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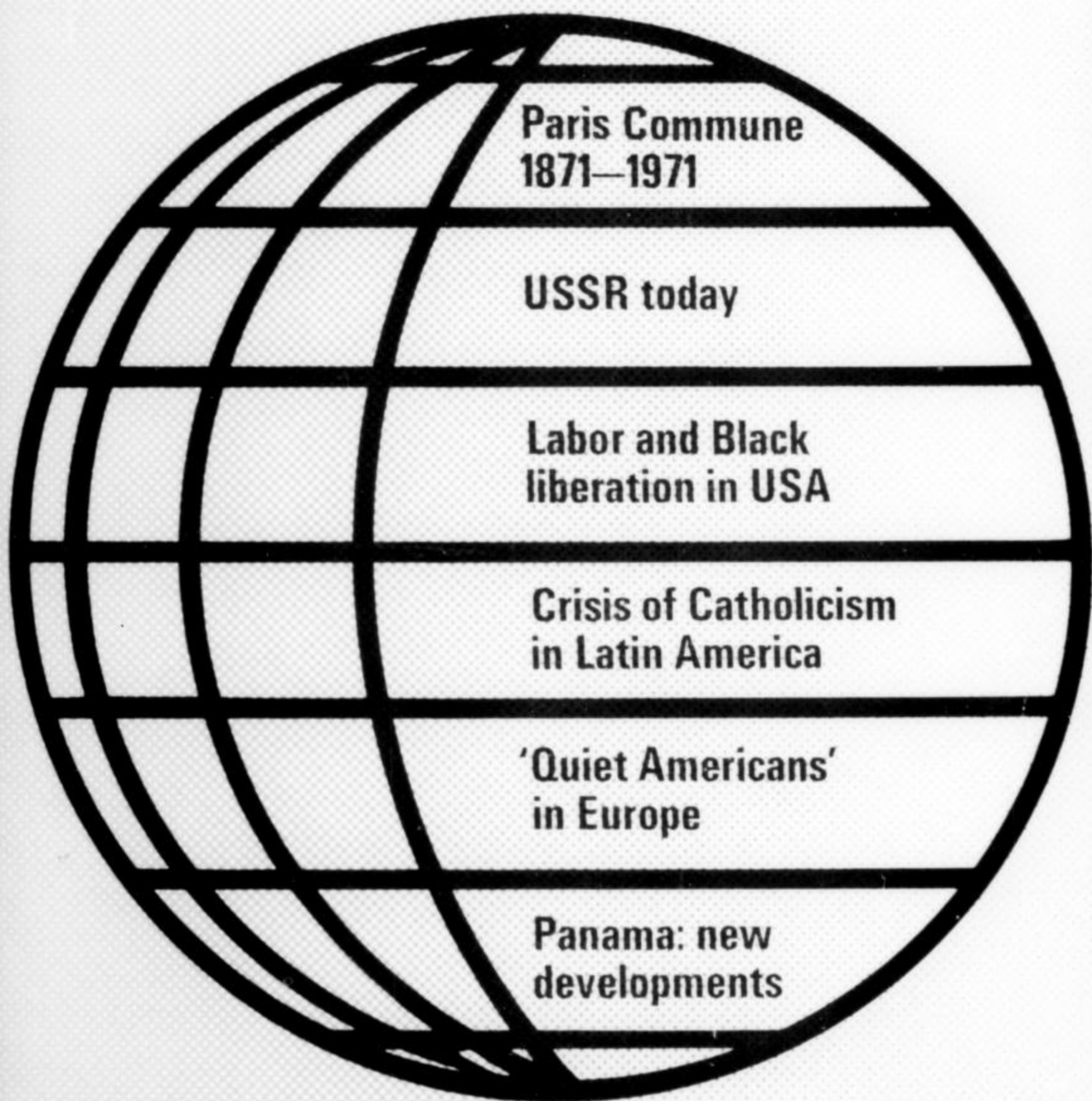
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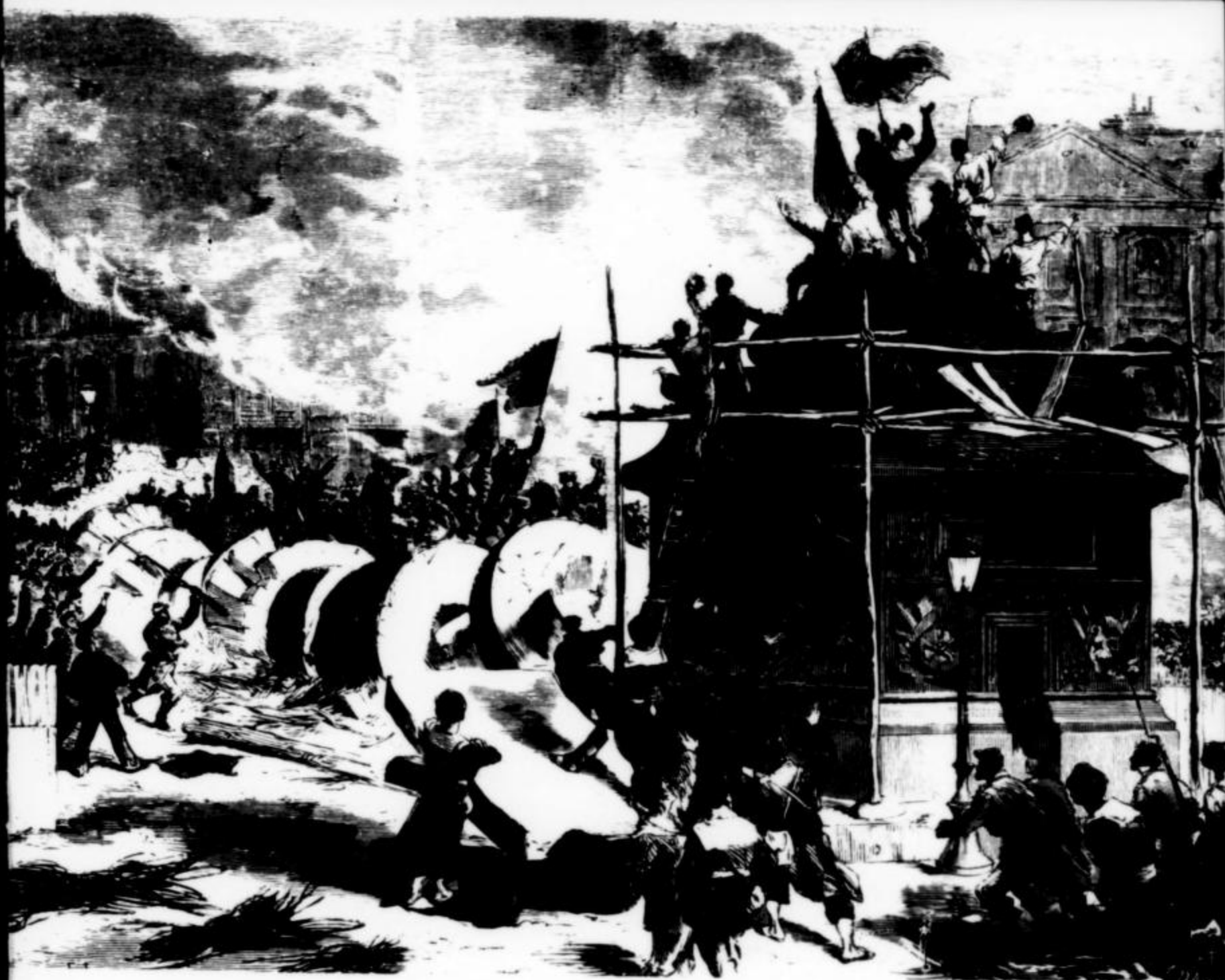
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Vendôme Column Torn Down, 1871 (from Le Monde illustré)

This issue commemorates the Centenary of the Paris Commune and opens with the words of the deathless proletarian anthem, *The Internationale*. Put to music by composer Pierre Degeyter in 1888, the anthem was written by poet Eugene Pottier, a participant in the Paris Commune, at a black hour for the Communards.

Today, when Communists in all countries are engaged in a worldwide battle against imperialism, the heroic anthem of proletarian internationalism resounds with fresh, optimistic vigor.

THE INTERNATIONAL

*Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.*

REFRAIN:

*'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The Internationale
Shall be the human race.*

*We want no condescending saviors,
To rule us from a judgment hall;
We workers ask not for their favors:
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.*

*Toilers from shops and fields united,
The union we of all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the workers,
No room here for the shirk.
How many on our flesh have fattened!
But if the noisome birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
The blessed sunlight still will stay.*



The Paris Commune 1871-1971

As reported in our earlier issue, an international theoretical conference in commemoration of the Paris Commune was held in Prague under the auspices of World Marxist Review with the participation of representatives from 30 Communist and Workers' parties.

In opening the conference, the journal's Editor-in-Chief, K. Zarodov, said that theoretical conferences and round-table discussions had become a regular form of collective examination of major theoretical problems and exchange of party experience. International forums on outstanding landmarks in the development of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary movements are an important element of this system.

The Paris Commune was an event of epochal significance, epitomizing the cause, in Lenin's words, of "the proletariat of the whole world." It was the first proletarian revolution and the first working-class government. In commemorating the Commune, we pay homage to the heroic Communards and their momentous contribution to the revolutionary struggle. The Commune exerted a powerful influence on the French and international proletarian movement. Today, too, it is an inexhaustible source of optimism for the worldwide army of revolutionary fighters.

What, above all, have we to learn from the Paris Commune? Without anticipating the discussion, I think we can point to several important lessons which will doubtlessly be dealt with by other speakers:

- the working class must consolidate its position in society and its alliance with the peasantry and other progressive, revolutionary forces; the Communist and Workers' parties and their Marxist-Leninist fibre must be strengthened;

- capitalist power can be destroyed and working-class power established only through socialist revolution (which can assume varying forms); the proletarian state must resolutely employ all its strength against the enemies of the revolution or, to use a more recent term, against all manner of imperialist subversion;

—opportunist vacillation and attempts to deviate from our revolutionary duty must be combatted;

—the proletarians of all countries must act in a spirit of fraternal international solidarity and mutual assistance and support.

By studying the lessons of the Paris Commune, by disclosing its historic role, we help to accomplish the task set by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, namely, creatively to develop Marxism-Leninism and generalize the militant experience of the proletariat. It is from this standpoint that we regard the significance of our conference.

The report on the Paris Commune and its influence on the growth of the working-class movement was delivered by Comrade Jacques Duclos, Political Bureau Member of the French Communist Party.

Paris Commune and growth of working-class movement

Jacques Duclos

Terribly weakened by the bloodshed of 1848, the French working class had gradually recovered its strength when the revolution of March 18, 1871, erupted. It had grown more numerous as a result of capitalist economic development, and was conscious of its strength.

The Second Empire had seen numerous strikes. However, the workers, who were mostly apolitical, were all too often inclined to put the entire blame for their pitiful condition on their employers, rather than the imperial regime as a whole. Then the high degree of exploitation and oppression turned them gradually into a strong factor of opposition, with which the Empire was compelled to reckon. The regime had no illusions on that score and resorted to ruthless repressions.

In 1871 there were sections of the First International in many French cities, though Marx's ideas had not yet penetrated deeply among the proletariat. *Capital* had not yet been translated into French and the *Communist Manifesto* was not widely known. This explains why Proudhon's anarchism, which encountered no vigorous

ideological resistance, exercised a definite influence on the French labor movement.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels transformed socialism from an Utopia into a science. The pre-Marxian socialism criticized capitalist production and its consequences, but could not explain their essence. Hence, it could not expose capitalism in theory and confined itself to merely renouncing it as unsatisfactory. To mount a fundamental offensive against the capitalist system of production, it was necessary first to determine its historical place in man's development and to stress the need for replacing it with a different, socialist, system of production.

The Communards, even those affiliated with the First International, did not see this very clearly, which, however, did not prevent the insurrection of March 18, 1871, from posing the problem of a socialist revolution, even though its original motive was traceable to a national reaction to the nation's betrayal by the ruling class in the Franco-Prussian war.

After the collapse of the Empire and the proclamation of the Republic on September 4, 1870, the Government of National Defense showed that it feared the Prussians less than it feared the people of Paris, who heroically endured the hardships of the siege and were determined to fight on. Instead of calling on the people to defend the country, that government, to use Marx's expression, acted as a government of national defection.

On March 3, two days after Bismarck's troops entered Paris, reacting to the appointment of the reactionary General d'Aurelle de Paladines as commander of the National Guard, delegates of its 200 battalions held a meeting, and adopted the Statutes of the National Guard Federation (this explains why soldiers of the Commune were called "Federalists").

The succession of reactionary government measures inflamed the people of Paris. The decision of March 10, stripping Paris of its status of capital, was followed by the suspension of six Republican newspapers and a decree exacting payment of overdue debts and promissory notes, which for merchants, manufacturers and shopkeepers held the prospect of bankruptcy. Furthermore, the government drafted a bill repealing the wartime deferment of house rents, which meant that many tenants would be evicted.

Feeling betrayed, the Parisians were incensed and humiliated by the conclusion of the peace treaty, which ceded Alsace and part of Lorraine to Germany, with indemnities running into 5,000 million francs. Moved by patriotic and democratic sentiments, the people of Paris hated the anti-national reactionary government, the main concern of which was to suppress the Parisians.

To isolate the advanced segment of the Paris population, Thiers preceded his reactionary moves of March 18 with a proclamation, declaring his "resolve to wipe out the rebel committee, the members of which . . . represent nothing but Communist doctrines and would abandon Paris to pillage."

After his abortive attempt to seize the guns of the National

Guard, Thiers fled to Versailles, issuing the order to evacuate Paris. The armed forces at his disposal were depleted, and Marx was perfectly right in saying that the Paris revolutionaries should have attacked Thiers' troops at once, pursuing them all the way to Versailles.

By all the evidence, some of the elements participating in the March 18 revolution had but a limited idea of the objectives at stake, placing the emphasis on the communal liberties of which Paris had been stripped, and thereby giving a municipalist complexion to the aims of the insurrection.

Having hastily made the National Assembly ratify the preliminary peace, Thiers had his hands free to settle scores with Paris, the city of revolutions, an armed city that struck fear into the propertied classes of Germany, as well as of France. The circumstances being what they were, it was impossible for the people of Paris to look on passively while Thiers acted, seeking to capture the guns of the National Guard, which would be the first step in disarming the capital.

Paris revolted, compelling Thiers to give up his plan. The withdrawal of the government troops in the direction of Versailles came as a surprise and even created an element of confusion among the members of the Central Committee of the National Guard, who had not expected to occupy the Town Hall without a very hard battle and were visibly ill prepared to assume the responsibilities falling to their lot. Failing to use Thiers' withdrawal to their advantage, the Central Committee hastened to divest itself of power, calling on the Parisians to elect the Paris Commune on Sunday, March 26. This Marx described as a mistake. "The Central Committee," he wrote, "surrendered its powers too soon to make way for the Commune" (Letter to L. Kugelmann, April 12, 1871).

As for Thiers, he applied to the March 18, 1871 revolution the method devised back at the time of the 1848 revolution. He abandoned Paris in order to prepare its siege at leisure, taking advantage of the tacit backing of the Prussians, who invested the eastern half of Paris from Yvry to Saint-Denis.

The Commune was not a municipal council of the capital, but the first experience of the working class assuming power, the first socialist government.

Pressing down on it was the weight of the contradictions that had presided at its birth in the economy, for despite the relatively considerable industrial development, artisan forms of production were prominent, while the proletariat was still relatively weak ideologically and politically. It had neither a coherent political organization nor mass trade union bodies. The Proudhonesque mutualism* and aversion to politics impeded the growth of class

*Mutualism—the doctrine of Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), the petty-bourgeois socialist who held that capitalism could be transformed into socialism by setting up mutual aid and credit societies, and the like, without class struggle, revolution and the socialization of property. It was opposed in France by the "collectivists" in the 1860s, by Marx's followers and the Left Proudhonists at the time of the Commune, and by the Guesdeists in the 1870s and 80s.—Ed.

consciousness among the working people, more clearly in evidence among members of the First International, while the glory of the great French revolution haunted the neo-Jacobins.

However, the Commune was logically bound to acquire an increasingly socialist complexion, which, indeed, caused certain elements that had at first joined it, to defect.

Many of its measures show that the power born on March 18 was carrying forward the objectives of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. The repeal of house rents, deferment of promissory notes, abolition of pawnbrokerage and of private employment agencies, of the bureaucracy, election of public servants by the people, and abolition of night work reflected the Commune's approach to social problems, testifying at the same time to its constructive capacity and to the built-in contradictions that enfeebled it.

The working people will never forget the Commune's importance for the common struggle of the workers, because, as Lenin pointed out, "the Commune taught the European proletariat to pose concretely the tasks of the socialist revolution" (Vol. 13, p. 477).

In Paris, the Commune demolished the bourgeois state and its various bodies of government: for the standing army it substituted the armed people; it endeavored to reduce and simplify the police that had served the propertied classes; it put restraints on the clergy, that instrument of spiritual oppression, and separated the church from the state; the so-called independent judiciary, in effect loyal to capital, it replaced with new bodies of justice elected by, accountable to, and subject to recall by the people.

This was evidence of deep-seated aspirations for change. Not only was it a matter of substituting the political personnel. Surging to the forefront in history, a new social class took charge of the destiny of the French capital, holding that, since all revolutions emanated from Paris, it would ultimately take charge of the destiny of the entire country.

Lenin pointed out that the Paris Commune had been weakened by two mistakes: the Parisian proletariat stopped half-way in expropriating the expropriators and was excessively magnanimous towards its enemies, failing to attach due importance to the military effort against Versailles.

One of the most typical examples of the first error was the attitude towards the Bank of France. At that time it was a private bank with a special status, endowed with the privilege of issuing banknotes, and headed by the Rothschilds, the Mallets and other high priests of finance. The Communards did not realize that on seizing the bank they could cut off credits to the Versailles government, creating redoubtable difficulties for Thiers while adding extensively to the resources of the Commune, which instead was content to demand such meagre funds as met its minimal needs. Furthermore, the sums it asked for were accounted for to the penny, because there was nothing the Communards feared more than giving cause for the slightest charge of misappropriation. Yet this pedantic accounting was in no way consonant with the exigencies

of the revolution sparked by Thiers' provocation, a revolution that had to be continued. Unacquainted with the Marxist teaching, the Socialists of that time did not appreciate the need for seizing the banks (primarily the Bank of France, which was a kind of bank of banks), in order to cut the ground from under the capitalists and their subservient Versailles government.

The second mistake, pinpointed by Lenin, was committed in the evening of March 18 when the Commune adopted a wait-and-see attitude, which benefited Versailles. Immediately attacked, the latter would have faced formidable difficulties. Initially, the armed forces of Paris not only surpassed those of Versailles, but also had better morale by virtue of Thiers' flight, whereas the Versailles troops were demoralized and on the verge of collapse.

It will be recalled that the Commune set itself up as an elective body endowed simultaneously with legislative and executive powers; this was eminently democratic. It will also be recalled that the administration of the preceding regime, its various ministries and the police prefecture, were deeply hostile to the working class. Making a study of this, Marx drew the valuable conclusion that the political apparatus of the bourgeoisie must be destroyed and replaced with a new state, representative of the new social classes coming to power.

The Paris Commune was a dictatorship of the proletariat, but by reason of its composition, with socialist elements in the minority, it had inevitable flaws and could not be a proletarian dictatorship in the sense in which we conceive it at present. The majority consisted of petty-bourgeois democrats, and members of the International in the Commune could not help noticing the difference between their own concepts and some of the attitudes of the Commune.

In fact, the Commune was an amalgam of heterogeneous movements. The will of the workers to change the social pattern blended in it with the indignation of the petty-bourgeois elements reduced to bankruptcy, the fears that reaction would abolish the Republic, and the anger of large sections of the people who attributed the defeat of France to the betrayal of the ruling bourgeoisie.

In due course, the Paris Commune acquired an increasingly socialist complexion. It is proper to stress, however, that the neo-Jacobins and Blanquists practised a policy of discrimination against the followers of the International.*

The forming of the Committee of Public Salvation, the Commune's special executive body, was evidence of the desire to imitate the great ancestry of the 18th-century revolution, but also

*Neo-Jacobins, Proudhonists and Blanquists represented the main politico-ideological trends in the Commune. The members of the International in the Commune were mostly Proudhonists and partly Blanquists, with but a few gravitating towards Marxism. The Proudhonists, who acted in line with their ideology, bear the brunt of the responsibility for the Commune's biggest mistakes pinpointed by Marx and Engels. Gradually, a "majority" (Blanquists and neo-Jacobins) and a "minority" (largely Proudhonists) surfaced. This division assumed its final form in the controversy over the Public Salvation Committee. The majority passed the motion in an effort to form a body endowed with dictatorial powers in order to win the civil war against Versailles. The minority rejected it as a violation of democracy.—Ed.

revealed the determination of the majority to keep members of the International out of that Committee. They were kept out of it as first constituted on May 1, and again out of its second version on May 9. The majority was willing to sacrifice unity even at a time when the peril was mounting by the hour. This showed how a likeness of anti-communism, now the tool of the splitters of the working class, surfaced in that distant epoch.

According to Gustave Lefrancais, a member of the Commune and the International, the position of the minority became intolerable. The socialists, it is true, were still able to deal with the economic issues, which the majority disdained, but the most important decisions were framed by the majority at private meetings rather than formal sittings. One after another members of the minority were removed from responsible posts. Charles Longuet, who headed the *Journal officiel*, the Commune's official organ, was replaced by Pierre Vesinier, and Eugene Varlin was about to be removed from the Military Commission. In these circumstances, on May 15 the minority made public a declaration, which said in part:

"The Paris Commune abdicated power by a special and definitive vote, turning it over to a dictatorship, which it gave the name of the Committee of Public Salvation. By its vote the majority of the Commune divested itself of responsibility and placed upon the Committee of Public Salvation the entire responsibility for our situation . . .

"As far as we are concerned, we, like the majority, want political and social renovation; but in contrast to their views, in the name of the electorate which we represent, we invoke the right to account for our actions to the electorate, not hiding behind any supreme dictatorship, to accept and recognize which we are prevented from doing by our mandate.

"We shall not present ourselves before the Assembly any more save when it constitutes itself as a court of justice sitting in judgment over one of its members."

The minority, which included 13 or 14 members of the International, committed a grave error by declaring that it would no longer attend the regular sittings of the Commune. At its sitting of May 20, the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International disapproved of this self-imposed resignation and adopted the following resolution: "Concerning the explanations of the citizens of the International who are members of the Commune; while recognizing the complete loyalty of their motives, the Federal Council calls on them in the interests of the workers' cause to cooperate in maintaining the unity of the Commune so necessary for the triumph of the struggle against the Versailles government."

While displaying mistrust of the members of the International, the neo-Jacobins and Blanquists were not too sagacious in their appointment of the heads of the Ministry of War, selecting first Gustave Cluseret, then Louis Rossel and finally Charles Delescluze.

The fact remains, however, that the Paris Commune, which became a milestone in the history of the French and international

labor movement, was the first big collision between the forces of capitalism and those of socialism, the harbinger of a new era in the struggle of the classes.

The suppression of the Paris Commune naturally had repercussions in the First International. At its London Conference, held September 17-23, 1871, speaking against what was called abstaining from politics, Communard Edouard Vaillant submitted the following proposal:

"In the face of unbridled reaction, which has scored a temporary victory, which is suppressing by force all demands for socialist democracy and intends to use force to preserve class differences, the Conference reminds the members of the International Association that political and social questions are inseparably linked, that they are two aspects of the same task facing the International—the abolition of classes.

"Working people should recognize political solidarity as they do economic solidarity, which unites them and rallies their forces in both the political and economic spheres in the name of the ultimate triumph of their cause."

A debate ensued, involving Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, the Russian emigre N. Utin, and the Communard Leo Frankel.

Speaking in the debate, Marx stressed that in different countries some members of the International, proceeding from a distorted interpretation of the General Rules adopted at the Geneva Congress, advocated abstention from politics, and the governments had no intention of suppressing this propaganda. In Germany, Schweitzer and others on Bismarck's payroll tried to win the sections to the government's policies. In France this criminal abstention enabled Favre, Trochu, Picard and others to seize power on September 4.

Marx added that due to abstention from politics the Central Committee of the National Guard, which took over power after the revolution of March 18, 1871, lost valuable time in consolidating and advancing the revolution.

Engels declared that the workers should be advised to engage in politics, for abstention ran counter not only to the General Rules of the Association, but also to the requirements of the socialist cause. Those who abstain from politics consign to oblivion the efforts of the Paris Commune, which was the first to secure the political domination of the proletariat—the real means of achieving the objectives and principles of the International.

The ideological triumph of Marxism and its triumph in organizing the working class were consolidated at the Hague Congress (September 2-7, 1872), which inflicted a crushing defeat on the sectarian and opportunist forms of socialism impregnated with the ideas of Proudhon and Bakunin. Thanks to the First International, advanced workers in the main capitalist countries became acquainted with the Marxist ideology, which played a decisive part in the subsequent development of the labor movement.

However, following the defeat of the Paris Commune, the international labor movement was faced with new problems. The Hague Congress emphasized that the proletariat should organize independent political parties. It was up to the working people to constitute mass socialist workers' parties in all countries. In these conditions the formal organizations of the International became irrelevant.

Following the bloodshed during the suppression of the Paris Commune, with many fighters still in prison or in exile, the working class endeavored to regroup its forces. But the first attempts were made chiefly on the basis of trade unions and workers' corporations. In 1876, for example, a steering committee was formed to organize a meeting of workers' delegates to the world exhibitions in Vienna and Philadelphia, leaders of workers' corporations, heads of reconciliation committees, etc. The First Workers' Congress was held in Paris on October 2-10, 1876, attended by 348 delegates, with 253 representing workers' organizations in Paris and 95 coming from Lyons, Grenoble, Besancon, Saint-Chamond, Reims, Dijon, Bordeaux, Roubaix, Armentieres, etc. After the congress workers' organizations began appearing across the country.

Preparing the Second Congress was entrusted to the workers of Lyons. At this Congress (Jan. 28-Feb. 2, 1878) collective tendencies seemed to prevail as a result of the propaganda of Jules Guesde, who had founded the newspaper *L'Egalite* on November 18, 1877. Some 20 delegates voted for the collectivist resolution; however, the Congress was not able to create a workers' organization. It instructed the Paris trade union organizations to convene an international congress during the Paris World Exhibition; it was to be held in September 1878, but was banned.

The Third Workers' Congress, in Marseilles, opened on October 23, 1879. Apart from delegates of workers' associations, it was also attended by members of social study circles and Jules Guesde's collectivist groups. Whereas mutualism and cooperation had prevailed at the previous congresses, the majority in Marseilles passed a resolution demanding collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. Also adopted was a decision to form a federation of the Party of Toiling Socialists of France.

Communards who had returned from exile formed the Socialist Alliance and a Central Revolutionary Committee, which subsequently became the Socialist Revolutionary Party. Thus, by 1880 there were three workers' organizations, with the fragmentation of the labor movement still continuing.

The federation of the Party of Toiling Socialists founded at the Marseilles Congress consisted of moderate syndicalists and mutualists, on the one hand, and of collectivist elements, on the other. In November 1880 the two trends parted ways and the collectivists set up the Socialist Workers' Party. But in the new party, too, a split was imminent between the revolutionaries and "possibilists," who departed from the proletarian class platform on the pretext of "fragmenting the working-class aim into parts to make its achievement possible."

At the Saint-Etienne Congress in 1882 the "possibilists" and "collectivists" parted ways once and for all. The former founded the Workers' Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, renamed the Federation of Socialist Workers in 1883, while the latter formed the French Workers' Party.

Although the workers knew that fragmentation of strength weakened the movement, and strove for unity, many years were to pass before this unity was achieved.

In the meantime, strikes erupted in many countries, including Russia, with socialist parties emerging in Germany, France, the United States and Austria. The time had come for these parties to unite, and the more urgently so, because the French "possibilists" and their opportunist allies in Great Britain were trying to set up an international alliance, the leadership of which they would control. On Engels' advice, the French Marxists held a congress in Paris on July 14-21, 1889, laying the cornerstone of the Second International. The anarchists and possibilists who attended were defeated. The congress stressed that socialism was the ultimate goal of the labor movement, passing a resolution to fight for an 8-hour working day, higher wages and other workers' demands.

After the Paris Congress, the European labor movement scored major successes. In 1890, the special anti-socialist law was repealed in Germany due to strong working-class pressure; in England, defying the opportunist leadership, the Trades Union Congress voted for an 8-hour working day, and on May 1 workers' demonstrations were held in most countries.

The next congress of the Second International was held in Brussels in August 1891, with its main resolutions reflecting the exigencies of the struggle against the anarchists.

In 1893, the Second International held a congress in Zurich, which officially deprecated anarchist tactics and resolved that only those workers' parties which recognized political struggle could enter the Second International. The concluding session was addressed by Engels, who showed that the anarchists acted as disorganizers of the labor movement. Until his death, Engels combatted opportunist trends (e.g., the exaggeration of parliamentarism) evident in the Second International.

Opportunist influences increased at the first congress to take place after Engels' death. Held in London in 1896, this congress expelled the anarchists, reasserting the idea that the working class and its social-democratic parties should fight a political struggle for power, but sidestepped the issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It backed the right of all nations to self-determination and opposed colonial policy, but took no steps to combat aggressive imperialist policy in its initial stage. Furthermore, it refused to draw up the basic revolutionary agrarian demands.

With revisionist trends gaining strength, the Second International ignored the Russian Revolution of 1905, which exerted a tremendous influence on the international revolutionary movement.

At the Stuttgart Congress in 1907, Lenin opposed delegates who

averred that colonialists played a "civilizing" role. He insisted on his amendments relating to the struggle against war. One of these, envisaging the development of imperialist war into civil war, was adopted. However, as in the case of many other amendments, the contradiction between the resolutions and the deeds of the Second International worked against the amendment.

Lenin also attended the Copenhagen Congress in 1910, which passed a decision that socialist parties would vote against war credits and would demand arms reduction, complete disarmament and arbitration of international conflicts. The last Second International congress before the First World War (Basle, 1912) called for resolute struggle against the impending war and denounced its imperialist complexion. However, the efforts to organize mass action fell far short of the requirements.

In August 1914, when the First World War erupted, the Second International, which backed the slogan of "war unto victory" and substituted a reactionary chauvinist ideology for the revolutionary concept of proletariat internationalism, collapsed.

Lenin enriched Marxism with his analysis of capitalism in the imperialist stage, drawing the conclusion that it is possible to carry through a proletarian revolution first in one country, a country that is the weakest link in the imperialist chain. The question of revolution was thus placed on the order of the day. And when the Bolsheviks accomplished the 1917 Socialist Revolution, the working people of Russia knew that their victory would cause worldwide repercussions. They made sacrifices not only for the sake of their own future, but for that of all working people.

Lenin founded the Third International, the aim of which was to deliver the workers from the trammels of the opportunism of the leaders of the Second International and to lead them along the road of revolutionary class struggle in the spirit of the First International.

For all the weaknesses of the Paris Commune, the analysis of its activities can cast no doubt on the legitimacy, grandeur and perspectives of the cause for which the Communards had fought and died. Those who ask, "Could the Commune have won?", suggesting that the struggle should not have been launched until success was certain, should be told that if the workers of Paris had not reacted to Thiers' provocation, if they had allowed themselves to be disarmed and overcome without a struggle, the labor movement would have had to endure much greater suffering as a result of their surrender. The bourgeoisie would have made the most of this situation to trumpet that its rule is unshakable and to stress that no other social force could replace it in shaping the destiny of the nation.

In face of Thiers' provocation the working people of Paris had no other alternative but to fight. That is why Marx, who had warned the Parisians against hasty action, wrote with the greatest admiration in a letter to Kugelmann on April 12, 1871: "What elasticity,

what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! . . . Compare these Parisians storming heaven with the slaves to heaven of the German-Prussian Holy Roman Empire, with its posthumous masquerades reeking of the barracks, the church, cabbage-Junkerkdom and above all, of the Philistine." Marx did not conceal his admiration for the heroism of the Communards who, having gained power, if only briefly, rang in the era of a new type of revolution, the socialist revolution.

Undoubtedly, some of the Communards, especially the neo-Jacobins, had a subconscious faith in the miraculous effects of certain actions. In the minds of its founders, the Committee of Public Salvation evoked associations with the Great French Revolution that had withstood a united feudal Europe. But that formula alone was insufficient to bridge the tremendous gap between the two historical situations. In 1793, France, one of Europe's great nations, had rallied all its forces to oppose the enemy. In 1871, an isolated city fought against a government backed by the country's conservative forces and also helped by an external enemy.

Imitating the great ancestry did not secure victory for the revolution; use of the old formulas was evidence of irresolution, of a fear of the future. This, however, does not detract from the fact that the Paris Commune in practical terms placed the issue of socialist revolution before the world proletariat. Those who heaped brutal repressions on the vanquished Commune made martyrs of the Communards, who suffered for the great cause of liberating the working people, for the socialist cause.

That is why, far from having been futile, the Communards' struggle became the harbinger of a new world, and the October Revolution of 1917 was the victorious projection of the Paris Commune. As for us French Communists, who bow in homage to the sacrifices of our glorious predecessors, the Communards, we have remedied one of the organizational deficiencies of the workers of that time by building up a powerful Communist Party. For us it is not a question of doing over again what the Communards had done in 1871 and of reaching the same result, but of learning the lessons of the international and French labor movement and going forward not to fresh setbacks, but to a socialist France, our goal and the sense of our life and struggle.

That is why, while admiring the Communards' heroism and paying tribute to them on the centenary of the Paris Commune, an event of national and international importance, we are determined to draw the necessary lessons therefrom, so that the heroes who died a hundred years ago could participate in the battles of today.

The heroes and martyrs of the Paris Commune were militant representatives of a working class that was then still young, inexperienced and full of illusions, who rose to "storm heaven" and handed down to their successors the conviction that it is possible to win the masses for the cause of liberation, for socialism, without vain illusions and empty dreams.

No matter what slander may be heaped upon it, the Paris Com-

mune was not the twilight, but the dawn of revolution, and the October Revolution of 1917 avenged it. Lenin thought of the Paris revolutionaries of 1871 when, upon capturing power, he asked himself whether the Soviet government would, despite the terrible difficulties, hold out as long as the Paris Commune, which had survived only 72 days.

The 1917 October Revolution held out, and the centenary of the Paris Commune will be marked in Lenin's country and all other countries of the world, where the strains of the *Internationale*, born of the Commune, will resound to proclaim the last battle for the worldwide victory of socialism.

Lenin, the great strategist of the October Revolution, said the following about the events of the spring of 1871: "The memory of the fighters of the Commune is honored not only by the workers of France but by the proletariat of the whole world. For the Commune fought not for some local or narrow national aim, but for the emancipation of all toiling humanity, of all the downtrodden and oppressed. As a foremost fighter for the social revolution, the Commune has won sympathy wherever there is a proletariat suffering and engaged in struggle. The epic of its life and death, the sight of a workers' government which seized the capital of the world and held it for over two months, the spectacle of the heroic struggle of the proletariat and the torments it underwent after its defeat—all this raised the spirit of millions of workers, aroused their hopes and enlisted their sympathy for the cause of socialism. The thunder of the cannon in Paris awakened the most backward sections of the proletariat from their deep slumber, and everywhere gave impetus to the growth of revolutionary socialist propaganda. That is why the cause of the Commune is not dead. It lives to the present day in every one of us.

"The cause of the Commune is the cause of the social revolution, the cause of the complete political and economic emancipation of the toilers. It is the cause of the proletariat of the whole world. And in this sense it is immortal" (Vol. 17, p. 143).

It is customary to emphasize that the first lesson to be learned from the Paris Commune is the need for a party inspired by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, one that has mastered that revolutionary teaching and can disseminate it in the ranks of the working class and the masses at large. Only the masses roused to action and guided by a revolutionary concept of struggle, and not an "active minority," can open up the road to socialism, which emphasizes that the working-class party must be a mass party if it wants to fulfil its mission.

A mass party can maintain and consolidate its unity only to the extent to which it is democratic, assuring freedom of discussion on the basis of democratic centralism, and where every member is required to abide by the decisions of the majority, while a persevering ideological struggle is conducted against the negative tendencies existing among the masses and penetrating into our ranks.

The French Communist Party recognizes the need for drawing the necessary lesson from the experience of the Paris Commune and, in particular, from the fact that the Communards were deficient in the ideological domain. Our Party is building up the battle of ideas, encouraging debate and heeding opinions (including those we may not like) in order to respond to them more effectively; it strives to be a great democratic and revolutionary party, a Marxist-Leninist party convinced that our arguments and decisions should develop in a militant spirit, combatting hostile propaganda, which commands considerable facilities and must be countered by our activists with vigor, fervor and knowledge.

Consequently, the experience of the Paris Commune requires that our Parties should be equal to the demands of the situation. At the same time, the revolution of March 18, 1871, imposes yet another obligation: our internationalist duty.

It will be recalled that, bred by a sense of national humiliation and the people's awareness of having been betrayed by the ruling elements, the Paris Commune did not enclose itself in the narrow confines of hidebound nationalism. The Communards' slogan, doubtless a bold vision, centered on a "World Republic." Among the Communards were many revolutionaries from different countries, and the Paris revolutionaries regarded them as brothers. The Hungarian Léo Frankel was elected member of the Commune from the 13th Arrondissement and was a member of the Commune's government as a delegate of the committee of labor and exchange. Among the generals of the Commune were two Polish revolutionaries, Jaroslaw Dombrowski and Walery Vroblewski, and among the leaders of the women's committees, which played an important role in the world's first workers' government, was a Russian woman, Elisaveta Dmitriéva, Marx's friend. Such German Socialists as August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht came out in defense of the Paris Commune. The working people of all countries saw the Paris revolution as a materialization, albeit temporary, of their aspirations.

Nowadays the problems of internationalism sound differently to us than in the days of the Communist International, but are just as forceful. At the International Meeting in Moscow in June 1969, the Communist and Workers' parties reaffirmed their resolve to act in unison against imperialism despite certain differences in views, demonstrating the indivisibility of their national and international duties. This means renouncing national narrowness, on the one hand, and not negating national interests, on the other. And it may be said that the aspirations of the Communards found expression in the concluding words of the Meeting's Document, which I should like to repeat:

"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!"

In this spirit, in spite of existing differences, it is necessary to do everything to achieve unity in the struggle of the whole international Communist movement.

Thanks to the efforts of millions of men and women, the noble dreams which illumined the battles and death of the heroes and martyrs of the Paris Commune have come true on a large part of the globe. They will most assuredly come true all over the world. Thus, if we look around us today at the continuators of Versailles and the continuators of the Communards' cause, we can repeat with Eugene Pottier, author of the *Internationale*: "The Commune has not died!"

Comrade Duclos' report was followed by a discussion in which 19 speakers took part. They examined various aspects of the Commune's activity and struggle, its international character, its impact on the labor and socialist movement in various countries, its relevance to the revolutionary struggles of our time.

Seventy-two heroic days of "storming heaven"

The Paris Commune has been the subject of a vast literature. Its 72 days of selfless struggle against the then still omnipotent capitalism continue to evoke admiration in every revolutionary, and hatred and fear in the apologists of capitalism, who have made it their job to denigrate the Commune, distort its meaning and slander its heroes.

The Commune holds a conspicuous place in Marxist literature. There have been a number of general and special studies analyzing its character and content, the stages of the heroic struggle and its outstanding importance for the world revolutionary movement. Time and again Marxist-Leninists return to the unforgettable days of the spring of 1871, discover new facets of the Commune's brief but rich and eventful life, and examine the historic events of the "era of the Commune" in the light of new phenomena.

The Party functionaries and scholars attending the conference were at one in appraising the Commune as the greatest revolutionary event of the nineteenth century, a significant landmark in the workers' struggle against capital, the world's first revolutionary workers' government. Their views were based on the scientific and incisive political characteristic given by Marx in his "Civil War in France," Engels in his introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850," the Marx and Engels correspondence, notably Marx's letters to Wilhelm Liebknecht of April 6 and to Ludwig Kugelmann of April 12 and 17, 1871, Lenin's "In Memory of the Commune," "The State and Revolution," "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx," and several more.

Three momentous and interconnected dates are inscribed in fiery letters in world history, Academician P. Pospelov (USSR) said in his contribution. They are 1871, the year of the Paris Commune, the world's first proletarian dictatorship; 1905—the year of the first

people's revolution of the imperialist epoch, the dress rehearsal for the Great October Revolution; 1917—the year of the first socialist revolution which ushered in the era of the collapse of capitalism and the assertion and triumph of socialism.

The Soviet Communist Party and people are commemorating the centenary of the Commune. In the French Communist Party the 50th anniversary of which we are celebrating, they see the faithful continuer of the Commune's immortal cause. Academician Pospelov stressed that the CPSU and the French Communist Party are bound by insoluble ties of fraternity, friendship and proletarian internationalism.

The discussion produced a comprehensive picture of the *historic situation* that led to the rise of the Commune. One of the speakers, Comrade *Ellenstein*, Deputy Director of the Paris Marxist Research Institute, noted that the Commune came as a sequel to the processes at work in France, then one of the leading capitalist countries and with rich revolutionary traditions. But these internal processes were stimulated and accelerated by external factors: the unsuccessful war that weakened the French bourgeoisie and made possible the proletariat's alliance with the Paris petty bourgeoisie.

Following France's crushing defeat in the war with Prussia, the republic was proclaimed on September 4, 1870. The decaying Second Empire of the "Little Bonaparte" was replaced by the Government of National Defense, the very embodiment of the bourgeois republican system. But it was not long before the ruling class came out in its true colours of exploiter and enemy of the French people. It had scant use for national interests and, as Marx remarked: "In this conflict between national duty and class interest . . . it did not hesitate one moment to turn into a Government of National Defection."

Significantly, *Figaro* which speaks for the French monopolies, in its centenary issue of August 25, 1970, acclaimed the proclamation of the republic and the formation of the National Defense Government, but was studiously silent on its betrayal of France's national interests.

Professor V. Fomin (USSR) emphasized that the Paris Commune triumphed in a revolutionary situation. He recalled the two armed risings, on October 31, 1870 and January 22, 1871, immediately preceding the Commune.

The French people have a long tradition of heroic barricade fighting, going back to the collapse of the Bourbon monarchy and the Great Revolution of the closing years of the 18th century. There was the July 1830 revolution, when republicans and liberals, workers and students, took up arms and defeated the armies of Charles X; the clashes of 1834 in Lyons and Paris; February 1848, with barricades in the very heart of Paris and with the National Guard joining the insurgent people to bring down the monarchy; June 1848—400 barricades in the capital, from the Panthéon to the St. Martin Boulevard, the hard, self-sacrificing battle of the Paris workers for their rights, against reaction, which Marx so highly praised

in his "Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850"; more barricades in December 1851, in protest against the counter-revolution of Louis Bonaparte.

All these facts are evidence of the vast revolutionary potential of the French working class, which found such powerful expression in the 72 days of the Commune. In the inspiring words of Lenin: *"The epic of its life and death, the sight of a workers' government which seized the capital of the world and held it for over two months, the spectacle of the heroic struggle of the proletariat and the torments it underwent after its defeat—all this raised the spirit of millions of workers, aroused their hopes and enlisted their sympathy for the cause of socialism."*

Several speakers dwelt on the implications of the Commune's social, political, cultural and military measures. All of them show that the French proletariat had set up a fundamentally new type of state power, government by the workers. In the short span of its existence, the Commune introduced a number of democratic reforms, such as universal suffrage, government bodies combining executive and legislative functions, abolition of the standing army, separation of the Church from the State, and several more, all of them oriented on the socialist perspective.

The Commune's activities in this field, notably the formation of a genuinely representative system of government, were discussed by Comrade S. Toyoda, representative of the Communist Party of Japan on the journal's editorial council. Taking Lenin's analysis of the Commune in "The State and Revolution," Comrade Toyoda characterized the Commune as a working body combining executive, judicial and legislative functions. This was representative government of a new type, radically differing from venal and corrupt bourgeois parliamentarism. The Commune completely reconstructed the old machinery of government to create a new, representative government consonant with the character and tasks of a genuine democratic state.

It is both logical and natural that in the midst of a fierce struggle with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, the Commune should have made a special effort to build up its armed forces. That aspect was discussed by Professor Fomin, who noted that though military policy was the weakest link in its activity and though serious errors were committed here which were sharply criticized by Marx, it was precisely on this point that the Commune gave the revolutionary proletariat a wealth of experience. The working class did not disarm after the insurrection, did not surrender its power to the Republican jesters of the ruling classes (to use Marx's expression), but was determined to defend its gains in armed struggle.

The Commune's first step was the decree of March 29 abolishing the old standing army and replacing it by the National Guard, that is, the armed people. This was followed by decrees abolishing the old police and the military tribunals. With the Versailles army marching against revolutionary Paris, measures were taken to strengthen the Commune's armed forces. A plan was drawn up for

an attack on Versailles, a special field army was organized and barricades thrown up in the capital. Alas, the opportunity had been missed. With the help of Bismarck, Thiers mustered a powerful army, broke into Paris and there followed the "bloody week." In the early days of the barricade fighting, Prof. Fomin remarked, the Commune made another big mistake in dismantling the central military command.

Facing a superior enemy force, the Communards, members of the Public Salvation Committee, the Central Committee of the National Guard and all the revolutionaries of Paris fought valiantly on the isolated barricades of the huge city. "History knows of no other example of such heroism!" Marx wrote. The "bloody week," May 21-28, was at the same time a "holy week"—days of unparalleled fortitude and bravery by the workers of Paris, a week of matchless self-sacrifice for freedom and the ideals of the revolution. The world proletariat, revolutionaries in every country, will always remember the heroes of 1871 and will never forgive the "heroes" of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy their atrocities and humiliation of the Communards.

Polish historian M. Kolomejczyk remarked that the Communards were fighting for the workers of all countries, for the freedom of all working people, and he emphasized, in this context, the unity of patriotism and internationalism that inspired the Communards. The great principles of internationalism united the revolutionaries of many countries fighting on the Paris barricades under what Lenin described as the banner of the All-World Republic. The heroism of the Commune was the very embodiment of proletarian internationalism, which the ruling classes fear above all else.

Bourgeois ideologists, the frightened petty-bourgeois and opportunists of every stripe and calibre, have done their inadequate best to falsify the history of the Commune, its work and implications. Ever since the Commune, it has been their purpose to play down its historic role. The attitude to the ideological heritage of the Commune, conference speakers declared, is the watershed between consistent Marxist-Leninists and opportunists in the international and national labor movements. Marx, it will be recalled, referring to various interpretations of the Commune, emphasized: "... The multiplicity of interpretations to which the Commune has been subjected, and the multiplicity of interests which construed it in their favor, show that it was a thoroughly expansive political form, while all previous forms of government had been emphatically repressive. Its true secret was this. It was essentially a working-class government" ("The Civil War in France").

Indeed, distortion has been the point and purpose of all bourgeois and opportunist ideologists. They are determined, Philip Bart, member of the U.S. Communist Party National Committee said, to "bury" the Commune, present it as a fleeting episode, a mere "footnote" to a page of history. Some describe the Commune as a "rebellion," an "emotional outburst," even as a "flareup of the explosive French temperament."

A typical example of how bourgeois writers distort the meaning and implications of the Commune was cited by *Ursula Hermann* of the GDR Marxism-Leninism Institute. Reference is to a book by Harvard professor E. S. Mason, "The Paris Commune," first published in 1936 and put out in a new edition in 1967. Like all bourgeois historians, Mason glosses over the class character of the Commune, maintaining it had no historical relevance whatever, and describing Marx's "The Civil War in France" as a "legend." This and similar attempts to instill the idea that the Commune pursued bourgeois-liberal aims are meant to obscure, belittle or discount the role of the working class.

Other speakers noted that opportunists of various countries have been at pains to pervert the significance and history of the Commune. It was recalled that Marx and Engels waged a persevering struggle within the First International for a correct appreciation of the Commune's ideological legacy. The fight was against the anarchistic interpretations of Bakunin's followers, against the followers of Proudhon, Lassalle, and other anti-Marxist trends. Czechoslovak historian, *S. Jaegermann* remarked that, in the nineties, Engels made a special point of emphasizing the danger of such misinterpretations of the Commune's experience. One need only recall his famous words addressed to the opportunists: "Of late, the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." (Introduction to "The Civil War in France").

Study of all Marxist works and documents pertaining to the Commune is of especial importance in appraising its essence and place in history. Professor *E. Ragionieri* (Italy) analyzed in detail Marx's work on the Address of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association on the Paris Commune, which makes up "The Civil War in France." We know how closely Marx followed the vicissitudes of the Commune. We know, too, that he was in close touch with its leaders, who benefitted from his valuable advice through the more than two months of the struggle.

There are two variants of the Address and the final text. Studying them, we can follow, step by step, Marx's method in precisely describing the evolution of events and in bringing out the substance of the problems posed in the course of the struggle. Marx studied a vast number of documents and other source materials, was able to fathom the very essence of events and processes, examine the whole complex of problems in one or another way linked with the Commune. This searching analysis led to conclusions that are of crucial importance in assessing the role of the Commune. First of all Marx demonstrated that the Commune cannot be likened to any earlier revolution, for it was a categorical negation of bourgeois state power and the beginning of the 19th century's social revolution. And central to Marx's analysis was the role of the Commune as a new form of political guidance of society, as a state of the

new type. Marx was thus able firmly to establish the true historical role of the Commune.

In examining various aspects of the Commune's manifold activities, conference participants were in complete agreement on its class substance and historic role.

First, the Paris Commune was the first instance in history of the working class setting up its own government, the first form of proletarian dictatorship, an entirely new type of state power.

Second, being a working-class government, the Paris Commune embodied the interests of all French working people, was the true representative of all the healthy elements of society and, consequently, a true national government. At the same time, as a workers' government which boldly championed the emancipation of labor, the Commune was by its very nature profoundly internationalist.

Third, the Paris Commune ushered in a new phase in the workers' struggle against the capitalist class and its state; it opened the era of socialist revolution. In the days of the Commune Marx wrote that, no matter how things ended, a "new starting point of epochal importance has been won."

Fourth, by its revolutionary struggle, its new system of political power, the whole complex of its measures and actions, which were of an increasingly socialist character, the Paris Commune was the forerunner of the new society that would come with the historical development of mankind.

International character of the Commune.

Its influence on the labor movement in various countries

Falsifiers of the Commune even accuse it of "retarding" the development of the labor movement. Of course, every defeat is a blow to the revolutionary movement. It puts out of action some of its contingents and enables reaction to utilize its temporary victory for a fresh onslaught. The fellow-travellers who attach themselves to the movement, unprincipled and vacillating elements, are intimidated and quit the field of battle, in many cases even join the counter-revolutionary forces. To a certain extent that happened after the "bloody week" of May 1871.

But the grandeur of the Commune, its tremendous impact on the movement, more than compensates these losses. For the Commune was the beginning of a *new historic phase in the proletariat's revolutionary struggle*. And not only in terms of strategic perspective, but also in the direct influence it had on determining the development of the revolutionary movement in many countries.

The main directions of that influence were clearly disclosed in the conference discussion. The following basic points need to be mentioned:

- development of the mass workers' movement to make the working class the leading revolutionary force in the impending decisive battles;

- the emergence in a number of countries of socialist parties that

united and organized the workers, spread among them the ideas of Marxism and prepared them to fight for socialism;

—defense of the Marxist revolutionary theory against revisionist and opportunist distortions and its creative development in the light of the new revolutionary experience;

—cultivation of proletarian internationalism, fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries in the common struggle against the exploiter classes and their state power.

P. Pospelov dwelt on the historic link between the Commune and the Russian workers' movement. Marx and Engels, he said, confidently predicted the "creation of a Russian Commune." And this brilliant prevision of the founders of scientific communism became historic reality after 1917.

There is ample evidence to show, the speaker continued, the tremendous impact the Commune had on the revolutionary democratic forces of Russia in the closing third of the 19th century. Many Russian revolutionaries fought on the Paris barricades and some of them gave their lives for the immortal cause of the Commune. The socialist historian Louis Dubreuilh relates how a woman's battalion led by Louise Michel and a Russian woman, Dmitrieva, fought with exemplary bravery at Batignol and later at the Place Blanche.

The list of Russians fighting for the Commune included the socialists A. V. Korvin-Krukovskaya, M. P. Sazhin, S. G. Barteneva and several others.

One of the most prominent ideologists of the Russian revolutionary-democratic movement, P. P. Lavrov, who himself was in the ranks of the Communards, warmly welcomed the revolution of March 18 in an article published in the Brussels *l'Internationale*. Later, influenced by the Address of the First International General Council, he wrote: "The inspiring days of March 1871 were the first days in which the proletariat not only performed a revolution, but stood at the head of it. This was the first proletarian revolution."

S. M. Stepnyak-Kravchinsky, a prominent Russian personality of the seventies, said that with the Paris Commune Russian socialism had entered its *militant phase*. This, of course, was associated with the Russian working class entering the arena of political struggle. The heroism of the Paris proletariat stimulated in Russia interest in West European revolutionary movements and the work of the First International. The early workers' organizations, the South Russian Workers' Union and the Northern Union of Russian Workers, studied the history of the Commune and the experience of the West European movement. In this context, Academician Pospelov cited a significant document, a message to the French workers from a gathering of Odessa workers and revolutionary intellectuals on the seventh anniversary of the Commune. It reads in part: "In our country we are working towards the same great goal for which so many of your brothers, sisters, fathers, sons, daughters and friends gave their lives on the barricades of Paris in 1871. We look forward with hope to the great moment when we can throw ourselves into

battle for the rights of the working people, against the exploiters, for the triumph of intellectual, moral and economic freedom . . . You were right in proclaiming, in 1871, that you were fighting for the whole of humanity."

Despite savage police terror, Russia's militant workers observed every anniversary of the Commune. On its 25th anniversary there was a message from members of Lenin's League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class: "The Russian workers convey fervent greetings to their French brothers. May this anniversary of the day when the French proletariat first pierced the citadel of the bourgeois world, become the beginning of more permanent ties between the workers of all countries. . . . Long live the French proletariat, long live the French revolution!"

The Bolshevik Party is the true heir and continuer of the cause of the Commune. Lenin's analysis of its experience is an invaluable contribution to Marxism; it indicates the worldwide epochal importance of the Commune, discloses the reasons for its defeat and calls on the Communist movement always to be mindful of its experience.

The meaning of the Commune for the German labor movement was discussed by Dr. Robert Steigerwald (FRG). He drew attention to August Bebel's speech in the Reichstag on May 25, 1871, at the height of the jingoist hysteria: "Germany is fighting the Commune, but let me say that the European proletariat looks to Paris with hope. The fight in Paris is being waged by a small vanguard, but several decades will pass and the battlecry of the Paris proletariat 'War to the palaces, peace to the cottages, death to poverty and indolence,' will become the battlecry of the European proletariat."

This attitude towards the Commune was all the more important for the German working-class movement, considering that the empire of Bismarck owed its rise to the brutal suppression of the Commune. Here we have a sharp line of division between class attitudes towards the world's first workers' government, Dr. Steigerwald emphasized.

Several decades did pass and the Great October Revolution took up the battlecry of the Commune. The true revolutionary forces of the German labor movement broke with the rotten opportunism of the Social-Democrats and declared their unreserved support for working-class political power. The young Communist Party of Germany closely studied and assimilated the experience of the Commune, and more especially that of Russia's victorious socialist revolution. It fought with supreme energy to re-establish the German workers' movement on the firm foundation of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin. And Lenin's proposition that the Paris Commune teaches us to concentrate on the main sectors in the fight against capitalist power and to work out an effective political strategy, was of particular importance for the German Communists.

The close historical link between the Commune and the liberation movement in Poland was the main theme of N. Kolomejczyk's contribution. In those years, he said, the national issue in Poland was generating revolutionary ferment, undermining the very founda-

tions of tsarism and of the Prussian and Hapsburg monarchies. The situation was both tense and contradictory. The question uppermost in the minds of Polish progressives was: On what political and social forces in Europe can the Polish people rely in their battle for freedom?

The Right wing, the "Whites," followed their old tradition of relying on the propertied classes of Europe. The Left wing, the "Reds," looked for allies above all in the European democratic and social movement. The more consistent Lefts sought the support of the international labor movement, which they regarded as a faithful ally of Polish liberation. And it was the Lefts who formed the Polish section of the International and were in direct contact and corresponded with Marx. Socialist ideas had a firm hold on many of the Poles who after the abortive rising of 1863 emigrated to France, Belgium and Switzerland.

That the Commune should have evoked such a lively response among Polish democrats and revolutionaries was no more than natural. After the Belgians, and together with the Italians, Polish internationalists made up the biggest group of foreigners fighting for the Commune. There were more than 400 Polish revolutionaries on the barricades, including some of the Commune's ablest generals and officers. The list is a long one: Jaroslaw Dombrowski, commander of one of its three armies, who urged an immediate attack on Versailles and who fell in battle on May 23; W. Wroblewski, commander of the third army stationed on the left flank of the front and organizer of the defense of the 13th Arrondissement of Paris on May 21-28; Adolf Kamieniecki, Hilary Rogowski, W. Rozalowski, T. Dombrowski (brother of the famous commander), J. Rozwadowski, A. Okolowicz and many more. A large group of Polish doctors tended to the wounded and their assistance was all the more valuable since most French doctors had refused to cooperate with the Commune. Polish revolutionaries long associated with the International and the workers' movement—and here the list includes Jan Landowski, Walenty Lankiewicz, Juliusz Babicki, Pauline and Julius Mekarski, and the artist Andrzej Slomczynski—were among the most valiant fighters on the barricades. Their great service to the Commune is one of the most glorious pages of Polish revolutionary history.

The Commune inspired many of our revolutionary democrats to embrace socialism and helped unite the cause of Polish liberation with the cause of social revolution. In fact, Polish participation in the Commune was a major factor in bringing them close to Marx and the International, in whose activities they had a very active share. In subsequent years the Marxist, Left trend in the Polish labor movement permanently and insolubly tied the cause of Polish freedom to the socialist revolution in Russia and Europe.

S. Jaegermann said that in observing the anniversary of the Paris Commune, we Czechoslovak Communists stress the relevance of its lessons for our own movement. News of the Paris Commune, its struggle and destiny, did much to promote the class consciousness

of our workers in Czechia and Slovakia, and this had an important bearing on our struggle to prevent the penetration of liberal-bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

An article appearing in the journal *Delnik* of April 1, 1871, titled "The Paris Rising," contained this statement: "The conditions which led to the revolutionary movement in Paris can be found everywhere in our own country." The heroism of the Communards inspired the workers of Prague. In fact, the organization of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in the seventies was largely due to the influence of the Commune. And it is noteworthy that decades later, when the direct influence of the October Revolution led to the formation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, on the eve of its constituent congress, which coincided with the 50th anniversary of the Commune, our slogan was: "In paying homage to the Commune we assert our support for the Russian proletarian revolution."

Hungarian historian *Edit Siklos-Vincze* spoke of the Commune's traditions in the Hungarian Social-Democrat and Communist movements. In the seventies the Hungarian socialist leaders were anxious to uphold the record of the Commune against the calumny of Europe's capitalist governments, against the unscrupulous vilification of the Paris revolution and of the socialist labor movement as a whole. The *Workers' Weekly* started in 1873 and published in Hungarian and German editions, carried a number of articles on the Commune, including the memoirs of one of its ministers, Antoine Arnaud.

Another minister of the Commune, Léo Frankel, friend and disciple of Marx and Engels, played an important part in founding our socialist party. His *Workers' Weekly* articles popularized the ideas of the Commune, emphasizing that its aim had been to "abolish exploitation and destroy class domination."

Hungary's first socialist party, the General Workers' Party founded in 1880, observed every anniversary of the Commune and of Hungary's bourgeois revolution of 1848. Nor was that a mere accident: the revolutionary demands of 1848 were still very much in the public mind, but the General Workers' Party leaders were more and more leaning towards a "moderate" policy of social reform. This met with organized opposition from a group that called itself the Radical Socialist Party and centered its propaganda on the revolutionary class struggle. For it the Paris Commune was an example to be followed.

In common with most Second International parties, the Hungarian Social-Democrats, in the course of their evolution, revised their attitude to the Commune and its lessons. As the aims of the movement centered on democratic reforms, and as the illusion spread of a purely peaceful path to socialism, the Paris Commune was no longer seen as a model of proletarian power, but rather as a "democratic social" (but not socialist!) republic. And the conclusion drawn from its heroic two months was that the proletariat must be careful not to be "coerced" into armed struggle.

The full grandeur and significance of the Commune were restored

by the Hungarian revolution of 1919. The Communist Party paper *Voros Ujsag* (March 18, 1919), three days before the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, called for a proletarian dictatorship, drawing a parallel between the October Revolution and the Paris Commune. It wrote: "The Commune was suppressed, but the Commune lives. It lives in the Russian Soviet Republic."

Undaunted by the counter-revolutionary terror that followed the defeat of the revolution, for a quarter of a century the Communist Party of Hungary kept alive in our working people faith in the new and final victory of proletarian dictatorship. More, in the difficult conditions of illegality it availed itself of every opportunity to advance the cause of a new Soviet Republic. And every year our Communists celebrated the anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the Commune: the latter's 75th anniversary our people celebrated in a free country.

The valiant struggle of the Paris workers, Dr. M. Nedelea (Rumania) said, had wide reverberations in Rumania. The feelings of our workers, of the Rumanian people, were expressed by the *Transylvanian Gazette*. The Red Republic, it wrote, inspired by the ideal of genuine human freedom, will in the end prevail over reaction. In those and later years Rumanians were inspired by the courage and devotion of the Communards. Dr. Nedelea named some of the Rumanian revolutionaries who had fought on the Paris barricades: Constantin Haralambie, who served with a scout unit, Gioroc, commandant of the Issy Fort, Ioan Cernatescu, a doctor who served with one of the front-rank detachments, Constantin Cantacuzino and Dimitrie Dobrescu.

The Commune was a great inspiration to our workers' movement, which began to take organizational shape in the 1870's. And from the very outset it faithfully observed the anniversaries of the Commune, an internationalist tradition the Communist Party continued. Soon after its foundation, the central Party organ *Socialismul* wrote on March 19, 1922: "In these difficult days, the Rumanian proletariat joins with the workers of the world in paying homage to the first working-class heroes, to the men and women who fell in the battle with the bourgeoisie. Suppressed by reaction, the Commune lives on in the heart of every worker. May the sacrifices its fighters made for the proletarian cause be our guiding star in the battles of today."

The admiration the Commune enjoyed among Danish workers was one of the direct factors in the rise of the political labor movement in June 1871, *Ib Norlund*, member of the Danish Communist Party Executive and Secretariat, told the conference. A noted Danish writer, Drachmann, eulogized the Commune in a poem which vividly depicted the growing mass resentment and told the ruling class that it could lead a "Danish Commune." And one line: "Wrath has to be matched by organization," was a warning to the workers, an appeal to organize. These words have lost none of their validity.

In the 1930's, too, the Commune was an inspiration to our workers in their anti-fascist and democratic struggle. They were greatly

influenced by a play on the Paris Commune by the famous Norwegian writer Nordahl Grieg. Called "The Defeat," it gave a vivid and very instructive picture of the Commune, showing the supreme heroism of the Communards, but also the shortcomings that led to their defeat. The play ends with these words: "The good cannot triumph without power, for us that is the bitter lesson of the Commune." Indeed, its lessons proved of exceptional importance for the labor movement in organizing and conducting its fight for power.

The labor movement in Finland, *Lars Juntilla*, representative of the Finnish Communist Party on the journal's editorial council, said, acquired organizational form in the closing years of the last century. The Finnish bourgeoisie sought to "exorcise the spectre of communism" by bringing the labor movement under its tutelage and thereby diverting it from a revolutionary course. Characteristically, the first workers' society started in Helsinki in 1884 was joined by factory owners, merchants and bourgeois intellectuals.

The Workers' Party of Finland was founded in 1899, and though its program, adopted in 1903, was strongly influenced by Western social-democratic thinking, it was, on the whole, a class program subscribing to the ideas of Marx and Engels and cognizant of the lessons of the Commune. The Finnish workers learned much more about the Commune after the publication, in 1908, of a Finnish translation of Lissagaray's "History of the Paris Commune." It helped the movement towards a better understanding of the political situation.

The split in the Social-Democratic Party after the 1918 civil war culminated in the organization of the Communist Party. But the situation in the labor movement was still complex and contradictory. The revolution early in 1918 squarely faced the proletariat and its government with problems similar to those of the Paris Commune. The workers were not prepared for armed struggle, valuable time was lost, the initiative passed to the bourgeoisie, which mounted an offensive and brought on a reign of terror. Nonetheless, in the short time of its existence the revolutionary government tried to carry out several measures in the interests of the working people, and in this respect, too, its activities were reminiscent of the Commune. The lessons of the Commune, its fight to consolidate the new power, its mistakes—all this continues to be of very topical relevance to the struggle of the Finnish working class.

The influence of the Commune was not confined to continental Europe. It spread to the British Isles where, Prof. A. Morton (Britain) said, the trade union movement was on the upsurge. Its leaders, however, were committed to a policy of moderate reform and there was no workers' political organization. Republican sentiments, largely powered by the fall of Napoleon III and the proclamation of the republic, were widespread among radically minded sections of the bourgeoisie.

The Commune aroused a wave of sympathy, expressed in numerous public meetings. One of these, the 30,000 rally in Hyde Park on April 16, 1871, adopted a resolution reading: "We salute you in the

name of the universal republic. We, the people of London, assured that you are fighting for the liberty and freedom of the whole human race, stretch out to you the hand of friendship and brotherhood." The resolution was published in the Commune's *Journal officiel* of April 20.

After the defeat of the Commune, several trade union leaders on the General Council of the International (Odger, Lucraft) defected and joined in the chorus of hostile bourgeois propaganda. This was bound to affect the working class, in which indecision and apathy were no rarities.

But though its significance was only slowly realized in Britain, the Commune was never forgotten. In fact, it became the touchstone of fidelity to socialism: only he was a real socialist who revered the memory of the Commune and strove to emulate its example.

The influence of the Commune spread to other continents, and this was disclosed by representatives of the Communist parties of Algeria, Colombia, the United States and Japan.

L. Bouhali, who represents the Algerian Socialist Vanguard party on the journal's editorial council, analyzed the Algerian national rising of 1871-72 and its close link with the Commune. Begun in 1830, the colonization of Algeria meant suffering and poverty for the population. Things were made still worse by the economic crisis of 1866-70, when about 500,000 people died of starvation. Discontent was rife and grew stronger and sharper as the French colonial authorities brutally suppressed tribal revolts.

The situation was ripe for revolutionary action. The crushing defeat of the French army, the fall of Napoleon III and the struggle of the Paris workers, combined to weaken colonial rule. An armed rising broke out on January 23, 1871, and quickly spread to a large part of the country, with several towns (Alma, Palestro, Bordj-Menaiel) controlled by the insurgents and French garrisons besieged in many other towns.

Bourgeois historians have sought to present the Algerian rising as a series of "local flareups" or as a movement totally unconnected with the revolutionary events in France. Neither of these assertions is true. For the fact is that the rising rapidly spread to the entire country and involved various social strata.

The most important feature, however, was that the Algerian people and the Communards were fighting a common foe, the reactionary French bourgeoisie. And it was no accident that news of the March 18 revolution in Paris was greeted with such enthusiasm in Algeria by the proletarian element, revolutionary emigres and sections of the petty bourgeoisie. The rising reached its highest point in March-April 1871, during the period of the Paris Commune. And it has to be said that, objectively, the Commune contributed to the Algerian rising by immobilizing the Versailles army, and that the Algerian rising weakened the French bourgeoisie. Only after many months of fighting, early in 1872, was the French army finally able to control the situation.

The Algerian people could not win through to victory, but their

rising was of immense political importance, for it showed conclusively the people's resolve to destroy colonial slavery and oppression and to win independence.

Philip Bart described the reaction in the American labor movement. During the Civil War supporters of the International in America gave the French people ideological, organizational and military assistance. Immediately news of the Commune reached America, a group was set up to organize demonstrations, and after the defeat of the Commune it helped the victims of the counter-revolution who had emigrated to the United States. In his "History of the Labor Movement of the United States," Philip Foner writes: "On December 18, 1871, a number of leading trade unions in New York joined in a demonstration with the American sections to protest the execution of three prominent Communards." There were more such demonstrations, some of them actively supported by Negro workers in the North. The U.S. trade unions, then fighting for the 8-hour day, called for solidarity with the Commune.

The socialist revolution in Russia, and later the organization of the U.S. Communist Party, heightened interest in the Paris events of 1871. The International Labor Defense, a Communist-led organization, came to the aid of political prisoners and French revolutionary exiles, and marked every Commune anniversary by a series of public meetings. It also published materials to help the American workers learn the truth about the Commune.

Discussing how the experience of the Commune can be applied in Latin America, *A. Rivera*, representative of the Colombian Communist Party on the journal's editorial council, emphasized that Marx, Engels and Lenin made a close study of the Commune's achievements, limitations and errors, against the concrete background of social conditions at the time. This lends great importance to their conclusions. The following statement by Lenin, the speaker said, is of particular significance for the Latin America movement: "... The Commune was a splendid example of the unanimity with which the proletariat was able to accomplish the democratic tasks which the bourgeoisie could only proclaim" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 13, p. 476). The struggle for national independence, against imperialist domination, is in Latin America merging with the struggle for socialism, and this attracts to the workers' movement new forces representing diverse social and political trends.

There is the proof of experience that the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the early half of the century failed to accomplish their tasks. And drawing on the experience of the Commune, Marxists rightly maintain that only the working class is capable of solving the people's vital social problems. In this respect, the Cuban revolution is an inspiring example for the working people throughout Latin America.

The situation in various countries today differs markedly from that of the time of the Paris Commune, *S. Toyoda* remarked, adding that the Commune's experience should therefore be approached creatively. He singled out three basic lessons that have an important bearing on the Japanese workers' movement.

First, the clear understanding that the bourgeois attitude to national interests is contradictory: it is prepared to sacrifice them for the sake of its own class aims. That applied to the French bourgeoisie in the days of the Commune. At one time it championed national interests, but in the 19th century it betrayed them. The same applies to the Japanese bourgeoisie. In the early days its slogan was "Down with the Americans and the English!" Since then it has abandoned all thought of national independence and sovereignty and now submits to U.S. imperialism, using its alliance with it to oppress the working class and the people. In short, it has betrayed national interests.

Second, only the working class is capable of accomplishing its class and general national tasks. The speaker cited Lenin's words that the Paris proletariat "undertook two tasks—one of them national and the other of a class character—the liberation of France from the German invasion and the socialist emancipation of the workers from capitalism. This union of two tasks forms a unique feature of the Commune (Vol. 13, p. 475).

This is of very special interest for the Japanese working class. For operating in a country which, at one and the same time is highly developed and dependent, the Communists and the working class combine their fight for independence and sovereignty with the class struggle to overthrow U.S.-subordinated Japanese monopoly capital. This can be achieved through a popular anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and democratic revolution.

Third, the Commune brought into being a genuinely democratic representative government. The working-class struggle for a people's democratic parliament is fully in keeping with the finest traditions and lessons of the Commune which, Comrade Toyoda said in conclusion, differed fundamentally from the old bourgeois parliamentary system.

The impact of the Commune on the international workers' and liberation movement is expressed in many forms and aspects. Its influence applied not only to the situation at the turn of the century; today, too, in the words of Lenin, the Commune "lives in every one of us."

The Commune and our time

Conference participants described how the influence of the Commune reacts on the anti-imperialist struggle of the revolutionary and progressive forces.

The first proletarian revolution, the Commune was, in a way, a laboratory of revolutionary experience. In analyzing and generalizing that experience, the Marxist-Leninist classics formulated the basic principles of the international revolutionary workers' movement.

The Commune demonstrated with the utmost clarity the historic mission of the working class. In this context, Ursula Hermann recalled the words of Marx that the Commune was "the first revolu-

tion in which the working class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of social initiative, even by the great bulk of the Paris middle class . . ." ("The Civil War in France"). This basic idea of Marxist-Leninist theory was fully borne out by succeeding years of struggle—the idea that the working class has a decisive role to play in the revolutionary process, in the struggle against capitalist domination and against all varieties of social and national oppression.

This idea is formulated, forcefully and very definitely, in the Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The working class, it states, "is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement." The relevance of the Commune's experience lies in the fact that, together with the experience gained in subsequent struggles, it effectively refutes the old and new liberal-bourgeois, reformist and revisionist theories about the role of the working class being "secondary" to, or "dependent" on, the liberals, the technical intelligentsia, the anarchistically inclined youth, etc.

The working class fulfills its historic mission as leader of the toiling masses. That, too, is an important lesson of the Commune, noted by Engels in his introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850." Engels emphasized that involvement of the masses is a key condition of proletarian victory. He wrote: "The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for, body and soul."

Another conclusion to be drawn from the Commune is the need for the working class to strengthen its alliance with all revolutionary and progressive forces, and above all with the peasantry. Worker-peasant alliance is one of the main principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution. It was examined in detail by A. Rivera. The Commune, he said, was isolated from the mass movement, was not supported by the peasants and due to a number of internal and external factors was unable to form an alliance with them.

But the Communards were keenly aware of the need for such an alliance and strove to bring it about. They planned reforms that would benefit the peasants and appealed to them to join the common struggle, but without success. Yet, the fight to break the power of the bourgeoisie and put an end to oppression objectively prompted the workers and peasants to form such an alliance. And if it had been formed, the Commune would have accomplished very much more.

What the Communards could only hope for was made a living reality by the October Socialist Revolution, A. Rivera said. For it triumphed through firm alliance of workers and peasants, organized,

developed and strengthened by the Bolshevik Party under Lenin's leadership.

The worker-peasant alliance acquires especial significance in the conditions of today. Closer identity of interests of the peasantry, the urban middle strata and the intelligentsia, their progressively increasing cooperation, narrows the social base of monopoly power, aggravates its inherent contradictions and helps mobilize the masses against capitalism. Monopoly capital has at its command powerful economic, political and military resources, and it can be vanquished only by the concerted effort of all revolutionary and democratic forces, brought together in an anti-monopoly front led by the working class and its Communist Party.

The international proletariat has drawn still another highly important lesson from the experience of the Commune. One reason for its defeat was the absence of a working-class political party. And in this context *Ursula Hermann* emphasized the importance Marx and Engels attached to the role of such a party. In assessing the experience of the Paris Commune they brought the First International to an understanding of the conclusion that the working class needs a political party to assure the victory of the social revolution and attain its ultimate goal, the abolition of classes. And it was thanks to the efforts of Marx and Engels that the International set the movement the task begun in the days of the Commune, namely, the organization of Marxist parties.

Lenin developed the ideas of Marx and Engels into a consistent theory of the working-class revolutionary party. It was fully confirmed by the victorious October Revolution, socialist revolutions in other countries and the activities of the international working class. Leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party is a necessary condition for the victory of the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

The record of the Commune shows the need to combat all manner of opportunist vacillation. And many of the discussion speakers pointed out that the fight for a revolutionary working-class strategy and tactics necessitates constant exposure of revisionist and "neo-revisionist," anarchist and adventurist concepts and views that hamper the revolutionary and socialist movement and objectively play into the hands of its enemies.

The Paris Commune posed in a very practical way the question of *the state and proletarian dictatorship*. Many of its aspects were discussed at the conference: the class substance of the state; the nature and social role of the monopoly-capitalist state; the workers' attitude towards the bourgeois state; the question of proletarian dictatorship in present-day conditions; proletarian dictatorship as the new type of democracy; the role of the working-class state in achieving socialism.

Central to all contributions on the subject was the understanding that the experience of the world's first proletarian state, despite the brief period of its existence, is of permanent importance in solving these questions.

Speakers emphasized that the activities of the bourgeois state, particularly in times of sharp class struggle (as at the time of the Commune) reveal its reactionary nature, dispel illusions among liberals and intellectuals about the state being an "organization of order," "supra-class apparatus," "national institution" and so on. In assessing the role of the French bourgeois state in the 1848 revolution, Marx sarcastically remarked: "Order! shouts Cavaignac, the brutal echo of the French National Assembly and of the republican bourgeoisie. Order! thundered his grapeshot, as it ripped up the body of the proletariat" ("Class Struggles in France"). That was the kind of bourgeois state that confronted the Paris proletariat—a government led by that "despicable gnome" Thiers, who brutally suppressed the Commune.

Much has changed in capitalism since then. Free-competition capitalism gave way to monopoly and the latter grew into state-monopoly capitalism. This led to definite changes in the bourgeois state. Modern capitalism combines the power of monopoly and of the state in a single mechanism. This has given the state a bigger role and wider functions in the economic, cultural and education fields. But this in no way alters the *essential nature of the bourgeois state*.

That was cogently demonstrated by Philip Bart, citing the example of the United States, that "model" of state-monopoly capitalism. With the extension of the state's economic and social functions, with its growing influence on the country's political life, some labor leaders, intellectuals and liberals conclude that America is now a "superstate." That is a delusion, for in America the state is an instrument of the monopolies and is entirely subservient to them. And the monopolies, the speaker added, are reaching out for new areas of exploitation, employing new methods and forms of expansion. The state fully supports, in fact directs and coordinates, this expansionist drive. With the rapid growth of conglomerates, monopoly economic and political pressure now goes beyond national frontiers and its influence on the life of the working class is beginning to spread to other parts of the world. Obviously, this imparts a distinct imperialist orientation to the functions of the state.

Prof. W. Weichelt (GDR) drew attention to the permanent validity of Marx's conclusion that the victorious proletariat must demolish the bourgeois machine of government and build a new, proletarian state. The Paris Commune showed that *abolition of the bourgeois state system is a law-governed necessity*, and that was fully corroborated by the October Revolution and socialist revolutions in other countries. All experience effectively refutes the reformist contention that we can achieve our socialist goals through "socialist intentions" and "socialist ministries," but with *retention* of the bourgeois state apparatus. Significantly, revisionism, which never really wanted to abolish the bourgeois state and build a genuine socialist state, has now completely abandoned socialism as the ultimate goal of the working class. Its present

position is that of socio-liberal capitalism. This, surely, is proof enough of the insolvency of revisionist and reformist doctrines.

Another speaker, *Prof. Fomin*, dealt with this aspect of the problem: liquidation of the bourgeois military apparatus, pointing out that in this respect, too, the lessons of the Commune retain all their validity. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party were fully aware of that and systematically worked in the army to win it over, abolish the bourgeois army and build up the armed forces of the socialist revolution. This assured the victory of the October Revolution and the successful defense of its gains in the hard-fought battles against the forces of counter-revolution and imperialist intervention. A revolution is only worth something, Lenin stressed, if it can defend itself.

An important lesson to be drawn from the Commune—and repeatedly emphasized by the Marxist-Leninist classics—is that it is necessary not only to destroy the old state apparatus, but also to build up a new, socialist system of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this respect the experience of the Commune is of immense importance both for the revolutionary theory of the state and for the practical efforts of the working class to win political power. That point was made by many speakers.

The Commune was not a fully developed socialist state—it had too little time and its leaders made many serious mistakes. But for all that, it performed a number of functions of a working-class government; it set out to organize and mobilize the working people to restructure the whole pattern of capitalist relations and to launch out on the building of socialism. In this way it translated into reality democracy for the masses, implemented by the masses themselves.

In discussing some of its measures, *S. Jaegermann* said the Commune was a qualitatively *new democracy*, expressive of the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people; it was the prototype of socialist democracy which gives scope to mass initiative in framing and implementing government policy.

For the first time anywhere in the world, *M. Nedelea* said, the Commune demonstrated the superiority of proletarian over bourgeois democracy, showing that the new state makes for a broader democratic system. The Commune, Marx wrote, “supplied the republic with the basis of really democratic institutions” (“The Civil War in France”).

Its experience is of great value for the working class and Communist parties of the capitalist countries in the fight for democracy. One of the speakers on the subject, *R. Steigerwald*, said that the action program of the German Communist Party regards democratic renewal of the state and of society as the strategic aim at the present stage of the struggle. The program combines immediate social and political demands with the demand for more democracy. This entails a campaign for real and expanding democracy for the people and the popular fight for peace which, with the activization of the revenge forces, is of particular moment for us in West Germany.

The relevance of the Commune lies also in the fact that it demonstrated the fallacy of the various opportunist, anarchistic and bourgeois concepts of the state. Indeed, its very existence was history's condemnation of political anarchism. For, as *Prof. Weichelt* remarked, the destruction of the bourgeois state does not produce a vacuum; its place is taken by a government based on the organization and association of the working class and allied laboring classes and social strata. The Paris Commune was history's condemnation of bourgeois theories of the state, which even today would have us believe that the state is neutral in relation to classes and that the bourgeois-democratic republic is the ultimate form of political power. The Commune demonstrated the superiority of the proletarian state over the bourgeois-democratic republic on the most important criterion, concern for the interests of the people.

Many vogueish reformist and neo-anarchistic concepts enjoy wide currency in capitalist countries. One of the most typical is the "revolutionary reformism" concept coined by André Gorz. It enjoys support among the youth and intellectuals, even among some sections of the workers. *R. Steigerwald* described it as a variety of anarcho-syndicalism, for it advocates reforms which, allegedly, lead to the emergence of "socialist islands" within the framework of the capitalist system, by-passing the *all-important issue of power* and wholly disregarding the fight against capitalist domination. That being so, it is important to disseminate among young opposition elements knowledge of the great revolutions, especially proletarian, and the history of the working-class struggle.

The Commune was a new type of democracy differing in its *class content* from bourgeois democracy. That is deliberately ignored and distorted by bourgeois and reformist ideologists, *S. Jaegermann* pointed out. One of the "founding fathers" of Right-wing opportunism in the Czechoslovak workers' movement, *F. Soukup*, in his book "The Labor Revolution" negates the assessment of the Commune given by Marx and Engels, maintaining that it was not a proletarian dictatorship, but merely a "democratic coalition government." The idea, of course, is to justify the Czechoslovak Social-Democrats' cooperation with the coalition government of the First Republic. Consistent struggle against Right opportunist ideology and consolidation of the socialist state are of prime importance for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the present conditions. Only a consistent *class approach to world events* can provide a guarantee that every counter-revolutionary menace will be nipped in the bud.

The experience of the Commune and the subsequent record of working-class revolutionary struggle—and this includes the fight for socialism in Hungary—are convincing evidence of the political harm that can be done by the bourgeois and opportunist preachment of "pure democracy," *Edit Siklos-Vincze* told the conference. For behind the facade of "pure democracy" or "socialism with a human face" we can often detect outright bourgeois counter-revolution.

In the course of the discussion, *E. Ragionieri* touched on what he described as the "contradictory problem" in Marx's definition

of the Commune as a form of working-class government and political leadership. It would be wrong, he said, to maintain that Marx did not consider the Commune a definite form of proletarian dictatorship. On the other hand, however, unlike Engels and Lenin, Marx never expressly defined the Commune as a form of proletarian dictatorship, but spoke only of the working class winning political power.

Other participants objected to this. *Ib Norlund* pointed out, for instance, that there can be no doubt about the Commune being a form of proletarian dictatorship. Indeed, it would have been strange if on this question there were differences between Engels and Lenin on the one hand, and Marx on the other. The words cited by E. Ragionieri do not warrant any doubt about Marx's position when he speaks of the working class winning political power. Of course, the Social-Democrats have vulgarized this expression, contending that participation in government—without fundamental socio-political change—is the “winning of political power.” But when the Communists speak of “working-class political power” or “political power of the working people” they always have in mind that such power implies the functions of proletarian dictatorship. Often the two definitions are used as synonyms.

That was further amplified by W. Weichelt. Marx, Engels and Lenin, he said, showed that the Commune was the first real form of proletarian dictatorship, but naturally they could not always use one and the same expression for that. We know that this has led to attempts to ferret out “differences” between the classics of Marxism-Leninism. But, way back in 1852, Marx clearly defined working-class political domination as dictatorship of the proletariat, and again in 1871, in his analysis of that dictatorship as practised by the Paris Commune. The Marxist-Leninist theory of the state is, in effect, based on that analysis.

Having demolished the old state, *Prof. Fomin* said, the Commune created a proletarian state which Marx in his “Civil War in France” described as a “glorious workers’ revolution,” “revolution of the proletariat,” “working-class government,” the “political form that allows economic emancipation of labor.” Elsewhere Marx uses the term dictatorship of the proletariat. We must therefore accept that the terms “working-class government” and “dictatorship of the proletariat” are for Marx synonymous.

In appraising Ragionieri's remarks as an interesting analysis of the development of Marx's thought in the course of his work on the General Council Address on the Paris Commune, *Comrade Duclos* said: “Undoubtedly, the idea of proletarian dictatorship is implicit in the Communist Manifesto. But evidently the experience of the Commune prompted Marx to verify this concept in the light of political realities. We can trace a direct link between Marx's analysis of the Commune and his ‘Critique of the Gotha Program’ written in 1875 and containing these words: ‘Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also

a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*."

In his concluding remarks, Jacques Duclos gave a high appraisal of the conference, noting that all the discussion speeches were indicative of the great interest in the Paris Commune as the harbinger of socialism. The conference was useful also in more precisely formulating our views, and in recalling the appreciation of the Commune given by the Marxist-Leninist classics. Our analysis of the Commune's role, its greatness and shortcomings, fully refutes all attempts to distort its significance and implications.

We Communists, Duclos declared, consider ourselves the heirs and continuers of its cause. And it is highly symbolic that Maurice Thorez, Marcel Cachin and Communists who fell in the battle with fascism lie buried at the Wall of the Communards in the Pere Lachaise Cemetery. And it was there, at the Wall of the Communards, that Lenin made his speech at the graveside of Paul and Laura Lafargue.

In nazi-occupied France the Communists always secretly placed a wreath at the Wall of the Communards in the closing days of May. Next morning the nazis would remove it—one might think that they feared the Communards. Indeed, they had every reason to fear the ideas of the Communards, which now had come to inspire millions of men and women.

Throughout our years of underground work, we held up the heroism of the Communards and the valor and fortitude of the Soviet army as an inspiration to our people.

You know that the last of the Communards died in the Soviet Union during the Second World War. He was Adrien Lejeune. He is buried in Novosibirsk. The Soviet comrades have complied with our request to rebury him in France. His body will lie at the Wall of the Communards side by side with many of his comrades.

This will add to the significance of the centenary of the Commune and will be one more expression of the unbreakable link between the country of the Commune and the country that was the first to bring its ideals to reality.

In conclusion, I would like to repeat the slogan of the Parisians who lived through the Commune, a slogan proclaimed in 1914 during the first demonstration at Pere Lachaise, in which I took part.

Noticing among the demonstrators Edouard Vaillant, who had been a member of the Commune government, and other veterans of that great spring of 1871, the people of Paris, their thoughts turned not only to the past but also to the future, shouted—and with these words I wish to conclude—Vive la Commune!

The cause of the Commune is immortal, Lenin said. It lives in the struggle of millions of revolutionary fighters the world over; it lives in the battle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.



Social and cultural progress

On the threshold of the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the international Communist and working-class movement shows growing interest in various aspects of Soviet life. Soviet economic development was examined at some length in this journal last November. Progress in this decisive sphere of human activity is essential to the gradual transformation of socialist into communist social relations, to the effacement of essential distinctions between town and country and between mental and physical labor, to a continuously rising standard of life, to scientific and cultural advance.

Economic progress in Soviet society is geared to achieving the highest goal of socialism and communism—providing conditions for the all-round development of man, for the fullest application of his spiritual and physical abilities. The CPSU regards this as the main purpose of its activity and works accordingly, fostering culture, education, the health services, social maintenance and recreation. Increasing appropriations for these purposes are an indication of the Soviet people's improving standard of life, to which the Party pays special attention. Socialism has elevated the working people's spiritual activity to a new plane and fused the economic and cultural progress of Soviet society together.

In this issue of the journal, prominent Soviet personalities tell about the present and future of science and technology, public education, the health services, social maintenance and literature.

Academician VLADIMIR KIRILLIN

Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR,
Chairman, State Committee for Science and Technology:

After the October Revolution the main policy of the Communist Party—building a communist society affording every opportunity for creative effort and all that we mean by happiness—found its chief expression in the building of a new, socialist state, primarily in the expansion of its economic base.

Everyone knows that scientific achievements and their use have a decisive effect on production, the range and quality of products, effectiveness of production and labor productivity. For a party and people that have set the aim of advancing their country by economic development, raising the standard of life, education and culture, it is natural to concentrate attention on scientific and technological progress, research and the utilization of its results.

I would like to emphasize that a most important result of the October Revolution is the people's deep interest in the progress of their state and its economy. This interest, shown for the first time in history, is the mainspring of the people's enthusiasm and an earnest of progress in building communism. Scientific and technological progress is especially important today, when the greatest scientific and technological revolution in man's history is taking place.

In furthering this progress, the CPSU has always regarded it as a key task to implement the principle of planning in science and technology, to strengthen links between them, extend democratic principles in science so as to prevent it from assuming a caste character and ensure that the ranks of scientists are reinforced by the most able people from every section of the population, and to carry forward Marxist-Leninist theory.

State planning is the fundamental method of organizing socialist construction. Lenin described GOELRO—the State Plan for the Electrification of Russia, in effect, the first scientifically based economic development plan drawn up by scientists and experts on Lenin's initiative about fifty years ago—as the Party's second program.

Planning is also of tremendous importance to science and technology. We have gained considerable experience in this in the Soviet period. Besides the scientific and technological development plans of ministries, academies of sciences and other organizations, we have a state plan, one of whose main components is the totality of comprehensive, inter-branch scientific and technological programs of state significance. This means applying the program-system method of planning and management in the principal branches of science, to use the current phrase.

It goes without saying that the planning of scientific research is directive and binding only in the case of the applied sciences. As regards the fundamental sciences, planning virtually amounts to recommending research priorities.

Close links between science and practice as seen as highly important, especially in this age of scientific and technological revolution, when distinctions between scientific and technological calculations are disappearing as are those between the laboratory equipment of research institutes and the equipment of many industrial enterprises, when practical use is made of the most intricate deductions and generalizations of science, such as the theory of relativity or quantum mechanics, and when the time gap between a scientific discovery and its utilization is shrinking.

To strengthen links between science and practice and ensure

that scientific achievements are introduced into production as speedily as possible, we in the Soviet Union set up integrated research and design organizations commanding an adequate experimental basis, give priority to the development of research and design units in production complexes and individual enterprises and work out comprehensive programs covering all stages from research to practical results.

The foregoing is not to say, of course, that research into the fundamental sciences is declining. It has always been encouraged in the Soviet Union. We now give close attention to such important lines as exploration of the microstructure of matter, astrophysics, the physicochemical structure of living matter and the processes going on in it.

At the same time we must agree with the many researchers who say that when a particular scientific quest cannot be "earmarked" for practical application as yet we must try to ascertain those of its aspects that may be of practical value today.

Space exploration is a case in point. It is very difficult at the moment to predict the uses, if only the main ones, of the results

The Soviet Union had 2,395 research institutions in 1940 and 4,953 in 1969.

In the same period, scientific personnel increased from 98,315 to 863,420.

Spending for social, cultural and scientific purposes in 1969 exceeded 24 per cent of the Soviet national income.

A total of 13,000 million rubles will be spent on research in 1971.

EMPLOYMENT IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN THE SOVIET UNION

	1940	1969
Total number	98,315	883,420
RSFSR	61,872	603,236
Ukraine	19,304	122,754
Byelorussia	2,227	20,631
Uzbekistan	3,024	24,079
Kazakhstan	1,727	25,319
Georgia	3,513	18,621
Azerbaijan	1,933	16,594
Lithuania	633	8,270
Moldavia	180	5,504
Latvia	1,128	8,618
Kirghizia	323	5,486
Tajikistan	353	4,725
Armenia	1,067	11,577
Turkmenia	487	3,483
Estonia	544	4,523

of this exploration, although the promise it holds is beyond question. However, some of its uses—very important ones—were evident from the outset. Among them is, first of all, the launching of communications satellites, making it possible by means of earth-bound re-broadcasting stations to carry on extra long-distance telecasts without recourse to expensive relay stations. Weather satellites help us to photograph the clouds and take atmospheric measurements, which are indispensable if we are to improve weather forecasting.

The development of genuinely popular democracy in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution greatly benefited science. The democratic principle of organizing work has been gaining currency in science as in other spheres of activity. Institutions of higher learning were put within reach of the workers and peasants. Workers high schools prepared young workers and peasants, most of whom lacked adequate knowledge at the time, for the university. The numbers of researchers began to grow primarily through the influx of workers and peasants.

The promotion of democratic principles in science also expresses itself in discussions during which diverse opinions are freely voiced on scientific problems as well as in the growing scope of criticism. Many problems of the scientific community are settled by voting (often by ballot). Democratic principles in science continue to develop along with centralized management.

Raising the efficiency of production and labor productivity is, as we know, a prime condition for the economic advance of the socialist state and for building the material and technical base of communist society. In view of the limited amount of labor resources and the need rapidly to build up the service industry, greater output, too, depends in the main on higher productivity. The latter, in turn, is conditioned by progress in science and technology.

It is only fair to say that socialist society provides the most favorable conditions for science and technology. Capitalist relations of production are too narrow for the scientific and technological revolution, whose future is inseparable from socialism.

I would like to offer some comments on scientific and technological progress.

It is perhaps of special importance to every economic branch to evolve new highly effective substances and materials, build up the power base and improve technologies and technological and organizational management.

To develop new substances and highly effective building, abrasive, semi-conductor, heat-resisting and other materials is one of the problems whose solution sets the pace of technological progress. We give it much attention in our country and have made substantial headway in solving it. Of notable importance is, in particular, work on developing high-strength composite materials, man-made monocrystalline and polycrystalline diamonds and other superhard, superconducting, laser and other materials.

The power base, whose growth is indispensable to every economic branch and to the standard of life, has always received proper attention in the Soviet Union. Our power industry has been growing apace, both quantitatively and qualitatively. We now have the world's most powerful hydro-electric stations and make greater combined industrial and municipal use of heat and electricity than any other country. We have put into operation power transmission lines using 800 kilovolt D.C. and from 500 to 750 kilovolt A.C. Our atomic industry is making good progress and we are probing into other important power fields.

Mechanization and automation of labor and better technologies are one of the main pillars of technological advance. In recent years we have made a special effort to improve the organizational side of economic management, above all in connection with progress in the computer industry. The number of enterprises and complexes using computerized automatic control systems is growing fast. By late 1970 we had put in operation in twenty industries the first sections of automated systems for centralized industry-wide control. We are extending and improving the use of computers in planning, material and technical supply, banking, trade and certain other fields.

I need hardly say that we still have many shortcomings and unsolved problems in science and technology and in the utilization of their discoveries. We will have to do more if we are to raise the efficiency of research centers, train requisite personnel and make better use of scientific achievement. We are making a considerable effort along these lines under the guidance of the Communist Party.

A very important task is to improve scientific, technological and economic cooperation among the socialist countries and promote socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries. I feel confident that this work will be successfully carried on by joint effort.

MIKHAIL PROKOFYEV,

Minister of Education of the USSR, Corresponding Member, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Member, Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR:

The school stands everywhere for what is in effect the future of society, since the destiny of society depends on whom the school educates and how. The Soviet school is not merely a network of educational institutions but a system of instruction and education through which every Soviet citizen passes before entering his working life. This is why the moulding of builders of communism begins in the classroom. Young people are acquainted with the laws of social development and the latest achievements in science, technology and culture. They are educated in the spirit of love of labor, the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism, hatred for every form of exploitation, racial or national oppression,

and devotion to the ideals of peace, freedom and social progress.

To fulfil these tasks the Soviet school is organized and develops as a uniform polytechnical school. Ever since the early days of Soviet power, one of its principles has been connection with life and the policy of the Communist Party and the socialist state.

We now have 178,000 general schools, including almost 44,000 secondary ten-year schools. They are attended by more than 45 million children. The 11,000 evening and correspondence schools—mostly their higher grades—have an enrolment of about four million young workers and other employees and collective farmers. There is probably no more international school in the world than ours, for instruction in our country is offered in 56 languages spoken by peoples of the Soviet Union.

In charge of the younger generation are about 2.7 million teachers and educators, mostly people with many years' experience. They include many competent young teachers. Teachers are trained in 411 schools and 206 institutes totalling over one million students.

To give a better idea of the education of young people, I must point out that we also have over 4,000 secondary specialized (technical) schools attended by 4.5 million young men and women. Our 5,000 vocational schools train 2.5 million workers, who both learn a trade and receive a general education. Besides, there are various forms of technical and higher education. In short, we have almost 80,000,000 people, or every third citizen of the Soviet Union, studying in an educational institution.

We introduced compulsory eight-year education in 1958. In 1970 it was received by 4.6 million people, that is, virtually all who had begun their studies from the first grade. In recent years we have been working to build up secondary education. In 1970 over 3.2 million people, or 70 per cent of the children admitted to the first grade, received a complete secondary education. The time is not far off when every young man and woman in our country will be receiving a ten-year education.

Now for the tasks accomplished by our secondary schools today. Recent years have seen a virtually complete reorganization of public education. This was necessitated, first, by the need to bring school education into line with the present level of science and technology; secondly, by the expansion of the Soviet educational system, and lastly, by the considerably more rapid overall growth of the physical and mental abilities of young people. In accomplishing this exceedingly difficult task, we preserved all the valuable achievements registered in 50 years of development.

What we changed was, first of all, the teaching of mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology and other natural sciences. Pupils are familiarized with the most important achievements of these sciences in the fourth and fifth grades. Physiology and psychology have proved the necessity for teaching children at that age to think in abstract terms, training their ability to generalize and inculcating analytical habits. This is, in fact, the meaning of improving the early stage of education. This line is carried forward and consolidated in the higher grades.

We have introduced into the school mathematics course, for example, elements of higher mathematics and acquaint pupils with operations involving infinitesimals and with the principles of electronic computers and programming. The chemistry course presents the latest concepts about the nature of chemical bonds, enabling pupils to understand the properties of substances and their ability to interact. The biology course reveals the mechanism of the functioning of living matter—from primary biochemical reactions in the cell to the fundamentals of the theory of evolution. Furthermore, teaching these subjects makes it possible to impart dialectical materialist and scientific atheistic views to pupils.

The school plays an exceptional role in moulding a communist world outlook and in acquainting pupils with the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist science. We achieve this by teaching history, social science and literature. The knowledge acquired by pupils helps to raise their political literacy and to strengthen their convictions.

Of course, the introduction of new curricula necessitated a revision of textbooks and many of them had to be rewritten. We accomplished this task with the aid of prominent experts in every fundamental field of knowledge. The new textbooks do not merely give new facts that extend the pupils' knowledge but take account of the latest scientific achievements. This entitles us to speak of a complete re-equipment of the Soviet school to provide up-to-date knowledge.

In giving pupils the fundamentals of modern science, our schools

SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT
(million)

1940/41	1950/51	1960/61	1965/66	1969/70
35.5	34.7	36.2	48.3	49.4

SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT BY UNION REPUBLICS
(000)

	1940/41	1969/70
RSFSR	20,633	25,795
Ukraine	6,830	8,480
Byelorussia	1,737	1,852
Uzbekistan	1,325	3,154
Kazakhstan	1,148	3,141
Georgia	767	1,016
Azerbaijan	685	1,394
Lithuania	380	573
Moldavia	440	795
Latvia	242	353
Kirghizia	334	751
Tajikistan	315	740
Armenia	333	635
Turkmenia	252	536
Estonia	121	211

also acquaint them with modern production and awaken them to the significance of labor. Many schools have introduced study of the automobile, the tractor (in the rural areas), typewriting and certain other concrete subjects. Large sums are budgeted to provide adequate conditions for polytechnical education. Besides, schools get increasing aid from factories, collective and state farms and scientific institutions.

The Soviet school also educates children in the spirit of social activity, cultivating their civic sense. In this respect it closely co-operates with the Komsomol and the Young Pioneer organization.

Study and labor, social work and sports, tourism and games all serve to foster the patriotic and internationalist awareness of young people.

Our schools have brought into being new relations typical of the Soviet way of life, which play a decisive role in cultivating communist ethics among pupils. An important development in terms of moral education was the introduction of pupils' self-government based on pupils' initiative and on cooperation between pupils and teachers. The family, production enterprises and mass organizations are a notable factor in the schools' efforts for the moral education of children.

I am far from affirming that we have no problems or difficulties. But Soviet schools are so organized as to enable us to deal with problems promptly and to bring up a healthy generation of successors that can stand on its own feet, is equipped with up-to-date knowledge and has an initial experience of life.

The Soviet school has, in fact, been entrusted with the future of socialist and communist society. This makes school education the common cause of the Soviet people and the Communist Party. It explains why the Party and the people do so much to build up the Soviet school.

VYACHESLAV YELUTIN,

Minister of Higher Education of the USSR, Corresponding Member, Academy of Sciences of the USSR:

A few figures to begin with. The Soviet Union has 4,600,000 students today. As many as 43.1 per cent of them are studying the humanities, 37.7 per cent engineering, 8.3 per cent agriculture, 7.2 per cent medicine, and so on. Higher education is so organized as to be within reach of both school-leavers and job-holders. The network of evening and correspondence schools caters for almost 50 per cent of the students. Three-fourths of the students are paid allowances and live in hostels (at nominal rent) and are supplied with textbooks and other aids virtually free. Students at evening and correspondence institutes, for their part, enjoy many facilities, such as additional paid leave for the period of examinations, travelling to the place of examinations or laboratory work at reduced fares, etc.

Soviet society with its rich traditions—a society in which two-

thirds of the population never experienced any discrimination in receiving a higher education—has granted all its young members the right to specialize in any field. This does not mean, of course, that we no longer have any problems. For example, the educational standard of rural youth is occasionally below that of urban youth, because some distinctions between town and countryside persist. There is also a difference between education received in a complete secondary school and that provided by an evening school. To help young people bridge this gap, we have set up a system of preparatory departments in which we enrol efficient industrial workers and collective farmers who have worked for not less than one year and young men released from the armed forces who have shown especial proficiency in military and political training. These students are paid allowances. A necessary condition for admission is that the applicant be recommended by the general meeting of the shop personnel or his work team. Besides, account is taken of the opinion of the Party, Komsomol and trade union organizations. The significance of these departments will become more evident if I add that they account for virtually every fifth student in our country.

In this way the higher school gets young people properly grounded for training in any branch of the economy or culture.

An important characteristic of Soviet higher education is that personnel training is planned with due regard to requirements. Planned training makes it possible to supply all economic and cultural fields with highly competent personnel; secondly, to guarantee the employment of every graduate in the particular field he has been trained for, and in the third place, to take full account of the interests, inclinations and abilities of young people. This may be said to have reduced to a minimum miscalculations in the number of specialists trained as engineers, agronomists, teachers, physicians, etc. How important and yet difficult this is can be deduced from the fact that we train specialists in more than 330 fields.

Another feature of Soviet higher education is that it combines professional training with ethical and civic. Our higher educational institutions are instructing and educating complexes. This guarantees the training not of narrow specialists in a favorite field of knowledge or production, but of organizers who can work among people and can both educate them and learn from them. It is obligatory for specialists in any field to study the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and scientific communism.

However, the education of students is not restricted to lectures and seminars. The shaping of a communist world outlook as well as moral, aesthetic and labor education also take place extramurally. Of the numerous forms used, mention should be made of all-Union competitions of students, who submit scientific papers on problems relating to the social sciences, the history of the Komsomol and the international youth movement.

Worthy of note are the so-called young lecturers' schools, which have gained popularity in numerous institutions of higher learning. Students attend for one or two years series of lectures on important aspects of Marxism-Leninist theory, the latest achievements of the social sciences and topical international problems. At the same time each student prepares a paper on a subject of his own choice and reads it to fellow students. If his paper is approved, he is invited to deliver it to the personnel of a factory, building project, collective or state farm.

Student scientific societies, special seminars and study groups are increasingly becoming educational media. By taking part in them students acquire an additional opportunity to learn to do research, think creatively, keep abreast of new achievements in science and technology, master Marxism-Leninism and mature politically.

Socially useful work plays a big role in communist education. It has become a tradition with our students to go during the summer holidays to collective or state farms and to building sites. This period, which has come to be called the "labor semester," helps students to acquire practical experience, organizing habits, an ability for good management. It makes them collective-minded and strengthens their will to overcome difficulties.

In 1969 the Soviet Union had 4,550,000 students in higher schools and 4,302,000 in secondary specialized schools.

STUDENTS IN HIGHER SCHOOLS AND SECONDARY SPECIALIZED
SCHOOLS PER 10,000 POPULATION

	Higher schools		Secondary specialized schools	
	1940/41	1969/70	1940/41	1969/70
Total number	41	188	50	178
RSFSR	43	204	53	197
Ukraine	47	171	47	168
Byelorussia	24	153	39	160
Uzbekistan	28	194	37	130
Kazakhstan	16	152	48	163
Georgia	77	192	71	108
Azerbaijan	44	194	52	135
Lithuania	20	178	22	207
Moldavia	10	127	17	139
Latvia	52	171	50	166
Kirghizia	19	158	38	138
Tajikistan	15	147	38	117
Armenia	82	214	66	182
Turkmenia	22	135	57	130
Estonia	45	166	20	181

A vast amount of educational work is carried on in institutions of higher learning by the Komsomol and trade union organizations concerned under the guidance of Party organizations. The students' direct participation in their work is a most important school of political education and helps to enhance their sense of responsibility for the collective body, for whatever goes on in the institution, for fulfilment of the tasks in higher education set by the Party.

The acquisition of organizing habits and the education of students are enhanced considerably by students' participation in self-government and in the solution of problems concerning the whole people or state. To illustrate: about 500 students today are members of local government bodies.

The tasks in higher education at this stage are specified in the Program of the CPSU and decisions of the Twenty-Third Party Congress. Their substance is to raise the standard of training specialists. I have said that we now decide according to plan how many and what specialists we must train, even when it is a question of entirely new branches of knowledge or production. But the problem of raising the standard of training is a standing task requiring unrelenting effort over a long period. What are the particular problems we deal with?

To begin with, there is the problem of scientific content and educational standard. The concept "higher education" is conventional to a degree since society is progressing, the various demands put to specialists are growing and so is the volume of knowledge. Indeed, many items of knowledge that until recently were imparted to students only in higher schools are now given in secondary school.

However, the problem is not only to keep pace with science and technology, but to be well ahead in both fields and to see as far and as clearly as possible. This is particularly important now that new branches of science and technology are coming into being.

The time allowed for higher education is relatively limited. Into it we must squeeze a definite set of subjects giving the future specialist the desired habits and knowledge. This is why a proper combination of general and special subjects is the main task in determining the standard of education.

On the other hand, no matter how well curricula are drawn up, the ultimate result depends on the teaching staff. This is why we improve the quality of training specialists, first of all, by selecting, placing and using teachers properly and by continuously improving and training teachers as regards instruction methods.

We are doing much to organize the manifold activities of higher educational institutions on scientific lines. We study the time resources of students and teachers so that these resources may be used to the utmost for acquiring knowledge, for all-round development. Lectures and advice on radio and television have become a common practice. To raise the quality of instruction, we use tape

recorders and teaching machines, and better laboratory equipment. Problems of teaching in higher schools and of the psychology of instruction receive increasing attention.

Both the training of specialists and the raising of teachers' qualification standards necessitate extensive research in educational institutions. Student participation in this research is encouraged by awarding Student Research medals (300 are awarded every year). The best research papers by students receive awards from the Exhibition of Economic Achievement. Student research is also stimulated in various other forms. We now have numerous students' scientific societies, design offices, etc., involving over 600,000 students. Many of the results of their research are of national economic significance.

Our universities further scientific and technological progress primarily by training competent specialists for every economic field. Training people for new lines of modern science and production is gaining in importance. I mean the training of specialists in such overlapping sciences as biophysics, biochemistry, bionics, cybernetic economics, cybernetic energetics, chemical technology, engineering psychology or industrial aesthetics. We must substantially improve the economic education of specialists in industry, agriculture, management, automation and other fields.

It is on these fields that the Communist Party concentrates the efforts of those active in the system of higher education.

In conclusion I would like to stress that our universities train tens of thousands of future specialists and scientists from socialist countries and developing states. Foreign students attest that Soviet higher education provides up-to-date scientific and technological knowledge and teaches them to do independent research. We regard this as an appreciation of the high standard of Soviet higher education.

Academician BORIS PETROVSKY,

Minister of Health of the USSR, Hero of Socialist Labor:

The Soviet state is the first in history to have assumed responsibility for the protection and improvement of the people's health, which is a public asset—"public property," as Lenin put it. A fundamentally new stage in the organization of care of public health set in with the Lenin decree (July 1918) establishing the Health Commissariat of the RSFSR as a unified managing and coordinating agency. The right to health protection is a law of socialist society. The socialist principles of health care are clearly reflected in policy documents of the Communist Party.

Public health is ensured through socio-economic and medical measures and the integrated activities of government agencies, economic bodies and mass organizations directed towards labor protection—social insurance, social maintenance, modernization of communities, physical training on a mass scale, raising the people's cultural standard, and so on. The maintenance of medical institu-

tions under the Health Ministry of the USSR cost over 9,000 million roubles in 1970. Besides, substantial amounts are allocated by state and cooperative enterprises and the trade unions.

Medical care in our country is free and within everyone's reach.

The importance of prompt and competent medical aid is obvious, but prevention is more important still. The preventive orientation of our health services is a logical consequence of our view of medicine as both a natural biological and profoundly social science.

The ideas and problems of social hygiene and prevention are not alien to many progressive public leaders and medical workers abroad. But it is only in a socialist state that they can be dealt with adequately, being in complete harmony with the interests of the social system and the state.

Prevention in our country is the basis of work throughout the health services—in combating epidemics and infectious diseases, in maternity protection, in safeguarding the health of industrial workers and the rural population, in combating tuberculosis, nervous and mental disorders, etc.

Prevention and treatment, curative and sanitary measures have been synthesized best of all in specialized medical registration and checking centers. Combined with the district organization of medical care, it is the fundamental working method for both the specialized checking centers and other medical and preventative institutions. Extensive sanitary education of the people contributes to prevention.

A fundamental principle of the Soviet health services is the unity of medical science and care. Our medicine constantly equips physicians with up-to-date methods of prevention, diagnosis and treatment.

The main principles, forms and methods of organizing the health services at the present stage, as well as the rights and duties of citizens and medical workers, are set out in the "Fundamentals of Health Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics" approved by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in 1969.

An important index of our achievements is the considerable decline, in a comparatively short period of history, in the incidence of infectious diseases and mortality. Overall mortality in 1968 was one-fourth of the pre-revolutionary rate. The drop in child mortality is even more striking; in 1969 the rate was 26 per 1000, whereas in 1913 as many as 269 out of every 1000 infants died before reaching the age of one. Life expectancy in the Soviet Union averages 70 years against 32 in pre-revolutionary Russia.

Large-scale training of medical personnel is an indisputable achievement of the Soviet health system. In 1969 physicians and pharmacutists were trained in 91 institutes, and intermediate medical personnel in 666 secondary medical schools. The Soviet Union has long ranked first in the world for the proportion of doctors. In 1969 it had a total of 642,500 doctors, or 26.6 doctors per 10,000 population. Characteristically, many of the doctors in the Union republics are members of the respective nationalities.

A unified state sanitary and anti-epidemic service is among our important achievements. It has a network of stations and research centers enabling it to maintain effective sanitary control.

We see it as one of our main tasks to extend the facilities of the health services by building modern multi-branch and specialized hospitals and other medical institutions, as well as by enlarging those in existence. We attach special importance to the provision of medical transport. Our industry, drawing on progress in physics, chemistry, electronics and cybernetics, manufactures high-standard medical equipment, instruments and medicines.

Computerization and introduction of economico-mathematical methods in health planning and control are a major current challenge. We have already tackled it and will keep up our effort over the coming years. Organizing work on scientific lines and cultivating medical deontology throughout are acquiring paramount importance. Other current problems are to improve the economic basis and planning of public health and to investigate the interconnection between economic and medical measures, for safe-guarding and improving people's health benefits the economic condition of Soviet society.

An important long-range task is to extend the medical check-up system to the whole population. It can only be carried out gradually and must be preceded by extensive preparations and the elaboration of a proper methodological approach.

Personnel training will have a decisive effect on progress in the health services. We are steadily improving it. Now that an objective process of differentiation and specialization is going on in medicine, which has become a sophisticated branch of knowledge, we begin primary specialization in key fields at the medical school level.

Our medical science concerns itself especially with the treatment and prevention of cardiovascular diseases, malignant tumors and certain virus and infectious diseases in view of the imperative need for more effective methods of combating them.

A scientific task of the first importance is to carry forward such branches of medicine as immunology, endocrinology, allergology, medical genetics, anaesthesiology, reanimatology, geriatrics, aviation and space medicine and to extend transplant surgery meaningfully and consistently, without undue haste. However, we are not slackening attention to important theoretical aspects of medical science, specifically research into the structure and synthesis of proteins, hormones and vitamins, nor the effort to use new achievements in physics, chemistry and technology for medical purposes.

DOMNA KOMAROVA,

Minister of Social Security of the RSFSR:

Care of people is the main activity of our Communist Party. It is only natural, therefore, that every form of social security should receive serious attention in our country. The outstanding feature of Soviet social security is that it uses public funds only. This

accounts for its advantages and determines its forms. In those capitalist countries where social security exists the working people must contribute their own money, as we know. In the United States this contribution amounts to 4.12 per cent of the earnings, in France it is 6 per cent and in the FRG, 13.5 per cent.

Social security in the Soviet Union is a component of the state economic development plan. It is enjoyed by all citizens irrespective of sex, nationality, race or religion, whatever the nature of their jobs or the form of remuneration.

Social security and insurance absorb about two-fifths of the public funds total—an impressive amount. As much as 23,300 million roubles will be spent on them this year.

How are these funds spent?

To begin with, there is a uniform pensioning system encompassing all categories of workers. On reaching pension age blue- and white-collar workers are granted a pension equalling not less than 50 per cent of the full amount of their latest monthly earnings, and in the case of low-paid categories the percentage varies from 80 to 100. Moreover, pensions are growing. Thus, minimum pensions for collective farmers and disabled ex-servicemen were put up as of January 1, 1968. Increases in pensions are also fostered by growing wages. The importance of this form of social maintenance will be seen in the fact that there are 41 million pensioners in the Soviet Union.

Pension age in our country is among the world's lowest—60 years for men and 55 for women, irrespective of trade or profession. Account is also taken of people's capacity for work, and where they are employed. In the mining, chemical, iron and steel, textile or other industry in which working conditions are arduous or intensive and a hazard to health, men may retire on old-age pension at 55 or 50 and women at 50 or 45.

Monthly wages and salaries in the Soviet economy in 1969 averaged 117 roubles plus an average 41 roubles' worth of social benefits. In 1970 the pay average grew by 4.4 per cent over 1969 and social benefits in cash and in free services, by 7.3 per cent.

The population gets free medical aid, free education and proficiency training, allowances, pensions, scholarships, paid leave, free of cut-rate accommodation in health and holiday homes. Had it not been for the benefits granted by the state, each family would have to pay almost three times as much rent as now, four to six times more for children in a kindergarten or nursery, and so on.

Furthermore, annual budget allocations for building schools, housing, cultural, medical and other public institutions amount to 179 roubles per family.

It is interesting to note for comparison that in 32 countries no particular distinction is made in old-age pensioning between men and women: the required age is 65 for both men and women in the USA; 65 and 60, respectively, in Britain; 62 in Switzerland; 67 and 62 in Denmark; 60 in France, etc.

The seniority entitling one to an old-age pension on a universal basis is 25 years for men and 20 for women. We generally regard as part of seniority every form of socially useful work irrespective of its nature or length, or the length of intervals. Seniority requirements are much lower in the case of arduous jobs and minimal in the case of handicapped persons. In the event of an industrial accident or occupational disease a pension is granted regardless of length of service.

Geography, too, is taken into consideration. In the Far North it is enough to work for 15 years, and in regions with a similar status 20 years, to be entitled to a pension. Mothers of large families and certain categories of disabled persons who retire on account of old age are granted an age reduction.

Pensioners may work if they wish. Those who work are employed with due regard to their health. This is all the more important, because to feel useful and perform moderately hard work helps restore health. Industrial enterprises have shops employing disabled persons affected with certain cardiovascular, mental, pulmonary and other diseases or disorders. Besides, they are taught new trades free of charge. In the Russian Federation alone there are 41 vocational and 11 technical boarding schools.

All pensioners are entitled to free medical treatment.

Nor do we in the Soviet Union forget those who cannot live in a family and need constant aid. They live in boarding houses providing board, medical care, recreational and other facilities. Social security agencies supply orthopedic footwear, prosthetic appliances and special transport. The manufacture of bioelectrically controlled artificial limbs designed under Professor B. Popov's direction promises to restore many handicapped persons to active service.

Allowances for temporary disability were increased as of January 1, 1968. Factory workers and other employees concerned receive full sick pay after eight years' service. Those with a job record of from five and under eight years are paid 80 percent of their earnings. Uniform sick pay conditions for collective farmers have been introduced throughout the country.

Sick pay is paid regardless of length of service; this applies equally in the case of expectant mothers. It follows that we have nothing like a "waiting" period, since allowances are paid even to persons temporarily incapacitated on the very first day of work. Nor is there any limit to the period during which an allowance is paid—other than recovery or until official retirement as an invalid. Seniority only affects the size of the allowance.

The role of public organizations, above all of the trade unions, is being increased in social security. Trade union organizations directly grant and pay temporary sick allowances and exercise control

over the spending of pension funds. Their delegates sit as full-fledged members in commissions charged with granting pensions and other forms of social aid.

There is more to do, of course. The Communist Party and Soviet state plan further expansion of social security to cover in full the maintenance of the disabled and those incapacitated by old age.

KONSTANTIN FEDIN,

*First Secretary of the Board, Union of Soviet Writers,
Hero of Socialist Labor:*

To speak of Soviet literature means speaking of Soviet society. Their oneness is a historical phenomenon, for ever since the October Revolution every feature of the country's development has been accompanied by a comparable feature in literature. Soviet literature has inherited all that was valuable in Russian letters, just as the revolution has inherited from the past the material world that was fit to preserve and build up.

Tolstoy's well-known words "I write life" meant something more than an artist's freedom from the obligation to follow a particular aesthetic school or literary system. They also meant that that titan of artistic creation searched *reality* for solutions to the problems of his art. It was above all to realism that Tolstoy owed his power. Perhaps this power is the greatest asset inherited by Soviet literature from Russian classical authors.

Realism helps the writer to borrow from society and his people the content he needs for his art. The Soviet people, made up of numerous nations, are united by the ideas and will of socialist building. This effort finds its artistic reflection in our multi-national literature, in almost every language. It accentuates the significance of the historic stages of the people's growth. The vitality of the new man becomes more palpable in books portraying him.

I feel that the generally early entry of Soviet youth into a working life tends to come ever earlier. The giant stride that in the initial period of socialism was a mere promise has long been taken—we have forgotten the time when we had to combat illiteracy. New generations of workers have brought forward people who are now active in a new science, a new art and a technology performing miracles. As a result of universal education, numerous intellectuals rise from the ranks of a working class which has vastly grown in numbers. Self-propelled machines are becoming a familiar feature of rural landscapes.

It is into these themes born of a full life, of its progress and intricacy, that young Soviet literature eagerly delves. Socialist realism asserts continuity with the founders of Soviet literature in every genre. New writers reaffirm loyalty to the internationalist slogans of peace, labor, and brotherhood among nations.

The above comments deal with only some achievements of Soviet society. Nevertheless, they give a fair idea of the overall progress

of Soviet society, of the Communist Party's aims in the social and cultural fields, and the country's prospects in the next five years.

The Soviet system makes it possible fully to use for the good of the people the social and economic potentialities of socialism, as well as the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution now in progress. Socialism is establishing its own criteria of well-being for the working people based on a judicious, scientific approach to estimating and satisfying people's material and spiritual needs. Free education at all levels, free and competent medical aid for all, pensions for all categories of workers, and other great achievements speak of the humane character of socialism. Economic and cultural progress affords every person more opportunities for study and recreation. All this shows that socialism is a system making man's all-round development really possible.

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Leninism and leading role of working class in the GDR

Werner Lamberz

The working class is the main force of our epoch and moulds its character. This fact, while not new, is of fundamental significance to all political forces that are active today. Lenin stressed its importance when, in 1955, he wrote that "there are and will always be individual and partial movements, now forward, now backward; there are and will always be various deviations from the average type and mean tempo of the movement. We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the various historical movements in a given epoch will develop, but we can and do know *which class* stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc." (*Coll. Works*, Vol 21, p. 145).

This statement is proved correct by the whole course of events in this century. Seven decades ago a powerful bourgeoisie, which contracted a marriage of convenience with the remnants of the feudal class, hailed the twentieth century as the age of its supremacy. It seemed to control everything. It had carved up the globe and lorded it over all peoples and all resources of the earth. Who was to resist it? And yet it was then that a new chapter, the most important one, began in the historical biography of the working class. In the last century this biography was recorded, figuratively speaking, by Marx and Engels, who dealt mainly with the struggle of the French and German proletariat. In the twentieth century, the center of the revolutionary movement began visibly to shift to Russia, as the founders of Marxism had foreseen. Lenin and the Russian proletariat took over the "writing" of history. They grasped the nature of the new, imperialist epoch more exactly than anyone else. They found the most suitable forms of struggle, took a most resolute stand against spreading the poison of opportunism and used the sharpening contradictions of the old society to the best advantage. They were the most courageous in leading the masses in the revolutionary struggle.

The working class, led by Lenin, opened for mankind the gateway to a new epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Today its leading role in the struggle for and under socialism is no longer an "open question." History has proved that this role is performed according to Leninism, in step with the development of the party of a new type.

The eventful and exacting struggle of the German working class and its revolutionary vanguard has also gone down in the historical biography of the international proletariat. Our experiences confirm that the most important, and also the most difficult task of the working class of any country is to form a party of the new type that can creatively apply Leninism in the actual conditions of the struggle against imperialism, for power and socialism. We had to go through this process virtually twice. At the turn of the century the German working-class movement, whose Social-Democratic Party had for long been among the foremost Marxist parties of the world, found itself undermined by opportunism, and when World War I broke out it was openly betrayed by the Right-wing leaders of Social Democracy despite the resistance of the German "Left." After this bad setback a turning-point was reached with the November 1918 revolution and the founding of the Communist Party of Germany. "We have returned to Marx," Rosa Luxemburg said at the Foundation Congress. This, however, had to be and was followed by a difficult process of evolving Leninist strategy and tactics, as well as of repairing the great damage which the Right Social-Democratic leaders had inflicted, and continued to inflict, on the working class. After the October Revolution these leaders became anti-Communist allies of the bourgeoisie committed to maintain the power of imperialism and to fight against every revolution.

The bourgeoisie too had learned its lesson. To quote Lenin, "the German and the entire international bourgeoisie, excellently armed and organized, and taught by the 'Russian experience', hurled itself upon the revolutionary proletariat of Germany in a frenzy of hate. Tens of thousands of the best people of Germany—her revolutionary workers—were killed and tortured to death by the bourgeoisie, its heroes, Noske and Co. . . ." (Vol. 32, p. 512).

The German, British, French and American bourgeoisie, who generally were at daggers drawn, knew only too well what would happen if, after Russia, Leninism also prevailed in the working-class movement of Germany and if that country in the heart of Europe broke out of the imperialist camp. Therefore, they shrank from neither infamy nor crime, and encouraged every faction and every deviation hostile to the fast-growing Communist Party. They included Right Social-Democrats in the government to strangle the proletariat's revolutionary vanguard with their hands if possible. But the CPG, led by its Thaelmannist Central Committee, became a Marxist-Leninist mass party. To save itself in face of the onslaught of the revolutionary forces, the bourgeoisie played its last card by setting up the most abominable form of its rule, fascist dictatorship.

The aggressiveness of German imperialism, assigned the role of anti-Communist spearhead of world reaction, cost the peoples of

Europe millions of human lives. The German working class, too, had to pay a toll of blood.

The experiences of mass action at the time of the Weimar Republic had not been in vain. They and the lessons of the anti-fascist struggle, summed up at the Brussels and Berne conferences (1935 and 1939), enabled our Party to elaborate a Leninist strategy and tactics. They made it possible to use the historic opportunity for the final overthrow of imperialism afforded to the German workers and people through the defeat of Hitler fascism by the glorious Soviet Army. The Party drew on the fundamental ideas of Lenin's "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution" to set the task, in its Appeal of 11 June, 1945, of eliminating the foundations of imperialism through the anti-fascist democratic revolution in Germany. We envisaged the possibility of advancing from the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants to the socialist revolution.

Once again, to be sure, we were faced with the combined forces of international capital. But the Soviet victory, which had fundamentally changed the relation of forces, and the unification on a revolutionary basis of the CPG and the Social-Democratic Party of Germany on the territory of what is now the GDR had created external and internal conditions in which the German working class and its allies could react to the restoration of the imperialist state in West Germany by founding a German state of workers and farmers, the GDR.

Naturally, after the unification, our Party, all its organizational components, had once again to go through the process of transforming itself into a party of the new, Leninist type. That was not a mere repetition of history. In 1946 the CPG had already gained considerable experience in the struggle for Leninism and working-class unity. Our Social-Democratic comrades had had the bitter experience of a split working class and of fascist rule. The founding of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) twenty-five years ago began the process of mastering Leninism by the working class on the territory of the GDR. It was a decisive development that enabled the working class to exercise its leading role in the anti-fascist democratic and the socialist revolution and to uproot imperialism.

In explaining the "Latin, scientific, historico-philosophical" term "dictatorship of the proletariat" to the working people, Lenin specified the historic period during which the working class exercises its leadership. "Only a definite class, namely, the urban workers and the factory, industrial workers in general," he wrote, "is able to lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people in the struggle to throw off the yoke of capital, in actually carrying it out, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating the new, socialist social system and in the entire struggle for the complete abolition of classes". (Vol. 29, p. 420).

It follows that the working class must lead not only in the early

stages of the struggle for the emancipation of labor, but throughout the revolutionary process ranging from the struggle to overthrow the exploiters' power to the abolition of classes. Only the working class and its Party can play the role of vanguard so long as this process goes on and must, therefore, be led.

With us on German soil, too, the winning of power, while showing that the working class had successfully passed a test, made new demands on it as the force reshaping society. The liberating mission of the working class entered a second stage in which the leading role of the working class and its revolutionary Party continues logically to unfold, as is also evident in the practical experience of the SUPG today. Socialist society objectively requires this process.

However, that does not in any way imply downgrading the role of any of the other working classes or strata. The working class and its Party lead the other sections of the people and raise them to their own level. Lenin's "Two Tactics" fully reveals this in connection with the requirements of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In one way or another, his analysis applies to every phase of the revolutionary process, above all to the building of socialism.

The revolutionary party of the working class, by uniting all its potential allies in a joint effort to build the new society, draws them nearer to the working class. This alliance acquires a new quality with the victory of socialist relations of production on the basis of socialist property. The working class can maintain its vanguard role only by dint of selfless work and considerable sacrifice. In the GDR, too, in important stages of revolutionary change, it has often had to postpone the satisfaction of its own needs in order to be able to allocate greater resources for the democratic and socialist development of the peasants and intellectuals.

The working class borrows all that is valuable in the knowledge and experience of its partners. At the same time it enables the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia to make an appreciable creative contribution to the common cause, without which socialism could not advance at all. Fostering the socialist growth of its allies and shaping socialist society as a genuinely broad and mature community of people is not the least proof of the ability of the working class to lead social progress.

Of all social forces, the working class was best prepared for the anti-fascist democratic and the socialist revolutions. Its party had mastered the experiences of the world Communist movement, evaluated the lessons of its own struggles and equipped itself with a Leninist strategy. However, this did not mean that this class was already properly trained and had acquired all the necessary leadership qualities for the next period, that of building socialism.

Lenin pointed out that people can never be properly educated outside the independent political and revolutionary struggle of the masses themselves, in isolation from it. He deduced this from the experience of the struggle for power but, in principle, it is valid for the whole of the subsequent period. Only through work for

socialism and its developed system, only through struggle to change existing conditions and through the experience of activity in these conditions could the working class gain the theoretical and practical knowledge and skill it needed to accomplish ever more difficult tasks in leading society.

This principle was confirmed, among others, by the evolution of the social consciousness of workers in the GDR as the masters of socialist property. Evidence of this consciousness was first provided on a social scale by the Hennecke* movement. In that case, for the first time ever, an advanced section of the working class realized its objective responsibility as owner of the means of production and became active in the economic sphere in accordance with its interests as the leading class. It is indicative that that first instance of a new attitude coincided with the early stages of economic planning in the first half of 1948. The expansion of the Hennecke movement, in turn, created subjective conditions for the successful continuation of planning.

It would be wrong, of course, to search in the mass initiative of those days for qualitative indices measuring up to present conditions. All the same, that initiative was the first to spring from the interconnection of labor productivity and way of life typical of a system based on public ownership. Its experience made it possible afterwards to advance the slogan "As we work today, so we shall live tomorrow," which was to retain its decisive significance at every stage of the emulation movement until the triumph of socialist relations of production.

With the formation of socialist relations, it became necessary and possible to develop socialist collective labor. When the Party proceeded to implement the economic system of socialism—the basic idea of which is to combine central planning of key economic processes by the state with initiative on the part of socialist enterprises and local people's representative bodies—the range of the responsibility and initiative of workers' collectives widened. Their initiative goes beyond the individual places of work and teams, extending more and more to the whole socialist enterprise, meaning that an enterprise is not an isolated unit but part of the entire planned economy with clearly defined functions and duties. As the socialist planned economy comes into its own the working people become increasingly aware of their responsibility for public property.

In that complicated social process, our Party had to make a correct evaluation of the interplay of the objective and subjective factors. The subjective factor must by no means be underrated, as we know. For example, it turned out that we could make tangible progress in the scientific and technological revolution only if we simultaneously raised the standard of our socialist public education and, bearing in mind the future, fostered a new attitude of

*Adolf Hennecke, a miner, initiated a socialist emulation movement that gained considerable scope in the GDR after 1948.—Ed.

the whole people towards science. It became more important than ever for the Party to explain to the working people the political objectives and exigencies of the stage concerned.

We owe our achievements in building a developed social system of socialism to the fact that we have invariably paid great attention to ideological work, which we have never regarded as something secondary to social policy. Our experience shows that such a concrete policy can be made only if ideological work is the backbone of leadership.

The GDR has been growing stronger only because of the growing efficiency of working-class leadership. Its working class is no longer what it was 21 years ago, when our republic was founded—important changes have occurred.

Numerically the strongest class in our country from the outset, the working class continued to grow by absorbing, in particular, numerous peasants and members of the urban petty bourgeoisie. There are about 6.4 million workers and salaried employees in the GDR today. About five million of them hold jobs in nationally-owned enterprises and institutions, more than 440,000 in producers' and commercial cooperatives, about 453,000 in enterprises with state participation and almost 437,000 in the private sector of the economy.

The working class has mastered new trades—from modern ship-building to the production of computers—and it has also settled new areas, mainly in the north and east of our republic. In the early days it was a predominantly "male" class. But between 1952 and 1968 the number of women workers and salaried employees increased from 2.2 to 3.1 million, which is almost half of the total.

The new qualities developed by the working class in our time derive from its historically new functions as the ruling class and socialist owner of the means of production.

These new qualities are especially marked where structural changes in the working class are directly necessitated by its leading role. The working class has at all stages supplied most of the leading personnel for the socialist system as a whole and for its various echelons. In the present period, 57.4 per cent of the members of the People's Chamber come from the working class. In the local people's representative bodies this proportion has increased from 50.9 in 1961 to 60.4 per cent today. Eighty-three per cent of the officers of our National People's Army, as well 82 per cent of the public prosecutors and 75 per cent of the judges come from the working class.

The active part of the working class in the exercise of power is also seen in the fact that at present 1.6 million out of the more than seven million members of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions hold trade union posts. In line with the ideas of Lenin, who was the first to provide a theoretical basis for the role of trade unions in a worker-peasant state, we consider it necessary

to go on seeing to it that there is a close connection between the further strengthening of the leading role of the working class and the qualitative development of the trade unions.

Naturally, the working class itself continues to develop as producer and consumer of material and spiritual values.

Higher labor productivity is the strongest indication of the workers' increased efficiency. Industrial production in our republic has grown by roughly 370 per cent over the 1950 figure. We owe this to the efforts of about 2.8 million working people. Had productivity remained at the 1950 level, we should now have to employ 8.3 million people for the same amount of output. In that case, the labor requirements of industry alone would exceed 7.7 million people, or the number of those now engaged in the whole national economy. These figures reveal the decisive importance of higher labor productivity for industrial progress in the GDR.

Productivity depends on how the rapidly increasing demands on skill are met. In 1969 more than 60 per cent of all apprentices had finished a 10- or 12-year school. At present, 20 per cent of the able-bodied population above the age of 18 have a secondary education; in 1959 the figure was 2.9 per cent. The extension of general education is matched by higher vocational qualifications. The percentage of personnel graduated from higher institutions is growing faster than that of technical school leavers and the proportion of foremen, faster than that of highly skilled workers. The share of semi-skilled and unskilled workers, on the other hand, is diminishing.

These important changes in the educational pattern of the working class are closely linked with changes brought about by the scientific and technological revolution. However, they are by no means determined only by the technical standard of the means of production. The need for education stems also, and above all, from the worker's attitude to the means of production. The workers' desire for education is a reflection of something more than their development as producers. Their development also goes, and should go, hand in hand with the evolution of their role as collective, socialist owners and as members of a class exercising power.

Among the West German bourgeoisie opinions differ on whether or not the worker in modern production needs higher qualification. There is a controversy on what is more likely to boost profits, whether improving the working people's technical knowledge or raising the managers' standard of training.

In the socialist economy of the GDR, this approach is out of the question. Our workers are called upon both to operate modern equipment and take part in the planning and management of socialist enterprises. This necessitates, in particular, knowledge of the technical fundamentals of modern production. Characteristically, the working people show particular interest in knowledge in those enterprises or departments where socialist automation has been, or is being implemented. It is perfectly logical, therefore that

the standard of vocational training of the working class in the GDR is considerably higher than in West Germany.

The West German monopolies are agreed that the workers must be prevented from gaining an insight into the fundamental interconnections between the economy and the social system, since that would only make the working class more dangerous for the rule of capital. By contrast, our republic always sees to it that the working people, as well as improving their technical knowledge, become versed in social problems, knowledge of which has by now attained an unprecedented level. Thus, distinctions in the aims and results of education, and the fundamental superiority of our socialist educational system over the capitalist are due to the difference between the two social systems.

Improvements in the living standard of our working class must not be gauged solely in terms of increase in average wages. In socialist conditions, the satisfaction of material needs is linked with the steady growth of cultural needs. This sphere, too, is influenced by the more comprehensive interests of a class that is aware of its social responsibility. Investigations have shown that this awareness on the part of each particular working man or woman greatly stimulates interest in press, radio and television, the cinema, theatre and books. Operating here is another essential component of the development of workers under socialism as both consumers and educated creative individuals.

The new qualities of the working class develop in close connection with its leading position under socialism. In 25 years of revolutionary effort the working class has acquired the abilities needed to cope with the problems of the next decade.

In the 1970s the working class must solve the problems of utilizing all the motive forces and potentialities of a developed socialist society in the GDR. This will also be the most important contribution that the GDR, a member of the community of fraternal socialist countries, can make to enhance the leading role of the working class on an international scale. Now that the Soviet Union is successfully advancing to communism and that many countries have entered the second and higher stage of building socialism, it is time to deprive imperialism of the superiority it retains in the field of labor productivity, in which, according to Lenin, socialism must win its final, decisive victory over the old order.

Imperialism entered the age of the scientific and technological revolution from materially and technically better positions. It expects that by the year 2000 it will have advanced far enough in the main countries of its sphere to be able to dominate the "world periphery" from the heights of its technological superiority. Thus the monopoly bourgeoisie attempts to play the scientific and technological revolution against the social revolution. That is the background against which the "bridge-builders," the demagogues who talk about "change by rapprochement" and those who want to move from "confrontation to cooperation" are at work.

But in the contest in the field of the scientific and technological revolution there are both short-and long-term factors. While the monopoly bourgeoisie could count on the former, socialism can rely on the latter—the factors of the efficiency of the social system as a whole.

The revolutionary process in the sphere of the productive forces and the increasing diversification and integration of reproduction processes call for the socialization of labor on an unprecedented scale and for planned, proportional development of the entire economy. This proportionality must also be maintained in the process of changes in the structure of the economy required, above all, by the scientific and technological revolution.

Socialist rationalization throughout the economy is combined with effort to achieve the greatest scientific and technological results in certain areas of special importance to the future and to promote automated large-scale production. This, in turn, calls for a high degree of concentration of forces. In the last resort, the balance will be turned by the ability harmoniously to develop production, science, education and culture and to concentrate on the main fields of the scientific and technological revolution while creatively forecasting inter-playing processes. To fulfil this task, it is becoming ever more imperative to plan and manage on the scale of society as a whole. It follows that as the scientific and technological revolution progresses the social character of the productive forces becomes more marked and so is their contrast to capitalist relations of production and their fundamental harmony with socialist relations.

This is our objective historical advantage. Its realization will require immense effort in the 1970s. We can only achieve success in cooperation with the Soviet Union, the main force of our world system, in both science and economy, and with all fraternal socialist countries. The effect of our own measures will depend on how far they are coordinated with the overall process of economic integration of the CMEA countries.

There are also numerous socio-political tasks to accomplish. It is highly important to improve central state planning in close connection with greater local autonomy of the socialist enterprises and people's representative bodies. We are striving to organize the research potential more effectively, promote socialist higher education and build up the entire system of education. The main purpose of these efforts is to advance socialist economic planning. We have assured continuous economic growth by making intensive use of economic potentialities. However, a number of new development problems have cropped up.

The 14th plenary meeting of our Party's Central Committee analyzed the experience gained to date, especially since 1969, and drew fundamental conclusions regarding plan targets for 1971 and the subsequent functioning of the socialist economic system. We try to meet Lenin's demands on the management of a socialist planned economy, which the Theses of the CC CPSU on the Lenin cen-

tenary described as "a scientific approach, the ability to make a correct estimation of the outlook and the priorities, regard for the latest achievements of science and technology and for the experience of the more efficient, flexibility, the ability to react to changing conditions promptly and precisely."

What can state-monopoly capitalism expect in the next decade in view of the contrast between the two systems? A still considerable increase in its economic and scientific potential, most probably. But then this increase is bound to be accomplished by a deepening of the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system and by a growing inability to overcome them.

Socialism has entered a new stage in which it is taking the offensive in the scientific and technological revolution. It is becoming possible precisely for socialism to set the highest standards for a widening range of scientific, technological and economic indices. And this means nullifying the global strategy of international monopoly capital and adds to the decisive influence of socialism and the leading role of the working class in the world. In this context the historic significance of the new stage in scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union stands out clearly. This will also make it possible to extend cooperation between socialist countries generally and foster their gradual integration.

With this mobilization of forces for socialist progress, the abilities of the working class and its allies will go on developing. In addition to a general forecast of socialist development in the GDR, our Party has specified the main lines of development of the classes and strata forming our society. Attention is again focussed in the working class, for in the future as in the past it is this class and its party that will give decisive impetus to social progress.

The forecast of the road ahead for the working class of the GDR is prompted by our resolve to achieve in the seventies decisive successes in building a developed socialism by combining it with the technological revolution more and more closely. The working class will therefore include fewer and fewer people performing manual work in the immediate process of production. It will increasingly become a class combining mental with physical labor in its activity and exercising its power.

Bourgeois propagandists and various revisionist authors often allege that strenuous, physical labor, want and lack of education are inevitable characteristics of the working class. They do so in an effort to prove that in the conditions of modern production, with its exacting scientific and technological requirements, the working class can no longer play its leading role. However, these would-be experts cannot deny the enormous progress made by the socialist countries in educating the workers and this is why they say, in effect, that a worker stops being one when he has received an education. This is a travesty of exact theory, of course. Lenin specified the most important characteristics of a class. These are the place a class holds in a historically definite system of social

production, its relationship to the means of production, its role in the social organization of labor, the manner in which it secures its share of social wealth and the amount of that share.

Our task is properly to apply these principles as socialist society develops and the scientific and technological revolution progresses. It is obvious, for instance, that the working class itself is developing and that many of its members in technologically advanced sectors and enterprises have received an education on the level of foremen and technologists. There is, furthermore, a trend towards intellectuals and workers drawing closer together. A result of this development trend will unquestionably be that part of the scientific and technological intelligentsia, primarily people directly engaged in production or management, will in the end come to be regarded as members of the working class. Our social scientists are studying these problems.

It is already safe to say the following:

The working class of the GDR will participate in greater measure and still more consciously in the management of all public affairs. It must be remembered that the increasing interrelation of social processes puts greater responsibility on the working people for the common cause in each particular sphere.

Integrated into automated production, the working class will achieve higher productivity and its opportunities for still greater creative effort will extend. In this it will also benefit from the process of concentration which unites the workers in powerful socialist complexes in large, highly organized and skilled teams. Socialist collective labor is acquiring a new quality throughout the economy, and first of all in this field.

In the next decade alone, the working class will raise the standard of its political, general and specialized education by a larger margin than ever before. Continuous study will become a habit with most of the workers. The increasing share of the natural sciences in general education will extend the workers' range of skill. The working class will be joined by more young people who have finished at least a ten-year general, polytechnical school.

In view of the increasing interplay of various components of the social system, the working class will continue to extend its influence on developments in town and country, in school and college, in art and literature.

In the 1970s, while building a developed socialist society and gaining new experiences in the process, the working class will make still greater progress in the shaping of socialist human relations and in the education of socialist-minded people than it could in the 1960s.

The past, present and future development of our society, primarily the countries of the socialist community, shows that of all the forces which claimed the leadership of mankind at the turn of the century, the working class is the only one to have proved equal to it. The destiny of mankind is inseparable from that of the working

class. This class has founded states which in a historically short time have overcome the devastations of capitalist and feudal rule and attained what is historically the highest level of development. It has helped peoples reduced by imperialism to the condition of pariahs to win freedom and become the subject of history once again.

The working class has put an end, as Marx predicted, to all relations "in which man is a debased, enslaved, abandoned, despicable essence" ("Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right"). It has established a system in which social being, the relations between people, their deeds and thoughts and feelings assume a humane character and in which a "*complete rebirth of man*" has become possible. (*Ibid.*)

Under socialism—the social order created by the working class—the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution become instruments for the advancement of mankind, for peace and the happiness of the peoples.

The world of today furnishes ample evidence of the creative power of the working class. There is no doubt that it will accomplish its historic mission thoroughly and to the end.

Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party — the nation's vanguard

Tsaganlamin Dugersuren

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, inspirer and organizer of our nation's victories and the leading force of our society, will be 50 years old on March 1, 1971. Its appearance on the political scene was a turning point in our struggle for national liberation.

Founded by the outstanding revolutionary, Sukhe-Bator, and his associates under the immediate impact of the October Revolution, the MPRP has travelled an arduous but glorious path from the small detachment of revolutionaries that it was at its inception to the present day army of many thousands of Communists, foremost fighters for socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic. Led by the Party, our people ended centuries of national and social oppression and became the first among the formerly backward countries to take the non-capitalist road, rising from a benighted condition to build a socialist state.

At first, the People's Revolutionary Party was socially a party of

arats (herdsmen). In due course, by virtue of its close ties with Soviet Russia's victorious working class and the world Communist and labor movement, and the invaluable advice of V. I. Lenin, leader and teacher of the oppressed, it grew into the vanguard of Mongolia's working people, representative of their vital interests.

The victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, the creative materialization of the Marxist-Leninist postulate that backward countries may with the aid of the state of the victorious proletariat go over to socialism by by-passing the capitalist stage, and the successful building of socialism in Mongolia, are all tokens of our Party's leading role.

Revolutionary revival

The 50 years of the MPRP bear out the fact that guidance by a revolutionary Marxist party is an essential objective law governing socialist revolution and construction.

The Party has passed a number of stages, each with specific socio-economic and political conditions, a specific relation of class forces, specific forms of organization and specific methods, fashioning its programs of revolutionary reconstruction, inspiring and organizing the people for it, to fit the concrete conditions of each stage.

We successfully fulfilled our first program, envisaging preparation and conduct of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, paving the way for non-capitalist development and national and social emancipation. It was the Party that inspired, organized and led that revolution, and after people's power was established, its role grew bigger still, because it had become the ruling party and bore the decisive responsibility for the nation's future.

In a comparatively short period of three to four years, the country carried through far-reaching social changes: serfdom was abolished, feudal privileges annulled, all citizens made equal, all government bodies became elective, a democratic constitution was adopted, and Mongolia was constituted as a people's republic.

The People's Revolutionary Party worked out a general line, reflected in its second program which envisaged non-capitalist development. The Party's main aim then was to abolish the class of feudal lords, oust foreign capital and lay the groundwork of a new, non-capitalist, national economy.

The political measures of the Party and the people's government against the feudal lords were followed up by an offensive in the economic domain, chiefly by means of high progressive taxation and confiscation of cattle and other property from lay feudals and a section of the upper clergy. This added to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, though the end of feudalism had not yet come, because the clerical order still survived. The Party's struggle against lamaist predominance was long and hard (there were more than 700 lamaseries with nearly 100,000 lamas). Lamaism had a pernicious effect on the country's political and economic condition, imped-

ing growth of the productive forces, national culture, science, etc. Besides, many of the bigger lamaseries were support bases for counter-revolutionary forces.

However, in view of the people's deep devotion to lamaism and the specific differentiation among the lamas, the Party and government followed an extremely cautious policy. Measures were devised to bring about an organizational disintegration of the clergy. Taxation was centered on undermining the economics of the lamaseries, while Party policy isolated the reactionary counter-revolutionary upper strata from the rank-and-file lamas, who were encouraged to do socially useful labor. The Party also conducted far-flung atheist propaganda, exposing the reactionary essence of lamaism. Ultimately, this demolished the clergy's socio-economic pillars and the feudalistic religion.

That was how, thanks to Party leadership, the country emerged from its feudal condition, ending the feudal economy, abolishing the landholdings of the exploiting class and that class itself. At the same time, foreign capital that exploited arat labor, plundered our national wealth and obstructed the growth of our productive forces was gradually ousted. Highly relevant for the process were the expanding economic ties with the Soviet Union, the emergence of a national trade, finance and credit system, the state's monopoly of foreign trade, etc. Once foreign capital was ousted, the country gained complete economic independence.

The democratic reconstruction was followed by the period of gradual transition from the general democratic stage to the socialist stage of the revolution. The Party's main objectives in building the foundations of socialism were defined in its third program, adopted by its Tenth Congress in 1940, the targets of which were finalized and complemented by decisions of the subsequent congresses and Central Committee plenums.

In the socialist stage of the revolution, the People's Revolutionary Party secured the further consolidation of the socialist formation, the state and cooperative economic sectors that had emerged during the democratic reconstruction. Built up on the basis of long-term planning with the increasing Soviet technico-economic aid and the cooperation of other socialist countries, these sectors helped us develop the industrial foundation for many of our key economic branches, assuring a steady growth of socialist industrial production and the development of new industries and turning Mongolia from an agrarian into an agrarian-industrial country.

At the same time, the Party accomplished another extremely difficult task of socialist construction, enlisting arat herdsmen in cooperatives. In the preceding nearly three decades, MPRP policy had centered on aiding and using the economic potential of the arat households, while restricting capitalist elements bred by small-scale private enterprise, on the other. When the socialist reconstruction of agriculture was completed in the late 1950's following the voluntary mass entry of arat herdsmen into agricultural cooperatives,

socialist ownership of the means of production became the sound economic basis for all society, enabling us to remove the prime causes of the exploitation of man by man and to consolidate socialist relations of production in town and country.

The radical economic reconstruction was accomplished by a cultural revolution, which gradually eliminated the ideological influences of the feudal class, secured the victory of socialist ideology and provided access for all working people to modern science and art, creating a socialist culture. Cultural backwardness was eliminated: the nearly total adult illiteracy ended and primary schooling in the countryside and seven-year schooling in the towns was made universal and obligatory. With socialist ideology gaining predominance, conditions appeared for an essential remoulding of the spiritual image of our people. Public health made imposing progress and the standard of living rose visibly.

The class structure of our society changed radically, principally due to the elimination of exploiter elements and the emergence of a working class as a result of industrial growth. The workers, who came from the thick of the revolutionary arat masses and who developed with the genuinely internationalist aid and support of the Soviet working class, were associated from the outset with the socialist pattern of production. Following the amalgamation of arats in farm cooperatives, the hundreds of thousands of small producers were transformed into a class based on social production and common interest, and therefore qualitatively different from that of dissociated proprietors. There also emerged a people's intelligentsia, a social stratum that did not exist in feudal Mongolia. It sprang from the impressive social progress and the Party's concern for culture, science, public education, literature and art.

Thus, by virtue of the profound democratic and socialist changes carried forward under the three Party programs, coupled with the rise of the economy and culture, feudal Mongolia, one of the most backward countries of the East, grew into a state successfully building socialism.

That is the main achievement of our non-capitalist development promoted by the MPRP.

The Party surmounted tremendous difficulties to secure Mongolia's passage from feudalism to socialism, by-passing capitalism, a complete historical formation. With an indescribably backward economy and no industry to speak of, our country was dependent on foreign capital. We could not lay the foundation for a state economy by nationalizing capitalist property or that of clerical, as well as lay feudals. Animal husbandry was the sole basis of our economy and though soon after the revolution all land was declared the people's common property, this did not have the same effect in our conditions as land reform does in other agrarian countries, for only vague boundaries had existed between the holdings of the feudal princes and the land allotments within these possessions were not even clearly demarcated.

All this the Party had to reckon with. Many different problems

stemmed from the prevalence of extensive nomad cattle-breeding, the absence of modern productive forces and a working class, the bitter resistance of the feudals and from petty-bourgeois nationalist trends. The Right opportunists who surfaced in the Party in the twenties hindered the country's further development and obstructed decisive and uncompromising action against the feudal class. They scorned the idea of non-capitalist development, departing openly from the Party's policy and the principles of proletarian internationalism. Much harm was also done by the "Left" opportunists, who disregarded Mongolia's historical specifics and tried to speed the growth of the socialist mode of production by driving herdsmen into cooperatives in the early thirties, when the essential preconditions were still lacking.

Combating nationalism and battling attempts to undermine its general line, to disrupt its unity and cohesion, the MPRP overcame the obstacles in all the stages of the revolution. It won the class battles, because it took guidance in Marxism-Leninism and never lost touch with the Soviet Communist Party and the international Communist and working-class movement.

The new stage

The objective of completing socialist construction highlights the new and important period in our history, which opened in 1960. The tasks are: intensive development of the material and technical basis of socialism; improvement of socialist social relations and economic management; advancement of communist education; a considerable rise in the living standard and further cultural growth. The leading role of the MPRP is increasing visibly. The new Party program, adopted by the 15th Congress in 1966, says: "The leading and directing role of the Party must be steadily extended in all spheres of the life of our socialist society. The Party's most important task is to continuously improve the political, ideological and organizational work of its various bodies and branches, to secure unity and achieve a steady improvement of the methods and forms of Party activity, of the quality of the Party's guidance of the economy and cultural construction, of all aspects of social life."

The aim is to complete the building up of the material and technical basis of socialism by further industrialization and by mechanizing farming, secure a higher degree of mechanization and automation and a higher machine-to-man ratio in all sectors of the economy. The immediate objective is to turn the Mongolian People's Republic into an industrial-agrarian country with rational structure of the extractive and manufacturing industries and harmonious and effective combination of the main branches of socialist economy. Fuel and power, metalworking and other industries are to be expanded.

The material and technical basis of our agriculture is growing rapidly. At present, the Party has set its sights chiefly on further consolidating the system of agricultural cooperatives, which en-

compass 55 per cent of the population and the estates of which total 90.3 per cent of our total area. The cooperatives own more than 90 per cent of the country's livestock, producing more than 80 per cent of the meat, 70 per cent of the wool and nearly 50 per cent of the milk, thus supplying the bulk of our farm produce. At present, the Party and government are building up joint enterprises embracing several cooperatives and are furnishing more farming machinery. The decisions of the Sixth (1969) Central Committee Plenary Meeting to turn over the machine-and-livestock stations directly to the cooperatives and to extend the latter's repair facilities, have yielded good results.

Economic development has been the Party's main concern. The Fifth (1968) and Eighth (1970) Central Committee meetings, for example, adopted important decisions, envisaging fuller use of industrial facilities, making social production more effective, raising the productivity of labor, lowering production costs, consolidating enterprise accountability, and enforcing economy in production.

The community of the two forms of socialist property (national and cooperative), and that of the aims and interests of the social classes, has naturally brought them together and enhanced co-operation. However, though the essential economic and political interests of the workers, cooperative arats and people's intelligentsia coincide, the Party must reckon with some disparities.

Cementing social unity and gradually eliminating the essential differences created by the existence of two forms of socialist property, the MPRP takes account of the objective tendencies in the sphere of social relationships. Priority goes to extending state property, enhancing its role, consolidating and expanding cooperative property, firming up the ties between town and country, increasing state assistance to cooperatives, and improving the material and cultural conditions of the people. As the Party sees it, the most important area of its work is to strengthen the alliance of the working class and cooperative arats, with the former playing the guiding role.

In its guidance of the socialist state, the Party is working for an extension of democratic principles in the election system, giving scope for deep-going discussion of the main aspects of state, economic and cultural construction; regular accountability, publicity, greater public participation and control, and the like.

This is done to secure greater mass political and production activity, to encourage the people's creative initiative and to assure the harmonious and purposeful operation of all our organizations and institutions, all sectors of the Party and government apparatus at all levels.

Socialist construction has impelled the growth and consolidation of the trade unions, the revolutionary youth league and other public organizations that came into being in the process of the revolution. Their role in economic and cultural guidance and in the communist education of the people is rising steadily.

The creative activity of the masses, aware of their stake in the

Party's policy, has helped speed up our progress throughout these years. The socialist work movement, the highest form of socialist emulation in our country, has spread throughout the economy, embracing more than 80,000 workers. All sections of the people participate in running public affairs. We have more than 17,000 deputies of people's hurals of all levels and more than 10,000 members of hural standing committees. There are tens of thousands of activists in public control under the auspices of Party, government, trade union and youth league organizations. The mechanism of socialist democracy is expanding continuously.

Main trends in Party work

The purpose of the Party as political leader and organizer of the masses is to assure the effective operation of government and public organizations, avoiding incursions of their prerogatives. What the Party is striving for is that in their practical activity all government and public organizations should proceed from the Party's political line.

In our highly varied activity we lay stress on the scientific approach, on ideological work and education, observance of Lenin's norms and principles of Party life, concern for our cadres, efficiency of all Party bodies and encouragement of Communists to be more active.

Our policy is scientifically substantiated, because the Party unfailingly follows the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, studying the objective laws of social development and analyzing all work, the concrete conditions, possibilities and potentialities. Also, the Party strives to combine the achievements of science with the practical experience of the masses. That has been the basis on which our Party worked out its general line of non-capitalist development and defined the aims and tasks in all stages.

Socialism has its roots in the conscious activity of the masses. Therefore, the MPRP lays emphasis on the communist education not only of its members, but of all working people—on cultivating ideological allegiance and loyalty to socialism, imparting the Marxist-Leninist spirit, patriotism and proletarian internationalism, combating views and customs alien to socialism, disseminating scientific atheism and fighting pernicious survivals of the past. An important role is played by Party propaganda and agitation, the press, literature, radio, television, cinema and the theatre.

More than half our population is under twenty-five. That is why top priority in Party work goes to bringing up the growing generation. The MPRP teaches the youth to treasure and multiply the revolutionary traditions of the Party and people.

We maintain facilities for the Party education of our cadres, enabling each Communist to study Marxist-Leninist theory, learn domestic and international problems and study the experience of the fraternal parties.

Observance of the Leninist principles of Party building and

norms of inner-Party life is one of the pillars enhancing the leading role of the Party. At all times, the People's Revolutionary Party has adhered to the principle of democratic centralism.

Party branches play a most important role in carrying forward MPRP policy. The Central Committee encourages them to exercise a continuous influence on political, economic and cultural affairs. The branches maintain close ties with the masses, assure active participation of all Communists in public life, in shaping Party policy and fulfilling the decisions of Party and government bodies.

The Party ranks are growing, and the percentage of workers in the Party membership is increasing steadily. Workers comprised 6.4 per cent of the Party in 1940, 26.2 per cent in 1960 and 29.5 per cent in 1970. As much as 49.9 per cent of the Party membership consists of workers and cooperative arats, with 59.9 per cent of all Party members being engaged in the sphere of material production.

The internationalism of the MPRP

For fully half a century our Party has striven to contribute to the unity and cohesion of the world's revolutionary forces, acting on the principles of proletarian internationalism, fraternal solidarity and cooperation with the CPSU, Lenin's party, and the other contingents of the international army of Communists.

The Party program says that the MPRP "regards as its most important task to develop in every way fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation, mutual aid and support with other Communist and Workers' parties, to coordinate action with them and other revolutionary forces for joint struggle against imperialism, for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism."

The substantial improvement of Mongolia's international situation and its increased prestige are the immediate result of our correct foreign policy.

The fraternal ties between the Mongolian People's Republic and the other socialist countries are expanding and the friendship of the Mongolian and the other peoples of the socialist community is growing stronger. This creates a sound basis for political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation, for coordinating economic and cultural development plans in the CMEA framework, and for joint reinforcement of the defense of the socialist camp as a whole, and of each of its members.

Exchanges of Party and government delegations in 1965-1966 and the conclusion of a new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid have gone a long way in consolidating the friendly bonds and versatile cooperation between the MPR and the Soviet Union. This provided the basis for continued expansion of economic, political and cultural relations between the two countries. The increasing Soviet economic aid is helping us resolve some of our most difficult problems, providing material and technical supplies for our socialist construction and training personnel. Soviet specialists are taking

part in our construction effort in thousands, and thousands of our own young men and women are getting a higher, secondary and specialized education, and picking up production proficiency and technical knowhow, in the USSR.

The visit of the Party and government delegation of the MPR to the Soviet Union and the negotiations between the leaders of our two countries at the end of October 1970 were fresh evidence of close Mongolian-Soviet cooperation based on the unshakeable principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Exchanging experience in building the new life and joint work with fraternal parties in socialist construction and in cementing the world Communist and working-class movement, in fighting for peace and democracy, is of the utmost importance for the MPRP. That is why we are working for broader international contacts with the fraternal parties, including bilateral and multilateral meetings, exchanges of delegations and information, negotiations and talks, and international meetings and conferences.

The MPRP was represented at the International Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957, 1960 and 1969.

In future, too, our Party will participate in the common struggle of the anti-imperialist forces and will develop bilateral and multilateral ties with the fraternal parties and all revolutionary forces, promoting joint actions on the international scene.

In its foreign policy, the People's Revolutionary Party takes guidance in the following theme, set out by the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties: *"Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, and dedicated and devoted service in the interests of their peoples and the common cause of socialism are a requisite for the efficacy and correct orientation of united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, a guarantee that they will achieve their historic goals."*

New social structure of Rumania and the Party's growing role

Gheorghe Pana

The years of socialist development in Rumania have seen rapid progress in every sphere. Our country now has a dynamic economy, a powerful socialist industry and a growing modern agriculture. Industrial output is 16 times greater than in 1938, regarded in

bourgeois and landowner Rumania as economically the best year. As we go on building a comprehensively developed socialist society fulfilment of the program adopted by the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party in August 1969 will increase our economic potential, move our economic level closer to that of advanced countries and substantially raise our people's standard of living.

Changes in the composition of society

The spread of socialist relations to every production sphere in town and countryside, the headway made in laying and building up the material and technical foundations of socialism, and deep-going changes in the people's way of life have led to radical changes in the class composition of Rumanian society, in the character of all classes and social strata and in their mutual relations. Our society, in which the exploiter classes have been abolished for good, is made up of working classes and strata. The 1966 census revealed that 39.9 per cent of the population were workers (including members of their families), 38.6 per cent cooperative peasants, 12.3 per cent intellectuals and professional or office workers, 5.2 per cent individual peasants and 3.2 per cent handicraftsmen (including 0.9 per cent not in cooperatives).

With the progress of the people's revolution and the building of the new society *the working class—the leading social force of the country and the unswerving standard-bearer of social progress*—has been actively playing a more and more decisive role. All political power in the state is exercised by the working class in common with other working people of town and country. The workers constitute the main social force from whose ranks the leading cadre of the Communist Party, the socialist state, mass organizations, economic enterprises and important ideological institutions is recruited.

The development of our country, like that of all other socialist countries, is evidence of the logical growth of the social role of the working class in step with the rise and maturing of new social relations and the advance to communism. The efforts of the working class in industry, the most dynamic sphere of the economy, in building, in agriculture and transport is decisive to the progress of our socialist economy and the whole of society. The working class has been, and remains, the most close-knit and well-organized class, a consistent champion of Marxism-Leninism. It is highly disciplined, militant and devoted and imparts these qualities to other social forces.

Economic progress through industrialization, the growth of the productive forces and their rational distribution made for quantitative and qualitative changes in the composition of the working class, and for an improvement in the workers' cultural standard. The proportion of workers increased from roughly 1.2 million in 1950 to 3.6 million in 1969, their share in the total number of industrial and office workers exceeding 73 per cent. Fast-developing modern industries drew more and more workers. Most of the indus-

trial workers hold jobs in the technologically sophisticated engineering, metal-working and chemical industries. The growing role and share of mental labor in the workers' production effort and the acquisition of knowledge in the most diverse spheres of science are becoming important factors in effacing the distinctions between physical and mental labor. The workers' rising cultural standard, widening scientific horizons and growing socio-political experience foster the socialist-mindedness of the working class and other working people.

Due to measures adopted in recent years to introduce collective leadership into every public activity, the workers share directly in the management of enterprises by holding general employees' meetings invested with ample powers. Besides, the workers have their spokesmen on enterprise management committees. Trade union representatives are members of government, of the collective leading bodies of ministries, central boards and industrial complexes. Furthermore, the powers of Party and trade union organizations in supervising administrative bodies and in the guidance of economic, cultural and social activities have been extended. Along with representative democratic institutions that ensure the participation of the working people in central and local government bodies, and with other forms of drawing the workers and other citizens into government and public activity, the forms listed above constitute an all-embracing democratic system that is being steadily improved and carried further and enables all working people fully to play their role in public life.

The *peasantry* is another key social force of Rumanian society. For a long time before the working class appeared on our historical scene the peasants were a most important factor for social progress as exponents of the aspiration for freedom and national dignity. Being well aware of the peasants' role among the working population and in class battles, the Communist Party has always seen in them a powerful revolutionary force that can fully realize its social potentialities in close alliance with the working class.

With the putting of agriculture on a cooperative basis, completed early in 1962, the peasants became a *new, homogeneous socialist class* with a common social idea. Their cultural standard and political consciousness are rising. Having for ever linked their existence with socialism and modern large-scale production, they are taking an increasingly active part in the management of public affairs both locally and nationally, contributing greatly to the building of socialism.

Due to the process of modernizing agriculture and the entire economy, the growing share of industry and other non-agricultural branches and the expanding technical base of agricultural production, part of the manpower engaged in this economic field is gradually being released and transferred to other spheres. This does not, however, imply a reduction of the social role of the peasantry, whose labor is an important source of the people's well-being. The peasants' active contribution to socialist building is growing as new

social relations take root in the countryside and the peasants' new position as a socialist class becomes more pronounced. Our Party maintains that a peasantry operating in close alliance and friendship with the working class is a powerful factor for the process of transforming society. The Party opposed the tendency in evidence at one time to underrate agriculture and the peasants' revolutionary potential and social energy. The setting up in 1966 of district and national cooperative unions as agencies in charge of agricultural production cooperatives was a most important political and economic step. It created organizational conditions for cooperative farming to join harmoniously in the economic development process and, moreover, made for greater peasant participation in the management of agriculture and public affairs. The Chairman of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives is a member of government and directly represents the cooperative peasantry. The peasants also take an active part in the management of public affairs from top to bottom through their deputies to the Grand National Assembly, People's Councils and other government bodies, by using numerous forms that guarantee widespread discussion of every problem with the citizenry, through the dialogue which the Party and the government continuously carry on with the masses.

The objective laws of socialist society, which is advancing to the gradual effacement of essential distinctions between physical and mental labor, the objective process of improvement of the cultural standard of the masses, and factors brought into being by the scientific and technological revolution account for the substantial numerical growth and increasing role of the *intelligentsia*.

The period of socialist development has witnessed the emergence of numerous intellectuals educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and dedicated to socialism. The intelligentsia, which comprises members of several generations, has always sided with the people and taken an active part in the great cause of remaking society. It is an important social force engaged in the process of building a fully developed socialist society and a reliable support of our Party.

The share of the intelligentsia in the population has been growing both relatively and absolutely and its composition has been changing with changes in its position, character and social significance. Its numerical growth is due to the process of building a modern economy whose key factor is a developed industry based on the latest achievements of science and technology. This process requires more engineers, economists and other specialists, who make up the largest and fastest-growing contingent of our intellectual community. Almost 50 per cent of those who have received a higher education are graduates of technological and economic colleges.

The composition of the intelligentsia reflects changes in the composition of our society. Most workers by brain are the sons and daughters of workers and peasants, which imparts a new character to our socialist intelligentsia also in terms of social origin. Over 87 per cent of the specialists graduated from institutions of higher learning have received their education in the years of socialist development.

Our Party's policy takes account of the important role which the intellectuals have to play along with other working people, under the leadership of the working class, in building a comprehensively developed socialist society. It sees to it that favorable conditions are created for the full use of the labor and creative potentialities of people active in science and culture.

The new state power has been consolidated, socialist relations of production have spread to every economic field and the structure of society has changed. It is in these conditions that the *cohesion of all working people with the Communist Party has grown, expressing the people's full approval of the Party's policy and full acceptance of the ideals of socialism*. The unity of our society is a natural result of the abolition of the exploiter classes, the fact that the economic, social and political interests of all classes and social strata have become common, and of the Party's exercise of its leading role. It is a result of the work being carried on in all spheres by the working class, the peasants, the intelligentsia and other groups.

The unbreakable alliance of the working class and the cooperative farmers, and their closer friendship and cooperation are the decisive factors unifying society, the granite foundation of our socialist system. The ties between industrial and agricultural production and the process of building a harmoniously developed socialist society tend to consolidate the alliance, suggesting the most effective forms of relationship between the two classes. To strengthen the economic foundations of the worker-peasant alliance, the Tenth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party decided on steps towards effective coordination of the work of state and cooperative enterprises. Joint fulfilment by farm cooperatives and the state of tasks set for 1971-75—building irrigation systems and crop and animal farming complexes, and industrial processing of farm produce—will advance the worker-peasant alliance and benefit the socio-economic growth of the countryside, the general image and public consciousness of the peasants.

Our Marxist-Leninist solution of the nationalities problem, complete equality irrespective of nationality and closer friendship and fraternity between Rumanians and other nationalities, is the basic precondition of the unity of our entire people.

Socio-political unity is the social content of a socialist nation's unity, enhancing its role in building socialist society. The leading role of the working class is the main factor consolidating unity and making it a powerful stimulant of progress. The ideology of the working class, its world outlook, is the decisive element in moulding the spiritual image of the socialist nation.

Social unity and the cohesion of the nation as a whole with the Party, is a constantly operative, powerful factor of progress in all our work of building a harmoniously developed socialist society. It proved highly effective in the grim battle last year against the unprecedented natural calamities caused by floods. The fierce battle against the elements in a setting of lofty human and patriotic solidarity, was a new test for the civic and spiritual bonds uniting the nation, proving the solidity of our socialist unity.

The people's unity in defining and effecting the tasks of each stage of growth is linked directly with our democratic principles. Democracy stimulates the creative energy of the masses, provides a favorable situation for the free exercise of the faculties of all members of society, and imparts a sense of social responsibility to all citizens. The formation of the Socialist Unity Front as a permanent political organization is, therefore, a new element in the growth of our superstructure, an important new fact of our political life. Uniting on a democratic basis representatives of public and professional organizations, all nationalities living jointly in our country, all classes and social strata, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Socialist Unity Front promotes mass participation in the framing and implementation of our home and foreign policy, advancing the common political, economic and social interests of the working people and firming up organizationally the unity of the working class, the peasants and intelligentsia, of the entire socialist nation.

The leading role of the Party

There is a close connection between society's structure and the leading role of the Communist Party. Extension of the Party's leading role is the main objective law of the comprehensive development of socialist society; it is the result of the interpenetration and interaction of various objective factors, of which the people's sociopolitical unity is the most important, as well as factors relating to the consciousness, the superstructure.

The Party performs the function of vital center of the socialist edifice, because by reason of its historical development and its social structure it is the quintessence of the nation's most conscious elements and most advanced forces. At present, the Communist Party has two million members—the most advanced workers, farmers and intellectuals. Its structure, its constantly and deliberately regulated social composition, and its politico-ideological mould, reflect the essence of the Party as the vanguard of the working class, of all working people. This feature has always prevailed in the RCP.

Its social composition and the composition of its leading bodies at all levels reflect the Party's working-class character. Its leaders, who come from the working class, act jointly with the most advanced representatives of the peasantry and intelligentsia, of all working people, irrespective of nationality, carrying forward the program and the general line of the Party. More than 900,000 of its members are occupationally workers, representing 44 per cent of the total membership, which is evidence of the predominance of the working-class element.

That our Party's most powerful organizations are those in industrial enterprises, in the main branches of our economy, is a basic feature of the country's political life. In the iron and steel, coal, oil and chemical industries, and in engineering 27.36 per cent of the industrial and office workers are members of the Party, with the

overwhelming majority active directly in production.

The Party's policy also expresses the interests of the peasants, an important social force in our society. In the Party membership the peasants are represented in conformity with their place in the nation's life. As many as 875,478 Communists are active in the countryside, of whom 534,700 (nearly 26.6 per cent of the Party's total membership) are peasants. They play a substantial role in rallying the mass of peasants to carry forward the Party's agrarian policy and social growth in rural areas.

The specific demand of building socialism—conscious activity requiring scientific guidance in all social areas; mobilization of the nation's creative potential and rallying the intelligentsia to advance the socialist cause—is reflected in the large percentage of intellectuals in the Party ranks. At present, the membership includes 437,000 people belonging to the intelligentsia, which is 23 per cent of the total. The Party's influence among mental workers may be illustrated by the fact that the most authoritative and finest creative segments of the intelligentsia have joined its organizations. Nearly half the specialists in industry and agriculture, science, technology, culture and the arts are members of the Party. Highly indicative is the fact that more than half the teaching staff in schools of all levels—from primary to the higher, raising new generations of builders of socialism and communism—are Party members.

The Party's national composition reflects the national structure of our population: 88.8 per cent of the membership are Rumanians, 8.4 per cent—Hungarians, 1.3 per cent—Germans and 1.5 per cent—other nationalities.

The social composition of the membership, the political and professional background, and moral fibre, assure unshakeable unity and cohesion and the Party's capacity to rally people in industry, agriculture, education, culture and all other areas for implementing its policy.

Absorbing all the valuable element in our socialist nation, the Party epitomizes the community of the main material and spiritual interests of all classes and social strata, the common will and united action of the entire people. This determines the essence of the Party as the leading political force of our socialist nation, the main factor of its socio-political unity.

The Party's leading role is an objective reality in our country, an essential result of the socio-political growth of the recent decades, in which the Party acted as the sole political force leading the nation to social liberation, the flowering of national life, socialism and communism.

"The Rumanian Communist Party," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, *"has won unanimous recognition of its leading role in our society by virtue of the loyalty, devotion and dedication with which it has constantly served the supreme interests of the working class, the working people, the entire nation ever since its establishment. Its policy, inspired by the vital needs of the Rumanian society, the vital interests of the people as a whole, and based on the prin-*

ciples of Marxism-Leninism, has become the banner which closely unites the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, our entire nation."

The Party's leading role is the basic principle of our social and political system legislatively formalized in the Republic's Constitution. This places on its members a lofty responsibility for everything happening in the country, everything related to the future of the Rumanian people. This role is increasingly evident in all areas of life: the production of material values, ideological and political activity, improvement of the relations of production, the socialist relationships between people, in science, art and culture, and in moulding the socialist consciousness of the masses.

In all areas the Party promotes the spirit of innovation, working for the further improvement of economic planning and guidance and aligning organizational forms and work methods with the vital needs of society. The Party acts as the initiator of all necessary measures, giving broader scope for new elements in the complex and many-sided growth of socialist society. Its extensive promotion of the latest achievements of science, technology and culture, bringing into effect the advanced attainments of human knowledge, are extremely significant.

The Party's leading role is embodied, first and foremost, in *elaborating the nation's political line*, based on a profound knowledge and Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the reality, and in the *practical work* of implementing that line, in the effective organizational activity of Party bodies, their close bonds with the masses, and the Communists' exemplary and conscientious attitude to their work. It is one of the Party's sources of strength, one of the sources of the vitality of its policy, that it has always taken guidance in the scientific theory of the proletariat, in Marxism-Leninism, which it has creatively applied in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the exploiting system, carry through the socialist revolution and build socialism. This has enabled it to find solutions that conformed best with the social and national conditions in our country, and to make its own, original contribution to the theory and practice of the world Communist and revolutionary movement.

The policy of the Party, aligned with the objective needs of social development, is the main lever assuring the maximum realization of society's material potential. The socio-economic development program of the Party's Tenth Congress extends to all areas of activity and is centered on bringing out in full the advantages of the new system, on assuring a rapid growth of the productive forces, on improving the relations of production, advancing all public life. This sets the objective requirement of elevating the Party's leading role.

The Party's mission, objectively predicated by the development of socialist society, should not be viewed statically and fitted into stereotypes. Neither should it be limited to purely politico-ideological activity. Bureaucratic ossification of the administration and,

equally, any artificial isolation of the function of ideological interpretation of the reality from the *concrete* labor of transforming reality, is liable to impede the socio-political development of the new system. And it is the Party's intolerance of purely empirical methods of government, of subjectivism, of narrow and myopic pragmatism, their elimination from the life of society, the Party's firm rejection of outdated solutions, that underscores its revolutionary and pioneering nature, its vanguard role in socialist society.

The Party is the leading and directing force in society, carrying forward its policy through its cadres and members active in the various sectors of public life. The central and local Party bodies consist mostly of Communists with a working-class background. Out of the 285 full and alternate members of our Central Committee, 197 or 69.2 per cent are workers or ex-workers, and out of the 4,698 Communists elected to regional Party committees, 2,144 or 45.6 per cent are workers, or ex-workers assigned to various Party, government or managerial posts. As many as 64.2 per cent of regional Party committee members are workers or peasants, and 81 per cent of the functionaries of regional, municipal and town Party committees are workers, foremen or technicians.

The Party's leading role depends ultimately on the rising proficiency and greater activity of Party bodies at all levels, on better training of Party cadres. This is reflected in the rising efficiency of Party work and in how each Communist performs his duties at work and in his Party branch. That is why the Party *holds high the name of Party member*. With more than 14 per cent of the adult population having joined the Party, the organizational and political work of Party branches, the intensity and dynamism of Party life, are centered on equipping all Communists with political and ideological knowledge, knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and of Party policy, and on elevating their occupational proficiency and their general scope. Acting on the Party Rules, we are striving that each Party member should take the lead in all activities, displaying dedication and showing an example to others in fulfilling the economic, political and public tasks wherever he may be employed, and should persevere in convincing others, rallying them for fulfilment of the Party program which envisages a harmonious development of our socialist system.

The Party's mission as society's leading force is concretized in the final analysis through the activity of each Party body, the initiative and dynamism with which it acts at the head of collectives of working people as a vigorous factor carrying forward the Party program. Local Party bodies are called upon to elaborate scientifically grounded methods of work and leadership, heeding the recommendations of sociology, social psychology and other sciences. That is the only way the Party branches can live up to the tasks set by the Tenth Party Congress: enhance their capacity for resolving specific problems arising in each region, town and village, in each enterprise or institution, resolving them on their own, on the basis of the Party's general line.

To consolidate and extend inner-Party democracy, we have taken steps recently to create in all Party branches a favorable climate for creative discussion, enabling each Communist to express his opinion openly and contribute to the framing and implementation of the Party's policy and decisions. The Party Rules adopted by the recent Congress envisage greater responsibilities and prerogatives for regional, municipal, town and village committees, making it obligatory for Party bodies to submit drafts of major economic and socio-cultural decisions-for preliminary public discussion by the Party members and the working people, endowing Party branches with the right to discuss and nominate candidates to the immediate superior Party bodies, etc.

Broad development of democracy in state, economic and public affairs is a specific feature of the Party's leading role. Socialist democracy, which is state power of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and other sections of working people under the leadership of the Communist Party, has a class content. As an instrument of building and defending the new society, this power presupposes, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, the development of a "genuinely equal and genuinely universal participation of the entire mass of the population in all state affairs" (Vol. 23, p. 25).

Better forms of organization and better guidance of public life, broad enlistment of the masses in the running of affairs of state, coupled with a continuous and lively dialogue with the masses, firm up the organic unity of Party and people, adding to the Party's influence and prestige and consolidating the social and political system. A frank dialogue between the Party and the masses and full publicity of the key issues of home and foreign policy, a clear and frank elucidation of all actions, all difficulties and deficiencies, and, at the same time quick and accurate information on the actual situation, the various aspects of reality—that is the setting in which the Party effects the leadership of the Rumanian socialist society.

The present stage of socialist construction sets new demands: the Party must work out in theory the problems of the development of the new system and achieve more effective ideological work and propaganda. In recent years, therefore, the Party investigated in a theoretical context, from the Marxist-Leninist angle and on the basis of a profound study of the home and international situation, the trends of social development and such important problems as the ways of forming a harmoniously developed socialist society, the essential principles of improving guidance of the economy and public affairs, the development of Party and state, the social structure of society, the role of the socialist nation, the dialectics of the relationship between the general and particular and between the national and international in building socialism, the main principles governing relations between socialist states and between Communist parties, etc.

In its ideological work and propaganda, our Party responds to the concrete needs of the country with an eye on the ideological

struggle and the discussion on the international scene. We are doing our best to make ideological, educational and propaganda work more effective, to increase its influence on tasks implicit in the political line. We stimulate and guide the development of socialist consciousness among the masses, their new political and ethical position, a process underway in the new social setting under the influence of the Party's extensive politico-ideological work.

Concentrating the people's efforts on socialist construction, the Party is at once highly active in international affairs, extending its contacts and exchanging experience with all Communist parties, working for greater cohesion in the Communist movement based on the principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for each Party's legitimate right to work out its political line quite independently to suit the concrete requirements and conditions of its country.

Harmony between the home and foreign policy of our Party is an important feature, and is based on the dialectical unity of socialist patriotism and internationalism, on a harmonious combination of national and international tasks. These determine and complement each other in the Party's work, forming a single, indivisible whole.

Acting on profound historical principles and the objective conditions of the new social reality, taking guidance in the all-conquering Marxist-Leninist teaching, working out its general political line to suit the concrete conditions of each stage, expressing the will of the people, the working class, the peasantry and intelligentsia, and conscious of its lofty responsibility, the Rumanian Communist Party is continuously enhancing its leading role in the process of building a harmoniously developed socialist society and in the gradual transition to communism.



New trends in labor and Negro liberation movement in USA

Claude Lightfoot

The American labor movement is undergoing profound changes. The new developments will make it possible to make changes in all areas of American life.

In the mid-fifties, after the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation and the Montgomery bus boycott movement, Black America broke with gradualism, that is, the struggle for minor reforms.

Influenced by the worldwide revolutionary process, the Negro freedom movement began pressing for fundamental solutions to all the problems arising out of a second class status. Minor reforms no longer satisfied a people who placed the demand for "Freedom now!" It was precisely at the time when the Negro people's movement advanced along revolutionary lines that trends towards conservatism and reaction within the labor movement assumed an unprecedented character. This was true even though the labor movement waged tremendous strike struggles and continuously defeated the big corporations in their efforts to reduce the standard of living of the American working class. This was true even though some segments of the labor movement joined with Negro Civil Rights forces in mounting some of the greatest demonstrations in American history. Whenever and wherever the goal was of an immediate character, and did not disturb the system too much it was possible to create unity between the Negro and Labor movements. Whenever and wherever it was necessary in the electoral arena to defeat the most reactionary candidates and elect relatively more progressive ones, labor and the Black people's movement found common cause. But in those areas in which the demands of the Negro people required fundamental changes in the whole system of oppression, labor and the Negro movement were miles apart.

During the period between 1950 and 1968 the strains between these two great forces became so great that the young Negro militants who had been the sparkplugs and who had advanced the movement to revolutionary heights drew the conclusion that labor was a part of the Establishment, part of the whole system of Jim Crow and segregation, of capitalism and imperialism. These

views were reinforced, through experiences with many corrupted labor was a part of the Establishment, part of the whole system many petty bourgeois sources, all of whom reflected a significant part of the strategy of the capitalist class to divide the workers and the people's movement along color lines. The same position was taken by others who were honest but badly confused. To counter this propaganda I wrote:

"The disenchantment of the youth with the labor movement is understandable. To be sure, during the last 15 years under the leadership of George Meany, the labor movement has done many things to chain the working class to the chariot of American imperialism. The activities of the George Meany-Lovestone clique constitute some of the most shameful pages in the history of the American working class. But despite this, black leaders must come to understand that unless changes take place within the labor movement, making it a more effective instrument of struggle for the interests of the working class and the people, no really meaningful changes for the Negro will occur in our country" (Claude Lightfoot, "Ghetto Rebellion to Negro Liberation," p. 100).

Since this was written, labor has aggressively entered many arenas of struggle. The new waves of struggle are mainly rooted in deteriorating economic conditions, conditions in which inflationary pressures threaten to wipe out the gains made by labor in the last two decades.

There is a category of American workers that live below poverty levels. These workers are the unemployed, or those employed as agricultural workers and in service industries. Workers in the basic and mass production industries were considered part of the so-called aristocracy of labor. But even in this category of workers, changes are taking place.

A good example of what is happening to the so-called affluent workers as a result of inflation was pointed out by the United Automobile Workers in their last Convention. In the negotiations between the Union and the corporations, it was pointed out that the income of a large category of auto workers had now fallen below the poverty level.

The U.S. Labor Department statistics state that more than \$11,000 was needed in 1970 as a "moderate" standard of living for a family of four. But annual wages, allowing for layoffs, were not over \$8,000. Thus the average auto worker stands in danger of falling \$3,000 below the moderate living standard. To make it, he would need a 37½ per cent increase in earnings. It is far from providing the Hollywood picture of "middle class America."

The real picture is really much worse, especially in 1970, with mounting unemployment. A large proportion of workers do not get 52 weeks on the payroll. At least one-fourth are laid off for varying periods. Others have to take extended sick leave. Tens of thousands are forced to strike to defend their elementary human rights. Average living costs in 1970 including taxes were at least

10 per cent higher than in the spring of 1969. But auto workers' weekly wages were lower in the early months of 1970.

The Labor Department also publishes a low-living standard budget. It represents a privation standard on the border of poverty. It averaged \$6,673 in the U.S. in the spring of 1969. About one-fourth of all workers and one half of all Black workers were paid at about that rate. These workers barely made the privation standard, if they were lucky enough to be employed all year round. But the workers at the low end of the pay scale are most subject to layoffs so many of them fall below the poverty boundary.

With the mass layoffs and soaring living costs in the industry in 1970, at least 100,000 auto workers fell below the poverty level income. This means loss of necessary durable goods through repossession. It means not enough warm clothing for the schoolchildren, it means a pinched diet. It means scrounging for an extra job at miserable pay, it means NOTHING left over for recreation or travel.

The Labor Department also publishes the cost of a "high" standard of living, representing what is usually called the typical "middle class" American's way of life. It ran about \$15,000 in 1969. The average skilled craft auto worker earned \$12,000. This provided a margin of safety above the "moderate" standard but fell far behind the "high" standard. And thousands of the craftsmen are threatened with complete loss of jobs through automation.

What is shown by the Auto Union is a growing problem for the whole labor movement. The prospect before the working class is one of growing economic pressures and increasing hardships imposed by falling real wages, mounting debts, intolerable speedup and growing job insecurity. And these inroads in the workers' purchasing power are complemented by conditions of rising rents and problems flowing from urban decay, all of which are greatly aggravated by a war economy.

It is these growing economic difficulties which are propelling the working class into the arena of struggle for basic changes and thereby narrowing the gap between them, the peace and anti-repression movements and Black liberation forces. The working class, too, is now being compelled to take the path of struggle for radical measures in order to successfully confront the problems of our time. Those forces which heretofore criticized the labor movement for its concentration upon wages and economic problems fail to see and understand that the struggle around economic conditions could also be transformed into an instrument of struggle around the broader issues of the day.

Thus the present situation is characterized by rank and file actions, by a sharp rise of sentiments and actions for peace, by massive actions which are directed against the reactionary pro-war policies of the George Meany leadership.

These developments are resulting in the rise of a new Left wing force in the house of labor. Thus the realization of a closer alliance between labor and other democratic forces in the struggle for basic changes in U.S. imperialist and capitalist society are on the order

of the day. They will lay the basis for preventing America from becoming a fascist state which once again would bring the whole world to the brink of disaster.

The Negro liberation movement has moved on to a higher level of conscious revolutionary struggle. This is true notwithstanding the fact that massive explosions in the ghettos, which characterized the movement in previous years, have declined.

This new phase is marked by the following developments:

1. The struggle for political power in the major northern cities;
2. Increased struggles on the economic front, strike struggles, union organizing drives and the building of black caucuses within the established unions;
3. The growing recognition of the necessity and possibility to organize the power of the working class behind the objectives and goals of Negro liberation by all class trends within the movement;
4. A greater recognition of the necessity for Negro and White unity;
5. Trends which recognize the necessity to struggle against the system of capitalism and for a socialist reorganization of U.S. society as a prerequisite for full liberation of the Negro people.

The struggle for Black Power which we saw as a struggle essentially for greater economic power and a struggle to obtain a greater share of power in government have become the main forms of struggle and some important gains have been made. This is especially observable in the election of Negro Mayors in a number of major cities across the country, in the growth of elected officials in the heartland of Negro oppression, the South. But as this process has gotten under way there have emerged two trends that are of great importance: First, there is growing understanding among white voters that the struggle for Negro representation for Negroes to have a share of political power does not pose any threat to the oppressed white masses, but on the contrary, in most cases can help meet the problems confronting all of the dispossessed classes, both black and white. A good example of this new belief was what has happened in the election of a Negro mayor in the city of Newark, New Jersey.

In the primary, there were several white candidates who opposed Gibson, the black man who was elected. This fact notwithstanding, Gibson polled a higher percentage of white votes even in the primary than that witnessed in mayoralty races in some other cities. But in the runoff, where he faced the white incumbent mayor, the white candidates supported Gibson against the incumbent. White voters saw the necessity of voting for Gibson in order to free the city from one of the most corrupt machines in its history, thus proving once again that what's good for Negro America, namely freedom and equality, is also good for White America.

Second: Another trend coming to the forefront is the limitations of the black power concept. In Chapter 10 of "Ghetto Rebellion to

Black Liberation" (p. 112), where I made the rationale for Socialism, the following observation was made:

"With regard to political representation, the Negro can move into every arena of government. In addition to increased political power, other radical changes are also possible. . . . Inroads can be made in the system of super-exploitation, ghettos can be transformed and Negroes can get some land in the south.

"However, even these changes would still leave the Negro with unequal status in this society. The 300 year differential between black and white will not yet be wiped out. The Negro will still have no means of basically influencing the economy; and where there is no economic equality there is no real political equality.

"To meet these problems, a socialist reorganization of American life is required."

The limitations of the slogan "Black Power" of Negro representation in the framework of capitalism have been pinpointed by the Negro Mayor of one of our major industrial cities, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana. At an address given to a celebration of the 100th birthday of the late Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, this pioneer in the field of Negro representation pointed out that because he did not control the steel mills and the giant industries in his city, his powers were limited. True, in many areas affecting the lives of his people, his being in office helped to relieve some of them. But not the basic problems because beyond his being Mayor, there were powers much greater than his. To meet the economic demands of Negroes required, first of all, the coordination of effort between the City, State and Federal governments. The funds required to relieve the poverty of the stricken ghettos of Gary are eaten away as the result of the war policies of the Federal government and Hatcher as Mayor had no control over such expenditures. Thus, his position and capability could be utilized only to the extent that he could mobilize the people of his city to fight the war program of U.S. imperialism.

And as he indicated, he did not own the steel mills. They were the property of monopoly. Whatever relief was to be obtained had to be the result of struggles waged by the working class. Thus real Black Power is revealed in these circumstances as being dependent, in the first place, upon People's and Working Class power.

One of the most outstanding developments in the Negro people's movement is the growth of the understanding of the necessity of utilizing the power of the working class to achieve its aims, its objectives. As we indicated previously, this was not always the case. The present trend is marked by the events in 1968 when Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis.

Dr. King was killed at a time when his main efforts were focused upon the economic conditions of the most deprived sections of the Negro community. His understanding of the requirements of the period ahead was highlighted by the speech made by his widow, Mrs. Coretta King, at a Convention of the United Automobile Workers' Union when she stated:

"It is not an accident that my husband was assassinated while

leading a strike, nor is it coincidental that the time of his assassination came when he was calling for a coalition of all poor black and white, and urging that they create a union organization. He was arousing a sleeping giant when he was cut down."

Mrs. King also reflected what is basically new in the Negro Liberation Movement when she made an appeal before that Convention for the labor movement to come into the forefront of the struggle. She called for:

"Trade unions will have to come out of the plants and move on the state houses and centers of power if our nation is to survive. We are at a new crossroad of responsibility. You who make the wheels of society turn will have to apply your strength and dynamism to broader social problems if a suicidal course is to be avoided.

"This social leadership is your special responsibility first of all because it involves your own direct interests. More than this you have the power, experience and a tradition of moral sense. This nation was in a more severe moral crisis in the '30s when it was rescued by the vision and boldness of the young labor movement. The nation needs that quality of leadership today as it faces new perils. Black people in the large majority are ready for a new crusade for radical reform: they will be a powerful force in a militant struggle for decent conditions of life and they are ready for an honorable partnership in a progressive coalition."

After the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, the SDLC, the organization he headed, and its present leader, Rev. Dr. Abernathy, established even closer relationship with the organized labor movement. This has resulted in increased union organizational drives in the South and especially in those service industries where the conditions of Negro workers are worse. In fact, the main activity of this organization is now geared to promoting trade unionism among the workers.

What has taken place in regard to the forces who heretofore fought for Civil Rights in isolation from the working class, is complemented by the rise of Black caucuses which are challenging every aspect of discrimination both in industry and in their own unions. There a growing interrelationship between these Civil Rights leaders and black workers in the struggle against discrimination in the unions is to be noted. The combination of these forces has already resulted in some major concessions against discrimination.

Another development of great importance which pinpoints the final solution to the problems of Negro liberation is the growth of a trend towards Marxism-Leninism among the youth. This today is becoming a significant trend. There have been many instances where in isolated situations these youth have set up Marxist-Leninist study circles. The outstanding example of this trend was the development and growth of the Black Panther Party. This party came on the scene primarily as an organization for self-defense. However, it moved over very rapidly to an understanding that the whole system of capitalism and imperialism was responsible for the plight of the Negro people and had to be destroyed.

The Black Panther Party comprised in both its social base and cadre, students, semi-proletarians and elements of the lumpen proletariat. This conglomerate has found it most difficult to get its bearing in relation to the Negro people in general, and the working class in particular. But notwithstanding these negative features, it nonetheless represents progress.

Prior to the emergence of the Black Panthers, most Black militants adopted the position espoused by Stokely Carmichael: a non-coalition policy with whites. The Black Panthers reversed that trend. They opened the door to wider collaboration of black and white when they organized a conference against repression and fascism in the U.S. In this respect, they also made a contribution in heightening consciousness of the growing fascist danger in the country. They also put the question of Black Power in its proper light when they coined the slogan "Power to the People." Finally, they made more legal a discussion of the theories of Marxism-Leninism. And although the latter, as interpreted by them, has contained much of the adventuristic doctrine and anarchism so prevalent among today's youth, nonetheless, what has been healthy will undoubtedly, through ideological and political struggles, be enhanced and what it unhealthy will be discarded.

Because of these and other reasons, the American ruling circles have set out to destroy the Black Panther Party. It must be said however that the struggle for the right of the Black Panther Party to exist is a fight for the rights of all American citizens.

Changes for the better among the white democratic masses, combined with changes within the Black Liberation Movement, are creating a platform for a broad popular alliance which will reflect the united power of both black and white. They also lay the foundation for an optimistic view as to what the future course of progressives will be in the U.S. However, racism has been planted deep in the social institutions of the USA. Its impact on the psychology of white Americans has made its oppressed classes ignore the mutuality of interests they have with America's Black masses. Despite the favorable changes of which we have spoken the establishment of a white backlash of more than politically backward whites is not an impossibility. Nonetheless, we can be optimistic despite the fact that the pro-fascist reactionary forces in the country are on an unprecedented drive for power. This force has already been thrown on the defensive in many areas. Given an acceleration of the trends we have been discussing the reactionaries can be given a decisive setback.

It is in this context that the people of the world can gain inspiration to mount an ever greater offensive against imperialism. This means greater support to the struggles being waged by the American people in general and Negro Americans in particular. World-wide mobilization against every act of U.S. imperialism-genocidal treatment of Black America, therefore, is in the interests of every struggle being waged on every continent of this earth for peace, freedom and socialism.

Incomes policy and trade unions in the FRG

Willi Gerns

Government regulation of the economy in the developed capitalist countries increasingly affects the people's life and conditions the struggle of the working class. This is also true of so-called incomes policy, which confronts the trade unions with latter-day capitalism time and again and has become the focus of economic and political class struggles. To analyze this policy and evolve alternatives to it is, therefore, highly important to the Communists.

I

Under pre-monopoly capitalism the distribution of newly created values between the bourgeoisie and the working class was largely governed by the spontaneous laws of capitalism. The ups and downs of the economic cycle, resulting in the growth or diminution of the industrial labor reserve, made for changes in wages within definite narrow limits. The "iron law" of wages was out of the question because determining the cost of labor power was always influenced by the militancy of the working class.

On the other hand, the vaunted bourgeois theory of the "free play of forces" in incomes distribution was already a myth. There can be no "free play" when some own the means of production while others have nothing but their labor power and must sell it to subsist. Besides, the state had already begun to intervene in wage struggles by suppressing trade unions and other labor organizations, and by resorting to police action, prosecution and other coercive measures to uphold capitalist interests.

However, that interference was a far cry from the sustained and varied government pressures on incomes distribution that are typical of state-monopoly capitalism. The spontaneous operation of capitalist economic laws no longer guarantees a distribution of incomes in keeping with the monopolies' lust for power and profit. Methods of holding the working class down have been supplemented by legalized forms of control, such as forcible settlement of labor conflicts and systematic redistribution of the national income through an appropriate financial and tax policy. Machinery has been set up to exert ideological and political pressure on the working people.

State-monopoly policy on incomes entered a new stage after World War II, especially in the past decade. Today government intervention precedes wage rate talks between employers and trade unions. It virtually extends to both primary distribution and redistribution of incomes. The tendency towards direct government regulation of pay limits is becoming the main characteristic of incomes policy.

Incomes policy is coordinated through forecasting and programming with other aspects of economic and social policy and is subordinated to big capital's selfish interests. Short-term programming is giving way to medium-term projection of incomes policy, or medium-term planned pay curbs to be exact.

State-monopoly incomes policy is expected to yield the capitalists high profits for investment and supply the state with greater revenues needed to solve new problems for the benefit of monopoly capital. These results are achieved by freezing wages, increasing the tax burden of the working people and reducing their share in the distribution of the wealth created by them, that is by stepping up exploitation.

There are several reasons for the new stage of this incomes policy. One reason is the technological revolution, which increases the need for capital accumulation. This applies to both particular capitalist enterprises and the economy as a whole.

An increasing part of the national income has to be invested in expanded reproduction, research, education and the infrastructure. The need for accumulation is all the greater because the technological revolution is taking place amid a competition between capitalism and socialism and involves an unprecedented intensification of competition between monopolies and between capitalist countries. A substantial proportion of the national income is claimed by the arms race.

Another reason for the new stage in incomes policy is that the working class and its unions now hold stronger positions in wage talks due to a comparatively high level of employment and the progress of the forces of socialism.

State-monopoly control cannot eliminate cyclical crises but can ease their effect by maintaining a comparatively high level of employment. Economic crisis and the rise of a reserve army of industrial workers cannot be used to the same extent as earlier to exert pressure on wage rates.

The working people's gains in the socialist countries provide favorable conditions for the working class in the capitalist countries to seek a better life. It is not accidental that we in the FRG say that the GDR takes part in all talks between trade unions and employers as an invisible third partner. The contest between capitalism and socialism causes the monopolies and their state to exercise caution in using outright coercion against the working class in matters relating to incomes distribution. They try to avoid open class struggle by "integrating" the unions into latter-day capitalism.

The stronger positions won by the working class and its unions in the developed capitalist countries have enabled them ever since the war to obtain considerable wage increases. However, the working people as consumers are promptly robbed of every increase in income through higher prices, the increases being used, moreover, as an added argument for raising prices.

Steadily growing prices have an adverse effect on capitalist reproduction. In particular, they lower the competitive capacity on the world market of those countries where prices go up very fast. They complicate sales on foreign markets, produce a balance of payments deficit and tangle capitalism's international currency system. Capitalist countries try through state-monopoly incomes policies to improve their foreign economic relations at the working people's expense. One indication of this are the attempts by international monopoly capital to find a way out of the currency crisis of capitalism.

Lastly, the new stage of incomes policy is intimately linked with capitalist production programming. This is the case in both individual enterprises requiring long-term wage estimates and whole economic branches.

Medium-term economic development projections and programs must necessarily include estimates of the anticipated or desirable trend of incomes, for these condition other projected quantities. What matters is how incomes change—whether the employers' profits grow at the expense of wages and salaries or whether the incomes of the working people go up faster at the expense of big capital's profits. The important thing in incomes policy is not planning itself but the class whose interests it is intended to serve. The object is to curb wages and no amount of talk about "welfare" or the "common interests" of the capitalists and wage workers will conceal this.

So long as big capital controls the chief means of production and lords it over the economy and the state, government incomes policy will be subordinated to this objective. So long as the present property and power relations persist in the capitalist countries, wage increases meeting the people's needs will be out of the question. Wage policy remains an expression of the relation of class forces. Whether wages will rise or drop depends on the militancy of labor and its unions.

Incomes policy, in particular government regulation of wages, is increasingly curtailing trade union autonomy in wage talks. The unions are finding themselves in new conditions of struggle. As soon as they demand a pay rise or seek its implementation they come up against something more than the united front of employers and their associations, who are the trade unions' direct adversaries, more than the monopoly machinery of manipulating public opinion or various forms of government coercion as in the past. Today they clash directly with official economic policy. The fight for higher wages assumes a political character, and this is an as-

pect of the new relationship between economy and politics under state-monopoly capitalism.

Incomes policy is a component of government control in all developed capitalist countries. However, its actual machinery shows distinctive national characteristics.

II

The rulers of the FRG have long been using such devices as government settlement of conflicts, Federal court decisions on labor disputes, recourse to police action, appeals to the workers to show moderation in their demands, and so on. Due to favorable economic development and the extremely restrained policy of the trade unions, the government could afford not to enforce explicit directives in regard to wages.

With the rehabilitation of the West German economy in the late fifties, the first attempts at government wage control were made. As early as 1956, the Scientific Council under the Federal Ministry of the Economy recommended that the government should present a yearly economic program offering the employers and trade unions wage rate guidelines.

The 1963 law setting up a Council of Experts composed of bourgeois economists to assess economic development was an important step towards government control of wages. The Council decides on so-called guidelines setting limits to trade union demands according to the theory that the growth of wages should not increase cost of production. What this theory maintains in substance is that the dynamics of real wages must lag behind rising labor productivity if there is to be full employment and stable prices. The purpose of the theory is plain—it wants the employees' share of the wealth created by them to decrease in favor of the employers'. Experts' findings enable the government to intervene in incomes distribution prior to wage talks. Recommendations released to date indicate that the main function of the Council of Experts is to supply theoretical arguments for and advocate trade union passivity on wage issues.

Government intervention in primary incomes distribution has been extended through a medium-term "projection of general economic development." The projection goals regarding incomes distribution are coordinated with other indices of economic growth. And since the projection is the basis for the "medium-term financial plan," incomes policy is becoming a component of the whole of so-called global regulation in the FRG. In a paper read at the Walter Eucken Institute, Freiburg, in June 1968, Otto Schlecht, head of the Economic Policy Department in the Federal Ministry of the Economy, described it as a third instrument of global control in addition to the fiscal tax policy.

A most important lever of incomes policy in the FRG is the system of "concerted action," that is, regular consultations between spokesmen of the official economic policy, employers' associ-

ations and trade unions. During these consultations attempts are made to gear both government measures on incomes and the wage talks decisions to so-called general economic objectives, which implies higher profits and greater power for big capital.

"Concerted action" was first taken in 1965 as a temporary step to curb a very strong inflationary trend at the working people's expense. Afterwards, in 1966, K. Schiller proposed extending it to cover a longer period, calling it a "lighthand" incomes policy. "Concerted action" was to have provided the parties to wage talks with statistics for guidance. He put his proposal into effect immediately after taking over the Federal Ministry of the Economy. Ever since February 1967, "concerted action" has invariably involved representatives of employers' associations and trade unions, members of the economic Council of Experts, the Ministers of Finance and Labor, and spokesmen of the Federal Bank. The law of June 8, 1967 on steps to stabilize the economy exalted "concerted action" to the rank of an instrument of official economic policy.

Unlike the recommendations of economic experts, intended to set "moral" limits to trade union policy, "concerted action" is aimed at directly coordinating this policy with the guidelines on wages given in the Federal government's annual economic reports. "No one can pretend any longer that there is no such thing," Schiller wrote in *Welt der Arbeit*, meaning "concerted action." Experience shows, however, that this applies in the main to specifying wage ceilings, with the result that trade union autonomy on wage rates is tangibly curtailed and undermined.

In contrast to wages, profits are by no means an object of "concerted action." The Federal Union of German Industry, the main organization of monopoly capital, warns in no uncertain terms against attempts to "concert" profits, alleging that this would mean taking a "big step towards restricting the employers' freedom of investment." Schiller, Schlecht and other Bonn politicians have repeatedly stressed, along with the spokesmen of the employers, that "concerted action" determines the direction of change in wages but does not control profits, which, as past experience shows, tend, on the contrary, to spiral.

In the crisis year 1967, when hundreds of thousands of employees were coolly fired and when the real pay of the rest went down, the employers pocketed higher profits in spite of the drop in production. In 1968, "concerted action" made for an unprecedented increase in profits, which went up 20 per cent as against a roughly 5 per cent increase in wages. In contrast to the roughly 6 per cent average annual growth of pay in 1968 and 1969, the average annual growth of net profits exceeded 13 per cent.

The discrepancy in growth between wages and profits was made possible by the fact that wages were frozen through "concerted action" and fell short of labor productivity, while profits showed an extra increase due to "tax gifts" from the government and other economic policy measures. These, then, are the results of Schiller's "concerted action." The corporations have reason to be satisfied

with this policy. "Industry," wrote *Industriekurier*, big capital's mouthpiece, "can only welcome Schiller's position on private investment as a lever of increased economic activity, as well as of employers' profit." As for the employees, the effect of "concerted action" was clearly negative. Even Big Business's *Volkswirt* admitted that trade union functionaries were downcast over the fact that this mechanism had so far "survived" at the expense of wage workers.

Needless to say, the trade union committees that have taken part in "concerted action" bear their share of responsibility for this adverse result. The "grand coalition" government's economic report for 1969 confirmed this responsibility as follows: "The trade unions' restrained policy on wages at the beginning of the boom played a decisive part in bringing about a strong rise in self-sustained business activity. All wage increases were kept within the bounds of the guidelines given in the annual projection."

The powerful wave of strikes in the autumn of 1969, involving tens of thousands of employees, revealed the West German working people's discontent with the widening gap between the slow growth of wages and the unchecked growth of profits. The strikes revealed the limits of state-monopoly policy on incomes.

Binding the unions by wage guidelines and creating the prerequisites for higher profits in this way are not the only purpose of "concerted action." The latter is also designed to strip labor organizations of their militant character and integrate them into state-monopoly capitalism.

Speaking at the Institute of World Economics in Kiel, Schiller said outright that "what is taking place through that procedure is a social process of integration." He and other Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders are at pains to present "concerted action" to the trade unions as a form of the working people's right to co-management going beyond the framework of the enterprise, as well as a form of democratic planning. Unfortunately, this past period has shown that many union functionaries follow these demagogical theses. This is an indication of the devastating effect which the Right Social-Democratic leaders' entry into the Kiesinger government had on trade union policy.

The Social Democrats' assumption of key government posts undoubtedly affords new opportunities for the struggle of the working class and other democratic forces on a number of issues. However, the danger of the unions being integrated into the power system of state-monopoly capitalism has rather increased than decreased with the change of government. The working people's right to a decisive say in or outside production must by no means be reduced to taking part along with the employers, possibly on a parity basis, in the work of particular institutions, whatever they may be called. The important thing is what problems are settled and in whose interest. The results of "concerted action" show that the union leaders involved did not try to restrict big capital's profits in favor of wages. Indeed, they submitted to the fiat of Schiller and big capital by resigning themselves to an extremely slow growth rate of wages.

That is why "concerted action" has nothing to do with the employees' right to co-management. Through it the rulers of West Germany, backed by Right-wing SPD and trade union leaders, have unquestionably made headway towards integrating the unions into the capitalist system. It would be a fatal error, however, to accept the ultra-Left contention that the unions have already been safely integrated into this system. Numerous facts point to the union rank and file's awareness of the disastrous role of "concerted action." These forces are gaining ground in the unions.

Nothing could be worse for Communists than to take a stand against the trade unions under the influence of ultra-Left and sectarian forces. The task for Communists holding union posts is to work with all their class-conscious colleagues for stronger unions as autonomous labor organizations and steadfastly to resist all attempts at integration.

State-controlled redistribution of the national income in the FRG has changed with the development of state-monopoly programming. The changes now taking place are characterized by "medium-term financial planning" intended to meet monopoly capital's selfish interests (such as higher profits through greater arms manufacture) and by the 10 per cent rise in income tax decreed in the middle of 1970 as an attempt at state-monopoly control of economic activity.

III

Let us turn in conclusion to the trade unions' class position on incomes policy. It should be remembered that a reasonably fair policy on wages is impossible under state-monopoly capitalism. So long as the handful of corporations that has become one with the bureaucracy owns the decisive means of production and exploits large groups of working people lacking these means, and so long as the irreconcilable contradiction between labor and capital is there, the working class and its organizations must fight without compromise for a say in the distribution of the wealth they produce.

The three-odd years that have passed since "concerted action" was initiated show that renouncing the fight for higher wages injures the working people's interests and profits the employers. This makes it a task of the first importance for the trade unions to uphold their autonomy and to pursue an active policy on wages, for the existence of the unions as militant organizations of labor hangs in the balance. It is time for them to cast off the shackles of the policy of "concerted action."

In view of increasing government interference in economic matters, specifically in incomes distribution, trade union autonomy on wage rates alone is far from enough if the working people's demands are to be met. The unions positively must develop an economic policy of their own taking into account the interests of the working class and pose it against the economic policy of monopoly and the bourgeois state. In other words, the unions must set their own findings and figures against those of experts and against the

statistics of the annual economic report. This also applies to proposing alternatives to the "projection of general economic development" and to "medium-term financial planning." The unions should with the aid of scientists siding with the working class put forward a realistic alternative program against every economic policy move aimed at raising the profits and bolstering the power of monopoly capital.

The specific draft policy on incomes proposed by the Federation of German Trade Unions late in 1969 could be the first step towards working out alternatives. However, it must be fought for if it is to materialize.

The unions' alternative proposals can be put into practice only if their implementation goes hand in hand with an effort to end the omnipotence of monopoly capital and win for the working people a decisive say in management at all levels of public life. An alternative trade union policy on wages is inseparable from struggle for radical anti-monopoly reforms and a democratic renovation of state and society in the Federal Republic of Germany.



Developments in Panama

Ruben Dario Sousa

The situation in Panama, as it has developed since October 11, 1968, when the National Guard overthrew the Arias government, is being closely followed by world opinion – and anxiously followed by Washington, worried over the future of its strategic positions, now being increasingly undermined by revolutionary upheavals in Latin America.

Results of the coup

Once in power, the military annulled the results of the May 1968 elections and placed the country under a junta, which immediately banned all political parties. To all appearances, it was following a set pattern and its initial repressive measures against the popular movement tended to strengthen the impression of a reactionary regime.

But in the specific conditions of Panama the coup had other results too. Dissolution of the National Assembly cancelled out any chance of ratifying the new Panama Canal agreement with the USA, the military pact and the agreement on construction of a new canal. That is one aspect. The other is that dissolution of the Assembly and prohibition of political parties was a blow at the oligarchy. For prior to the coup it alone enjoyed full rights, depriving progressive and democratic groups of the right to form their own political parties. All elective government posts were monopolized by the oligarchy, and now the junta has broken the monopoly.

In other words, though the coup was neither popular nor progressive in orientation, it thwarted U.S. imperialist plans, demolished the old political structure on which the U.S. depended and dealt a telling blow to its faithful ally, the oligarchy.

All this should be seen as an expression of the deep and drawn-out crisis that was bound to produce political change. The initiator of that change was the National Guard, trained and reared by imperialism. Even a superficial survey of the events in Panama will show that the 1968 coup was not a revolution; but neither was it

one more traditional military putsch. And despite all the contradictory elements that have gone into the situation, we can safely say that new vistas have been opened.

In reorganizing the machinery of government, the military were concerned only in getting all government officials, irrespective of politics, to work efficiently and to assure the normal functioning of the new administration. Representatives of diverse political trends, from Right to Left, were brought into the government and this, naturally, triggered off a struggle between competing groups.

The coup did not really change the economic structure, though there is evidence that the government intends to reform taxation, agrarian relations, education, labor-employer relations and also limit monopoly profits. These measures will doubtlessly affect the interests of the oligarchy and will stimulate the popular movement.

Though constitutional guarantees have still not been restored, the government has allowed democratic trade unions, promised to respect trade union rights and the existence of differing trends in the labor movement. The recent organization of the National Labor Center suggests that working-class unity is being strengthened. The very opposite can be said of another organization, which relies for support on the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization. Its policy of splitting the movement is sustaining one set-back after another and it is steadily losing ground.

There is a better outlook also for the peasant movement. In the past, the oligarchy and imperialism imposed an agrarian code to prevent radical land reform. It provided for the organization of *asentamientos*,* but now government policy affords opportunities for organizing the peasants to fight for a consistent solution of the agrarian problem. Most of the *asentamientos* were started in areas where the peasants had used direct action to take over estate lands. This led to endless litigation. Now the situation is being normalized by legalizing peasant ownership of the land with no compensation to estate owners. In areas where the peasants have no land, there is a movement for *asentamientos* on land seized from big owners, and here too peasant ownership is legalized. Radicalization of the peasant masses is further stimulated by the unhappy experience of the earlier *asentamientos*, which could not raise productivity because of the poor quality of the land, obsolete implements and lack of markets. The peasants demanded better land and fundamental agrarian reform.

In sum, the measures introduced by the junta have led to a rise of the worker and peasant movement, which has further aggravated class contradictions. Central to the present situation is the political struggle against an oligarchy comeback and U.S. attempts to impose its tutelage on the country. In December 1969, the big bourgeoisie, CIA agents and reactionary National Guard officers tried to over-

*Peasant communities established, as a rule, on government land. The idea was to return seized land to the landowners. The *asentamientos* were not cooperatives: each family had its own plot, but now with the introduction of collective land tenure, conditions are maturing for converting them into cooperatives.—Ed.

throw the present government. They did not succeed because the junta's policy differs from that of all the pro-American regimes that have ruled Panama ever since it became a republic.

However, the abortive 1969 coup revealed the deepening contradiction between the oligarchy and imperialism, on the one hand, and the military government of General Torrijos, on the other. The process of change was carried further: the junta called a halt to all repressive measures and freed political detainees, including Communists. The student movement came back into its own and negotiations were started with the government for a democratic education reform. The junta instituted stringent control over the activities of some reactionary groups, restricted freedom of movement for a number of politicians, some of whom can leave the country only with government permission.

Things began to change also in foreign policy. The Panamanian representatives trenchantly criticized the Organization of American States at one of its conferences and the government rejected a U.S. proposal to prolong the lease of the Rio-Ato air base, which expired last August, and Washington's draft treaties on the Panama Canal, military cooperation and construction of a new canal as an unacceptable basis for negotiation.

Behind the present developments

These and other facts show that U.S. and oligarchal policy failed, and that Panamanian society is in a process of radical change that will strengthen its motive forces.

Panama's economic structure is a fairly complex one. Pre-capitalist forms still persist and capitalist development has been markedly uneven. It has reached its highest point in the big commercial enterprises, the North American monopolies operating in Panama and, in the Canal Zone, in U.S. state-monopoly capitalism.

Panamanian capitalism is geared to the interests of North American imperialism, which is chiefly responsible for our lop-sided economic pattern. In 1967, industry (mainly light) accounted for only 16 per cent of the gross national product and agriculture, trade and the service industries for 46 per cent. Also these figures: 33 per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture, which produces very little for the market, and the rural per capita income is less than \$200 a year. Urban artisans and small owners make up a considerable portion of the gainfully employed population.

To all intents and purposes, the U.S. monopolies control the economy. Their direct investments (exclusive of the Canal Zone) are in excess of \$154 million. Canal Zone investments are estimated at more than \$1,500 million (the exact figures are never made public), and this does not include investments in the U.S. bases. In addition to the Canal (the backbone of our economy), the U.S. imperialists control banking, electric power, the banana plantations and a sizeable part of trade.

Postwar industrial development has exerted a powerful influence

on every aspect of Panamanian life. A proletariat is coming into being; the social development process is acquiring a new content, with the labor-capital antagonism as its central feature. And though it has not yet had wide political implications, it is intertwined with existing contradictions and has intensified the class struggle on all fronts.

Capitalist development has squarely posed the problem of expanding the home market. The impediment here is the Canal Zone, which remain a virtual U.S. colony in the very heart of the country. This has fostered bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism which, however, does not demand the return of the Zone to its proper owner, the Panamanian people, but merely a larger share of Canal revenue, private enterprise in the Zone,* and access to its market. The new canal treaty of 1955 gives the big bourgeoisie certain economic privileges in the Zone.

The contradiction is also being sharpened between the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie and the oligarchy, which has used its political power to further its economic interests. It consistently channelled industrial development into an anti-national course, accelerated concentration of capital in its drive for maximum profits and intensified the already harsh exploitation of the people.

It used the armed forces to suppress popular protest. In 1952, Colonel Remon became president and in 1953 the police were re-organized into the National Guard which vied with President Somoza of Nicaragua in terror against the people. The National Guard was militarized and trained by U.S. advisors, who assiduously cultivated hatred of the people.

In other words, industrial growth led to hard social clashes, steadily curtailed democratic rights and deepened the crisis of Panamanian society. Capitalist development did not yield a solution. It did not eliminate the country's socio-economic backwardness, nor did it strengthen its independence. On the contrary, Panama became more dependent on the United States.

The character and trend of social struggles

Until recently social struggles in Panama were largely conditioned by the attitude of the petty bourgeoisie opposed to further capitalist development and, on the other hand, by the reform-minded national bourgeoisie calling for independent, "democratic" capitalist development. The demand that capitalism be replaced by a higher socio-economic formation is basic to the ideology of individual revolutionary groups and a whole political current. However, until recently the need for this change was not understood by the mass of the people.

The idea that found the greatest response was bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism of diverse ideological shadings. It won over the bulk of the peasantry and the working class. But bour-

*Under the 1903 treaty, only U.S. property is allowed in the Canal Zone.

geois nationalists proposed neither abolishing the latifundia system and monopoly, nor expelling the U.S. imperialists from Panama. The result was that the masses, deeply angered by the policy of plunder which the U.S. monopolies and the national oligarchy had been carrying on, felt disillusioned with the nationalists' political leadership.

Nationalism headed downwards after such events as the student unrest in 1958, the hoisting of the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone in 1959, the general strike called by banana plantation workers in 1960 and the students' strike in 1962. Popular action reached a climax on January 9, 1964, when the people first took a firm stand against U.S. control of the Canal Zone. The nationalists' posture on these events was either conciliatory or disloyal. They were unable to cope with the country's fundamental problems. As for consistently revolutionary forces, they could not yet fill the vacuum left in the leadership of the popular movement.

Capitalist development in Panama in the sixties was dominated by the neo-colonialist policy which the United States launched through the Alliance for Progress. This aggravated socio-economic antagonisms in our country. The people took action more and more frequently. The classes debarred from power, with their rights curtailed and their conditions of life steadily deteriorating, realized that the crisis had been brought on by the oligarchy, and this accounted for the anti-oligarchic trend of the people's struggle.

By 1968 a situation had developed in which the oligarchy could no longer govern the country while the people's spontaneous movement still lacked a determined revolutionary leadership and tended towards petty-bourgeois anarchism. Elections brought to power a loose political alliance of certain sections of the big bourgeoisie intent on ending the political crisis and of the nationalist-led petty-bourgeois Panamist Party. The U.S. imperialists hoped that this alliance would enable them to impose their will on Panama in the forthcoming negotiations on the three agreements mentioned earlier.

The political situation in the country was extremely uncertain. The National Guard was the only official institution that retained its cohesion and discipline and sensed that a political crisis was approaching. It assumed control to forestall action by the masses that might culminate in a genuinely popular revolution.

Objectively, however, the military coup was directed against the big bourgeoisie, imperialist plunder and oppression. In other words, its trend coincided with that of the people's struggle. The contradictions of our society also affected the National Guard, whose attitude was due, in particular, to the fact that its leading cadre comes almost entirely from the middle strata and that some officers had taken part in progressive movements in their youth.

The process of change ushered in by the 1968 coup has been gaining in scope, opening new prospects for the people. The subjective prerequisites for accomplishing the tasks of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution are building up. We regard this new stage of the revolutionary situation in our country as a period of political transition.

Foreign policy factors

The socio-economic evolution of Panama must be assessed in connection with foreign policy factors. Ours is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, an epoch characterized by the growing might of the Soviet Union and the socialist system as a whole, by the stubborn fight of the international working class against monopoly, for democracy and socialism, by the gains of the national liberation movement and the liberation of vast areas of the globe from imperialist oppression. These factors, which are typical of our time, have aggravated the contradictions of the capitalist system. Caught in a deep crisis, capitalism cannot solve big social problems in any country.

World imperialism is much weaker now and can no longer cope with difficult situations by force. In Latin America this is evidenced in various ways. Ninety miles from the United States, Cuba carried out a revolution and is building socialism despite imperialist attempts to prevent a revolutionary process on the continent. Acts of imperialist aggression against the people of Panama in 1964 and of the Dominican Republic in 1965 could not check the revolutionary process in Latin America which, indeed, has since gone deeper and farther. Attempts to lull the Latin American peoples to inaction through the Alliance for Progress misfired, revealing once again capitalism's inability to solve socio-economic problems on our continent.

The revolutionary process in Latin America is taking more concrete, varied and often unexpected forms as it goes on. We may now speak of the revolutionary experience not only of Cuba but of Chile, Chile, Peru, Bolivia and Panama. Other countries are on the threshold of solving their problems by revolutionary means. All this suggests a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

A peculiarity of the situation in Panama today is that imperialism can no longer use the oligarchy to suppress the people's effort for freedom because the oligarchy has been swept from power. We now stand face to face with imperialism and this has become a factor for the revolutionary struggle in our country.

The Canal Zone, a source of poverty and oppression for our people, is a stronghold and refuge of Panamanian reaction today. The people are more keenly aware than ever of the need to fight against imperialism and to regain the Canal Zone. While open armed intervention or new attempts by imperialism and the oligarchy at a coup are not unlikely, the main concern of reaction now is to misrepresent the trend of developments in our country and prevent the formation of a democratic and anti-imperialist government.

Content and object of the ideological struggle

Far-reaching changes in Panamanian society are imperative and can be effected, since the oligarchy has been stripped of power and the military government expresses the interests of a radical-minded

petty bourgeoisie. But for all the changes in the class composition of the government, the class nature of the political system is essentially unchanged.

On the other hand, most of the junta members, who share the people's aspirations, have no wish to fall back on old forms of government. They feel the need for something new, although they have no idea of what it should be. The fact is that in carrying out their coup, the military had no revolutionary theory to guide them nor proposed to establish a revolutionary regime. The government is composed of heterogeneous elements and this accounts for the contradictory and vacillating character of its policy and for its tendency to improvise.

The U.S. imperialists seize on this state of affairs in an effort to give developments in Panama a different turn. Their ideological campaign is focussed on those sections of the bourgeoisie that advocate a consumer and technocratic society. Imperialism is not anxious to galvanize outdated political institutions but takes advantage of the desire of the overwhelming majority of the Panamanian people for change to suggest that bourgeois society should be consolidated under an "improved" capitalism.

The U.S. imperialists' sophisticated ideological subversion poses a grave menace. It is not directed explicitly against the people's desire for change, but determines their fight against the oligarchy from within. The purpose is to keep an increasingly mature working class from bringing revolutionary consciousness into the struggle of the people, from forming an alliance with the peasants or winning the support of the military and the civil servants. This makes the People's Party of Panama—the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class—the ideological and political force which U.S. imperialism will have to face first and foremost.

The Communists of Panama realize, therefore, that the ideological fight is their main activity and that it will depend on the outcome of this fight whether or not a democratic government of unity of the popular forces seeking profound changes will be brought into being and genuine structural reforms initiated.

We must expose the false contention that economic and social progress is possible without a genuinely revolutionary government, representing the workers, peasants, patriotic-minded servicemen, progressive intellectuals and the non-monopoly segment of the national bourgeoisie.

We must also refute the harmful allegation that the working class cannot play the role of vanguard because of the democratic character of the Panamanian revolution and also because at this stage the petty bourgeoisie has allegedly assumed this role. Yet it is the working class that has given our epoch a new content and built a socialist society in a number of countries. Again, it is the working class and its party that have raised social struggles in Panama to a higher plane by exposing and disproving imperialist ideology and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reformism.

The historic necessity for change in our country arises from the

fact that the old economic structure cannot assure the nation's progress and that its preservation aggravates the social crisis.

Analysis of the changes taking place in Panama and theoretical substantiation of the unfolding of the popular movement will help to foil the maneuvers of imperialism and its allies who are trying to stave off change. They will help to ensure that the present period ends by establishing a genuinely revolutionary government.

Greater revolutionary awareness needed

An imperative of the fight for a new society is to heighten the revolutionary awareness of the masses and unify the forces seeking change. This is the main task facing Panamanian Communists. The overwhelming majority of the people realize that there must be no return to the past. However, their political consciousness is still too low for them to have a clear idea of the subsequent course of events. The process of change goes on spontaneously, with reaction doing its best to lead it astray.

To enhance the people's revolutionary awareness, Communists must bring home to them that capitalist development will not solve the crisis. The main content of our epoch shows how the problems of a country like ours can be solved. The national democratic revolution is one way of doing this as far as Latin America is concerned. Its purpose is to establish a government representing diverse classes with the exception of the big monopolistic, pro-U.S. bourgeoisie. This democratic government would abolish pre-capitalist economic forms, take steps to safeguard the national economy against imperialist plunder, proceed to nationalize the foreign monopolies and the national monopolies dependent on them and specify, with due regard for the national interest, the economic fields in which non-monopoly national capital should be allowed to operate.

We must develop a general line in cooperation with all forces involved in the process of change and direct this process towards completing political reforms and towards a deep-going social revolution. We must demonstrate the imperative need for genuine people's rule, which can only be won through a political alliance of the democratic forces effecting revolutionary changes and defending the new regime against home and foreign reaction.

The general line should also take into account the balance of world forces and have the unqualified support of the anti-imperialist movement of the world. How consistently revolutionary the process of change in our country will be, depends on the extent of the workers' participation in it and on the worker-peasant alliance.

The Communists of Panama must draw up a program reflecting the interests of the people and serving as a basis for their unity and a guide to exercising power. Due to the special characteristics of our epoch, structural changes will bring our country closer to socialism. The working class must already seek a leading role, since developments will objectively place it at the head of this process.

The success of a national democratic revolution depends on

direct and effective participation by the people. A policy of change is unrealistic unless backed by the masses. In addition to favorable external conditions, it needs the support of the masses and their readiness to fight for change. Our country has the prerequisites for this.

However, we will get nowhere if events continue spontaneously and if we do not heighten the people's revolutionary awareness. Without these conditions revolutionary changes will be made impossible and the counter-revolution will gain the upper hand. This makes the ideological fight particularly important and prompts the Communists of Panama to concentrate on it.

The road ahead will not be easy. We are certain, however, that by uniting all anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist forces we will achieve the goals sought by the people.

U.S. elections, 1970

The November (1970) elections in the U.S. are now history and the newly elected Congress is already in session. But the effects of the elections will have wide repercussions in the years ahead.

The architects of the election campaign, Nixon-Agnew & Co., did not succeed in their efforts to drive the nation to the Right. That they made some significant gains should not be ignored. But their attempt to stampede the electorate in the last days of the campaign met with failure.

The tab for the campaign was in the grandiose style of Wall Street financing. It is estimated that the Republican Party alone spent in the neighborhood of \$200 million. One of Agnew's assignments was to meet with bankers and industrialists and rake in the cash. Nixon undertook the task of reaching out to the people. He skipped around the country sounding the alarm of the dangers of "violence" and offered such "goodies" as a promise to end the war in Vietnam. But it was the same old "Tricky Dick" once again. And the danger of his demagoguery was a real one and will continue to be so.

The results indicated that the American electorate did not swallow the Nixon concoction. The new Congress may not necessarily give Nixon a majority for his foreign policy. But how long such a situation may continue will depend on the peace movement as a whole, and in particular the activities of the labor movement, the Black and other minority groups.

The election tactic of Nixon was to defeat those senators who oppose his Vietnam policies most sharply. He aimed thereby to

change the composition of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee headed by its chairman, J. William Fulbright. In this he failed, although he succeeded in eliminating some senators who were part of the anti-administration bloc on foreign policy. Among them were Senators Albert Gore (Tennessee) and Joseph Tydings (Maryland).

However in a number of areas the Nixon-Agnew team went down to defeat. They lost two important senate seats, one in Illinois and the other in California. Nixon fought hard to maintain these seats and suffered a personal setback besides a political defeat. In the struggle for the lower House there were many sharp battles. In New York City, Bella Abzug, a peace leader, won despite a rabid, red-baiting campaign against her. In the industrial city of Akron (Ohio), J. Seiberling, who lent his support to the peace movement, defeated a long time incumbent Nixon supporter.

A serious defeat for progressives in the New York senatorial race was the election of James Buckley on the Conservative Party ticket. This is the first time that an outstanding ultra-Right was elected by a third party in New York state. Nixon repudiated his own party's candidate who was the incumbent and gave full support to Buckley. The Conservative Party victory is in part due to the vacillation of the liberal forces. It is further due to a split in the top AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy which served to the advantage of Buckley. A part of the labor bureaucracy supported Governor Nelson Rockefeller on the Republican Party ticket for re-election, and he in turn gave his support to the Conservative Party candidate. This split made it possible for Buckley to squeeze through, while his two opponents in the race polled 62 per cent of the vote.

The increased number of Black candidates elected on a national, state and local level was a significant feature of the November elections. This despite the fact that both capitalist parties hardly lifted a finger to help in their election and that the white candidates, in the main, ignored the Black electorate. But this result was made possible by the votes of Blacks with white support.

The Black delegation in Congress was increased from nine to twelve. Parren J. Mitchell (Maryland) was the first Black elected to Congress from a southern state since Reconstruction (1865-1877). Ronald Dellums (California) won despite being the special target of Nixon. Black leaders won positions on a state-wide scale which required support from large masses of white voters. Three Black candidates were elected to major state offices. One defeated an ultra-Rightist in California, the other two were elected from Maryland and Michigan.

The revolt in Black communities has penetrated deeply into the heart of the South. Alabama, which had the ignominious title as the seat of the old slavocracy, is now the center of a political rebirth. The state was under the unchallenged grip of the Democratic Party for nearly a century. Two years ago a new party was formed—the National Democratic Party of Alabama, composed primarily of Blacks. It is helping not only to change the political map of the state, but of the whole South. That party's candidate won a seat in the state legislature, it elected a number of county sheriffs and

challenged George Wallace, rabid racist, for the governorship. In opposing the powerful Wallace machine, the Black gubernatorial candidate, running for the first time, polled over 15 per cent of the vote—with the voting apparatus in the hands of the Wallace machine. Similar phenomena were also observed in Mississippi and in other parts of the South.

Little publicized in the election results were the referendums for peace. In a number of areas, due to the initiative of the peace forces, the issue of withdrawing troops from Vietnam won a place on the ballot. The results reflected the wide support for the peace issue. In the cities of Detroit and San Francisco, in the state of Massachusetts and in the County of Marin (California) the question of withdrawing troops was on the ballot in some form. In each instance the voters approved the referendum. In Detroit the measure won 63 per cent of the vote.

The Communist Party, while supporting the election of candidates favoring an end to the war in Vietnam and other progressive issues, had its own candidates in Minnesota, New York and Illinois. Despite obstacles for Communist candidates to win a place on the ballot because of restrictive and undemocratic laws, the Party conducted an intensive campaign of its own. The chief result was the more than 13,000 votes in Minnesota obtained by Betty Smith, Communist candidate and member of its National Committee. The results are indicative of the response to Communist candidates and it also gave the opportunity to place its position before the voters through television, radio and other mass media.

Furthermore, administration foreign policy in particular and American imperialism in general have suffered many setbacks. U.S. foreign policy has suffered increased isolation. Its effects are felt most sharply in new developments in Latin America. This factor was dealt with in a report by Comrade Gus Hall, General Secretary CPUSA, to a recent meeting of the National Committee. He stated: "The people's electoral victory in Chile is a major defeat for U.S. imperialism. The isolator of Cuba is itself becoming isolated . . . The electoral victory of the Chilean revolutionary forces opens up a new front against imperialism and a new page in the struggles of the peoples and countries of Latin America for liberation and for socialism. The path will not be easy, but they now have an important beachhead." Such events in Latin America also have a strong impact on the American electorate.

The shadow of the 1972 national elections hung over the 1970 campaign. Although the next national election is almost two years away, the American political scene projects national aspirants for the presidency well in advance. The conjecture is: Will Nixon win a second term? Will he drag Agnew along with him? Who are possible aspirants of the opposition Democratic Party? These questions may be of little concern to us now. The people have more serious problems facing them during the next two years. Yet it would be unwise to ignore these political maneuvers which will accelerate as '72 gets closer. The objective is to attract support and

to polarize around particular candidates well in advance of the national party conventions.

In the months ahead the problems facing the people will clash with the promises made during the campaign. Congress and state legislatures are in session. The legislative measures before them, the hearings and debates, all have a bearing on the lives of the American people. More important, these developments will help shape the actions of labor, the peace movement, Black liberation and all minority groupings.

Less than three weeks after the votes were counted, U.S. helicopters landed forces not far from Hanoi under the guise of "rescuing" prisoners. This provocative act and the continued bombings, in the opinion of peace forces, can serve as a prelude for renewed invasion attempts. The aim to intensify new attacks on North Vietnam and expand the war has already resulted in wider opposition nationally and internationally.

On the domestic scene the president is also sharpening new tools for attack. The cry has gone up that workers' demands for increased wages to meet the rapid rise in living costs are inflationary. New assaults are planned against trade unions. Among them is the one-million-strong Steel Workers' Union. Nixon singled out the auto workers in General Motors for attack because of the minimal victory won in their strike. The *N.Y. Times* calls for "guidelines" (read: wage freeze) in future labor negotiations. It urges the "punishment" of employers who yield to wage increases by imposing a surtax on their profits.

The Nixon tactic is to remain and continue in power by dividing the people. This is a deliberate and calculated plan. The project is to create a reactionary-political bloc of varied minority groups sufficient to win elections. This projection began with the so-called Nixon "southern strategy" which failed in November 1970. The object is to attract the most reactionary southern political elements with the aim of winning their states. Furthermore, to consolidate other reactionary elements of both parties and gain the support of pro-fascist forces, rabid racists and such sundry. It is a political strategy based on patching together a combination of reactionary minorities. *Time* magazine stresses this point when it concludes in its issue of November 23, 1970 that "For the sake of both appearances and tactics, the president must hold his right flank . . ." together. And this is the direction of the White House.

The two-party system has served U.S. capitalism well in containing the voters in a political box from which it has been difficult to extricate itself. Yet on local and regional levels independent formations, new parties, as well as independent political actions have found organizational forms. The advanced sections of the working class, mass anti-war demonstrations and the Black Liberation movement have confounded the experts. And they will continue to use existing political machinery to their advantage, while seeking to create new and independent political forms.

The 1972 elections will be shaped in the struggles of 1971. They will not await the outcome engineered by political machines at

their conventions. Against the tactics of united reactionary minorities, the objectives must be to crystallize a mass political movement of the majority. This will mature on the picket lines, in demonstrations and in other mass actions. It will come into being as a result of pressing economic issues, the Black liberation movement, the constantly growing peace movement, the youth and other progressive and democratic forces.

It will take numerous organizational forms. It will require the initiative of the Left and other independent political forces, political committees of the trade unions, in the communities, etc. They are not new formations. The American people have had considerable experience in this field. The need is to raise them to a higher political level. As Comrade Hall stressed, the "possibilities of defeating the forces of reaction are greater now than ever." *P. Bart*

Sweden: post-election survey

Fritjof Lager

Last year's strike wave made it all too clear that the Swedish workers want more energetic and effective restriction of capitalist rule and employer tyranny. That demand was well to the fore in last September's parliamentary elections and their results, it can now be said, are indicative of changes in the political alignment.

The election campaign followed the customary pattern—a deluge of leaflets, posters, candidate photos, front-page reports of speeches, and so on. But the elections were held on the basis of a 1970 constitutional amendment which replaced the two-chamber parliament established in 1864 by a one-chamber one of 350 deputies instead of 384, with parliamentary and local elections every three years instead of four. The voting age was cut from 21 to 20, bringing the electorate up to 5,600,000.

Under the new arrangement 310 parliamentary seats will go to candidates with majorities in their respective constituencies, the other forty, so-called proportional remainder, will be apportioned in accordance with surplus votes and votes polled in constituencies where the party failed to win the mandate. Another new feature is the parliamentary "threshold": a party polling less than four per cent of the total vote is not entitled to a seat.

The elections were contested by the Left Party-Communists (LPC), the Social-Democrat Labor Party (SDLP), three bourgeois parties—the Center Party (formerly the Peasant Union), the People's (Liberal) and Moderate Coalition (formerly known as the Right party), the Christian-Democrat Union (CDU) and the avowedly pro-Maoist so-called Communist League of Marxist-Leninists (CLML). Its object was to win away votes from the Communists to prevent them from breaking through the four per cent barrier.

The results of the elections are given in the following table.

	Number of votes	Per Cent	Parliamentary Seats
LPC	236,653 (145,172) *	4.8 (3)	17 (3)
SDLP	2,256,581 (2,420,277)	45.3 (50.1)	163 (125)
Center	990,921 (779,839)	19.9 (15.7)	71 (39)
People's (Liberal)	806,893 (724,778)	16.2 (14.3)	58 (34)
Moderates	573,811 (670,555)	11.5 (12.9)	41 (32)
CDU	88,770 (72,377)	1.5 (1.5)	—
CLML	21,232 —	0.4 —	—

*1968 figures.

The parliamentary line-up has changed. The Social-Democrats, in office since 1932, no longer have an overall majority—163 seats to the bourgeois parties total of 170. The Labor group needs the 17 Communist votes to obtain a majority.

This made it necessary for the Communists immediately to formulate their attitude. And this was done at their Central Committee meeting in October which analyzed the political situation and mapped out the Party's policy and tactics.

The plenum emphasized that capitalism thrives on the exploitation of oppressed classes and nations. Sweden is part of the capitalist world. Her monopolies are partners in imperialist plunder. Swedish capitalism is more closely merging with foreign capital.

The Swedish working class has won substantial economic gains. But more and more people are coming to realize that the price to be paid for so-called prosperity and higher living standards is higher work quotas and, partly, environmental pollution and contamination.

The sharp contract in incomes and property status is a built-in feature of Sweden's class society. Social reforms and hard-won wage raises are often reduced to naught. The state has done nothing to arrest that trend; on the contrary, it is working hand-in-glove with the capitalists. The Social-Democrat government has, if anything, widened rather than narrowed the incomes gap.

Capital concentration and centralization have led to more bureaucracy, to power being concentrated in the top crust. The government and the capitalists want the people to adapt themselves to the needs and criteria of monopoly capitalism. Concentration of power

undermines and deforms the benefits of social reform, with resultant restriction of bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms. Monopoly capitalism is the sworn enemy of democracy.

The plenum also emphasized that our Party is out to abolish capitalism, and this will be achieved when the workers take over full power—on the shop floor, in the economy, and in the state apparatus. That is our idea of social revolution, but it can be performed only by a revolutionary party. The Left Party—Communists will act as such a party in cooperation with other socialist forces. It stands to reason that the fight against capitalism must be waged not only at parliamentary and local-government level. The center of the battle against monopoly capital must be shifted to the factory floor, the residential areas, mass organizations, the streets of our cities. And the battle has to be fought day after day, around every vital demand of the people. Only in this way can we arouse the activity and solidarity needed to vanquish capital and build socialism.

The new parliamentary line-up has posed several tactical problems for our Party. And first among these is our attitude to the Social-Democrats, who remain in power, though without an overall parliamentary majority. The Party leadership clearly defined its position of whether or not the Social-Democrats should remain in office. The Party chairman, C. Hermansson, said in his opening speech at the plenum: "To the extent that our Party is in a position to influence the formation of a government, we clearly say that we prefer a Social-Democrat cabinet. We are, of course, highly critical of the policy of the Social-Democrat government and do not expect any substantial change for the better in the coming years. But a bourgeois government would pursue a policy much worse for the working people. That is why we oppose the formation of a bourgeois government and will try to prevent it."

There is confusion in the bourgeois camp. The idea has long been mooted of a three-party coalition—the Moderate Coalition, People's and Center parties—in order to end the Social Democrat "monopoly" in parliament and the government. The Center Party, however, which would have been the weakest partner in any such coalition, showed scant interest in the idea. But things changed after the elections: the Center polled about one million votes and has a larger parliamentary representation than any of the other bourgeois parties. Its good showing in the municipal elections in the bigger towns and industrial centers shows that due to rapid urbanization the Center has turned from a predominantly agrarian into a party of the petty bourgeoisie, including a segment of the workers.

Our Party leadership assessed the elections as a shift to the Left: the Social-Democrats lost and the Communists gained ground. Much the same happened in the bourgeois camp: the Center Party gained and the Moderates, representing the Right wing, lost ground. The parties accounting for most of the labor vote are not united in a political bloc, but that does not cancel out the fact of a definite shift to the Left.

Several factors have contributed to this. One, doubtlessly, was the Common Market issue. The Communists have consistently and vigorously opposed Swedish membership and this presumably won them some of the Social-Democrat votes. From the very outset of the campaign there was a strong group within the Center Party opposed to Sweden entering the Common Market, and as it gained influence the Party's president joined it, syphoning away votes from the other bourgeois parties.

But, of course, the decisive factor in our Party's election success was the positive program it presented to the voters. It contained demands for an end to soaring prices, rents, taxes and rates, repeal of all laws restricting strike action, better working conditions and safety arrangements, energetic and comprehensive measures to stop the exodus from the north and the rapacious exploitation of the area by Big Business. The Communists also demanded more political and material support for national and social liberation movements in other countries, specifically recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and official recognition of the GDR and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

Our success at the polls, the Central Committee plenum emphasized, makes it incumbent on the Party to continue the fight for achievement of its 1969 program, on which, in effect, the elections were fought. And in all its activity, the plenum stressed, the Party must be mindful of Sweden's class divisions and cooperate with other forces for a progressive policy that would help Sweden's advance to socialism. "It is axiomatic," our Party chairman said, "that the working class and working people generally are the chief social force destined to refashion society." Wage and salary earners make up the absolute majority (70-75 per cent) of the population, and most of them still support the Social-Democrats. In the past year, however, many workers have come to see that as long as capitalism holds sway, they stand little chance of improving their position or of realizing their hopes of a free life worthy of man. In fact, the workers are coming to understand the need to fight the trade-union bureaucracy in order to strengthen the unions and turn them into an effective weapon against capitalism. This was clearly brought home to them by last year's strike struggles.

"We are prepared," our Party chairman said, "to cooperate with all groups and individuals willing to work with us for just demands. And we are prepared for a dialogue, exchange of experience, even joint action for the attainment of political aims, with groups, movements and parties which, like us, want to fight imperialism, abolish the system of capitalist profit and build socialism."

Referring to the tasks confronting the Party, the chairman said they imposed on us a great responsibility to the working class: "We are not going to be dragooned into parliamentary maneuvering. The best way to avoid that is to extend Party activity, above all on the shop floor, in residential areas and mass organizations. Party policy

will be formed in the mass struggle and not as a result of parliamentary maneuvering. Unremitting work to translate our program into action is the only way to carry forward policy in the desired direction. That certainly cannot be achieved by our parliamentary group alone; what we need is the activity of the whole people.

"In propaganda around concrete demands and in promoting the mass struggle, the Party must always define its political stand in the light of its tasks as the Marxist, i.e., revolutionary party in Sweden."

Concretely this means concentrating on the following three main issues:

- collective bargaining agreements, jobs and working conditions, wages, prices, rents, taxes, and Paragraph 32 of the collective bargaining law;*

- opposition to Sweden joining the Common Market;

- international solidarity, above all with the peoples of Vietnam, Greece and the Middle East.

Now that it has a bigger representation in parliament, the Left Party-Communists is in a better position to take a forceful stand on these issues.

*This gives the employer the right "to conduct his enterprise and hire and discharge personnel at his own discretion."

WANTED -- BACK ISSUES

Following back issues of WMR are required:

October 1958 Vol. 1 No. 2

February 1965 Vol. 8 No. 2

December 1958 Vol. 1 No. 4

April 1966 Vol. 9 No. 4

January 1964 Vol. 7 No. 1

June 1969 Vol. 12 No. 6

January 1970 Vol. 13 No. 1

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Imperialist barbarity



Two photographs of cannibalistic barbarity. The first is from Mozambique—after torturing their wounded prisoner, soldiers of the Portuguese colonial forces cut off his head. The second was taken thousands of miles away, in South Vietnam. A soldier of the Pentagon's intervention army is about to shoot a tortured Vietnamese prisoner while another American "defender of democracy" presses his gun against the man's head. Look into the face of the GI: the only expression is of animal curiosity in anticipation of the prisoner's last agony.

Where do they come from, these men turned beasts and capable of the most heinous crimes, men who take pleasure in torture and murder? They are not misfits, freak products of nature. They are products of *imperialism*, which cripples men's souls, destroys all human feelings, inculcates savagery, turns ordinary youngsters into professional bandits. Nor are the knife, revolver and machine gun their only weapons. They have been supplied with the most up-to-date military technology. In Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) they use napalm to destroy African villages and kill people whose only "crime" is the desire to break out of Portuguese colonial op-

pression. In South Vietnam they blanket-bomb large areas, use poison to destroy plants and life, are responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands.

All this brings back to mind the horrible days of Nazi terror—European cities reduced to rubble, the gas chambers and furnaces of the death camps. Nazism was a product of imperialism, and Hitler's murderers, too, were fond of being photographed with their victims. Of course, they never thought that the time of retribution would come; everything, they believed, would remain unknown or would be forgotten. That was not to be. Hitler's helpers in crime, Goering, Hess, Ribbentrop, Keitel and the others were tried by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal and many were sentenced to death. The Nuremberg trial of a quarter of a century ago should be a warning that war crimes and crimes against humanity will not go unpunished. Grim retribution awaits them all, those who ordered the barbarities and those who carried out the order. In the socialist countries even today Nazi criminals are sought out and tried. And it is highly significant that in December 1970 the UN General Assembly's Third Committee adopted a resolution calling for punishment of war criminals and persons guilty of crimes against humanity.

World opinion has condemned these new imperialist crimes. Several international organizations have been set up to investigate imperialist rapine in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and the record of atrocities grows from month to month. The mass murder of non-combatants by the U.S. military in Indochina has aroused mounting indignation in the United States itself. Things have reached a point when the White House finds itself compelled to go through the motions of condemning "excessive brutality."

Public pressure has forced the authorities to court-martial Lieutenant Calley for the massacre in My Lai village in South Vietnam. Reports of the proceedings at Fort Benning have disclosed some of the horrific details of this premeditated murder of men, women and children by representatives of "free America." And, naturally, Calley and other servicemen involved are not the only ones in the dock, for actually U.S. imperialism is being tried. This was plainly and eloquently put by George Ball, a former Under Secretary of State. He said that the gruesome story of Lidice as a symbol of barbarity pales in comparison with the mass murders and executions carried out by the Green Berets in Vietnam. We have fallen into the net, Ball said, we have ourselves weaved.

Yes, the instigators of the aggression in Vietnam are enmeshed in their own net of crime. In mid-December, President Nixon threatened to renew the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam should there be any "danger" to the U.S. forces in South Vietnam. A few days before that statement there was a massive U.S. air attack on several North Vietnam provinces, with a Green Beret force landing near Hanoi on the pretext of rescuing American airmen from a POW camp.

The Pentagon tried to justify this provocative attack by pleading

that it was a "humane" mission. "Humane"? The term is hardly appropriate to an attempt to rescue men responsible for the destruction of peaceful towns and villages. Furthermore, those who ordered this bandit attack knew that there would be civilian casualties. The December bombings and the landing operation were not meant to rescue captured air pirates. Reports in the U.S. press strongly suggest that the object was to stage a show of force to bully the Vietnamese into submission.

But the courageous Vietnamese patriots are not to be frightened. They are determined to fight for their just cause, for their freedom and independence. And in this they have the powerful support of fraternal socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, which is giving them every assistance in resisting the aggressor.

Mass police repression, torture, executions—they are all being used by imperialism in an attempt to hold back the revolutionary refashioning of the world. As the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized, "wherever it can, imperialism wages an offensive against democratic rights and freedoms; it tramples underfoot human dignity and cultivates racialism." The fascist regimes in Spain, Portugal and Greece, the ultra-reactionary juntas in Paraguay, Haiti, Brazil, Guatemala and Indonesia, maintained in power with imperialist support, are using outright police terror against the democratic and patriotic forces.

Towards the close of 1970, the Franco clique, intimately associated with U.S. imperialism, tried 16 Basque patriots on trumped-up charges.* They were charged with "subversion" and "terrorism," on "evidence" manufactured by the secret police or obtained by the use of Inquisition torture techniques. The military tribunal in Burgos was meant to provide a semblance of legality to this criminal action against the Basque democrats. Six were sentenced to death, the rest to a total of 519 years imprisonment. Protests in Spain and throughout the world prevented the execution of the six: the Franco government was forced to repeal the death sentence. But the Basque anti-fascists have been condemned to long years behind prison bars. Spain's fascist rulers are employing every known means of terror to bludgeon the people into submission, weaken their fight against Franco despotism, for democracy and fundamental change.

The American hate-mongers are keeping behind bars Angela Davis, a member of the U.S. Communist Party. She is accused of "complicity in murder." This talented young Negress, philosophy instructor at the University of California, is being prosecuted for her determined fight against reactionary policies, her fight for the rights of the American Negroes, and her courageous exposure of racist tyranny. FBI agents followed her every step, the Ultras

threatened her. The pretext for the present trial is a shoot-out with the police in San Rafael, California, with which Angela Davis was in no way connected. Nonetheless, she is to be tried on a trumped up charge that she had purchased the revolvers and that they were registered in her name. The authorities are trying to present Angela Davis as a "dangerous criminal," though there is not a shred of evidence to support the charges against her.

The indignation of the American people was so great that the authorities decided to take extraordinary security measures when Professor Davis was transferred from a New York women's prison to face trial in San Rafael, California. She was flown to California aboard a military aircraft from McGuire Airforce Base. From the very outset it has been perfectly obvious that the California ultra-reactionaries and racialists intend to pass the severest possible sentence. Henry Winston, National Chairman and Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, have issued a special statement urging all Americans and people throughout the world to prevent this travesty of justice against an American Communist and to demand the immediate release of Angela Davis. This is necessary in the interests of the worldwide fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism, in the interests of defending democracy in the United States.



In France, a demonstration for the Basque patriots.

America's aggressive foreign policy and militarization at home go hand in hand with police terror, reminiscent of the infamous witch hunts and the McCarthy tactics of the fifties. Police and the National Guard are brutally suppressing demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, attacking civil rights fighters, shooting down students campaigning for a democratic education system. Some of the che-

mical weapons being used in Vietnam are being brought into action against Americans who are not prepared to accept this reign of reaction and the monopoly onslaught on labor. Press reports indicate that in several states of this "citadel of the free world" Nazi-type concentration camps have already been set up to receive future inmates.

In fact, the campaign against the anti-imperialist forces has assumed dimensions that prompted the Swedish liberal journal *Kommentar* to ask: "Is the United States already a fascist-type police state? Or is it on the verge of becoming one?" Indeed, the present police measures are suspiciously reminiscent of Hitler's Third Reich. And the purpose is the same: straitjacket the labor and democratic movement, "tighten things up" at home in order to have a free hand for adventurist aggression abroad.

War criminal Alfred Rosenberg, that "ideologist" of Nazi banditry, concocted the theory of "racial superiority," proclaiming whole

nations "subhuman." Millions of Jews from various countries were the victims of that man-hating theory and practice. But today the peoples can see that the Zionist leaders, in their drive for a "greater Israel," call for the conquest of "Lebensraum" and, in effect, have adopted the ideology of the fascist hate-mongers. The Israeli authorities are operating a virtual genocide policy on occupied Arab territory, a policy classified as a heinous crime by the Nuremburg tribunal and expressly condemned by UN resolutions. For several years now, the invaders have been expelling the local population, demolishing homes, leaving people without shelter and means of subsistence, and anyone who has the temerity to protest is arrested and subjected to torture.

This list of imperialist crimes could be continued. It is a long one, and the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties declared: "We accuse imperialism of having turned an epoch with hitherto unheard-of possibilities for human advancement into a period in which millions of people eke out a miserable existence filled with fear and horror." Wanton murder, indescribable torture, despotism, unbearable oppression—even in the Middle Ages they were condemned and opposed by right-thinking people. Today all this has been brought back by imperialism, which has made political assassination and mass terror a tenet of policy and violence a method of holding back progress. This is part of the evidence of imperialist degradation, of imperialism's inevitable doom.

But imperialism is still strong and can be relied upon to use the most savage methods to suppress the revolutionary forces. Yet neither torture nor prison can stem the onward march of the new, nor ward off the collapse of the old world. For nothing can daunt Communists and other democrats, champions of the peoples' cause, patriots, fighters for progress. Experience has clearly shown that the place of a fallen fighter is taken by his comrades.

The mass urge in the capitalist world for democracy, for an end to oppression and exploitation, for socialism, is unconquerable. It cannot be quelled by truncheons or bayonets. On every continent there is a growing movement of solidarity with the courageous people of Vietnam and with the righteous struggle of the Arab peoples. "The whole world has intervened," is how the French *Paris Jour* described the powerful international movement in support of the Basque democrats and the dedicated American Communist Angela Davis.

Every imperialist action leads to popular counter-action. In reply to brutal repression, terror and atrocities, the democratic, progressive forces are closing their ranks, strengthening their united action in the battle against imperialism, fascism and despotic reactionary regimes. And in the van of this struggle are the Communists, the most firm, consistent and dedicated fighters for the peoples' happiness. They stint neither effort nor life itself for the triumph throughout the world of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism which illumine to the peoples the path to genuine humanism, democracy, equality and fraternity, socialism and communism. A.B.



The "quiet Americans" in Western Europe

Some quarter of a century ago much of the capitalist world first faced what had until then been a relatively unobtrusive international problem, that of the "American presence." It arose at the end of the Second World War as a consequence of the grown U.S. imperialist power. As components, the post-war Yankee image had GI boots on cafe tables and whisky-inspired GI brawls.

When the "American age" strategists became aware that these "high-powered" diplomatic tools were damaging to their vision of global expansion, however, the uninhibited and uncouth Yankee was supplemented by the "quiet American" of carefully considered comportment and a heavy cheque-book. To use an Englishman's phrase, there came the time of "coca-colanization," which for many countries rang in the era of instant coffee and chewing-gum, with U.S. control over their sovereignty thrown in.

The "quiet American" expertly drawn by Graham Greene in his novel of the same name, epitomized the new type of U.S. post-war foreign policy, to wit, "economic diplomacy." In the first line the economic adviser took the place of the GI, and military missions were complemented with trade and technical groups. The economic expansion drive ground into motion with the fourth point of the Truman Program, the Marshall Plan and a variety of private and official "aid" projects, superimposed in the following years by numerous channels sluicing billion-dollar investments across the entire capitalist world and "Americanizing" many a capitalist national economy.

Now, Western Europe is the dollar's main investment sphere, and the "quiet American," too, has largely shifted his operations to that area.

What is his present image? What are the main features and the balance sheet of his "civilization" mission? What is the relation between his purposes and the interests of the West European nations? And what is done to iron out the contradictions between the U.S. aims and the local imperatives?

At no time in modern history has the knotty "USA-Western

Europe" formula receded from the limelight. Its components or variables, to use the mathematician's idiom, changed over the years, for neither the America of today, nor any European country may be measured with yardsticks of twenty or thirty years ago. The times leave a distinct mark on the degree and form of subjugation to U.S. imperialism. The West European countries have consolidated their political independence and added to their economic weight. The outer medium, too, in which they conduct their relations with one another, has changed, for the achievements of the socialist system and the expanding social and national-liberation struggle have altered the relation of forces shaping world destiny.

Constant throughout the post-war period, however, has been the fact of the American economic, military and political presence in Western Europe. U.S. interests own a vast number of European enterprises, with investments exceeding \$20,000 million. Some 300,000 GIs are stationed in the West European countries and NATO armed forces have the latest U.S.-made means of annihilation, including 7,200 nuclear warheads. That is the material groundwork on which Washington's strategists endeavor to maintain their political influence. The December 1970 issue of *Fortune*, the glossy journal of U.S. big business, spells out their position as follows: "The success of what the Europeans are attempting vitally depends on the continuation of a strong U.S. military and political presence in Europe."

This view is also held by many West European statesmen. Recent facts show, however, that sufferance of U.S. policy is by no means the sole trend in European public thinking.

The relationship between the United States and West European countries, and among the latter, has always been a conflicting one. Integration—the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom and the Common Market—was unfailingly opposed by nationalist elements wanting the maximum privileges for their own countries. The objectives of the European Customs Union conflict with the system of Britain's imperial preferences. When the European Six (EEC) came into being, a Seven appeared to spite them, forming the Free Trade Association. Two trends, Atlantism and Europeanism (Western Europe's integration with or without the United States), were distinctly visible behind all the West European arrangements. And they still coexist—with Europeanism dominant in the EEC and EFTA and Atlantism in NATO and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The past decade furnishes enough evidence that the contradictions generated by imperialism's uneven development pervade the capitalist partnerships, regardless of organizational forms.

The new stage in U.S.-European imperialist relations unfolded in the mid-sixties, especially in the economic domain. With the U.S. share in world capitalist trade dropping and its monetary difficulties mounting, West European demands to re-divide the economic cake resound more vehemently, with inter-imperialist rivalry intensifying in many spheres of the world market, while, on the other hand,

the precipitous inflow of U.S. capital and the resultant technico-scientific offensive are substantially reducing West European capacity to withstand trans-Atlantic competition.

How do these conflicting tendencies coexist?

Though in relative terms U.S. monopoly capital is losing ground, it is still firmly entrenched in Western Europe. The big U.S. automobile concerns alone (principally General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and American Motors) have subsidiaries in Britain, the FRG, France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and elsewhere. General Electric and many other U.S. corporations are active in practically all the West-European countries, and U.S. capital, which originally penetrated but a few industries, such as electronics, automobiles and chemicals, is now installed in textiles, the food industry, banking, insurance, perfumery, advertising, hotels, etc. U.S. per capita investments, *La Libre Belgique* reports, are \$22 in Italy, \$36 in France, \$52 in the FRG, \$69 in Holland, and \$76 in Belgium.

U.S. monopoly capital holds many trumps in the competitive struggle of today: its enterprises are vast and their machine-to-man ratio very high; its financial resources, enhanced through advantageous use of the Eurodollar market, are extensive; it has substantial experience in running large-scale industrial complexes, etc.

This cripples European resistance to U.S. penetration. Especially difficult is it for European firms to compete in some of the modern industries, determinative in technico-scientific progress. The electronic computer market, for one, is a walk-over for the Americans, with two-thirds of it controlled by International Business Machines and another 15 per cent by Honeywell-General Electric, and with Burroughs, Univac and other U.S. companies also active. Brains are another object of rivalry. The technical gap between the two contending parties is often regarded as insuperable for West Europeans. Yet many of the decisive discoveries, the substance of the current technical revolution, were made by European rather than American brains. This is true not only of atomic fission. The original perforated cards and mechanical information processing originate from Europe, and in computer production, too, Europe and the United States ran neck and neck. There is no brain shortage in Western Europe, though the scale of sophisticated mass production is well behind that across the ocean. The latest management techniques are probably less in use, for which reason the "quiet Americans'" billions of dollars are poured precisely into these breaches.

Yet resistance to U.S. monopoly pressure has been more frequent of late. And the European bourgeoisie more frequently invokes government support in the battle of capitals and the commercial war, calling for official restrictions. The Conservative Government's new tax plan, for example, has been a source of dismay for U.S. companies with interests in Britain. Under its effects the Chrysler, General Motors and other investment projects may have to be cut back.

Rolf Dahrendorf, foreign relations chief of the European Common

Market, hinted last autumn that U.S. investments may be restricted in Europe, with controls on profit repatriation.

As a result, reports that U.S. enterprises in Western Europe intend to reduce their investment programs due to shrinking opportunities, became fairly numerous at the end of last year.

Retaliating to the U.S. intention of putting up import barriers, some West European countries threaten protectionist measures of their own. British economist Paul Einzig regards as quite possible a split of the free world "into two camps as a result of an economic war between the United States and Europe."

Unable to compete alone, the European monopolies are opting for amalgamation. It was expressly to enhance its competitive capabilities that Credit Lyonnais, France's second largest bank, merged with Commerzbank, West Germany's third largest commercial bank, forming what is the world's fifth largest investment corporation at the end of 1970. The new banking group has left the door open for other European partners, expecting Belgium's Société Générale de Banque, among others, to join. This, says *Business Week*, is "the first major European banking challenge to increased competition from American banks operating on the Continent."

A Franco-West German deal was concluded last December, creating a European air transport agency, with Dutch Fokker and British Hawker-Siddley as partners.

In the years to come competition between the Atlantic partners is sure to intensify in the technological domain. Belgian economist Ernest Mandel, author of the book "Europe versus America? Contradictions of Imperialism," notes the characteristic tendency of West European technical equipment rates to considerably exceed those of the United States. In scientific instruments, where the United States accounted for 65 per cent of the 1965 capitalist world output, West European countries are quickly picking up speed. The annual growth rate between 1960 and 1965 has been 6.5 per cent in the USA, 12.4 in West Germany, 23.5 in Great Britain and 34.5 in Sweden. The German Federal Republic has begun exporting atomic power stations, and in the next ten years its high-speed nuclear reactors will be mass produced, becoming what Mandel terms "the geese which will lay the golden eggs of the 1980s."

West European companies are not always able to stand up to U.S. competition with their own, albeit combined, "European" strength. So, ironically, European capital is compelled to seek the support of other U.S. companies.

In November 1970, Britain's International Computers, Ltd. and France's Compagnie Internationale pour l'Informatique, two big electronic equipment producers, set up a subsidiary in Brussels which, U.S. business quarters estimate, is strong enough to compete with U.S. companies. Their third partner is American-Control Data Corp., with enterprises in France, Holland, the FRG and Portugal, poised to challenge IBM supremacy. That is a new trend. Acting in concert with European partners, U.S. capital can cash in on privileges granted by local governments to stimulate production and ex-

port, and also expects added opportunities of exploiting local manpower—top scientists, engineers and technicians.

The West European bourgeoisie must decide what type of investment and control is more dependable. For one thing, is it safe to surrender control over Europe's productive forces to an overseas country, the political, commercial and monetary positions of which are so vulnerable? Is it not safer to rely on their own governments, to get the latter's guarantees and join forces on a national or continental basis? Recent facts show that the answer to the first question is more frequently negative, while that to the second is more frequently positive. However, not concern for national sovereignty, but the instinct of self-preservation is prompting resistance to excessive U.S. penetration.

Complaining about the inconsistency of European anti-Americanism, William S. Schlamm, the West German *Die Welt* commentator, says: "The common demoninator of all European politics is escape from responsibility for the future." For the West European bourgeoisie this, evidently, contains a fair measure of the bitter truth.

From time to time, the U.S. presence tends to irritate West European statesmen. In European capitals, it is fashionable to raise the anti-American theme at official receptions. A caustic remark against the trans-Atlantic partner also pays off in popularity for a wide-awake political observer of the average West European newspaper.

Yet things change when practical issues arise.

The size of U.S. troops in Europe and their maintenance was for some time an object of discussion for ruling circles on both sides of the Atlantic. The military presence factor is known to be the prime cause of public anti-American sentiment. Whether to keep the entire U.S. forces contingent in Europe or send home part of it was an issue ultimately swung by commercial, rather than political, considerations. Complaining of financial difficulties, many West European leaders let it be known that they would not increase "European defense" expenditures to any considerable extent.

The trans-Atlantic strategists were given an excellent opportunity to declare that, irrespective of whether or not their allies increase their NATO contributions, the United States would not agree to any unilateral reduction of its own contribution, which evoked no objections in Western Europe and was formalized at the latest NATO Council session in Brussels.

Making the most of the passive stance of some West European politicians, of their "escape from responsibility for the future," their transoceanic partner lays claim to participation in shaping the destiny of Western Europe. *Foreign Affairs* boldly disseminates the view of Zbigniew Brzezinski, who is anything but a "quiet American." "Without close ties with America," he says, "Western Europe's political independence is less than certain." The American presence, *Fortune* chimes in, is essential "to protect the integration process in Western Europe." And President Nixon adds that America "can no more disengage from Europe than from Alaska."

Yet these declarations, far from flattering to West Europeans,

will not be tolerated endlessly. The desire to breach the "Atlantic partnership" is in evidence quite frequently at different levels. For years it has been Western Europe, not the United States, that took the initiative in extending contacts with the socialist world. Many NATO partners take exception to the tough U.S. line on European security. At the latest NATO Council session the Foreign Ministers of Norway, Denmark and Iceland fell out with the State Department, calling for closer scrutiny of the socialist countries' proposal of an all-European conference.

Returning from trips to the United States, West European statesmen have of late taken a critical view of the state of the U.S. economy and U.S. society as a whole. Successive U.S. administrations, they note, have been unable to cope with unemployment, inflation, social inequality and the crime wave. The magnitude of anti-government and anti-war action in the United States is creating anxiety among many bourgeois politicians.

Western observers tend to trace some recent West European political demarches to doubt in America's economic and social stability. Among these actions, causing dismay among Americans claiming "concern" for European destiny, is Willy Brandt's "new Eastern policy." Following the talks in Moscow and Warsaw, a chorus of voices resounded in the United States, warning of the dangers for the Atlantic world implicit in the *Ostpolitik*. *Foreign Affairs* commented ruefully: "The West German initiative is rooted in declining West German confidence in the stability and commitment of America." The omnipresent Brzezinski came forward with recommendations, saying that there is a "continued need for countervailing U.S. political involvement in the East-West European relationship. Without such positive involvement there is the real risk that Bonn's *Ostpolitik* will either fail, or worse, be turned around to divide the West."

Time will show whether the Americans, often anything but "quiet," or Europe, its peoples and governments, have the final say in arranging European affairs. West European progressives are firmly opposed to international monopolies and aggressive imperialist policy; they are working for peace based on all-European security. Their voice resounds in mass demonstrations against U.S. expansion, against NATO, and in the big workers' strikes at U.S. subsidiaries in France, Italy, Britain, Belgium, the FRG and Spain. Consistently opposed to the "American presence," the Communist parties in Western Europe offer the alternative of joint international action by the working people against the imperialist policy of bourgeois international alliances. The offensive against the U.S. and West European monopolies should be a concerted one, blending with the struggle for social emancipation.

Jan Prazsky



Exposing anti-Sovietism

Notes on an International Forum

Capitalism sticks at nothing in trying to stem the worldwide revolutionary movement. Anti-Sovietism, to which it has lately resorted more and more actively, holds an important place among its methods.

The Communist parties and all genuinely progressive forces expose anti-Sovietism as the main line of anti-communism. The Karlovy Vary seminar late in 1970, sponsored by the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, was one in a series of international forums on the problems of combating anti-Sovietism. It was attended by representatives of the friendship societies and ideological institutions of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union. These notes are based on ideas voiced at the seminar.

Meaning and Objectives. Anti-Sovietism, a reactionary ideological activity, is calculated to discredit Soviet experience in building socialism and communism, the theoretical and ideological foundations of the CPSU, its economic, social and cultural policies, the history of Soviet so-

ciety and state and Soviet foreign policy.

Speakers at the seminar stressed that imperialism aims its main blow at the Soviet Union, the country exerting a revolutionizing influence on contemporary social development. By carrying out the world's greatest revolution in October 1917, the proletariat of Russia offered mankind a new vista. It was the first to set foot on the unexplored ground of socialist development. Today the Soviet Union is the first country to be building communism, and the main economic, political, military, ideological and moral force of the world revolution. A major world power, the Soviet Union wields tremendous influence in international affairs, and its foreign policy helps the revolutionary and progressive forces to carry on their fight. Everyone acknowledges that the Soviet armed forces are the greatest obstacle to a new world war.

The Soviet Union, it was pointed out at the seminar, owes its role in vast measure to the fact that it is the birthplace of

Leninism, which first triumphed there and has been marching on ever since, drawing on the new experience of socialist and communist building and the world revolutionary movement. The wide range of economic, social, political, cultural and national factors that operated during the October Revolution and the subsequent building of a new society makes Soviet experience most valuable.

In spearheading their propaganda against the Soviet Union, imperialist reaction is aware that it cannot shake the Soviet system, which has demonstrated its stability in history's hardest battles. The imperialists would like by means of anti-Sovietism to complicate the building of communism in the Soviet Union as far as possible. However, they consider it a much bigger strategic task to make people distrust the Soviet Union as a revolutionary vanguard, to undermine the unity of the world socialist system and the Communist movement and to bring disarray into the ranks of the fighters against imperialism.

The anti-Sovietism dished up for the socialist countries is an ideological supplement to the imperialist policy of "bridge-building" between the capitalist West and socialist countries. Attacks on the Soviet Union are often coupled with a show of goodwill towards this or that socialist country. The long-range objective of this strategy is an open secret. As early as 1966 Strauss, the reactionary West German politician, in "Project for Europe" urged helping Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary to "re-

turn" step by step to the fold of capitalist Europe.

With anti-Sovietism monopoly capital also associates no less insidious designs against the working-class movement. They consist in falsifying the results and trends of Soviet development to make believe that the revolutionary struggle is futile and to bolster the illusion of reformist socialism, of peace between labor and capital. A parallel objective is to divert the working people's attention from real problems, to disguise the exploiting, anti-popular nature of the capitalist system and to whitewash the reactionary foreign policy of imperialism.

In relation to the national liberation movement the purpose of anti-Sovietism is to foment disbelief in the possibility of using Soviet experience and aid as a means of achieving rapid progress in the economy, culture and living standard or of settling the national question. Specifically, anti-Sovietism is expected to give the impression that Soviet assistance is a "tactical device" used in a bid for supremacy in Asia and Africa, as is claimed by Lacharriere, a French bourgeois economist, for one.

Mechanism. The time when the bourgeoisie regarded socialism as a whim of the Kaiser has long been over. Capitalist strategists today pore over Marxist textbooks. Hundreds of research centers are busy preparing pseudo-scientific food for anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda. Falsification is assuming an enormous scale. The anti-Soviet web stretches from the orbit of the spy satellites to

the archives of anti-Communist organizations.

"Sovietologists" (meaning in this case experts in Soviet affairs who study them from a biased position and with hostile intent) are prolific to an amazing degree. A mere list of the "schools" and "theories" founded by them would fill many pages. Capitalist countries publish anti-Soviet periodicals, year-books and encyclopaedias. "Sovietologists" tend more and more to joint efforts. One fruit of their cooperation is "The Soviet System and Democratic Society. A Comparative Encyclopaedia," whose Volume I appeared in 1966. Among its authors are Brzezinski, Wetter, Geyer, Meissner, Stoekl, Thalheim and other "prominent" U.S. and West German "experts" in Soviet affairs.

Anti-Sovietism draws on bourgeois history, philosophy, political economy, sociology, psychology, and various other sciences, which have given rise to numerous branches of anti-Soviet "knowledge."

Imperialism has set up a powerful and diversified machinery to carry on ideological subversion against the Soviet Union. A part of this machinery is the network of propaganda centers and special services, as well as "non-governmental" agencies. Working for anti-Sovietism are the Hoover Institute, Harvard University's Russian research center, Columbia University's Russian Institute and the Strategic Research Center of Georgetown University in the United States, and the Institute for Soviet Studies in Munich, the Federal Institute for East and International Relations in Co-

logne, the Central Asian research center in London and numerous other centres. The United States is the chief base of anti-Sovietism and of anti-communism generally. It is the biggest supplier of anti-Soviet ideas and personnel and the main banker who pays the bills of subversive organizations. There are at least 146 known institutions in the U.S. engaged in ideological warfare against the Soviet Union and the Communist movement. Anti-Soviet centers in West Germany play an active role. International Zionism, too, is an anti-Soviet shock force. Right Social Democrats and various revisionists make a special contribution to anti-Sovietism. They often make common cause with ultra-reactionary imperialist forces.

Methods. The seminar discussed at length certain methods of anti-Sovietism that have become widespread in recent years. One of them is to "prove" that the Soviet Union provides a "poor" model of socialism unfit for other countries and, in general, is outside the main trend of history. This "proof" is furnished by revising Lenin's theory of socialism and socialist revolution and the history of Leninism, by opposing Lenin to Marx and alleging that Lenin "distorted" Marx and that it is therefore necessary to go back to the "real," "undeformed" Marx; by misrepresenting the history of the October Revolution and playing down its significance, the revolution being described as a local or "bourgeois democratic" one at best; by falsifying various stages of Soviet history, the period after

Lenin's death being called one of continuous "error" and "deformation"; by extolling such enemies of Lenin as Trotsky, portrayed as "genuine revolutionaries."

Other anti-Soviet and anti-Communist distortions argue in favor of a "pluralist socialism." Special publicity is given to the concept of "national communism," a nationalist distortion of the main principles of Marxism-Leninism that amounts to adopting a petty-bourgeois position on decisive issues of the class struggle. The seminar exposed this concept conclusively.

Anti-Communist propaganda also tries to rally "independent" and "autonomous" forces by using socialist slogans. The advocacy of "neutrality" in world affairs is frankly intended to sever various revolutionary contingents from the common anti-imperialist front and to weaken them so as to defeat them.

Speakers at the seminar said that bourgeois propaganda, looking in the Soviet Union for elements it can use, enlists the services of disgruntled individuals hostile to the Soviet system and raises a hue and cry over them, portraying them as "fighters against injustice" or "intellectuals in revolt."

A case in point was the stir raised over the public appearance of a certain Tarsis in Britain. "Sovietologists" recommended him as a "persecuted Soviet writer," but it was not long before they had to admit that he was a mental case and not a writer.

The bourgeois press put on a bigger show over A. Solzhenitsyn, whom it publicized only

because he had smeared Soviet reality, as speakers at the seminar pointed out. Many prominent men of culture in the West state publicly that the maneuvers over Solzhenitsyn are purely political.

Anti-Soviet propaganda tries to capitalize on individual facts that are contrary to the nature of Soviet society by describing them as typical of it. On the other hand, it ignores or falsifies the historic achievements of the Soviet people, their creative effort, the high moral qualities of socialist man.

Exposure. The Karlov Vary seminar stressed that anti-Sovietism, which represents malicious and often subtle falsification, must be combated continuously and by every means.

Achievements in building communism in the Soviet Union are the decisive arguments against anti-Sovietism. The progress made by the first socialist country in economy, culture and democracy is the strongest evidence in favor of socialism and helps to refute anti-Soviet falsehoods.

It was said at the seminar that a key task in the fight against anti-Sovietism is to foster proletarian, socialist internationalism. A thesis of anti-Soviet propaganda is that "the Soviet Union can defend itself and needs no help." This thesis, speakers stressed, is clearly designed to suggest a kind of utilitarian approach to the relations between revolutionary forces. An internationalist position implies supporting the country that is marching in the van of the revolution.

Underestimation of the role of

the Soviet Union logically leads in a number of cases to underestimation of the negative role of anti-Sovietism. It is even said that anti-Sovietism is no longer widespread. Accordingly, its various manifestations are interpreted as quite permissible attacks on the Soviet Union. It was emphasized at the Karlovy Vary seminar that in the fight against anti-Sovietism concessions and compromises are ruled out.

Some of our enemies claim that the call for solidarity with the Soviet Union means renouncing all criticism. That is not true. Soviet people know full well that socialist and communist building, a complicated and multi-dimensional process, cannot be a succession of victories and cannot avoid numerous difficulties. They neither conceal nor are embarrassed by shortcomings in the great effort that is the building of communism, for they know that progress is accompanied by difficulties, and they are and will go on overcoming these difficulties. This is why they appreciate comradely advice intended to further their progress.

The seminar dealt with methods of explanatory work and

propaganda to expose anti-Sovietism. It was said that this work will bear fruit if carried on steadfastly and competently. The important thing is to take a differentiated approach to diverse sections of the population, to bear in mind the degree of their political and ideological maturity, the varying conditions of the class struggle and the peculiarities of the economic and political situation.

Of course, we should react differently to the anti-Sovietism of the enemies of socialism and to the utterances of people who are sincerely for socialism but have been misled by enemy propaganda as regards Soviet realities and policies. The only proper reply to slander by our enemies is to unmask them, to fight them without compromise, and as for misled friends, our answer to them should be patient explanation.

These are some of the problems of fighting against anti-Sovietism today. The further advance of socialist society and extensive propaganda of its achievements are important conditions for success in combating every manifestation of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

G. P.

Growing social contradictions and crisis of Catholicism

Juan Rosales

The Church in Latin America, described in Church statistics as a "Catholic continent," is passing through a deep crisis. This is seen in the open discord both among its high dignitaries and between the latter and numerous groups of Catholic priests and laymen. These groups establish friendly relations with the Communists and often take joint action with them. Reactionary bishops retaliate by punishing or even excommunicating recalcitrant priests and, besides, resort more and more frequently to the aid of the ruling classes' repressive agencies to isolate "rebel" priests from the believers. Some Catholic priests and laymen expose the socio-economic system prevailing in Latin America and take a stand against political persecution, identifying themselves with the oppressed and supporting their demands. These are only some manifestations of the conflicts besetting the Church, in which, *Vision*, a bourgeois periodical, says, "they talk about anything, mainly about Marx, the Negroes, the USA and Vietnam, but very little about God."

Thus it is not theological but purely secular problems that are behind the differences in Latin

America's Catholic movements. The differentiation between what may be called two Churches is growing deeper and deeper. One Church, which insists on its privileges, serves the Establishment as a power factor and spiritual pillar, while the other is conciliatory and sees in active compromise with the popular forces and their revolutionary demands a means of fulfilling the commandment "Love thy neighbor." In other words, it tries to take account of an objective necessity.

The crisis of Catholicism is admitted by everyone today but the reasons given for it are different. The reactionary section of the priesthood believes that it is due to the anti-Christian activity of the present-day "princes of darkness," as they generally describe the Communists in pressing for a crusade against them. Centrist groups within the Church, many of which are no less anti-Communist than the Rightists, accuse them, nevertheless, of inability to cope with the crisis, of a lack of flexibility and sense of time, of reluctance to renounce certain alliances and methods which are sanctified by the Church and which anger the

masses. Some clerical groups advocating definite innovations attribute the crisis to the absence of compromise between the Church and the aspirations of the people, which they say results in the people's alienation from religion and in closer links between them and "godless materialism." The monopolies and their agents are concerned about the depth of the crisis, which is evidence of the Church leaders' inability to quell the rebellious spirit manifest in the Church and to prevent social division. They are doing their best to reimpose obedience by slandering and persecuting progressive Catholics. At the same time some bourgeois and petty-bourgeois anti-clerical groups hope that the crisis of the Church, their long-time rival, will eventually lead to a decline in its power and enable them to divert the people from the class struggle by using recipes of their own.

The various trends of Catholicism, while seeking a way out of the crisis in accordance with their own interests, are compelled to take account, in one way or another, of the interests of the masses and of changes occurring in Latin America and elsewhere.

It would be interesting in this connection to examine certain ambitious plans and certain activities that have been going on behind the facade of the Church during the past decade. The top priesthood proceeded to coordinate efforts to strengthen its positions when, in 1955, the Latin American Episcopal Council (CELAM) was set up. It began to devote greater attention to

pressing social problems, especially after the victory of the Cuban revolution and in view of the mounting anti-imperialist movement. These activities were prompted by anti-communism and fear of radical changes and were carried forward in alliance with the ruling classes. Thus, the Marian Conference (of worshippers of the Virgin Mary) called in Buenos Aires in 1960 dealt, among others, with the problem of raising a "spiritual barrier to communism." "Great sermons" were delivered with an eye to increasing the religious zeal of the masses. The purpose of these and other religious and political measures was to use the influence of the priesthood as a check to revolutionary change. Professing support for peaceful social renovation, the Church tries to reconcile the people's progressive aspirations with a clericalism adapted to the flabby reformism of the big bourgeoisie, breaking off some of the traditional links with the landed oligarchy and the conservatives and serving the expansionist ambition of U.S. imperialism. This is why the Latin American Church unquestioningly supported the Alliance for Progress, hoping under cover of it to win key positions in education and social maintenance and to call the tune in Latin America's ideological orientation.

Unable to accomplish this task by itself, the Church sought the assistance of the North American Church led by reactionaries like the late Cardinal Spellman, who secured from the Vatican an "urgent campaign" to form select groups of preceptors, so-

cial workers, advisers for the workers and farmers, and of teachers of foreign languages, especially of English, which is particularly necessary to Latin America, that would engage in appropriate activities primarily in those areas where the Communists are established. In addition to these "Pope's volunteers," who were soon joined by members of the Peace Corps and other CIA-led organizations, Cardinal Cushing of the USA recommended mobilizing almost another hundred thousand priests if the fight against communism was to be a success.

The Latin American Church, aided financially and otherwise by foreign Catholic institutions, set up for work among the masses new bodies that played an active part in the most important events in our countries. In July 1964 Thomas Mann, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, said that in many areas the Church imparted its orientation to the struggle for progress under free regimes. He meant the priesthood's complicity in the Brazilian military coup in 1964, when the Goulart government was overthrown and a pro-U.S. military dictatorship was brought into being that has maintained a reign of terror ever since. The same road was taken by the Church dignitaries in Argentina, who helped to carry out a clerical-military, pro-imperialist coup in 1966.

For all the clericals' efforts to unite the Catholics under the religious banner of the struggle against communism, however, these reactionary schemes have failed. They have been unable

to keep up reformist illusions, prevent socialist progress in anathematized Cuba or stop the growth of the Latin American peoples' anti-imperialist struggle. The clericals have proved unable to win the hearts of believers who have begun to see the actual purpose of the campaign launched by the priesthood and the inquisitorial measures against increasingly numerous dissidents among the priests.

A number of religious students and Catholic workers and some priests and bishops who appreciate the people's demands increasingly learn from experience, in fruitful debates and united action with Communists, that the Latin Americans' deadly enemy is imperialism and not communism, the doctrine of transforming society on revolutionary lines. Notable socio-political changes in the world, scientific achievements, the secularization of social and cultural institutions, massive migration to the towns and other factors, for their part, have upset the habitual order in the Catholic world. All this has aggravated the contradictions between the generation of priests that is old both in age and way of thinking and would like to divert the Church from the "sinful" path of adjusting itself to the process of history, and a new generation which quite easily and even gladly breathes the air of our time charged with storm.

The Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican and later Pope Paul VI, bearing in mind the situation in the Latin American Church, advised the clerical

hierarchy of the continent to show greater flexibility. They stressed that it must "participate autonomously" in deep-going structural reforms and social changes and support them "if the Church expects to play any role in the future of Latin America." Nevertheless, the clerical assembly held in Mar del Plata, Argentina, in October 1966 set itself the following goal in spite of certain differences: before any radical changes are effected in the orientation of the Church, the latter should alter its tactics to limit activities particularly resented by the people and ease class antagonisms. Evading the real causes of the backwardness and dependence of Latin American countries, the assembly concentrated on "development policy," which it interpreted as ending the economic lag through speedy but "prudent" changes.

Recourse to Christian reformism is not a mere imperialist maneuver but a result of objective processes whose causes are obvious to the top leadership of the Catholic Church. There is, first of all, the growing determination of the Latin American masses to fight for structural changes, which induces the ruling classes to carry out certain reforms of secondary importance "peacefully" so as to prevent the masses from achieving their goals by "violent" means. Secondly, there is the existence of a vast social basis made up of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sections of the population, which constitute the bulk of the Latin American Catholic community. Confused by the crisis and failure of their old concepts

but unable to accept the leading role of the working class and its party, these sections are trying, in turn, to assume guidance of the process of "change" and to direct it in such a way as to leave their class interests intact. All this facilitates the problem for Latin America's clericals, who are renewing the medieval theoretical basis by adapting it to the interests of the new ruling classes with which they have linked their destiny. The Church upholds the concept of a hierarchic society, the "divine" origin of state power and the "natural" right to private property. The imperialists and their agents take advantage of this function of the Church.

At a colloquium sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation at the Jesuitic University of Notre Dame (USA) and attended by priests, sociologists and politicians of the continent, Professor Pike, one of the sponsors, said that in view of the mounting wave of demands for radical social reforms in Latin America the time had come to ask what role religion would play in this, for the disappointment of the masses might prompt them to begin lending ear to the promises of godless communism. The colloquium recommended new methods of combating communism, urging a "positive" alternative in place of hollow denunciations and a "democratic and Christian revolution" as a counterweight to the Cuban. Unlike Communists, it was stressed, "Christian reformers at least leave room for private ownership and enterprise."

Clinging to the inviolability of capitalist relations, top church

spokesmen concentrated mainly on finding some "third way" of surmounting the social antagonisms. Tristan de Athayde, the Brazilian Catholic philosopher, for example, pleaded for a way "to unite the three forces: the Right reactionary, Left revolutionary and even Marxist, and that of the center." The appeal "to purify and align the mounting wave of revolution with the principles of the Gospel" resounded in the "alternativistic" concepts of prelates and priests, acquiring the dimensions of a doctrine in many of the clerical institutions.

This, among others, is the case with the Jesuit Social Investigation and Action Center the avowed purpose of which is to combat the spread of atheism or, more precisely, of Marxist influence, by means of a Catholic social doctrine.

Not to be outdone by Loyola's disciples are his old-time rivals, the Dominicans, busy of late in Third World countries. The most relevant figure among them, venerated by Latin America's university Catholics, was Father Lebreton (died in 1966), who travelled extensively across the continent at the invitation of governments and clerical institutions interested in his "flexible model," which envisages a combination of "humane economics" and "genuine development" barring revolutionary shake-ups. As he saw it, moral re-education of the "upper classes" and the "people's habit of self-restraint" would yield the desired results, with the Christian elite substituting "Social Service for the old formulas of mercy for the disinherited."

M. Ezcurra, Vice-President of the International Catholic Social Service League, described Social Service as "a great instrument for present-day Latin America" to combat the "rising social revolution."

The OAS and its bodies are happy to cooperate, financing pro-imperialist projects—usually headed by Catholic professionals—with Inter-American Development Bank funds. Father Ramlot, Lebreton's follower and director of the Political Studies Institute for Latin America, said these bodies were eager to back any project that "moulds the consciousness outside the perspectives of the class struggle."

A variety of concepts is used to inculcate this "consciousness," including the communitarian doctrine set out in the programs of Latin American social-Christian parties, of which no clear definition yet exists. The various clerical trends interpret it differently to suit their particular social and political postures. For the pro-imperialist Right Catholics, for example, the commune (based on the scholastic notion of the Common Good provided by the Almighty for his subjects in the immutable hierarchic order) is "community of interests" among classes at home and a "Western and Christian community" internationally, while for the Left Demo-Christians, who hold that the existing capitalist system is unjust, the commune (lost when the medieval fraternities crumbled under the impact of capitalist development) is still the social ideal.

Some of the Left Demo-Christian "communitarian socialisms"

heap curses on capitalism, but don't know how to renounce bourgeois methods. While favoring social change, they dread the class struggle and invoke "love of neighbor" to banish Evil (social conflict) and enthrone Good (accord among men). Other "models" include that of "self-administration" by free and self-sufficient producers organized in autonomous communes (cf. Proudhon's "workers' associations" or Bakunin's "independent cantons").

This revival of economic romanticism (which Marx, Engels and Lenin disparaged in their criticism, among others, of "Sismondism," Duehring's "socialitarism" and the Russian populists) is expressive of a nostalgia for the good old days. The search for historical parallels and appealing models that would avert social polarization in some "new, neither individualistic nor collective, way" is purely and simply an ideological Utopian hodgepodge. And political Utopia, as Lenin pointed out, is the result of intellectual exercises by groups, who, though opposed to the old state of affairs, do not "occupy an independent position in this struggle." Lenin amplified: "Utopia, or day-dreaming, is a product of this lack of independence, this *weakness*. Day-dreaming is the lot of the *weak*" (Vol. 18, p. 356).

The basic ideological debility of Social-Christianity surfaces in its built-in contradictions and illusory belief that ruling classes can be prevailed upon to initiate reforms. That, indeed, is the core of the compromise of Social Christianity, with reaction profiting for its own ends from its

political and religious influence. The Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, founded in 1954, paraded as the pioneer of a "third way," opposing the communist-backed policy of class unity. Anti-communism reigned supreme in it for years, its reformist leaders pinning their hopes on the U.S. Alliance for Progress and their general orientation revolving round the "Christianity or Communism" alternative and opposition to the revolutionary movement. E. Maspero, its secretary general, however, declared more recently that the Confederation would encourage a policy uniting "all working Democrats and those inspired by Christianity." That, too, speaks of the far-reaching changes in the Social-Christian movement, sparked by the collapse of reformist illusions and especially by the surging struggle of the people and the tendency towards anti-imperialist unity.

The outcry for a new clerical policy was especially vehement on the eve of the Second Latin American Episcopal Conference in Medellin, Colombia, at the end of 1968, which, caught between the reactionary anvil and the hammer of progress dramatically reflected the imperative of a new orientation. It had no choice but to reflect the conflicting demands in its documents, a heterogenous combination of relatively progressive standpoints and many dogmatic injunctions. Its document "Peace," for example, denounced "internal neo-colonialism" and "financial dependence on international imperialism," and

called for organizing the people in a drive for bold changes. The document "Justice" spoke of gradual reforms and delegated the guiding role in this process to the industrialists. The "Pastoral of the Elite" said, "It is the duty of the Church to help build up the main agents of social change."

The Medellin Conference removed none of the intrinsic antagonisms, while yielding added evidence of the struggle between the "two churches." It satisfied no one: neither the Rightist groups controlling the clerical institutions in most of the continent—who left marks of their own in the documents and later scrapped them altogether—nor the exponents of the new trends, branded as "Communists" for trying to advance positive solutions. Some of the clericals were forced to keep their peace and to accept inaction, such as Monseigneur Helder Camara, who once audaciously exposed the crimes of the Brazilian dictatorship. Others were divested of office and isolated, such as the Monseigneurs Devoto and Nevares in Argentina, while the more progressive priests were treated still more severely.

The upper echelons of the Church in some Latin American countries have been restructured, the Right curia cooperating with the Center to the detriment of progressive bishops and reformists acting in the interests of the Catholic rank and file. The Church is trying to take advantage of the crisis gripping various bourgeois forces, eager to show that it can protect the interests of big capi-

tal imperilled by the rising revolutionary tide. And, indeed, the big bourgeoisie looks to the Church for some support. The *Combat*, for example, urged the Church to "reconquer Ibero-American society and replace dominance of the United States before the latter concludes its strategic withdrawal." Former U.S. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, too, recently predicted: "During the next decade, when revolutionary change will be the order of the day in many countries, there may be times when a brake is needed on the action of the state if social pluralism and individual political liberty are to be preserved. In some Latin American countries, it may be the Church that will be called upon to play that role."

North American imperialism has a tight grip on the Latin American Church and its organizations, imposing its own ideas and methods. Monseigneur I. Illich (persecuted by the inquisition for "extremist" views) declared in an exposure that with U.S. money, ideology and propaganda "the Latin American Church has been made a political and cultural satellite of North America."

The FBI and CIA, as the case of Brazil shows, cooperate in removing seats of "subversion" in the Church. Bishops, priests and monks displaying solidarity with the working people and students, are persecuted, with repressions backed by U.S. punitive agencies. In Argentina, Church dignitaries, Right Catholics, and CIA-financed anti-Communist groups have, with the prompting of the *de facto*

rulers, imperialists and militarists, mounted a mud-slinging campaign against progressive clergymen and parishioners, not short of excommunicating or suspending *a divinis* prominent priests.

The clerico-imperialist alliance and the repressive measures are evidence of fear in face of the steady growth of new Christian currents supported by the Catholic masses and questioning the reaction reigning in Church and society and moving closer to the working class as they call for progressive changes. The First Ideological Congress of Peru's Christian-Democrats spoke of "turning left to revolution"; a social pastoral in Uruguay called for "a society without exploiters and exploited," and a group of priests in Golconda (Colombia) for "united action and solidarity leading up to a revolutionary front." At their first congress the clergy of Ecuador pronounced itself against capitalism, while in Mexico the First Latin American Theological Congress on Faith and Development appealed for "solidarity with the oppressed."

This radicalization is objectively in step with the social turmoil on the continent and may in many ways be traced to the sensible and consequent work of Latin America's Communists, who understand that incorporation of Catholic organizations and the Catholic masses in the common struggle is one of the main imperatives for the working class and its allies to perform the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist revolution, se-

curing genuinely democratic power and paving the way to socialism.

Boldly, without "hiding the face of the Party" and their attitudes or aims, Communists are making contact with bishops and priests, leaders and members of Catholic movements, discussing with them frankly and respectfully the main problems of the people and inviting them to participate in actions promoting solidarity in the general fight for solutions in favor of peace, national independence and social progress.

Latin American Communist parties publish special literature and do intensive ideological work, elucidating the processes under way in the Church, combating anti-unitarian prejudice and working for joint action by all segments of the people. The continuously expanding scope of work in this area has prompted the central committees of some parties to assign special functionaries to promote closer ties between the Party membership and the Catholic masses, their organizations and the clergy and to consolidate contacts and systematic cooperation.

The task is not simple. The clerical inquisition is putting up a resistance. So is the repressive and slander machinery of the ruling classes. Both are determined at any price to prevent a rapprochement between Catholics and Communists. Another road-block is sectarianism, still alive among some segments of the working class and the popular movement (even among some Communists), held captive by

bourgeois and petty-bourgeois anti-clericalism.

Nothing could be more terrible for the top clericals, and they make no bones about admitting it, than "Marxist contamination" of clergy and believers. The Golconda priests, to quote Monseigneur Munoz Duque, are being punished for "failing to see the boundary between Christian and Marxist consciousness," while clergymen in Brazil are tortured for turning the Church into what the chiefs of that country's political police describe as a "cesspool of corruption serving international communism."

Although some professedly progressive Catholic groups display sectarian, opportunist and anti-Communist tendencies, the Rightist clergy is deeply alarmed. It is aware that whatever the views of the opposition movement may be, it reflects the deep-seated aspirations of the Catholic masses, aspirations stemming from the practice of the social and political struggle, with large segments of Catholics defying Church strictures and adopting consistently advanced attitudes.

And the Church is compelled to reckon with the yearning of the Catholic masses to break out of the habitual conservative rut or of Social-Christian reformism. Using religious pressure and exploiting the prejudices of its flock, the Church is trying to create the illusion of new "Christian ways" to divert the Catholic movement from unity with the people, to make it a factor of disunity.

Theologians and sociologists

of the Latin American Church are now preoccupied with various Christian "models," ostensibly abreast of the modern times. Monseigneur Zazpe, Archbishop of Santa Fe, for example, stressed that a "revolutionary model . . . for Christians" should be urgently devised to combat Marxist ideology, which has of late become "a dangerously magnetic force" among Catholics. To neutralize the influence of the achievements of the world socialist system, clericalism has mounted a strident campaign, flinging mud at communism, discrediting proletarian humanism and distorting the true attitude of the socialist state towards religion.

Describing Latin America as an eminently "Christian" continent, clericalism negates the common laws of revolution and denies that Leninism would benefit the faithful of Latin America.

The Rightist clergy endeavors to accentuate the main weakness of the progressive Catholic movement: absence of a scientific approach in analyzing class society and insufficient ties with Communists and the popular movement in the social struggle. While resorting to inquisition against exponents of the new Christian currents, neo-clericalism also tries to exploit their negative features, more distinctly in evidence at this time when Catholicism is gripped by ideological crisis and is casting about desperately for an autonomous role in the imposing historical reconstruction of our time.

The petty-bourgeois illusions

of the progressive Christian movement take weird and complex forms, traceable to its idealistic view of reality, absence of a class approach, and ignorance of the role of the working class and of the laws of historical development. Yet by participating in the struggles of the masses many Christian dissidents have visibly advanced to standpoints shared by Communists, not short of accepting the latter's program and recognizing the pre-eminent role of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine (though they maintain their philosophical differences and even try to "baptize Marxism"). At the other end of the spectrum is a substantial segment which, faithful to the tradition of rivalry with Communists and contesting the latter's leadership of the masses, clings to clerical utopianism and hollow dreams of "other ways" that by-pass the class struggle and united action and based either on the "charity" of bourgeois leaders or on anarchistic petty-bourgeois group action. Some hold that once Christian "consciousness" prevails and there is a spontaneous, admissibly even violent, eruption of love, all people would be "converted" and society could enter the new promised land, "genuine socialism," implying ethical standards rather than a new type govern-

ment. Their "socialism" is based on "fair distribution," elimination of "waste" and universal asceticism like that of the primitive communities of the Gospel, the mediaeval monasteries and even the pre-Marxian socialism of Weitling or Cabet.

The chaotic development and diversity of Catholic progressive trends derives from theoretical immaturity and the absence of a concrete program of action. Occasionally, this weds them with bourgeois nationalism or with the ultra-Left, and estranges them from the struggle of the people led by the working class, the only force able to secure social reconstruction.

The facts show, however, that the policy oriented on theoretical immaturity and on prejudices still alive among the congregation, suffers continuous setbacks in the Latin American setting of acute ideological and political struggle. Certainly, the Catholic movements for reconstruction are not fully revolutionary. Yet novel features are breaking through the religious limitations and Utopian dreams. And as the political voice of the Catholics whom the workers must win to their side against imperialists and landowners, for a better future, for socialism, keeps growing louder, those features will become increasingly stronger.



COSTA RICA

The People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica has doubled its membership in recent years. It strives to recruit new members chiefly among people directly employed in production. More than 45 per cent of the new members are factory and farm workers. Party branches have been formed where none had existed and subscriptions for the Party newspaper sold where the Communist press had never been circulated. Most of the branches are territorial, because in the factories and on the big farms the situation is unfavorable for local cells. Though the Party operates in the open, its legal status has not been legislatively formalized.

The successful Party building campaign is evidence of a rising interest among the people.

In anticipation of the Party's 40th anniversary (in June 1971), Youth Leaguers have launched a recruitment campaign of their own, enlisting young workers and students. Their target is 1,500 new members.

The Party is determined to conduct systematic ideological work among new members, using the materials of the 11th

Party Congress and the theoretical journal *Trabajo*. The recently opened Party school, with a course on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, has enrolled trade unionists, peasant activists, novice journalists and Party organizers.

SYRIA

In a recent press interview, Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party's Central Committee, called for a lasting alliance of the progressive forces. The Party, he said, views the provisional Baath Party leadership's statement of November 16, 1970, as an acceptable working program that could bring about closer cohesion among Syria's progressives.

The new Baath leaders, Bagdash said, have declared their intention of cooperating with other progressive forces, including the Communist Party, and favor a progressive national front. The Communists, he added, have been promoting the idea of a front throughout the past period.

The Communist Party has two ministers in General Hafez Asad's new government – Yussef Faisal, Member of the scP Political Bureau and Central Committee Secretary, and Omar Si-bai, Member of the scP Central Committee and Chairman of the Party's Control Commission.

SOVIET UNION

Comparing notes and experiences with fraternal Communist and Workers' parties is an important area of Party work. Selected works, articles, speeches and reports by prominent lead-

ers of the world Communist and working-class movement appear in Russian regularly. Published in recent years were selected works by Todor Zhivkov (articles, speeches and reports, 1942-1964), Palmiro Togliatti (articles and speeches, 1923-1964), Maurice Thorez (articles and speeches, 1930-1964), Jacques Duclos (articles, speeches and reports, May 1925-June 1958), Walter Ulbricht (articles, speeches, reports and other works, 1942-1959) and Dolores Ibarruri (articles and speeches, 1936-1939). A recent addition to this series is "The Road to Victory" by Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, a book examining the Party's tasks in the democratic and national revolution.

The Political Literature Publishers of Moscow have recently released a selection of articles and speeches by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, dating October 1964-April 1970. The collection deals with the further consolidation and growth of the HSWP, its home and foreign policy, its role in completing the building of socialist society in Hungary and its contribution to cementing the world Communist movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

The Political Literature Publishers have also put out a collection of selected articles and speeches by Victorio Codovilla, founder and head of the Communist Party of Argentina, from which the Soviet reader learns of the revolutionary process in Argentina, other Latin American countries and elsewhere.

FRANCE

In a report to a plenary sitting of the French Communist Party's Central Committee on December 22, 1970, George Marchais, Deputy General Secretary, summed up the results of the first stage in the conversations under way between the FCP and the Socialist Party, outlining the resultant joint document.

The decision to launch conversations was adopted on December 18, 1969. The four working groups got off the ground on March 5 last year, with about 30 Central Committee members and associates representing the FCP and an approximately equal number from the Socialist Party. Culminating the frank and searching discussion was a decision to prepare and publish a document - "The First Results of the Conversations Between the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party Relating to the Basic Terms of a Political Accord." Its four parts deal with the following topics: joint responses to the reactionary policy of the authorities, conditions of the struggle against the capitalist forces with the aim of establishing a new system of economic and political democracy, the ways of transition to socialism, and socialist democracy.

Some of the key standpoints of the two parties, Marchais noted, tend to converge, even to coincide. The negotiators agreed, for one, that public life in France was dominated by the law of capitalist profit in the economic domain and by agents of capital in politics. The Socialists conceded that socialist

reconstruction could not be achieved by reforming the capitalist system. The aim of the struggle is not to improve the existing system, but to replace it, that is, accomplish a revolutionary reconstruction of society.

Views largely coincided as regards building socialism's economic structure through gradual elimination of capitalist ownership, leading up to an "unprecedented flowering of democracy."

"The passage to socialism," said the two-party document, "can be the work only of a body representing the majority of the nation, relying on the acquired new democratic rights and implemented structural reforms. By intensive political activity this majority could isolate the reactionary forces and render it impossible for the latter to resort to violence. This would create favorable conditions for peaceful and democratic passage to socialism."

At the same time, the document reflected surviving differences over some fundamental principles. The Socialist Party disagreed that the present power in the country is Big Business power. In foreign policy, too, the Socialists were at variance with the FCP, which wants France to withdraw from the North Atlantic Pact. They clung to their essentially favorable view of the Common Market and the idea of "supranational" structures in Western Europe, while the Communists defend national independence and sovereignty and oppose surrender of the nation's destiny to the tender mercies of international

monopolies. "Supranational" bodies would deny the French people the option of a democratic and socialist future.

Discussion of the points in dispute, the plenary sitting emphasized, contributed to a deep-going examination and elucidation of the aims of the struggle. The plenary sitting endorsed the document and reaffirmed the decision to continue the conversations on the basis of the available results and in the spirit of the statement of December 18, 1969. The plenum reiterated the Communist Party's determination to redouble work among the masses in order to reach a lasting political accord with the Socialist Party and to rally the workers and all democratic forces around a common program designed to achieve an advanced democracy and a socialist France.

JAPAN

The Presidium of the CC CPJ has decided to found an institute of social sciences under the auspices of the Central Committee in order to sum up scientific facts relating to Japan's present and future problems and unfold independently and creatively a deep-going theoretical examination of the problems of scientific socialism; the range of problems to be studied covers scientific socialism, politics, economy, philosophy, history and international affairs.

Under the auspices of the projected Institute, Communist scholars will for the first time join efforts with progressive unaffiliated researchers. Until now, they worked separately on vital

social and other problems, and at its 11th Congress (July 1970) the Party arrived at the conclusion that their endeavors should be merged, also urging closer

ties between scientists and other sections of the intelligentsia.

To disseminate the findings of the new Institute, the CPJ is planning new publications.

DIARY

Comrade Arnedo Alvares, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, visited our editorial offices during his recent short stay in Prague. In a meeting with the staff, he described his people's struggle against the reactionary military regime, for independence and social progress, emphasizing that new sections of the population are being involved. This was convincingly evidenced by the National People's Rally in November 1970. The Party's main task at present, Comrade Alvares said, was to extend and strengthen the alliance of all anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist forces.

An article by Comrade Alvares will appear in a coming issue of *World Marxist Review*.

The Editor-in-Chief of this journal, K. I. Zarodov, was re-

ceived by Gustav Husak, First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, on December 30, 1970. In the course of a friendly discussion, Comrade Zarodov described the work of the journal and its plans for the future and expressed gratitude for the attention given the journal by the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Comrade Husak noted the importance of the journal as the collective organ of the Communist and Workers' parties and emphasized that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia would continue to share in its publication and give it every assistance in its theoretical and information work aimed at further strengthening the unity of the Communist movement and promoting the fight for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.



THE SECOND WORLD WAR: CAUSES, NATURE, CONSEQUENCES

The publishers Editions Sociales recently put out the proceedings of a Second World War colloquium held in Paris under the auspices of the Maurice Thorez Institute in October 1969.*

Colloquiums by the research center of the French Communist Party's Central Committee have become a welcome tradition, and are attended by prominent progressive historians and eminent leaders of the Communist and working-class movement. One such colloquium, on problems related to the Popular Front, was held in 1966 and another, on the October Revolution and France, in 1967. Historians of 20 countries and French Communist veterans, most of them wartime Resistance leaders, responded to the proposal of discussing the causes, nature and consequences of the Second World War.

Proceedings were opened by

*Des victoires de Hitler au triomphe de la démocratie et du socialisme. Origines et bilan de la deuxième guerre mondiale (1939-1945). Compte rendu des travaux du colloque scientifique organisé par l'Institut Maurice Thorez (Paris - 17, 18, 19 octobre 1969). Editions Sociales, 1970, 446 pp.

Comrade Waldeck Rochet, FCP General Secretary, with Comrade Jacques Duclos, Member of the FCP Political Bureau, summing up. The main reports were by Comrades Georges Cogniot and Victor Joannes.

The Second World War has become an object of bitter ideological contention. Distortions in the works of many bourgeois investigators are, in a way, directly proportional in range to the length of time separating us from the war's end. The untruths are meant for the new generations who learn about the war from books and films and are therefore more easily misled about its true causes and nature, obscuring the fact that fascism was historically doomed, and minimizing the decisive Soviet role in crushing Hitler Germany and imperialist Japan, with the victories of the Soviet people ascribed to fortuitous factors. This is part of the psychological preparations for a new global war by the extreme aggressive wing of modern imperialism, in the hope of "replaying" the epic battles, getting revenge, and flinging down socialism from the summits of world influence.

Many versions about the origins of the Second World War have been produced, to lead readers away from the true causes. Many, in effect, reduce the causes to purely subjective factors, attributing them to personalities and their mistakes. On August 22, 1939, Adolf Hitler, for example, told Wehrmacht generals he would launch the new war primarily because the German nation is obliged to take advantage of the extremely fav-

orable historical fact of his own, the Fuehrer's, existence (Germans must hurry, Hitler added, because this personal factor may be eliminated at any moment by some criminal or idiot). And today, many bourgeois historians, too, describe the "personal existence of Hitler" as the prime cause of the Second World War. This applies to H. R. Trevor-Roper, the prominent English historian, who calls the war "Hitler's private war," and to Walter Hofer, of Switzerland, who maintains that "but for Hitler, the war would have been inconceivable," etc., thus automatically vindicating the German big bourgeoisie and Germany's General Staff, whose sole guilt, ostensibly, is lack of insight in trusting the maniac and his clique . . .

Some bourgeois historians, especially in West Germany, the Englishman Taylor, the American Hoggan, etc., go in the opposite direction, trying to white-wash Hitler and to place the guilt on the leaders of Britain and France. Hitler, Taylor maintains, was quite sincere in saying after each successive concession that he had no more territorial claims, but the British and French governments encouraged him again and again, until, quite unexpectedly, Chamberlain and Beck acted out of character and compelled him to begin a war.

Many bourgeois historians maintain that the Anglo-French "appeasers" had good intentions and try to shift the war guilt on the Soviet Union.

The Paris colloquium produced a critical analysis of the dif-

ferent bourgeois versions of the origins of the war, countered in reports and contributions by Marxist-Leninist evaluations.

The Second World War was the outcome of the general crisis of the world capitalist system. Its main causes are traceable to the acute sharpening of contradictions between the two largest imperialist groups, fascism's drive for world supremacy, and the anti-communism of the Western governments, which did their utmost to channel Hitler's aggression against the Soviet Union.

The colloquium examined at length the battle against fascism fought by the progressive forces, with the Soviet Union at their head, and against the Anglo-French policy of encouraging aggression. The Soviet Government had been highly active since the early thirties in organizing resistance to the multiplying fascist aggressions, seeking to unite all peace forces and to erect an effective collective security system. "Suffice it to recall the Soviet proposals of defining aggression in February 1933, which, unfortunately, were shelved on Britain's initiative," Comrade Cogniot said, "and the persistent Soviet efforts in the League of Nations since early 1934 to safeguard peace and collective security. It was the USSR that originated the formula, 'peace is indivisible', in order to emphasize that all countries should concert their efforts against aggression."

Soviet efforts to avert fascist aggression had the support of the world Communist movement. The Seventh Comintern

Congress pointed out that the war danger had increased greatly since fascism came to power in Germany. It called on the Communist parties to build up a united popular front against war and to combine struggle against imperialist war with struggle against fascism.

The "appeasement" policy of the British and French governments in the thirties was in fact a policy of encouraging aggression. As Harold Macmillan, Britain's ex-Prime Minister, wrote in 1966 in his memoirs, fear of Russia, of the growth of Communism, blotted out for the British and French leaders the "successes" of Mussolini and even the "victories" of Hitler. British and French reactionaries made no bones about their class solidarity with the ruling reaction in Germany, Italy and Japan. "Better Hitler than the Popular Front," was the slogan of the French big bourgeoisie.

The Munich deal, concluded on September 29-30, 1938 was the culmination of the perfidious and criminal policy of the two U.S.-backed Western powers. The purport of the Munich policy is candidly revealed in the memorandum of Neville Henderson to the Foreign Office as Britain's ambassador to Berlin (1937-1939) in August 1937, to which public access was made recently. Nursing hopes of a Nazi aggression against the Soviet Union, Henderson pointed out that Eastern Europe, still in a state of obvious flux, was of no vital interest for Britain. Germans, he said, are more civilized than Slavs and, in the final analysis, if rightly treated, are

potentially less dangerous to Britain. He concluded that it would even be unfair to try and prevent Germany from accomplishing its unity or from being prepared for war against the Slavs.

The Marxist war histories, the colloquium shows, have fully proved the responsibility of the British and French ruling element for the disgraceful Munich deal. Since the secret British government archives were opened to the public (with the expiration of the term of secrecy), the Marxist evaluation of the Munich agreement was borne out beyond a doubt.

The Second World War, speakers showed, began as a collision between two imperialist groups contesting for world supremacy. That one of these groups consisted of fascist states was bound to affect the nature of the conflict. Not only did fascism aspire to a military victory; it pursued far broader political, ideological and social goals. It was bent on wiping socialism off the face of the earth. Naturally, therefore, the war could, from the beginning, objectively develop into a just struggle of liberation from fascist barbarity. This was so in the case of the people of Poland and other peoples in Nazi-occupied countries. And when the Soviet Union, attacked by Hitler Germany, entered the war, it became fully anti-fascist and just; in effect, it became an armed clash between socialism and capitalism, despite the fact that the latter was not united. Promoting their own ends, the United States,

Britain and other capitalist states became allies of the USSR.

The Second World War disappointed its architects. The Soviet victory showed that nothing on earth can block the development of socialist society. It was in the course of the war and as a result of the socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries that the general crisis of capitalism entered its second stage. Summing up the colloquium, Comrade Duclos noted that "consolidation of the socialist world farces, the working class and democratic movement and the movement for national liberation was the main result of the Second World War, as a consequence of which imperialist positions grew weaker."

At present, Duclos stressed, imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, has to reckon with the danger of starting a new world war. Its "restraint" is guaranteed by the economic, political

and military power of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

The free and outspoken discussion at the colloquium also revealed certain differences in the interpretation of some issues by different scholars. Not all views were sufficiently substantiated. Some of them are, indeed, unacceptable. This is noted in the introduction by the Maurice Thorez Institute to the collection of colloquium material. However, as Duclos pointed out in his summing up, discussions "promote the unity of our Communist movement, welded by the spirit of proletarian internationalism."

The colloquium is of incontestable value in studying obscure or controversial aspects of the Second World War. It will no doubt help to expose bourgeois distortions and falsifications and pinpoint common Marxist viewpoints relating to the causes, character and consequences of the Second World War.

V. Sukhanov

BOOKS IN BRIEF

ROSA LUXEMBURG, *Gesammelte Werke* (Collected Works). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1970. B. I, Erster Hbd., 835 pp.; Zweiter Hbd., 667 pp.

March 5, 1971, will be the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Rosa Luxemburg, outstanding figure of the international workers' movement of the 1890s and early 1900s, and one of the leaders of the Second International Left-Wing. Lenin

described her as a great Communist, remarking that in spite of her mistakes, "she was—and remains for us—an eagle. And not only will Communists all over the world cherish her memory, but her biography and her *complete* works . . . will serve as useful manuals for training many generations of Communists all over the world" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 210).

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany Marxism-Leninism Institute is putting out a six-

volume edition of her works. So far the first volume (two books) covering the period 1893-1905 has appeared. Its contents provide a clear picture of Rosa Luxemburg's manifold and fruitful works as theoretician and publicist. In this volume she deals with the history and problems of the Polish workers' movement, German imperialism's reactionary home and foreign policy, militarism, upholds the revolutionary Marxist character of the German Social-Democratic Party as an independent class party, analyzes the strategy and tactics of the class struggle under imperialism, discusses the Marxist party's position on such issues as revolution, reform, parliamentarism, democracy, etc., explains the international significance of the first Russian Revolution.

But the central theme is criticism of opportunism and revisionism. In her pamphlet, "Social Reform or Revolution?" and in numerous articles and speeches, Rosa Luxemburg discloses the theoretical fallacy of some of Bernstein's revisionist ideas and points to the political consequences of attempts to revise scientific socialism. Revisionist theory leads to opportunist practice, she declares, and this can set the movement on a bourgeois path and paralyze the workers' class struggle. The danger of Bernsteinism, she emphasizes, lies not only in its opposition to the proletariat capturing political power—it is also a clear danger to the very existence of the working-class party.

Some of the items in this first volume contain erroneous pro-

positions, and these are discussed in the preface. Bourgeois historians, anti-Communists, Trotskyites, have sought to exploit these erroneous views in their fight against Marxism-Leninism. In the United States, for instance, one B. Wolfe had tentatively selected some of Rosa Luxemburg's articles for that express purpose, and similar "selections" are being put out in the Federal German Republic. This lends special topicality to the collected works now being published in the German Democratic Republic. Given in chronological order, Rosa Luxemburg's writings show the evolution of her views that led her to work so devotedly for the organization of the German Communist Party, a party of the new, Leninist type. *E. Jorgen*

T. VARELA, *Lenin y el imperialismo en Colombia* (Lenin and Imperialism in Colombia). Bogotá, Ediciones Suramerica LTDA, 1970. 108 pp.

This book, from the pen of a noted economist and Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Colombia, is part of the Suramerica Lenin Centenary series. It highlights Lenin's contribution to economics and stresses the importance of his theory of imperialism for anti-imperialist strategy and tactics in Colombia.

The author cites concrete facts to show the mechanism of foreign monopoly penetration and Colombia's growing dependence on imperialism and its exploitation of Colombia's working people. Foreign investments, as the author convinc-

ingly shows, hamper economic development. In 1968, \$7.50 for every dollar that came in were drained out of the country in the shape of profits, repayment of debts, etc. Foreign investment is basically in the light and service industries and trade, all of which promise quick returns, and, moreover, 60 per cent of all investment is concentrated in two cities. Credits and loans from international banks and foreign governments do not benefit the people—they only shore up the power of the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy and imperialism. The price gap, the author says, means an annual loss of about one billion dollars in foreign exchange. Varela's study shows that imperialist dependence, combined with the survivals of pre-capitalist structures, is the main barrier to progress, a barrier that will be swept away by the democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution

O. Vavri

Protiv burzhuaiznoi i revizionist-skoi ideologii v ekonomicheskoi nauke (Against Bourgeois and Revisionist Ideology in Economics). Moscow, Ekonomika, 1970. 231 pp.

This collection of contributions by Soviet economists is a comprehensive critique of bourgeois and revisionist theories of socialist economics. And there have been many such un-Marxist theories since the war. They add up to a distinct trend in bourgeois economics, to what might be called the "bourgeois political economy of socialism." Its exponents can be divided into three groups. The first sub-

scribe to the traditional "economic liberalism" doctrine, presenting socialism as unnatural and coercive application of economic laws. The second belong to the reformist "mixed economy" and "industrial society" school. They maintain that modern production does not necessitate abolition of private enterprise, but rather its combination with state regulation. Socialist production, they argue, is "inflexible" and "inefficient." Lastly, the third group of bourgeois economists join with the revisionists in attacking the socialist economy from positions of "market socialism." And the authors emphasize that diverse models of this "market socialism" should, in present-day conditions, be a special target of Marxist criticism.

The book also exposes anti-Marxist views on such problems as the relation of politics to economics, operation of economic laws, the role of commodity-money relations in a planned socialist economy, economic competition of the two social systems, etc. It effectively exposes the tendentious and fallacious nature of bourgeois and revisionist criticism of the socialist economy and outlines the tasks of Marxist economists at the present stage of the fight against bourgeois ideology.

E. Georgis

H. ADAMO, *Antileninismus in der BRD* (Anti-Leninism in the FRG), Verlag Marxistische Blätter GmbH, Frankfurt/Main, 1970. 85 pp.

Anti-Marxists made the Lenin centenary the occasion for a

new crop of falsification of Leninism. Hans Adamo analyzes some of the new and more subtle forms of anti-Leninism. Proponents of so-called academic anti-communism (Wolfgang Leonhard, et al.) question the scientific validity of Leninism, asserting that it differs from Marxism in the same way that ideology differs from theory. Others invent non-existent contradictions in Leninism, artificially singling out various "phases" in Lenin's work. In their view, the October Revolution had no "positive program" and the subsequent work of Lenin and the Bolsheviks led, they allege, to loss of "revolutionary ideals," "betrayal of the very spirit of Marxism," and so on. In refuting these and similar falsifications, the author shows the significance of the experience of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the USSR for the workers' revolutionary struggle in other countries and the need to make constructive use of that experience. His pithy account of the development of Marxism-Leninism shows up the complete insolvency of bourgeois and revisionist attempts to oppose Marxism to Leninism.

Another interesting feature is exposure of recent distortions of Lenin's doctrine of the state and the Party. The reader will also find a closely argued critique of the revisionist concepts of Garaudy, Svitak, Schlamm, West German Social-Democrat reformism, and various anarcho-syndicalist theories, all of which are refuted by the

day-to-day revolutionary struggle and socialist construction.

G. Kursanov

S. N. MAZUMDAR, *Marxism and the Language Problem in India*. New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1970. 140 pp.

The author, an Indian Communist, sets out his Party's policy on India's linguistic issue. He shows that the limited measures introduced by the ruling element are inadequate and makes out a convincing case for free and full development of all national languages. This can be achieved, he says, by reorganizing the states on a linguistic basis, abolishing the princely states and the old colonial administrative divisions (already basically achieved); replacing English by Indian languages as the medium of administration and education; guaranteeing the rights of national minorities in the reorganized states; granting tribal peoples regional autonomy in existing states, or giving them state status, depending on the stage of development, consciousness and other conditions prevailing in the respective tribal areas. Mazumdar criticizes the trend towards dominance of one or several languages and separatist tendencies. Lastly, the book closely examines the problem of an official language for India.

E. Georgis

M. V. BAGLAI, *Kapitalizm i "sotsialnaya demokratiya"* (Capitalism and "Social Democracy"). Theoretical problems of

the development of the social activity of the bourgeois state. Moscow, Mysl, 1970. 255 pp.

Dr. Baglai, a jurist, discusses the substance, tendencies and forms of the contemporary bourgeois state's social policy. His analysis concludes with a substantiated critique of the main bourgeois theories of social policy. The bourgeois state's adjustment of social relations is inseparable from its suppression of the workers' fight against capitalism, which, the author emphasizes, has been intensified in the imperialist years as the national and international class struggle grows sharper. The October Revolution, the achievements of the socialist countries, the international Communist and workers' movement, have been important contributing factors in this process.

The social measures introduced by bourgeois states do not mean "welfare for all," nor do they alter the class character of the state. In fact, under state-monopoly capitalism "social prophylactics" is meant to "combine reactionary and progressive measures" and is a direct outcome of the class struggle. Consequently, the "welfare services," a new and special function of the bourgeois state, have a direct bearing on the class struggle. In exposing the anti-labor and reactionary substance of capitalist government, Marxist-Leninists at the same time are conscious of the realistic opportunities for more active working-class pressure on government policy in order to undermine the power of monopoly capital and consolidate and ex-

pand the social gains and rights won by the working people.

One of the salient features of Dr. Baglai's study is his analysis of facts and trends in bourgeois social policy, and its relevance to the tasks of the Communist and workers' movement.

J. Hart

The "Productivity" Hoax!—And Auto-Workers' Real Needs! New York, New Outlook Publishers, 1970. 63 pp.

Prepared by the CP USA Auto and Economics commissions, this program for auto workers lays bare the mechanism of manufacturing super-profits for the monopolies. It deals with many problems: overtime, industrial accidents, discrimination against women and Negroes, negative consequences of automation and what the worker stands to gain from the new technology and higher productivity. It also examines the question of trade-union democracy and policy.

All this is explained in a manner understandable to every worker. Take overtime: the facts show that the average work-week lengthened from 37 hours in 1935-39 to 42.5 hours in 1969. In the auto industry overtime since 1964 has averaged five hours a week, and the figure has been higher still in recent years, with escalation of the war in Vietnam. But, in the final analysis, the worker does not really benefit from overtime—he is lured by the opportunity to earn a little money. The fundamental answer is to force the ending of all overtime work and

make employers abide by the 40-hour week. It will force employers to hire another 100,000 workers, sharply reducing unemployment in the auto industry. It will put pressure on employers to even out their production cycle and raise the basic wage by 20 per cent. On other problems, too, the pamphlet cites facts and figures and shows what has to be done, and how, to safeguard the worker's rights and interests.

It gives the reader a better understanding of the strike struggle and shows the link be-

tween economic and political demands. The chapter on Auto Workers and Socialism explains why the capitalist system provides no room for fundamental solution of the problems facing the working class. And citing the example of the USSR, the pamphlet shows that they can be solved only in socialism.

The pamphlet is well got out, makes easy reading, its tables and charts are not too complicated, and its somewhat satirical tone adds to its readability.

D. Gibbs

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