

# COMMUNIST LINE

March 5, 1976



No.3, 50¢

## TOWARD A CLASS ANALYSIS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS

COMMUNIST LINE No. 3 contains materials which serve to clarify the true nature of the working class, its relationship to other classes - and serve to combat the revisionist trash on the nature of the working class emanating from the Soviet Union and its various puppet parties, such as the CPUSA. Clarifying the historic mission of the working class is the first step in the development of a class analysis in the United States.

*The first important step in a correct class analysis of the U.S. is to reject all opportunist lines on the nature of the working class and to grasp firmly the fundamental doctrine advanced by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tsetung and all genuine Marxist-Leninists on the historic revolutionary role of the working class.*

*In order to cement the fusion of the workers' and communist movement, in order to give all around conscious leadership to the struggle of the working class for the seizure of state power, a class analysis is required.* The purpose of a class analysis is to clearly identify "who are our friends, and who are our enemies." As Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out in *An Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society*, "A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray. To insure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends and real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes toward the revolution." (Mao, SW, Vol. 1, P. 13)

*The place to start with any class analysis is from the stand, viewpoint and method of the working class.* Any lack of clarity on the nature and role of the working class will inevitably lead to an incorrect class analysis. That is why we begin our development of a class analysis of the U.S. with the publication of these materials.

The correct stand toward a class analysis means recognizing that the working class must lead all aspects of the revolutionary class struggle. As Marx and Engels pointed out, and as Lenin stressed, it is the working class who will lead the class struggle, will smash the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, will establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism upon the deathbed of the old capitalist order.

It is the objective situation of the working class, the role they play in the two forms of social production; (1) the production of life and (2) the production

of the means of life, that gives the proletariat its revolutionary character. In the first place, by selling its labor power and by producing surplus value, the working class is the class who is the most directly and most relentlessly faced with the contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and the social character of production. This teaches the working class the need for its own emancipation from capital, and the need for collective struggle. The socialization of labor makes the working class the most disciplined social force in society, the only force capable of striking a united, direct blow against capital, a blow which will ultimately seize the means of production and the control of the state.

The materialist viewpoint toward a class analysis must accurately grasp the motion of classes and their development as a reflection of the development of the forces and relations of production. In the presentation of a class analysis the determining factor, the key to understanding the correct position of classes and the sectors of each class, is in their respective relationship to production, the material base of each class in society.

In "A Great Beginning," Lenin defined social classes as: "Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in an historically determined system of social production, by their relation to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour, and, consequently by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it." (LCW, Vol. 29, p. 421)

Simply defined, the working class is all those working people who:

- (1) are deprived of the ownership of the means of production;
- (2) sell their labor power to the capitalist;
- (3) directly take part in productive work or in the sphere of circulation and service; and
- (4) create surplus value for the capitalist.

The correct method to a class analysis means that classes must be considered in their relationships, not as separate or unrelated social formations. This means that each class must be understood in its motion, interrelatedness and underlying historical connection to the development of all class society.

Considering a class analysis from the correct stand, viewpoint and method makes it obvious that a class analysis is not simply a collection of statistics and charts, but must reflect a dialectical and historical materialist approach to the understanding of class society.

The development of a class analysis is a vital part of party building. The fusion of the workers' and communist movements in the struggle to break ideologically, politically and organizationally with opportunism, and particularly modern revisionism, requires solid, honest knowledge of the objective conditions of class society, in order that the subjective conditions - the political consciousness of the masses and the revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat - can correctly guide the working class to victory.

*The development of a class analysis must go hand in hand with the development of a party program.* Because the party program is based on the deductions from theory and defines the aim of the working class, it must be guided by the knowledge gained from an objective class analysis. While a complete class analysis is not required as a prerequisite to forging the party, the rudiments of this analysis are required for a genuine party program. In the long run, the ability of the communist party to successfully lead the working masses in the seizure of state power will be determined, in part, by the correctness of the class analysis it conducts.

The publication of COMMUNIST LINE NO. 3 by the MLOC is a step toward the development of a class analysis and party program. It is presented for cadre, comrades and friends in order to get straight on some very fundamental questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and outlook on the historic mission of the working class - the class which will rise under the leadership of its communist party and strike the final death blow to U.S. imperialism and bourgeois reaction.

A correct political line on all basic questions of the revolution, a line that will serve as a reliable guide to action in the long course of the class struggle, requires the development of a class analysis as its foundation.

Only by knowing the general nature of the working class can we begin to correctly understand the various strata of each class and demarcate the working class from other classes in capitalist society.

*Without a solid, reliable class analysis, it is not possible to lead the working class to victory in the U.S. That is because a class analysis is the systematic, scientific knowledge of the units of the proletarian army, its reserves, and the reserves and units of the enemy, the bourgeoisie. This knowledge is absolutely required to gain victory in the class struggle. ★*

# THE WORKING CLASS IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY TODAY

by HARILLA PAPAJOORGII

The idea of the world historical mission of the proletariat as grave digger of capitalism and bearer of the new socialist and communist social order has been described by Lenin as 'the principal feature of Marx's doctrine', and a great revolutionary discovery. The more correctly the boundary dividing the working class from the other classes and strata of society is set, the more accurate are the conclusions reached by the Marxist-Leninist parties on the development of the revolutionary process, and the more just is the scientific content of the decisions adopted and the studies carried out in this field. The teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of our party and of comrade Enver Hoxha are a guide in adopting a correct revolutionary stand in this great debate and irreconcilable struggle.

Of course, the social changes taking place at the present time, and the technical and scientific revolution which is being carried out today in most of the capitalist and revisionist countries, have also exercised an influence, as regards the development of the working class, the increase of its ranks with new groups and strata of workers and the change in the character of work, its mechanization and automation, which has made it necessary to raise the education level and technical and professional skill of some of the workers.

But precisely through a profound scientific analysis of these changes that have occurred, we also prove the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the working class has been and remains the main productive force of society, the main force for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie through the proletarian revolution and the main factor for the building of socialism.

The bourgeois and revisionist sociologists, philosophers, historians and economists, interpreting these changes in a one-sided, idealistic, subjectivist manner, and with set counterrevolutionary aims, are trying to 'argue' the opposite. In one way or another, by all kinds of falsifications, they try to negate the historical role and mission of the working class, as the most progressive and the most revolutionary class history has ever known. They speculate with some new phenomena of present-day capitalism, particularly on the development of the technical and scientific revolution, state monopoly capitalism, etc.

But the essence of the preachings and aims followed by the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists in this field is not new. The enemies of Marxism-Leninism have always tried to negate the decisive place and role of the working class in life and society, its revolutionary character, and its hegemony in the revolution. Lenin in his time had to wage a great struggle to defend the Marxist concept about the world historical mission of the proletariat from the distortions of Russian and international reformists and opportunists. In this struggle, he created a complete doctrine about the position and hegemony of the proletariat, which became a startingpoint in working out correct strategy and tactics for the communist movement and led this movement to great historic victories. The present day bourgeois and revisionist 'theories', united in chorus, are a continuation in other forms and ways of the distortions of the old reformists and opportunists about the role of the working class and its historical mission.

In these conditions, defending the precepts of Marxism-Leninism about the social position of the working class and its role and hegemony in society, in close connection with reality and revolutionary practice, is both an important and urgent duty. The scientific analysis of facts and reality fully confirms, even in the current conditions, the correctness of the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism in this field, and shows the complete falsity of the theories of the bourgeois and revisionist sociologists and ideologists.

Considering the worker only as someone engaged in heavy manual work, which requires neither education nor particular skill, many bourgeois and revisionist ideologists are trying to 'argue' that allegedly in the current conditions of the great development of the technical and scientific revolution, as the importance of manual work in production gradually diminishes, the working class loses its

THE WORKING CLASS IS THE MAIN FORCE IN THE PRODUCTION OF MATERIAL GOODS. LED BY ITS MARXIST PARTY, IT IS THE MOST PROGRESSIVE AND THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY CLASS OF SOCIETY; ITS HISTORICAL MISSION IS THE OVERTHROW AND DESTRUCTION OF CAPITALISM AND, JOINTLY WITH IT, THE LIQUIDATION OF ANY KIND OF EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN, AND THE BUILDING OF THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST SOCIETY. BUT PRECISELY BECAUSE THIS IS SO, AND DUE TO THE FACT THAT THE PROBLEM OF THE POSITION AND ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN SOCIETY IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE, BOTH THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL, AT THE PRESENT TIME, EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD, A GREAT DEBATE AND AN IRRECONCILABLE STRUGGLE ARE BEING CARRIED OUT ABOUT THIS QUESTION BETWEEN THE MARXIST IDEOLOGISTS ON THE ONE SIDE AND THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST IDEOLOGISTS ON THE OTHER.

position and role in production and in social life; this position and role is thus assumed by the intelligentsia, particularly the technical and scientific intelligentsia in production. The technical and scientific revolution which is being carried out in the world today, they say, is allegedly leading to the 'deproletarianisation' of capitalist society and to the elimination of the working class, or 'blue collar' men, as they call the workers, in favour of the 'gray collar' men (technicians) and the 'white collar' men (intelligentsia). Thus, as the number of 'white collars' grows, and, under the influence of the technical and scientific revolution, the number of workers engaged in manual work relatively diminishes, they draw the conclusion about the reduction of the importance of the working class. Thus, Gailbraith, a bourgeois ideologist, writes that allegedly 'the industrial society has relatively, and very likely absolutely too, decreased the demand for workers'; while another bourgeois ideologist, Marcuse, proceeding, from the same consideration, repeats the banal statement of many bourgeois economists and sociologists that Marxism has allegedly become 'obsolete', and arrives at the conclusion that 'the situation of the working class in the conditions of the technical and scientific revolution makes Marx's proletariat a mythological category'. Thus, Marx's conclusion that the proletariat is a class which grows parallel with the very development of capitalism allegedly does not hold water.

Such statements are thoroughly erroneous both from the viewpoint of the anti-scientific basis from which their advocates proceed in conceiving capital in general, and the proletariat in particular and consequently also in their analysis of the situation and the wrong and reactionary conclusions they arrive at. Reality itself refutes their statements.

True, the technical and scientific revolution and the ever greater transformation of science into a direct productive force is bringing about changes in the social structure of capitalist society. In the major part of the developed capitalist countries there is a perceptible increase in the number of men employed as technicians, and in the intelligentsia, especially technical and scientific. In its economic aspect, this is based on the increase of labour productivity in the sphere of material production, through the intensification of the work of machine operators, at a time when in the non-productive sphere, labour productivity remains low. More over the application on a broader scale of the achievements of science and technology, to increase the profits of the capitalists, has brought about as a natural consequence the numerical growth of the technical and scientific intelligentsia. These changes, however, by no means show the 'deproletarianisation' of the capitalist society.

In the first place, capital cannot exist without its opposite, the proletariat. 'Proletarian' in the economic sense, 'Marx has said', must imply merely the wage earner who produces and increases 'capital', and who is fired as soon as he becomes superfluous to the requirements of the increased value of capital. (K. Marx and F. En-

gels, Works, vol. 23, page 628).

It is a fact that today in the capitalist world, the number of wage earners as a proportion of the total working population is steadily rising. In the 1960-1972 period, the number of wage earners in the capitalist world increased by 21 per cent (from 190 million to 230 million persons); and the industrial proletariat was about 116 million persons, or 51.7 per cent of all wage earners. This process is developing at a faster rate in the USA, Canada and Japan. Today the general tendency is an increase in the number of wage earners and low salaried employees. These two categories account now for 70-95 per cent of the active population in the main capitalist countries. The process of the polarisation of capitalist society is deepening steadily. From the 50's up to the beginning of the 70's, this process was accompanied by the mass ruin of the labouring peasantry, the small producers and some of the middle-sized producers, both rural and urban. In bourgeois society today this occurs not only through the expropriation of small owners, but also through their being reduced to the socio-economic position of proletarians, and through the rising number of specialists and technicians who work directly in production, and men and women who work in the sphere of services. Thus, in the conditions of the technical and scientific revolution, the proletariat is not eliminated, but its social composition becomes more complex, with more numerous strata.

Secondly, it is entirely naive, simplistic, primitive, anti-scientific and reactionary to conceive, as do the bourgeois ideologists, that the working class is a class allegedly made up of only those workers who engage in purely manual work. In this respect, some of them are trying to distort Marxism too, as the American philosopher Marcuse does when he alleges that Marx sees the proletariat as above all someone engaged in manual work, who in the process of work consumes his physical energy. They need this distortion in order to create illusions that the conclusion they draw (i.e. in the conditions of the development of the technical and scientific revolution today, and the mechanisation and automation of production, the working class has allegedly almost disappeared or is disappearing) should be accepted by the Marxists, too.

However, Marxism-Leninism has never identified the proletariat with the man engaged in purely manual work. Today in particular such a narrow anti-Marxist concept cannot be taken as a basis, because the boundary between manual work and mental work, in the process of the development of the technical and scientific revolution, is being constantly blurred. Today we see a general trend toward the intellectualisation of manual work, together with the demand for an increased educational level and qualifications among workers. It is a fact that with the development of the productive forces, there is taking place both the quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class, which not only refutes the conclusion of the bourgeois ideologists that the working class is allegedly disappearing, but also shows its increased importance as the

main productive force of society.

In dealing with this question, attention should also be paid to the fact that the changes in the level of culture and qualification are not class changes and are not determining features for class membership. The fundamental features determining the concept of 'worker' are those given by Lenin in his article 'Great Initiative', on the definition of the concept of 'class'. He points out that 'Classes are large groups of men, distinguished by the place they occupy in an historically given system of social production and by the relations they have with the means of production (relations to which, in most cases legal form and power is given), by their role in the social organization of labour and, consequently, by the way in which they receive that part of the social property they possess and the quantity of it they receive. Classes are such groups of men, that one group can appropriate the work of another group, due to the different places they occupy in a given system of social economy.'

On the basis of this Leninist definition, in order to determine the place to which this or that man belongs, one must not judge from his education, culture and special skills, but in the first place from the place he occupies in the system of social production, from his relations with the means of production, from the role he plays in the social organisation of labour and, consequently, from the quantity of the income he receives and the way he receives it. It follows from this that in the conditions of capitalist society, workers (proletarians) are all those working people who are deprived of ownership of the means of production, who sell their labour power to the capitalist, who directly take part in productive work or in the sphere of circulation and service, and who create surplus value for the capitalist. In this sense, whether someone belongs to the working class does not depend on the degree of his skill, or on the tools of work with which he works and produces, whether simple or modern tools, up to entirely mechanized, automated plants. Nor can the determining criterion be merely the proportion of mental work in relation to manual work.

It is only natural, with the development of technology, the means of production, the widespread development of the technical and scientific revolution, and the mechanisation and automation of the production processes, that the relation between manual work and mental work, and the level of qualification of the workers, should change, as well as the proportion of mental work to manual work. Looking at the question from this angle, we would say that a part of the production technicians those who directly produce by themselves and are not engaged in managerial and organising work, cannot fail to be considered a part of the working class; although for the time being this category of workers, even in the most developed capitalist countries, is in the minority. Thus, for instance, in France it does not constitute more than 2.1 per cent of the active population. Its rapid growth, particularly in some branches of industry with advanced, complex technological production processes, represents the future of the working class, which will have higher mass qualifications.

There is no basis for another 'theory', extensively propagated by the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, according to which present-day capitalist society has entered a stage in which the process of 'deproletarianisation' is taking place, because any development allegedly leads to the transformation of the working class into 'co-proprietors' and 'co-managers', thus to a 'community of interests'. Hence there are no more proletarians and capitalists, while production is being allegedly placed at the service of the 'collective good'. In inventing and propagating this 'theory', they go by, among other things, some phenomena which have developed especially since the second world war, such as the development of state monopoly capitalism, etc.

First and foremost it must be said that the extension of state monopoly capitalism since the second world war is an indisputable phenomenon, which has occurred and is occurring in all the developed capitalist states. A series of important sectors of the economy have become the property of the capitalist state in the USA, Britain, the Federal German Republic, France, Italy and some other countries. The capitalist state tries to play an active

role in the solution of various economic and financial problems, aiming to mitigate the fundamental contradiction of the capitalist order the contradiction between labour and capital, or the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist character of appropriation. But do these phenomena indicate what the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists claim, that today capitalist society, through state monopoly capitalism, has essentially changed and has assumed features which are almost socialist or which allow it to be transformed naturally into socialism, or that it is allegedly creating general wellbeing?

Engels in his time refuted the ideas of the opportunists, according to which the passage of individual sectors of production into the hands of the capitalist state must be considered as a socialist measure. Ironically examining such views, he says: "If the state monopoly of tobacco is socialism, then Napoleon and Metternich must undoubtedly be included among the founders of socialism." (Engels, "Anti-Durhing"). And he continues further: "The present day state, whatever its form, is by its very nature a capitalist machine, a state of the capitalists, the ideal collective capitalist. The more productive forces it takes under its ownership, the more complete will be its transformation into a collective capitalist, and it will exploit a greater number of citizens. The workers remain wage earners, proletarians." (Op. cit).

The reality of the capitalist countries today refutes the statements of the bourgeois economists. The working class in these countries, even today, just as previously, remains deprived of ownership over the means of production, because the socio-economic conditions have remained unchanged. Suffice it to mention that today in the USA, a mere 3 per cent of worker families buy and sell shares. All in all these constitute only 0.2 per cent of the total value of shares. 72 per cent of the workers who own shares gain from both their work and their shares incomes that are below the minimum level needed for a livelihood. Comrade Enver Hoxha, generalizing the current phenomena of capitalism, at the 6th Congress of the PLA, pointed out that, "the working class, despite the changes the capitalist world has undergone, is deprived of any kind of ownership over the means of production, or control of its management, organisation and aims. The so-called 'consumer society' has not been created to fulfill the needs of the working people, but to intensify their exploitation and to increase the profits of the capitalists."

The distortions concerning the nature of the capitalist order have gone so far that some bourgeois ideologists, claim even the capitalists are no longer capitalists; because they no longer manage the enterprises; this management has now passed into the hands of technocratic administrators, and is allegedly done in the interests of society. On this basis, they speak of a "managerial revolution."

In fact there can be no question at all of a revolution in this direction. Irrespective of who administers the enterprises, the means of production are the private property of the capitalists, and the profits go into their pockets. The "managers" are merely representatives of the capitalists and carry out their will. They themselves are usually large shareholders, ensure great privileges and high incomes from their posts, and appropriate a part of the surplus value created by the workers. The separation of functioning capital from owner capital by no means changes the essence of the capitalist order, as an order based on the exploitation of man by man.

In these conditions, in the capitalist countries, there is a constantly deepening process of the concentration of ownership over capital in the hands of a diminishing group of owners, and the main place is held by the financial oligarchy. In the USA 500 monopoly companies produce almost 50 per cent of goods and services.

The strengthening of the monopolies, the concentration and centralisation of capital in their hands, and the wide scale exploitation of budget finances and the state sector to increase monopoly profits, refute both the theory of "co-ownership" and that of "democratisation of management" in the conditions of the capitalist mode of production; consequently; they also refute the claims about the "deproletarianisation" of the capitalist society. Present-day capitalism, irrespective of the forms bourgeois ownership assu-

mes, is a socio-economic order based on the divorce of the worker from the means of production, an order expressing diametrically opposed economic and political interests on the part of workers and bourgeoisie.

3 Another variant of the claims of the bourgeois ideologists, which pursues the same aims; and is becoming a dominant theory in the capitalist world, is the technocratic and intellectualist theory according to which the technical and scientific revolution is leading to such growth in the weight and role of the technical and scientific intelligentsia that the latter is being transformed into a "new class" which is allegedly displacing the role of the working class, as well as that of the bourgeoisie, and is taking in hand the running of the country. Thus, in their opinion, presentday capitalism is undergoing a qualitative change: old-style capitalism is now being replaced by the "new industrial" or "post industrial society", the "computer - electronic society", or more briefly, the "computer society". In this society, they say, it is no longer the financial plutocracy who will dominate, but the wise scientists, skilled in intellectual technology. Allegedly a new type of relations of production is being created, characterized by the intellectualism of all social connections. The overwhelming majority of the population will be employed in service sectors and in those places of work which employ intellectuals; consequently, the working class will disappear. This chorus is joined by some of the revisionist sociologists. They openly state that the bearer of the present-day class consciousness is the so-called "new working class" which is made up of highly skilled engineers, technicians, workers and employees (See the review "Problems of peace and socialism", Russian edition, 1969, Nr. 2, p. 49).

All the "new" definitions we mentioned above do not use the term, "capitalism". The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists fetishize so much the technical and scientific revolution, in the field of its social, political and ideological consequences too, that some of them, like the Italian U. Spirito, openly state that "...science and technology have actually led to an unprecedented union. Technology has attained victory over parties and politics, with its inner logic and its inevitable consequences". Many social-democratic ideologists openly state that "Marxism has become obsolete", and that at the present time a "new epoch" has begun in the history of mankind, in which classes are disappearing. In their opinion, there is no longer a place for class struggle in the modern technocratic society, because now it is no longer a question of exploiters and exploited, but only of "consumers" of material goods. Similar ideas are advocated, along with others, by the ideologists of West German imperialism. Thus according to the German Christian-Democratic leader, L. Erhard, West German society, in the present conditions of the technical and scientific revolution, has allegedly overcome class contradictions and "...is no longer composed of classes and groups. In its essence, it is cooperativist, i.e. it is based on the interests and the collaboration of all groups". L. Erhard calls this society a "formed society".

It is not difficult to see the absurdity of these views of the bourgeois and revisionist sociologists about the disappearance of classes and the class struggle, the role of the working class being taken by the technical and scientific intelligentsia; and the transformation of the intelligentsia into a main productive force, and the sole bearer of social progress, into an independent and principal motive force in the development of current society. Despite this, the extension of these views among the working masses, and in the ranks of the intelligentsia, does a great deal of harm to the labour and revolutionary movement. The view that the intelligentsia and the students are independent and principal forces in the revolution, comrade Enver Hoxha said in his report at the 6th Party Congress, creates confusion in some untempered militants and in various sections of the population, especially among the student youth and young intellectuals. Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist parties and the Marxist sociologists rightfully expose these views, and reveal their anti-scientific and counterrevolutionary character.

In fact, despite the important consequences the technical and scientific revolution brings about in social relations, in the situation of the classes and social

strata, in the political superstructure, and in the ideology of the society, these changes have not led nor can they lead to an automatic transformation of the capitalist society into something qualitatively different. They are changes that take place within the framework of the bourgeois order, and which do not affect the foundations of the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie.

It is true that the technical and scientific revolution brings about the growth of the weight and role of the intelligentsia. This is connected with the fact that science today has become a directly productive force, and not only industrial production, but all the other sectors of the economy and culture, cannot advance without being based on science. The struggle for maximum profits and competition compel the capitalists and their state to make investments for the development of science and technology. The number of people who, prior to starting work in production, must have training, differentiated according to the needs of the capitalists, is increasing.

But such a reality by no means shows a "deproletarianisation" of capitalist society in favour of a "new class" of intelligentsia. The basis of capitalist production continues to be represented by the wage earners; in capitalist countries today, they consist of more than 230 million persons, the overwhelming majority of whom are semi-skilled or unskilled. The class features of the presentday capitalist world are entirely different from those presented by the propagators of the so-called modern technocratic society, in which classes allegedly disappear and it is a question merely of "consumers" of material goods. Precisely at the time when the West German L. Erhard, whom we mentioned above, speaking about a "formed society", in the Federal German Republic there existed the following class structure: the working class constituted 75 per cent of the country's population, the high bourgeoisie 5.8 per cent, the middle bourgeoisie 13.5 per cent and the intelligentsia 6.5 per cent. While it was claimed that in the Federal German Republic "there are no more classes", there existed in that country 11,163 millionaires whose estates were valued at 38 billion marks.

Thus, the capitalist reality clearly shows that the technical and scientific revolution and the other new phenomena that have appeared in the capitalist economy have by no means changed the nature of the capitalist order, which even today is in essence the same as that analyzed by Marx and Lenin. The economic basis of capitalism, i.e. private ownership over the means of production, has remained intact. The exploitation of man by man has not been touched, either; indeed the scale of this exploitation has been still more extended. Profit is the motive force of capitalist production. The concentration of production and the reinforcement of the monopolies, the enrichment of the bourgeoisie and the worsening of the situation of the proletariat, competition and anarchy in production, economic crises and chronic unemployment, are all phenomena characteristic of capitalism today. Also, the political basis of the capitalist order has remained intact. The state power continues to be a dictatorship in the hands of the bourgeoisie, particularly of the big monopoly bourgeoisie, which uses it to oppress the working class and its revolutionary movement. The fundamental criteria in judging and defining the nature of a socio-economic order is precisely its economic and political basis, not technique and technology.

On the basis of the scientific analysis of this reality of the capitalists world, comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that "the ideologists of the monopoly bourgeoisie are trying to convince the working people that the technical and scientific revolution which is taking place today in the world is allegedly eliminating the evils of capitalism, reforming it, eliminating classes and class antagonism, and replacing the capitalist owners with technocratic administrators. On this basis, they announce that the old capitalist system of exploitation, the class struggle and the necessity for proletarian revolution, are overcome. In reality, behind the so-called "industrial society" or "technocratic society" there lies the savage oppression of the working people by the capitalist monopolies and by state-monopoly capitalism." (Enver Hoxha, "Report and speeches", 1969-1970, p. 193). Therefore, not only can there be no question of the "deproletarianisation" of the present-day capitalist society, but its

proletarianisation is being steadily intensified.

4 Many bourgeois and reformist sociologists, feeling that it is difficult to deny the existence of the working class, claim that it has allegedly been bourgeoisified and integrated into the capitalist system, consequently, it no longer constitutes a revolutionary class.

Denying the revolutionary, progressive role of the working class, the American bourgeois ideologist Marcuse says that in the present-day totalitarian industrial society one can see no internal force whatever to overcome it, that the proletariat has lost its class and revolutionary features, has been definitely integrated into the system, and adopts a negative stand towards the need for radical transformation.

Other European bourgeois and opportunist ideologists seek to pose as original in assessing the role of the working class and the capitalist order existing in Western Europe. In their opinion, the problems of present-day capitalism can be solved by the bourgeois state and the other bourgeois institutions. The Marxist-Leninist theory about the proletarian revolution, as the only guide for the solution of social contradictions, is declared by them to be inapplicable in our time. According to the French sociologists, R. Aron, the increase in labour productivity, the rationalisation of machinery, and the perfecting of the organisation of production, "automatically" wipe out the class distinctions in "western industrial society". Hence he draws the conclusion that the "revolution of which Marx spoke has been left behind us".

A common slogan used by these bourgeois theoreticians is "technological determinism", or the direct dependence of social changes on changes in technology. Social systems, in their opinion, play a subjugated, second-rate role, in relation to technical systems: technology is an "independent variable", while the social system is a "dependent variable". In order to argue this "technological determinism", the bourgeois ideologists frequently cite, in a vulgarized manner, the Marxist thesis that the change in productive forces and above all in the means of production represents the main basis of social development. "In the West", - Aron says, "many persons are accepting one of the Marxist ideas, the idea of the primacy of productive forces". Therefore, in his opinion, the working class has given up revolutionary transformations, because it can achieve its aims within the framework of the capitalist order.

It is a known fact that, in the conditions of the development of productive forces and of the great intensification of the labour of the workers, as a result of the struggle of the working class and of the other labouring masses for better working and living conditions, in some developed capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie has made some concessions to the working people in the field of wellbeing, in order to exploit them more intensively in the future, and to make them slaves of the bourgeois way of thinking and living. Nevertheless, this does not mean, as the bourgeois ideologists preach, that allegedly the material interests of the working class and of the other working people in the capitalist countries have been fulfilled, and that there is no more need for concern in this field.

Today, even in the most developed capitalist countries, the USA included, many categories of working people live in poverty, in the most basic meaning of the term; they have bad housing, they have not enough food and clothing, and they do not receive medical assistance. The American government itself has admitted that 45 million Americans, i.e. about one quarter of the whole population are poor. Of these, 30 million persons "have been afflicted by terrible poverty". And here it is not simply a question of the blacks and the other non-white working people. Of these 30 million, two-thirds are white (Data from "Economic Notes", June 1968). About 8 million men, women and children are so poor that they live purely on charity. Thus, even in the most developed capitalist country, poverty is a mass phenomenon. And this contradiction appears still more clearly in the framework of the entire capitalist system of the world economy. In spite of the achievements of present day science and technology, over two-thirds of the population of the capitalist world, mainly those in the countries of Asia, Africa and

Latin America, uses in general primitive work tools, and suffers from hunger, endemic disease and illiteracy. The very nature of capitalism is such that it promotes the growth of discrepancies between the new demands of the proletariat and the impossibility of having them fulfilled. The growth of this tendency is one of the expressions or forms of the worsening situation of the working class, and this worsening cannot fail to be accompanied by a revolutionary outburst.

But here we must clarify another question of principled importance. Marxism-Leninism, when dealing with the revolutionary character of the working class, has not linked this only with their material situation, the degree of poverty, and the low level of working and living conditions. The revolutionary character of the proletariat is conditioned by many other no less important conditions and circumstances.

The birth of the working class is connected, firstly, with its liberation from feudal obligations, i.e. with the acquirement of the right to freely sell its manpower, and secondly, with its being deprived of the right of ownership over the means of production, i.e. with removing from its hands these means, and compelling it to work for wages in the private property of the capitalists. Marx has said that "the working class belongs to the capitalist, in the same way as the dead work tool does". Therefore, it is interested more than any other class in overthrowing these relations of oppression and exploitation. But the working class can do this only when it has political power in its own hands. However, the question of power is one of the most acute political questions. In this sense, as well as for many other reasons, the existence and growth of the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, up to powerful revolutionary outbursts, can come about not just from purely economic factors, such as poverty, misery, and deep economic crisis, but also from political and social factors, such as the antipopular and aggressive policy of the bourgeois ruling circles, the danger of fascism, the elimination or limitation of national sovereignty and independence, the loss of or threat to democratic freedoms and rights, the danger of moral degeneration, etc.

The working class, with its party at the head, is the only class that can realize the leading role in the struggle for socialism.

From the moment of its birth the wor-

king class carries out, in various forms, a class struggle against the bourgeoisie and, through this struggle, it comes closer together as a class in itself, and recognizes its fundamental interests, i.e. it transforms itself, in the words of Marx and Engels, from a "class in itself" into a "class for itself". Of course, its elevation to such a high level of consciousness cannot be achieved spontaneously, but only through class clashes. In this, the role of the subjective factor is very great. The working class urgently needs its vanguard detachment, its genuine Marxist-Leninist party, as elaborator of the revolutionary theory, strategy and tactics of the struggle of the working class, and as bearer of Marxist-Leninist theory in the consciousness of the class. Only by arming itself with revolutionary theory can the working class, under the leadership of its vanguard, the communist party, act in the proletarian revolution as leader of all the other labouring masses, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and, at the head of the other working masses, engage in the road of socialist construction. "The great, historic merit of Marx and Engels", Lenin has said, "consists in the fact that they showed the proletarians of all countries their role and mission the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital, and rally round them in this struggle all

**"In opposition to the erroneous view of the bourgeois and revisionist sociologists and economists, who negate or undervalue the leading, vanguard role of the working class, this class has been and remains**

the working people and the exploited" (V.I. Lenin, complete Works, vol. 37).

Reality is the best witness of these precepts of Marxism-Leninism, and the most convincing argument in refuting all the "theories" of the bourgeois and reformist ideologists, who seek to prove that allegedly the revolutionary spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries has steadily declined and is heading for extinction.

The strike movement, the demonstrations of the working class, and the numbers taking part in them, in the capitalist world, are always on the rise. These movements are now including, in addition to the working class, other sections of the population. In 1973 alone, over 40 million people took part in strikes. Alongside economic, social or cultural demands, the strikes and demonstrations, are increasingly taking on a more accentuated political character, because the labouring masses, and in the first place the working class, are realizing that the capitalist state stands for the bourgeoisie and its interests. These struggles are based primarily on the contradictions between labour and capital, and these contradictions are deepening everywhere. As comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party, "Even in those countries presented by bourgeois propaganda as areas of eternal class

peace, powerful battles are taking place between the workers and capital. There too, the social-democrat myth of "social evolution", for the creation of general wellbeing under the capitalist system has been shattered" (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 211).

The bourgeois theories about the reduction of the revolutionary role and spirit of the working class are joined by the anti-Marxist views of the Soviet modern revisionists, and the revisionists in the capitalist countries. They need such views in order to justify the opportunist programmes worked out by their revisionist parties about the transition to socialism through the "peaceful road", "parliamentary socialism" or "democratic socialism".

The Soviet modern revisionists, and those following them, embracing the theory on productive forces long since exposed by Marxism-Leninism, deny the role of the conscious factor, the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, in the struggle for socialism. They say that the changes occurring today in the world, as a result of the technical and scientific revolution, and the spontaneous and objective push towards socialism due to the change in the balance of power in its favour, have allegedly changed or are changing the nature of capitalism, and strengthening the "socialist elements" in it. In this way, they arrive at the conclusion that the socialist transformation of society can be achieved through the peaceful road, by means of reforms, without the need for proletarian revolution, while the struggle for socialism can allegedly be led by other non-proletarian classes and forces, and by non-Marxist-Leninist parties.

These entirely anti-Marxist views do great harm to the world revolutionary movement, because they create pacifist illusions and ideological confusion in the ranks of the working class and the other labouring masses, particularly where the revisionist parties still exert an important influence on considerable sections of the working class. Therefore, the exposure in particular of the anti-Marxist views of these parties constitutes one of the main, most important tasks of the Marxist-Leninist forces, in the service of the cause of the working class and socialist revolution.



**the main productive force of society, the main leading force for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie through the proletarian revolution, and the fundamental factor for the construction of socialism"**

## FROM READERS' GUIDE TO THE MARXIST CLASSICS

PUBLISHED IN LONDON, 1954, BY LAWRENCE & WISHART LIMITED.

### CAPITALISM

The general nature of capitalist production and exploitation of the working class: Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit*; *Wage Labour and Capital*; *Capital*, Vol. I; Lenin, *Karl Marx*.

Fundamental contradictions of capitalism: Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Ch. 3; Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. 15.

The general laws of development of capitalism and capitalist production: Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, Ch. 1; Marx, *Inaugural Address to I.W.M.A.*; *Capital*, Vol. I, Parts 4, 7, 8; Engels, *The Housing Question*; *Condition of the Working Class in 1844*; Stalin, *Anarchism or Socialism*. Also, Lenin, *Development of Capitalism in Russia*; *What the Friends of the People Are*; *A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism*.

The dependence of the distribution of wealth under capitalism upon the mode of production: Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, Part II, Chs. 1, 2, 3, 4, Part III, Chs. 3, 4; Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*; *Capital*, Vol. III, Part 7.

The development of monopoly capitalism: Lenin, *Imperialism*; also Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Ch. 3.

On a number of special questions concerning capitalist economy see as follows:—

*Accumulation of capital*: *Capital*, Vol. I, Parts 7, 8.

*Circulation of capital*: *Capital*, Vol. I, Part 7, Vol. II.

*Constant and Variable Capital*: *Capital*, Vol. I, Part 3.

*Credit System*: *Capital*, Vol. III, Part 5.

*Interest*: *Capital*, Vol. III, Part 5.

*Fixed and Circulating Capital*: *Capital*, Vol. II, Part 2.

*Machinery*: *Capital*, Vol. I, Part 4, Vol. III, Ch. 5.

*Merchants Capital*: *Capital*, Vol. III, Part 4.

*Money*: *Capital*, Vol. I, Parts 1, 2.

*Prices*: deviations from value, and influence of supply and demand on, *Capital*, Vol. III, Part 2. See also Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit*; *Wage Labour and Capital*; *Theories of Surplus Value*.

*Production of Means of Production and Means of Consumption*: *Capital*, Vol. II, Part 3.

*Profit*: conversion of rate of surplus value into rate of profit, *Capital*, Vol. III, Part 1; *Theories of Surplus Value*: Average rate of profit, *Capital*, Vol. III, Part 2. Falling rate of profit, *Capital*, Vol. III, Part 3.

*Turnover*: *Capital*, Vol. II, Part 2.

### CLASSES

Definition of classes: Lenin, *A Great Beginning*.

Origin of classes: Engels, *Origin of the Family*, Ch. 9; *Anti-Duhring*, Part II, Ch. 4.

Exploiters and exploited: Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, Ch. 1.

How class standpoint is expressed in ideology and politics, Marx, *18th Brumaire*, Ch. 3.

Classes in socialist society, Stalin, *On Draft Constitution of U.S.S.R.*

### CLASS STRUGGLE

On general theory: Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*; Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit*; *General Rules of I.W.M.A.*; Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*; *Conditions of Working Class in England in 1844*; Lenin, *Karl Marx, Three Sources etc. of Marxism*.

Analysis of development of actual class struggles: *History of C.P.S.U.(B)*; Marx, *Class Struggles in France*; *18th Brumaire*; *Civil War in France*; Engels, *Peasant War in Germany*; Marx and Engels, *Germany—Revolution and Counter-Revolution*; *The Revolution in Spain*; *The Civil War in the U.S.A.*; Lenin, *Lecture on 1905 Revolution*.

Strategy and tactics of class struggle of proletariat: as above, and Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, Ch. 7; *Anarchism or Socialism*, Ch. 3; Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy*; *Left Wing Communism*, Chs. 8, 9; Marx, *Inaugural Address to I.W.M.A.*; *Poverty of Philosophy*, Ch. 2, Section 5.

After establishment of socialism: *History of C.P.S.U.(B)*, Chs. 9, 10, 11, 12; Lenin, *Left Wing Communism*, Chs. 2, 8; *Deception of the People*; *Economics and Politics in Era of Dictatorship of Proletariat*; Stalin, *Report to 16 Congress*; *Right Deviation in C.P.S.U.(B)*.

### ALLIES OF WORKING CLASS

The fundamental conception of allies of the working class: Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, Ch. 7; Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, Ch. 4; Marx, *Address of Central Committee to Communist League*; *Critique of Gotha Programme*.

Also: Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy*, together with *History of C.P.S.U.(B)*, Ch. 3; Engels, *Prefatory Note to Peasant War in Germany*; *Peasant Question in France and Germany*; Lenin, *What the Friends of the People Are*; Stalin, *On China*.

The question of allies in carrying through the socialist revolution and in the dictatorship of the proletariat: Stalin, *October Revolution and Tactics of Russian Communists*; Lenin, *Discussion of Self-Determination Summed up*, 10; *Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade*; *Theses of Report on Tactics of Russian Communist Party*; Stalin, *Report to 14 Congress*; *Report to 15 Congress*; *Policy of Soviet Government on National Question in Russia*; *October Revolution and National Policy of Russian Communists*; *October Revolution and the Middle Strata*.

# The Working Class And Its World Historic Mission

By Foto Cami

- ★ THE POSITION OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE PRESENT-DAY CAPITALIST SOCIETY.
- ★ THE KHRUSHCHEVIAN REVISIONISTS DISTORT THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS.
- ★ THE MARXIST-LENINIST VIEWPOINT ABOUT THE REVOLUTIONARY TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS LEADING ROLE IN SOCIETY

«The great historic merit of Marx and Engels, — V. I. Lenin has said, — consists in the fact that they indicated to the proletarians of all the countries their role, their mission: to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital, rally around themselves in this struggle all the working people and the oppressed.» (V. I. Lenin, complete works, Russian edition, vol. 37, p. 169). The idea of the world historic mission of the proletariat as gravedigger of capitalism and bearer of the new socialist and communist social order has been described by V. I. Lenin as «principal in Marx's doctrine».

Life has fully confirmed this great revolutionary discovery by K. Marx. The working class, the most progressive and the most revolutionary class ever known in history, stands in the center of our epoch, of the epoch of the world proletarian revolution and of the transition from capitalism to socialism. That is the social force leading the whole present-day revolutionary process for the transformation of the world on new social-political bases. Wherever the proletarian revolution has triumphed and socialism has become a reality, this has been achieved under the hegemony of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party.

In order to reject Marxism, socialism, their enemies have always sought to deny the revolutionary character of the working class, its decisive role in society's life, its hegemony in the revolution. During his life-time V. I. Lenin had to carry out a great fight to defend the world historic mission of the proletariat against the distortions of the Russian and international reformists and opportunists. In this fight he created a complete doctrine on the hegemony of the proletariat, which became a starting point for the working out of a correct strategy and tactics of the communist movement, that led this movement to great historic victories.

At the present time also the stand towards the working class, towards its role and hegemony has become one of the most cardinal and burning problems of the ideological struggle between Marxism-Leninism and the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. «The ideological opponents of Marxism-Leninism», comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party, «beginning with the bourgeois and revisionist, radical and petty-bourgeois ones, in words and deeds, are striving to negate the world historic mission of the working class, its role and hegemony in the revolution. All together, in this or that way, they seek to prove that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism about this question have become obsolete.»

Under these conditions, the exposure of these attempts and the defence of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the revolutionary character, role and hegemony of the working class, in close connection with reality and the revolutionary practice, is today as much an important as urgent duty in order to carry onward the cause of the revolution and of socialism.

## WORKING CLASS AND PRESENT-DAY CAPITALISM

Speculating on the new phenomena of present-day capitalism, especially on the development of the monopoly-state capitalism and of the technical-scientific revolution, the hack-writers of «neo-capitalism» are seeking by all sorts of falsifications to refute the world historic mission of the proletariat and to prettify and perpetuate the capitalist order of oppression and exploitation.

## NOT «DEPROLETARIANIZATION», BUT FURTHER PROLETARIANIZATION IS THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PRESENT-DAY CAPITALIST SOCIETY

According to many bourgeois and reformist ideologists, the technical-scientific revolution which is unfolding in the world today, is allegedly leading to the «deproletarianization» of the capitalist society, to the liquidation of the working class, or, as they say, people with «blue collars», to the advantage of people with «grey collars» (of the sphere of services) and of people with «white collars» (intelligentsia). Thus, K. Marx's conclusion that the proletariat is a class which grows along with the very development of capitalism allegedly stands no more.

No doubt the technical-scientific revolution is bringing about changes in the social structure of the capitalist society. In all the developed capitalist countries one notices a great increase of the employment of people in the sphere of the services and of the intelligentsia. From the economic viewpoint this has come about, on the one hand, as a result of the

increase of labour productivity in the sphere of material production and, on the other hand, as a result of the fact that in the non-productive sphere labour productivity is lower; that is why more people are required in this sphere.

These changes however by no means speak of «deproletarianization» of the capitalist society. Capital cannot exist without its antipode — the proletariat. «By «proletarian» in the economic sense, — K. Marx has said, — one should understand only the wage-earner who produces and increases «capital» and is fired out in the street as soon as he becomes superfluous to the requirements of the increase of the value of «Mr. Capital.» (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Russian edition, vol. 23, p. 628).

From this viewpoint the specific weight of the wage-earners in the total number of the working population grows continually in the United States of America, Britain, in the Federal Republic of Germany, France and other developed capitalist countries, they account for the 70-90 per cent of it. In these countries there is no «deproletarianization» but a further proletarianization of society. Taking the cue from this phenomenon some revisionists are striving to wipe out the demarcation line between the classes describing as workers all those receiving salaries or wages irrespective of their size. The way of ensuring incomes is a feature, but not the sole nor the main that conditions the fact of pertaining to a class. Salaries are paid also to high state officials and managers of the big capitalist firms and trusts, but they have nothing in common with the workers.

According to some data in the developed capitalist countries it comes out that of 5 wage-earners only 3 are workers. Despite this, the number of workers, too, has been and continues to be rising. While in the middle of the past century the proletariat was counting 9 million persons, at the beginning of the 20th century it reached 30 million, and in the years 1960-1970 it amounted to 450 million. The working class produces today 3/4 of the total world social production. The growth of the proletariat comes about not only as a result of the depopulation of the countryside from which depart every year in the F. R. Germany 100.000 persons, France 150.000, Italy 120.000, and as a result of the expropriation of the small owners of the city, but also in the form of reduction up to the social-economic condition of the proletarians also of a growing part of various specialists and technicians working directly in production, of the men who work in the sphere of services, and of women. As a result, it is not the proletariat that disappears, but its social makeup becomes more complicated, with more numerous strata.

K. Marx has never identified the proletarian with the man engaged simply in manual work. The more so today this narrow concept cannot be taken as a basis because the borders between manual and mental work in the process of the development of the technical-scientific revolution are ever more narrowing up, the weight of mental work is growing in the work of every person. The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists make all sorts of speculations on this phenomenon. Some of them from the camp of the bourgeoisie are striving to prove that the working class is disappearing and its place is being taken by the intelligentsia, whereas some others from the camp of the revisionists are seeking to include the whole of the intelligentsia in the working class by inventing a new definition, according to which the working class is treated as «the totality of the working people of physical and mental work». The difference in the degree of culture and qualification are not class differences, are not features determining the pertaining to a given class. To determine the class to which this or that person belongs one must not judge of the education, culture and speciality he has, but first and foremost of the place he occupies in the social production system, of his relations with the means of production, of the role he plays in the social organisation of labour and, consequently, of the quantity of the incomes and the way he receives them.

Groundless are also the other claims of the bourgeois and reformist ideologists that allegedly the working class is ceasing to be proletarian, as it is becoming «co-owner and co-manager» of the capitalist enterprises, or, as one of the chieftains of the social-democratic party of West Germany, V. Knjoringen, says, «the workers and employees are turning into small capitalists». To «prove» this they use as an argument the participation of the workers in shares. But what do these shares represent? According to the data of the bourgeois statistics themselves, in the United States only 7 per cent of the population own shares, whereas the shares of all the workers do not account even for the 0,2 per cent of the value of all the country's shares. The Dupont family alone has 10 times more shares than all the American workers together, 1,6 per cent of the population in

the USA owns about 80 per cent of the shares of private corporations.

The bourgeois ideologists say that also the capitalists are no more capitalist, for they have departed and continue to depart from the management of the enterprises. This management has now passed over to the hands of the technocratic administrators and is allegedly carried out in behalf and in the interest of the society. On this basis they speak also of a «revolution of the managers». While in fact there can be no question of any kind of revolution in this direction. Irrespective of who administers them, the means of production are private property of the capitalists, the profits go into their pockets. Managers are nothing else but lieutenants, representatives of the capitalists and carry out their will. They themselves are great shareholders, ensure great privileges and incomes from their posts, they appropriate a part of the increment value created by the workers. The separation of the functioning capital from the owner capital does not in the least change the essence of the capitalist order, as an order based on the exploitation of man by man.

The indisputable facts speak not of filling but of deepening of the gap between classes in capitalism. The poor and the rich are two poles turning ever more away from each other. According to the data of the bourgeois press itself, 0,5 per cent of the population in the United States of America own 25 per cent of all the private riches, 5 per cent of the British have in their hands 3/4 of such riches, while 5 per cent of the French have 67 per cent of the riches under private personal ownership.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY POSSIBILITIES OF THE WORKING CLASS ARE INEXHAUSTIBLE

Faced with indisputable facts, some other bourgeois and reformist ideologists do not negate the existence of the working class, but they say that it is no more a revolutionary class, for it has allegedly bourgeoisified and it has been integrated into the capitalist system. H. Marcuse, American theoretician of bourgeois radicalism, in his work «End of Utopia», openly says that the working class of the capitalist countries «has been definitely integrated into a system and adopts a negative stand towards the necessity of radical transformation». The French sociologist R. Aron admits that the working class has given up revolutionary transformation because it can reach its aims also within the framework of the capitalist order. Whereas the other French sociologist and economist J. Chaverny writes that the working class is neither capable nor prepared to becoming a leading class. Another wellknown ideologist of the bourgeoisie, J. K. Golbraith, is seeking, in contrast with the objective reality, to ignore and wipe out class borders between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie under the conditions of the «society of abundance» which remains the society of the exploitation of those expropriated on the part of the owners of the means of production.

It is true that the monopoly bourgeoisie, by giving some crumbs from its super-profits, corrupts a part of the workers and creates of them the so-called worker aristocracy. But, although this section has greatly increased, especially in the developed capitalist countries, yet it makes up a small minority in the total number of the working class. And it is precisely this section and not the whole of the working class that has been bourgeoisified and integrated into the capitalist system. The bourgeois and reformist ideologists purposely identify the worker aristocracy with the whole of the working class.

Life has confirmed and continues to confirm Lenin's idea that the working class under the conditions of capitalism manifests two tendencies in its political and economic activity. On the one hand there is the tendency of arranging one's self comfortably and well in the conditions of capitalism, which is realizable only for a small section of the proletariat, for its high section. On the other hand there is the tendency to come at the head of all the working and exploited masses for the revolutionary overthrow of the domination of capital in general (See V. I. Lenin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 27, page 238).

With the development of the productive forces, thanks to the struggle of the working class and labouring masses and under the influence of the ideas and victories of socialism, the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries has been compelled to make to the working people some concessions in the field of welfare, with a view to creating the material base and the ideological atmosphere to hold them slaves to the bourgeois

the working class has ceased being a ferment of the revolution.

But Marxism has never automatically linked the revolutionary character of the working class with its living standards. In reality, the proletariat is the most revolutionary class of society not only because it is the poorest and the most pain-stricken class. The situation of millions of small peasants, of the other poor masses of the city and of thousands upon thousands of lumpenproletarians is by no means better, it is indeed worse than that of the proletariat, and nevertheless this does not cause them to be more revolutionary than the proletariat. The revolutionarism of the proletariat is connected also with a series of other objective and subjective factors. Relating to this question the 6th Congress of the PLA pointed out that the conditions making the working class the decisive force of the present-day social development, the leading force of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world have not changed at all.

The working class in capitalism is the only class that has nothing to lose from revolution. It is more than any other class interested in upsetting the old exploiting relations of production. As a class owning nothing except its labour power, as a class connected with the big modern production, which has reached today a high degree of concentration, as a class with great possibilities for education and organization, which has its own scientific theory and its own political leading headquarter, the working class not only is the most revolutionary class, but also the sole class that can play the leading role in the struggle for socialism.

On the other side, it must be pointed out that the pushing of the working class and of the other labouring masses to revolution does not come about only from the economic factor, from the material situation of their livelihood, but also from other causes not less important. The general political crisis which served as an objective basis for the outburst of the people's revolution in Albania, was created in the first place by political factors, such as the question of national liberation. Also today the throwing of the masses into revolution can come about not only from simply economic factors, such as poverty, misery, the deep economic crises, but also from political and social factors, from the anti-popular and aggressive policy of the bourgeois ruling circles, from the danger of fascism, from the elimination or limitation of national sovereignty and independence, from the loss of or threat to the democratic freedoms and rights, etc.

Of course, this does not mean at all, as the bourgeois ideologists advocate, that the economic interests and demands of the working class and of the other labouring people in the capitalist countries have allegedly been fulfilled and that in this direction there is no trouble whatever for them. From the economic viewpoint, too, there are a series of factors pushing the masses to struggle, as the increase of exploitation, the broadening of the gap between the great intensification of the work and the small increase of wages, the social consequences of the technical-scientific revolution, which leads to the elimination of many traditional professions, to the increase of fear for the morrow, to the firing out in the streets of many workers, to the increase of difficulties for the younger generations to find jobs, etc. These difficulties increase further as a result of the deepening of the contradiction between the high level of the productive forces and the limited purchasing power of the masses, as a result of the fear of the working people to lose even those that they have gained by their struggle in the living standard, as a result of the increase of inflation, high cost of living, militarism, taxes, etc. Even such very much developed countries as the United States of America, are unable to cope with the burning and great problems of poverty, unemployment, lodging, medical service, which seriously worry the labouring masses.

The most convincing argument to refute all the inventions of the bourgeois and reformist ideologists is life itself, the development of the working class struggle, the waves of which are rising ever higher in all the capitalist countries. The workers taking part in strikes and demonstrations are counted by millions. In some countries, as in France and Italy, these strikes have assumed colossal proportions shaking the foundations of the bourgeois order. The class struggle is encompassing, besides the working class, also other broad sections of the population: peasants, rank and file office workers, progressive intellectuals, women and especially school youth. The circle of their demands is broadening and the struggle for economic, social and cultural interests is being ever more integrated with the political struggle. This integration has today also a stronger objective basis. The growth of the monopoly-state capitalism and of the role of the capitalist state generally in the whole national life, which is noticed everywhere, creates such a situation that every struggle, from the very logic of things, assumes a political character, for the working people clash with the capitalist state which stands guard over the interests of the bourgeoisie.

All this shows that the working class is a class with great and inexhaustible revolutionary potential, that the class struggle is not a «nostalgia of the revolutionaries that have become outmoded», as the propagandists of «neocapitalism» say, but a realistic, objective and inevitable fact showing that the working class interests are irreconcilable with those of the bourgeoisie and that the sole road to its liberation from capitalist oppression and exploitation is the carrying through to the end of this historic struggle.

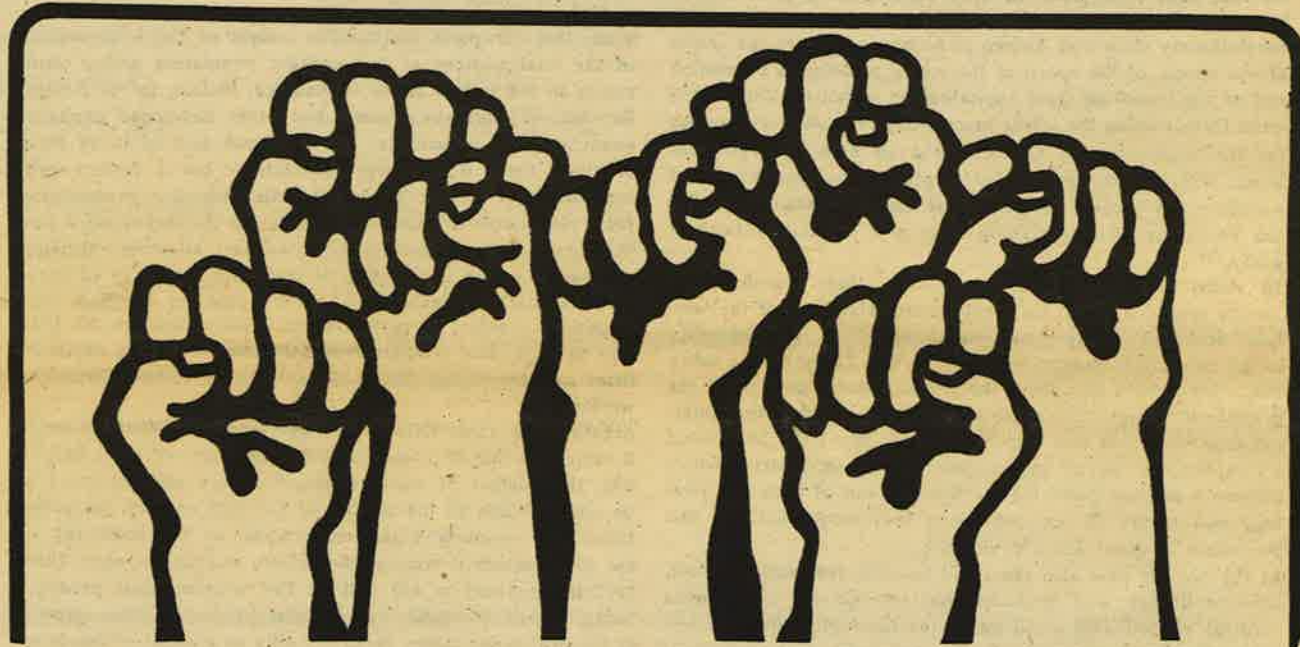
#### WITHOUT THE LIBERATION OF THE WORKING CLASS FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST IDEOLOGY ITS REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE CANNOT BE LED ONWARD

It is a fact that today the working class, especially in the capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America, has not come out yet with great revolutionary deeds. The reason for this situation is that many workers are under the influence

of the bourgeois and reformist ideology and are not aware of their mission. The so-called «society of consumption», by its reforms of spiritual enslavement of the working people through the «power of things», introduces elements of bourgeoisification into a considerable part of the workers. The working class in these countries finds itself from morn till night under the strong pressure of an all-round and continuous propaganda in service of the bourgeoisie. The high concentration of the economic, political, ideological and cultural power in the hands of the bourgeoisie results in that the life of the present-day capitalist society is determined to a very large extent by the policy of the ruling class. And when the conscience of the working class is low, the concessions the bourgeoisie is compelled to make to it lead to the rise and spreading of all sorts of reformist illusions in its fold.

The bourgeois and reformist ideologists are seeking to use this temporary situation as an argument to negate the hegemony of the proletariat, its historic mission. But K. Marx has said more than 100 years ago that the communists accept the world historic role of the proletariat not because they consider the proletarians as god. On the contrary, this role stems from the fact that «... man lost himself in the proletariat... It is not a question whether at this moment this or that proletarian or the entire proletariat sees his aim. The question is what the proletariat is in reality and what is it historically bound to do in compliance with this being of it» (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Russian edition, vol. 2, page 40).

On the other side, it must be pointed out that the infection of a part of the proletariat by the bourgeois and reformist ideology is not only an objective consequence of the capitalist development. In this direction a great negative influence has been and continues to be exerted by the betrayal of the modern revisionists. By their opportunist viewpoints about the peaceful road, peaceful coexistence, structural reforms, parliamentary illusions, the collaboration with the bourgeoisie and its parties, the modern revisionists have poisoned the conscience of the working class and of the toiling masses and have paralyzed to a large extent their revolutionary activity. As a result of the revisionist betrayal, the working class in many countries was bereaved of its revolutionary vanguard and remained disarmed in the face of the bourgeoisie, in the face



of its reactionary power and ideology.

Under these conditions the liberation of the working class from the influence of the bourgeois influence cannot be achieved without waging a determined and through to the end struggle against modern revisionism, the most dangerous and the most powerful agency of the bourgeoisie in the present-day labour movement. Without this struggle the revolutionary cause of the working class cannot be carried onward. Herein lies the great importance of the struggle being waged today by the Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism and of the creation of the new Marxist-Leninist parties which are everywhere taking in their hands the banner of the revolution abandoned by the revisionists.

In this framework a special importance, — the 6th Congress of the PLA pointed out, — is assumed by the struggle also in the fold of the reformist trade unions, against the line and the stand of their bourgeois chieftains for their exposure and isolation from the masses, for it is a fact that social-democracy and the modern revisionists are seeking to use the incorporation of the workers in these trade unions in order to curb their revolutionary impetus, to suppress their militant spirit and transform them into a class docile and submitted to the capitalist bosses.

#### WORKING CLASS AND INTELLIGENTSIA. AGAINST TECHNOCRATISM AND INTELLECTUALISM

All the efforts of the bourgeois and reformist ideologists to negate the historic mission of the working class, its hegemony in the world revolutionary process are needed by them to affirm their technocratic and intellectualist theories which have become dominating theories of the time in the capitalist world. Technocratism and intellectualism, comrade Enver Hoxha has said, are the offspring and food of bureaucracy; they are a perfection of bureaucracy in complicity with the great role that science and technology have assumed in the development of society, they are an expression of the bourgeois ideology and policy at the present stage of the monopoly capital.

According to the ideologists of technocratism and intellectualism, the unfolding of the technical and scientific revolution is leading to such a growth of the weight and role of the technical and scientific intelligentsia that it is turning into a «new class» which is allegedly shifting the role of both the

working class and the bourgeoisie and is taking into its own hands the whole direction of the country. Thus, in their opinion, present-day capitalism is undergoing a qualitative change. The place of old capitalism is now being taken by the «new industrial society» or «post-industrial society», the «cybernetic-electronic society» or more briefly the «cybertronic society». In this society, they say, it is no more financial plutocracy that will reign, but meritocracy, i.e. the intelligent and clever scientists in intellectual technology. There is allegedly being created a new type of production relations which are characterized by the intellectualization of all the social ties. The working class will disappear and the overwhelming majority of the population will be employed in the sectors of services and in those work places where «white collar» men are working.

In reality, despite the perceptible changes that the technical-scientific revolution brings about in social relations, in the situation of the classes and of the social strata, in the political superstructure and in the ideology of society, these changes have not led nor can they lead to an automatic transformation of capitalist society, to something qualitatively entirely different. They are changes which are made within the framework of the bourgeois order, changes which do not affect the foundations of the economic and political rule of the bourgeoisie. The technical-scientific revolution prepares all the material premises for the transformation of the capitalist society on socialist bases, but it can never replace the proletarian social revolution, which is the only means by which this transformation can be done.

One of the most important social consequences of the technical-scientific revolution is no doubt the increase of the weight and of the role of the intelligentsia. This is related to the fact that present-day science has become a direct productive force, that not only industrial production but all the other sectors of economy and culture cannot successfully develop if not based on science. The thirst for greatest possible profits and life and death competition compel the bourgeoisie and its state to make ever larger investments in the development of science and technology. In the most developed countries the number of scientific researches is doubled in every 7-8 years. The timelimits separating a scientific discovery from its practical

implementation and industrial use are being curtailed. The number of students in higher schools and of the engineering-technical personnel as against the total number of the working people is growing.

But all this by no means testifies to what the bourgeois and reformist ideologists speak about — that the intelligentsia is allegedly turning into a new class which is taking into its hands not only the whole direction of national life, but is allegedly becoming also the decisive force producing the material blessings. In spite of the increase of the weight of the intelligentsia in the present-day society, — the 6th Congress of the PLA pointed out, — in spite of the changes suffered by the position, character and role of its work as well as the class makeup of this stratum, it is not a class in itself. The intelligentsia is a stratum standing between the different classes of the society and which comes from various classes... it has never been and it cannot be an independent social-political force.

In our times, with the great increase of the intelligentsia, with the change of its class makeup, especially of the engineering-technical intelligentsia, which is partly formed also of the middle strata and representatives of the working people, and in connection with the fact that a part of the intelligentsia suffers from capitalist oppression and exploitation, the stand towards it assumes a special importance, the possibilities of the alliance of the working class and the progressive strata of the intelligentsia increase. But in connection with this question three things must be pointed out:

First, taking into consideration the important position which the intelligentsia is holding, the bourgeoisie is seeking by all the ways and means to corrupt it materially and spiritually, to better place it at its service in order to oppress and exploit the working people and to strangle the revolution. «The capitalist bourgeoisie, — comrade Enver Hoxha says, — trains its cadres with definite political-ideological tendencies so as to rule by their means over the working class, to direct and exploit it and deceive it through demagoguery in order to perpetuate thereby its rule.

Second, by its very class and social position, by the character and conditions of work, the intelligentsia is characterized, as V. I. Lenin has said, by individualism, by the incapacity to be disciplined and organized, by instability and political waverings, by the mixture of the opposite principles and viewpoints, by the manifestations of intellectual arrogance to rise above others, by academic discussions and incapacity for concrete actions, etc.

Third, also the progressive part of the intelligentsia, if it is to play its role and make its important contribution to the revolutionary movement, must merge with the broad masses of the working people, be included in the general trend of the revolution, accept and place itself under the leadership of the proletariat and of its Marxist-Leninist party.

All the revolutionary forces fighting for the overthrow of the bourgeois order, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 5th Congress of the PLA, can achieve victory only if they merge themselves with the struggle of the working class, if they recognize and accept its leading role and that of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party. This is an historic necessity. Any other alternative leads to adventurism and defeat.

## II

## WORKING CLASS AND MODERN REVISIONISM

As servants and allies of the bourgeoisie also the modern revisionists echo the propaganda of the bourgeois ideologists, they have appropriated the technocratic and intellectualist theories and negate the historic mission of the working class, its leading role in the struggle for socialism and communism.

## AGAINST THE PREACHING OF SPONTANEITY

To V. I. Lenin belongs the great merit of having been the first in the history of Marxism that discovered the ideological roots of opportunism which consist precisely in advocating spontaneity in the labour movement.

Following in the wake of the old opportunists of the II international, the modern revisionists, too, have completely slipped into the positions of the ill-famed theory of the productive forces and negate the role of the conscious factor, of the working class leadership and of its revolutionary party, in the struggle for the socialist transformation of society. According to them, the technical-scientific revolution has given such an impulse to the development of the productive forces in the present-day capitalist countries that a spontaneous and objective push towards socialism comes from them. This push, they say, has become still more imperative and realistic because of the change of the balance of power to the advantage of socialism. Proceeding from these positions, many revisionists present present-day capitalism as an almost non-capitalist order into the fold of which socialist elements, forces and tendencies are willy-nilly finding their way.

Hence the modern revisionists draw two anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary conclusions.

The first revisionist conclusion is that, under these conditions, the socialist transformation of society can be done even without the need of the proletarian revolution, through reforms and on a peaceful road, using for this purpose the bourgeois state itself, the nature of which can gradually change to the advantage of the working people. Thus, they wipe out any distinction between revolution and evolution, between revolution and reforms. These notions, according to the Soviet author Drabkin, have in our time drawn so near to each other that they would be an entirely incomprehensible and unrealistic thing not only to the Marxists of the past century but also to those of the first half of the 20th century. In order to make the evolutionist and reformist road more convincing, the hack-writers of the Soviet clique refer to the whole historic development of mankind and strive to prove that the social revolutions have not been and are not a law of transition from one economic-social formation to another higher one, that revolutions have not been and are not the locomotives of history. They arrive, thus, at the absurd conclusion that locomotives disappear, whereas cars spontaneously move in the given direction.)

The second conclusion of the modern revisionists, which comes as the logic continuation of the former, is that as long as the development towards socialism can be done also on a peaceful evolutionary road, by means of reforms, in other words as long as capitalism can be gradually integrated in socialism the leading role of the working class and of its Marxist-Leninist communist party is unnecessary, that bearers and leaders of the process can be also other classes, parties and social and political forces, beginning with the bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeoisie, students and intelligentsia and ending with the socialist, social-democratic parties and reactionary trade unions. Similar theses are preached by the revisionists Garaudy and Gilas, other known and unknown revisionists in the East and West.

These preachings of the modern revisionists, as pointed out by the 6th Congress of the PLA, have become a basis for the spreading of the most extremist viewpoints which entirely negate the role of the revolutionary theory and of the working class party. There have come out men posing as revolutionaries, but they go to such lengths as to say that in Marx's theory on revolution there exists neither the place nor the need for the party, that Lenin's ideas about the party of the new type are a revision of Marx's theory, that the vanguard of the revolution cannot be equaled with the Marxist-Leninist party, that the vanguard role can be carried out also by an active minority that comes out as a ferment of the revolution, that revolutionary conscience and organisation can be formed spontaneously in the process of the spontaneous development of the movement, etc., etc.

Even when some of the various revisionists and opportunists recognize the need for the existence of the party they badly distort the leading role and the organisational principles of its construction. They attack in particular the principle of democratic centralism, of the unity of thought and action as well as the fact that the party is the leading force of

the whole revolutionary activity in every field it is conducted - political or economic, ideological or military. Some conceive the party as a club of discussions, as an illuminist organisation, others conceive it as a coordinating and information center, some others identify the party with a military detachment, with the guerrilla, still others put the party on a par with the mass organisations and go on record for the equal partnership between them, etc., etc.

Refuting all these anti-Marxist preachings which aim at disarming the proletariat politically and organisationally, comrade Enver Hoxha forcefully pointed out at the 6th Congress of the PLA that without its own party the working class, under whatever conditions it may live and act, does not spontaneously become conscious that if the political party with a clear programme, with a scientific strategy and tactics does not exist, the struggle either remains in the middle of the road or fails, that the leading role of the working class party in the struggle for socialism, as well in the conditions of the existence of one party as in the conditions of the existence of many parties is an objective law stemming from the fact that the struggle for socialism has as a theoretical basis the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, and the communist party of the proletariat is the one bearing, working out and implementing it.

## THE LEADERSHIP OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IS THE QUESTION OF THE WORKING CLASS OF EVERY COUNTRY

In order to prove their viewpoints that allegedly the transition to socialism is possible without the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the revisionists quote as an example a series of underdeveloped countries that have been liberated from the colonial domination of imperialism and which allegedly have engaged or are engaging in socialism through the so-called non-capitalist road of development.

The development on this road - the propagandists of the Soviet Khrushchevian revisionists write - can begin under the leadership of any democratic class: the working class, peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie of the city, in some countries even the intelligentsia, including also the revolutionary officers, may be a leading force. They say that the hegemony or the Marxist-Leninist party in the struggle for socialism, as a general law, has to do with the development of society as a whole and not with the development of each individual country. Therefore, in a series of countries where there are no Marxist parties, according to them, the vanguard role can be played also by the class unions of the proletariat - the trade unions or other democratic parties and organisations.

Feeling that these arguments are not so much convincing and are not confirmed by life, the Khrushchevian revisionists are seeking to adduce also other arguments. They say that there where the weak development of the proletariat does not allow it to play the role of hegemon in the revolutionary movement, this vanguard role in this or that form can be fulfilled by the triumphant proletariat of the socialist countries.

But how do the socialist countries play the role of the hegemony of the proletariat in the underdeveloped countries to draw them towards socialism? It is known that there is no other road than through the internal factor. But in these countries power is held by various exploiting classes, mainly the national bourgeoisie and landlords. According to the revisionists it comes out that triumphant socialism has allegedly such a magic power as to be able to convince even the bourgeois and feudals not only to accept the socialist road but also to lead the development of the country on this road (!) Triumphant socialism exerts a great and all-round influence on the peoples of other countries by its example, aid and support, but all this can never replace the direct leadership of the revolution which is the duty of the working class and of its Marxist-Leninist party of each country. The Soviet revisionists purposely merge these two things in order to impose their traitorous policy on the oppressed nations and peoples or newly liberated from colonialism, to subjugate and exploit them, to realize their expansionist and imperialist objectives for the sake of which they sacrifice and strangle the revolution in these countries.

The weak development of the proletariat in these countries, as shown also by the experience of our country, cannot serve as an argument to negate its hegemony. The question is that the working class does not play its leading role directly but through its party, and this party can be created even there where the working class is small in number and politically and organisationally not formed. The proletarian class makeup is of very great importance to the revolutionary character of the party. But this is not all. ... whether a party is really a worker political party or not, - V. I. Lenin has said, - this depends not only on whether it is made up of workers but also on who leads it and what is the content of its actions and of its political tactics. Only the latter determines whether we have really to do with a political party of the proletariat. (V. I. Lenin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 31, page 285).

In many countries liberated from the colonial rule of imperialism they speak a lot about socialism. But the socialist theories in these countries are very far from the real theory of scientific socialism. There are in them many obscure, unclear, confused, eclectic things; a mixture of the principles of socialism with those of capitalism, of socialist ideology with those of the bourgeois and religious ideology. These socialist theories are on the one hand a testimony to the popularity of socialism, of the attractive force of its ideas, they are an expression of the efforts to find a new way out from poverty and backwardness; on the other hand they are an attempt of the bourgeoisie and the other reactionary forces to deceive the masses and to turn them away from the real road of the struggle for socialism.

Speaking about this question at the 6th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the Marxist-Leninists hail and support any sincere inclination and aspiration towards socialism, but at the same time they point out that socialism in every country has won and can win only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and under the leadership of the working

class and of its party armed with the proletarian world outlook.

## THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS PARTY

The Khrushchevian revisionists accept in words the leading role of the working class in socialism and say that this role will end only when communism will have been ultimately built up, when classes will have been completely liquidated.

But how does the working class play this role when the communist party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat are no more of the working class, they have lost their proletarian character and have changed into party and state of the whole people?

The Khrushchevian revisionists, on the basis of the programme approved by their XXII Congress, used to explain this by the fact that the working class is the most advanced, the most organized, the most united class from the ideopolitical viewpoint, with strong revolutionary traditions, bearer of the ideals of communism, it is connected with the big industrial production which constitutes the basis of the development of the whole economy, it has its own class organisation, trade unions, which, in Khrushchev's expression, stand shoulder to shoulder with the party in the directing cabin of the captain.

But it is known that all these conditions exist not only since the first steps of socialism, but already in capitalism. Then what is the use of the working class party, the communist party; what is the use of the dictatorship of the proletariat, why was it necessary to wait until the XXII Congress to declare them as unnecessary? The conditions mentioned by them provide to the working class only the possibility to be a class leading the struggle for socialism and communism. But these possibilities become a reality only when the working class creates from its fold its own revolutionary party armed with the scientific world outlook of communism and when after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie it creates, consolidates and perfects its state power - the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without having its own party and without the proletarian state the acceptance of the leading of the working class is a big bluff.

So much groundless from the theoretical viewpoint were these so-called arguments that today Khrushchev's successors, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, for definite purposes, have begun to question them. At present the Soviet propaganda no more speaks of the party of the whole people, there are in it even manipulations with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The present-day Soviet press criticizes those who detach the leading role of the working class from the role of the communist party and defends the viewpoint that in all the stages of the struggle for communism the leading role of the working class is realized through the party.

What dictated this turning-point and for what purposes is it made?

It was dictated above all by the events in Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak revisionists, Dubcek's partisans and on behalf of the so-called socialism with human face, openly rose against the leading role of the communist party and were demanding the full restoration of the bourgeois system of many parties, the accelerated restoration of capitalism. One of their chieftains, U. Svitak, was noisily declaring that the working class could perform its mission even without the directing influence of the communist party, that this mission should not be mixed with the leading role of the communist party in as much as they are two entirely different things. To justify its aggression in Czechoslovakia the Moscow ruling clique was compelled to criticize these viewpoints as counterrevolutionary. But this criticism was a two-edged knife because the Czechoslovak revisionists were admitting in fact those same things which the Khrushchevian revisionists, too, were propagandizing, with the sole difference that they used to openly say what the Soviet revisionists were stating in a more camouflaged way.

The demagogic manoeuvre of the Soviet revisionists to give up the term party of the entire people get deceive but the naive. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is neither a party of the entire people nor a party of the working class, but a party of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. The change of terms by no means changes the reactionary and counterrevolutionary character of this party. They are only masks to conceal the Soviet Union's degeneration into a new bourgeois state and into an imperialist power. People judge of parties not by their names and declarations but by their deeds, by the policy they pursue, by the fact as to whose advantage they are.

The demagogical character of this manoeuvre comes to the fore also by the fact that the Khrushchevian revisionists, while having given up the term party of the whole people, continue to uphold the viewpoint of the state of the whole people. They say that the working class hegemony in socialism is embodied in the dictatorship of the proletariat only at a given stage, that the notion of the working class hegemony, in the historic meaning, is broader than the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, they say, while the working class role extends up to the complete building of the classless communist society, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a form of the realisation of this role, is preserved only during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and that with the victory of socialism, with the strengthening of the social-political and ideological unity of the working people it ceases to exist, it turns into a state of the entire people.

Our Party of Labour has long since refuted the revisionist concept of the state of the whole people as a thorough-going fraud and has defended with arguments the thesis that the dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable not only during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, but during the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism on a world-scale because during the whole of this

great historic period the class struggle, the struggle between the two roads of development – socialist and capitalist – continues. And as long as this struggle continues the leading role of the working class is indispensable to ensure the victory of the socialist road over the capitalist one, a role which cannot be understood without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In final account, the notions of socialist state, socialist democracy, dictatorship of the proletariat express the same thing – that the working class is in power, that it directs and leads the whole national life. «The dictatorship of the proletariat, – V. I. Lenin has written, – if this Latin scientific historic-philosophical expression is translated into a simple language, means the following:

Only a given class, precisely the city workers and in general the factory workers, the industrial workers, are in position to lead the entire mass of the working people and of the exploited in the struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of capital in the process of this overthrow itself, in the struggle to preserve and consolidate victory, in the work to create the new social order, the socialist order, in the whole struggle to completely liquidate the classes» (V.I. Lenin, Selected Works, Albanian edition, vol. II, page 520).

Every state, as long as it is such, cannot fail to have a class character, cannot fail to express the leading role of a given class. Otherwise it cannot be a state. The class in power uses the state precisely as a means to realize its hegemony in the whole national life. If the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the revisionists say, is only a form of the realization of the leading role of the working class in socialism, then the hegemony of what class does the present-day Soviet state express? They say that also the «state of the whole people» is led by the working class which under these conditions realized this role through the communist party. The revisionist logic here greatly stumbles because it is an anti-Marxist logic. It turns out that the state is above class, while its leadership is by the working class. It turns out likewise that the party leading the state and the policy it pursues are of the working class, whereas the state led by them is allegedly of the whole people. Seeking to avoid one contradiction, the revisionists create thereby other contradictions. You can't help it, such is the revisionist logic.

With such «theoretical» acrobatic feats the Khrushchevian revisionists are seeking to conceal what cannot be concealed, the complete negation on their part of the leading role of the working class in the struggle for socialism and communism. They need them in order to cloak the restoration of capitalism and the transition to social-imperialism with a more revolutionary phraseology, to throw dust in the eyes of the Soviet people and the world public opinion that the present-day Kremlin clique is allegedly making «corrections», that it is allegedly returning to healthy or at least healthier Marxist-Leninist positions. This whole demagoguery must be exposed and destroyed through to the end.

III

### THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AND THE WORKING CLASS

In contrast with and in struggle against all the preachings of the bourgeois ideologists and the modern revisionists, the Party of Labour of Albania has defended and continues to defend with determination the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint about the leading role of the working class, it has consistently carried it out in practice in all the stages of the revolution and socialist construction and is developing it further in compliance with the present-day conditions of the full construction of socialist society.

As far back as during the National Liberation Struggle the PLA refuted the views of those who, under the pretext of the absence of a developed working class, were negating the possibility of the creation of the party and of its leading role in revolution. The Party did not wait for the creation of a developed working class, but it strongly relied on the existing one, it created and strengthened its alliance with the peasantry which was constituting the overwhelming majority of the population, and by its work, struggle and correct line came out at the head of the people as the sole leading force of their liberation struggle.

In spite of the general anti-imperialist and democratic character of the revolution in the first stage, the Party insisted from the very beginning on its leadership by the working class, it did not allow the sharing of the leadership with other political organisations, such as «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti», it preserved its full independence on the National Liberation Front and this became the decisive factor that led the liberation struggle of the people to victory and opened the road of socialist development of our country.

Also after the country's liberation from the foreign fascist occupationists and traitors to the people, the Party carried out a determined struggle as well against the viewpoints of the Yugoslav revisionists, who were negating the leading role of the communist party and were preaching its merger in the democratic front, as against any attempt to share political power with other classes and parties at home. Although acting under the conditions of a backward agricultural country with a mainly peasant population, the Party has known how to defend and strictly carry out the leading role of a working class party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, without which, as V. I. Lenin has said, there is no dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the struggle for the further revolutionisation of the country's life which burst forth especially after the 5th Congress of the PLA in November 1966, the Party has forcefully stressed the need for the strengthening of the role of the working class as the class in power and the leading one. This is one of the most fundamental ideas without which this great revolutionary process, aimed at continually leading the revolution onward, at ensuring the victory of the socialist

road over the capitalist road, cannot be understood and realized.

On this question our Party proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the historic mission of the working class does not end with the building of the first stage of the communist society – socialism, but this mission will continue up to communism and it will end only when its complete and final victory will have been ensured. As a result, for as long a time will be preserved also the party of the working class and the latter's state power – the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without the rule of the working class, without its leadership, which is realized through the proletarian party and state, and without its control from above and below, not only no forward stride can be made on the road of communism, but any violation of them inevitably leads to the bourgeois degeneration of socialism.

Our party attaches a special importance, above all, to the establishment of correct relations between the cadres and the intelligentsia in general and the working class. The cadres, the intelligentsia have their own deserved place and play a great role in the socialist society. But the Party stresses that, without undervaluing their necessity and contribution, we should strongly rely on the working class as the class in power and the leading one, as the decisive force for the production of the material blessings and for the whole development of the society on the road of socialism and communism.



«Let us never forget this, – comrade Enver Hoxha teaches, – otherwise . . . we unwillingly create the erroneous opinion that these are created only by the intelligentsia, a «new class», as is occurring in the Soviet Union and in all the other countries where the revisionists are making law.» In these countries, comrade Enver Hoxha continues, «. . . there was created a broad stratum of cadres, an intelligentsia with dangerous tendencies and inclinations, a stratum with bourgeois features, issued from the working class and the cooperated peasantry, which has received education under the socialist regime, it has been trained in socialist schools and universities, but which has bureaucratized, it has degenerated, for the reason that it has been given an extraordinary importance, to such an extent that it managed to become the master, it took power in its hand and now it ignores the working class, collective farm peasantry, Marxism-Leninism which it falsifies in theory and practice.»

Drawing lessons from this sad experience, our Party has taken of late a series of measures of great principled importance for the strengthening of the ties of the cadres and intelligentsia with the working class and the working people in general, such as the curtailment of the personnel of administrative organs, the lowering of high pays, the rotation and participation of the cadres in directly productive work together with the workers and peasants, their placing under the direct control of the working class and the working masses, the determination of their position not only from above but also from below, the reorganisation of the school, etc.

The importance of the measures consists in that not only to

educate the cadres and the intelligentsia, but also place them under such conditions as to never consider themselves as leaders and commanders of the working class, never place themselves above the class and above the working people but consider themselves everywhere and always as servants of the working class, servants of the people and together they should manage, work and produce. This is one of the most effective roads to prepare right now the premises of the communist society, without class distinctions, where all the working people should directly work in production and at the same time they all be able to study, think, create, manage.

Of special importance to the increase of the working class role is the increase, in all the links of our life, of the leading, managing and organizing role of the working class party, and the improvement of the class makeup of its ranks, especially of its leading organs.

In the process of socialist construction the role of the party does not weaken, as the revisionists preach, but it keeps growing; the more complicated the tasks and the broader and more active the participation of the masses in this direction is the more this role grows. Our Party has criticized all those viewpoints which lead to the weakening of its role and which are propagandized by the revisionists under the labels of «party of the whole people» or «party of the masses», «illuminist party», «economic party», «unique party» or a «partner party, equal to the other parties and mass organisations».

One of the most important causes of the revisionist degeneration of many communist parties was the deproletarianization and intellectualization of their leading organs which fell into the hands of the bureaucrats, technocrats and bourgeoisified intellectuals. V. I. Lenin had long since warned against such a danger. He used to say that he would prefer the party committees had 8 workers for every 2 intellectuals. Bearing in mind these teachings as well as the conditions created our Party has taken in these recent years effective measures for the further improvement of the class makeup of its leading bodies, bringing into them more workers and working people who even after this continue to directly work in production. This orientation is valuable also to all the other organs of the state, economy and mass organisations.

Finally, of special importance are comrade Enver Hoxha's ideas about the direct control of the working class over everybody and everything. They are another new contribution to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the working class role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The new consists in the fact that the working class fulfills and must fulfill its controlling role not only from above, through the party and the proletarian state, but also from below, directly as a class. This is of vital importance.

The sad experience of the revisionist tragedy in the Soviet Union and elsewhere showed that the working class and the labouring masses not only at the beginning found themselves unprepared and were caught off base, but even later on they fell into passiveness and could not react by force against the revisionist betrayal. Our Party is striving never to allow such a situation. It is working to make the working class fully aware of its mission not only as the main productive force, but also as the main political force which must hold tightly and with a high conscience in its hands the banner of the revolution and socialism and smash out by its powerful fist any counterrevolutionary plot by whoever it may be framed up and from whatever side it may come.

From this viewpoint the direct control of the working people is one of the most effective roads for the defence and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the consolidation and the successful development of the whole of our socialist order. As pointed out by the 6th Congress of the PLA, the direct control of the working class is one of the most concrete expressions of the leading role of the working class and of proletarian democracy in action. It constitutes a sharp weapon in the struggle against bureaucratism and alien influences in social life and in the conscience of the working people, a very much effective form of proletarian education of the working class itself; it is a powerful encouragement to lead socialist construction onward. We see in the worker control one of the fundamental guarantees to avert the danger of revisionism and of turning back to capitalism».

The measures adopted by the PLA for the strengthening of the leading and controlling role of the working class are measures directed against bureaucratism, technocratism and intellectualism and are aimed at defending and carrying forward the revolution and the cause of socialism in Albania. They are by no means directed against the intelligentsia, as the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists slanderously state. The Party has always correctly appraised the place and role of the intelligentsia and has done a great work for its growth and education, creating a large army of intellectuals loyal to the working class and its revolutionary ideals. The whole thing is to most correctly understand the place and the role of the working class and the intelligentsia, not to put things upside down as the revisionists have put them.

The intelligentsia must deeply understand and accept with full conviction that in Albania it is the working class, the labouring people that are in power; that the intelligentsia issued from their fold must merge with them and serve them with loyalty and devotion. Not in intellectual haughtiness, in claims to leadership, in the idealization of its talents and abilities, but in the service to the working class and the people, in placing all its mental and physical abilities at the service of socialism, herein does the intelligentsia see and must see its mission in our socialist society. «The aim of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress, is to preserve the intelligentsia pure and revolutionary, to closely link it with the workers and peasants, to make it capable of facing by itself the alien bourgeois and revisionist influences, fighting, as until now, with determination for the great cause of the working class and the people!»





# REFORMIST AND REVISIONIST TRADE UNIONS IN THE SERVICE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

by FILIP KOTA

HISTORICALLY, THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORKING CLASS INTO TRADE UNIONS CAME ABOUT AS A RESULT OF THE DETERMINED AND CONSISTENT STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE TO WIN ITS RIGHTS. THIS CONSTITUTED A GREAT VICTORY FOR THE PROLETARIAT, IN AS MUCH AS THE WORKERS, FROM INDIVIDUALS, UNITED INTO AN IMPORTANT ORGANIZED FORCE IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THEIR COMMON ENEMY, THE BOURGEOISIE.

Of course, the bourgeoisie never reconciled itself to this reality. It resorted to all the means of violence, including the most savage ones, to stop this process. It was only due to the fierce class struggle of the proletariat, the growth of its consciousness, and its insistence on organizing itself, that the bourgeoisie was compelled at last to accept the trade unions as representatives of the working class, but without giving up for a single moment its aims and practices either to destroy or to weaken them, to deprive them of their militant spirit, and to render them harmless to its class interests. Precisely in such conditions, the bourgeoisie began to use, on an increasingly wider scale, along with its usual methods of violence, the methods of ideological diversion in the trade union movement, so as to introduce opportunist, reformist and pacifist views and practices in it, to render it harmless to its fundamental interests and to check and manipulate it, turning it into a tool which would help to conserve and strengthen its system of exploitation. The monopoly bourgeoisie has seen that the methods of diversion in the trade union movement are the most effective, particularly in the present conditions, when the general crisis of capitalism is deepening with every passing day, when the serious economic crises, the continuous inflation, the increase of unemployment, the rise in prices and other phenomena of this kind are shaking the rotten capitalist system to its foundations, the working class struggle is intensifying, and the class conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have greatly sharpened.

The sources and development of opportunism and reformism, as regressive and reactionary trends in the ranks of the working class, are defined by a series of socio-economic conditions, and they must be sought in the ideological pressure and influence of the bourgeoisie on a part of the proletariat, in those economic circumstances when capitalism develops in relative peace in the heterogeneous composition of the working class, etc. Such factors created opportunist views and reformist illusions in a part of the working class, and contributed thereby to the extension of opportunist and reformist trends which extended to the trade union movement too.

The reformist and revisionist trade union centres base their activity on class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the capitalist state, on the inviolability of the bourgeois order and private ownership and on diverting and separating the trade union movement from the general political movement of the proletariat for national and social liberation. The trade unions, in their opinion, must remain a narrow reformist social movement, fighting not to eliminate exploitation and the capitalist order, but to improve it, confining themselves only to immediate economic demands, within the framework of the legality of the bourgeois system. The reformist and revisionist trade union centres, by their platform and activity, have now become defenders of the political domination of the monopoly bourgeoisie, purveyors of the bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the workers, and a social basis for reformism and revisionism in the trade union movement.

## Defenders of the political domination of the monopoly bourgeoisie

This spirit has permeated the activity of the reformist trade union centres. The fundamental function of the most powerful trade union centre of the USA, the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) in accordance with its constitution, is the defence and preservation of the existing order, and its development and improvement. Class collaboration is sanctioned in the programme of the British Trade Unions as follows: "Consultations are held every day between the Trade Unions Congress and the Government departments, frequently at industrial level, about all the aspects of working life, as well as about other national and international problems". In Federal Germany, the trade unions at the grass-roots are replaced by a kind of internal commission on which workers and bosses are represented together. In Switzerland the reformist trade union chieftains have concluded an agreement with the employers, according to which the trade unions pledge to stop any direct struggle against the bourgeoisie. In Canada, Australia and in other capitalist countries the trade union chieftains agree to labour conflicts being settled by law, through the organs and institutions set up by the local bourgeois government, such as industrial courts, conciliation commissions, etc. The Italian revisionist trade union chieftains go even farther. "We want the same things the bourgeoisie wants, and we do not want to change the system", the secretary-general of the Italian General Confederation of Labour has stated.

Another important aspect of reformism and revisionism at trade union level is the limitation of the trade union movement only to narrow activity for the immediate economic demands of the working class, for demands in the area of pay increases, the reduction of working hours, social insurances, etc.

But by waging a purely economic struggle, as Lenin pointed out, the working class loses its political independence, and it becomes an appendage of other parties, bourgeois parties, betraying the great instruction: "The liberation of the workers must be the deed of the workers themselves". It is a fact that the reformists and revisionists, by placing above everything the struggle for some immediate economic demands only, purposely strive to hinder the growth of the consciousness of the working class up to the level of consciousness for political demands; thus they abandon and sidetrack the political struggle and actions of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, they deprive the trade union movement of its class character, and they divert it from the general political movement of the proletariat, from the struggle for the solution of the great political and social problems posed by the time.

In order to calm and deceive the working class and the trade union movement, and to divert them from the revolutionary struggle, the bourgeoisie itself is compelled to make some concessions to them, often temporary, or to realize some reforms, to an extent which does not affect its class interests. It wants the trade unions to be purely an instrument of the economic struggle of the working class, and remain a narrow organisation whose principal aim would be agreement from above with the employers on the conditions for the selling of labour power.

These reformist principles have been

adopted by the World Federation of Trade Unions too, whose chieftains are tools serving the Soviet modern revisionists. One of its documents reads: "To stress rather the trade union character of the WFTU, means to devote more attention to professional questions, claims, and activities justifying the existence of trade unions... This is a typical tradeunionist stand, and shows that the WFTU has fallen deeply into the position of reformist tradeunionism.

Certainly, the economic struggle, as one of the known forms of the class struggle, has its own place in the arsenal of the forms of struggle used by the proletariat in its clash with the bourgeoisie. But it has been and remains one of the lowest forms, which must be combined and increasingly more connected with various other actions and forms of the struggle for social and political rights, the starting point to lead without fail to battles of a higher level, to political, final battles, the seizure of political power, and liberation from oppression and wanton exploitation by the bourgeoisie.

Another thesis of the reformist and revisionist trade union bosses who serve the bourgeoisie is the demand that the trade unions keep aloof from ideology. Their preachings about the neutrality or autonomy of the trade union movement from the political party of the working class, etc., originate from this. This deception aims to divorce the working class and the trade union movement from their headquarters, the Marxist-Leninist proletarian political party, which is their guiding, leading, organizing and inspiring force.

The history of the labour and trade union movement bears witness to the fact that there can be no social movement deprived of ideology, that every social movement or organisation has its own political views by which its practical activity is guided. The same with the trade unions: they cannot be excluded from the policy and ideology of the class to which they belong and which they serve. The problem is, which ideology is to be dominant - the bourgeois, reformist, revisionist ideology, or the proletarian, revolutionary, class ideology.

The great noise which the reformist and revisionist chieftains make about so-called trade union "autonomy" is merely deception and demagoguery to divert the working class and the tradeunion movement from the revolutionary class struggle, confining the action of the working class and tradeunion movement to an area within bourgeois legality, without impairing the capitalist system. In fact, by acting in this way, they make a set political choice convenient to the bourgeoisie.

## Bearers of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class

The bourgeois ideologists, supported by the reformists and revisionists, are intensifying their efforts to get all their ideological baggage into the trade union movement, to propagate and spread their views and theories about the ideological moulding of the working class and the tradeunion movement, so as to deceive them and lead them astray. They are trying to show that radical changes are allegedly occurring today in the entire structure of the capitalist society, that capitalism has changed and is gradually losing its exploiting class character, that the working class is ceasing to be proletarian, that it is being bourgeoisified and integrated within capitalism, that the class differentiations between it and the capitalists continue to narrow etc. These theses were revived in the ranks of the tradeunion movement, particularly in these last 15-20 years, as a result of revisionist treachery.

The reformist and revisionist trade union chieftains are spreading in the tradeunion movement the theory of structural reforms, according to which the ratio of forces and the structure of capitalist

society allegedly offer the possibility of change within the framework of the bourgeois system, without a class struggle, through the legal roads of "nationalisation", "public control" over all investments, the "economic programme" of the country, "participation of workers in, administering and running" capitalist enterprises, etc. Thus, in their opinion, through one reform after another, capitalism is allegedly being transformed into socialism. "Action for reforms constitutes a strategy of struggle, and as a result, it changes the ratio of forces between classes", the theses of the 7th Congress of the Italian General Confederation of Labour say.

Reality shows quite the opposite - that reforms do not change the ratio of forces between classes in the capitalist system, that they are not decisive, and as such, they do not solve the fundamental problems of the working class. Therefore, a realistic and critical stand must be adopted towards them, exposing their thoroughly bourgeois content and essence in order to eliminate any illusions that may arise, and to deepen the class character of the labour movement.

Many new theories and theses are being propagated by bourgeois sociologists to show that, as a result of the great phenomena and changes in the world, the modern capitalist society is allegedly being "renovated", that classes are disappearing, that monopoly capitalism is allegedly losing its exploiting and oppressive character, that in the "consumer society" we are faced with a qualitative change of the social and economic position of the working class, "its gradual disappearance", its "deproletarianization" and "integration" in capitalism, etc. As a result of the technical and scientific revolution, the reformist and revisionist tradeunion chieftains declare, in the capitalist society, technical progress is gradually transformed into social progress, which allegedly brings about more material goods for the workers and creates new relations eliminating class differences.

All these bourgeois-revisionist preachings aim on the one hand to create the impression that the oppressive and exploitative nature of the capitalist society is changing, that class differences are disappearing, therefore there is no more need for class struggle, and on the other to negate the revolutionary character and the historical leading role of the working class, with a view to curbing and slackening its militant vigour and spirit. These theses are being increasingly more included in the practice of the reformist and revisionist trade unions, which demand that the role of the trade unions be one of collaboration with capitalism and the solution of contradictions through agreements from above, in the framework of the bourgeois constitution.

Another thesis of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class is that of social "partnership", loudly propagated by the reformist and revisionist chieftains of the trade unions, according to which all the conditions have allegedly now been created for the workers so that they can not only produce but also take a direct part in administering the capitalist enterprise, in planning production and distributing its income, i.e. the workers can administer and manage the capitalist enterprises jointly with the owners. A resolution by the reformist trade unions of West Germany says, "Today the demand for economic joint administration is the concern of all the trade unions in all the developed western countries. The reformist trade union chieftains even go so far as to say that the workers can place capital under their direct control, through shares they themselves buy.

This whole set of theories and theses to defend monopoly capitalism, in open conflict with working class interests, is being propagated and spread by the reformist and revisionist trade union centres which, by their activity, have become the bearers of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class.

## Social basis of reformist and revisionist trade union leadership

The working class aristocracy and trade union bureaucracy have always been a major social basis for spreading reformist and revisionist views in the trade union movement.

The bourgeoisie and the monopolies, as in the past so at present too, are striving to corrupt and win over the most wavering part of the working class, which

is mainly represented by qualified workers, by the so-called working class aristocracy, and transform it into an opportunist and reformist petty bourgeoisie which fears the revolution. As Stalin described it, this "... is the higher stratum of the working class, the most secure part of the proletariat, which tends to effect compromise with the bourgeoisie, and reconcile itself with and submit to the more powerful, aiming thereby to enter their ranks.

This worker "élite" gradually divorces itself from the mass of the working class, embarks on the road of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and differs little from the bourgeoisie with regard to its economic situation, concepts, and way of thinking. It becomes the exponent of the interests and world outlook of the bourgeoisie. According to the interests it defends, it counterposes itself to the working class, and strives to curb their revolutionary spirit, displaying this tendency in practice in all the various strikes and actions by the working class.

By supporting, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly, the antipopular measures and policy of the bourgeoisie, the worker aristocracy in fact plays the role of an agent of the bourgeoisie, as a fifth column and bearer of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class; without this aid the bourgeoisie would be unable to dominate the working class.

The stratum of the worker aristocracy strives to preserve its position and privileges at any cost, zealously serving the bourgeoisie. It is as much concerned to preserve capitalism as the bourgeoisie itself. Therefore, the bourgeoisie in fact sees to it that as its profits, increase it swells the ranks of the working class aristocracy, leading to marked differentiations of wages among the various strata of workers, technicians or employees, differences which in some cases amount to three or four times the usual wage.

In the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, with the transformation of socialist ownership into a special form of capitalist ownership, and with the restoration of capitalist relations of production, just as in the capitalist countries, a new privileged stratum was born and is developing from the ranks of the working class, directly linked with the sphere of production. Due to the economic treatment and privileges it enjoys, this new stratum has divorced itself from the working class in both the material and ideological aspects. This stratum, which includes workers of high categories, heads of sections and departments of production, etc., belongs to the new Soviet bourgeoisie, and is the main support of revisionism.

Besides the working class aristocracy, a powerful backing and another important

lever for the present monopoly bourgeoisie is provided by the tradeunion bureaucracy, which includes officials of central and grass-roots trade unions, workers of the press, educational and cultural institutions dependent on them, etc. It is this very bulk of tradeunion bureaucracy, steadily growing, out of the control of rank and file members, which effectively directs the entire internal and external activity of these trade unions.

The stratum of tradeunion bureaucracy, which has emerged from the midst of the working class, although speaking on the latter's behalf, has in fact betrayed the interests of the working class. It is conscious that it can preserve its privileged positions only if it is not opposed to the desires and demands of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is keen to see that, along with the growth of the working class, the numbers in the tradeunion worker bureaucracy increase, with a view to influencing and controlling the working class better. According to official data, certainly minimized, in the USA there is one paid trade union official for every 300 trade union members, while in Sweden the proportion is 1 to 1,700, and in Britain 1 to about 2,000 trade union members.

The trade union leaders gain very high incomes. The trade union and bourgeois press itself is compelled to admit that in many cases, the salaries of trade union leaders surpass those of the heads of capitalist corporations and trusts. Thus, for instance, the former president of the West German trade unions, Ludwig Rosenberg, received about 400,000 marks annually; Tonny Boyle, former president of the United Mine workers Union in the USA, received 50,000 dollars a year. Tradeunionism in Western Europe and the USA has become "big business", for its leaders. The example of this business tradeunionism are many. "The theory of business trade unionism, J. Daner, writes, "creates incredible corruption in the personal life of the main leaders. The leaders of the trade unions live like lords, with salaries amounting to 30,000-75,000 dollars a year. Luxurious cars are part of their personal property. This way of living incites greed further."

Besides the high salaries they receive from the trade unions they direct, many trade union officials at the same time get large incomes from important functions they perform in the bourgeois state, as congressmen, members of parliament, directors or functionaries of such institutions as pensions funds, social insurances funds, working men's banks, etc. This is the reason why a fierce struggle for power takes place among trade union leaders to manage the trade union organizations. They resort to every means in order to prolong their stay in the trade union leadership - from deception and threats to intrigues and murders. As a result of an enquiry conducted by a senate commission in the USA, though it was very limited, many cases of corruption and

crime came to light. It says, "methods such as crime and violence in all their forms, deception, blackmail, falsification of credentials and general corruption, have been considered useful means of seizing power by some local sections of the trade unions". An eloquent example in this respect was the assassination, in December 1968, of the leader of the United Mine workers Union in the USA, J. Jablonsky and his family. In the USA, we are faced in fact with a trade union Mafia, the strings of which lead to the CIA.

Trade Union bureaucracy does not act only within the trade unions. It has also emerged from them, becoming increasingly the zealous accomplice and a tool of the capitalist state and monopolies. This trade union stratum takes an active part in all the organs set up by the capitalist state and the employers. Thus, in capitalist countries there is an interweaving of the function of trade union leaders and that of state leader. Frequently, trade union leaders are entrusted with important functions in the state apparatus, or in capitalist companies or trusts. Even when the trade union leaders leave their trade union functions, they are given high posts in the State administration or the monopolies. Thus, for example, Arthur Goldberg, former representative of the AFL-CIO in Indonesia, was appointed as permanent representative of the USA to the United Nations Organisation. When Walter Citrine resigned as general secretary of the British Trade Unions Congress, he became a member of the National Coal Board, and later on director of the Electricity Council. In capitalist countries, it is very easy for the opportunist trade union leaders to move from trade union posts to state or monopoly posts, or vice versa. In these conditions it is difficult to distinguish between the trade union boss, the businessman and the state official.

A bureaucratic caste has also been created in the ranks of the revisionist trade unions in the capitalist countries, today enjoying many privileges and rights which have been legalized. "The Workers Constitution" in Italy, approved in June 1970, gives the trade-union bosses the right not to be dismissed and transferred from work except with the permission of their tradeunion centres. They enjoy the right to paid leave, absence from work for tradeunion meetings, etc. According to the above mentioned constitution, the freedom and organization of the working class are restrained. This right remains legally a monopoly of the reformist, revisionist and fascist trade union centres.

With the restoration of capitalist relations of production in the Soviet Union and in other revisionist countries, the new bourgeoisie which has been created includes the trade union officials, who constitute a privileged and bureaucratized "élite". The swollen apparatus of the trade unions in these countries has replaced lively trade union social work with the

limited and closed work of the bureaucratic trade union apparatus, which decides on everything.

But the working class aristocracy and trade union bureaucracy should in no way be identified with the working class, because they constitute a very small section, and opposing interests and contradictions exist between them and the working class; these are often manifested in a practical way, during various strikes and actions.

It is a fact that the trade union bosses of a reformist or revisionist type, and their entire apparatus in capitalist countries, have no essential differences of principle between them, only tactical, short-term differences. They have all embraced the line of capitulation and class collaboration with the monopoly bourgeoisie, and have transformed themselves into a fire brigade aiming to curb the revolutionary actions of the working class. They have not only adapted their tradeunion activity to the bourgeois order, but have also become its collaborators and partners, an integral part of its structure, the spokesmen of big monopolies, of the capitalist state, which often subsidizes them.

The reformist and revisionist trends, as a product of the pressure of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class and trade union movement, serve the bourgeoisie directly, because they aim to perpetuate capitalist enslavement of the working class by disarming it politically and ideologically. Therefore, uncompromising struggle against these trends in the trade union movement constitutes an urgent, major task.

Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the PLA that "... the awakening of the working class, and its coming to the forefront of the revolutionary struggle, cannot be achieved without waging a determined struggle also in the heart of the reformist trade unions themselves against the line and stands of their bourgeois bosses, so as to expose and isolate them from the masses of the workers". And in fact life is confirming that, as a result of the determined struggle being waged by the working class in the ranks of the reformist and revisionist trade unions, a deep crisis is observable in these trade unions and a large gap separates the workers and the tradeunion bosses who are being exposed by the rank-and-file members demanding essential changes.

The working class itself, led by the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, liberated from the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and various petty-bourgeois trends, and armed with its own scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism, through action and struggle, will blaze new trails to promote the revolutionary struggle, smash the exploiting capitalist system, seize political power, and construct the new socialist and communist society.

**★ The reformist and revisionist trends, as a product of the pressure of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class and the trade union movement, serve the bourgeoisie directly, because they aim to perpetuate capitalist enslavement of the working class by disarming it politically and ideologically ★★★★★**

## FOR YOUR REFERENCE, FROM PEKING REVIEW

### Economic Base and Superstructure

by Hung Ou

THE economic base refers to the economic system at a certain stage of social development, that is, the sum total of the relations of production. The superstructure embraces social views on politics, law, philosophy, art, religion, etc., and the political and legislative and judicial bodies and systems corresponding to these views.

The contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base is one of the basic contradictions in a society. It promotes the development and change of society. The relationship between the superstructure and the economic base is one of dialectical unity. The economic base generally plays the principal and decisive role. The superstructure is founded on the economic base and its character decided by that of the latter.

For instance, the economic base in capitalist society is the capitalist relations of production, and the superstructure built on this base is the state system of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology. The decisive role of the economic base can also be seen in the fact that "with the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed." (Karl Marx: *Preface to "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy."*)

But the superstructure does not merely conform to the economic base passively. It is relatively independent and has an immense reaction on the economic base. An advanced superstructure is established to meet the needs of the growth of an advanced economic base. It promotes the formation and consolidation of its own base, destroys the old economic base and becomes the progressive forces propelling the growth of productive forces. A decadent superstructure protects the old economic base and hampers the birth and growth of the new economic base. Following the transformation of the old economic base, the old superstructure, especially old ideology, does not change immediately and will exist

for quite a long period of time. It will play the reactionary role of undermining the new economic base and restoring the old one and become the reactionary forces that impede the growth of productive forces. The fact that the superstructure exercises the decisive influence on the economic base under certain conditions is clearly seen during the period of socialist revolution. This is because the socialist economic base cannot grow spontaneously out of the old society and can only be formed and grow after the proletariat has seized political power.

In China, socialist transformation has in the main been completed with respect to the system of ownership and socialist relations of production have been established. But the economic base is not yet solid and bourgeois right, which has not yet been entirely abolished in the system of ownership, is still prevalent to a serious extent in relations between people and holds a dominant position in distribution. Therefore, socialist revolution must be continued with regard to the economic base.

In socialist society, the contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base is still one of the basic social contradictions. There is harmony as well

as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base. Consisting of the state system and laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist ideology guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, China's superstructure "plays a positive role in facilitating the victory of socialist transformation and the establishment of the socialist organization of labour; it is suited to the socialist economic base, that is, to socialist relations of production." (Mao Tsetung: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) But because of survivals of the old ideology, the existence of the conception of bourgeois right and defects in certain links in our state institutions, some aspects in the various spheres of the superstructure are in fact still controlled by the bourgeoisie which is predominant there; some are being transformed but the results are not yet consolidated, and old ideas and the old force of habit are trying obstinately to hold back the growth of socialist new things. All this stands in contradiction to the socialist economic base.

During the entire historical period of socialism, the struggle in the various spheres of the superstructure by Marxism to defeat revisionism and by the proletariat to triumph over the bourgeoisie is protracted and tortuous and even very acute at times. Therefore, the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, carry out socialist revolution well in the realm of the superstructure and develop socialist new-born things and consolidate the socialist economic base.

PEKING REVIEW #33, August 15, 1975, p7



## Productive Forces and Relations of Production

by Shih Ta

**T**HE productive forces consist of the following three elements: 1) labourers who possess certain production experience and labour skill; 2) means of labour, the first being instruments of production; 3) objects of labour. Of the three, labourers are the primary as well as the decisive factor. This is because only the labouring masses can create, improve and use the instruments of production. As Lenin pointed out at the First All-Russia Congress on Adult Education: "The primary productive force of human society as a whole, is the workers, the working people."

The relations of production refer to the relations established among people in the process of social production of material goods. They have three aspects: 1) The form of ownership of the means of production; 2) positions of different social groups in production and their mutual relations determined by the form of ownership of the means of production; 3) the form of distribution of products which depends entirely on the above two. Of the three, ownership of the means of production is decisive and is the base of the relations of production. Ownership of the means of production determines mutual relations between people and the form of distribution. For example: In capitalist society, the capitalists own the means of production while the workers have nothing but their labour power for sale. In production, the capitalists hold a dominating, exploiting and controlling position while the workers are in an enslaved, exploited and oppressed position. Because the capitalists have the means of production in their hands and the workers are in a powerless state, the products of labour inevitably go to the capitalists. The workers can only get wages to maintain a bare existence.

Although ownership of the means of production plays a decisive role in the relations of production, mutual relations between people and the form of distribution also react upon the system of ownership and play the decisive role under certain conditions.

The productive forces and the relations of production are the two aspects of one dialectical unity. The former cannot exist in the absence of the relations of production; at the same time it is the basis on which certain relations of production exist and develop. The productive forces generally play the principal and decisive role because they are the most revolutionary and active factor. In the wake of the development and changes of the productive forces, the relations of production are sure to develop and change sooner or later. But the relations of production do not merely correspond to the demands of the development of the productive forces in a passive way. They react upon the productive forces, promote or hinder their development and play the decisive role under certain conditions. When the relations of production obstruct and shackle the development of productive forces, this will give rise to changes in the relations of production and to violent revolution which will overthrow the old social system and establish new relations of production conforming to the further development of the productive forces. The emergence of new relations of production, on the other hand, promotes the development of productive forces.

Till today, human society has seen five kinds of relations of production, namely, those of primitive communal system, slave system, feudal system, capitalist system and socialist system.

In China, socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces which progress at a much quicker pace than that in the old society. But these relations of production are still far from perfect, and this imperfection is in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. In our country, bourgeois right, which has not yet been entirely abolished in the system of ownership, is still prevalent to a serious extent in relations between people and holds a dominant position in distribution. All this influences the development of the productive forces. Therefore, we must pay attention to solving problems in the relations of production, limit bourgeois right, accelerate the growth of productive forces, make further efforts to consolidate and perfect socialist ownership, and create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.

PEKING REVIEW #33, August 15, 1975, p6

## What Is Commodity Production?

by Nan Ching

**A**LL products of labour made for exchange are called commodities. Lenin said: "A commodity is, in the first place, a thing that satisfies a human want; in the second place, it is a thing that can be exchanged for another thing." A commodity has two properties: use-value and value. To become a commodity, a thing should first of all possess use-value. For instance, clothes are used for warmth and a machine tool is used in production. The fact that two different commodities can be exchanged is because there is something in common between them. Every commodity item is created by human labour and is the crystallization of human labour without any distinction. A certain amount of human labour is embodied in every kind of commodity. The value of a commodity is the human labour in general congealed in it. Therefore, what is common to all commodities is value. The magnitude of the value in a commodity is determined by the amount of labour-time socially necessary for producing it. In exchanging commodities according to value, people actually exchange their own labour. This is why Marx stressed that a commodity is not just a material thing, but a definite social relation between people concealed beneath a material wrapping.

Production for exchange in the market is commodity production. At the beginning of commodity exchange, people bartered one product for another. Later in the long process of the development of commodity exchange, a particular commodity — money — was separated from other commodities spontaneously.

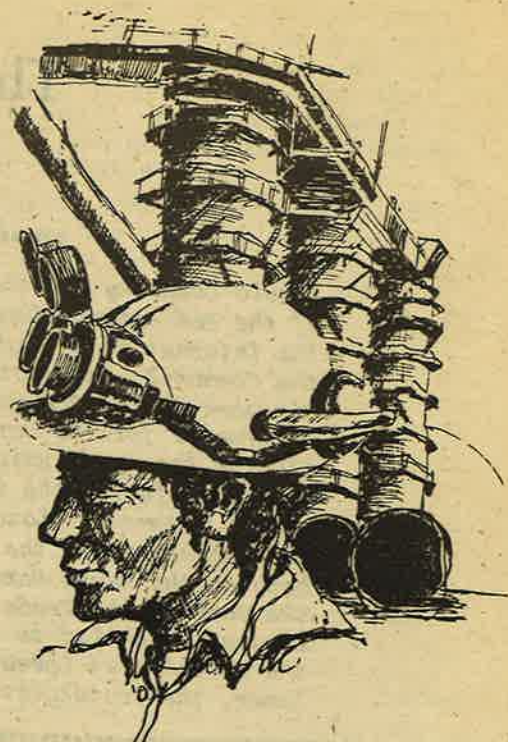
Commodity production exists within a certain historical span. It is bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production. There was no commodity production in the initial stage of primitive society. In the wake of the development of social productive forces, there emerged social division of labour and conditions for commodity exchange; only then did private ownership and commodity production make their appearance. In the future communist society, the commodity system will perish. Historically, there are three forms of commodity production: simple commodity production, the capitalist mode of commodity production and the socialist type of commodity production.

Simple commodity production was based on individual private ownership of the means of production and on individual labour, such as individual handicrafts and farming. This was the historical forerunner of capitalist production. Production conditions for each simple commodity production were different, and the commodity also differed. But the same kind of commodity could be sold only at the same price in the market. This gave rise to polarization, i.e., a small number of people could possess a large quantity of commodities and money which were turned into capital, while a great number of people went bankrupt and had to sell their labour power. This polarization of the simple commodity producers at the end of feudal society provided the conditions for the emergence of capitalist relations of production.

The capitalist mode of commodity production is based on the capitalists possessing the means of production and exploiting wage labour to get surplus-value. Capitalist production is the highest stage of the development of commodity production. Under it, not only do the general products of labour take the form of commodities, even labour power becomes a commodity. This kind of commodity production reveals the economic relations between the exploiters who are the capitalists and the exploited who are the workers. Its development makes it possible for the capitalists to grab and amass great riches while the working class becomes poorer day by day.

Commodity production and commodity exchange still exist in socialist society, and a commodity system is still practised. This is mainly because two kinds of socialist ownership, namely, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, exist side by side. No unpaid allocation of products between different ownerships of the public economy can be practised. Their economic relations can only be commodity exchange, and hence commodity production. State distribution of consumer goods among workers and staff also utilizes the form of commodity exchange through money. However, the socialist type of commodity production differs from the capitalist type. This is manifested chiefly by the fact that there no longer is the economic relation of exploitation of workers by the capitalists, anarchism in production has been eliminated and the scope of commodity exchange has been reduced. Yet it must be noted that bourgeois right unavoidably exists in distribution and exchange in socialist society. The principle of exchange of equal values is still carried out in commodity exchange. If bourgeois right in distribution and exchange is developed and extended at will, capitalist ideas of amassing fortunes and craving for profits will spread unchecked; such phenomena as turning public property into private property, graft and corruption, theft and bribery, and speculation will arise, and there will be a change in the nature of the system of ownership in certain departments and units which follow the revisionist line. The inevitable result will be polarization, i.e., a small number of people will acquire an increasing quantity of commodities and money and convert them into capital. These people will turn out to be new bourgeois elements. The labouring people, on the other hand, once again will become oppressed and exploited wage-slaves. Therefore, bourgeois right as regards distribution and exchange has to be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat and conditions for finally eliminating the commodity system must gradually be created.

PEKING REVIEW #22, May 30, 1975, p11



# The Comintern and the Struggle for the Masses

A. Lozovsky

*Arnold Lozovsky was the General Secretary of the Red International of Trade Unions, the international trade union section of the Communist International. Throughout his work in the Comintern, Lozovsky waged a struggle for the Marxist-Leninist position on the trade unions, and all other questions facing the international communist movement. Lozovsky pointed out the weaknesses in the work of the CPUSA, both on the Negro National question and the work of the Trade Union Educational League, which led to the expulsion of the revisionist Lovestone faction and, later, the Trotskyist Cannon faction.*

*Author of many articles and resolutions for the Communist International, Lozovsky's most important works are; THE WORLD'S TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, put out by the Trade Union Educational League in 1924 and; MARX AND THE TRADE UNIONS, published by International Publishers in 1942, (which is still available in Spanish). While difficult to obtain, both should be studied to aid in developing a Marxist-Leninist position on work in the trade unions.*

## THE POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS-AFTER THE WAR

The very conception of the masses has changed of recent years. What was regarded as the mass during the period of parliamentarism and trade unionism has now been transformed into an upper group. Millions and dozens of millions who have lived outside all political life are now being transformed into a revolutionary mass. War has put them all on their feet, aroused the political attention of the most backward sections, has awakened in them illusions and hopes, and has deluded them.—("Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Comintern.") One must learn to approach the masses with especial patience and caution, in order to know how to understand their peculiarities, the special features of the psychology of each stratum, trade, etc. of that mass.—("Theses on the Basic Tasks of the Second Congress of the Comintern.")

THE Comintern was founded in March, 1919, when there was a considerable revolutionary ferment among the masses, but at a time when there was still no C.P. in the great majority of capitalist countries. Consequently the Comintern could not from the first moment of its existence raise the question of how to lead the dissatisfaction of the masses and to transform the elemental ferment into conscious hatred of the capitalist system. Even in the preparatory period it was clear to the organisers of the Comintern, and to Lenin first and foremost, that it would be possible to transform the Comintern into a decisive force only to the extent that it was successful in getting political and organisational control of the masses. And so the Communist-International, which grew out of the objective needs of the international workers' movement, being a product of war and revolution, set itself the task of becoming the organiser and leader of the masses, in order to carry through the struggle of the proletariat for power.

At the beginning the Comintern had behind it an enormous force in the form of the October revolution, but beyond the frontiers of Russia, in the capitalist States, it was followed by only small groups of class conscious workers. The basic task consisted in extending the front of the October revolution, in other words, in continuing the line through all capitalist countries, and that was possible only by way of winning the masses to the side of the social revolution. The objective situation was revolutionary. Capitalist society was ripe for its overthrow, but the subjective factor was non-existent, there was no Communist Party, the worker masses were still tied to the tails of the social-democrats. And so from the very first day of its inception the Comintern set itself the task of winning the masses, i.e., set itself the problem of emancipating the vast masses from bourgeois social-democratic ideology. But it is not possible to win the masses by miracles; it was necessary to get a clear understanding of the trend of development of the workers' movement, to take a sound historical course. Had Bolshevism begun by asking only on which side at that moment was the majority of the international proletariat, the Comintern could not have been born. But the organiser of the Comintern saw far ahead, he started not on the basis of the formal majority, but of the transient nature of the bourgeois social-democratic influence on the proletarian masses, and the deeper class necessities and interests of the international proletariat. Hence arose the slogan at the beginning of the war: "Against the current," a slogan directed against the delusions of the majority in the interests of that majority.

What was the situation of the working class immediately after the end of the war? The masses had been reduced to despair by the long protracted war. Risings in Germany, Austria, Hungary, mass movements in Britain and France, gigantic strikes in the United States—all these reflected the extreme dissatisfaction of the masses. They were seeking a way out from the deadlock created by the war, but they rarely went beyond the bounds marked out by the social-democratic party. Although the mass movement had not been confined within the framework of international reformism, it none the less had an extremely mournful intellectual and political nature, it could not achieve the aims and tasks set by the course of the class struggle. The unconscious historical process, which had flung vast masses into the streets, did not find conscious expression. The little Communist groups and parties were intellectually, politically and organisationally extremely weak, and hence followed the defeat of all the mass movements during the period directly after the war. These elemental movements showed that a profound discontent ruled among the masses, but that the influence of the social-democratic parties and the reformist trade unions was still strong within them, that they were clinging to traditional organisations, taking no account of the fact that the organisations which they had created had been transformed from organs of struggle against the capitalist system into organs of conservation, consolidation and revival of capitalist society.

The first wave of the workers' movement was guided by the social-democrats and trade unions into legal channels. Even those revolutionary organisations which had developed during the revolutionary period (factory committees and soviets) were transformed by social-democracy into auxiliary organs of their bourgeois policies; and wherever the workers' movement refused to be confined within the framework of bourgeois legality (Hungary and Bavaria), wherever the working class tried to take power into its own hands, those attempts, owing to the political and organisational weakness of the Communist Parties, ended in the bloody suppression of the advance guard of the working class.

## THE FIRST TASK OF THE COMINTERN

All these factors set before the organisers of the Comintern, as the imperative task of the day, the problem of the struggle for the masses. All the congresses of the Communist International, from the first to the sixth inclusive, all the decisions of the directing organs of the Comintern in relation to individual parties, had in mind the question how to win the masses from the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats, and to draw them to the side of international Communism. Ten years of the Comintern—ten years of stubborn and ruthless struggle for the masses, struggle for the majority of the working class.

In order to wage a successful war against the bourgeoisie it is necessary to have a strong political consciousness among the masses and a strong revolutionary Communist organisation—for the Bolshevik this needs no demonstration. Every rank and file Communist realises full well that it is necessary to win the masses. But how is it to be achieved? How are we to set about it? What are the links to lay hold upon? What are the keys to the situation, which have to be seized at the

right moment? What are the questions on which the attention of the masses must be concentrated? These are the issues which chiefly absorbed the attention of the Communist International, and to which it has given concrete answers over the last ten years.

These answers have followed two lines: the political line and the organisational line. In order to win the masses it is necessary to pursue a sound policy. That would appear to be as elementary as ABC., but it ceases to be elementary when we set ourselves the question of what constitutes a sound policy. The Comintern cannot restrict itself to an abstract answer to this question, it cannot confine itself to a formula, such as: a sound policy is one which assembles the masses around the Communist Party, raises their class consciousness, strengthens revolutionary mass organisations and conduces to the success of the struggle waged by the working class against the bourgeoisie. If such general formulae were required of the Comintern it would not be difficult to supply them, but the Comintern could not rest satisfied with formulae. It had not merely to decide what constitutes a sound Bolshevik policy, but to define that policy both in the international sphere and for every separate country. And here the difficulties began. These difficulties arose out of the fact that it was necessary to apply the principles of Bolshevik tactics to a concrete situation. It was necessary to draw from the international experience of revolutionary class struggle the conclusion that was applicable to a particular country in a definite situation as it arose. Bolshevism is not a dogma, not an abstract formula. If that were so, it would be very easy to learn that formula once and for all, and so become a Bolshevik. No, it is no formula, which has only to be learnt by heart and repeated, but a method of revolutionary action. The extremely varied conditions of the class struggle, the various inter-relationships of forces between classes within the working class, the varying ideological and political attitude of the working masses, the degree of disintegration of capitalism, etc.—all have to be taken into account in determining Communist tactics for the given country and in the given concrete situation. The opportunists draw from this the conclusion that it is necessary to have as many varieties of Communism as there are countries. That, of course, is untrue, for Communism is one and indivisible. But that the methods of approach to the masses vary according to circumstances, that the masses are not to be won with a bare formula, does not admit of the least doubt.

In order intelligently to apply revolutionary tactics it was necessary first and foremost to clear the ground of any kind of social-democratic traditions, ideological and organisational survivals, which hampered not only the working masses but their vanguard, the Communist Party, also.

To clear the ground meant first to determine what was the epoch through which we were passing, and what the role of the working class in that epoch. It was on this very question that the parting of the ways arose between Communism and social-democracy, it was on this very question that the influence of the social-democrats and bourgeoisie with the working masses was strongest. "Nothing unusual has happened. War is an inevitable convulsion, but with the collaboration of all classes, it will be possible swiftly to heal the wounds inflicted by the war"—such was the view of social-democracy. First and foremost it was necessary to strike a blow at this philo-

sophy, which conjured up before the working class the prospect of the everlasting existence of capitalist society, and transformed the working class into the defender of capitalism. The epoch of peaceful reforms or the epoch of the social revolution, the struggle for democracy or the struggle for dictatorship, peaceful or violent conquest of power, the expropriation of the expropriators or nationalisation by way of compensation, bourgeois democracy or the Soviet system, etc.—these were the questions which the very course of the struggle was raising. These questions led to a differentiation in the masses, they compelled the workers to self-determination, for experience contradicted all the social-democratic teaching, all the social-democratic "philosophy of history."

But this political setting of the question affected only part of the workers. The conscious, revolutionary elements had begun to group themselves around the Communist groups and organisations, transforming them into the advance-guard of the working class of each country. But that was not enough. The problem of the masses, which had been raised on the day of the founding of the Comintern, had not been solved during the first years of the Comintern's existence, and had not been solved because a considerable mass of the workers followed social-democracy even during that period of storm and pressure. It was clear that when the wave broke and the movement began to ebb the influence of the social-democrats was bound to strengthen. Thus the problem of the masses confronted the Comintern on the eve of the third congress, which in this sense is one of the most important congresses held by the Comintern.

#### THE THIRD CONGRESS

The Third Congress realised (see the theses "On the world situation and our tasks") that "at the present time the open revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power is passing through a backwater, a slowing up in tempo, on a world scale. But from its very nature the revolutionary advance after the war could not be expected to develop along an unbroken rising line, in so far as it did not lead at once to victory. Political development also has its cycles, its rises and falls. The enemy does not remain passive, he struggles. If the proletarian advance is not crowned with success the bourgeoisie passes to the counter-attack at the first opportunity."

Thus the Third Congress recognised a slowing up in the tempo of the revolutionary struggle about the middle of 1921. The frontal attack was repulsed, the bourgeoisie had passed to the counter-attack. What were the reasons for the failure of the first revolutionary wave? We have spoken above of those reasons: there was no leader, no standard-bearer, no organiser of the struggle—there were no mass Communist Parties.

And what conclusion did the Third Congress come to on this? Its conclusion consisted in realising that no matter how heroic the struggle of small groups, that struggle is destined to failure if the Communist Parties have not succeeded in carrying the vast masses into the struggle behind them. The second conclusion consisted in the realisation that the Communist Party can carry the masses behind it only provided it frees itself of sectarianism and opportunist errors. In other words, the first basic conclusion from the new situation was drawn by the Comintern in the form of the slogan: "Neither sectarianism, nor putschism, nor opportunism." But what does this mean? It means that the active minority cannot and ought not to substitute themselves for the masses, that it is impossible to set up a theory of attack, as was done in Germany in 1921, and think that attack is always advantageous to the working class, irrespective of the situation, the inter-relationship of forces, and the conditions of struggle.

#### THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

What did the theory of the offensive involve in Germany in 1921? It was somewhat similar to Social-Revolutionary terrorism, which consisted in thinking that every terrorist act would arouse the masses for struggle. The offensive, i.e., the attack of an active minority, was to play the same role as terrorist acts in the case of the S.R.'s. The Comintern could not accept that point of view, for it was contrary to the experience of the international class struggle, contrary to the experience of Bolshevism. That theory of severance from the masses, the theory of the heroic minority, which was to make the revolution on behalf of the masses, is a theory very close to the anarcho-syndicalist conception of the inter-relationships between the active minority and the working class, a theory which has nothing whatever in common with

the Bolshevist setting of the problem: "party and class."

But the rejection of the syndicalist setting of the problem of active minorities did not in the least mean a continual adaptation to the masses, did not connote the theory and practice of a lagging between the advance-guard and the army. The Party is to be the advance-guard in order to go ahead of the masses, and not to hang on to their tail. The whole art of Bolshevist tactics consists in being continually in the advance-guard, not severed from the basic masses of the proletariat, not getting too far ahead, but certainly not hanging on to their tail. It consists in feeling the pulse of the vast masses, always reflecting the militant attitude of the masses, putting up resistance to the backward elements of their own class. But in order to fulfil this role of militant advance-guard, it is necessary to put our own ranks in order, and to expel from the ranks of the Party all the elements which reflect that backwardness, which have not outlived social-democratic traditions, which in the ranks of the Party reflect the past, and not the future of the working class. In other words, it is necessary to eradicate opportunism.

#### BOLSHEVIK TACTICS

Here the question may be asked: what is the difference between the syndicalist theory of an active minority and the Bolshevist view of the role of the Communist Parties? Is the Party not an advanced minority, then? Is the Party not the most active section of the working class? And why did the Comintern act sharply and categorically against the anarcho-syndicalist theory of an active minority from the very first day of its existence? There is not the least doubt that the Communist Party is an active minority, which under capitalism, as the resolution of the Second Comintern Congress also affirms, "as a rule will have only a minority of workers in its organised ranks." But the centre of our disagreement with the anarcho-syndicalists consists in the question of what should be the tactics of that active minority, whether that active minority can be a substitute for the struggle of the masses. Can it always, under any conditions, begin a struggle without taking the condition of the masses into account? Should the active minority run far ahead, severing itself from the main army, in the hope that the masses "may possibly" support it? What was the view of the anarcho-syndicalists on strikes, for instance? "Every strike is a blessing. Our task is to declare a strike, and it is the workers' job to adhere to the strike we have declared." The Communists have never acted on that principle and cannot act on it. We can neither declare a strike nor organise a rising on the basis of a peradventure. In all such cases we must start from the question of the position of our army; is there close contact between the advance-guard and the army, will the army follow the advance-guard, or turn aside, or remain passive? Consequently the disagreement between the anarcho-syndicalists and the Communists lies in their attitude to the masses. The anarcho-syndicalists adopt a haughty attitude towards the worker "plebeians" and their tactics are built on the principle of the "hero and the crowd." There are heroic personalities and an unconscious mass, on whose behalf the "hero" has to struggle. The Communists plan their tactics on a mass basis. The Communist Party is the most class-conscious, most advanced section of the working class. It is always with the masses and only with the masses. The degree of Bolshevisation of the Communist Party is measured not so much by the number of members it contains, as by its ability to head a mass movement, to be always ahead, without severing itself from the basic mass of the proletariat.

\* \* \* \* \*

This attitude of the Comintern to the mass movement serves as an object of attack on the part of the enemies of Bolshevism. The anarchists and social-democrats accuse the Communists of being entangled in the tail of the masses, of conniving at their "low instincts" and backward moods, of exploiting the backwardness and ignorance of the masses. These accusations still fall from the lips of social-democrats at the present time. Fortunately the October revolution has no need of the recognition of the social-democrats, and so can ignore the repeated attempts to explain October as the result of an "elemental rising." What did Lenin write in answer to that kind of accusation? When one of the leaders of the German independent social-democratic party, Daümig, attacked the Communists on this ground, Lenin wrote:

"That the Communists connive at elementalism is a lie on the part of Mr. Daümig, exactly the same kind of lie as that

which we have heard so many times from the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries. The Communists do not connive at elementalism, they do not stand for disconnected explosions. The Communists teach us organised, purposeful, vigorous, timely, mature attack. The philistine slanders of Messrs. Daümig, Kautsky and Company cannot disprove that fact.

"But the philistines are unable to understand that the Communists consider, and quite rightly consider, it their duty to be with the struggling masses of the oppressed, and not with the heroes of suburbia, who stand aside and wait cowardly upon the event. When the masses struggle, errors in the struggle are inevitable. The Communists, seeing those errors, explaining them to the masses, obtaining a correction of the errors, unswervingly insisting on the advantage of conscious action over elementalism, remain with the masses. It is better to be with the struggling masses, who in the course of the struggle gradually emancipate themselves from their errors, than with the intelligentsia, the philistines, the Kautskyites, who stand on one side awaiting the 'complete victory.' That is a truth which the Daümigs are not given to understand." (From the article "The Heroes of the Berne International," Vol. XVI., p. 233.)

Here with all Lenin's peculiar clarity is given the Communists' attitude on this central question of Bolshevist tactics. In order to win the masses it is necessary always to be with the masses. So Lenin declared, and so he willed to the Communist International.

#### TO THE MASSES

Inasmuch as in the middle of 1921 the Comintern recognised a slowing up in the tempo of the revolution and a renewal of attack on the part of the bourgeoisie, it was necessary to raise the question of new methods of winning the masses. In 1919 and 1920, when the masses were in a ferment, there was the hope that they would come to Communism in the process of open attacks. But the force of inertia of the gigantic social-democratic machine, the strength of the pressure of the reformists proved to be so great that only a minority followed the Communists. The great majority of the workers remained in intellectual bondage to the social-democrats. It was necessary to find a road to the masses, it was necessary to confront all the Communist Parties with the question of adopting new tactics, of pressing from a frontal attack to a prolonged siege, to flanking movements, from the conquest of the masses by way of open attacks to their conquest by way of everyday, detailed, undermining activity. How was this to be done? Inasmuch as the bourgeoisie had begun to strike at the elementary conquests of the masses, it was quite natural to bring to the front the struggle for everyday demands, and on the basis of defence to forge a strong proletarian army, and then to pass from defence to attack. Hence the sharp volte-face of the Third Congress under the slogan of "To the masses!" The Third Congress not only gave the slogan of "To the masses!" but also said how it was to be achieved. The Communists must learn to head the daily struggles of the proletariat, for those daily struggles have a profound political character. The Third Congress of the Comintern expressed this in the following clear formula:

"The revolutionary essence of the present period consists in the fact that the most modest demands of the masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society, and that thus the struggle for those demands will grow into the struggle for Communism."

From this it is clear that the basic task is to connect the struggle for sectional demands with the ultimate end. But how was that to be achieved? The Third Congress provided an answer on this point, an answer which has preserved all its importance down to the present time. First and foremost the Third Congress set the problem of the independent leadership of the struggle. This is what we find on this question in the resolution on tactics.

"This independent policy of defence of the vital interests of the proletariat, of its most active or most class-conscious section, will be crowned with success only if it leads to the awakening of the remaining masses, if the aims of the struggle grow out of the concrete situation, if those aims are understandable to the vast masses, if the masses see in those aims their own aims, although they may not yet be able to struggle independently for them.

But the Communist Party should not restrict itself to the defence of the proletariat from the dangers threatening it, to defence from the strokes inflicted on the working masses. During the period of the world revolution the Communist Party by its very essence is a party of attack, of pressure on capitalist society: it is compelled to transform any kind of defensive struggle, as it grows wider and deeper, into an attack on capitalist society. It is obliged to do everything in order to carry the working masses into that attack everywhere where the conditions for this exist."

This resolution was written with Lenin's active participation, and it still has a burning, actual interest at the present time. Here are given the two essentials of Bolshevik tactics in regard to the leadership of the mass movement. Here are set forth the struggle for sectional demands, and also the conditions for raising that struggle to a higher stage, the methods of transforming economic into political struggle, principles which have by no means been assimilated even now by all sections of the Comintern. The decisions of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern only rendered more concrete the decisions of the Third Congress. This shows best of all how ludicrous are the efforts of right wing Communists to contrast the decisions of the first three congresses with those of the last three.

#### THE REFORMIST TRADE UNIONS

Inasmuch as the social-democrats were at the head of the mass trade union organisations, it was quite natural that the Comintern was bound to set itself the problem of the relations between the Communist Party and the reformist unions. The role of the trade unions during the war and immediately after was such a miserable one that many of the leading workers believed in the necessity of leaving the trade unions and beginning immediately to set up their own organisations. Inasmuch as there were millions of proletarians in the reformist trade unions, this kind of exodus could not be supported. And the Comintern therefore resolutely raised the problem of work in the reactionary trade unions. "There's no need for nerves, there's no need to run away from the spots where the workers are. It is necessary to work in the trade unions, no matter how reactionary their leaders." So declared the Comintern to all those revolutionary proletarians who had fled from the trade unions because of the reactionary nature of their leaders. "It is necessary to win the working masses organised in the trade unions," said the Comintern, whilst perfectly realising the reactionary nature of the entire trade union machinery and the treacherous role of the trade union bureaucracy. The Comintern always understood the conquest of the trade unions as meaning the conquest of the main mass of the members, and not the conquest of the reformist trade union machinery, the trade union officials. The Comintern has put this point of view into effect throughout the whole ten years of its existence, teaching all the parties the truth that the Communists must in no case allow themselves to be severed from the masses, that they must be where the masses are.

But whilst teaching Communists not to run away from the reformist trade unions, the Comintern at the same time systematically pronounced against those Communists who stood for unity at all costs, who adopted a "fetishist" attitude to the trade unions, who suffered from trade union legalism and were subservient to rules and regulations, to the injury of the interests of the Communist movement. Many Parties drew from the necessity of working in reformist trade unions the conclusion that only the trade unions can and ought to direct the economic struggles of the proletariat, whilst the Communists' task was only to "drive" the reformists into the struggle. Hence the slogan of "Force the trade union bureaucrats to struggle," the rejection of the independent leadership of the economic struggle, and of trade union legalism which bordered on cretinism. Communists work in the reformist trade unions only in order to win the workers in those unions, and not to inspire the masses with the spirit of obedience and loyalty to the trade union bureaucracy. Communists work in the reformist trade unions not in order to drive the reformist officials into the struggle, but in order to kick these traitors out of the workers' movement. That is why the Comintern declared resolute war on all who sacrifice Communist principles and the interests of the workers' movement to trade union legalism. By such methods not only will you fail to win the working masses, but you will lose even the influence which you previously possessed. A brilliant confirmation of this is the conduct of the right-wing Communists in Germany.

They broke with the Comintern, putting forward their own methods of winning the masses. Result: within a few months they have succeeded in losing the remainder of their influence with the masses.

#### FACTORY COMMITTEES

But the trade unions are not the sole mass organisations. The October revolution brought other mass organisations, arising directly in the workshops and factories, into the picture: such organisations as factory committees and workers' soviets. Both these organisations develop in the process of the revolutionary struggle. The development of these organisations itself bears witness to the fact that there is a revolutionary situation in the country, that the working class is raising the problem of the struggle for power. Factory committees and workers' soviets arose in Germany, in Austria, and in Hungary, and it was quite natural that the Comintern should concern itself with the problem of factory committees and workers' soviets. The Comintern was bound to give the workers an answer to the question in what circumstances workers' soviets could and should be set up. To this question it answered: it is necessary to set up workers' soviets at the moment when a revolutionary situation is present, when the problem of power arises. To the question of the attitude to be adopted towards factory committees, the Comintern answered, that it is necessary to struggle for the establishment of representatives in the factories and workshops, for the masses can be won where the masses are congregated. Hence the Comintern slogan which runs through all the congresses, sounding in all its declarations—"Into the factories, into the workshops, to the masses!" But factory committees which had arisen during the revolutionary period had been transformed by the social-democrats wherever they had been preserved (Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia) into organs of co-operation with the bourgeoisie. In such circumstances the position of the factory committees was completely different. The task consisted here in wresting the factory committees from the influence of the trade union bureaucracy, in transforming them into organs of the class struggle. How was this to be achieved? By intensifying work in these enterprises, by putting forward independent lists for election, by drawing the factory committees into economic struggles and putting them into opposition to the reformist trade unions. The chief task was to break down the framework of legality and to extend the functions and competence of the factory committees wherever they existed, and to create forms of representation of all workers in any enterprise where these did not exist. What forms of representation? That depends upon the country. In certain places it was possible to establish special commissions, elect delegations, set up committees and so on. The name and the form of the organisation was a secondary question: the important thing was that the organ thus set up should be genuinely elected by all the workers and should represent their interests. On the question of the trade unions and factory committees all the congresses and plenums of the Comintern have given the most detailed instructions (see the trade union question discussions at all the congresses and plenums) the purport of which is the conquest of the basic mass of the workers and the expulsion of the agents of capital from these organisations.

#### THE UNITED FRONT

Having set itself the problem of the leadership of the day-to-day struggle, the Comintern was bound to come to the slogan of the united front and of unity. In reality, if the Communists have to head every struggle of the proletariat, they cannot but raise the problem of the composition of the fighting army. The capitalist attack confronts every worker with the question of the organisation of counter-action. In so far as it was a question of defending elementary gains, workers of various tendencies could be drawn into the struggle. Hence the united front for defence against the attack of capitalism, a united front which had to lead to a transition from defence to attack, in so far as the masses could be drawn into the task of defence. Thus the united front arose and was formulated as a method of mobilising the masses in the struggle against capital. "The tactics of the united front," says the Comintern program, "as a means of the most successful struggle against capital, of the mobilisation of the masses, the unmasking and isolation of the reformist upper groups, constitutes the most important part of the Communist Parties' tactics during the whole of the pre-revolution period." But if the masses are prepared to act in a united front against capital, why cannot they be in one trade union organisation? The united front led logically to the slogan of the

unity of the trade union movement, to the slogan proclaimed by the fifth congress of the Comintern.

Both these slogans, when tested in practice, revealed that within the Comintern social-democratic elements existed, which had made a fetish of the slogan of unity and the united front, and that in order to achieve the united front and unity they were prepared to pay whatever political price you liked. In certain instances the united front degenerated into a pact for mutual non-aggression between the Communists and the reformists, whilst unity became a capitulation to the trade union reformist machine. This capitulation is explained by the fact that there are Communists who regard the existence of reformist trade unions as an advantage to the working class, and maintain that as long as these trade unions have a positive significance for the workers, capitulation before the trade union bureaucracy is justified. This is a most dangerous and opportunist deviation. Can it be seriously maintained that the American Federation of Labour represents an advantage to the workers' movement of the United States? Or, possibly, the All-German Federation of Trade Unions, which has shattered one revolutionary movement after another, is an advantage to the German proletariat? Would it not have been better for the German proletariat if that strike-breakers' organisation had not existed in November, 1918? One would have thought so. And if that is so, it is quite obvious that the Communists who construct their tactics on such an estimate of the reformist trade unions are closer to the social-democrats than to Communism.

Capitulation arises from a fetishist attitude to the trade unions, from an internal conviction that the reformist trade unions do none the less defend the interests of the workers. The Comintern long ago declared a resolute struggle against this capitulation, believing that an unsound estimate of the real role of the reformist trade unions may lead to a distortion of the whole policy of the Communist Parties and the Comintern.

#### LEADERSHIP AND ORGANISATION IN THE IMMEDIATE STRUGGLE

The struggle for the masses confronted the Comintern and its sections with the problem of leadership in economic struggles. The right wing Communists settle this problem very simply: as the trade unions have been set up for the direction of economic struggles, let them direct them. But the trouble is that the reformist trade unions do not lead them, or if they do, it is only in order to effect the break-up of the movement. In such circumstances the phrase: "Let the reformist trade unions direct the economic struggle," is the very worst form of capitulation and borders on treachery to the interests of the working class. It is quite obvious that the Comintern cannot accept any such view in regard to economic struggles. The instructions of the Third Congress were put into concrete form by the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, and in all the decisions reached the chief feature was the leadership of the economic struggle through organs specially elected for this purpose (militant leadership, strike and lock-out committees, etc.). It may seem strange, but these decisions of the Comintern suffered the heaviest attack of all. Why strike committees, when there are trade unions? If strike committees are necessary, let the trade unions set them up. If strike committees must be elected, let them be elected only by members of the trade unions, and so on. But despite their apparent innocence all these counter-proposals arose from the idea that it was the reformist trade unions who ought to have the leadership in economic battles, whilst the Comintern holds the view that with the aid of strike committees the direction of the struggle for everyday demands can be in the hands of revolutionary trade unions, or where these do not exist, in the hands of the revolutionary opposition. On what ground did the Comintern and R.I.L.U. come to these decisions? On the same basis from which the Second and Third Congresses of the Comintern started: the best method of transforming Communist Parties into mass organisations and linking them with the widest masses of the proletariat. This is all the more necessary since apart from the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions there is no one to direct economic struggles and since without our intervention the working class is condemned to endure constant and systematic depression of its standards of existence and to suffer one defeat after another. In such circumstances any opposition to the independent leadership of economic struggles is playing into the hands of the reformist trade union bureaucrats, the worst enemies of the proletariat.

\* \* \* \* \*

The independent leadership of the economic struggles brought before the Comintern and its sections the problem of the organisation of the unorganised. This also is no new problem to the Comintern. But although this is not a new problem, it arises in new forms in a particular situation. First and foremost, the majority of the workers in most countries are unorganised—but this is not new, this was so before. The new factor consists in the fact that with capitalist rationalisation there is developing the application of unskilled labour in place of skilled labour. And as the unskilled labourer is also generally unorganised, this means that the unorganised workers are now playing a much greater part in the process of production than previously, and that without them any strike is condemned to failure. On the other hand, it is necessary to bear in mind that among the unorganised workers there are not a few who have already been in trade unions, who have left them from political motives. All this compels us to regard the problem of organising the unorganised with the maximum of seriousness, for it is one of the most important roads to the masses. Whilst everybody is unanimous on the question of the necessity of organising the unorganised, that unanimity vanishes when the question of how they are to be organised is raised. For countries with a divided trade union movement (France, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Roumania, Japan, and so on) the question is clear: the unorganised masses have to be gathered round the class trade unions. In countries where the great majority of the proletariat are unorganised (U.S.A., Poland, etc.), the question is no less clear—the masses have to be drawn into new unions. The question is not so simple in the case of countries with a single trade union movement (Germany, Austria, Britain, etc.). What is to be done with the millions of unorganised workers in these countries, especially during and after large-scale wage struggles? Hitherto, in Germany, for instance, three answers have been given to this question: (1) Organise the unorganised into the reformist trade unions; (2) Assemble them around the International Workers' Committee; (3) keep the Party out of this question, so as to avoid being transformed into a "party of the unorganised workers."

I personally put forward a different solution of the problem (the setting up of anti-lockout associations, of societies for mutual aid in strikes, etc.). I had no idea of maintaining that this was an ideal and final answer to this complicated question. No. I raised the question with a view to calling attention to it and securing its consideration from all aspects. There are comrades who consider this form of organisation unsuccessful. That is a question not of principle but of practice. But no matter what the forms of organisation and the methods of capturing the unorganised, this is clearly a difficult point in the Comintern's struggle for the masses. We must not forget that the section of the workers organised by the social-democrats is the most reactionary section of the proletariat. It is possible to break the united front of the employers, the bourgeois State, social-democracy and the reformist trade union machinery only after the unorganised workers have been drawn into the active struggle. Without achieving this we shall never advance.

#### WHO ARE THE MASSES?

It is necessary to bear in mind that the conception of the "masses" changes from day to day. Lenin considered this problem even at the Third Congress of the Comintern. In some countries and circumstances, even a few thousand workers may constitute a mass; in other countries, we can talk of a mass only when tens and hundreds of thousands are brought into the movement. On this question Lenin at the Third Congress said:

"If a few thousand non-party workers, customarily living good citizen's lives and dragging out a miserable existence, and never having heard a word about politics before, begin to take revolutionary action, we have before us a mass. If the movement extends and grows stronger, it gradually passes into a real revolution. When the revolution is adequately prepared, the conception of the 'mass' changes: a few thousand workers no longer constitute a mass. This word begins to have a different meaning. The conception of the mass changes in the sense that by it we understand a majority, and moreover not merely a simple majority of the workers, but a majority of all the exploited; any other understanding of the matter is impermissible to a revolutionary; any other meaning of this word becomes incomprehensible."

In no circumstances can the conclusion be drawn from this passage that Lenin did not

contemplate a revolution before the Party had united the formal majority of the working class. No, Lenin did not approach the question from the aspect of how many members there were in the Party, but what was its influence on the mass. In the same speech Lenin also said:

"It is possible that even a small Party, the British or American Party for instance, after carefully studying the course of political development and acquainting itself with the life and habits of the non-Party masses, may evoke a revolutionary movement at a favourable moment. If at such a moment it comes out with its slogans and succeeds in drawing a million workers after it, before us is a mass movement. I do not unconditionally reject the possibility that a revolution can be begun by quite a small Party and carried to a victorious end, but it is necessary to know by what methods the masses are to be drawn to your side. To this end fundamental preparation for the revolution is indispensable. Quite a small party is sufficient to draw the masses behind it. At certain moments there is no necessity for large organisations."

But in order to achieve the victory the sympathy of the masses is necessary. An absolute majority is not always necessary, but for victory, for the maintenance of power, not only is a majority of the working class necessary—I use the term "working class" in its west-European sense, i.e., in the sense of the industrial proletariat—but a majority of the exploited and the toilers of the rural population."

Here the problem of the inter-relations between the Party and the masses in the revolution is put with such clarity that it is worth while recalling this passage again and again to the memory of all the Parties. The practical work of the Comintern consisted in explaining to all the parties what the masses are and how they have to be won. In this, as in other questions, the road was laid down by Lenin.

#### TEN YEARS OF STRUGGLE

The Communist Parties under capitalism can capture the class-conscious minority of the working class, that is not open to the least doubt. Thus the whole problem amounts to the question what road the Comintern has taken during these years. Has it got its roots into the masses, or is it, as the social-democrats assure us, losing all its influence? It is sufficient merely to compare the Comintern of ten years ago in order to be convinced that the social-democratic gutter press is lying. How is the growth in influence of the Comintern to be explained? (1) The economic growth of the U.S.S.R.; (2) the growing social antagonisms inside capitalist countries; (3) the growing antagonism between the capitalist Great Powers. All these factors are shaking capitalist stabilisation and making more and more illusory the hopes of the bourgeoisie and of social-democracy for the restoration of capitalism. If capitalism had really emerged from its crisis and a period of organic development and prosperity were to begin, the Comintern would wane in influence. But the whole essence of the matter is that this is out of the question, that antagonisms and conflicts are increasing every day, that clashes between labour and capital are growing, enormous reserves of unemployed are increasing the uncertainty of the morrow, the national emancipation movement is growing in the colonies, the prognosis given by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern as to the intensification of the social, national, imperial and colonial antagonisms is being confirmed. It is true that capitalism has obtained a series of victories of recent years (the victory of Fascism in various countries, the defeat of the Chinese revolution, the repeal of a number of social laws, etc.), but none the less that which the Third Congress said in its thesis on the world situation remains in full force.

"It remains unchallengeable that during the present epoch the general curve of capitalism, in spite of transient rises, is downward; the curve of revolution—through all its fluctuations—is tending upward."

What is the result of the ten years' struggle for the masses? If a comparison be made between the Comintern of ten years ago and the Comintern of to-day, we see what an enormous stretch of road has been traversed by the international Communist movement. From a group made up of one large party (the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), and several small Communist Parties and small revolutionary and Communist groups in Europe, the Comintern has been transformed into a mighty World Bolshevik Party. Against

whom are all the resources and forces of bourgeois States directed? Against the Comintern. Whose banner is unfurled in all the insurrections and mass movements, from Britain to Australia, from India to China, from Germany to Japan? The banner of the Comintern. Even when the insurgents have no conception of the Comintern and its organisation, the attack upon the exploiters, the rising against the imperialists has to be placed to the credit of the Comintern, for it is the organiser and leader of the social revolution, the inspiration of all the exploited class and oppressed peoples.

This decade has been filled with heavy battles. The position of the Comintern is by no means the same in all sections of the international class front. The united forces of the bourgeoisie and social-democracy have driven the Communist Parties underground in a number of countries; wherever the Communist Party has a legal existence it is subjected to unbroken blows and persecutions; and none the less the influence of the Comintern is enormous. There is not a corner of the globe where the Comintern has no base. It is true the forces of the Comintern are not distributed equally over all countries. In certain countries the Comintern is stronger, in others it is weaker. In many countries the social-democrats still have considerable influence with the masses, but it must always be borne in mind that the strength of reformism is rooted in the strength of capitalism. International reformism bases itself on all the might of capitalism in its struggle against Communism. Hence the defeat of the Comintern in isolated sections of the front. International reformism plus international capitalism is still stronger than the Comintern. That is unquestionable. But for us the important factor is the direction of development of the international workers' movement—whether it is moving from the right leftward, from reformism to Communism, or vice versa. The task of the Comintern is so to work as to hasten the historic process of the emancipation of the proletariat from bourgeois social-democratic ideology. How is that to be achieved? In that consists the whole of Bolshevik tactics. One thing is clear; that one essential for the conquest of the masses is the constant self-cleansing of the Comintern from right and left wing opportunism, and the struggle against compromise with deviations from the Bolshevik line.

The Comintern still cannot boast of having won the majority of the International proletariat, but it is swiftly moving towards that goal. It is moving in that direction because from the very first day of its inception it took a sound course on the basic question: the party—the class—the masses. This course was laid down by the organiser and leader of the Comintern, Lenin, in his theses "On the basic tasks of the Second Congress of the Comintern." In those theses we read:

"For the victory over capitalism a sound correlation between the leading Communist Party, the revolutionary class, the proletariat and the masses is necessary. Only the Communist Party, if it is genuinely the advance-guard of the revolutionary class, if it includes all the finest representatives of that class, if it consists of completely class-conscious and devoted Communists, educated and steered by the experience of a stubborn revolutionary struggle, if that Party has succeeded in linking itself up indissolubly with the whole life of its class, and through it with the entire mass of the exploited, and in inspiring that class and that mass with trust, only such a Party is capable of leading the proletariat in the most ruthless, the decisive last struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a Party is the proletariat capable of unfolding all the might of its revolutionary force, reducing to nothingness the inevitable apathy and partial opposition of a small minority of the capitalist-infected labour aristocracy, the old trade union and co-operative leaders and such like—only thus is it capable of developing all its power, which is immeasurably more than its proportion to the population, owing to the very economic structure of capitalist society."

The service of the Comintern consists in the fact that throughout the entire period of its activity it has unswervingly taken that road. By the example of the October revolution Bolshevism has demonstrated that it knows how to attack, retreat, and conquer, without for one moment losing contact with the masses. This basic quality of Bolshevism is also the basic quality of the Communist International, which in victories and defeats has always been with the masses, always at the head of the masses. So it was, so is it now, and so it ever shall be.

# COMMUNIST LINE



Theoretical Journal of the  
Marxist-Leninist  
Organizing Committee  
BOX 26457, S.F., CA 94126 USA

## CONTENTS

1. THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS.....p. 1
2. THE WORKING CLASS IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY TODAY,  
by Harilla Papajorgji (reprint from ALBANIA TODAY).....p. 2
3. READERS' GUIDE TO THE MARXIST CLASSICS (*selections*).....p. 4
4. THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS WORLD HISTORIC MISSION,  
by Foto Cami (reprint from ALBANIA TODAY).....p. 5
5. REFORMIST AND REVISIONIST TRADE UNIONS IN THE  
SERVICE OF THE BOURGEOISIE, by Filip Kota,  
(reprint from ALBANIA TODAY).....p. 9
6. FOR YOUR REFERENCE (reprints from PEKING REVIEW)  
A. ECONOMIC BASE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE.....p. 10  
B. PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND RELATIONS OF  
PRODUCTION.....p. 11  
C. WHAT IS COMMODITY PRODUCTION.....p. 11
7. THE COMINTERN AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE  
MASSES, by Arnold Lozovsky (reprint  
from THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL)  
.....p. 12



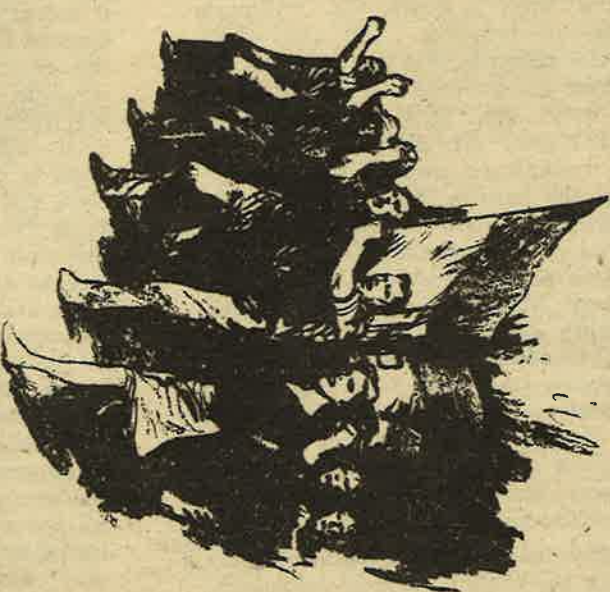
# COMMUNIST LINE



March 5, 1976

No. 3, 50¢

## TOWARD A CLASS ANALYSIS THE HISTORIC MISSION



# OF THE WORKING CLASS

Theoretical Journal of the  
Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee