist Party of the United States.

Furthermore, Angela conducted a political defense from the day the government declared her a 'wanted' person and the FBI launched its frenzied and theatrical hunt for her, utilizing posters which labelled her 'Public Enemy No. 1,' and the State of California charged her with conspiracy to commit murder, kidnapping and jail-breaking. When she was put under arrest and rushed to prison in chains where she was held for 16 months without bail under the most stringent and cruel physical circumstances, the President of the U.S. - Richard Nixon - congratulated the then head of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover in the course of a national television speech upon his success in 'capturing' her and characterized her as a dangerous terrorist and 'Communist conspirator.' Through the work of her defense committee and through her own energetic work in sending out statements and giving interviews from prison, Angela repudiated the charges and calumnies placed against her. In this work throughout the trial the Communist Party was at her side and played a leading role in her defense.

Angela's defense from the outset was predicated upon the fact that she was a member of the Communist Party of the United States who always aspired to fulfil the obligations of that relationship, observing the Party's policies and tactics and earnestly striving to master the treasure trove of its ideology, Marxism-Leninism. It was made clear in public opinion long before the court-room trial commenced, that Angela Davis, the American Communist could no more be guilty of complicity in the desperate prisoner release attempt executed by the daring 17-year-old youth Jonathan Jackson at San Rafael courtroom, than the great Bulgarian revolutionary Georgi Dimitrov was guilty of complicity in the action of the witless Van der Lube in setting fire to the Reichstag in 1933. Communists are not practitioners of individual actions of violence carried out behind the backs of the masses by 'heroes' or elite circles of conspirators. Communists put their reliance in the aroused consciousness of masses: their tactics in the struggle for seeking the righting of particular cases of injustice as well as for realizing democratic reforms and fundamental social changes, dictate policies of mass struggle, of enlightened action by the working people and popular masses.

Within the arena of the courtroom, Angela shared in the legal burdens of her own defense. She made the opening presentation which left its enduring impact upon the minds and hearts of the jury. At the same time she had the services of distinguished legal defense counsel. When at the end of the three-months-long trial, the Defense Attorney completed his summary in Angela Davis' behalf, the jury in its majority had been moved to tears.

Though the monstrous dimensions of the injustice of the frame-up hoax against Angela Davis were laid bare in the courtroom and

through the publicist activity of the defense committee, it nevertheless came as a surprise to many if not most, that a jury of all white people in the 'middle class' community town of San Jose, could side with the victim in defiance of the propaganda broadside of the main newspapers and the arm-twisting pressures of Governor Reagan's forces and those of Richard Nixon. What was truly revealed by the action of the jury in handing down a speedy and unanimous verdict of innocence on all counts is the sweep and depth of the sense of disbelief in the establishment's integrity either of purpose or of deed. The jury's verdict in the Angela Davis case not only affirms the purity of her innocence of the frame-up charges but discloses the depth of the crisis of confidence existing in the United States between the people – even of 'middle America' – and the policies of the class establishment.

The valor of Angela, the excellent work of her legal staff, the enormous activity carried out by the Communist Party of the U.S. in her support were all vital factors in gaining her freedom. But decisive to this victory over a monstrous political frame-up whose first victim was to be Angela Davis but whose real objective was to set up the Communist Party for outlawing and to conduct a widespread witch-hunt against the fighters for democratic advances and an end to the war, was the role played by world public opinion.

The Communists throughout the world saw at the start that this case against Angela was a maneuver of the ruling class to rationalize and initiate a wave of suppression against the popular movement for peace, democracy, and the Communist Party in the U.S. The initiative taken in the socialist countries – in the USSR, in the GDR and all others, the consistency and imagination displayed in the massive campaigns of solidarity with Angela which were developed in France, Italy, India, Chile, Venezuela, Uruguay, Canada and countries throughout the world where Communist parties and organized fighters for peace and human rights are found, registered that kind of universal mandate of the peoples of the world upon Washington as well as the ordinary citizens of San Jose county which simply could not be ignored.

The victory of Angela Davis is in a real sense a product of and a testament to the new correlation of world forces as between progress and reaction. The peoples' forces standing for justice, peace and progress, are mightier *when organized* than the will of the most powerful and arrogant and cynical of the world's imperialist ruling circles. These forces attest to the new position of strength held by the mighty trinity of streams which compose the surging river of the world revolutionary process. The power of its mighty waters will generate ever more victories in the days ahead.



Consolidating victory — a law of revolution

L. Angstrom

The central law-governed trend of our age, the passage from capitalism to socialism, hews a way for itself through revolutionary crises and upheavals, through radical social transformations extending to more and more countries. Seen in its global implications, this historically objective process is inevitable and irreversible. For, in the final analysis, the triumph of socialist revolution and the establishment of working-class power is, as it were, guaranteed by the laws of social development.

This, however, does not apply to concrete situations as they shape up in the various countries. Having come to power today, the revolutionary forces must never forget that tomorrow reaction will do everything it can to overthrow them and regain its lost positions. That is why the Marxist-Leninist classics attached the utmost importance to *immediately* consolidating the victorious revolution.

There is the convincing proof of history that the fate of a revolution depends to a critical degree on the ability and readiness of the working people and their political vanguard to launch out on a wide-ranging program of measures to consolidate their power. The tragedy of the Paris Communards, the bitter defeats of the proletariat in Germany, Hungary and the Baltic states shortly after World War I and strangulation by imperialist intervention of progressive regimes in several national liberation countries after World War II, are added reminders of how correct the Marxist-Leninist classics were in emphasizing the crucial importance not only of capturing, but also of holding power.

I. And the problem acquires very special importance in our day, with the mounting intensity of the labor-capital class struggle and the growing-over of national liberation movements into social revolution. It also becomes more complex, more multiform, for there is now a wider choice of possible ways and forms of power passing to the revolutionary forces.* For parallel with distinctly

*Earlier articles in this series appeared in issues 7, 9 and 12 for 1971, and 3 and 6 for 1972.

*This question, particularly the alternative of peaceful and non-peaceful winning of political power, is discussed in detail in the previous article (WMR No. 6, 1972).

socialist revolutions, we have other political changes that radically alter the class content of state power and thereby create the prerequisites for social transformations as the prelude to socialism.

All detachments of the world revolutionary movement have grown immeasurably stronger. But state-monopoly capitalism and the socio-political reaction it nurtures have sufficient economic, technical, military, police and ideological means for organized resistance to the onslaught on monopoly positions. The day after the revolution is therefore bound to be an extremely difficult one — developments in recent years (Chile is one example) are cogent proof of that.

Some of the tasks of the victorious revolution follow from its *destructive* role, its work of demolishing the old social system with its institutions of exploitation and social and national oppression. Somewhat different, however, are the tasks imposed on the new government by attempts, including armed attempts, to re-establish the demolished socio-political structure, and the revolution must be able to defend itself, fulfil its *defensive function*. Lastly, in discharging its historic mission, it mobilizes the working people to build the new society, i.e. accomplishes its *constructive* tasks.

Of course, reality presents a maze of rapidly changing events. There are abrupt political turns, firming of the new power structure, sharp ideological clashes, mass demonstrations and, possibly, barricade fighting and armed action against the reactionary and interventionist forces. In such situations revolutionary action to resolve diverse, and moreover suddenly arising, problems merges into a single stream of class struggle to maintain control of society. Nonetheless, in a theoretical analysis, it is not only permissible but indeed necessary clearly to differentiate between these distinct lines of struggle at a time when the central task is to consolidate the revolution or revolutionary change. We can thus single out the chief factors that go into strengthening the gains of the revolution and the guarantees against the restoration of capitalism.

The following factors played an outstanding part in the development of the 1917 revolution in Russia, history's first successful socialist revolution: break-up of the bourgeois state, defeat of the bourgeoisie as a class, decisive blows at the political and economic positions of the exploitive class and, last but not least, victory in the Civil War and over imperialist intervention. Such was the revolutionary practice of the proletarian dictatorship in the very first weeks and months of Soviet power. And this might suggest that the durability of revolutionary gains depends decisively on the *scale of destructive action* against the old system and on *successful armed suppression* of reactionary counter-attacks. To be sure, both are of immense importance for the maintenance of power. But before drawing any final conclusion let us examine the question more closely.

It will be recalled that the colossal destructive power of the socialist revolution notwithstanding, the young Soviet state led by

Lenin did everything it could to retain and utilize in the interests of socialism the economic institutions inherited from the bourgeoisie, the banks, say – even representatives of the bourgeoisie possessing technical and organizational knowledge and military experience. Destruction is by no means the ideal or the object of a proletarian or people's revolution – anarchistic views are alien to both. Revolutions in a number of East European countries have clearly shown that, given definite conditions for the peaceful assumption of power, the working class can successfully utilize not only the economic, but even many traditional political institutions of the old system. Hence, though socialist revolution finds its logical expression in the destruction of the old socio-economic and political mechanism of bourgeois rule, the scale, forms, intensity of the process are in each given case determined by concrete historical and local conditions.

Seen in that light, we should consider two possible dangers. One is the result of inadequate revolutionary firmness vis-à-vis the old ruling and privileged classes and groups. The root of that danger, Lenin pointed out, lies in the fact that 'the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration. After their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters – who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it – throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the "paradise" ...' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 254). Hence, revolutionaries must be vigilant, must take timely measures to render reaction harmless before it musters its forces for a fatal blow at the new power. In every revolution, consequently, there is a limit beyond which the victorious class's desire to avoid more sacrifice and destruction can turn into direct connivance of the reactionary forces.

The other danger might emerge from the opposite direction, from Leftist infatuation and extremes, from attempts to leap over objectively necessary stages of development and put an end to *all* the institutions of the overthrown system at one stroke, before the necessary conditions for their replacement have been provided. This can produce many avoidable economic difficulties, undermine the authority of the new government and jeopardize its social basis.

It will thus be seen that the proletariat in power and its Communist party must be able accurately to gauge the real relation of class forces and the revolutionary measures needed to destroy the remaining political and other positions of the bourgeoisie.

Recourse to armed force likewise depends on the scale and methods of resistance by the reactionary forces. To assure the survival of their socialist revolution, the Russian workers had to wage a long and difficult civil war and fight back armed imperialist intervention. In contrast, the proletariat and the popular masses of Eastern Europe could rely less on armed force to defend their revolutionary socialist gains. The new conditions of history and

the geographical situation of these countries limited the scope for armed counter-revolution.

From this follows the logical conclusion that in consolidating the victory of the revolution, the workers' state discharges its destructive and military-defense functions only to the extent, and on the scale, necessitated by the concrete conditions of struggle against the class enemy. And since military suppression of the overthrown exploiting classes depends entirely on them, on their conduct, we cannot, obviously, consider this the chief method of consolidating the revolution. That being so, let us examine the basic function of the new power which primarily and decisively guarantees its strength and durability.

II. For the Communists, for all true revolutionaries, the capture of political power is not the end, but rather the beginning of the road to their social ideals. At every stage of the revolution all their efforts are subordinated to the supreme constructive aim of building the new social system, socialism. And work on that begins the very first day of the revolution, is not put off to later, to the time when the political victory is consolidated by some other, special means. The tactics of the Communist and revolutionary forces in power, therefore, center on the constructive substance of their strategy.

The formulation, well in advance, of concrete political, economic and social measures is an indispensable condition for the success of any revolutionary government. And implementation of these measures should begin immediately, without any 'interval to celebrate victory.' If the passage from opposition to leadership of the state takes the revolutionaries by surprise, they are doomed to passivity, even if only temporary, in carrying out constructive changes. This is a sure symptom of the movement's immaturity, its vulnerability to reactionary attack. In this context, special importance attaches to the programs of constructive measures adopted by the Communist parties of a number of capitalist and developing countries in recent years as a positive alternative to bourgeois solutions of national issues.

The Russian Bolsheviks had a clearcut practical constructive program for the October Revolution, and the Soviet government began its immediate realization. It did so by promulgating the Decree on Peace which heightened the authority of the worker-peasant government in the eyes of the war-weary army and people. The Decree on Land won over the peasant masses. Nationalization of the banks, followed by railway and water transport, gave the proletarian dictatorship powerful economic leverage. In combination with workers' control of industry and allocation of its product, this gave the proletariat practical, and not merely formal, control of the country. It unleashed its initiative, raised its feeling of class responsibility for the destinies of the new power. 'Immense organizational work in every uyezd and region, organization of the lower strata, the work of the masses themselves, the creative, construc-

tive activity . . . ' is how Lenin characterized the distinctive features of Russian reality in the early months after the revolution (Vol. 26, pp. 476-77). It was in this way that the revolution built its unshakable socio-political foundation.

Consequently, the ability of the working class to maintain power, the strength and durability of the state representing the progressive forces of society, are very closely dependent on how effectively the new regime discharges its constructive functions, on the degree to which it is able to express, both in its actions and decisions, the vital interests of the masses and, accordingly, lean on their broad and conscious support.

Let us take this example. The outcome of civil war, of open armed clashes, naturally largely depends on military superiority. Largely, but not decisively. Revolutionary armies are usually forced to give battle to reactionary armies which, from a purely military standpoint, are greatly superior. They are better armed better trained, have seasoned officers.* We know from the history of the fight against the Whiteguard and intervention forces after the October Revolution that the bourgeoisie cannot cope with the revolutionary armed forces by these technical advantages alone.

' . . . For the resistance [of the bourgeoisie] to reach the stage of civil war,' Lenin wrote on the eve of the October Revolution, 'masses of some kind are necessary, masses capable of fighting and vanquishing the Soviets. The bourgeoisie does not have these masses and has nowhere to get them' (Vol. 26, p. 37). These words proved prophetic: the Russian bourgeoisie unleashed civil war lacking the support and sympathy of the masses. And it was mainly because of this, and not because its armies were weak, that it could not reverse the march of events in a country where proletarian dictatorship had triumphed.

The same applies to the 1949 revolution in China, the revolution in Cuba, the heroic fight of the Vietnamese patriots against the U.S. aggressors. They provide firm proof that in the effort to consolidate the new, revolutionary power—even if this has to be achieved on the battlefield—the socio-political factor, mass support, is of decisive importance.

That is confirmed also by the bitter experience of revolutions defeated by armed force. The Paris Communards remained alone, not understood by the mass of France's peasant population. The Soviet republics proclaimed in Bremen and Bavaria in 1919, during the German revolution, remained but islands of working-class power, unable to enlist the support of the peasantry or unite the proletariat of the whole of Germany. One of the reasons for the collapse of the Hungarian Soviet Republic was the wrong agrarian policy of its government, which deprived the proletarian dictatorship of mass peasant support.

In Hungary the Soviet Republic survived for four months and 13 days, in Bavaria for only 19 days. The Paris Commune lived two

*However, the world revolutionary process has altered this proposition too: events in a number of ex-colonial countries have shown that the regular army, including the officer corps, can side with the revolution and even be its organizing force.

months and ten days. Speaking at the Third Congress of Soviets in January 1918, Lenin drew attention to the fact that the Soviet state had just passed the period covered by the Paris Commune. In this context, he analyzed the activity of these two states of proletarian dictatorship. He pointed to two basic factors of the Russian proletarian dictatorship's strength and durability: first, control of the state machinery (in the form of the Soviets) and, second, the full, devoted and active support of the vast majority of the people.

The Russian Communist Party and proletariat were able from the very start to rely on a ready and ramified system of Soviets. In the then prevailing Russian and international situation this was a factor of such tremendous importance that Lenin remarked: 'If the creative enthusiasm of the revolutionary classes had not given rise to the Soviets, the proletarian revolution in Russia would have been a hopeless cause. . . .' (Vol. 26, p. 104). But the Soviets, and this Lenin repeatedly stressed, should not be considered the only possible form of proletarian leadership of society.

For instance, Soviets were set up in Iran in the early 1920s, at the height of the national liberation movement. They included Communists, but did not become organs of proletarian dictatorship, for they were dominated by compromising elements with the result that, as representative institutions of popular rule, they were ineffectual and short-lived. Soviets were established in many parts of Germany during the November 1918 revolution, but Karl Liebknecht was fully justified in describing them as 'merely a facade.' And, amplifying that, he wrote: 'There is a contradiction between the political form and social content of the German revolution. . . . Its political form is proletarian action, its social content is bourgeois reform' (Karl Liebknecht, *Ausgewählte Reden, Briefe und Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1952, p. 472).

But today revolutionary practice in many countries has shown that a sizeable part of the old state mechanism can be used in the interests of socialism. The contradiction between 'political form' and 'social content,' which proved so tragic for the German proletariat in 1918-1919 can, given certain conditions, successfully be resolved in favor of the revolution. Needless to say, the content rather than the form of the old established institutions will determine their role in consolidating working-class power.

In short, the problem is to master, in a very practical way, the mechanism of directing society. And this can be done only if all its elements directly express the social will of the laboring, democratic strata.

Firm and conscious mass support of the new power, i.e., making the revolution the vital cause of the overwhelming majority of the population, cannot be achieved by organizational measures alone. They have to be paralleled by other steps to give the people tangible proof of how they benefit from the revolution and encourage them to develop and carry it forward. That is conviction by concrete deed. But equally important is conviction by word, through agitation, propaganda and educational work among the masses, combined with an ideological offensive against the class enemy.

Only by winning over the broad masses can the revolutionary state avoid the fatal delusion to which Lenin drew attention: 'One of the biggest and most dangerous mistakes made by Communists (as generally by revolutionaries who have successfully accomplished the beginning of a great revolution) is the idea that a revolution can be made by revolutionaries alone.' And continuing that thought, he wrote: 'Without an alliance with non-Communists in the most diverse spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful communist construction' (Vol. 33, p. 227). This has a special relevance today, when the social composition of the revolutionary movement – and this includes the composition of the cadre involved in fashioning state power – is incomparably wider. The proletariat's unity with other laboring sections and the progressive and democratic forces has always been an indispensable element of revolutionary strategy. That is doubly so today when there are much wider opportunities for such unity in a peaceful takeover of power. For, in the words of Comrade L. Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, 'we can bring many more forces into the stream of peaceful revolution, including strata which, except in very sharp revolutionary situations, are reluctant to share in an armed revolution.'

That being so, the proletariat and its vanguard must be especially sensitive to the interests, moods and needs of acquired and potential class allies. The Bolsheviks set a model in this respect. Though fully in control of state power, they supported a land law based not on their own, proletarian, program but on the peasant agrarian program advanced by the Left Socialists-Revolutionaries. Likewise, Communists should always be responsive to the mass of the working class, and not involve the workers in actions the meaning of which has not been explained to them and has not been adequately understood. In shaping and consolidating the social base of revolutionary power much depends on observance of Lenin's injunction 'not to regard what is obsolete to us as something obsolete to a class, to the masses,' (Vol. 31, p. 58).

This applies particularly to situations in which a Popular Front government can carry out revolutionary socialist transformations. The programs of Communist parties in many capitalist countries contain the following achievable aims of the class and anti-imperialist struggle: formation of popular unity governments, development of anti-monopoly democracy, a broad democratic alliance of progressive forces. This can be the basis for influential and promising movements (the political and organizational Broad Front coalition in Uruguay is an example).

Such socio-political alliances have a vast revolutionary potential. Speaking at the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935, Georgi Dimitrov, basing himself on Lenin's injunctions, said a Popular Front government in a bourgeois country was fully in a position to carry out *fundamental revolutionary demands*. He specifically mentioned 'control of production and banking, dissolution of the police and its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.' Consolidation of

working-class power, formed and asserted *through* the Popular Front, naturally pre-supposes closer attention to the social forces with which the Communists are allied, greater ability and skill in enlisting them to carry out the proletarian class program. And the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties declared that the Communists were prepared to 'do all they can to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence.'

And so, every facet of Communist activity in consolidating the political gains of the revolution centers on organizing the masses, stimulating their active participation in administering the state, on practical and ideological work to show that only the working-class in power, in cooperation with other democratic forces, can solve the vital problems of society and guarantee the interests of its vast majority.

III. Aware of the high degree of maturity achieved by the revolutionary movement in the capitalist world, imperialism is relying heavily on building up a military-political apparatus to crush possible revolutions. That, we know, is the object, among others, of NATO in Europe and SEATO and CENTO in Asia. That is the strategy of extreme international reaction. But there is also another trend in modern bourgeois ideology. Its exponents realize the inevitability of far-reaching social changes in capitalist society, but maintain that they must be brought about through reform. The opportunists within the labor movement are particularly zealous in this respect, trying to frighten the working people and the democratic mass with the bogey of harsh reaction to all movements that go beyond peaceful reform.

Closer examination will show that these appeals to reformism, this bogey of a reactionary comeback – while at the same time hoping for such a comeback – and its military, organizational and political preparation by imperialism, is the same question of consolidating the victory of the revolution, but turned inside out. For, if the proletariat can capture power but is unable to hold it, all the political benefits would accrue to the bourgeoisie. But practical experience has effectively refuted this bourgeois thesis, to which both reactionaries and compromisers cling. Even before the October Revolution when, it seemed, all the experience of history pointed to this bourgeois understanding of the problem, Marxist-Leninist theory comprehensively revealed that the proletariat, the working people as a whole, can consolidate their revolutionary gains and prevent the restoration of capitalism. An outstanding service in this respect was rendered by Lenin. As early as at the Fourth RSDLP Congress in 1906, i.e., *when the first Russian revolution was receding*, he laid the foundations of a system of genuinely scientific views on how proletarian power could be guaranteed against a capitalist comeback.

Basic to his analysis was the division of such guarantees into relative and absolute. The former related to the proletariat's capture of the political organs of power, the institutions of the social superstructure. That would 'create political conditions that would not rule out the possibility of restoration, but would merely make it less probable, would hamper restoration. . . .' (Vol. 10, p. 333). And explaining the relative character of such a guarantee, Lenin drew attention to its *temporary* nature, i.e., that it would be effective only for a certain time, after which the absolute guarantee would come into operation.

The absolute guarantee hinges on 'eliminating the economic foundation which engenders restoration. . . .' and which consists of 'the condition of the small commodity production in any capitalist society' (ibid., p. 334). Lenin, therefore, linked this guarantee with the attitude of the petty bourgeoisie, and primarily the *peasantry in a peasant country*. This was of exceptional importance after the victory in October 1917: the Russian proletariat secured an *absolute* guarantee against capitalist restoration through its thought-out and vigorous actions which, through all the vicissitudes of the revolution, never doomed it to isolation, to the position of a 'lone class.' The proletariat was able to effectuate social and political measures that brought to its side the basic mass of peasants, the semi-proletarian urban strata, and the democratic-minded intelligentsia. They gave the new government their conscious, voluntary and active support. All this relates to the second day of the revolution, not to some later period of socialist construction; it relates to the immediate consolidation of revolutionary victory, not to the final victory of socialism as a social system.

The social sciences have no precision instrument to measure the degree of consolidation guarantees. But Leninism gives us a reliable instrument of political analysis. Inability properly to use it can have severe consequences indeed – it might engender the illusion of a complete guarantee before it is buttressed by the necessary social transformations.

It was in this light, for instance, that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia analyzed the causes of the 1968-69 crisis developments, when (as its 14th Congress established) 'there was created a political bloc of Right-wing revisionist and anti-socialist forces widely supported by imperialism and international reaction. It attempted a counter-revolutionary overthrow of the system of social relations in Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.' Addressing the Congress, Comrade Husak, the Party's General Secretary, noted that way back in 1960 the former leadership announced that 'all the main tasks involved in the passage from capitalism to socialism have been solved in Czechoslovakia.' Yet, Comrade Husak pointed out, 'In our conditions, with the existence of strong and active petty-bourgeois strata and the strong influence of Social-Democratic traditions, the shaping of the new man of socialism – the titanic struggle to foster socialist consciousness, a struggle against inertia and alien class interests – was not backed by an effective program . . .

Nor was there adequate struggle against mounting Right-wing opportunism within the Party, that reflection of petty-bourgeois and outside influence.' The Central Committee report to the Congress noted that the crisis jeopardized the revolutionary gains of the Czechoslovak working class and that this necessitated internationalist assistance by fraternal socialist countries, without which 'the power of the working class and the toiling people of our country would have been defeated.'

Consolidation of revolutionary gains in one country has international ramifications. Imperialism has not abandoned its attempts to undermine the very foundations of state power won by the working people and progressive forces in revolutionary battles. That is why, as the 1969 Meeting emphasized, the 'defense of socialism is an internationalist duty of the Communists.' Both in its concrete and general theoretical aspects, the problem of outside assistance in consolidating the revolutionary gains of the working class now, of course, acquires a different content than at the time of the October Socialist Revolution or prior to the emergence of the socialist world system. The very existence of that system hamstring international reaction in its counter-revolutionary encroachments. World socialism's support of the revolutionary movement in capitalist, colonial and developing countries assumes widely differing moral, political and material forms. It has thus become a key factor in consolidating the gains of social revolution.

However, present-day conditions to a certain extent complicate the tasks that immediately confront revolutionaries after the seizure of political power. That is so because the revolution's social base has become wider, its composition richer and more diverse. Revolutionary change brings to power governments expressive of the united will of the working class and other democratic forces. This immediately raises the problem of organizational and political cooperation of the different contingents of the progressive, anti-imperialist movement. Accordingly, the working class and its Communist parties have to show much more ability in uniting all the healthy democratic forces of society under their leadership. For the establishment of a firm class alliance, prepared to consciously and devotedly follow the proletariat in implementing socialist change is, as we have endeavored to show in this article, the main task upon the solution of which the fate of the revolution depends. That follows from the experience of all socialist revolutions and from its scientific generalization in Marxist-Leninist theory. *L. Angstrom.*



Proletarian internationalism vs national nihilism

*125th anniversary of the
First Communist Congress*

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, having set out to found a Communist party, did their utmost to rid the working class of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence. Their propaganda induced the foremost members of the League of the Just,* which advocated Utopian egalitarian communism and petty-bourgeois 'true socialism,' to adopt scientific communism. Early in 1847 the League sent one of its leaders, Joseph Moll, to Marx and Engels to invite them to join it. They agreed on the understanding that its Rules and program principles would be thoroughly revised.

That paved the way for the long-planned Communist congress which met in London in June 1847 and went down in history as the First Congress of the Communist League, the proletariat's first revolutionary party. The Congress approved the League's new Rules, drafted chiefly by Marx and Engels.

Bourgeois and reformist authors who dispute the inherent continuity of the proletariat's struggle for emancipation try to dismiss the Congress as an event of minor importance. Yet it marked a decisive turn in the international working-class movement, which started from the still unformed aspiration of a young class for self-determination, and passed through the maturing stage (League of the Just) to the founding of a Marxist party.

Article I of the Communist League's Rules read: 'The goal of the League is to overthrow the bourgeoisie, establish the rule of the proletariat, abolish the old bourgeois society based on class antagonism and found a new society, one without classes or private property.' There was thus formulated the historic mission of the proletariat. It could be accomplished only if the working-class movement was combined with scientific communism and if a party was founded that would be separate from and opposed to all other parties, a conscious class party, as Engels put it. (Letter to Trier December 18, 1889).

The Communist League was an excellent school for proletarian revolutionaries. Its members were in the van of all the social, democratic and progressive national movements of the time. Throughout

*London-based revolutionary organization of German emigré workers, founded in 1836.

the 1848/1849 revolution they were in the thick of the fight, striving to carry the revolution through to the end. The League firmly resisted ideological trends foreign to Marxism.

In the five years of its existence, the League had to work underground. And though it had only several hundred members, it was the embryo of the greatest force of our time, the world Communist movement, which now unites 50 million people in almost 90 parties.

On instructions from the League's Second Congress (November-December 1847), Marx and Engels drafted the first programmatic pronouncement of Marxism, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. 'With the clarity and brilliance of genius,' Lenin wrote, 'this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat – the creator of a new, communist society' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 48).

The appearance of the *Communist Manifesto* brought together scientific communism and what at the time was a small working-class vanguard. The *Manifesto* described the nature and tasks of the revolutionary workers' party and defined the principles of its strategy and tactics in the class struggle. The ideas of the *Manifesto* guide and inspire the working class of the world to this day. What bourgeois, reformist and revisionist ideologists have written in an effort to belittle or even deny the significance of this work would fill volumes. But they have been wasting their time. The permanent validity of the *Manifesto* refutes the allegation that the international Communist movement needs no such program documents, no common line, strategy or tactics. The history of the Communist movement since the days of the League has repeatedly confirmed the need and fruitfulness of unity based on theoretical principles and carried out in practice.

Needless to say, the program of the world Communist movement is modified as new historical realities emerge – tested tenets are supplemented by new ones and strategy and tactics are brought into line with new requirements. We know from history that unity of action is based on theoretical, ideological unity and that theory and practice are inseparable.

The dynamism of the League's ideas expresses itself in proletarian internationalism, a cardinal principle of the working-class movement. The founders of Marxism, exposing bourgeois nationalism, showed that proletarian internationalism has nothing in common with national nihilism. The vital interests of peoples and nations can never be represented by the exploiter classes; only the working class can uphold them. A 'fateralization of nations,' Engels wrote in 1845, is unthinkable so long as there persist the old, undisguised national selfishness, and the hypocritical cosmopolitanism of free trade prompted by private selfishness. It can be brought about by an 'extreme, proletarian party,' under the banner of communist democracy. '*Democracy today means communism.*'



Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the 1840s. Artist N. Zhukov.

Even in those days it was clear that the class struggle in any country is increasingly influenced by the class struggle in the world arena. The *Manifesto* stresses that capitalism brings 'universal intercourse and universal interdependence of nations.' This is expressed in motives and objectives of struggle common to the workers of all

countries, in the existence of a common enemy, the bourgeoisie, and in common party interests.

The principles of proletarian internationalism evolved by Marx and Engels in the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism, petty-bourgeois socialism and anarchism, largely account for the gains of the world Communist movement and its various contingents. Basically, they are:

- socialism and communism are the goal of the workers of the world, and unity and cohesion are needed to achieve it;
- the working class and its revolutionary vanguard, the Communist party, have a common scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism;
- the common interests and goals of the workers of the world express themselves in mutual material and moral support, and in



Kommunistische Zeitschrift, Communist League journal published in September 1847 by decision of the League's First Congress. It was the first to print the militant slogan of the world proletariat, "Workers of all countries unite!", advanced by Marx and Engels.

joint struggle against the exploiters, for the social and national emancipation of the oppressed peoples;

- proletarian internationalism implies and guarantees the equality and genuine freedom and sovereignty of nations;

- the working class of each country has internationalist obligations towards the world proletariat, and to honor them is a requirement of the class struggle and class morality.

The founders of scientific communism saw the substance of proletarian internationalism in the dialectical unity of these principles.

The Communist League led by Marx and Engels, originally an organization of German workers, gradually became the vanguard of the international proletariat. This process was fostered by the admission of revolutionary workers of other countries, expanding international links, solidarity with the social, democratic and national liberation movements in Poland, Switzerland, Italy and other countries, and the spread of the ideas of proletarian internationalism. The League was the early form of international proletarian unity, the glorious predecessor of the First International.

The June 1847 Congress replaced the vague slogan, 'All men are brothers,' by a militant call which the *Communist Manifesto* carried to every part of the globe and which has inspired the revolutionary working-class movement ever since: 'Workers of all countries, unite!' The first, and only, issue of *Kommunistische Zeitschrift* (Communist Journal), published by the League's Central Committee, appealed to the workers belonging to other political and social parties to abandon their fratricidal struggle and re-establish revolutionary unity of action. 'We are all fighting,' it wrote, 'against modern society, which oppresses us and holds us in poverty. Instead of realizing this fact and uniting, however, unfortunately we are often at daggers drawn to the glee and joy of our oppressors. . . .

'Unity is strength and it alone can lead us to our goal. Therefore, let us proletarians of all lands unite – openly where the law permits it, for we have no reason to be ashamed of our activity, or secretly where tyrants reign supreme.'

The idea of international revolutionary unity has been gaining ground in the working-class movement ever since those lines were written. It manifested itself in internationalist aid to the Paris Communards, in support for the German workers threatened by the law against Socialists, and in numerous other actions of the same nature. It also expressed itself in designating May 1 the day of international labor solidarity.

Lenin upheld and carried forward the principles of internationalism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. 'Capitalist domination,' he wrote, 'is international. That is why the workers' struggle in all countries for their emancipation is only successful if the workers fight jointly against international capital' (Vol. 2, p. 109).

Transition from capitalism to socialism is the content of the

present epoch. The bourgeois ideologists' dismissal of proletarian internationalism as 'outdated' is absurd. Now that social development is bringing the overthrow of capitalism nearer, the working class and the peoples of the world must adhere to this principle more closely than ever if they are to break the fierce resistance of the moribund system and accomplish their new tasks.

We know from experience that the strength of the Communist movement depends in no small measure on how consistently brother parties, drawing lessons from the past, safeguard proletarian internationalism against bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, against every manifestation of revisionism. There is the evidence of history that every departure from this course is detrimental to the working class, to the progressive forces of the country concerned and to the international revolutionary movement. Concessions to nationalism on the plea of upholding misconceived national interests lead to renunciation of proletarian internationalism.

The Mao Tse-tung group's nationalist, great-power policy led to betrayal of this principle. Directed against the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the interests of the socialist community and the world revolutionary process, this policy disrupts the unity of the Communist movement and complicates the peoples' fight against imperialism. We cannot therefore remain passive, stand on the sidelines. Events past and present point to the need to fight unremittingly for Communist unity and proletarian internationalism.

Lenin saw a correct combination of the national and the international as a key issue of the world movement. It is still a vastly important theoretical and practical problem. Bourgeois and revisionist ideologists take advantage of its intricacy to buttress the contention that it cannot be solved by either the Communist movement or its various contingents. Yet Marxism-Leninism provides a theoretical basis for its solution, as confirmed by the practice of the international working-class movement since the days of the Communist League.

Objective trends of our time demand that the Communist and Workers' parties should take account of national specifics and interests. Furthermore, these trends prompt the brother parties to promote joint activity in every sphere, to pool their political, ideological, material and spiritual resources. The 1969 Meeting came to the following conclusion: 'Each Communist party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class. The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers' Party are indivisible.' This Marxist-Leninist conception of the dialectics of the national and the international carries forward Communist League traditions.

There is a truly immense difference between the two forums — that of 1847, when a handful of revolutionaries founded the Communist League, and the 1969 Meeting, which brought delegates

from 75 Communist and Workers' parties to Moscow, capital of the most powerful and most experience-rich socialist country. However, both forums were inspired by scientific communism and proletarian internationalism and had virtually one and the same goal – closing the Communist ranks and thus raising their combat ability. The object of the 1969 Meeting, held when the contradictions between socialism and imperialism became sharper and the class struggle in the world arena intensified, was to extend anti-imperialist united action and coordinate the action of national contingents against the multi-national monopolies and imperialism's global strategy. It advanced the slogan: *'Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!'*

Analysis of important trends in the international class struggle and the action program formulated by the 1969 Meeting helped the brother parties to develop appropriate strategy and tactics within the framework of united action. The desire for Communist unity became stronger; divisive trends running counter to proletarian internationalism met with a rebuff; the anti-imperialist movement gained in scope and militancy throughout the world.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, like the overwhelming majority of brother parties, stepped up its effort to promote proletarian socialist internationalism, of which the attitude to the Soviet Union is the touchstone. The Eighth SUPG Congress stressed that the Party regards closer political and ideological unity of the Communist movement as a decisive prerequisite of social progress. 'The international working class,' said Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, 'has always won great victories by fully using the power of solidarity. It had to retreat and suffered reverses whenever the class enemy succeeded in exploiting differences in its ranks. The desire for unity and joint action of the Communists and other revolutionary forces is an objective requirement and logical trend of the international class struggle.'

In marking the 125th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist League, the SUPG is well aware of its internationalist obligation flowing from historical tradition and present-day tasks. The German Democratic Republic, closely linked with the socialist community of nations, contributes its share to the strength of world socialism, the solidarity of progressive forces and the cause of peaceful coexistence.

Johannes Zelt

The difficult profession of revolutionary

Y. Yakovlev

Even as a public speaker, the fiery appeal of his message would still be remembered. His literary gift placed him among the foremost political writers of this century. He could also have chosen the career of a statesman—he was elected to parliament as a young man. He chose the difficult profession of revolutionary, an orator and publicist of the revolution, and became the revolutionary leader of his people.

'Your creative work,' Romain Rolland, Georgi Dimitrov's friend, wrote to him, 'is not books but action; it has gone down in history. It is inseparable from the epic of the Revolution.'

These lines, written in 1936 when Dimitrov was past fifty, were confirmed by the recent worldwide commemoration of his 90th birthday. One hundred and fifteen delegations from nearly 60 countries come to Sofia for the conference on 'Georgi Dimitrov and Unity of the Revolutionary and Democratic Forces for Peace, Democracy and Socialism.' The delegates were leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties, Socialists and Democrats, people active in the national liberation movement, spokesmen of international democratic organizations. 'The very fact that you are here, dear comrades and friends,' said Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who opened the conference, 'is forceful proof of the lasting validity of Georgi Dimitrov's ideas, appeals and personal example.'

The delegates, among whom were many veterans of the Communist movement and people who had worked with Dimitrov, spoke of the relevance of his theoretical heritage today, of the historic triumph of the policy line collectively evolved by the Comintern and carried forward by Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress—the Leninist line of uniting the revolutionary and democratic forces under the leadership of the working class. But there emerged also the ideological and spiritual image of a revolutionary of our time, who was 'a Leninist in everything, and that was his main trait,' as B. N. Ponomarev, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, stressed in his contribution.

This time will come when mankind will free itself of capitalist exploitation, and the fight for anti-imperialist unity will be only part of history. It was for this goal that Dimitrov strove, and to his friends he wished that they should live to see imperialism finally defeated. He exerted a powerful influence on all of us, our

views and behavior, because in dedicating all his courage, energy and integrity to the solution of the fundamental problems of his time, he epitomized man's finest qualities.

There are those, Bertolt Brecht said, who fight for one hour, and they are good; there are also those who fight for a year, and they are better; others fight for many years, and they are better still; few fight all their lives, but they are the people we cannot do without. To be remembered by succeeding generations is given to those only who are prepared to act, to bear the biggest burden, to face all the conditions of the epoch. This, perhaps, is the first lesson to be learned from Dimitrov's life.

To understand a Communist, his way of thinking, the source of his courage and his motivations, is sometimes beyond people remote from our movement. We know that even world-renowned authors sympathetic with the Communists have not always been able to portray a Leninist revolutionary.

That portrait emerges from Dimitrov's writings. They present the author's contemporaries and fellow-revolutionaries with a depth of penetration that is only within the grasp of those who have developed similar qualities in themselves and stood similar tests. This was how Dimitrov wrote about Ernst Thaelmann.

Dimitrov and Thaelmann were akin in their complete dedication to the revolution and the common struggle. Jacques Duclos, member of the FCP Political Bureau, told the conference about one of their meetings. 'I can see it,' he said, 'as though it were yesterday - Dimitrov's penetrating gaze as he expressed his misgivings to Thaelmann. . . . And Thaelmann - pondering and preoccupied, listening to Dimitrov and nodding assent.'

Dimitrov's article about the leader of the German proletariat was in a way a self-portrait. 'It is not enough to have a revolutionary temperament,' he writes. 'One must also master revolutionary theory. But pure theory is also not enough. For in sustained struggle against the class enemy one has to overcome continual difficulties and dangers, and this requires revolutionary staunchness, a strong Bolshevik will, firmness and tenacity. It is not enough to know what must be done for the victory of communism - one must have the courage to do it to be ready for any sacrifice that serves the interest of the working class.'

The salient features of Dimitrov's life were his courage and consistency. Nothing he said or did was contradictory. And our enemies looked in vain for contradictions they could exploit. That is not to say that Dimitrov was immune to error. 'Leader of the Comintern,' he once said: 'I've made many mistakes in 35 years of revolutionary political activity. . . .' They were made at certain sharp turns of the revolutionary struggle. And as soon as they were shown up by revolutionary practice and Marxist-Leninist thought, Dimitrov did not hesitate to correct them. By doing so, he helped his associates, whole parties, the entire movement, to steer a correct course.

The first thing a revolutionary must possess, Dimitrov believed, is knowledge.

The Nazi warrant for his arrest gave his occupation as 'composer and publicist.' An uncommon combination, this. Although he actually began his working life as a type-setter, he was a well-known political writer at the time of his arrest.

Dimitrov's educational background was six years of school and a life leading to knowledge and more knowledge. He studied Descartes and Spinoza, Kant, Hegel and Feuerbach. Goethe is often quoted in his articles and speeches. Dimitrov's knowledge of history and philosophy reached deep. But then any single-minded person can acquire a similar amount of knowledge.

It is rather two other factors that may help to a correct view of Dimitrov. At the turn of the century the young type-setter refused on an impulse to set an article slandering the Bulgarian proletariat, and three and a half decades later he became General Secretary of the Comintern. To accomplish such an ascent, one needs to be more than just an educated man – it called for consummate mastery of Marxism-Leninism.

Dimitrov never relied on set formulas, always preferring Marxist-Leninist analysis, and this enriched both theory and method.

That fascism is the most reactionary form of monopoly capitalist rule is common knowledge today. But there was sharp controversy when its social, class substances was first examined. Otto Bauer, the Austrian Social-Democrat, argued that fascism stood above the two opposites, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Other Socialists regarded fascism as a petty-bourgeois rebellion, a bid for power. At the Seventh Comintern Congress Dimitrov proved – and this was fundamental – that 'the coming to power of fascism is not an *ordinary replacement* of one bourgeois class rule – bourgeois democracy – by another form, by an overt terroristic dictatorship.'

Such was Dimitrov, the creative theoretician.

There is no grasping the world outlook of a revolutionary like Dimitrov without realizing that the theory of scientific communism became his own thought, his innermost vision of the world, which set the standards of his behavior. It is only this profound knowledge of theory that fuses a Communist's intentions and deeds into one.

Dimitrov's victory at the Leipzig trial was, and remains, a school of courage for generations of revolutionaries. This was pointed out at the conference by Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the CC, Syrian Communist Party, Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the CC, CP of Colombia, and many other speakers.

On trial for his life, Dimitrov refused to defend himself as an individual. Instead, he set out to expose fascism and prove that the extremist actions imputed to him were incompatible with Communist ideals. The choice he made at Leipzig was not unexpected – it was the result of years of selfless struggle. 'I have never had any wish,' he wrote a quarter of a century before

Leipzig, 'to defend myself against our political opponents' slander and abuse. I consider this kind of self-defense unnecessary and undignified for a Social-Democrat.' He repeated this eleven years later, and this was the stand he took in Leipzig.

'We Communists,' he said at the trial, 'may now say no less firmly than old Galilei: "*Eppur si muove*".'

'The wheel of history is turning . . . It is turning, and will turn, until the final victory of communism.'

Some feats of courage in the name of one's convictions are impressed on man's memory for all time. A Galilei will be a Galilei to us so long as he upholds his doctrine. Dimitrov will always be Dimitrov.

The unaffected courage and the heroism that have become part of a revolutionary's being are often disclosed in seemingly minor detail. There is much to be gathered, for example, from the few lines scribbled by Lenin on a slip of paper in July 1917, with spies of the Provisional Government hot on his tracks. '*Entre nous*,' he wrote, 'if they do me in, I ask you to publish my notebook: "*Marxism on the State*" (it got left behind in Stockholm). It's bound in a blue cover. . . . I think it could be published after a week's work' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 36, p. 454).

From his cell in Moabit prison, Dimitrov wrote to the manager of a sanatorium in Kislovodsk, thanking him for the treatment he was given there; it was helping him to bear up. He was anxious that the poetry of his late wife be collected.

He liked Rakhmetov, the main character of Chernyshevsky's novel *What Is to Be Done?* He first read the book when still a young worker, and was deeply impressed. 'Neither earlier, nor later,' he wrote, 'did I ever read a literary work that had as strong an effect on my revolutionary education.'

Rakhmetov, a solitary revolutionary, and Dimitrov, leader of the Bulgarian people and an outstanding leader of the world Communist movement – what have they in common? When Dimitrov was born, Chernyshevsky was still alive, an exile in Siberia. Think of it, how close in time are the generations of revolutionaries, and how swift the world revolutionary process. Some Paris Communards, men who created the prototype of the socialist state, lived to visit socialist Moscow. But whatever the distance between landmarks of the revolutionary process, he who is rightly called a revolutionary always shows, in Dimitrov's words, 'courage, selflessness, unexampled heroism and boundless devotion to the revolution.'

Reflecting on the revolutionary's need to cultivate tenacity, will and perseverance, Dimitrov meant much more than blameless conduct alone; the revolutionary should be fearless in cognizing the truth. However bitter the truth and however disagreeable the conclusions to be drawn from the experience of struggle, Dimitrov always sought the objective truth, well remembering that it was on the 'side' of the revolution, of social progress. "I grant," he said

of himself, 'that I use sharp and stern language. My struggle and my life, too, have been stern.'

The experience of this struggle, whether successful or not, is not limited to one party but is the patrimony of the entire Communist movement, and it equipped Dimitrov with the strongest weapon against opportunism and complacent sectarianism. Experience was his great preceptor—it is shunned only by those who fear that the lessons of the past may bring out the shortcomings of the present.

Dimitrov staunchly upheld the worldwide revolutionary gains. He saw the greatest of them in the victory of the October Revolution, both immediately after it and when he was helping to establish and consolidate the socialist world system. His example showed how strong a Communist becomes by creatively applying Bolshevik traditions.

'I was a revolutionary Socialist, or revolutionary Marxist, but not a Bolshevik,' Dimitrov said, recalling his revolutionary past. 'I remember that at that time, too, I had an opportunity to show courage, and I may say that on many occasions during my activity in Bulgaria I did not show less "heroism" than at Leipzig. But had I faced the Leipzig trial as a Tesnyak Socialist, I should have been unable, whatever courage and dignity I might have shown, to put up such a Bolshevik fight nor win such a Bolshevik victory.'

And now for one more question which, it is true, does not come up at international conferences, but which we occasionally ask of one another. It is about happiness. Was Dimitrov happy? There is never a simple answer to such a question.

Before the Nazis put Dimitrov in chains he had gone through the prison cells of monarchical Bulgaria and the Rumanian secret police. He had been persecuted, shot at from around the corner, sentenced to death, forced into exile for nearly a quarter of a century—in short, went through all the trials that are the lot of the revolutionary.

But he knew how to combine faith in the justice of his cause with revolutionary action, and he found his happiness in struggle.

He loved his country and people and was happy to translate patriotism into the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

A revolutionary, he chose the Soviet Union as his other homeland and was happy to see history prove his choice correct.

He was happy to see that the cause he had initiated in Bulgaria and carried on in the world Communist movement, a cause to which he had dedicated his life, was irresistibly advancing to complete, historic victory.

It has been said more than once that men of prominence have a date of birth but none of death. Now as in the past, Dimitrov is with us, urging us to fight, showing us the road to the communist transformation of the world.

Y. Yakovlev

Sofia-Prague.



'Volkstimme'

Hans Kalt

Central Organ of the Communist Party of Austria



To tighten its grip on power state-monopoly capitalism assiduously manipulates public opinion. In Austria, too, the governing capitalist class uses all possible communication media to keep the working people spiritually enslaved. Radio and television are run by a special agency (Oesterreichische Rundfunk Gesellschaft) controlled by the big monopolies. The daily and weekly papers are in the hands of a few companies, with many bowing out before the fierce compe-

tition: eight dailies and 21 weeklies have ceased publication since 1967, with the result that the two biggest (strongly anti-communist) papers now control 88 per cent of the news market in Vienna and nearly 50 in the country as a whole.

Naturally, this adds to the responsibilities and role of the Party press. The *Volkstimme*, central organ of the CP of Austria (published in Vienna and the federal provinces of Styria, Upper Austria and Carinthia), reacts instantly to political developments at home and abroad, helps workers find their bearings, and shows them how to defend their interests. It organizes public actions and campaigns, and rallies the masses round the Party's slogans. It has a hard core of permanent readers, many of whom are not members of the CP.

The guidelines

The guidelines are two: to be the Party's militant spokesman, a constant propagandist of its ideas and views, and to furnish exhaustive and meaningful coverage of events, awakening interest in the paper in every working-class family. These two objectives do

not conflict, though their journalistic solution is not easy and so far nowhere near ideal.

Our political orientation is set by the Party's Central Committee and its Political Bureau. Their decisions and instructions are basic. The Party's 21st Congress, too, was highly relevant. A few months before the Congress some executive members of our editorial staff, including the editor-in-chief, were removed for gravitating to the Right (most of them were eventually expelled from the Party). The loyal nucleus, reinforced by new comrades and young activists, managed to surmount the difficulties and are keeping the paper on the correct course.

What does *Volksstimme* deal with? Prominence is given to socio-economic topics and events of concern to the workers: reports and comments on the continuously rising prices, demands for higher wages, the anti-popular tax policy and the ruling element's drive to pare down the working men's social gains. Of all this the paper supplies class-oriented analyses.

Much of our home politics section is devoted to CPA activity, undertakings and campaigns. Among the main objectives is criticism of the Social-Democratic leaders and their 'social partnership' outlook which, now that they are the ruling party, has developed into a drive to 'modernize' Austrian capitalism. We show workers influenced by the 'social partnership' idea the extent of their delusion and endeavor to enlist them for the battle against capital, to win them for united action with Communists and unaffiliated workers. Naturally, the paper also comes to grips with the policy of the People's Party, the traditional party of Austria's big bourgeoisie, and Freedom Party, strongly impregnated with Nazi ideology.

The *Volksstimme* prides itself on its exhaustive world coverage, giving much space to the achievements of the socialist countries, the workers' class battles in other capitalist states and the national-liberation struggles of oppressed peoples. In so doing, it strives to consolidate the Austrian workers' traditional spirit of internationalist solidarity or to revive it where blunted by Social-Democratic influence. Specifically, the paper campaigns for solidarity with the peoples of Indochina and the Arab world. It gives expression to wage-earners' demands, assailing the economic and political penetration of FRG monopolies, the Austrian armed forces' subordination to NATO strategy, and stands guard over the country's neutrality in the interests of peace and international security.

We tie up principled criticism of capitalism and advocacy of our aims on the way to socialism with the political issues of the day, for it is our purpose that the working class should know its own situation and its historic mission.

Detailed coverage is given to local news, the cultural scene and sports, and a special section on entertainment is put out on the eve of holidays. And we have found that in this area, too, we can carry forward our political line not only in our coverage of the cultural scene, which is now an important ideological battleground, but also in our sports accounts and court reporting.

Following the 21st Congress we introduced a few novelties which, we hold, bring the paper still closer to the people. For instance, we have a regular department for members of production councils (bodies where elected workers' representatives uphold labor's interests before the administration). Their weekly accounts are usually illustrated with photographs, and by now hundreds of councils have written for us. Our activists distribute issues containing these accounts and also reports directly from the shopfloor, among the workers of the enterprise. Criticism of our ideological adversaries is frequently presented in brief notes and short commentaries, for we have found they are sometimes read more widely than long articles. But we do not deny space to articles either, especially those on the major political problems.

We try to write clearly and comprehensibly and to make our reports and articles militant and highly partisan, championing the ideas of freedom, peace, democracy and socialism.

And it has been a source of deep satisfaction that readers are responding warmly to the paper's new look: we have re-patterned the front page, changed the masthead, and improved the make-up. The paper is more attractive and more sophisticated.

Ties with Party branches, circulation up

The paper does its best to maintain close contact with Party branches, especially those at factories. Readers' letters are taking up appreciably more space. We have initiated an information service, particularly for legal advice. Every letter, and proposals from readers or Party branches are attended to, and if not published for some reason, a reply is given all the same. That is one of the basic principles of our editorial work.

The annual *Volksstimme* festival in Vienna is a vivid demonstration of the close ties between the paper and its readers. Apart from the Party membership, tens of thousands of non-Communists take part. The 1971 festival was especially successful: the *Volksstimme* sports competition held the day before Press Day, and then the festival itself, drew some 100,000 (police estimate) to Vienna's famous Prater. The public was addressed by the editor-in-chief and other *Volksstimme* executives, who then replied to questions for several consecutive hours. This was a new way of reaching the readership, of winning the paper more popularity. The festival is also a regular feature in some of the main provincial and workers' towns.

The editors are looking for new ways to increase circulation. In Vienna, 'dumb newsvendors' are put into the streets on Sundays (when newsstalls are closed and the post does not deliver newspapers): tripods with a supply of *Volksstimme* and a cashbox at busy street corners, tram stops and elsewhere. They sell some 12,000 copies every Sunday over and above the regular subscriptions and house-to-house sales. The result: many more people than we have in our Vienna party branch buy the *Volksstimme* on holidays.

The paper's clear Marxist-Leninist orientation and the renewal of

a sound relationship with the Party organizations paved the way for a circulation campaign in the autumn of 1970, a few months after the 21st CPA Congress. It won us more than 3,000 new subscribers, and last year's campaign, though cut by half due to the National Council elections, added another 1,800.

Our work has been fruitful: circulation is up, which is important in face of the strong influence of the bourgeois mass media. And yet there are still some untapped opportunities for further growth.

A real working men's paper

These days bourgeois dailies are moving away from the so-called high-brow orientation towards cheap sensationalism. The *Kurier* and *Kronen-Zeitung* are good examples. Their faceless approach to ideological matters helps them mislead and confuse the reader with the false impression of diversity and broadness of outlook, and 'impartial' coverage, really concealing the omission of views inimical to capitalism. Even those bourgeois papers that, like the Social-Democratic *Arbeiter-Zeitung* or *Die Presse*, mouthpiece of the big bourgeoisie, pretend intellectualism and a specific orientation, turn a blind eye on manipulations of public opinion and only mildly attack the sensational press, chiefly their major competitors.

The *Volksstimme*, the Communist paper, is the only one that can and must expose and explain the pattern of capitalist spiritual conditioning. Those who cannot stomach the deceit and misinformation of the bourgeois press and search for an honest paper are ultimately bound to turn to the only paper that steadfastly combats the constant befogging of the public mind. Though the capitalist media are still as powerful as ever, this is an effective way of extending our influence.

The manipulation of public opinion aims, among other things, at creating an illusion about the working people's social standing. The concept of 'social prestige' is one of the ploys: readers, listeners and viewers are told that they should go by the 'staus symbol,' i.e., the goods a family should have to be 'somebody.' The purpose is dual: commercial (advertising) and ideological. According to this 'ideology,' a worker belongs in the 'lowest' category. And though workers and their families comprise the biggest population group in the country, no bourgeois paper (or the radio and TV for that matter) ever carries a single line representing the workers' opinion on this score.

The 'news industry' cultivates and deliberately encourages petty-bourgeois prejudices. So it is most important for us to explain to the workers, nowadays the main target of bourgeois propaganda, that they are not the 'lowest' citizens, but members of the class that has produced with its hands the present level of material development, the class whose historical mission it is to remake the world.

These days, none but a Communist publication can be a real working men's paper. Giving their due to the interests of the progressive intelligentsia and other groups, our paper must never fail

to counter the deception and spiritual subjugation of the workers, to awaken their class consciousness and implant pride in their social position. The Communist press derives its power precisely from it undisguised and frank class orientation.

The real class position of the Austrian workers and their families (several million people) will ultimately upset all the false notions about 'social prestige.' Once the workers realize this – and the *Volksstimme* will do its utmost that they should do so soon – bourgeois manipulation will break down. That is why we are concerned not only with the political line, but with the emotional impact of what we write: every worker must feel at once that he, the worker, carries weight with us, that for us he is not a member of the 'lower' class, but an esteemed citizen and reader. The comprehensibility and emotional impact we try to impart to our paper have nothing in common with the primitivism typical of the sensational press.

We are confident that the influence among workers of the Communist press will continue to rise. For this there is every opportunity, and the *Volksstimme* is doing its utmost to contribute to this important Party objective in the interests of peace and socialism.

Hans Kalt

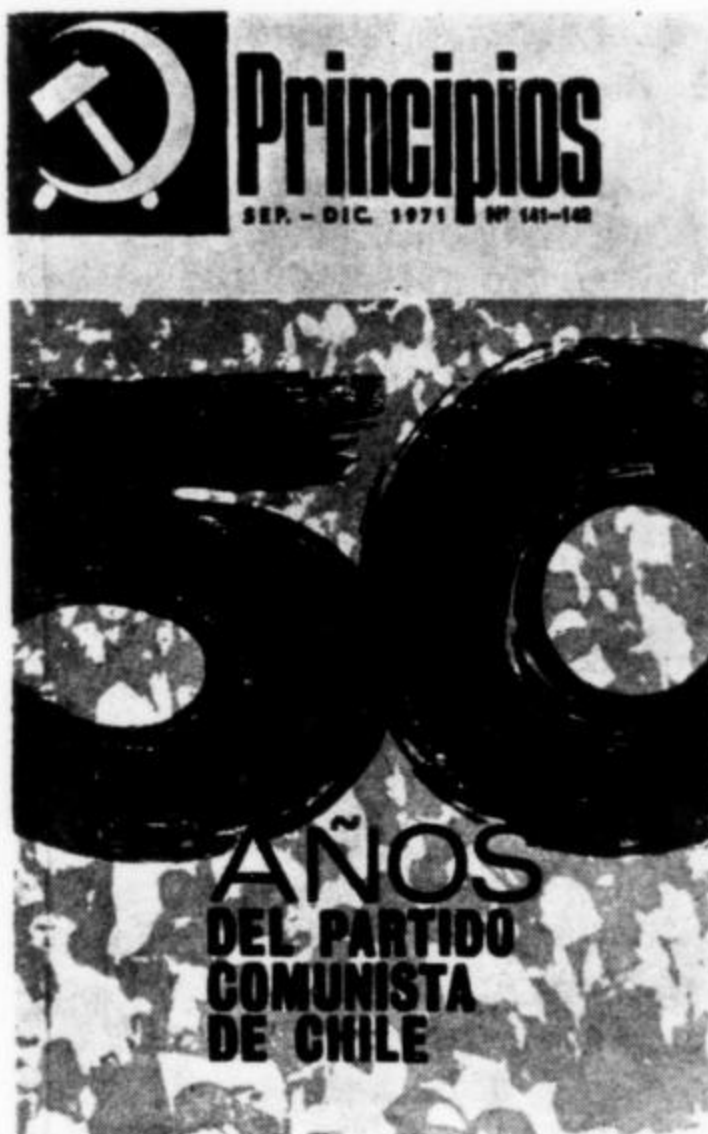
'Principios'

I. Keson

Participation in the Popular Unity government faced the Communist Party with new problems. *Principios*, theoretical and political journal of the CC, CP of Chile, founded over 30 years ago, helps to solve them. It systematically elucidates questions of Marxism-Leninism, the working people's everyday struggles and revolutionary changes on the way to socialism.

Last year Jorge Insunza, writing in the journal (No. 140), dealt at length with the problem of consolidating people's power. He noted that this key issue of the revolution has yet to be settled definitively in favor of the Chilean people. The developing revolutionary process makes it necessary to assume full political power, put down the resistance of the exploiter classes and assure the smooth running of the government. And this means winning over the majority of the people, organizing production to meet the people's vital requirements and showing in this way the advantages of the new system.

In wrestling with problems posed by life, the Communist Party takes a stand against 'Leftist' ventures as it presses meaningfully



forward, using what has already been gained and striving to muster forces that could undermine the class enemy's economic power and ideological influence. At the same time the Party fosters among the masses a sense of responsibility for the common cause and conscious labor discipline. The people must exercise and extend their power.

The same issue of the journal raised another important theoretical and practical question whose decision will have a powerful impact on the progress of the Chilean revolution. It concerns participation by numerous parties and organizations in today's revolutionary changes, and their eventual cooperation. Will the peasants, professional and office workers, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie and certain sections of the domestic non-monopoly

bourgeoisie back the working class only in the first stage of implementing the Popular Unity program, or will they go with the proletariat all the way to socialism? The answer largely depends, Sergio Vuskovich says in his article, on the relations between the working class and its Party and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, the Catholics, Protestants, and other believers. Communists hold that these forces contribute to the revolutionary process under the leadership of the working class. Joining up with the people's government to fight reaction is the best guarantee of their future social security. No party in the people's government imposes its solutions on others and power is exercised according to the country's Constitution and laws. The Chilean experience demonstrates the possibility of advancing to socialism while respecting the interests of all Popular Unity parties and forces. This is not to say, however, that the Communists renounce the struggle to defend and spread Marxism-Leninism as the leading ideology. The author is convinced that Marxism-Leninism will become a theory universally recognized in Chile due to its scientific character. It already influences other parties and currents, which accept its fundamental tenets. Our task is, the author concludes, to show through a correct policy that Chilean reality confirms the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In the face of difficulties and the fierce resistance and subversion of reaction, the Popular Unity government has in the short span since it came to power done much more for the masses than all bourgeois regimes of the past put together. The decisive factor

for today's gains of the Chilean people, was, undoubtedly, the Party's tenacious struggle for the unity of the masses, its firm stand against views and theories hostile to the working-class cause, and its considerate attitude to its allies. All this is discussed in the articles by Orlando Millas, José Cademartori, Mario Zamorano, Jorge Montes and other Party leaders in No. 141/142 of the journal on the occasion of the Party's 50th anniversary celebrated early this year.

Revolutionary changes are affected in Chile, and are carried deeper and further, in an atmosphere of sharp ideological battles specifically over the relationship between the revolutionary process and the legal system in Chile. José Rodríguez Elizondo dealt with this in No. 143. The Popular Unity forces have repeatedly stressed that the government carries on its activities according to bourgeois legal standards. The author writes that, in effect, the ultra-Right and 'Leftists' alike see an irreconcilable contradiction between socialism, proclaimed by the Popular Unity bloc as the ultimate goal, and legality. The former allege that socialism is incompatible with the concept of law. The latter find it impossible to use bourgeois legality in the working people's interest, especially while clearing the ground for socialist change. While the former regard law from their class position, the 'Leftists' deny all possibility of using old forms of power, of imparting to them a new, revolutionary content. In other words, the ultra-Rightists' theory is intended to distort the essence of socialism, to misrepresent its tasks and objectives. As for the 'Leftists,' they tend to deny the necessity of leading the masses step by step to the stage of socialist changes, of a policy of broad-based social alliances, of blocs with non-proletarian parties. This unrealistic concept takes in practice the form of provocative acts of violence and of appeals for an immediate transition to socialism. The article stresses that only dialectical analysis of the connection between the revolutionary changes coming about in Chile and the possibility of using bourgeois legal standards in the process gives the key to the problem. The author believes that the effort to have these standards respected is part of the struggle for power.

Carlos Cerda, too, comments on the ideological struggle (No. 144). Chilean reaction, which had hoped the Popular Unity coalition would deviate from its chosen path, is now trying with foreign imperialist backing to take the offensive against the people's gains. Its methods include slander, subversion, threats, and conspiracies. Ideology holds a prominent place, of course. The battered allegation that socialism is incompatible with democracy and freedom has been put back in circulation. The reactionaries conceive these class categories in their own way. It was 'undemocratic,' they affirm, to nationalize the copper mines owned by US companies. This also goes for the expropriation of landed estates and their distribution among the peasants. Working people's participation in production management is described as an 'encroachment on free-

dom.' The author turns to Lenin and today's Chilean reality to refute these allegations. The article stresses that those who never scrupled to infringe their own bourgeois legal standards and who brutally crushed the working-class and popular movement in Chile are the most vehement denouncers of the 'lack' of freedom and democracy in the country. The author closes with the comment that only the further consolidation of popular forces and the defeat of the plans of the oligarchy and imperialism will help to promote civil freedoms and rights and build a just and genuinely democratic society.

I. Keson

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Rodolfo GHIOLDI, *Lenin y el pensamiento contemporaneo* (Lenin and Contemporary Thought). Buenos Aires, Editorial Anteo, 1972. 77 pp.

This collection comprises five speeches and one article by Rodolfo Ghioldi, prominent leader of the international Communist and working-class movement, founding member of the CP of Argentina and member of the Party Executive.

In analyzing problems of the worldwide, Latin American and national revolutionary process, Ghioldi is an ardent protagonist of Marxism-Leninism. His main subjects are the significance of revolutionary theory to the Party, the leading role of the proletariat, and the necessity for the worker-peasant alliance as the basis for a united front against imperialism. He exposes the revisionists and opportunists and shows that the only way to victory is to choose and combine diverse forms of struggle according to the situation, bring the masses into the struggle and lean on them for support.

A genuine internationalist, Ghioldi gives much attention to the principle of proletarian solidarity and the need to combine the national with the international.

The national, he notes, is not self-contained but is dialectically linked with the international, which must not be sacrificed to the national because national narrow-mindedness spells defeat. This is why the matter is of concern for the Communists, for they face the challenge of delivering the workers and the masses from bourgeois nationalist, first of all Peronist, influence. Ghioldi takes a stand against all who advocate 'socialism' without Marxism-Leninism, and 'internationalism' without the CPSU. He stresses that to defend socialism and the Soviet Union is the duty of every Communist in the world and a requisite of real internationalism.

Now that imperialism and Argentine reaction try to divert the working people, especially youth, from the revolutionary path, this collection will undoubtedly help the Party in its struggle to win the masses. It will also be of interest to readers from other, above all Latin American, countries.

I.K.

Jacques DUCLOS, *Que sont donc les Communistes?* (Who, Then, Are the Communists?). Paris, Epi sa Editeurs, 1971. 184 pp.

'One may like or dislike the Communists but it is certain that nobody today can be indifferent to their activity.' This is what Jacques Duclos, veteran of the world Communist movement, says in dedicating his book to the young people who want to make the right choice in the intricate world of today.

The author surveys the main stages of the Communist movement, defines Marxist-Leninist principles and shows that Communists always coordinate theory with practice. He recalls the glorious record of the FCP, founded under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia, and the French Communists' patriotic and internationalist traditions.

Speaking of the FCP today, Jacques Duclos gives a detailed account of the action program offered to the French people by the Party. He quotes such important documents of the FCP as the manifesto 'For Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France' and 'Program for a Democratic Unity Government.'

The book contains Jacques Duclos' highly interesting answers to questions which Communists are asked most often at forums sponsored by the Party – on the Communists' attitude to the Socialists and other parties, to religion, class partnership, and the like. L.G.

P. N. FEDOSEYEV, *Marksizm v XX veke. Mark, Engels, Lenin i sovremennost* (Marxism in the 20th Century: Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Modern Times). Moscow, Mysl, 1972. 582 pp.

What makes this new monograph by P. N. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, particularly valuable is its political relevance and its extensive treatment of problems solved or being solved by Marxism in this century. The book encompasses diverse subjects and ranges far chronologically – from the days of Marx and Engels to our time. Reading it, grasping the author's purpose, one sees the singleness of its ideatic elements. The common theme in the book is the creative character of Marxism-Leninism as an integral international revolutionary doctrine, its vitality and validity at every stage of the struggle to transform society on communist lines.

Academician Fedoseyev's previous book, *Kommunizm i filosofiya* (Communism and Philosophy – see the May 1972 issue of this journal), was above all an ideological analysis of the present epoch. His new work reveals the unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. This is a somewhat arbitrary classification, of course, but it should give an idea of the contents of both treatises.

The first section – 'The Rise and Development of Scientific Communism' – sets forth the fundamentals of Marxist methodology and analyzes in line with them important social problems of the twentieth century: ending exploitation and poverty, national inequality and oppression and wars, and establishing peace, all of which are prerequisites of the harmonious development of the individual.

Section Two – 'Leninism Is the Marxism of Our Epoch' – deals with Lenin's contribution to revolutionary theory. Leninism against subjectivism and bourgeois objectivism, the nationalities question and proletarian internationalism, Lenin and theoretical problems of art are among the problems examined in this section. The section 'Revolutionary Ideology in Action' reveals the international validity of the experience of the Great October, the historic lessons of the victory over fascism, and the leading role of the CPSU in communist building.

The assortment of problems, as we see, is profoundly purposive: each of them is a battlefield in Marxism's present struggle against bourgeois ideology, reformism and opportunism. And the author joins the fight – the book is polemical and politically incisive. The center of gravity in the polemics (against American sociologist Daniel Bell, French renegade Roger Garaudy, Austrian revisionist Ernst Fischer, and others) is in the positive, cogent arguments which tear his adversaries' systems to shreds.

The book stresses the accuracy of Lenin's grand vision of man's advance to communism and shows the Soviet people's gains in communist building.

'Our opponents,' Academician Fedoseyev writes in conclusion, 'have for years alleged that Marxism is outdated and no longer meets the requirements of life. Yet it is critics of Marxism who become outdated and leave the scene while Marxism remains a living, developing and invincible doctrine. Man discovers and uses more and more sources and forms of energy in subduing nature and exploring outer space. But in the fight for social emancipation, the whole of enlightened mankind is inspired by the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism. There can be no question that sooner or later all peoples of the world, inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, will scale the heights of communism.' N.B.

E. M. PAVLOV, *Ideino-teoreticheskoye sotrudnichestvo marksistov-lenintsev* (Ideological and Theoretical Cooperation Among Marxists-Leninists). Leningrad, Lenizdat, 1971. 206 pp.

Revolutionary theory 'grows out of the sum total of the revolutionary experience and the revolutionary thinking of all countries in the world,' Lenin wrote (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 354). E. Pavlov depicts this process, showing how the brother parties carry forward Marxist-Leninist theory by joint effort. He draws on party records and the writings of prominent Communists to reveal the principles, forms and methods of ideological and theoretical cooperation among Marxist-Leninists and their international research. He notes that the established forms of maintaining contacts between parties ensure coordination of their activity on the international scene and enable them to analyze general theoretical and political problems, compare positions and determine the line of the worldwide movement. Joint theoretical research is an objective need because the role of Marxism-Leninism as an integral theory and program for revolutionary

change tested by life, is growing, the world revolutionary process assumes an ever more international character and the Communist movement plays an increasingly important part.

E. Pavlov examines diverse forms of joint theoretical work, such as bilateral consultations, multilateral regional meetings and conferences, international meetings, cooperation with *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, cooperation between Marxist research centers of various countries, international forums and theoretical conferences. These forms make it possible to combine the national Communist contingents' unity of action against imperialism with the independence and equality of the parties, and collective work on general problems of revolutionary theory and policy with autonomy in shaping each party's policy line according to Marxism-Leninism.

One chapter is devoted to *Problems of Peace and Socialism* – its fields of activity and working methods. The author stresses the significance of international forums sponsored by the journal. He notes that these forums adopt no binding decisions and that their main purpose is to compare notes on theoretical issues, estimate new realities and discuss controversial matters and unsolved problems.

E. Luan

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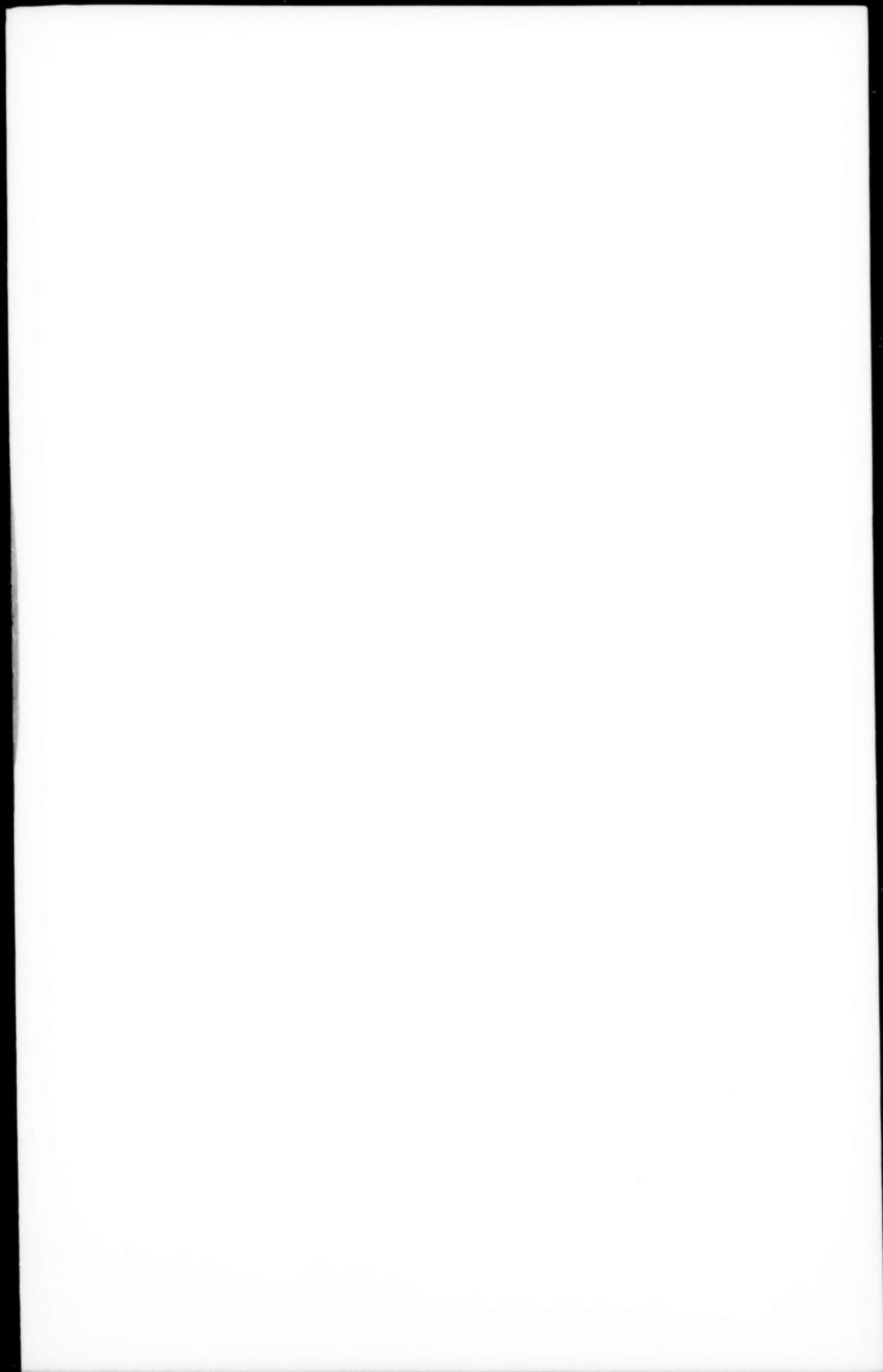
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