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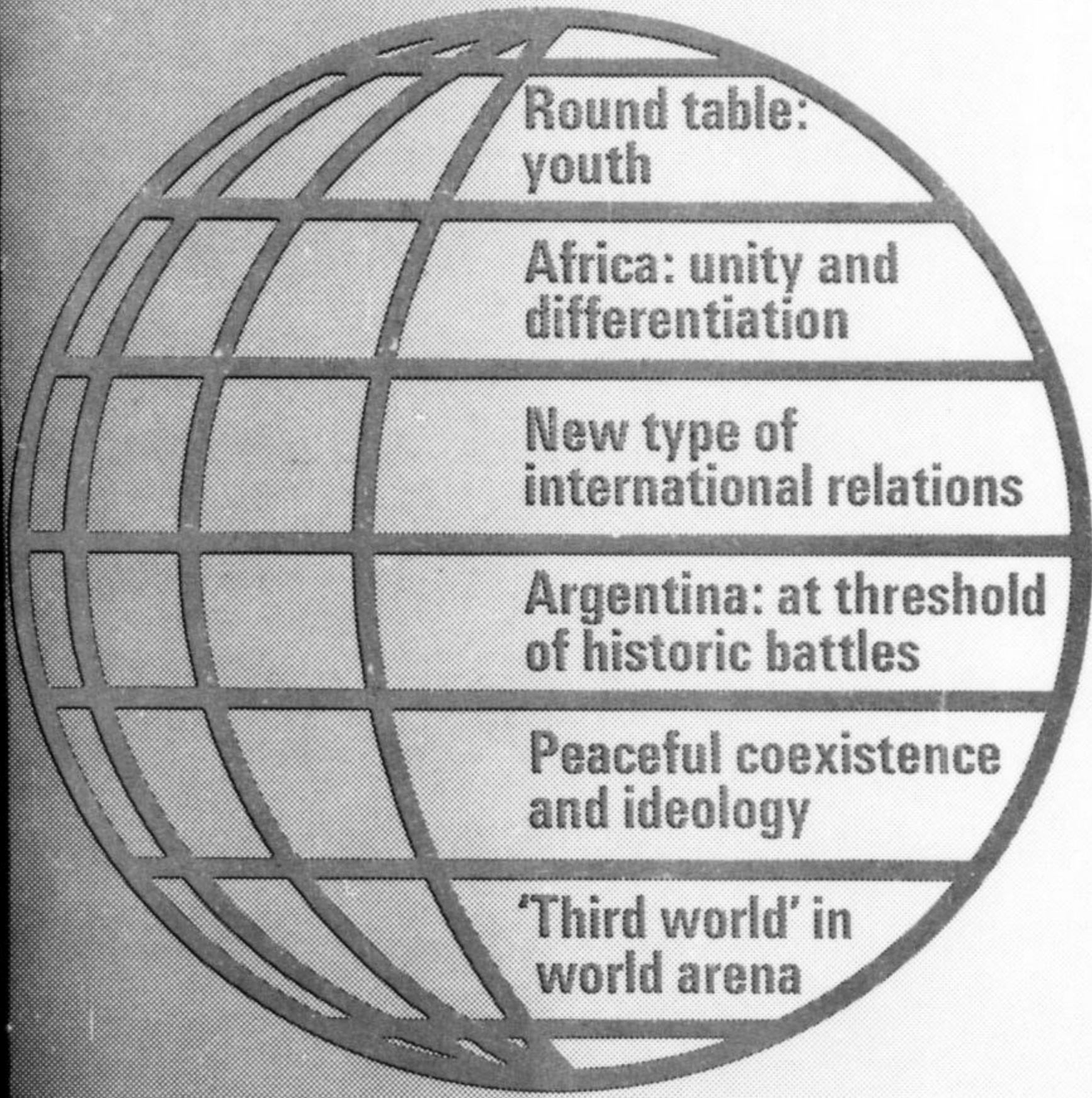
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

January 1972, Vol. 15, No. 1 50¢



**Round table:
youth**

**Africa: unity and
differentiation**

**New type of
international relations**

**Argentina: at threshold
of historic battles**

**Peaceful coexistence
and ideology**

**'Third world' in
world arena**



The Capitalist's New Year's Nightmare — a series of cartoons by the celebrated Danish Communist artist Herluf BIDSTRUP, especially for this journal.



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Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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The past year, the new year

The past few years have been rich in events that have left a deep imprint on world affairs and have accelerated the pace of social progress. The year 1969 saw the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties; 1970, the Lenin centenary; and 1971, major events that aroused worldwide interest, the congresses of Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries: the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, the GDR and Poland. They drew up a balance sheet of socialism's achievements, analyzed the problems involved in its continued development and approved economic development directives for the coming five years.

The socialist world has entered a new stage of social progress: developed socialism is becoming a reality in most of its countries. Their advance will henceforth be determined by a new socio-economic strategy, by the solution of such problems as combining the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist social system, fuller implementation of the scientific principles of the direction of society, closer coordination of efforts within the socialist community.

The socialist system's qualitative advance is consolidated in the Comprehensive Program for expanding and perfecting cooperation and developing socialist economic integration adopted at the 25th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It envisages closer interaction of national economies, plan coordination, joint long-range planning in industry, science and technology. Realization of the Comprehensive Program will more vividly demonstrate the meaning and value of international socialist cooperation, the harmonious blend of national and international interests it achieves.

The most significant international development of 1971 was the turning point it marked towards détente, concrete steps towards peaceful coexistence, due primarily to the initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries. True, there are still hotbeds of aggression, U.S. imperialism remains the mortal enemy of all the revolutionary movements, and there are still occasional cold war blasts. However, the struggle of the forces of peace and progress is yielding favorable results.

Significantly, the achievements of socialism on all fronts, including peaceful coexistence, have been accompanied by major gains in the development of the revolutionary process. The past year clearly and forcefully exposed the utter groundlessness of claims that championship of peace and the international agreements resulting therefrom run counter to the interests of the revolutionary movement and the fight against imperialism.

The forces of social progress have continued to batter the positions of the old world. It is hard even to enumerate the major successful actions of the revolutionary forces in various countries and areas of the non-socialist world. They will be analyzed by the Communist and Workers' parties. For our part we would like to draw the reader's attention to one example.

Friends and foes of socialism have been following events in Chile with special attention. And the reactionaries, together with the ultra-revolutionaries, predicted that the Popular Unity forces, which were voted into power at the polls, were heading for defeat. But the Chilean revolution has withstood the resistance of class enemies within the country and the intrigues of American imperialism. In one year it has done tens of times more for the people than bourgeois-democratic governments had done in decades with their philanthropic reform programs. Following Cuba and together with Cuba, the Republic of Chile is becoming a powerful factor of social progress in Latin America and its experience has implications far beyond the continent.

The past year will be remembered for the monetary upheavals that have shaken the capitalist system and the attempt of the ruling classes to shift the burden of economic crisis onto the working people. The result has been to increase socio-political tensions and class antagonisms. Mass resentment against monopoly policies has merged with protests against imperialist reaction and aggression to erupt into major strike struggles, anti-government demonstrations and spontaneous actions by various sections of the population,* with the working class invariably in the vanguard.

There has been an appreciable shift to the left in the political life of the capitalist world. One expression of that are the successes of a number of Communist parties in last year's municipal elections and the new steps towards cooperation between Communists and Social-Democrats. Significant, too, is the new attitude of many trade unions, including some of the biggest, towards joint action against capital.

However, in the imperialist countries the ultra-Right forces have become more active. Their attacks and provocations, always anti-Communist and anti-Soviet, have been aimed at disorganizing and undermining democratic movements and blocking international détente. The revival of neo-fascism calls for especial vigilance by all progressives and for joint action against the threat from the Right.

Crisis processes in the main imperialist countries have harmed the developing countries, whose economies are tied to the world

*See review of strike struggles elsewhere in this issue.

capitalist market. The imperialists and their reactionary allies tried to halt the process of revolutionary change in the Third World and sow division in the national liberation movement. And in some, notably African, countries they have succeeded. But in the past year imperialism has been dealt new blows by the national liberation movement, particularly in the young states that have chosen the non-capitalist path.

For from 'blunting' the revolutionary quality of the national liberation forces, the successes scored by the peaceful coexistence policy have helped towards more favorable conditions for progressive social change in many developing countries, strengthening their economies and facilitating their independent foreign policies. The trend towards joint anti-imperialist action was evident at last year's UN General Assembly. Restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and the expulsion of Taiwan constituted a victory for the anti-imperialist forces, the result of consistent and persevering effort.

Of course, imperialism will not give up without a fight. It is countering every blow dealt by the revolutionary forces and is employing new methods of counter-revolution and ideological subversion. Socialism must always be on guard, even though the balance of forces is changing in its favor.

A decisive factor in the changing correlation of forces is the struggle of all the revolutionary detachments of our time, in which the Marxist-Leninist parties play an active mobilizing role. In the past year Communist activity, national and international, added to the prestige of the world Communist movement. Millions throughout the world could see that the Communists were in van of the fight for peace and friendship, that they were the most dedicated champions of the working class and all working people.

The past year reaffirmed anew the thesis of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that 'the effectiveness of each Communist Party's policy depends on its successes in its own country, on the successes of other fraternal parties and on the extent of their cooperation.' Exchanges of delegations, the large number of bilateral meetings of Party leaders and multilateral consultations of parties on the outstanding issues of our time, closer coordination of their efforts in building socialism and in the anti-imperialist struggle—these are all indications of the growing unity of the Communist movement.

A year so rich in events whose full meaning is yet to be revealed, so rich in initiatives pregnant with great promise, is bound to leave a heritage. And it will need much creative work and persistent effort to make the best use of that heritage in the new and, possibly, subsequent years. The turn towards détente is apparent, but crucial questions remain: will 1972 see an end to the war in Vietnam? Will the consequences of the Israeli aggression be eliminated? Will the disarmament problem be nearer to solution? The record of 1971 gives hope that its successor will see the European Security Con-

ference, solution of the Irish problem, progress towards settlement of the conflict connected with the events in East Pakistan, further consolidation of the foundations of international détente laid by the past year. And most important, all true fighters for social progress can look forward to new successes by all the contingents of the world revolutionary movement.

The new year will see the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The half-century experience of the world's first multi-national socialist state is of value not only to countries building socialism, but also to the world Communist movement, to all the forces of social progress. Many young nations draw on this experience in solving problems of their own present and future.

All detachments of the world revolutionary movement have done much in the past year and are fully justified in anticipating further and greater progress in the new year. However, complacency is alien to true revolutionaries. Great aims are attained by great effort.



Ideological cooperation between communist parties

Knud Jespersen

The Communist parties have a common ideological basis. This is a distinctive feature, and a source of strength, of our movement. International communism would be unthinkable without a common ideology. The principle of ideological unity has been laid down in Communist documents of world significance, from the Communist Manifesto to the statements of recent meetings of fraternal parties. The 1969 Meeting's address 'Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin' said: 'Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to this great international teaching, holds the promise of further successes of the Communist movement.'

Experience of ideological cooperation

Ideological cooperation between Communist parties is prompted by their internationalism and common ideology. It may take different forms, of course, but its invariable purpose is to see collective solutions to problems posed by joint participation in the class struggle, on the basis of a common approach to these problems, through the development of theory.

This collective effort bears fruit only when the parties' positions are free of mechanical one-sidedness and their cooperation inspired by mutual confidence, which is only natural given common principles and objectives. The purpose of cooperation is to elucidate and elaborate problems of common interest from different angles, with due regard to the experience of the various parties. Discussion and comparing notes may result in a reversal of original points of view and produce unity of views. Any genuine progress in collective knowledge is dialectical in the truest sense of the word. Discussions leading to unity of views are conducted on the principle of equality and on the basis of substantiated arguments.

The experience of our movement has proved the importance of ideological cooperation. When the Communist Manifesto was first published without the names of its authors the idea was to stress that the Manifesto expressed the collective opinion of the Communist League, which in no way detracted from the credit due to

Marx and Engels, the architects of the new world outlook. Much the same may be said of the fundamental documents of the First International: the 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association' and the 'Provisional Rules of the Association,' written by Marx in 1864: they, too, were an embodiment of collective thought.

In the latter years of his life, Engels took an active part in the work of the Second International. He followed the deliberations of many national and international congresses of the socialist movement and attended some of them. Speaking at congresses, he pointed to the importance of international links between parties and between their press organs. He emphasized: 'So as not to degenerate into a sect we must allow discussions, but the general principles must be adhered to unswervingly.' He regarded 'free association, voluntary contacts maintained by congresses' as a prerequisite for victory' (From speech at the Zurich Congress, 1893).

The Third, Communist International ideologically helped almost all parties. This was a time when the new forces were striving to steer a clear course through the ideological debris of the Second International. Lenin was concerned that Comintern discussions and decisions should clarify and analyze the numerous new problems and tasks which had arisen with the turn in world development. His Comintern speeches bring out the importance and fruitfulness of international ideological cooperation. We in Denmark are well aware of the role of the Comintern's ideological support in transforming our Party from a conglomerate of conflicting trends into a Marxist-Leninist organization. We also know that the collective experience generalized in the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern decisively helped our Party to contribute its share to the liberation struggle during the Second World War.

The Communist movement comprises organizationally autonomous parties. 'Each Party,' the 1969 Meeting noted, 'guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy.' This makes ideological cooperation particularly important. More than ever before, ideological community serves as a unifying factor in the Communist movement. The quickening pace of social development gives rise to new problems and theoretical tasks. Our movement has been enriched by the experience of national struggles which, in the international context, may serve as a source of inspiration and help towards better understanding of the operation of social development laws. That is why ideological cooperation between parties has, in some respects, now assumed a larger scale.

This was manifest, above all, before and during the 1969 Meeting, whose decisions were preceded by discussions unparalleled in scope. All participants in the Meeting stated their views and arguments in an atmosphere of genuine democracy and equality.

The exchange of views served as the basis for collective conclusions that strengthened the unity of the movement.

The Meeting set itself limited tasks as specified by its agenda. It did not discuss all the problems of our movement. However, it indicated how undiscussed problems should be dealt with, naming ideological cooperation as one of the main methods. The conviction was voiced that 'outstanding issues can and must be resolved correctly by strengthening all forms of cooperation among the Communist parties, by extending inter-Party ties, mutual exchange of experience, comradely discussion and consultation and unity of action in the international arena.'

Some believe that at a time when there are certain differences of opinion, it would be better not to make ideological questions an object of cooperation between Communist parties. However, experience has disproved this. At no Communist meeting of any importance would it have been appropriate to leave ideology 'at the doorstep,' check it in the cloakroom. For example, the preparations for the 1969 Meeting revealed that certain problems of the struggle against imperialism cannot be understood without ideological discussions. In fact, these discussions helped our movement to achieve progress.

But, then, it could hardly have been otherwise. Communist parties play a role entirely different from that of any other party or political group. This was first stated in the Communist Manifesto. Subsequently the idea was elaborated and amplified. The Party's fundamental task is to combine scientific socialism (communism) with the labor movement. Scientific socialism, like everything truly scientific, is universal and international. Of course, its application in different conditions may lead to different practical conclusions as to tactics and methods of struggle. But this can in no way justify attempts to replace Marxism-Leninism by a special 'interpretation' of the common theory which, furthermore, is surrounded by a national fence and cultivated for domestic use only. These attempts tend to undermine the ideological basis of the struggle for the liberation of the working class and hence lead to dissociation from its fundamental international tasks.

Inter-Party cooperation is an objective requirement of the class struggle, whatever its form. Precisely because the Communist parties proceed from a common world outlook, Marxism-Leninism, and have a common enemy, imperialism, and common goals, socialism and communism, they must have a common strategy in the international class struggle, a common view on the Party's role and common principles of Party activity. But this also means that relations between Communist parties cannot be restricted to political alliance, as is the case with many other parties. The Communist movement is one both politically and ideologically. That is why ideological cooperation is a requisite of its growing strength. It is due to the oneness of world outlook that this cooperation and the discussions it involves carry forward socialist thought as a whole.

Urgent tasks of ideological cooperation

More than two years have passed since the 1969 Meeting. They have fully confirmed the correctness of the Meeting's analysis of world development trends and the tasks of the international working-class movement in the anti-imperialist struggle. They have shown how very necessary that international forum was, and have provided new proof of the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, which is being advanced through collective effort.

However, the 1969 Meeting did not signify consummation of the effort. On the contrary, it regarded itself as the beginning of new and more extensive work in various fields, including the theoretical. Nor could it be otherwise in an epoch of remarkably swift social change. This work was exemplified primarily by the worldwide celebrations of the Lenin centenary and by the congresses of a number of Communist parties, among which the 24th Congress of the CPSU stands out as an event of major international significance.

The CC report presented to the Congress by L. I. Brezhnev contained the following important idea: 'The peculiarities of modern capitalism are largely due to the fact that it is adapting itself to a new world situation.' The present situation also poses problems before the Communist movement which, for its part, must fully adapt to the new conditions and opportunities, as well as to the new methods employed by the class enemy. This situation is conditioned by the fact that, as noted by the 1969 Meeting, the class struggles taking place in the capitalist countries 'foreshadow new class battles which could lead to fundamental social change . . .' It is therefore imperative to end the lag in the theoretical elaboration of a number of new problems. Without this the Communist parties would be unable to muster the forces they need to take the offensive.

'Theoretical work is a major element of our common internationalist, revolutionary duty,' L. I. Brezhnev said at the 24th Congress of the CPSU. ' . . . Repetition of old formulas where they have become outworn and an inability or reluctance to adopt a new approach to new problems harm the cause and create additional possibilities for the spread of revisionist counterfeits of Marxism-Leninism. Criticism of bourgeois and revisionist attacks on our theory and practice becomes much more convincing when it is founded on the active and creative development of the social sciences, of Marxist-Leninist theory.'

These are, in our view, the tasks of international ideological cooperation. Our Party, which operates in a developed but small capitalist country, knows from its own experience how important it is – in terms of enhancing the appeal of communist ideas, and hence of promoting our own socio-political struggle – to elaborate even those problems that have a more direct bearing on other contingents of the Communist movement. This applies, first of all, to the stupendous transformations taking place in the socialist

world. Understanding the meaning and results of socialist construction, as well as the difficulties it encounters and the means of overcoming them, is a source of inspiration and helps to nullify the impact of bourgeois propaganda. It is possible and necessary to make this understanding much deeper in the labor movement of capitalist countries. In speaking of the advantages of socialism, it is not enough to cite figures showing the growth of production or give other statistical data. People still know too little about socialist changes in the non-material sphere or about achievements in fostering new human relations, although these gains are more obvious than ever before. Socialism's contribution in the sphere of political and economic organization provides a convincing answer to the questions about the new society posed by the scientific and technological revolution, which under capitalism leads to insoluble conflicts. The working people of capitalist countries are very keen on all these problems. In pressing forward the ideological offensive, we can and should make greater use of the results and prospects of socialist development.

The progress of national liberation revolutions invites the same conclusion. Their development into a struggle against feudal, capitalist and imperialist oppression, for the non-capitalist way, opens up inspiring vistas. To see these, it is necessary, however, to make a deep study of the internal problems bred in these countries by intricate class relations. Many people who do not know them fall for bourgeois propaganda, which plays up difficulties and mistakes. The bitterness caused by the persecution of Communists and other progressives in some of these countries should not prevent us from correctly appraising the situation and taking an explicit political stand. Exposure of the crimes of imperialism and its infamous methods of struggle against the developing countries helps to transform anger against imperialism into a powerful political force. There are possibilities of making socialist ideology more dynamic in this respect as well.

We are especially interested, for obvious reasons, in analyzing modern state-monopoly capitalism. An important step forward has been made over the last few years in this field—international Marxist thought has produced new important theoretical works. This effort must be continued. Modern capitalism is still seen by many as a stable system. Its inherent crisis, that cancerous growth, is camouflaged by theories about capitalism's 'unlimited opportunities.' Now that the internal contradictions of the old society are growing, it is essential to use Marxist-Leninist analysis for dissecting every ideological outgrowth of contemporary capitalism.

Specifically, the task is to show how socialism as a reality, and the mounting activity of the working class and other working people, influence the functioning of the capitalist system. An understanding of this will not only help to defeat the false notion that the working class has 'spent itself' as a revolutionary force. It will be of decisive importance in building up the revolutionary

potential of the laboring classes. In speaking of the relation of forces between classes, between socialism and capitalism, people often proceed from notions that were valid ten or fifteen years ago. The result is restraint where boldness is required in carrying forward revolutionary theory and tactics in keeping with the new opportunities. And these make it possible, through consistent socialist leadership, to transform the democratic, anti-monopoly struggle into a struggle for power in society.

All this refers also to a highly important aspect of the international class struggle—the fight for peace. Here too, the new alignment of forces has made it necessary to set new tasks. Today, when imperialism's numerous attempts to tip the balance of forces in its favor in decisive areas, from Europe to Southeast Asia, have failed and when its inner weaknesses are becoming ever more manifest, the task is to make effective use of new openings to push back the forces of war. This is what we see in the Soviet Union's peace offensive. However, the issue is much broader. The forces of peace realize that the time is ripe to take the offensive. Communists must draw proper conclusions from the fact that ideological struggle is a condition for peaceful coexistence.

These tasks, as we have emphasized, can be tackled from offensive positions. But they will not be accomplished either automatically or by rash political action. What is needed is a scientifically based policy in line with present-day conditions, a revolutionary theory abreast of the tasks of the day. This calls, in particular, for the utilization of all the experience accumulated by Marxism-Leninism, for it shows the way to solving the problems of our time. In Marx and Lenin one finds numerous profound ideas in support of using consistently revolutionary tactics when the relation of forces becomes favorable and new opportunities open up before revolutionaries. And one should turn to these ideas.

In our view, the tasks outlined above could be the object of international ideological cooperation. In fact, they can be fulfilled only through such cooperation. Naturally, our Party puts them forward because in carrying on our work we feel the need to strive for results through common action. Our Party has always done its best to contribute to international debates and ideological cooperation, seeing them as a valuable source of inspiration and assistance.

In Denmark, far-reaching changes are taking place in the minds of the working people and the whole population. The policies of big business betray indecision over many problems. Our Party and its leading fighters enjoy sympathy and frequently meet with more active support than before. However, these tendencies are not yet strong enough. At the last elections (September 1971) dissatisfaction with the bourgeois government was exploited mainly by the two Social-Democratic parties; the Communists, while scoring notable gains, were unable to break down the legal barriers and failed to win seats in parliament.

A specific of political development in our country is the broad movement against the policy of subordination to the Common Market. Danish big business regards entry to the EEC as a means of evading a democratic solution of the crisis problem created by its own system (an adverse balance of payments, unemployment, inflation, the threat of devaluation). The resistance movement began with struggle for the right to take part in deciding the nation's destiny. As it expanded, however, it acquired an increasingly anti-imperialist content and became a new and specific form of anti-monopoly, democratic action, gaining such strength and scope that EEC proponents are beginning to fear that it may foil their plans. Whatever the course of events, this movement, which goes in many respects beyond the traditional boundaries of party political action, will doubtless become an important factor in the social struggle. This is also true of other countries being drawn into the EEC. The position taken by large sections of the population is not characteristic of our country alone and it requires greater attention and understanding than was often the case in the past. New problems are arising in view of capitalist integration and the methods of state-monopoly capitalism, as well as in view of the possibilities of pursuing an independent anti-imperialist policy based on the mass democratic movements of Europe with its present alignment of forces.

In analyzing the changes on the political scene, one can see a discrepancy between the maturing of objective conditions and the limited, albeit indubitable, results achieved by our Party, notably in the elections. Taking a self-critical view of our work, we should, in particular, pay attention to the fact that we have so far been unable to demonstrate to the working class and Left-wing forces convincingly enough the possibility of bringing about, through independent action, a change in the policies conducted by all successive governments. To overcome this lag is a purely ideological task. The question is not only one of a profound analysis of the class situation, big capital's ruling methods and the possibilities and prospects of fighting for democracy, but also of making the whole Party conversant with this analysis. It is necessary to foster interest in the study and application of Marxism-Leninism among all members. This is a condition for fostering a spirit of offensive. And this is indispensable if we want to deal a blow at the policies of big business and foil the continuous attempts of Right and 'Left' opportunists to divert the incipient movement into the morass of apathy and fruitless action.

We know we are not the only ones to be faced with such problems and this makes us all the more keenly aware of the need to extend ideological cooperation with fraternal parties. Those who shrug off this cooperation pleading the experience and national specifics of their country can only retard the struggle for our common cause and injure the movement at home.

Forms of ideological cooperation

Since the 1969 Meeting, cooperation between the fraternal parties in the ideological and theoretical field has expanded and new experience has been accumulated. Contacts between parties on ideological questions are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity and mutual support, independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Respect for these principles is a prerequisite of fruitful and comradely ideological cooperation, as has already been pointed out.

In line with these principles, representative international conferences were held on the Lenin centenary, the 150th anniversary of Engels' birth and the Paris Commune centenary. These conferences, linked in some countries with propaganda campaigns, made it possible to foster interest among Party members in ideological problems and theoretical work and heighten their militancy. Of considerable importance were regional meetings of fraternal parties which discussed a more or less restricted range of problems. One of them was the conference of 15 West European parties on international monopolies held in London in January 1971. Credit is due to *Problems of Peace and Socialism* for its initiative in sponsoring the discussion of current problems of our movement by representatives of numerous parties, as well as for publishing the records of discussions. In addition, a number of parties invited representatives of some fraternal parties to their theoretical conferences.

The Party press has also been used to some extent as a vehicle of ideological cooperation, notably by publishing articles by leading figures from fraternal parties. However, the possibilities of cooperation through the press are not used fully. There is a certain sluggishness in reporting new problems, and besides, reporting seems to be somewhat superficial.

An unusually great number of Marxist-Leninist books – works of the classics of our revolutionary science as well as new theoretical and propaganda works – were widely circulated in all parts of the world in connection with the Lenin centenary. This was also of positive significance from the point of view of the future.

In spite of the achievements of the last few years, new efforts are required to extend ideological cooperation and to diversify its forms. We are particularly aware of the need for active and creative Marxist debate on an international scale. It is only through such debate that our theory will be able to cope with the new tasks set up by life. Some people claim that there is a certain risk in public debate. Undoubtedly, there are instances of irresponsible pronouncements in the course of ideological polemics conducted not in the interest of Marxism but for the purpose of attacking it. These instances, however, do not warrant our movement refusing to carry forward our theory on a collective basis. The lessons that can be drawn from negative facts should be a guarantee that our discussions will be held in a comradely atmosphere and, of course,

on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This is why topics for discussion should be to promote ideological unity, bridge differences and ensure unity of action.

Something could probably be done to overcome inefficiency—such as was shown in the organization of some international forums—by allowing the participants time for preliminary work and by sending them preparatory material. This would provide for a freer discussion and make it possible to engage in experimental quests as far as problems of ideological development are concerned.

Several topics for discussion were mentioned above. It is no doubt preferable to discuss narrow, concrete topics. Some meetings on virtually all-embracing themes do not go beyond mere statements of general theses. Evidently, special emphasis should be laid on a new assessment of revolutionary experience in the light of the present requirements of our movement (e.g., further study of Lenin's views on the three Russian revolutions).

There are numerous indications that the worldwide class struggle is entering a new phase. This is why we Marxist-Leninists are in duty bound to make a new effort for the advancement of our theory and fight against bourgeois ideology and revisionist falsification. We must realize that now is the time for an even more powerful ideological offensive.



Argentina at threshold of historic battles

Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez

Our country has been ruled by a military dictatorship for over five years. Internationally these years have been marked by notable socio-political changes and violent clashes between the forces of peace, freedom and progress and the forces of oppression, reaction and aggression. Storm-clouds have repeatedly gathered in the skies but imperialist intrigues have met with firm resistance. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have made an immense contribution to the fight for peace and international security. The Soviet Union has further consolidated its international standing and the role of the socialist system has increased. The main revolutionary streams of today—socialism, the working-class movement and the national liberation movement—continue to draw closer together. Implementation of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress will bring about further rapid progress and create more favorable conditions for the fight for peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

The paramount task today is to end the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and stamp out the smouldering fire of the war unleashed by the Zionists against the Arab nations. The important steps taken by the European socialist countries in regard to relations with the capitalist countries, specifically West Germany and France, show that it is possible to reach a general agreement on European security, which will have far-reaching international implications. This makes it our duty to step up the struggle for peace. We, for our part, must contribute to the common cause, well remembering that imperialism can only be defeated through organized and determined action by the people all over the world.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU put on record the Latin American peoples' gains in the fight against imperialism, for social progress. The report presented by L. Brezhnev, the speeches made by other Soviet comrades, and the messages of greeting delivered by the delegates of fraternal Latin American parties stressed that the impact of the Cuban revolution goes on increasing, new paths open

for progress and the peoples join in struggle with redoubled energy and in more organized fashion, inflicting reverses on the national oligarchy and the bourgeoisie subservient to imperialism and foreign monopolies. All this also applies to our country.

Recent developments have shown that the hour of decision is drawing near for Argentina. We are entering a period of big social conflicts. The regime tries hard to retain power and persists in supporting the imperialist monopolies.

A distinctive feature of the political situation at home is that patriotic and anti-imperialist sentiments are growing. The people's economic, political and social demands interlock more and more and are increasingly directed against the regime and monopoly domination, towards social progress. The political level of the people's demands has risen in the course of big actions, especially during the past three years.

Thus we are living in a period in which the masses, fighting against the economic foundations of a dictatorship that seeks to make the country a colonial dependency are also rising against its political rule. They want to replace the regime by anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist people's rule.

Growing anti-imperialist struggle

The roots of the social conflicts we are witnessing lie in the deep economic crisis affecting all working men and the whole people, who refuse to go on serving as a source of huge profits for foreign monopolies.

Reality shows that the ruling classes bear the main responsibility for the country's stagnation and mass poverty. It is only too obvious that the 1966 coup aggravated the economic situation. The ruling quarters' talk about 'Argentine revolution' was a smoke-screen behind which they pursued a shameful policy of denationalization, making the country more and more dependent on imperialist powers, which gradually captured key positions in our economy.

The regime's disastrous social and economic policies have created one of the gravest situations in national history. The people see their purchasing power declining day after day. They live in constant fear of growing unemployment. A huge number of people of pension age experience privations and have lost all hope of a secure old age. Thousands upon thousands of families who cannot pay their rent are threatened with eviction under an inhuman law. Yet the rent is often higher than the people can afford to pay.

One of the dictatorship's innumerable anti-popular measures is the prohibition to sell beef for more than two weeks a month. In addition, the price of other kinds of meat is soaring and has increased by 105.2 per cent over the past year. Needless to say these measures, while affecting the people, benefit foreign monopolies and big national capital.

As far as the people are concerned, the balance of the past five

years could hardly have been more adverse. The military junta has not only proved incompetent to solve the nation's problems but has run the economy into the morass of a deep economic crisis which cannot be overcome under the present regime. The salient characteristics of this crisis are galloping inflation accompanied by a sharp drop in the purchasing capacity of the masses, economic stagnation and increasing financial dependence on international monopoly groups.

The cost of living at the end of 1971 was estimated by some to be almost 55 per cent higher than in 1970. In 1952 the working people's share of the national income was 47 per cent. In 1970, it was down to 38 per cent. The financial plunder of the country goes on – in 1961-1970, direct foreign investments totalled \$402 m. but interest paid on total foreign investments exceeded \$2,500 m.

The home market is shrinking. The monopolies, with government connivance, are stepping up competition. Taxes are rising at an unprecedented rate. More and more firms go bankrupt and numerous national enterprises are ruined or absorbed by foreign capital. The outflow of capital, the scarcity of funds and other difficulties have put national industry in a critical situation. The outlook is made more dismal by the fact that the governments in office in the past five years have formulated, but never implemented, economic development plans. Besides, their agreements with the International Monetary Fund give them little or no say in economic matters. The economy is actually controlled by a small group of foreign and domestic monopolies.

A poll held in 1969 in 100 big enterprises revealed that only 17 of them are Argentine property. Their share in sales was 28 per cent, half of which came from Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales, the national oil company. During the first four months of 1971 a handful of National Bank clients were granted 60 per cent of the credits while the 20,000 firms connected with the bank got a mere 40 per cent.

It is against this gloomy background that the contradiction between the non-proletarian sections of Argentine society and imperialism are increasing. As the economic and structural crisis goes deeper these sections, particularly the petty and middle bourgeoisie, are becoming radicalized and are resisting government policies ever more strongly. Their political awareness is growing and they are beginning to search for a democratic alternative. In other words, qualitative changes are taking place in the alignment of forces, the situation is favorable for extending the social basis of the liberation movement and for united action in support of social, economic and political demands and democratic changes.

Recent years have seen militant actions by the masses. These actions, which involve the population of big cities and agricultural areas, tend to become centers of popular resistance to the dictatorship. They make for closer links between town and country and, on the other hand, help to strengthen links between diverse social

forces and offer new, still greater opportunities for their unification.

The situation in rural Argentina is characterized by growing poverty, declining prices for peasant produce, onerous contracts with the landowners, rising prices for farm machinery and implements and the absence of credits. The land legislation now in force makes the situation of 150,000 agricultural producers even more precarious, which compels peasants, especially young people, to migrate to the towns, increasing unemployment.

The result is mounting opposition to government policies, a development making it possible to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance. The leftward trend of large sections of the population leads to closer links with the working class and promotes the democratic and liberation movement. This process has also extended to substantial segments of the armed forces, Catholics and the clergy. They openly take an anti-imperialist stand, refusing to be used by the monopolies and big capitalists.

A few years ago the army was the main instrument of imperialist domination in Latin America. It helped the imperialists to maintain so-called 'internal order,' which reduced it to a policeman suppressing other peoples, an instrument of the policy of 'ideological frontiers.' This is coming to an end now. Opposition to imperialism and reaction in the armed forces and in the Church is undoubtedly tilting the balance in favor of the revolutionary movement.

As large sections of society move further left the struggle for national and social liberation is growing stronger and so are anti-imperialist, democratic movements. The class forces opposing the dictatorship are regrouping and conditions are being created for a genuine rising of the masses against imperialism and the oligarchy, for a broad military and civilian patriotic front and a people's government based on a broad democratic coalition. This is the demand of the progressive forces and it meets the national interest.

Imperialism and home reaction will try to divert the masses from pressing problems and maneuver to paralyze the liberation struggle. We must be prepared for this.

Trap for the people

The concept of 'representative forces,' which President Lanusse likes to use, was not invented by him. Even during Kennedy's presidency the U.S. imperialists freely used the term in an effort to bring to power 'liberal bourgeois' governments, which have always prevented implementation of the people's progressive demands. The reactionaries know well that the 'representative forces,' whose activity they are using to restrain the people, will never go beyond superficial reforms which will leave intact the country's socio-economic structures. And these imperialism wants to preserve at all costs.

Accordingly, Lanusse violated the Constitution to pass discrimi-

natory electoral laws that strip political parties of independence. His plan is a repetition of the schemes of the military junta brought to power five years ago through a coup. A general election has been set for March 1973.

Lanusse remembers that in Argentina Peronism is the only force barring the way to communism and therefore regards Peron as a kind of life-belt. The government and the bourgeois press are campaigning to bring Peron back into politics. They exalt him as a leader who allegedly can find a way out of the present situation. They foster Peronist influence at a time when Peron's prestige is slipping and Communist influence is growing among his followers. This explains why Peron is so slow in establishing closer links with the dictatorship. He is anxious not to displease those of his supporters who refuse to make common cause with the present regime. It will be difficult for him to win Peronist workers for the oligarchy provided we use flexible methods in our activity. These workers will not fall for the so-called 'fair play in elections.' The Peronist masses have gone through many struggles alongside the Communists and other popular democratic forces. We feel certain that they will not be taken in and will refuse to join those who are betraying them by seeking alliance with the dictatorship.

The term 'representative forces' is applied to Right-wing Peronists and the People's Civil Radical Union. It is they who are now in 'concord' with the dictatorship and are expected to safeguard neo-colonialism, the socio-economic foundations of the latifundium system and big national capital.

Admittedly, the threads of the planned election farce stretch from the U.S. Embassy. If the election is held it will be stipulated by a number of conditions.

The dictatorship feels anything but confident. It is in a vulnerable position, being faced with a socio-economic crisis and attacked on all sides. Nor is the political climate favorable to reaction—a storm is gathering.

Futhermore, the dictatorship is not sure it will succeed in using the bourgeois parties for its own ends. While the leaders of these parties accept the regime, the rank and file insist on combating both the government's pre-election intrigues and its policy as a whole.

These are all signs of a tense political situation fraught with an outbreak of the discontent that has built up among large sections of society.

Struggle of the workers, youth and women

The working class of the continent, including Argentina of course, is exerting ever stronger influence on the non-proletarian sections of the population. It owes its leverage and prestige to the courageous struggle it is waging in the face of betrayal on the part of some leaders of the General Confederation of Labor and despite the existence of an intricate repressive machinery using every means,

the death penalty included. What is new today is that the working class has enlisted the participation of non-proletarian sections in joint struggle. The years 1967 to 1971 were a period of historic battles against the dictatorship involving the masses of town and country.

The proletariat has proved its strength, combat efficiency and political maturity. It has shown its ability to take into account the legitimate demands of other social strata as it fights for its own demands and to impart a deep political content to joint action. In this connection, mention should be made of our Party's patient and consistent organizational and political work and the progress made as a result. The movement for unity and coordination of the trade unions and other labor centers helped to unite the working people.

The struggle for economic demands retains its vast importance. It is spearheaded against the dictatorship's economic policies and helps to strengthen working-class organizations. Large-scale actions of this nature, taking place in a tense political atmosphere, undoubtedly help in moving on to higher forms of class struggle and in setting far-reaching revolutionary tasks.

In these conditions, our Party sees it as an important and urgent task to eliminate the enemy's ideological influence over the working class, make the workers more class-conscious and help them to an understanding of their historic mission. It is when political passion runs high and social conflicts are particularly acute, Lenin said, that the masses can learn and understand many things.

Argentina's working-class movement refuses to follow syndicalist leaders. It rejects the idea of class collaboration advanced by Peron and spokesmen of the General Confederation of Labor. The qualitative changes that have occurred in the trade unions are part of the new process in the country's social and political life and a result of our Party's ideological work among the workers and the growing political awareness of the masses.

Peronist leaders, and first of all Peron himself, support the Lanusse policy of 'great national concord.' They regard it as a primary task to paralyze the working class, curb its action and doom it to passivity. Peron, who plays the role of a reserve force of imperialism, has always followed a policy of conciliation. Not so long ago he described General Onganía as a 'well-intentioned man,' a 'sincere patriot,' and so on. Today he is for conciliation with Lanusse and calls on the working people to be 'reasonable' and not to show excessive hostility. This defeatist stance is intended to win Argentina's workers for class cooperation.

Our organized working class is an influential force. It has long-standing traditions of struggle and can become a powerful factor in political development. This explains the reactionaries' effort to restrict at all costs the involvement of the proletariat and the masses in the developing revolutionary process. The outcome of the great political battle that the democratic and anti-imperialist forces are fighting will depend above all on how successfully the

working class plays its role of leader. This puts a great responsibility on us.

Comrade Codovilla warned us against underrating or over-estimating the proletariat's class consciousness. Accordingly, we must not forget that the workers of Argentina have not yet entirely shed alien ideological influences. We must help them to overcome this weakness, which is a serious obstacle to the revolutionary movement and is exploited by Peronist leaders. On the other hand, we should not forget that the Argentine proletariat has launched big political actions undoubtedly furthering the revolutionary process.

Young people, too, are joining in struggle in increasing numbers, taking action – with the energy and élan typical of them – against capitalist oppression, which frustrates all their noble and legitimate aspirations. Argentina's youth has shown by deeds that reaction cannot lead it astray. It has become a dependable bastion of the fight against the dictatorship. The democratic forces, primarily our Party and Communist Youth Federation, must show the youth the right way.

Special mention should be made of the courageous actions of our students. The students consider that the university must be closely linked with the people's life and struggles. That is why it has always been a bulwark of battles for a democratic system of higher education and, moreover, a new Argentina. Communists and Communist youth did much organizing and political work during youth actions in the universities and secondary schools. Their effort stimulated student activity.

Economic and socio-political actions involve more and more women, who not only uphold the interests of mothers and working women and the right to study and to engage in mental labor but fight shoulder to shoulder with men against the dictatorship, for democratic freedoms and national and social liberation.

The congress of the Union of Argentine Women, the National Conference of Women Communists and the National Meeting of Women all furnished proof of the women's growing political activity and fruitful participation in popular struggles. Under the dictatorship, women in town and country took a most active part in the strikes of teachers, telephone workers, bank employees and civil servants and in actions of factory workers, peasants and students.

Towards a broad unity front

The dictatorial regime has brought the national economy to the brink of catastrophe and put the burden of an enormous foreign debt on the nation. This has made the people feel more strongly than ever that the situation can and must be changed. Hence the relevance of the slogan 'Down with the dictatorial government, for a broad democratic coalition government of the people.'

This is the immediate and most important patriotic task facing the country's democrats. Our Party and working class must play

a prominent role in accomplishing it. However, the objectives of the popular forces go beyond anti-imperialist and anti-feudal demands. These forces must fight for a genuinely popular state that will guarantee democratic freedoms, carry out a program of deep-going change and firmly take the road of democratizing the nation's socio-economic and political life, with socialism as the ultimate goal.

The future people's government, which the masses are aspiring to, must work to break the power of the bourgeoisie, an ally of imperialism, end monopoly domination, effect agrarian reforms, foster national industry for the good of the people, strengthen national independence and sovereignty, consolidate the anti-imperialist, democratic front, encourage participation of the masses in the country's economic and political life and follow a foreign policy of peace and of fraternal solidarity and cooperation with peoples fighting for independence against reaction and imperialism.

It should be clear to us Communists that revolutionary measures of this nature will pave the way for socialism and help us to achieve our main objectives. This prompted the 12th and 13th congresses of our Party to adopt a maximum program calling for radical solutions in every sphere of national life. We must acquaint the masses with our program.

In view of the trend of political developments, we have also approved a minimum program to unite the broadest possible forces belonging to diverse social strata and seeking solutions to urgent political problems. It calls for struggle against foreign monopoly domination, for freedom and civil rights, against reaction's grip in the social, economic, political and cultural spheres, for progress and the right to a better future of our people.

Our call for cohesion and united action of broad forces finds a response among the people and guides them in action. It has already become the motto of large national forces, which enables us to raise political problems more boldly.

An expression of the new frame of mind of the masses, of their growing radicalism and political maturity and their readiness to fight for social change, is the rise of the National Meeting of Argentinians (NMA), the Movement in Defense of National Riches and other mass organizations. Under popular, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal programs they rally together substantial forces representing diverse sections of society and striving for a common goal—delivering the country from imperialist oppression, safeguarding its riches and its sovereignty and making further social progress by democratizing the nation's life.

Due to persevering work among the masses, whose demands it upholds, and to its patriotic program, the NMA is becoming a spokesman of large sections of the population and a rallying center for democratic and anti-imperialist forces. We must therefore pay special attention to this mass movement.

In view of the turn in the course of events, particularly since the government put forward its election plan, the instability of the

situation, the difficulties besetting the government and its vacillation, we must evolve new tactics and find ways and means of taking the fullest advantage of contradictions in the government, the armed forces, every political party and every social group.

Pressured by diverse trends, the government is completely confused. In the now maturing conditions we should set the task of radically changing the situation in our favor, with the democratic forces boldly advancing to win new positions and allies, if only temporary ones. Our aim is gradually to weaken and isolate the reactionaries and gorillas.

In this connection it must be stressed that the Lanusse government has adopted a new line in international relations, specifically in Latin America. It has signed a series of statements, such as the Salta Declaration or the joint Argentine-Chilean and Argentine-Peruvian communiques recognizing the right of nations to self-determination and the need for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different socio-economic systems.

Under the pressure of the people, who identify themselves in the most diverse forms with the governments of Chile and Peru and the changes carried out in these countries, the military regime under Lanusse is at pains to present itself in a new light by displaying independence in foreign policy matters. This enrages the more reactionary elements serving the Pentagon; the ultra-gorillas are uneasy about the fate of the doctrine of 'ideological frontiers' and are preparing for a Brazilian-type coup. They have ample means for this and operate unhindered.*

At the same time military and police repression against the democratic forces and the Communists goes on unabated. We must step up the struggle to win legal status for our Party, to repeal the ban on it, and wrest ever greater concessions by encouraging the activity of broad forces, which must take the offensive. We should remember that there is no unity in the government, the armed forces or the political parties. A process of realignment and definition of positions is under way.

The purpose of the government's election program is to win a respite by diverting the attention of the masses to the election campaign. Organized action by the people is the only way to shatter the dictatorship's hope of winning a breathing space by trapping the people through its plan, the only way to foil its maneuvers.

Our Party stresses that the present government offers no guarantees of a democratic election. It calls on the people and all progressives to fight for a provisional democratic coalition government that will convene a constituent assembly with the object of revising the Constitution and then hold elections on a broad basis. The majority of the population has yet to be won for these rightful demands, which can only be achieved through large-scale action by popular forces.

*The Communist Party made a statement condemning the attempted fascist coup on October 8, 1971. It pointed out that the new ultra-reactionary coup being prepared with the Pentagon's backing, is the main danger now. — Ed.

This presupposes sustained struggle for economic and socio-political demands. The task of our Party and all democratic, anti-imperialist forces is to raise the people's fight to a higher plane. We must now search for a road and evolve a platform of pressing demands that will win considerable forces and induce them to act. Our invariable goal is to promote the militancy of the masses.

The platform that will help us to rally forces for joint struggle may be summed up as follows: granting the people full democratic rights and freedoms; releasing all political and trade union leaders from prison; abolishing the repressive apparatus and revoking all laws and decrees that curtail civil rights and free thought and violate the Constitution; abolishing the death penalty; repealing the statutes of the 'Argentine Revolution'*; respecting the Constitution now in force until a new government elected by the people on democratic principles decides otherwise; freedom of activity for all political parties, the repeal of laws infringing their rights, and immediate restitution of their property; repeal of the statutes governing political parties, police-controlled elections, etc.

This platform is a real alternative to the government's plan. It will help to defeat this plan, as well as the opportunist and conciliating opposition of the Right Radicals and Peronists, and to set in motion the forces searching for a way out of the present uncertainty.

The NMA has become the foundation of the patriotic movement due to its close links with the masses, its revolutionary program, broad organizational basis and active struggle. The people must be persuaded to put their faith in this movement and see it as the core of unity, the prototype and groundwork of a provisional democratic coalition government.

We are operating at a political juncture where contradictions have become extremely acute and various trends clash within an unstable and unconfident government. The dictatorship is entering on a particularly trying period. It is compelled to act with caution and is assailed from all sides. Beset by enormous political and economic difficulties, it is now faced with a highly explosive situation.

The election plan is no way out for the government because it will aggravate the regime's difficulties. Once caught in the trap it has set for others, the government will be unable to break free.

Some people in the armed forces fear that by yielding to the pressure of the masses and groups like People's Hour.** Lanusse will completely lose control of the domestic situation. Furthermore, there are forces interested in clearing the decks for a coup. They have a hand in the commando raids, kidnappings, assassinations and other crimes.

*Political platform of the Right-wing military groups that seized power in 1966 through a coup. - Ed.

**Group uniting the leaderships of the People's Civic Radical Union and the Peronist, Socialist and Progressive Democratic parties - Ed.

Lanusse, understandably, seeks to win these forces. He is known to cherish the hope of becoming the Presidential candidate through a deal with certain political quarters and with the approval of the armed forces. Hence his effort to give himself a new image in the eyes of national and world opinion.

What the balance of forces will be when it comes to deciding on changes in the nation's life is not quite clear at the moment. This means that we must set ourselves no limits as regards the choice of ways. The important thing now is to formulate a program reflecting the aspirations of the masses, lay a solid foundation for a center uniting them for struggle and help them to mobilize and to step up their activity. This is what will make us strong.



CP of Chile: the embattled fifty years

Orlando Millas

The existence in Chile of a government carrying through revolutionary transformation is the result of many decades of working-class and popular struggle. The first congress of the Communist Party of Chile convened in Rancagua 50 years ago. Naturally, the anniversary celebrations are being tied in with the present anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic objectives and the unswerving, rapid advance to socialism. Built by many generations of Communists, our Party possesses rich ideological resources enabling it to anticipate the future and providing it with highly instructive experience which is being continuously enriched by the all-round progress and the effectuation of the people's cherished aspirations.

The Chilean labor movement began 140 years ago

The CP of Chile was not the whim of some militant group; it germinated in the thick of the working class, a class with fine traditions and a history marked by growing political consciousness and growing strength in battles against enemies of our people.

At the time of the Chilean War of Independence, which culminated in the formation of the first national government junta on September 18, 1810, the working class was very weak, inexperienced and heterogeneous. Not until 1832 did its struggle begin to resemble the workers' struggle in Europe. In 1834 a miners' mutiny erupted in Chanarcillo, Atacama Province, followed by mass actions in Arqueros, Tres Puntas, Caracoles, etc. The coal-miners, whose class battles over more than a century were of the utmost significance, held their first strike in 1858. In the first volume of *Capital*, it may be recalled, Karl Marx quotes Liebig to the effect that labor in the South American mines (Liebig cited facts from the Chilean scene of that time) was 'the heaviest perhaps in the world.'

At about this time Marx's works in French appeared in the bookshops of Santiago. In the 1860s and 1870s emigrants came to Chile who had been in the First International and took part in the Paris Commune. In 1865, *El Copiapino*, a workers' paper, wrote: 'We

belong to the working class that by virtue of its great numbers is the social basis on which the edifice of society reposes.'

Following the Pacific War (1879-1883)* the rapid growth of our economy was accompanied by a substantial growth of the working class. At the turn of the century there were many strikes; workers' newspapers sprang up; workers organized mutual aid societies; the labor unions joined the International Federation of Miners founded in Europe in 1890. The Confederation of Workers' Societies was founded in the miners' province of Tarapaca, and 1900 saw the appearance of the first Mancomunales, a variety of labor union. The Mancomunales may in fact be described as the cradle of the Communist Party, whose first leaders developed in them.

The Russian 1905 revolution galvanized the Mancomunales movement. The most important of them, the Mancomunal Iquique, issued a declaration: 'The creditable attitude of the Russian people deserves the unanimous applause of the civilized world.' It organized a collection in aid of Russian revolutionaries.

Four stages in the formation of the Communist Party

The formation of the Communist Party of Chile was the consequence of an aggravation of the class struggle. The process passed four stages:

1) The inception over the past century of a number of parties and other organizations seeking the way to communism; however, their existence was short-lived, because none succeeded in consolidating itself.

2) The social tempests of the turn of the century, which underscored the need for a revolutionary proletarian class party; Luis Emilio Recabarren, organizer of the Moncomunales and the workers' press, established contacts with the Second International, where he was backed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

3) The founding of the Socialist Workers' Party on June 4, 1912, which covered itself with glory in revolutionary battles; its December 1920 Congress resolved to convert it into the Communist Party of Chile.

4) The First CP Chile Congress, opening in Rancagua on January 2, 1922, announced its affiliation with the Communist International.

Among the conspicuous forerunners of the Communist Party were the Society of Equality founded in 1850 by Francisco Bilbao, a participant in the 1848 French revolution; the Republican Union of the People Society, the Francisco Bilbao Republican Society of Valparaiso and Coronel; the New Society of Equality founded in Santiago in 1886; the Social Center of Labor; the Fraternal Association of Workers; the Socialist Union; the Democratic (now Social-Democratic Party founded in 1887, and others. It was the Democratic

*It involved Chile, Peru and Bolivia, who came to grips over the rich saltpeter deposits in the desert area along the Pacific seaboard. In fact, the war was inspired by British investors eager to seize control of the saltpeter.

Party that Recabarren and his followers tried to remake into a working-class party.

The proletarian struggle against exploitation and efforts to fortify the workers' political position were countered by brutal repressions. Under the bourgeoisie Chile was one of the countries where repressions and massacres were among the most savage. On May 11-12, 1903, for example, arms were employed to crush a seamen's strike in Valparaiso. Fire was opened on a workers' manifestation in Santiago in 1905, the workers of Antofagasta on February 6, 1906, and on the workers of Iquique on December 21, 1907, when several thousand were massacred. The Song of the Pampas, which describes the massacre in dramatic detail, eventually became the song of Chile's Communists and has been their official anthem, along with the Internationale, since 1922.

On January 12, 1908 *La Voz del Obrero*, a workers' newspaper of Taltal, published an article sent by Luis Emilio Recabarren from Buenos Aires, where he lived in exile, expounding the idea of a revolutionary class party in the big working-class centers, such as mines, transport and industry. This, he wrote, should be '*a powerful organization of the proletariat in the economic, political and co-operative domains with the aim of transforming present-day society in these three directions.*'

Workers' meetings across the country, most of them clandestine, discussed the need for a revolutionary proletarian party and its structural principles. In the meantime, Recabarren studied the experience of the international labor movement. While in Buenos Aires, he participated in the unitarian labor union congress as delegate of the Argentine Socialists. He was a member of the Argentine Socialist Party's Executive and its delegate to the national junta of the Argentine Working People's Union. He went to Madrid and lectured in the Casa del Pueblo, visited Paris and spent three months in Brussels, where he met many leaders of the Socialist International, including Bolsheviks. Lenin's article, 'Meeting of the International Socialist Bureau,' which appeared in the newspaper *Proletary* on October 16, 1908, contains the following passage: 'The sixth item on the agenda was on the admission of the Social-Democratic Party of Chile. This party was formed after a split in the Democratic Party of Chile. The Chilean Social-Democrats were admitted without any discussion' (Vol. 15, p. 242). The resolution of the next Second International Congress said that a place was reserved for the then still incipient party of Chilean workers.

In 1912, following a long and deep-going process, the formation of a workers' party in the immediate future was announced at May First meetings across the country. It came into being simultaneously in the mines, the saltpetre pampas, the ports, railway stations and depots, meat-packing plants and industrial towns. The first Party organization, named Socialist Workers' Party, founded by Recabarren, Lafertte and other working-class leaders, was inaugurated in Iquique on June 4, 1912. Subsequently, Party branches were also organized in other provinces.

From the day it was founded and until converted into the Communist Party, the SWP headed all the large strikes and mass manifestations; it drew up a revolutionary program, denounced the First World War as imperialist, and called on the workers to oppose it. It was the moving spirit at the Santiago conference of Latin American socialist parties, which approved the theses against the imperialist war and social-chauvinism. In 1917 it declared its support of the February and October revolutions in Russia, appealing to the masses for solidarity with the Soviet Republic, thereby demonstrating its allegiance to Lenin.

In the factories the workers discussed the advance to the Leninist platform, the terms of admission to the Communist International, and the conversion of the SWP into a Communist party. This was done without haste, seriously and thoroughly, and the opinion of the workers, whether in or outside the Party, was taken into account.

Some Russian Bolsheviks resided in Chile in 1917. They communicated with Lenin through the emigré organization in Buenos Aires. Word of the new era ushered in by the Russian revolution galvanized our working class and evoked tremendous enthusiasm. The question of political power became the cardinal issue. Chile's revolutionaries dialectically combined struggle for the people's immediate demands with the demands and perspectives of social reconstruction.

Recabarren had close ties with Argentinian and Uruguayan revolutionaries. Shortly before the October Revolution, while he was in Buenos Aires, the Socialist deputies in the Argentine parliament took a chauvinist stand on the imperialist war. Those who opposed their posture formed the Internationalist-Socialist Party of Argentina, the nucleus of the future Communist Party. Its first leaders were Victorio Codovilla, Rodolfo Ghioldi and Luis Emilio Recabarren, who issued the slogan: *'Drop the socialism of traitors and form a proletarian revolutionary party against war.'* Recabarren also took part in founding the Internationalist-Socialist Party in Uruguay.

In December 1920 the SWP congress gave the party its new name - Communist Party of Chile, accepted the terms of affiliation with the Comintern and applied for admission. In the general parliamentary elections at the beginning of 1921 Recabarren was elected deputy from Antofagasta Province and Luis Vécotor Cruz from Tarapaca. That year the word 'communist' began appearing on the party's banners and in its press.

Recabarren's call *'always to maintain contact with the proletarian masses, sustain their affection and confidence in the Party and continuously and decisively influence all proletarian organizations'* was followed by a discussion of the SWP's conversion into a Communist party. The sense of the reorganization, to which all fifty SWP branches assented, was explained in detail to the masses.

On Recabarren's initiative, the December 1921 congress of the Workers' Federation of Chile voted unanimously for affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Fourth SWP Congress opened in Rancagua on January 1, 1922. On the following day, having reaffirmed the decisions of the preceding congress, it reconvened as the First Congress of the Communist Party. Its delegates adopted a declaration of principles and appointed representatives of the Chilean section in the Comintern. Vina del Mar was chosen as the seat of the CPC National Executive. The next congress, held in Chillan in December 1923, adopted the Party Statutes, which, however, did not yet follow to the letter Lenin's organizational principles and the norms of democratic centralism. This came later. The factional stand of the Trotskyite group at the Third Congress (1924) alarmed the Party. It showed that the Party structure needed fortifying to prevent infiltration of extraneous influences. The Fourth Congress (1925) substituted cells for sections, and the Fifth (1927) issued the slogan of bolshevizing the Party. In his book, 'Origin and Formation of the Communist Party of Chile,' our historian Hernan Ramirez Necochea, stresses: *'It is safe to say that by adopting these measures the Fifth Congress gave the Party its present organizational form. Therefore, the Fifth Congress is of extraordinary importance, because it completed what the Rancagua congress had begun, and laid the final basis of the Party organization. During the preparatory period before the congress it was said rightly that its aim was to bolshevize the Party.'*

More than twenty years underground

In much of the 50 years since its first congress in Rancagua, the Party was brutally persecuted. Stripped of constitutional rights, it was underground for a total of more than 21 years, with people imprisoned and abominably treated for merely belonging to it.

Between 1927 and 1931 the terror was particularly savage. Many of our leaders were assassinated, hundreds of Communists were tortured, many exiled. When civil rights were restored for a spell of several months, most of the Party remained underground; this did not change until October 1938, when the Popular Front won the presidential election and Pedro Aguirre Cerda was made head of state. But anti-Communist repressions were renewed in September 1947; a concentration camp was set up in Pisagua, a law was passed banning the Communist Party, workers' rights were abolished, many thousands were thrown out of their jobs, etc. Not until 1958 was the anti-Communist legislation lifted.

Down the years more than 2,000 Communists were slain in repressions, assassinations and police massacre of workers' demonstrations. Yet the Party never lost presence of mind, always stayed close to the people, rejected all dubious trends, and refused to be enticed into error by the enemy. To all attacks it responded by fortifying its bonds with the masses, which enabled it to fight on for the restoration of civil liberties and democratic rights.

None of the freedoms was ever presented on a platter. Each was paid for in blood. And the battles will never be forgotten. That is

why the masses see the Communist Party as a courageous champion of their cause.

Workers' unity and the united anti-imperialist front

The successful growth of the Party is traceable to the fact, among other things, that it was conceived in the deep of the masses, that it grew strong among them and that despite all obstacles it succeeded in maintaining the unity of the working-class unions. This organic labor unity has become a tradition. The Workers' Federation, a major labor center, was founded at the same time as the Party. In 1925, the authorities formed legal unions and did their utmost to sustain a parallel reformist center. However, their scheme foundered on the unity of the workers and the stand of our Party, which issued the slogan: 'Be Where the Masses Are' (in the legal unions or outside them).

Labor unity helped build up the Workers' Federation and to supersede it in 1936 with the Working People's Confederation (CTCH). In 1946 attempts were made to split the CTCH. But once again the subversion was frustrated. In February 1953, grown larger and stronger, the CTCH and other unions of workers, farmers, private employees and civil servants joined to form the United Working People's Center (CUT), which is still active on the labor scene.

Acting on Lenin's teaching about the workers' leading role in the worker-peasant alliance, rallying the masses, the Party also worked for a united anti-imperialist front. The large percentage of workers in the country, the role of the Communist Party and its united front policy – all this helped isolate the reactionary forces.

On September 26, 1925, our National Executive advanced the idea of an election agreement among progressive parties to nominate a joint presidential candidate against candidates of the capitalist and landowner parties. Less than a fortnight later, on October 4, an understanding was reached nominating Jose Santos Salas, an independent army doctor with anti-oligarchic views, to the presidency.

During Carlos Ibanez's pro-U.S. dictatorship, the Communist Party formed militant anti-fascist committees, an anti-imperialist league and, somewhat later, a united anti-imperialist front.

The Popular Front embracing the Radical, Democratic, Socialist and Communist parties, was organized in 1936. Two years later it came to power, electing the Radical, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, president of the Republic. After his death a democratic alliance was formed, which triumphed in the 1942 elections. The Radical, Juan Antonio Rios, was elected president on an anti-fascist platform. Chile broke off relations with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, and declared war on Japan. Also, a battle began against fascists at home.

After the war the people of Chile aspired to transforming society by developing democracy and embarking on progress. Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, a Radical with a program of revolutionary reforms,

won the presidential election in 1946. His coalition government included representatives of the Radical, Communist, Liberal and Democratic parties. During the cold war, however, the bourgeois wing shifted closer to the U.S. imperialists, banished the Communist ministers and more consistent Radicals, Liberals, Conservatives and Socialists, wreaking vengeance on the working class.

Despite working underground, our Party regrouped the proletariat and revived the democratic movement. In 1952, by an agreement between the Party and the more forward-looking element of the Socialist Party, Salvador Allende, leader of the Socialists, was nominated to the presidency. In the years that followed, with Socialists and Communists moving closer together, the Socialist Party was able to restore unity in its ranks. Socialists, Communists and other democratic forces formed the Popular Action Front (FRAP), with Salvador Allende figuring as the Left candidate in the presidential elections of 1958, 1964 and 1970. In the latest elections he was nominated by the Popular Unity bloc, a coalition of Marxists, atheists and Christians. The bloc consists of the Communist, Socialist, Radical (affiliated to the Socialist International) and Social-Democratic (former Democratic) parties, the Independent Popular Action movement and the Unitarian Movement of Popular Action, which broke away from the Demochristian Party.

The anti-imperialist coalition evolved upon the solid foundation of a clear, meaningful program and because its development took place simultaneously at top and at mass levels. Our Party cells follow a policy of isolating the main enemy within their radius of operations, organizing the masses against him and promoting anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic unity.

Independent class line

To be effective anti-imperialist unity requires each of its integral forces to be truly representative and the main party, the Communist Party, to be strong and influential among the people. This is why our Party attaches the utmost importance to ideological consolidation of its ranks, as well as organizational growth.

The 50 years since our First Congress have all been years of ideological struggle against pernicious influences of the exploiting classes and the petty bourgeoisie in our ranks. At no time did the Party lose its identity and never did it conceal its revolutionary aims. It always defended them firmly, dovetailing its policy with the daily struggle in each historical stage. Acting on the recommendations of Marx and Engels, as put down in the 'Communist Manifesto,' we have always, in all the coalitions we entered, brought to the front 'as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development.'

When a Trotskyite faction came forward at our Third Congress with an opportunist conciliatory attitude towards the coup d'état and advocated supporting the demagogic militarist government, it

was denounced and crushed by Recabarren. The forces that concluded an alliance with our Party in 1925 wanted us to relinquish our independence and integrate in the Social-Republican Union of Wage-Earners, a reformist organization that supported the military dictatorship. Yet the Party kept to its proletarian class course. The Social-Democratic elements, who had prior to that gone to all lengths to conceal their opportunism, began saying self-righteously that 'an illegal party is a factory of martyrs.' They shifted to a Trotskyite platform and, eager to vindicate their move, surrendered position after position to the class enemy. Our working-class leaders, such as Elias Lafertte, Galo Gonzalez, Juan Chacon, Manuel Gonzalez Vilches and many others, acquitted themselves splendidly, defending the Party's honor and fortifying it to withstand the harshest trials.

During its formative stage and its development into a genuinely Communist party, the CPC received all-round aid from the Comintern, which we regard as the decisive factor in our growth.

During the Popular Front period we were obliged to be highly vigilant. In his report to the Ninth Central Committee Meeting (October 1940), Galo Gonzalez strongly criticized the opportunist trend in the Party. However, alien influences had reached even the leadership, and a battle ensued all down the line at our Ninth Congress (December 1945). Browderism was denounced for allowing the ideas of the exploiting classes to penetrate our ranks. Comrade Ricardo Fonseca, the advocate of principled collective leadership and the Party's identity, became its General Secretary after the Ninth Congress.

The Party's class composition, with the workers as the core, is reflected in the composition of our leadership. This serves to solidify our ranks and does not damage our considerable influence among the middle strata, especially the intelligentsia. Pablo Neruda, the most outstanding personality of our national culture, is in our Central Committee, and many prominent artists, writers and scientists are members of our Party. Its influence in the universities is also growing.

Proletarian internationalism is one of the cornerstones of our class policy. It has never been neglected since the Party was founded, and has been fortified in the historic battles of the past 50 years. The Party showed no hesitation in siding with the Soviet Union and has always promoted the principled unity of the Communist movement. In all situations it has shown solidarity with the USSR and the socialist camp, and this position, backed wholeheartedly by the working class, has struck despair into our enemies.

As we see it, the only way to build an anti-imperialist coalition, carry through the policy of alliances and gain power for a people's government, is to follow in the bloc of progressive forces (to the extent of its scope of action) a clear and independent course, avoiding eclecticism and uncertainty, that is, to follow a communist policy.

Opportunism does not confine itself to exclusively national

spheres. At home it makes concessions to reformism and seeks conciliation with the bourgeoisie; in the international arena it assumes the form of anti-Sovietism, giving preference to particular interests over the common interests of the revolutionary movement and promoting current, transient demands as the ultimate. By virtue of their seemingly revolutionary postures opportunists solicit and receive aid to fight against our Party. But we have always stood firm against all ultra-Left, Right and centrist deviations, against liberalism and anything that breeds factionalism and undermines our Leninist course. Its collective leadership, internal democracy, democratic centralism, mass character, dependable bonds with the working class and the people, and continuous promotion of young cadres, makes the Party an effective fighting force.

Tremendous responsibilities have fallen to the Communist Party of Chile, a member of President Salvador Allende's Popular Unity Government, which is carrying through revolutionary transformations paving the way to socialism. And to cope with our tasks, we are working in close contact with the masses, putting trust in effective criticism and self-criticism, lest bureaucratic corrosion and the influence of hostile classes cause us injury. We are moved by the desire to live up to the responsibilities placed upon our Party by the working class and the people.



'Workers of the World Unite!'

Rockwell KENT, progressive U.S. artist, thus entitled this moving picture symbolizing the workers' defense of peace and civilization against the forces of imperialism and war.



International relations and the revolutionary process

'From the very beginning of the October Revolution, foreign policy and international relations have been the main questions facing us.'

V. I. Lenin

(Coll. Works, Vol. 28, p. 515)

In this age, when social development revolves around the confrontation of the two world socio-economic systems, international problems acquire especial significance in the life of mankind and in the revolutionary struggle. In this 'crowded world,' major developments in one or another country have immediate international repercussions, and international developments have a tangible impact on national life.

The central issue of world politics is the issue of war and peace. The struggle it has generated directly affects the interests of all peoples, and on its outcome depends the future of countries and continents, social groups and classes, the destinies of hundreds of millions.

The international revolutionary and liberation movement, dedicated to ridding mankind of all forms of oppression and exploitation, is naturally directed at assuring durable peace. And the working class and its Communist parties, the most influential political force of our time, approach this task with the utmost responsibility. Profound internationalism, which is intrinsic to their ideology, is directly reflected in their policy of peace, friendship and cooperation. That policy has been consistently pursued by the Communist movement and is a basic element of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle.

That is convincingly proved in the Document adopted by the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. It was affirmed anew in the resolutions of the 24th CPSU Congress and its comprehensive program of peace, in the resolution of last year's congresses of Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist countries and in a number of capitalist and young national states. Last November's plenary meeting of the CC CPSU emphasized that in the foreign policy of

the Communist Party and Soviet Government 'a firm rebuff to imperialism and support of the revolutionary, liberation movement are unfailingly combined with a consistent effort for peaceful coexistence of states of differing social systems. . . .'

In one form or another, international relations have been systematically discussed in the pages of this journal. Now, when their importance has markedly increased, we have decided to publish a series of articles, interviews, discussion summaries and critical reviews, in which the authors analyze the main foreign-policy trends, appraise the situation on the various continents and regions and express their views on the prospects ahead. It is only natural that a theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Workers' Parties should treat these problems in the context of the principal tasks of the world revolutionary movement.

The Editors did not set out to analyze international politics in all its multiformity and complexity. However, they hope that the materials here published will give the reader a fuller and more detailed picture of the Communist position on pressing international issues and provide arguments against the bourgeois, Right and Left opportunist ideologists who distort the political picture of the present-day world.

New type of international relations

Hermann Axen

The greatest gain of the international working class since the October Revolution, the socialist world system, has in the past quarter century conclusively proved its viability in confrontation with capitalism. The rise and development of the socialist community have greatly accelerated historical progress. It is the internationalist duty of all Communists to do everything in their power to further strengthen the socialist world system in which, as L. I. Brezhnev remarked at the 24th CPSU Congress, 'people everywhere see the prototype of the future world community of free nations.'

The continued strengthening of the socialist world system is of the utmost importance for the working class and for all the peoples. There is no over-estimating its significance for the German Democratic Republic. The Eighth Congress of our Socialist Unity Party clearly formulated our priority foreign-policy task as the further strengthening of the GDR's links with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community. In this

way the GDR is contributing to the closer unity and greater strength of the socialist world system, to the new type of relations between its members.

I. The new type of international relations has its historical antecedents. Marx and Engels theoretically predicted the central principles of international relations in a socialist community. In the Inaugural Address of the Workingmen's International Association, Marx declared: 'The simple laws of morals and justice ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.'

'The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.'

'Proletarians of all countries, unite!'

Further developed by Lenin, these principles became the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

The origins of their relations can be traced to the building and victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, to the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (which will be celebrating its 50th anniversary this year). Even in those days, when the Soviet Union stood alone against world capitalism, it formed a union state bringing together, on a voluntary basis, free republics with their many different nationalities, thereby setting an example of fundamentally new relations within a multi-national socialist community. For all the Soviet nations and ethnic groups, all forms of social and national oppression, political subjugation and racial discrimination became things long ago and completely abolished. The USSR thus stood out as the model of a new type of relations.

In the new international situation following the Soviet Union's historic victory over fascism, the workers and peasants of a number of European and Asian countries, led by their Communist and Workers' parties, were able to win power and set out to build the new life. That was the beginning of the socialist world system, and relations between its members acquired a new scope and new quality, serving as a means of fraternal cooperation of sovereign socialist states.

The underlying principles of the new type of international relations include the general democratic principles of respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and the right of nations to self-determination, goals towards which the peoples have been striving since the closing period of the Middle Ages. The bourgeoisie proclaimed these principles when it was in the ascendancy, but later, notably in the imperialist stage, it could not, nor did it want to, translate them into practice. More, imperialist hegemony always implies gross rejection of these general democratic principles, and they were first put into practice by states ruled by the working class.

However, general democratic principles are only one part of the new type of international relations. They are based on another,

new and decisive principle which follows from the fundamental interests of the working class in power. Reference is to proletarian, socialist internationalism, and this applies above all to fraternal mutual assistance, solidarity and support in building the new society and combating imperialism. That principle is determined by the feature common to the socialist system, viz., power in the hands of the working class led by the Marxist-Leninist party, socialist ownership of the basic means of production and predominance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Hence, the very basis of the new international relations can be traced to the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction formulated by the 1957, 1960 and 1969 international conferences.

Though the principles governing relations between socialist states are determined by objective laws, they do not assert themselves automatically. Their realization depends on operation of the subjective factor, on a genuine Marxist-Leninist policy of the fraternal parties and governments of the socialist countries.

It should always be borne in mind that the building of the new society, development of the new relations between socialist countries and formation of a world community of free nations are gigantic tasks requiring a long stretch of history for their accomplishment. This is not only a long-term process, but also a complex one, in which many difficulties and obstacles will have to be surmounted.

'The present-day socialist world, with its successes and prospects, with all its problems,' L. I. Brezhnev declared at the 24th CPSU Congress, 'is still a young and growing social organism, where not everything has settled and much still bears the marks of earlier historical epochs. The socialist world is forging ahead and is continuously improving. Its development naturally runs through struggle between the new and the old, through the resolution of internal contradictions.'

Some of these contradictions are part of the legacy of exploitive societies, others are due to the initially differing development levels, historical and national specifics of the socialist countries. Again, their international position differs, as does the acuteness of the fight against imperialism from area to area. But everywhere world imperialism is using every means at its command to prevent the building of the new life and to drive a wedge between individual socialist countries.

Objective contradictions that arise in the process of socialist development are often exacerbated by failure to rectify errors and shortcomings in good time. Consequently, difficulties within one socialist country, or in its relations with others, can for a time become more acute, adversely affecting the community's progress and unity.

Communists do not ignore contradictions and difficulties, but neither do they absolutize them; they concentrate on resolving them. The ways and means for that are provided by our revolu-

tionary theory and the practical experience of the socialist community. This refers to the multiform, universally applicable experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union; the fund of experience accumulated by other socialist countries, which is used and generalized by fraternal parties, and, last, the community's experience of cooperation, mutual assistance and mutual support.

Their common socio-economic system and identity of fundamental interests and aims is the objective basis for resolving problems in relations between the socialist countries and thereby assuring their continued progress. There is more joint discussion and elaboration of policy on the basic problems of building socialism and communism, on socialist economic integration, foreign aid and military policy, and the struggle against aggressive imperialism.

II. Socialist relations stem from the very nature of the new system, which is free of antagonistic contradictions, and have immense advantages over relations between capitalist countries. Unlike the latter, they are understood, accepted and actively supported by the people, for they are oriented on genuinely democratic and internationalist solutions. Democracy and equality in international relations are, of course, inconceivable in an exploitive society.

Still another characteristic is that the common, international interests of the socialist community do not conflict with the fundamental national interests of each of its members, but are harmoniously combined with them. More, the importance of the national factor in the policies of the Communist parties, particularly those in power, far from diminishing, is steadily increasing. Naturally, the common regularities of socialist development are always the decisive factor. Lenin teaches us that 'the transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*' ('The State and Revolution,' *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 413). The art of politics is constantly to take into account the dialectic of the international and national, the general and particular, so that the general laws of socialist development – the decisive factor – are combined with national specificities.

One thing that is being daily and increasingly demonstrated in relations between the socialist countries is that their community is not simply the sum-total of states, nor a conglomerate of socially, economically and politically homogeneous states. What we have is a world system, and it must function and develop as such, as the most progressive social system. First and foremost the accent has to be on the universally applicable laws of socialist development.

The contribution each socialist country makes to the community

and to the triumph of socialism and peace, is not limited to socialist construction in that country. For the success of each country depends on the common effort to consolidate the community as a whole.

Lenin trenchantly condemned attempts to put the national factor in the policy of one party or socialist state above proletarian internationalism. He wrote (in the 'Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions'): 'Petty-bourgeois nationalism proclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations, and nothing more . . . it preserves national self-interest intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a worldwide scale, and, second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital' (Vol. 31, p. 148).

Socialist construction in a number of countries has from the very outset been an international process. It would have been inconceivable without the victory of socialism in the USSR and the latter's victory in the Second World War. The rise of the socialist world system came at a time when the USSR had attained high political, social, economic, military and cultural levels in socialist construction and had become a world power. In performing the socialist revolution and in building the new society, the people's democracies have from the very start drawn on the tried and tested political experience and fraternal assistance of the CPSU and the USSR. They could rely on the Soviet Union's strength in defending their revolutionary gains. Hence, they have been building socialism in much more favorable international conditions than had the USSR, surrounded as it was by capitalist countries.

The socialist countries must form a firm alliance in order jointly to cope with the building of the new society and the fight against imperialism. And Lenin repeatedly stressed the need for such a close political, economic and military alliance of the republics that had broken away from capitalism. He said, in 1920: 'We, who are faced by a huge front of imperialist powers, we, who are fighting imperialism, represent an alliance that requires close military unity, and any attempt to violate this unity we regard as absolutely impermissible, as a betrayal of the struggle against international imperialism' (Vol. 30, p. 325).

Such an alliance has been formed in the Warsaw Treaty organization, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, in the bilateral treaties of friendship and alliance, and in the numerous agreements on cooperation in diverse fields. Joint effort has, in a historically short span, transformed the backward countries of East and South-East Europe into economically developed countries, free of exploitation, rapidly expanding their productive forces and steadily raising living standards. They have performed a veritable revolution in ideology and culture, have produced a new mentality

and morality, eliminated national oppression and are now forging ahead as new, socialist nations.

Closer fraternal relations give the socialist countries a bigger role in international affairs. In the early years of Soviet power, the USSR accounted for less than three per cent of world industrial output; the figure for the socialist world system today is approximately 39 per cent. What is more, the socialist world has a higher economic growth rate than the world of imperialism. For more than 20 years, the CMEA countries' economic, political and social growth has been harmonious and dynamic. In 1950 they accounted for some 18 per cent of world industrial output; today they account for nearly one-third, while the U.S. share is about one-quarter and Western Europe's slightly more than one fifth.

Free of the crises and contradictions of capitalism, the socialist world system, notwithstanding temporary setbacks in some areas, has become the most influential force of our age. Thanks to the existence of the USSR and its socialist allies, Europe, one of the world's main tension centers, is enjoying a long period of peace. Socialism's peace offensive is exerting an increasing influence on international politics. The peace program proclaimed by the 24th CPSU Congress has become the action program of the Warsaw Treaty nations and is being realized step by step, in tense struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism, which are vehemently opposed to detente.

III. The new type of international relations will gain more ground now that the socialist world system has entered a new phase. Its substance and aims were scientifically formulated at the recent congresses of fraternal parties. With its ninth five-year plan, the USSR is going a long way towards laying the material and technical basis of communism, and many other fraternal countries are well on the way to building a mature socialist society.

Taking their present development levels as a starting point, the Marxist-Leninist parties in the CMEA countries have made the central aim of their 1971-75 five-year plans – an aim that follows from the basic economic law of socialism – higher material and cultural standards through high growth rates in production, its higher effectiveness, scientific and technical progress and accelerated growth of labor productivity.

At a time when the socialist states are confidently marching towards bigger goals, the general crisis of capitalism is becoming more acute and the foundations of imperialism's leading country, the USA, are being shaken. Both these trends are changing the world balance in favor of socialism and peace. And as the 1969 Meeting emphasized, new opportunities now open for the growth of the revolutionary forces. However, they can be correctly utilized only if there is greater reliance on the subjective factor, i.e., the Marxist-Leninist policy and united action of the revolutionary parties. The anti-imperialist struggle will be successful – and this

was the central idea of the 1969 Meeting – if there is unity of the socialist world system and its firm alliance with the two other basic revolutionary forces of our age, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

All this predetermines, I think, the chief trend in socialist international relations. And it can be confidently said that they will develop in a way that will multiply the strength, unity and international influence of the socialist community – internal and international objective factors are working in that direction.

The successful building of the material and technical basis of communism in the USSR and the fashioning of developed socialist society in other fraternal countries, has added to the importance of the common tasks of socialist and communist construction. The historic task before all our countries is to combine the achievements of the technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, and no country, save the USSR, can tackle it single-handed.

The trend towards internationalization of production, disclosed by Marx and Lenin, is especially pronounced in this age of the scientific and technological revolution. The CMEA countries took this objective process into account in framing and beginning the implementation of their comprehensive socialist integration program for the next 15-20 years. It is more than an economic and technical program, for it envisages a coordinated policy of co-operation of CMEA members over a long period. Consequently, it has important political, social and defense implications, since it aims at the increasingly closer association of CMEA countries with the prospect of a united socialist world economy in the distant future.

At the present stage, much more importance attaches to political and ideological cooperation of the socialist countries. Their experience over the past quarter-century allows for a deeper and more realistic assessment of the objective and subjective conditions in charting continued development. They consider collective and systematic analysis of experience and of the new problems of socialist reality a major task of their community. Accordingly, relations between its members will to a greater extent be defined by cooperation of their Parties, state agencies, public organizations and research centers in the political, ideological, scientific and cultural fields.

In combination, this will enhance the dialectical process assuring the flourishing of the socialist nations, make for progressively closer association, and give more emphasis to their common socialist and communist features. And so, step by step, there are being formed the distinguishing features of an international socialist community. Of course, this is a long historical process and we cannot simply by-pass some of its stages. Now as always, we shall have to show maximum consideration for the interests and specifics of each socialist nation.

The objective international factor in promoting such relations between the socialist states is determined by the basic contradiction of our epoch, the confrontation of socialism and imperialism. There is an objective need for increasing coordination of our countries' foreign and military policies. Meetings of the General and First Central Committee Secretaries, meetings of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, of CMEA and its commissions, Foreign Ministers conferences, and many other multilateral and bilateral forms of joint discussion and joint action, and such contacts will acquire more importance in future.

Concerted international action by the socialist community accelerates the change in the alignment of forces to the advantage of socialism and has an increasing impact on world events. One example is the consolidation of the GDR's international position as a result of the agreed foreign policy of the Warsaw Treaty nations.

iv. In discussing relations between the socialist states, we must dwell on the role of the country that was the first to build socialism and is now the first to blaze mankind's path to communism—the leading role of the USSR. The fact that the socialist world system does not have an organizing center does not mean that it does not have its vanguard, its leading force. No socialist country exists in isolation, and all of them owe their origin to the Great October Revolution.

We know from historical materialism that the role of any state is determined above all by the nature of its social system. In this respect the Soviet Union is the world's most progressive, and therefore strongest power. History, the international class struggle, have objectively placed the CPSU and the Soviet state in the van.

The 1960 Conference of Communist and Workers' parties declared that 'the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steered contingent of the international Communist movement. The experience that the CPSU has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in socialist construction and in the full-scale construction of communism, is of fundamental significance for the whole of the world Communist movement.'

And if the Peking leaders engage in calumny against the Soviet Union, trying to clap onto it the bourgeois label of 'superpower' and virtually placing it on a plane with the USA, the main and most aggressive imperialist power—then we say: What good fortune for the peoples that in our day socialism and peace have such a powerful champion in the Soviet Union! And it is an incontrovertible truth that without the CPSU, without the USSR, there would be no socialist world system, no international Communist movement as we have it today, no powerful national liberation movement, no worldwide peace movement. The Soviet Army, equipped with the most modern weapons, reliably safeguards the security not only of the Land of Soviets, but of the

entire socialist community. We must be infinitely grateful to the Soviet people for their magnificent achievements and their selfless support of other socialist countries and of the entire revolutionary movement.

And now, after the 24th CPSU Congress, the Soviet Union's leading role in the world stands out even more vividly. Its economic and political strength are growing. And as the historic decisions of the 24th Congress are brought to reality, the international and universal importance of Communist construction in the USSR will acquire more meaning than ever before. The Soviet Union's dynamic growth will continue at an even faster pace, with more prominence given to the socialist and communist principles of the future commonwealth of free socialist nations. The treasure-store of Marxism-Leninism will be further enriched by new experience and by theoretical conclusions drawn from the practice of building a classless society.

The leading role belongs to those who pioneer human progress. That is why we believe that the record of relations in world socialism conclusively proves, in terms both of theory and practice, the need for close unity of all the socialist countries around the Soviet Union. And the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is proud of its close militant alliance with the CPSU and the USSR. It will exert every effort to extend and strengthen that alliance, which we guard and cherish.

Speaking at the Eighth Congress of the SUPG, its First Secretary, Erich Honecker, said: 'Our path, our results, our experience all reaffirm the basic lesson of history: the attitude to the Soviet Union and the CPSU has been, is, and always will be, the main touchstone of fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

'The 24th CPSU Congress guidelines for continued communist construction are of universal significance. For over 50 years now, the CPSU has been applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the problems of the world revolutionary process and the construction of the new social system. It has shown itself to be the most experienced and battle-seasoned party, the vanguard of the international Communist and Workers' movement. We assimilate the vast theoretical and practical experience of the Soviet Union and apply it in adaptation to our concrete conditions. In this way we assure complete unity of the general principles of socialist construction, which are of predominant significance, and the specific conditions of each given country.'

It is in the spirit of these ideas that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is making its contribution to the development of relations between the socialist countries and peoples.

Peaceful coexistence and ideology

François Billoux

1. 'Marxism,' Lenin wrote, 'requires of us a strictly exact and objectively verifiable analysis of the relations of classes and of the concrete features peculiar to each historical situation' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 43). This is absolutely indispensable in any scientific analysis of a given political situation and all the more so in analyzing the international relations of this epoch of passage from capitalism to socialism.

The problems of war and peace, of peaceful coexistence and of normalizing international relations occupy Marxist-Leninist parties more and more. It is important for them to determine the nature, general tendencies and concrete features of international relations.

Never before have the processes of destruction (of the old) and those of the world's fundamental renovation been as intensive as now. The battle between the forces of progress and reaction, between the national liberation movement and colonialism or neo-colonialism, between socialism and imperialism, is at its bitterest. Hence the grave crisis situations in so many countries. International relations are more complicated, the interdependence of internal processes and foreign policy is more pronounced, and the economic, political and social problems are more closely interlaced.

Seen from this angle, there is a dialectics of the thermonuclear and electronic age: the new and the old come into collision all down the line, and the opposite ideologies are more polarized. The thermonuclear and electronic age has transformed war into a qualitatively new phenomenon imperilling the very survival of mankind. And Marxist-Leninists are conscious of their responsibility to the peoples and future generations. Facing up to the new situation, they are working to bar the road to war, to assure enduring peace, to pave the way for the world's revolutionary reconstruction and to deliver mankind from the imperialist yoke. The battle for peace is in full harmony and merges with the battle for the Marxist-Leninist ideals.

And we cannot afford either apathy or indifference in this clash of the forces of war and peace. The dangers implicit in modern weapons are compelling peace-loving governments and peoples to redouble their effort to prevent a third world war.

Is it possible in our divided world to repattern relations between states of the two opposite social systems, to establish mutual confidence and sincere cooperation with the object of consolidating the peace? The reply of the ultra-Left elements, as we know, is a cate-

gorical 'no.' Ideological beliefs being irreconcilable, they argue, mutual confidence is out of the question. And imperialist ideologists are of the same opinion. Sincere and fruitful cooperation between states of different social systems, they hold, is impossible because of the ferocious ideological struggle.

But what is the situation really like? This question brings us to a far broader problem: the relation of foreign policy and ideology. Could foreign policy rise above ideology and be free from its influence? That is not possible any more than supra-class home policy is possible in a class society. It would be wrong, however, to identify policy and ideology in the international context. The difference between them should be distinctly appreciated. In foreign policy compromise is permissible so long as it helps resolve an international problem. In ideology, on the other hand, it is completely ruled out.

Nor are these abstract points, for they concern the practical essence and the theory of foreign policy. Irreconcilable ideological struggle and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are in no way an incompatible alternative. We are witness to diverse ties between socialist and capitalist countries in the political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural domains without the socialist countries renouncing their criticism or halting the struggle against the capitalist world in all areas.

Political cooperation based on principle is not, therefore, an ideological compromise. Conversely, ideological struggle is not an obstacle to a policy of peace.

In the present complex, contradictory and changeable international situation the forms and methods of negotiation must be oriented on a pacific settlement of disputes. Negotiations imply the effort by all parties to comprehend the interest of each. Apart from the usual diplomatic channels, the method of international conferences, meetings of statesmen, including at top level, symposia of members of parliaments, and of scientists, etc., at which the interested parties exchange opinions and thoroughly analyze all aspects of the problem at hand, has won general approbation and yielded good results. These media for discussion at all levels – official and semi-official, governmental and non-governmental, depending on the importance of the questions raised – are essential for the effective functioning of international cooperation. They facilitate a common search in a climate of mutual respect for constructive solutions, for accommodation and regulation acceptable to all states, and certainly help to consolidate the peace. This is just the sort of thing known in diplomatic parlance as mutual understanding.

These principles of negotiation are the result of concrete historical processes and struggles pursued throughout the existence of mankind. They link the states of the world without requiring any formal endorsement and are of the same order as the principle of non-interference or the sovereign equality of states, and should like the latter become concrete rules in the daily and regular practice of inter-state relations.

They must become daily practice, which implies renunciation of all preconditions and all attempts to make negotiation conditional on preliminary unilateral demands, renunciation of pressures and threats and separate arrangements aimed against other states, renunciation of 'alibis' designed to demonstrate the futility of negotiations, presenting them as doomed to failure before they even get off the ground, and, last but not least, renunciation of rigid frameworks presented with the avowed intent of resorting to force in the event of failure or rupture in order to compel the partner to accept one's conditions.

The rule prohibiting use or threat of force is based on the peoples' right to decide their own affairs, their right to free negotiations and to international accords reached on a basis of equality. It was born in, and is becoming an imperative of, an epoch in which the peoples are combatting the tendency of 'rapprochements' by aggression and annexation more and more efficaciously.

It is these dialectically interacting elements that arise in the analysis of the problem of mutual confidence. A problem of international morality upon which contemporary international law confers due authority, it is also a problem of principle, imposing the obligation of peaceful coexistence and a peaceful settlement of international differences. In the last analysis, it is a question of each nation's right to peace.

The states, some may retort, are entitled to choose their own methods of regulating relations. And it is quite true that the prohibition of the use or threat of force and the obligation of peaceful cooperation require a clear and conclusive interpretation, so that the objective of either is fully attained. Increasingly, the norms of international life are being purged of abstract constructions and incorporate the democratic gains of present-day world relations, guaranteeing satisfactory solutions for the problems at hand.

Concretely, these norms are: settlement of international problems by peaceful means; renunciation of the use or threat of force as a means of settling disputes; cooperation by all states in safeguarding peace and suppressing the aggressor. Effectuation of these norms depends, in substance, on the observance of such other principles of international law which require that international relations should be based on the sovereign equality of all states irrespective of their political or social system, their importance or geographic situation, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for freely accepted international obligations.

These principles are a great democratic gain for modern international law, the foundation for the peaceful cooperation of states, for negotiation leading not only to mutual confidence, but – and this is much more important – also to concrete actions safeguarding international security and peace.

These principles are the substance of the chapter on the foreign policy of independence, peace and cooperation in the Program of the democratic Popular Unity government drawn up by the French

Communist Party and placed for approval before the people of France. The program shows that the nation's effort to advance the country to economic and political democracy, and then to socialism, by ways and means it will choose by itself, will not be put in jeopardy by any outside interference, pressure or reprisal.

'In its relation with other countries,' the Program says, 'France will follow the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality of rights, peaceful settlement of international disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, and renunciation of the use or threat of force aimed at changing existing frontiers or imposing the choice of allies or the political and social system on another people.'

And further: 'The democratic government will promote the development of new, democratic relations among all nations. Striving to contribute to the consolidation of lasting peace by its presence and initiative, France shall henceforth participate actively in all negotiations designed to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament.'

The reaffirmation of these principles ties in the national tasks of the consistent democratic government program and the revolutionary content of the progressive passage from advanced democracy to socialism, on the one hand, with the nation's internationalist duty to the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, on the other.

Indeed, whatever opportunists may say to the contrary, there can be no contradiction between the tasks of the revolutionary class struggle and the peaceful coexistence of states, which in fact facilitates the peoples' struggle for progress and liberty, for national independence and socialism.

II. The leaders of the imperialist powers are waking up to the danger of using suicidal technico-military instruments as a political tool. This is not a sign of 'humanism,' but the logical effect of the relation of strength between socialism and capitalism and of the destructiveness of inter-continental rockets and nuclear bombs.

But in these things nothing is automatic and nothing occurs by itself. Still in possession of vast resources, imperialism refuses to admit that the balance of strength has changed against it and is trying to alter matters by intensifying the arms race and maintaining seats of conflict in different parts of the globe.

Its aggressive nature has not changed. Compelled to suit its actions to the changing world and having lost the historical initiative, it is still trying to play the part of guarantor and guardian of the international system of exploitation and oppression, and to interfere in the affairs of other peoples. It does not hesitate to violate their legitimate rights and sovereignty. By force of arms and the power of money it tries to impose its will on them, on whole regions of the earth. It gives aid and succor to all the retrograde and militarist forces—the hangmen of the peoples of Spain and Portugal, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, the Greek fascists, the British Conservatives, oppressors of Northern

Ireland, the neo-Nazis of West Germany, and the racists of South Africa.

Existing or potential seats of war and 'hot points' do not spring up spontaneously, through unforeseen or fortuitous circumstances. Whatever the external form of a conflict and whatever the aspects in which international tension arises, the source is invariably traceable to the aggressive line of imperialism, first of all American imperialism.

During the postwar, imperialism started more than 30 local wars and armed conflicts of different kinds, and every time, the international repercussions had been dangerous. The most glaring examples of this adventurous policy are to be seen in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Its objective is to prosecute war directly or through intermediaries in order to win strategic positions or uphold the right to colonial pillage.

This may be illustrated by the American theory of 'filling the vacuum' created by the collapse of the former British and French imperialist positions. Even the pretexts advanced for this 'vacuum theory' after Dien-Bien-Phu and the nationalization of the Suez Canal (the Eisenhower Doctrine), betray imperialism's aggressive nature.

The spearhead of imperialist policy is directed against the forces of revolution and progress, against the national liberation movement now building up into a struggle against the regime of exploitation generally. It is aimed against socialism as a social system and against the socialist community.

Imperialism has not abandoned its designs; neither has it renounced preparations for a global armed aggression against the socialist countries. However, it is conscious of the risks implicit in a nuclear conflict and is resorting to 'local wars' in the hope of weakening socialism in various regions of the world. Hence the cardinal importance of the coordinated anti-imperialist strategy and tactics of frustrating the designs of the aggressors, and repulsing and foiling their plots against peace. The question of united action by the anti-imperialist and peace forces is acquiring ever more decisive significance with the growth of the political consciousness of broader sections of society, objectively impelled to take a common view of the course of events and the new international phenomena.

And its significance is all the greater, because the contradictions between imperialists are becoming more acute and the chances of 'local wars' growing into a world war are therefore greater. Suffice it to refer to the crisis of the imperialist international monetary system and its consequences for the capitalist world economy, which includes the developing countries, and to the crisis afflicting the home and foreign policy of the imperialist powers.

The pronounced tendency towards detente in Europe, the steps normalizing international relations, are the result of the present world balance of strength and, chiefly, of the consistent peace

policy, the continuous peace initiative, of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

American imperialism is trying to undermine the tendency towards a better international climate. It employs a whole arsenal of political, ideological, economic and military means to create new seats of war, which, as conceived by the imperialists, would enable them to exercise pressure on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The evolution of U.S. military doctrines, notably the now evolving 'strategy of realistic deterrence,' dovetailing with the political doctrine of passing from the 'era of confrontation' to the 'era of negotiation,' is ample evidence that Washington has not renounced its 'positions from strength' policy.

In the context of the present-day world the 'realistic deterrence' strategy combines nuclear blackmail of socialist countries, 'nuclear diplomacy' as a means of consolidating the U.S. 'partnership' with Western Europe, and insistent appeals to the allies of U.S. imperialism in the various blocs to accelerate the arms race. Washington's favorable reaction to the various nuclear alliance projects of the British Conservatives, advanced of late in connection with Britain's entry into the Common Market, is typical of this 'nuclear diplomacy.' U.S. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird described 'realistic deterrence' as a strategy for applying the Nixon Doctrine. It requires other countries to assure their own defense (except in the nuclear sphere), particularly by providing manpower. It encourages them to rely on themselves in matters of defense, and envisages U.S. economic and military aid to countries where American interests are at stake.

Whether it is a question of its old objectives or its new means, the Nixon Doctrine, also known as the Guam Doctrine, is not a negation, but rather a development of former imperialist postures adapted to the aggravation of contradictions among capitalist countries and to the continuously growing general crisis of imperialism.

It is a mistake to think that American imperialism has decided to renounce its policy of strength, and just as much of a mistake to exaggerate its resources. If there has been a reorientation in U.S. foreign policy, then only to the extent to which it is part of imperialism's general retreat. In essence, however, it rests as before on the basic principles of the militaristic 'positions from strength' doctrine, of which Melvin Laird said that its three facets are: 'Adequate strength, true partnership, and meaningful negotiations.'

The invariable official U.S. propaganda theme is that negotiating with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries from positions of weakness is futile. Hence the specious postulate of Manlio Brosio, former NATO Secretary-General, that stepped-up military preparations and further consolidation of the Atlantic Alliance, and 'close association' between Western Europe and the United States is the only likely way to bring about genuine mutual understanding between East and West.

More and more, the Atlantic bloc is becoming the main bastion

of West European reaction, a kind of center for forces still clinging to the bankrupt policy of cold war, intensive arming and implacable hatred of socialism and communism. Which adds special importance to the battle for peaceful coexistence, easing international tension.

It being no longer possible to allege a Soviet military threat and thereby cow its own people, its allies and rivals into compliance, U.S. imperialism is falling back on pressure tactics. In the November 1971 debates of the NATO nuclear planning group in Brussels, centering on the uses of tactical nuclear arms, Pentagon strategists declared they would not hesitate to be the first to employ these arms in the event of war, and not in the field of battle alone, but also in densely populated areas of certain countries, including those of Western Europe. This nuclear blackmail is in flagrant contradiction with the processes of détente and European security.

The question of inter-imperialist contradictions is tied up with the possibility of 'local wars' spiralling into a world conflagration. And this should attract the closest worldwide attention. It would be folly to regard the statements of Pentagon strategists as a purely scholastic exercise or an academic discussion divorced from the actual realities of the contemporary world.

III. In each stage of postwar history, leaning on the main components of the world revolutionary process assuring a favorable balance of strength, the peoples have frustrated imperialist attempts to halt their mounting offensive and to obstruct the consolidation of socialism. And it is quite possible to inflict new, more decisive defeats. Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence is winning ever greater recognition on the international scene. It has become a real force in world development. The main credit for this goes to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to their active foreign policy.

In our time every genuinely peaceable government, regardless of the social order, is aware of the danger implicit in American imperialism's aggressive policy, which engenders armed conflicts and imperils world peace and security.

Peaceful coexistence does not come about by itself. The Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties says it has to be imposed on the imperialists. And in the time since the Meeting there have been many examples to show that despite the resistance of the extreme aggressive imperialist forces the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence is asserting itself more and more vigorously. Policy based on it offers good prospects for solving the main contradiction of our time without recourse to a nuclear collision, the prospect of lasting peace in Europe, Asia, and the rest of the world.

This is of enormous importance for the ideological struggle to win the masses for Marxism-Leninism. Defence of the Leninist peaceful coexistence principle, therefore, is a class objective with a revolutionary content. It is an internationalist duty of all anti-imperialist forces and a decisive contribution to the socialist and communist cause.

Peaceful coexistence is a specific form of class and revolutionary struggle. It contributes to the revolutionary process and to the renovation of the world. Thus, it gives the lie to the opportunist contention that it conflicts with the tasks of the revolutionary class struggle.

Marxist-Leninists attach immense importance to promoting further international détente and to extending economic, technical and cultural cooperation between states of different social systems.

Lenin elaborated a minimum and a maximum program in international relations. In the minimum program he included denunciation of imperialist aggression, struggle against militarism and the war danger and general arms reduction and complete disarmament. It is a program of fighting for peace while capitalism still exists.

After the October Revolution, he stressed the necessity of 'peaceful cohabitation' by states of differing social systems. He insisted, on the other hand, that the war danger would persist as long as imperialism survived. That is why the maximum program defines the victory of socialism on a world scale as the surest guarantee against war.

Unlike the abstract pacifists, who supplant class struggle and socialist revolution with sermons of peace, Communists regard the battle for the democratic and revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism in inter-state relations as decisive for foreign policy.

They mobilize the masses and call for unity in safeguarding peace against imperialist aggression. They support the revolutionary struggle in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement. And they organize solidarity with victims of the reactionary regimes in Spain, Portugal, Greece, Northern Ireland and elsewhere, and with forces battling for liberation from the colonial yoke.

The revolutionary approach implies knowledge of the place and role of each class in the complex processes of international life and the aggregate of social and national relationships. This is why, guided by the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, Communists reject the contention of Leftist adventurers that settlement of the central problem of peace can wait until the total defeat of world imperialism. Likewise, they reject the Right opportunists' attempts to separate the peace movement from the anti-imperialist struggle.

As a general rule, in the present conditions abandonment of proletarian internationalism is associated with the negation of the decisive role in the world revolutionary process of the existing socialist states, and negation of the internationalist duty of all revolutionaries to defend this base of world revolution and the positions of socialism in each country in accordance with national conditions.

Taking guidance in the interdependent national and international tasks, the French Communists support the people's desire for détente and for economic, political, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation among states with differing social systems.

They acclaim the positive results of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's visit to France. In harmony with the consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union, this visit has brought about remarkable progress in Franco-Soviet relations. It marks a new phase in the battle for détente in Europe, where favorable conditions are at hand for consolidating peace. In sum, it is a splendid example of peaceful co-existence principles in action.

The American press described the Soviet statesmen paying return visits and engaging in consultations and negotiations with leaders of other countries as 'globe trotters for peace.' Contacts of this kind help ameliorate the international political climate and invigorate cooperation among states and peoples.

Conditions are shaping up for a European security and cooperation conference in 1972. Public opinion and action by European peoples can be determinative in bringing it about. World progressives also welcomed the Soviet proposals for a five-power nuclear conference and a world conference for disarmament, reduction of arms and armed forces in the center of Europe, outlawing of bacteriological weapons and halting underground nuclear tests. Headway has been recorded in the strategic arms limitation talks with the United States and in negotiations for the prevention of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons.

The peace program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, known in all continents, is exercising a beneficial effect. It represents a principled strategic policy with a clear class orientation and a militant consistently anti-imperialist spirit. It is realistic and constructive in its approach to the most urgent international problems, the solution of which presupposes steps leading to peace and security.

Its clarity of aims, precise definition of the practical tasks and choice of the most efficacious means, makes the dynamic Soviet foreign policy a concentration of initiatives that have won it popularity and success. Noting the enormous impact on the masses of the Soviet peace program, some progressive political leaders venture the opinion that it will soon be possible to plan peace. What conditions and what actions by the peace forces can help bring this about? So far, the progressive leaders have not been able to offer anything concrete in this important domain. Imperialist ideologues, on the other hand, pretending to define the criteria of security 'more accurately,' have dug up moth-eaten theories of 'strategic equilibrium' to try and impose their diktat on the world. Their recipes are numerous, including 'equilibrium of terror,' 'balance of power,' 'bloc pluralism,' and the like; their common denominator, however, is the goal of renewing tensions on the pretext of safeguarding peace.

Their class orientation and ideological content are the same as in the past. While leaving aside the history of the balance of power policy proclaimed in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the Treaty of Paris in 1815, which constituted the basis for rivalry between the European powers and Great Britain, we may recall that none

other than Bismarck said with reference to the balance of power policy that the object was always to be *à trois* so long as the world was governed by the unstable balance of five powers. The argument that the balance is upset has repeatedly served as a pretext for war.

To justify the clamor of the U.S. military-industrial complex and the Pentagon for continued build-up of the military potential, some bourgeois scholars associated with arms production contend that 'balance of power is as much a law of politics as gravitation is a law of physics.' What else can there be behind this contention but the wish to legalize arming, designate the state of peace as the intermission between wars, and prolong the period of 'armed détente'?

Underlying all these conceptions is the idea that war is fatally inevitable.

In the setting of international cooperation imperatively required by the objective conditions of world development, bourgeois propaganda makes a virtue of necessity trying to cover up the breakdown of the concept and practice of cold war with the plea for 'political pragmatism' against 'dogma.' By 'dogma' they imply the methodological principles of Marxism-Leninism, the scientific and class approach to the international situation in motion, with its high and low tides, and by it they also imply fidelity to the lofty and peaceful ideals of the Communists and anti-imperialists.

Not all partisans of 'political pragmatism,' among whom we may also encounter the present leaders of monopoly power in France, belong to the big bourgeoisie. Some may even be listed among the advocates of peaceful coexistence, though their interpretation of it proceeds from a narrowly conceived national factor detrimental to the internationalist duty of anti-imperialist unity and cohesion.

The vital, as well as the long-term interests of the peoples, coincide. That is the profound source of proletarian internationalism. On no account may the class enemies of the world's revolutionary renovation be allowed to gain new trumps in their fight against socialism, against the anti-imperialist, progressive and peace-loving forces.

Whatever the revisionists and bourgeois theorists may say to the contrary, affirmation of the peaceful coexistence principle and normalization of international relations does not blunt the ideological struggle. Quite the reverse.

Peaceful coexistence implies that wars between states are excluded and that differences arising between them are settled at the negotiation table and not in the battlefield. Coexistence is not simply absence of war, but also cooperation in the economic, political, scientific, technical and cultural domains.

In the conditions of détente, the battle between the two systems in the world arena is shifting more and more to the ideological domain. In the present stage, the imperialists are doing their utmost

to retain their influence on the minds of people, trying to prevail on them that anti-communism is the only acceptable national creed. Campaigns for men's minds are conducted on a large scale in all the citadels of capitalism, revealing the increasingly closer bond between home and foreign policy and accentuating the necessity for mass efforts to impose peaceful coexistence and observance of commitments assumed in its framework.

In both the national and international contexts this is one of the most important aspects of the ideological class struggle to win over the peoples to socialism and communism, which shows the surest and most effective way to mankind's peaceful future.

Socialism's impact on system of international relations

Erwin Scharf

Two key positions relating to socialism's impact on international relations were formulated by the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. First, that world development is now determined by the sharpening confrontation of socialism and imperialism, the forces of progress and reaction. Second, that the socialist system, the international working class, all the revolutionary forces, are exerting increasing influence on world affairs. The two tendencies operate side by side: there is the socialist policy of détente and peace, and the aggressiveness of imperialism, still a powerful and dangerous foe.

1. Foreign policy is part of the overall policy of a state and its ruling class.

In foreign policy, the class nature of explosive states is expressed in orientation on wars of aggrandizement, domination and plunder of other countries. Socialist policy, in sharp contrast, is oriented on curbing the aggressor and assuring the peoples peace and independence.

That is fully borne out by the record of the USSR and other socialist countries. It was under the slogan of peace that the Bolshevik party led the people in socialist revolution, and it was in the battle for peace that they consolidated its gains. Lenin regarded Soviet foreign policy as a means, primarily, of assuring

optimal conditions for the development of the revolution and the building of socialism. Accordingly, the Soviet government worked for diplomatic relations and peace treaties with its neighbors and the leading capitalist powers. Soviet Russia liberated the nations oppressed by tsarism, guaranteed and implemented their right to self-determination. And in December 1922, on Communist initiative, the young Soviet republics joined together in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which has proved the most effective form of promoting and safeguarding their national and social interests.

Surrounded by imperialist states and faced with the fascist menace, the USSR sought to create a collective security system and prevent war. In World War II, that great ordeal for the Soviet state, the Red Army made the decisive contribution to victory over the aggressor. Relying on the country's socialist industry and collective farming, on the close-knit unity of its people, and fighting in alliance with the armies of the other anti-Hitler states and with the Resistance force, it liberated the peoples enslaved by fascism and opened to them the road to independence and social progress.

In this, too, we see the dual function of socialist foreign policy, viz., defense of the revolutionary gains, assurance of the conditions needed to build socialism and communism, and solidarity with and assistance to, revolutionary movements, to all oppressed peoples battling against imperialist aggression, for national and social emancipation.

The rise of the Soviet state was the rise also of a fundamentally new and powerful factor for peace and national independence. The Soviet state became the chief adversary of all the forces set on using every available means, including armed force, to preserve a system of relations based on domination and submission, and to keep colonialism alive. Lenin drew attention to these sweeping changes in international relations. Addressing the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, he pointed out that '... reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 241). The confrontation of the two socio-economic systems affects every aspect of international life. International relations have acquired a new dimension, now that they have become an arena of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism. And confrontation of the two systems likewise acquired a new dimension with the emergence of the socialist world system. It is exerting an increasing influence on the struggle for social progress and national independence in literally every part of the world. The revolutionizing impact of socialism as state power is of inestimable assistance to the international working class and the progressive forces fighting for democratic rights and freedoms and to the national liberation movement.

For the socialist states this poses the important and complex problem of organically combining socialist internationalism, the guiding principle of the socialist community, with peaceful coexistence with countries of a differing social system, and solidarity with peoples fighting for national and social liberation.

II. The rise of socialism as state power and its extension beyond one country generated a new, progressive type of international relations. However, that is but one aspect of socialism's revolutionizing impact on world politics, an objective aspect, one relatively independent of the conscious activity of governments and leaders, of their subjective attitudes to socialism, etc. The other aspect is the changes in international relations resulting from the socialist states' consciously pursued policy towards individual countries or groups of countries. These interconnected aspects of a single process are indicative of the truly revolutionary and worldwide transformation socialism has wrought in international diplomacy and law, in the content, forms and principles of foreign policy.

The new type of relations between the socialist countries is a major element in the system of modern international relations, which are subject to the growing influence of socialism, and also a decisive precondition for the continued growth of this influence. This, however, does not come within the purview of this article and should be treated separately. What should be emphasized is this: socialism's increasing impact on international relations is not a mechanical process independent of the subjective activity of men, something, so to say, beyond their sphere of competence. On the contrary, it is very largely determined by the concrete efforts of the peoples, parties and governments of the socialist countries to strengthen their unity. And a priority task today is coordination of their comprehensive economic and political cooperation and elaboration of effective forms and methods of foreign policy activity. Their foreign policy is determined by the very essence of socialist internationalism, the ever-present imperialist menace and the need to give maximum support to peoples fighting for national and social emancipation.

In discussing socialism's impact on international relations we should not overlook the central issue of world politics, namely, the issue of war and peace. Negotiated settlement of disputes between states of the two systems on the basis of peaceful coexistence is the realistic alternative to imperialist aggression. Of course, the socialist states cannot, by the fact of their existence, alter the nature of imperialism, but their growing strength lessens the possibility of imperialist aggression.

That is clearly evidenced by American imperialism's discomfiture in Vietnam, 'The war in Vietnam,' the 1969 International Meeting declared, 'is the most convincing proof of the contradictions between imperialism's aggressive plans and its ability to put these

plans into effect. In Vietnam U.S. imperialism, the most powerful of the imperialist partners, is suffering defeat, and this is of historic significance. . . . The successes of the heroic Vietnamese people are convincing proof that in our day it is becoming increasingly possible for peoples resolutely using all means to defend their independence, sovereignty and freedom and enjoying broad international support, to defeat imperialist aggression.'

That is how things stand today. Under the impact of socialism, international relations are more than ever the concern of the people. Coordinated action by the socialist countries is backed by the energetic actions of the working class and all peace lovers, with the result that imperialism constantly finds itself obliged to retreat.

That imperialism has not been able to plunge the world into a global military confrontation of the two systems, which would be fraught with nuclear catastrophe, is one of the greatest achievements of world socialism and of the progressive forces. The greater the might and influence of socialism, the greater becomes the scope for peaceful coexistence, with the imperialist powers forced to respect national sovereignty and equality of all states, non-interference in their internal affairs, and the right of oppressed peoples to national liberation. And this means more favorable conditions for socialist construction, for the class struggle in the capitalist countries and for the advance of the national liberation movement. In other words, socialism is steadily imposing on imperialism forms of the international class struggle that are to the advantage of the working class and all working people.

We thus have further proof that peaceful coexistence is socialism's class policy. There are still many impediments, but also impressive successes, thanks to the initiative and perseverance of the USSR and other socialist countries. Recent years have seen treaties envisaging regular consultations on international problems and wider economic, scientific and technical contacts. Successful development of relations between the USSR and France, better relations between the USSR and the FRG and the four-power agreement on West Berlin, are of special importance for European and world peace. The stage has thus been set for the all-European security and cooperation conference initiated by the Warsaw Treaty nations.

III. There is no over-estimating socialism's beneficial influence on the international relations of developing countries: in the socialist states they have a faithful and powerful ally against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Many of these countries are still objects of imperialist exploitation, are integrated in the capitalist world economy; their indebtedness to the imperialist powers now stands at about \$50 billion and continues to grow. Imperialist 'aid' is not solving any of their vital problems. A hopeless situation, it would seem. But

with the world balance tipped in socialism's favor, they are in a much better position to break out of imperialist exploitation. The emergence of the socialist world market has ended the imperialist economic monopoly, in the past a major means of keeping them in thrall. The fact that there are socialist states always ready to assist peoples fighting for freedom acts as a brake on the aggressive imperialist forces and substantially restricts the export of counter-revolution to areas of the national liberation movement. Financial assistance, aid in organizing production and training personnel, mutually-advantageous trade, military, moral, political and diplomatic support – such is by no means a complete list of the forms in which world socialism influences social processes in these countries.

There is another, more oblique aspect of world socialism's support of national liberation. Socialist assistance to under-developed countries is forcing the imperialist powers to modify their policy towards them – grant more loans, on easier terms, etc. In this way, cooperation of socialist and developing states is having a wholesome effect on international relations, even on the pattern of relations with the capitalist world system.

It has not, of course, changed the pattern of imperialist 'aid,' which is still being used as a means of political pressure, bribery and blackmail, but with diminishing success. The most recent example is the developing countries' support – in the teeth of strong U.S. pressure – of China's admission to the United Nations and the expulsion of Taiwan.

The days are long past when U.S. imperialism, commanding a mechanical majority in the UN, could use UN resolutions to mask aggression, as it did in the Korean war. In voting for such progressive proposals as the USSR-sponsored declaration on strengthening international security at the 1970 Assembly, the imperialist powers were simply 'saving face.' But the peoples are not being taken in. They know that this change of tactics in the UN is the result of the growing international influence of the socialist countries, their closer alliance with the young developing states.

And this alliance not only helps developing countries in their fight for political and economic independence. For many of them it means exceptionally favorable international conditions (material and ideological) for social progress and non-capitalist development. That is a cardinal socio-political result of socialism's revolutionizing impact.

It stands to reason that realization of these opportunities depends to a very great extent on the alignment of class forces within the developing countries, and in this respect the situation is complicated and contradictory. However, Communists and progressives are inspired by the fact that tens of millions throughout the world have opted for a socialist orientation. In foreign policy this is expressed in closer cooperation with the socialist states, mutual assistance and solidarity and joint struggle against imperialist aggression.

Relations between socialist and developing countries are not confined to unilateral support. The socialist world exerts a decisive influence on the disintegration of the colonial system, the spread of progressive trends in the developing countries. The changing situation has given it new allies against imperialism. Lenin's prophetic words about the inevitable merger of the working-class struggle for socialism with the liberation movement of colonial and other peoples oppressed by imperialism, is becoming a reality. And the constantly strengthening alliance of world socialism and the national liberation movement is a powerful factor and inalienable part of the deep-going revolutionary changes in the entire system of international relations.

iv. The growing might of socialism and the new alignment of world forces are exerting a very substantial, direct and indirect influence on the character and principles of relations between the developed capitalist states, on the forms and specifics of inter-imperialist contradictions.

As socialism gains in strength, the imperialist powers find themselves increasingly compelled to concert their efforts against world socialism and the national liberation movement. The United States, the leader of the capitalist world, is trying to devise a joint foreign-policy strategy for all the imperialist countries against states committed to peace, national independence, social progress and socialism. This common strategy can be seen in economic discrimination of both socialist and developing countries, the formation of aggressive military alliances, support of reactionary organizations and counter-revolutionary plots, and in anti-Communist propaganda. The imperialists are making every effort to influence, directly or indirectly, the international relations and domestic policies of the socialist countries. Economic pressure is only one of their many methods. Others are support, wherever possible, of nationalistic tendencies and exploitation of contradictions and conflict situations between individual socialist countries. This anti-Communist strategy is spearheaded against the Soviet Union, the natural center of the socialist community and of all anti-imperialist forces.

But with the growing strength of socialism and of the progressive forces, with contraction of the sphere of the imperialist policy of aggression, there is a marked trend in various capitalist countries towards an autonomous foreign policy independent of the United States, for example, the withdrawal of several governments from the American military gamble in Indochina and the Middle East, the anti-American actions in connection with the dollar crisis, elements of a trade war between the USA and the Common Market countries, etc.

The desire of some imperialist states to break out of the U.S. diktat and to pursue an independent international policy prompts them to form closer ties with the socialist countries on the basis

of peaceful coexistence, and they meet with understanding from the socialist side.

Significantly, the long and persevering socialist effort for equality, and mutual economic advantage, against discrimination in international relations is, in one or another form, having its effect on economic contacts between the developed capitalist countries themselves. This is one more proof of the truly universal character of socialist influence on international relations. And proof, also, that the present, more congenial coexistence climate is not the result of the capitalist countries fundamentally changing their policy, but of socialism's growing economic and political capability.

v. This article cannot cover the vast diversity of socialist influence on world development. That influence extends to every aspect of world affairs. As a system opposed to capitalism, socialism enables the smaller but highly developed capitalist countries to be less dependent on their more powerful capitalist 'friends' and more effectively to withstand their pressure.

That, too, was foreseen by Lenin. In 1920 Soviet Russia concluded a peace treaty with Estonia, in Lenin's definition one of the wavering countries '... which, as bourgeois states, detest us, but which, on the other hand, as oppressed states, prefer peace with us. . . .' And he further remarked: 'The Soviet Republic enjoys tremendous popularity among all the Eastern peoples for the same reason that made it possible for us to conclude a peace treaty with a small Western state, because they see in us an unswerving fighter against imperialism' (Vol. 30, pp. 323 and 326). Lenin expressed the same idea on another occasion, saying that the existence and policy of the Soviet state 'is grouping around the Soviet Republic those capitalist countries which are being strangled by imperialism' (Vol. 31., pp. 477-78).

The truth of these predictions was demonstrated with especial clarity after World War II, when a new alignment of forces was formed. It affected Austria's position: it was given neutral status and with it the opportunity to steer an independent course. That spelled failure for the plans of the Western occupation powers, who had prepared a so-called 'short treaty' envisaging a large part of the country tied to NATO's strategy.

Not all advantages of the 1955 neutrality act adopted by the Austrian National Council have been brought to bear. Many leading politicians want Austria to be an associate member of EEC, and the top military long for cooperation with NATO. There is still a deep rift between official assurances and actual foreign policy. Nonetheless, our people have an unparalleled opportunity: they can prevent Austria being dragooned into imperialist military alliances and closed economic blocs and give our neutrality and independence a firmer foundation. But all that will require much effort and struggle.

Austria has felt the socialist impact on international relations also in another, indirect sense. For a time the imperialist powers

followed a policy of pampering little Austria, which borders on the socialist world. The idea was to make capitalism viable in Austria and through economic assistance turn it into a show window of the capitalist world. Irrespective of how one assesses the consequences of this policy from the standpoint of the material interests of certain sections of the Austrian population, there is no ignoring its deliberate anti-Communist aims and content.

It will thus be seen that, apart from everything else, the attractive power of socialism helps the working class of capitalist countries in its fight, gives it more confidence and moral support. Thanks to the outstanding achievements of socialism in Austria's East European neighbors, workers in all capitalist countries, and not only in ours, are wresting more concessions from the bourgeoisie in the fight for their social, political and economic demands, for the right to work, etc.

At the same time, the attractive power of the socialist countries is forcing the anti-Communist propaganda experts to rely more on their demagogic versions of quasi-socialist development and counterpose to socialist reality their own Social-Democratic alternative. In line with this, Dr. Kreisky, the Austrian Socialist Party President, has promised a social democracy, a flexible policy and democratization of public life. Trade union leader Benya resorted to much the same hazy promises at the last trade union congress. All this social demagogy, so characteristic of the Right-wing Social-Democrats in other European countries too, is widely used by the monopoly-serving mass media to manipulate public opinion.

Imperialism still has powerful means of conducting its aggressive policy. This calls for constant vigilance, closer unity of the anti-imperialist front and, primarily, of its main force, the socialist world system.

Its peaceful foreign policy is of tremendous assistance to Communist parties in the capitalist countries in mobilizing the working people against aggressive imperialist policy, for détente and peace. And this mass struggle is intimately associated with the revolutionary impact of socialism. It helps produce favorable conditions for consistent implementation of the ideas of peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism.

The 'third world' in the world arena

Mohamed Harmel

'The period of the awakening of the East in the contemporary revolution is being succeeded by a period in which all the Eastern peoples will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply objects of the enrichment of others.' V. I. Lenin

(**Coll. Works**, Vol. 30, p. 160)

The swift emergence on the international scene of a hundred independent nations with all their problems and demands, and their sometimes startling postures, has created a new situation in world politics. And forced to adapt to it, bourgeois ideologues are dedicating one concept after another to underdeveloped countries. Their place in the system of world relations is an object of continuous equivocation.

In principle, bourgeois ideology admits to recognizing the Afro-Asian countries' right to independence; it pretends to respect national sovereignty, long trampled underfoot and still denied to the people of the Portuguese colonies; it even concedes the need to overcome economic backwardness and devises schemes of 'aid' and 'assistance,' while in fact trying to hold back, neutralize or, if possible, exploit their development for its own interests. Hence, it is up to Marxists to continue exposing bourgeois concepts that distort the problems of the former colonial world.

Even apparently harmless concepts may be used for purposes of misrepresentation. The term Third World suggests the existence in the world of three groups of countries. A convenient formula, it has quickly become common usage. But it contains an element of ideological vagueness, because it gives no clue to the relationship between countries of the different groups. Other concepts circulated by bourgeois theoreticians or ultra-Leftists are more definitely oriented and therefore ideologically more dangerous. Take clichés like 'rich and poor countries,' 'affluent North,' 'poor South' and 'proletarian nations.' In the case of the last-named loose use of a Marxist word is designed to suggest the developing countries have but exploited classes and the developed capitalist states only exploiters.

The contraposition of 'North' and 'South' pursues the same effect, and, what is more, deliberately ignores the fundamental disparity between the two groups of developed nations, the imperialist and the socialist. It also glosses over the fundamental difference between the relation of each of these two groups of states to the countries styled as 'poor.'

The ideology based on the contraposition of 'rich North' and 'poor South' is saturated with paternalism. On the face of it, it is filled with compassion for the plight of millions of poverty-stricken people. It appears deeply concerned for countries which profound economic backwardness prevents from breaking the vicious circle of underdevelopment and which are shaken from time to time by shattering conflicts, as was the case recently in Nigeria and now in Pakistan. There are tearful moans about the 'tragedy of underdevelopment' and the threat to world peace implicit in the growing economic abyss between 'rich' and 'poor' nations. Appeals resound for all countries to pool efforts in combating economic backwardness. The suggestion that industrially developed states allocate one per cent of their national income in aid of the developing countries, is part of the same scheme.

This paternalist approach ties in with the 'convergence' theory, maintaining that class distinctions between capitalist and socialist countries vanish as by magic upon attaining a high level of industrial development. One of its purposes is to conceal the culpability of imperialism and the capitalist world for the hardships of countries of the former colonial world. Their backwardness is a product of the development of world capitalism, and the economic aid – if it may be so termed at all – is very paltry compensation for the colonial plunder of the past.

The contraposition of the ostensibly socially homogeneous 'rich North' and 'poor South' also has proponents among the ideologues of the national liberation movement. Their interpretation makes an absolute of the particular peculiarities and of some specific features of the Third World seen as a uniform, undivided mass contraposed to all other countries, hostile and friendly alike. This was the once fairly widespread view expounded by Frantz Fanon and is quite evidently projected in the 'revolutionary storm zones' ideas emanating from Peking which shift the basic contradiction of our epoch from the domain of relations between socialism and capitalism to relations between the Third World and imperialism. The concept 'imperialism' is monstrously twisted to apply to all 'superpowers,' among which Peking theoreticians include the USSR. It is the inner logic of the 'North-South' concept that contraposition of 'rich' and 'poor' nations, of industrially developed and underdeveloped states, of the 'world city' and 'world village,' should finally lead to a contraposition of 'colluding superpowers' and the rest of the world.

This whole multi-faceted philosophy that has passed through many stages of development, with adherents at opposite poles of the world political spectrum, is completely contrary to the actual world relationships.

To follow the above-mentioned conception, one could reach the conclusion that the axis of present-day international affairs runs along the line separating the highly developed, 'stable' nations and the three 'restless' continents. In fact, however, the true nature

of world relations is incomprehensible to anyone who overlooks class criteria and consequently departs from the solid principles of scientific analysis. And the premise of a scientific analysis is the class struggle on the international scale—the struggle between the two socio-economic systems. That is the basic contradiction of our time—the key to the specifics of other contradictions and, among others, the extremely important and ever growing contradiction between the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, on the one hand, and imperialism, on the other. It is not until one realizes that the struggle between the two systems is the axis of contemporary international affairs that one can define the objective pillars for the alliance of the three main streams of the world revolutionary process: world socialism, the international working class, and the national liberation movement.

It is in this context that the real specifics of the Third World come into focus, showing the reasons why it occupies a special place in world relations. It goes without saying that like any other the study of the international role of Asian and African countries, too, requires the class analysis as its point of departure. Various forms of exploitation, including capitalist, are represented in their social structure. In most, a struggle is in progress over the choice of way. They are, moreover, still in close association with world capitalism. And yet, despite the many local disparities and the general diversity of concrete conditions and situations, many of the Afro-Asian countries are distinct from capitalist countries by virtue of their peculiar socio-economic structure, the character of class relations, the developing national liberation movement, its ideology, the specifics of their present stage of development, and the political orientation of their governments. To be sure, they also differ from the socialist states, which shows, by the way, that it is an error to identify the three streams of the revolutionary process.

The foreign policy known as 'non-alignment' or 'positive neutralism' is, to a certain extent, a reflection of the fact that many Afro-Asian countries occupy a special place in world relations. But regardless of these designations, objective reasons bring the majority of Asian and African states into conflict with imperialism and impel a tendency towards rapport with the socialist countries. Furthermore, it should be recalled that 'positive neutralism' was, in a way, a response of the liberated countries to the U.S. policy of involving them in aggressive pacts against the socialist states. In time, it acquired a deeper anti-imperialist content in countries that came into open collision with imperialism and began cooperating actively with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Some leaders wrongly interpret non-alignment as keeping on equal distance from capitalist and socialist countries and not interfering in disputes dividing them. At present, the Afro-Asian countries cannot be expected to take the same view as the socialist countries on all international issues. But it would be equally

wrong to attach an exclusively negative sense to non-alignment for purely ideological reasons. Neutrality is impossible in the clash of the forces of peace and of aggression. Non-alignment of that kind would reduce the role of the Third World to that of a passive observer. The relation of world forces between socialism and imperialism allows all countries, big and small, industrially developed and economically backward, to contribute to the solution of the problems facing mankind. And many Afro-Asian nations employ this opportunity with signal success.

While primarily expressive of their own national interest, the diplomatic initiatives of many non-aligned countries objectively accord with the course followed by the socialist states. At the same time, they run counter to the course followed by imperialism, the mortal foe of the national liberation movement.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are the natural allies of the Third World. Furthermore, the national liberation movement benefits from the support of its allies in the rich capitalist countries – the working class and other democratic forces. This may be illustrated, among other things, by the friendly relations between many of the Afro-Asian national parties and the Communist parties of Western Europe.

The disparate economic development of the European socialist states and the newly-free countries is neither a factor of tension in their relations nor an obstacle to cooperation. On the contrary, the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist system use their economic progress to give them material and technological aid. This is extended without political strings and its effectiveness increases with the growth of the socialist economy and the gradually improving conditions for development in the recipient countries. For them the progress of the socialist world system assures increasingly favorable and advantageous conditions for combating underdevelopment. In many areas, the views and attitudes of socialist and Third World countries are close or even identical. Thus, the alliance of socialism and the national liberation movement performs a consistently anti-imperialist function.

Expansion of diversified cooperation between the liberated countries and the socialist world is one of the revolutionary trends of our time. It facilitates the politico-economic consolidation of the new nations and enables them to discharge their independent role in international affairs with more force and freedom. It corresponds fully with the national interests of the liberated countries and with those of world peace. This is why any ideological or political move damaging to cooperation between the socialist and Third World countries profits none but the imperialists, the foes of international security and national freedom of the developing states.

The attitude of the imperialists towards the national liberation movement has created a specific sphere of conflict in world relations.

Economically, the capitalist world market imposes ever more adverse trading terms on the new states, and of late the developing countries were, moreover, struck hard by the capitalist monetary crisis. Deep concern was expressed over the inequality and exploitation of the Third World in the imperialist system of international economic relations by the Group of 77 (now 95) developing states which convened in Lima, Peru, last autumn. Nixon's 10 per cent surcharge on imports, followed last October by the U.S. Senate resolution recommending suspension of foreign aid, were a fresh reminder of the disastrous consequences of economic dependence on imperialism.

So much for the economic sphere. In the political domain, imperialism steers a course of continuous coercion, diktat and interference in internal affairs. In all cases the underlying motive is the common imperialist strategy of suppressing the national liberation movement and obstructing socio-economic progress in the liberated countries.

The profound contradictions between the expansionist nature of imperialism and the national interests of the former colonial countries have had a far-reaching effect on the formation of the present system of world relations.

Following the collapse of the colonial empires, the aim of imperialist policy was to incorporate the greatest possible number of developing countries in politico-military pacts and alliances and to create a system of world relations based on confrontation between the 'free world' and the 'Communist bloc.' Dulles laid down rigorous rules, requiring Afro-Asian countries to subordinate their foreign policy to the imperatives of the 'battle against communism,' read interests of U.S. imperialism. By his categorical formula, 'he who isn't with us is against us,' every sign of diplomatic independence aroused wrath in Washington.

This imperialist policy proved a complete failure. It was thrown over by the peoples' wish to be independent. The balance of world forces changed. Fissures developed in the military blocs and alliances imposed on the new nations. Abiding by the principles of non-alignment and positive neutralism, Asian and African countries adopted independent positions. Gradually they became an effective and positive force in international affairs.

But imperialism did not renounce its basic objectives. Failing to achieve them with some of its old methods, it is trying out new, subtler ones. As before, it is trying to halt the national liberation movement and to reverse the course of history in the former colonial world.

As the national revolutions gain in scale and scope, and as their social content becomes more tangible, aggressive imperialist reactions to the processes in the Third World may be expected to intensify. This gives rise to the following question: Will this serve to accumulate so much 'inflammable material' now in one and now in another part of the Third World that new crises erupt in the system

of world relations, some sufficiently serious to jeopardize universal security and peace?

There is no denying that such a danger exists. It should be clear, however, that it does not emanate from Asia, Africa or Latin America, not from the national liberation movement, but from imperialism and its pose of international policeman, its continuous interference in the affairs of new sovereign states on the pretext of restoring order.

Although the main seats of tension and armed conflict are geographically located in Asia and Africa, the national liberation forces are not to blame for them. The guilt rests with imperialism, if only because in all too many cases it left the liberated countries the poisoned legacy of arbitrary frontiers, territorial disputes, and the like. But that, too, is only one aspect. The other aspect is that imperialism breaches the peace and jeopardizes international security, as in Vietnam, the Middle East and a few other areas, by flagrantly interfering in the socio-political affairs of sovereign nations.

International imperialist piracy cannot halt the revolutionary changes in the developing countries, whose peoples are asserting their inalienable right to renovate their social structures, fling off economic dependence and regain control of national wealth. Favorable conditions for exercising this right are created thanks to the might of the USSR and the socialist world system. The decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle which contains and deters imperialism's interventionist policy.

Revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle and struggle for peace and international security are neither conflicting nor incompatible, as some ultra-Leftists would have us believe. Fulfilment of the Security Council's 1967 resolution, for example, would doubtless be a major success for the revolutionary forces. Among other things, it calls for Israel's withdrawal from all territories seized during its perfidious aggression against the Arab peoples. The Israeli rulers' brazen refusal to honor the Security Council resolution shows that energetic effort is required to achieve its implementation and that it should not be considered, as some elements do, unacceptable for the revolutionary movement. By pressing for the return of occupied territories and for recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, the Arab liberation forces are helping remove causes of conflict in this region and are thereby contributing to world security.

The national liberation movement is on the whole performing a progressive mission and clearing the international political climate of elements of tension that may grow into armed collisions.

The deepening social content of the national liberation movement is a novel factor. In more countries now it is directed not against imperialism alone, but also against capitalism. Lenin had anticipated this process. 'In the impending decisive battles in the world revolution,' he wrote, 'the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn

against capitalism and imperialism' (Vol. 32, p. 482). It is neither a bourgeois nor a socialist, but a national and democratic revolution, a new type of revolution performed under the leadership of the middle strata. They have carried out important radical transformations, have put their countries on the non-capitalist road and are evolving ideologically and politically in their own fashion.

This situation is reflected on the international scene, where new conflicts and seats of tension keep springing up. Politically, the very existence and future of progressive regimes is at stake. The imperialist forces and local reaction have joined hands in trying to prevent their consolidation and to divert the movements they lead from the revolutionary path.

The progressive regimes are a precious achievement of the national liberation movement. But due to the transitional nature of the present stage in their development, due to the pressures of imperialism and reaction, and, last but not least, due to the nature of the social groups in power, this achievement is not as yet stable and final. Twists and retreats are still possible. We should therefore beware of idyllic, cut-and-dried assessments.

We Communists of Arab countries support the progressive trends and do our utmost to promote them, to enhance the role of the working class and peasants in public affairs, and to radicalize the social changes. Unity of all revolutionary and progressive forces is vitally necessary. At present, however, this is still a problem lacking an adequate solution.

The countries with progressive regimes have characteristic features that set them apart in the Third World. But this is no reason to list all other developing countries as 'reactionary.' There is no denying that some are ruled by thoroughly reactionary and pro-imperialist regimes, but the imperatives of the national liberation struggle influence the orientation of most of the former colonial countries all the same, though to varying degrees. Some aspects of their policy are doubtlessly progressive even though some are still reactionary. In some situations, elements of domestic policy may become the basis for progressive development despite negative features in foreign policy. In the progressive countries, too, not all aspects of socio-political life are equally advanced. For example, there is evidence of anti-communism among certain elements, and the question of genuine revolutionary democracy securing broad participation of the masses in running the country and ensuring the regime's stability, is still unresolved.

The internal stability of the newly-free states is sure to be put to the test many times. The gap in economic and political development and the non-uniformity of the revolutionary process in the world create a staggering diversity of concrete historical situations. What certainly does not exist, however, is a 'rich North' and 'poor South' riveted in a changeless confrontation. The general historical trend is a victorious development of the national liberation movement, consolidation of the political and economic independence of the new

states, profound changes in their social structures, and, ultimately, passage to socialism. This will mean an end to underdevelopment. The Third World will then cease to be an outcast allegedly doomed to backwardness. It will signify the renaissance of nations on the basis of progress, prosperity and modernization.

Following on the victory of the October Revolution and the birth of the mighty Soviet Union, and then the emergence of the socialist world system, the collapse of the colonial empires contributed anew to the formation of the world's present political structure. The factor of direct colonial rule was almost completely eliminated from international relations. The principle of the independent participation of all countries and peoples in international life has become a rule formalized in the solemn UN Declaration of 1960. The system of world relations has become sounder through the eradication of legalized colonial coercion, one of the most dangerous sources of tension and war.

The liberation of scores of former colonies and their independent participation in world political processes has made the system of world relations more universal. This, too, was a contribution of the national liberation movement to the formation of the world's present political structure. Formerly, decisions affecting the life and future of millions were taken in several Western capitals. Now, almost all countries and peoples take a sovereign part in solving important international problems without colonial intermediaries.

Like the world revolutionary process as a whole, the national liberation movement is not only a destructive force directed against the world of violence and exploitation. It is principally a creative force. As it continues to develop and gains in social content, it will exercise an increasing influence on the system of world relations, its evolution, in a way conforming with the interests of all peoples. In the final analysis, this way in the development and transformation of the political structure of the world is determined by mankind's general advance to socialism.



Europe: big things ahead

Ville Pessi

The most important of the many positive European developments last year was L. I. Brezhnev's visit to France. The culminating point in postwar relations between the USSR and France, it was also a momentous achievement in relations between the two social systems. Indeed, only a few years ago rapprochement between such widely differing countries seemed inconceivable. Today it is accepted as a natural concomitant of the process of political détente and closer European cooperation.

Of course, this was in no small measure facilitated by the fact that, having withdrawn from the NATO military organization, France acquired more freedom for political initiative in Eastern Europe. And if we consider that the USSR and France are not only European, but world powers, it should be clear that their cooperation in many different areas has an important effect not only on European but on world affairs too.

The Paris documents, notably the Soviet-French Declaration and the Principles of Cooperation between the USSR and France have a long-term significance for international relations, both in practical and more fundamental terms. They can become the beginning of a new phase for Europe, contributing to speedy elimination of the vestiges of the cold war. In this respect, the very atmosphere of the visit is heartening. It was marked by mutual trust and a mutual desire to give more depth and stability to their political cooperation for peaceful aims.

Relations between the USSR and Finland are usually held up as a model of peaceful coexistence in Europe. And that is justified—the record of their post-war economic, cultural, political and other contacts speaks for itself. It shows that, given good will by both parties, neither differences in size and population, nor affiliation to differing politico-social systems are obstacles to friendship and all-round cooperation. Nor is the fact that Finland and the Soviet Union were adversaries in the last war. In its relations with little Finland, the great socialist power has always shown magnanimity and understanding for Finland's specificities and interests. Contrary to all the prophecies of reactionary bourgeois politicians, the Soviet-

Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, far from impairing Finland's sovereignty, or limiting her foreign-policy initiative, or severing her from her northern neighbors, has strengthened her independence and neutrality.

However, some do not consider this a very convincing example, maintaining that the Finns agreed to cooperate with the Soviet Union not of their own free will, not because this accorded with their national interests (which it did), but because of 'pressure' by their powerful eastern neighbor. There has never been a grain of truth in that. Soviet-Finnish friendship and cooperation are dictated by Finland's historical experience. Both countries have gained from it, and so has European peace. Few in Finland now openly oppose cooperation with the USSR—the benefits it has brought our country are fully apparent. There is this weighty example: in 1948, when Parliament discussed the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty, a handful of deputies were against it, but there was unanimous approval when the treaty came up for a 20-year prolongation.

Unlike Finland, France is not a small country; like the Soviet Union it is one of the great powers, a permanent member of the Security Council. And no one can say that it is being 'forced' into closer ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries by reasons other than concern for her national interests. Similarly, no one is likely to maintain that far-reaching, all-round Franco-Soviet relations are the result of Soviet 'pressure.'

It can safely be said that growing cooperation between the two countries is producing profound changes in European relations and will have beneficial and far-reaching consequences for European—and not only European—peace.

For all that, however, Franco-Soviet relations are but a part, albeit an essential part, of the momentous changes now taking place in Europe. And it is no accident that in one of his speeches in Paris, L. I. Brezhnev remarked that today 'Europe is perhaps at a turning point in its history.'

The scope of the changes, and the mounting sentiment for a final de-freeze of international relations in Europe have not escaped the attention of the reactionary press which, of course, does not relish this prospect. *Fortune* magazine, which speaks for the U.S. monopolies, says that the atmosphere in Europe is one of excited expectation, with people seeing everything in a new light and inclined to believe that solutions can be found for problems which only yesterday were considered insoluble.

And unlike the recent past, European issues, primarily European security, are eagerly discussed in the world press. This, I think, is evidence that people more fully appreciate the role Europe plays, and can play, in solving its own and vital world problems. For Europe remains one of the world's key political, economic and cultural centers.

In the early postwar decades Europe was, so to speak, pushed to

a back seat in world politics. Dozens of Afro-Asian countries had come to the fore, and this somehow obscured Europe's importance. Furthermore, the continent had been maimed by long years of war and Hitler occupation, its Western part dependent on its American ally. Its role was further weakened by partition and the long cold war, into which it was dragged by the reactionary, revanchist forces set on 'rolling back' communism in Eastern Europe. And, of course, there was the fact that the European imperialist states had had to give up their colonial empires and could not immediately readjust to their new place in the world.

This even led to new 'twilight-of-Europe' theories: Europe's role and influence were passing to the younger and more dynamic continents and regions. Only two years ago Hanson Baldwin, the *New York Times* military commentator, said in his book, *Strategy for Tomorrow*, that, 'in a geopolitical sense Europe is a peninsula of Asia.' Bourgeois geopoliticians (and others too) would have the public forget that present-day Europe is a continent of 640 million living in more than 30 countries in which are concentrated great material and cultural values, centers of industry, science and culture.

There was still another factor – the American aggression in Indochina and the Israeli aggression in the Middle East tended to distract attention from the fact that Europe was a potential center of world war. For the main armed forces of the two mutually opposed groupings, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, are concentrated in Europe. And it is no secret that the Pentagon has 7,200 nuclear warheads in Western Europe, plus a network of nuclear-mine belts. The NATO strategists see Europe mainly as a potential theatre of operations against the USSR and other socialist countries, though everyone realizes that, just as in 1914 and 1939, a war would not be confined to Europe and would spill over into a nuclear world war.

All the more reason, therefore, for Europeans to welcome the existence of forces able to halt this dangerous drift to conflict, to redirect Europe towards détente, peaceful settlement of the issues inherited from World War II and work for a comprehensive security system.

The reader will know the main signposts on this path. I will therefore only mention the August 12, 1970 treaty between the FRG and the USSR renouncing the use of force and recognizing existing frontiers, and the December 7, 1970 treaty between the FRG and Poland on normalization of their relations and recognition of Poland's new western frontiers. Mention might also be made of the four-power agreement on West Berlin, eliminating one of the main tension centers in Europe. In combination, these documents, after their ratification, would serve as a kind of collective peace treaty.

In sum, the situation as it has taken shape in the early seventies is exceptionally favorable for peace and security. Now that the FRG has treaties with Moscow and Warsaw, no European government openly makes territorial claims which in the past were the

cause of war. Europe has been free of war since 1945 and is enjoying its longest period of peace. And nothing can be more important than making the situation permanent, assuring Europe security, with peaceful coexistence of all its states irrespective of social system. Not only Europeans, but all the peoples of the world, have a vital stake in this, for to one degree or another their destinies are linked with the destinies of Europe. Events in the past few years, and the development of European relations, suggest that our continent can set a good example of cooperation between states with differing social systems.

Socialism's peace-making role in the world of today, its function of guarantor of peace and security, have been clearly demonstrated in Europe, where most of the socialist countries are located, much more clearly than in any other area. In the 60s, the Communist movement rebuffed the Left-opportunist, adventurist 'theories' that international tension favored the revolutionary process and that the 'cold war is a good thing.' Marxist theoretical thought did much to develop Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence. The way was thus cleared for far-reaching practical actions to normalize the position in Europe. In fact, such actions were taken even earlier. This has to be emphasized because socialism's opponents in the West allege that the peace program proclaimed by the historic 24th CPSU Congress was merely an 'exigency' measure.

Not everyone, perhaps, remembers that the first concrete postwar proposals for a European collective security treaty were made by the Soviet Union way back in 1952-54. In 1958 the socialist community drew up a draft non-aggression treaty between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. In 1957-58 the socialist countries put forth a number of disarmament proposals, including plans for an atom-free and atom-freeze zone in Central Europe. In 1964 there was a proposal for a European security and cooperation conference. A series of integrated proposals – and they have retained all their validity – are set out in the European socialist countries' Bucharest Declaration (1966), the Karlovy Vary Statement of European Communist and Workers' Parties (1967), the Budapest Appeal (1969), the Prague Communiqué of Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers (1969) and the Budapest Memorandum (1970).

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have in recent years vigorously campaigned for an all-Europe conference on security and cooperation, and there is reason to hope that such a conference, now favored by practically all European governments, will be held this year. Finland has suggested Helsinki as the venue and has undertaken to make the necessary organizational arrangements, including multilateral preparatory talks. The Soviet-French Declaration is fully justified in stating that a successful conference would 'contribute to steady refashioning of European relations to eliminate the continent's division into military-political groupings.' The conference would be a big step towards broader economic and commercial ties, industrial and technical cooperation, cultural and scientific exchanges and contacts between people.

Needless to say, the conference has not only friends, but also very influential enemies. Since Europeans can no longer be frightened by fairy tales of 'communist aggressiveness,' the British Tory leaders whipped up a 'Soviet espionage' campaign. The sole purpose of this and similar moves is to poison the European atmosphere on the threshold of one of the most important events in its history. Friends of peace in Europe will have to work hard to assure the holding of the conference and its success.

The Communists can be satisfied with progress towards peaceful coexistence, but experience clearly shows that very much more can be achieved. However, it cannot be said that peaceful coexistence is so firmly accepted that it does not require continued theoretical elaboration and defense in ideological struggle.

Maoist and anarchistic elements continue to attack peaceful coexistence, alleging that it hampers development of the revolutionary process, represents 'collusion' of socialist and capitalist countries to hold back the class and national liberation struggle. But there is the record of the past few years to show that that view has no foundation in theory or in practice. On the contrary, détente, better relations with the socialist world, open new vistas for the revolutionary forces and for the workers' struggle in capitalist countries for economic and democratic demands. Capitalist monopolies and governments would no longer be able to use the 'Communist aggression' bogey to justify anti-labor policies. Normal international relations would mean more favorable conditions also for the national liberation movement. In a climate of détente the imperialist forces find it harder to interfere in the affairs of other countries. The Soviet-French Declaration emphasizes that continued advance towards détente and security presupposes unswerving observance of such principles as inviolability of existing frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, independence and renunciation of the threat or use of force.

Resistance to correct and fruitful application of the peaceful coexistence principle comes also from the Right opportunist revisionist elements. Some accept the principle in words and sabotage it in practice – that is part of their negative attitude to the socialist countries and to economic, cultural and other relations with them. Then there are those who extend peaceful coexistence to the ideological field and, in effect, depart from class positions and abandon exposure and criticism of ideas hostile to socialism.

All these attacks notwithstanding, peaceful coexistence as the guiding principle of relations between countries with differing social structures is more and more firmly asserting itself as the socialist world system gains in strength and influence. It can even be said that the practice of peaceful coexistence is often ahead of theory. Cooperation between states belonging to the two systems is assuming diverse forms and not infrequently requires coordinated effort by private capital and socialist economic agencies. Of course, there is nothing terrible in that, nothing 'un-Marxist,' nothing that might jeopardize socialist gains. But, like every new phenomenon, this

poses questions which Marxists must answer, if they do not want others to provide the answers. In particular, it is frequently asked in capitalist countries: is there not something unnatural in this economic cooperation with private capital? Are not the socialist countries thereby prolonging the existence of capitalism? These questions have to be answered.

Marxist-Leninist theory must look ahead and explore new avenues for international cooperation. That is especially important for us in Europe, where peaceful coexistence promises far-reaching advantages and where scientific, technical and industrial cooperation of countries with different social structures has already assumed such advanced forms as joint construction of major industrial enterprises, joint mining projects, international gas and oil pipelines, etc.

As for the Communist Party of Finland, it has always worked for good relations with the Soviet Union. This is a matter of principle for us and it is reflected in our Party Program. More trade and other economic contacts with the USSR mean more jobs for our workers and more scope for our economy. That is why our Party's attitude has such wide public support.

We welcome the fundamental improvement in Soviet-Finnish relations since the war. It is measurable in the following: before the war, people were imprisoned for advocating friendship with the Soviet Union, now the Finland-USSR Society is headed by the country's President, Dr. Kekkonen, and before him, Paasikivi.

However, we Finnish Communists believe that cooperation could be much greater and wider. For example, trade with the Soviet Union has increased in recent years, but not in the same proportion as trade with capitalist countries. Yet it is in Finland's interest that economic cooperation with the USSR and other socialist states should grow at a faster rate. That is particularly important now, with our economic growth stagnated and with unemployment increasing.

There are truly limitless opportunities for more international cooperation in all spheres of European life. And if these opportunities are realized, if collective security embracing all European countries is achieved, Europe will play a very important positive role in the world.

Asia: problems of collective security

An interview with Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, Chairman of the Communist Party of Ceylon

Question: What would you say is the most characteristic feature of international relations in Asia?

Answer: Asia has many trouble spots created by imperialist aggressions against freedom-loving peoples. Take Indochina and the Middle East. Divided nations, too, are a festering sore. Apart from Vietnam and Korea, we might name Laos and Cambodia, now engulfed in armed actions and also, in effect, divided. And some seats of conflict, such as the territorial disputes between Indonesia and Malaysia, Malaysia and the Philippines, etc., are traceable to the old-time colonial division of Asia.

This underscores the importance of, but also the difficulty of, effectuating an Asian system of collective security the need for which has become doubly urgent since Nixon formulated his Guam doctrine. With the United States steadily losing ground on our continent under the onslaught of the freedom-loving forces, that doctrine is designed to make Asians fight Asians for U.S. interests and thereby ensure continued neo-colonialist influence. Collective security, countering the strategy of internecine war, is the only realistic alternative to the Guam doctrine. It could completely alter international relationships on the continent. To be sure, it will take time and the meaningful effort of all the peace-loving forces on earth, principally those of Asia, to translate it into reality.

Question: What are the main preconditions for an Asian system of collective security?

Answer: It stands to reason that settlement of the conflicts is the first precondition. The seats of armed operations must be eliminated. That is at once a most important requirement and a precondition of collective security.

The 'hottest' source of tension is Indochina. U.S. imperialism has certainly not covered itself with glory by starting the war in Vietnam. Under the leadership of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the Vietnamese have shown that U.S. imperialism can be stopped and, what is more, decisively beaten. Its succession of ignominious setbacks in Vietnam is evidence of the unshakable determination of the Vietnamese, of their fortitude and courage in the fight for freedom. The notorious policy of Vietnamization has caused the war to expand into a struggle of all the Indochinese peoples for freedom and independence, against imperialist aggression.

The Asian Communist parties are of one mind in assessing the situation: the only way to lasting peace in Asia and the rest of the world is to end the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, resolve the Vietnam problem peacefully in line with the proposals of the DRV government and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and recognize the right of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos to settle their own affairs.

An end to U.S. and Japanese interference in Korea will also, as we see it, pave the way to the nation's peaceful reunification on the basis of the eight points of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The conflict connected with the events in East Pakistan is now the biggest source of war danger on the continent. Progressive public opinion in Ceylon has expressed grave concern over the military atrocities committed by Pakistan in the attempt to crush the aspirations and interests of the people of East Pakistan. Progressive world opinion must press on, until it succeeds in compelling the Pakistan government to agree to a political settlement and to restore full rights to the people of East Pakistan. The personal safety of the nearly 10 million refugees must be guaranteed to enable them to return to their homeland. This would help relieve tensions on the continent as a whole.

The Middle East situation causes deep alarm. A solution of the Middle East crisis would greatly facilitate an Asian collective security system. So would a stabilization of the independence and economic growth of African states, complete eradication of colonialism in Africa, and a determined battle against apartheid.

Collective security cannot really be limited to countries or continents. Though we speak of European, Asian or African collective security, they are, in fact, inseparable. Headway in the matter of European collective security, for example, depends in more ways than one on a favorable course of events in Asia and Africa. Collective security in Asia will contribute invaluablely to international security and world peace.

Question: You have set forth the general basis for Asian collective security, stressing that the main precondition is to eliminate the trouble spots. What other elements go into the concept of Asian collective security?

Answer: It may be useful to recall that the program of the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party very clearly enunciated the basic problems of international security, the importance of arms limitation, eradication of colonialism and development of commercial, economic and scientific-technical cooperation through development of mutually profitable international cooperation.

It is hardly possible to visualize the complete set of pre-conditions; many of them we shall not know until the groundwork is laid for the collective security system. It is certain, however, that the essential minimum covers closure of foreign military bases in Asian countries, prevention of nuclear weapons proliferation on the continent, and renunciation of force in resolving disputes.

Hence Ceylon's United Nations proposal of a demilitarized peace zone embracing the maritime states and islands of the Indian Ocean. The Ceylonese are aware that it was U.S. imperialism which created the danger of militarizing the Indian Ocean, brought its navy there and is planning a naval base in Diego-Garcia. This prompted Ceylon to raise the issue at the Commonwealth Conference in Singapore and then make its proposal to the latest UN General Assembly. A peace zone in the Indian Ocean barring foreign military bases, would greatly improve the prospects of Asian collective security.

Such a regional agreement could bring us a step closer to a comprehensive security system, though it is all too clear that it could not be viable unless a favorable climate is forged in Asia as a whole.

Question: Would you say that the present situation in Asia is favorable? What other problems could you name?

Answer: The Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation signed in August 1971 can serve as an inspiring example for a more comprehensive collective security treaty for Asia. It is a logical development of the friendly relations between the two countries since the struggle of the Indian people for national liberation. In fact, the Soviet-Indian Treaty could help lay the foundation of collective security, because it is an obvious precondition of collective security that countries should maintain treaty relationships based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, renunciation of aggression and of interference in the affairs of other states, and on equal and mutually advantageous cooperation.

The situation in Indonesia is changing. We are witnessing a definite stabilization. The country's economic condition is improving, which impels broader international relations. This is a favorable factor from the standpoint of Asian collective security.

The announced closure of British bases east of Suez has caused anxiety in some countries. The departure of the British, some hold, may create a vacuum that other powers may be eager to fill. A few countries, such as Singapore, Malaysia and Australia, are promoting the idea of 'mutual security' to replace the 'British presence.' This could be useful, provided the orientation is anti-imperialist.

President Nixon's visit to Moscow may have some bearing on Asian collective security if, as may be anticipated, it contributes to a rapid and complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and helps resolve the Middle East crisis in line with the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967 (it is no secret that, given the wish, the United States could exert pressure on Israel).

Nixon's visit to Peking, too, could be a contributing factor if it helps (and we hope it will) settle the question of winding up U.S. military bases in the Pacific and resolve the Indochina conflict in line with the demands of the peoples there.

Question: So far we have examined political factors. Now, if you do not mind, let us deal with the economic aspects.

Answer: Solution of the main economic problems in the national interest of each country and to the mutual advantage of all is one of the main preconditions for Asian collective security. Security rests on mutual confidence, and confidence is impossible if economic relations are not essentially equal. Conversely, effective economic cooperation is inconceivable without the political détente associated with the idea of collective security.

New economic relations in Asia require the dissolution of closed economic groups, whose policy is invariably damaging to third countries. Such groups are contrary to the idea of collective security and just as dangerous as SEATO or CENTO, because they tend to aggravate the economic crisis gripping the developing countries.

Most developing countries specialize in producing and exporting raw materials. However, marketing terms are continuously deteriorating. The imperialist powers are taking advantage of the economic crisis developing on our continent and applying political and economic pressures in the hope of regaining the economic privileges of the colonial era. They resort to direct or indirect interference, aiming to win back lost ground. And, of course, this is an obstacle to collective security.

A significant development in this context is the recent Lima conference of the group of 77 (now 95) Asian, African and Latin American countries, which discussed their common economic problems. The concept of 'rich North' and 'poor South' nations put forward by the imperialists and some of their stooges, was thoroughly exposed as a crude attempt to cover up the responsibility of the imperialist countries for the economic and cultural backwardness of the former colonies and semi-colonies. It was also shown that the policy of the socialist countries has always been to help the developing countries to fight colonial exploitation and to provide disinterested economic and technical aid to overcome their backwardness.

The Lima Conference proposal for a new organization to replace the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund shows the determination of the progressive Latin American and developing Afro-Asian countries to fight the discriminatory measures introduced by Washington to solve the monetary crisis of the capitalist world.

U.S.-dominated international finance bodies such as the World Bank (IBRD) and International Monetary Fund, an important element in the Asian system of international economic relations, are instruments of imperialist interference. There was a time when Asian countries placed their trust in them. But now their real nature is becoming more obvious.

As in other developing Asian countries, the economic crisis supersedes all other issues in Ceylon. Our country has an import-export economy dependent on the capitalist world market and is now faced with a large trade deficit, which has caused a grave foreign exchange crisis.

What are the World Bank and International Monetary Fund offering us?

Since national independence in 1948 the pro-imperialist collaborationist national government was dominated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. In the early 1950s the World Bank officially advised the government against developing basic industries and cheap hydro-electric power in preference to thermal power with imported fuel, and also discouraged large-scale development of consumer industries for import substitution and export. Ceylon is now dependent on the export of a few commercial crops – tea, rubber and coconut – and on the import of capital, intermediate and consumer goods.

The World Bank, IMF and other imperialist and local reactionary bodies are actively resisting radical economic policies to solve the economic crisis and, on the contrary, advocate additional burdens for the working people and curtailment of their social gains. Recently, the World Bank tried persuading us to raise the price of staples – flour, rice and sugar. The idea was turned down by the overwhelming majority of United Front MPs. We cannot stop subsidizing the price of staples with the people experiencing shortages.

Question: What are the tasks set by the Communist Party in this connection?

Answer: The Ceylon Communist Party has always campaigned for a united front of all progressive anti-imperialist forces to fight against imperialism. The Party has been advocating the achievement of economic independence by collaboration with the socialist countries, economic and technical aid in developing the basic industries, river basins and other natural resources.

In 1965 our policy yielded practical results. The progressive forces adopted a common program of struggle against the pro-imperialist collaborationist government and defeated it in the 1970 elections. The first United Front government was formed of three progressive, anti-imperialist parties – Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party – which follows an anti-imperialist policy and maintains friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

This policy is opposed by foreign and local reaction, which is taking advantage of the grave economic situation to attempt political subversion. Among other things, it encourages ultra-Left adventurist elements, who, in effect, merge with it, and who started an insurrection against the United Front government in the spring of 1971. A statement of the Communist Party's Central Committee said their 'so-called ideology, reduced to five basic lectures, is a hodgepodge of concepts from Maoism and from certain contemporary forms of petty-bourgeois pseudo-radicalism in the West, combined with anti-Sovietism, anti-Communism and masked racism.'

The ultra-Left can only harm the unity of the progressive democratic forces. Yet the events in Ceylon accentuate the insistent need for cementing anti-imperialist unity across the world, the earnest of true international security.

Africa: unity and differentiation

The formative stage. International relations in Africa are conspicuously polymorphous, with many independent states (over 40), diverse alliances (political, economic, regional, linguistic), frequent conflicts over disparate issues, and divergent postures. Over and above this, Africa is the last of the world's regions where the indigenous population of large territories has not yet acquired political independence.

The peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau are fighting a war of liberation against the Portuguese, who are supported by their partners of the aggressive NATO bloc. In the south of the continent – the South African Republic and Rhodesia – the native population, comprising the vast majority, is locked in struggle against the racist regimes of the European bourgeois-landowner upper crust. And the people of Namibia, which the South African racists have converted into their colony, are fighting a war of independence.

With few exceptions, the independent African states are very young. Only a few date to before 1960, the Africa Year when 17 states proclaimed their independence.

Independent states in Africa

Jan. 1, 1960 – 9 states¹

Jan. 1, 1961 – 26 states

May 25, 1963² – 32 states

Jan. 1, 1972 – 41 states

1. Not counting South Africa.

2. Date of signing of the OAU Charter.

These figures speak for themselves. The system of African international relations is still in its formative stage. It is not simply a matter of flux, for flux and evolution of forms and patterns are built-in features of international relations the world over. The point is that the problems comprising the content of African international relations bear the mark of the recent colonial past, or colonial present.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU). The most singular feature in African international relations is the existence of the OAU.

It personifies the all-African wish to work out common solutions at home and common attitudes abroad. Though conceived as the only continent-wide political body, it did not, of course, eliminate the trend towards group alliances, especially economic, for which, among other things, links with former metropolitan countries were the major impellent. Most of the former French, Belgian and Italian

colonies, for example, are associated with Europe's Common Market, many are members of the Joint Afro-Malagasy and Mauritian organization formed under French auspices, which remains political in complexion despite the establishment of the OAU. And the Conferences of the states of Eastern and Central Africa, where former British colonies predominate, also deal with political matters.

All the same, the OAU is doubtless the center of African collective political activity. Its eight years show that it has three basic functions: regulating and settling political conflicts between African states, promoting continental economic cooperation, particularly on a regional basis, and aiding liberation movements. Also, it takes action in emergencies, such, for example, as the Portuguese aggression against the Republic of Guinea.

OAU sessions deal with other issues as well: joint African action on the world scene, particularly in the UN (where an African group is active), the Mideast conflict, and the like. On the latter issue, by the way, the Eighth OAU session in June 1971 issued a statement saying 'African states must take practical steps to induce Israel to withdraw her troops from occupied Arab territories.'

The organization has achieved a measure of success. And it has formulated a set of sound principles. Not surprisingly, however, consistent effectuation of these very principles is causing some of the difficulties it has to contend with. The craving for unity, strong during the fight for independence, a time when all African peoples stood together against their common enemy - colonialism, imperialism, was uppermost in African relations of the early 1960s. But the anti-imperialist complexion of some states has begun to pale. Disparities stemming from the nature of the governing regimes, from their domestic, mainly socio-economic, policies, have begun to show up.

And what concerns us here are principally the political aspects of African unity, leaving aside the varied assortment of economic problems - regional and continental economic integration, the African common market idea, association with the EEC, and the like.

The frontiers in Africa. One of the cardinal post-independence problems is that of borders. They are the result of the colonial division of spoils, which in many cases ignored ethnic, geographic and economic factors. All too often, the stroke of a colonial official's pen fragmented a nationality, with parts of it incorporated in different colonies, and therefore developing in different conditions. This led to the emergence of numerous 'frontier nationalisms,' creating an acute problem in the relations of neighboring states.

Take the case of the Somalis. Like other nomad tribes, they moved freely in the centuries across the expanses of the East African 'horn.' But during the colonial division of Africa slices of the 'horn' became part of the three Somalias (Italian, British and French), Kenya, and Ethiopia (Ogaden region), subsequently lighting the fuse of a border dispute between independent Somalia and Ethiopia, and

between Somalia and Kenya, which in 1964 precipitated armed clashes.

Armed border conflicts also erupted in other parts of Africa (e.g., between Morocco and Algeria).

From the outset, the OAU proclaimed what was in the circumstances the only possible and sensible principle of immutable frontiers, no matter how unjust these may seem. Frontier changes, its 1964 Cairo session ruled, were subject solely to peaceful agreement between the countries concerned. And the OAU states did not confine themselves to merely proclaiming this principle. They set up a mechanism for settling border conflicts, helping resolve many a dispute, including those mentioned above and the one between Mauritania and Mali, while Ghana renounced her territorial claims to Togo and the Upper Volta. The principle of immutable frontiers has thus become one of the cornerstones of African international relations.

Separatism and unity. In Africa, the constitution of independent states precedes the emergence of nations. Tribal fragmentation still obtains almost everywhere, especially in countries with a Negro population and combating the many effects of tribalism is one of the main concerns of most African governments.

This important internal problem is also reflected in continental relations. Time and again, tribalism puts peace to the test. Chiefly, because imperialism tries to capitalize on separatism, using the support to separatist movements by fellow-tribesmen in neighboring countries for neo-colonialist ends. This is the case in, say, the south of Sudan. The Negroid tribes there are related to the inhabitants of border regions in neighboring Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, the Central African Republic and Zaire. The rebellion in Sudan's southern provinces, seeking secession from the Arab north (with Israel and her imperialist patrons obviously involved), stoked up tensions in Sudan's relations with her neighbors, causing armed clashes along the frontier.

The hardships and suffering caused by imperialist interference were most strongly felt by the people of Congo, where imperialist monopolies engineered the secession of Katanga in 1960. Eventually, and especially in 1964, Africa has had to cope with many acts of armed imperialist interference in internal conflicts: by the U.S. and Belgium in the Congo, Britain in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, and France in Gabon, which the African states rightly interpreted as a threat to their sovereignty. The OAU Council of Ministers passed resolutions reasserting the principle that foreign interference in the affairs of African states is impermissible under international law.

The second major test (after that in the Congo) was the civil war in Nigeria precipitated by the attempted secession of the Eastern Province, which styled itself Republic of Biafra. The war dragged out over two and a half years (1967-1970), and just as in the case of Katanga, it was the imperialist monopolies that had the biggest stake in secession. It was only the firm political stand of the OAU

and that of the leaders of Nigeria that averted direct foreign interference.

The case of Nigeria illustrates another OAU principle, that of the politico-territorial integrity of states – the only tenable one in the present African set-up and a pillar of the continental system of international relations. As one African leader put it, if Biafra had managed to survive, it would have created a precedent for legalizing separatism with the continent facing the prospect of an 'atomizing' chain reaction.

Mutual non-interference. Mutual support in resisting imperialist interference in the name of sovereignty and territorial integrity naturally presupposes mutual non-interference in each other's domestic affairs. Yet in just this area the continent has had to face up to certain difficulties of late. Some leaders call for coups in other independent countries, going to the length of offering aid. This certainly jeopardizes anti-imperialist unity.

Coups have been a frequent occurrence in recent years, and their consequences for inter-African relations may be illustrated by Tanzania's refusal to deal with General Amin's regime which took power in Uganda after the overthrow (in the beginning of 1971) of President Obote. This created serious problems relating to representation in the OAU, conferences of the states of Central and Eastern Africa, and the East African community, which consists of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The tension between Uganda and Tanzania sparked armed clashes along the border, and it was not until the end of the year that the conflict was mitigated with Kenya's mediation.

It is not easy to assess and predict the possible consequences of these complications for the system of continental relations. The link between foreign policy and social orientation is more and more tangible. Imperialist secret services are mounting far-flung subversive operations against the progressive governments, organizing plots and trying to obstruct the non-capitalist option. And, fitting neatly into the pattern of these neo-colonialist intrigues, some ultra-Leftists, including elements in the ruling groups of certain states, urge African governments 'to exploit the contradictions' between the socialist and imperialist countries and within the socialist camp. Yet, policy based on such completely false 'principles' is contrary to anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist interests.

Unity and differentiation. It stands to reason that the Organization of African Unity and unity as such are not synonymous. African states often take conflicting stances on concrete world issues. It would be difficult, indeed, to group them according to their international activity. On the whole, the combinations of internal and external factors (social orientation of the regime, its ideology, relations with imperialist countries, attitude in the UN and other international bodies, relations with the socialist world), are most diverse.

How to account for this?

The reason, in our view, is that the socio-economic structures in Africa are transitional (and, as we know, politics is a concentrated expression of economics), the evolution of classes has not run its course, and a clear class ideology is therefore lacking. Hence, the subjective factor plays an important, and perhaps bigger role than anywhere else. The character of the ruling party, the leaders' personal likes and dislikes, the way they capitalize on prestige won in the struggle for independence – all this may and does lead to decisions often startling from the point of view of a strict scientific analysis.

The choice of foreign policy postures is strongly influenced by extraneous factors, particularly the old ties with the metropolitan country. Though the African states oppose imperialist-sponsored military blocs of the SEATO and CENTO type, it is an open secret that many have bilateral military agreements with former metropolitan countries (this applies, among others, to most of the former French colonies in Black Africa) and with Israel and some allow the imperialist powers, including the USA, to station military bases on their territory. Naturally, this reflects on their foreign policy and shows that despite their doubtlessly anti-imperialist orientation, many states have not yet extricated themselves from the political, as well as economic, grip of the capitalist world.

Tendencies reflecting the developing relations of class forces and the socio-political option of the ruling regime have to contend with far too many incidental factors in foreign policy. So far, the choice in Africa is solely one of orientation – socialist or capitalist. But this, too, shows that a process of differentiation is taking place, which makes the ideal of African unity once advocated by the ideologues of Pan-Africanism, increasingly difficult to attain.

Recently, the continental system of international relations developed one more fracture over the attitude towards the racist-colonial regimes in Southern Africa, a question that has until now been one of the cornerstones of African unity. The proposal of a 'dialogue' with South Africa made by Ivory Coast President Houphouët-Boigny, seconded by some African leaders, has bared contradictions which had heretofore fermented beneath the surface.

The South African leaders' determination to be the outpost of imperialism and neo-colonialism is a challenge to independent Africa. Clearly, the imperialist powers, and the United States first of all, intend to use the racist regimes as their main weapon against the progressive forces, for they are aware that their resources for direct interference in the affairs of the newly-free countries are steadily shrinking. Meanwhile, the rulers of South Africa and Rhodesia combine flirtation with intimidation and threats, and even outright aggression.

Not all African leaders have been able to withstand the 'temptations' of the Vorster government's carrot-and-stick policy. South African businessmen are planning 'participation in the economic development' of Madagascar, an Ivory Coast delegation went to

Pretoria, and President Banda of Malawi followed suit. As the saying goes, in for a penny, in for a pound. Soon, President Banda was exchanging visits with the Portuguese governor of Mozambique. The devil's alliance of South African and Rhodesian racists and the Portuguese colonialists is seeking a new lease of life by dividing Africa.

The more far-sighted African leaders understand the nature of this challenge. The June 1971 OAU session, which roundly condemned negotiations with Vorster's racist regime, came as a resounding diplomatic defeat for the proponents of a 'dialogue.' And last October the Mogadishu Declaration of 14 states of Eastern and Central Africa also stated 'that the policy of "dialogue" with the racist South African regime urged by a small group of African states, is a farce designed to mislead Africans.'

However, the split over this issue is a fact, showing clearly that the future of the national liberation movement in Africa is connected with the struggle for progressive development.

The consolidation of racist South Africa as an imperialist outpost with several support points in independent Africa, is likely to cause far-reaching changes in the entire situation. This is added proof of the close connection between the problems of Africa and the system of global international relations. Everybody knows that the racist and colonial regimes in Southern Africa owe their existence solely to NATO support, that South Africa aspires to being an 'anti-Communist bastion,' that the British government is arming it on the pretext of a 'Communist threat' in the Indian Ocean....

To fight strong enemies one needs strong allies. And it is sinking in among Africans that closer bonds with world progressives, closer and more consistent rapport with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which, as Lenin anticipated, are the most dependable friends of the national liberation movement, are an absolute imperative in the struggle for genuine independence and social progress, for the final and complete eradication of the blight of colonialism.

However, taking their stand on certain other issues of international cooperation, some African leaders are carried away by dubious theories, such as the division of the world into the 'rich North' and 'poor South,' the idea of 'superpowers,' and the like. That is their posture at UNCTAD sessions and in other international bodies, which, the unbiased observer will see, emasculate the anti-imperialist content of their foreign policy.

Africa and the world. In Africa, too, international relations are naturally influenced by the confrontation of the two world systems. Sometimes, African countries try to sidestep this fact and to pursue exclusively 'African interests.' But African isolationism is untenable. Ever more Africans realize that the world is one and that its cardinal problems will not be resolved without unity of all progressives. Indicative is the African states' voting in the UN. As a rule, their stand coincides with that of the socialist countries in the mat-

ter of de-colonization, abolition of military bases on foreign territory, creation of nuclear-free zones, and the like. Independent Africa is coming out more actively in favor of disarmament and international security, which some were once inclined to view as irrelevant for their continent.

Here is an example of the direct link between these 'global' problems and the struggle against colonialism and racism in Africa. The UN General Assembly Declaration on Strengthening International Security, adopted in 1970 on Soviet initiative, envisages an end to repressions and use of force against nations fighting for liberation from colonial rule, and urges aid for their legitimate struggle. The progressive forces of Africa wholeheartedly support the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and the latest Soviet proposal for a world disarmament conference put forward at the recent UN General Assembly. All these initiatives meet the true interests of all African peoples, contribute to the anti-imperialist struggle and block imperialism's neo-colonialist policy.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties has put on record in its Document that its participants support the struggle of Africa's progressive forces for economic independence, social progress and abolition of the last traces of colonialism, against neo-colonialism in all forms. The unity of the anti-imperialist front and of all democratic progressive forces is an earnest of the victory of the fighters for Africa's genuine independence, which is bound to lead to a new, free and equal system of international relations.

J. Chikwe

Latin America: new chapter in international relations

New developments in international relations in Latin America and their relevance to the liberation movement were the subject of a discussion in the journal's Latin American Commission. The following took part: Jaime Fuchs (Argentina), Luis Padilla (Bolivia), Luis Riveiro (Brazil), Arturo Rivera and Jorge Rojas (Colombia), Luther Tomas (Panama), Marcelo Pereira (Paraguay) and Jorge Texier (Chile).

The Cuban revolution and the political map of the continent

J. Fuchs: I think we should begin with the vast role the Cuban revolution continues to play in changing the political map of Latin

America. It raised the liberation movement throughout the continent to a new plane and has had a powerful impact on the international relations of Latin American countries. It dispelled several theories and doctrines that were basic to their foreign policy.

One of these was the 'geographical fatalism' theory: proximity to the United States doomed our countries to perpetual dependence on America. By this token their international relations were supposed to conform with the strategy of U.S. imperialism. Cuba shattered that theory and proved that a people united and led by a genuine revolutionary force can break out of imperialist domination, shape its own destiny and pursue an independent foreign policy.

The 'geographical fatalism' theory produced other fallacious concepts, advocated both from Right and 'Left' positions. We were being told, for instance, that the U.S. economic blockade could not be broken and that economic and political independence was therefore unattainable. But, enjoying the fraternal assistance of the USSR, the support of the socialist world system and the active solidarity and support of the Latin American and other peoples, Cuba proved that imperialism can no longer have its own way.

On the other hand, peddlers of the revolutionary phrase maintained that socialism could not be built in one Latin American country—we must wait for the revolution to triumph throughout the continent. Similar views were disproved by Lenin and by the march of events: the USSR built socialism in the teeth of formidable difficulties. Today conditions are much more favorable—Cuba is cogent proof of that!

The Cuban revolution and the new upsurge of the liberation movement were bound to affect U.S. policy vis-à-vis Latin America. On the one hand, the fear of Cuban 'contagion' accentuated the aggressive tendencies in Washington's policy. There was the 'Johnson Doctrine' justifying direct military interference, and the geopolitical concept of 'ideological frontiers' inspired by the Pentagon and officially proclaimed by the military regimes in Brazil, Argentina and several other countries.

On the other hand, in an attempt to prevent the appearance of new Cubas, Washington shifted to more subtle foreign policy techniques. There appeared the Alliance for Progress and other 'aid' programs designed to hold back the revolutionary process. Now even the men who speak for imperialism admit that these plans failed dismally.

Intensified U.S. imperialist exploitation of Latin America in the past ten years has aggravated the structural crisis of the Latin American economies, split the 'inter-American system' and sharpened contradictions with the USA. The process was clearly demonstrated at the recent inter-American conferences.

Other countries are following Cuba in breaking the U.S. imperialist fetters. For the first time in history a Latin American people, Chile's, won power by constitutional means; Peru is implementing anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchical reforms; Panama is advancing

to genuine independence. These are all indicators of the continuing deepening of the revolutionary process which entered a new phase with the Popular Unity victory in Chile. The temporary victory of counter-revolution in Bolivia cannot alter this sustained trend. There can be little doubt that the system of international relations in Latin America is powerfully influenced by the revolutionary struggles of its peoples.

It is no accident that the Salta Declaration of the presidents of Chile and Argentina and the Argentine-Peruvian communique reaffirm the right of nations to self-determination, free choice of developments paths, and genuine political and economic independence. Cuba's participation in the 77-nation conference at Lima and a number of other meetings and agreements clearly show that peaceful coexistence of states with differing socio-political systems is gaining increasing support throughout Latin America.

But U.S. imperialism has not abandoned its policy of plunder and domination, as evidenced by the counter-revolutionary coup in Bolivia and Defense Secretary Laird's recent statement that Washington will continue to rely on the military dictatorships in Brazil, Paraguay and several Central American countries. We Communists must therefore work for still closer solidarity with the peoples of Cuba, Chile and Peru and raise the mass anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic movement to a higher plane. The times we live in favor the battle to expel the imperialists and their allies from Latin America. That, in fact, is the central feature of the political situation in our continent.

Against the 'ideological frontiers' doctrine

L. Padilla: After the Cuban Revolution, U.S. imperialism endeavored to use the 'inter-American system,' notably the Organization of American States (OAS), to further its strategic aim of keeping the continent within its orbit. One element of the strategy was the celebrated doctrine of 'ideological frontiers,' coined soon after the 1965 U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic. It was meant to justify U.S. armed intervention in every area of the continent to prevent 'Communist infiltration.' The doctrine's authors argue that historically evolved national frontiers have lost their significance—ideological frontiers, i.e., the boundaries of the U.S. empire, are now the deciding factor.

It need hardly be said that it is absurd to reject inviolability of national frontiers, national sovereignty and the right of nations to self-determination. The purpose of the doctrine is not only to prevent the appearance of 'seats of communism,' but also all manifestations of independent policies by Latin American countries. In short, it is meant to guarantee the U.S. the right to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states, isolate our peoples from the socialist world system and the international workers' and national liberation movement.

One example of the doctrine's practical application was the overthrow in Bolivia of General Torres' democratic regime. Having failed to build up the so-called 'inter-American peace forces,' the euphemistic name for a gendarmerie to suppress the liberation movement, U.S. imperialism is entrusting that function to the various reactionary regimes. The Santa Cruz rising, which triggered off the Bolivian coup, was organized with the direct participation of Brazil's ultra-Right militarist clique.

L. Riveiro: I would like to add a few words. The Brazilian reactionaries are worried about the possibility of the 'Chilean example' being emulated in Uruguay. And to prevent the advent of a Broad Front government, Brazil has not only granted credits to the Pacheco regime, but brought direct military pressure to bear — army maneuvers near the Uruguayan border, instigated rumors of a possible invasion, etc.

L. Padilla: Some are inclined to attribute the present aggressiveness of Brazil's militarists to the existence in that country of a 'sub-imperialism.' That is wrong, I think. In Brazil, as in other Latin American countries, the monopolies are under North American imperialist control. Local and foreign capital are now being merged, with the result that the Brazilian monopolies are becoming conduits of U.S. monopoly policy. Essentially, we are dealing with the same Yankee imperialism, but dressed up in local garb. Little surprise, therefore, that Brazil has become a vehicle of U.S. policy in Latin America and is aspiring to the role of continental gendarme, a watch on the 'ideological frontiers.' All this makes the Brazilian military dictatorship still more unpopular and increases its isolation in Latin America.

L. Riveiro: I agree with that. Brazilian participation in imperialist aggressive plots is encountering growing resistance from the peoples and governments of many countries. Even Argentina — where definite circles helped to formulate this doctrine — recently proclaimed in favor of 'diplomacy without ideological frontiers.'

L. Padilla: It may seem paradoxical that two similar dictatorships are pursuing dissimilar policies. But the fact is that there are contradictions between their capitalists, largely due to foreign monopoly activity. The positive developments in Argentine diplomacy are conditioned by developments at home. The many contradictions between the two countries revolve around the development and exploitation of the La Plata basin, with its rich power and mineral resources. The two countries are vying for domination in this strategic area.

J. Fuchs: We should not overlook, in this context, the role of North American imperialism. It is inflating the contradictions over La Plata in furtherance of its own ends. This does not, of course, lessen the importance of the self-seeking plans of the big bourgeoisie, landlords and reactionary military groups in the two countries.

We should also consider the factors that go into shaping President Lanusse's present foreign policy, his rapprochement with Chile and Peru, rejection of the 'ideological frontiers' doctrine. The Argentine

people and working class have only feelings of friendship for the popular government in Chile and have shown their solidarity with the anti-imperialist reforms in Peru. It is only natural that this should tell on Argentina's foreign policy.

However, we must reckon with the interest conflict between the economic group represented by General Lanusse and the U.S. monopolies. There is also this major factor: the imperialist contradictions between the U.S., Britain, the FRG, Italy and Japan, all of whom are fiercely competing in Argentina. This could influence one or another foreign policy decision.

Full realization of General Lanusse's positive foreign policy measures depends on the extent to which the people and working class, all the patriotic forces of Argentina, are able to change the present reactionary home policy.

L. Padilla: The statement of seven Communist parties says that the Salta Declaration undermines the 'ideological frontiers' doctrine and aggravates the crisis of the Organization of American States. Of course, it is hard to say how things will turn out. But this can be said for certain: the doctrine is doomed to failure. The earnest of that is the changes on the political map of the continent, the profound crisis of the 'inter-American system,' the general improvement of the Latin American political climate, and the closer links between our and all other countries, primarily those of the socialist community.

Crisis of the 'inter-American system'

A. Rivera: The USA is losing its determinative role in relations between Latin American countries. The collapse not only of U.S. policies and doctrines, but of the whole 'inter-American system' is inevitable. The OAS is in a state of profound crisis. Yet at one time it was a zealous defender of the interests of the U.S. monopolies and local pro-imperialist circles. On occasion it was used as a repressive agency—suffice it to recall its sanction of the political and economic blockade of Cuba. The OAS also provided the 'legal substantiation' for U.S. aggressive actions against the liberation movement.

In its present form, the OAS is an obstacle to Latin American independence. It is actively opposed to the kind of integration envisaged by the Andes Pact*—and to contacts with the socialist countries. It has taken a negative stand on the persistent demand of many Latin American countries for extending their territorial waters to 200 miles in order to defend their fishing and other resources against predatory exploitation by U.S. monopolies. In short, the OAS does not accord either with the interests of our peoples or with Latin American reality.

Our countries do not want to remain pliant tools of the U.S. mono-

*Concluded in May 1969 by Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia for joint effort in developing their economies. — Ed.

polies. There is a swelling demand for diplomatic relations with Cuba and repeal of the anti-Cuba sanctions.

J Texier: The Chilean government has emphatically stated that it has no legal or moral obligation to support the OAS sanctions against Cuba. And when President Nixon declared that Chile's resumption of diplomatic relations with Cuba would be a 'challenge to the inter-American system,' he was bluntly told: 'The interests of the U.S. and the Latin American countries in OAS are neither equal nor identical.'

L. Padilla: I think we can expect new positive changes in the 'inter-American system' in the near future.

A. Rivera: Yes, the trend towards independent foreign policy is steadily gaining ground. The Washington diktat is opposed not only by the Communist and other revolutionary, democratic and patriotic forces, but also by sections of the national bourgeoisie which do not want to hold aloof from the new economic and political developments. The interests of all our countries require a new type of organization based on equality.

And we can see the contours of this new organization in the united front of the Latin American countries against the U.S. economic and political stranglehold. This was evidenced at the meeting of the Special Latin American Coordinating Commission in Buenos Aires last September, at which there was a vigorous demand for an immediate repeal of the U.S. 10 per cent import surcharge, and at the September meeting in Panama of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, which unanimously condemned Washington's attempt to 'rescue the dollar' at the expense of Latin American and other countries.

L. Riveiro: I would like to add that the Panama decision was based on a draft submitted by Brazil and amended by Argentina and Paraguay. Paradoxical though it may seem, this document was authored by three dictatorial regimes! That is highly symptomatic.

A. Rivera: Another example is the Lima Agreement signed last October by Latin American Foreign Ministers. This document is, in effect, a stern rebuff to imperialist encroachments on countries pursuing independent foreign and home policies. Obviously, there is a maturing need for new organizational forms of united action by our countries.

The financial and political fetters imposed on Latin American countries will not be destroyed by one blow. But more telling blows are being dealt, and the fight against Washington control is not confined to our continent. It has been carried to international organizations, the United Nations, for example, where for a very long time our countries were part of the U.S. monopolies' 'voting machine.' Now the machine is backfiring. More Latin American UN members are cooperating with other, notably socialist, countries, to make the organization serve the aims for which it was founded, make it truly universal, halt the arms drive, and ban nuclear weapons. When the General Assembly discussed restoration of China's lawful rights and expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, 12 Latin American coun-

tries did not support the U.S. on the 'two Chinas' issue. All this is evidence that the old 'big stick' diplomacy is proving ineffectual. The peoples are rising against imperialism, for independence in home and foreign affairs.

New-type international policy

J. Texier: Changes in Latin American relations are reflected in more identical attitudes on some major issues. The idea is gaining realization among the people that relations between our countries must be of a new type, based on equality, mutual advantage and negotiated settlement of controversial questions.

Of course, these new trends in the foreign policy of some Latin American countries are, above all, the result of the struggle waged by Communists and the revolutionary movement in general.

M. Pereira: I would emphasize, in this context, that we Communists are devoting much attention to uniting the continent's democratic and patriotic forces against our common foe, U.S. imperialism. That was discussed at the Eighth Conference of the Communist parties of Central America, Mexico and Panama.

Common Latin American problems were discussed also at the recent conference of the Communist parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. They drew attention to activation of the U.S. aggressive forces operating in conjunction with reactionary Latin American governments and called on all patriots, regardless of political and religious views, to unite against the menace offered by U.S. imperialism, which is bent on reversing the tide of revolution in Latin America.

A. Rivera: We should not preclude deterioration of the situation in some parts of the continent, or even armed conflicts. There is, for instance, the threat of a clash between Venezuela and Colombia. It is being provoked by the U.S. oil monopolies to obtain better terms from the victor country and to prolong exploitation of the oil fields in the border area. Imperialism is interested in inflating boundary disputes as a means of preventing friendly relations between Latin American republics.

J. Texier: Relations are improving, but by no means between all countries. In many cases the obstacle is American political control. The hand of Yankee imperialism can be seen in the Brazilian gorillas' provocation against Bolivia and Uruguay, in the armed clash between Honduras and Salvador, in the threat of armed conflict between Venezuela and Colombia, etc.

However, the new-type international policy, which wholly rejects the 'ideological frontiers' doctrine and promotes mutual understanding and peace on our continent, is steadily hewing a way for itself. Born of Latin American solidarity, it is assuming a clear-cut anti-imperialist orientation.

M. Pereira: Can we say that the emergence of socialist Cuba, the popular government in Chile and the anti-imperialist regime in Peru,

mark the beginning on our continent of a new type of international relations?

J. Texier: These countries are fruitfully cooperating and developing closer contacts that bear the stamp of anti-imperialist struggle and revolutionary change. We can even detect elements of socialist-type relations.

Some other countries are directing their foreign policy towards more independence of imperialist control. In considerable measure this is due to the influence of revolutionary Cuba, the independent policy of Chile and Peru and their clashes with the North American monopolies. In combination, this provides a firm basis for the transition by a number of Latin American governments to realistic, patriotic positions.

L. Tomas: I think we can say for certain that relations between our countries will continue to improve. Let me cite this example: for a definite time after the Cuban revolution, there was a continental atmosphere of intolerance of any change – the result of the imposed 'ideological frontiers' doctrine. Cuba was ostracized. Then came the popular government in Chile, which proclaimed socialism its aim. Now few Latin Americans challenge the right of the Chilean and Peruvian peoples to shape their future, pursue an independent policy and openly confront the United States.

Why? Obviously, because times have changed. The overwhelming majority of Latin Americans are aware of the pressing need for independent policies. Take the example of Panama. Its present military-civilian government has made equality and mutual advantage the basis of its foreign policy. And it has taken far-reaching steps to win full independence. It categorically denies the legality of U.S. occupation of part of its territory, the Canal Zone, favors broader relations with all countries of the world, including the socialist countries.

J. Texier: More and more countries are giving their foreign policy an articulate anti-imperialist orientation and forming friendly ties with each other. President Allende's visits to Argentina and Peru, Ecuador and Colombia and his talks with their presidents signify the beginning of a new stage in Latin American relations. The progress achieved in these talks accords with the national interests of these countries and facilitates their economic cooperation under the sub-regional Andes Pact.

Mention has already been made of the stir caused in Latin America by the meeting in mid-September in Salta of Chile's Socialist president Allende and Argentina's conservative-minded president, General Lanusse. They reached agreement on frontier issues along the Beagle Canal, which has been the cause of constant friction. The Salta Declaration reaffirms the principles of non-interference in internal affairs and peaceful settlement of controversial questions. It declares: 'Friendship and cooperation between Argentina and Chile are an unalterable factor in the preservation and strengthening of peace on the American continent in the name of justice and economic and social progress.'

The joint statements president Allende signed during his visits to Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, likewise reaffirm the principles of peaceful coexistence. Furthermore, these countries are contributing to continental peace by their agreement to present a joint front to the North American monopolies on a number of economic issues, and to work for limitation of military expenditure.

M. Pereira: The Chilean initiative played a big part in improving relations between Latin American countries. This applies especially to its restoration of relations with Cuba. Doubtlessly, Fidel Castro's historic visit to Chile will strengthen that trend.

L. Padilla: We ought to mention the fact that many Latin American countries can no longer serve as dutiful executors of American imperialist policy without discrediting themselves in the eyes of their peoples. For two things have become all too obvious: America's plunderous policy in trade and other areas, and the need for trade and economic relations with states outside the 'inter-American system,' primarily with the socialist countries.

Contacts with the socialist community

J. Rojas: That is an important aspect of Latin American relations, and I would like to dwell on it in more detail. In the late 50s, only three countries, Mexico, Argentina and Uruguay, maintained diplomatic relations with the USSR; now there are 13 countries. And normal diplomatic relations greatly stimulated Latin America's trade with the Soviet Union: from 60.8 million rubles in 1960 it increased to more than 116 million (without Cuba) in 1969, or nearly doubled.

L. Tomas: For a more complete picture it should be added that very few Latin American countries do not maintain contacts, in one or another form, with socialist countries.

J. Texier: One of the first steps of the popular government in Chile was to re-establish diplomatic relations with Cuba and establish such relations with the GDR, Mongolia and the People's Republic of China.

J. Rojas: Trade and other economic contacts play a big part. The socialist community supplies us with industrial equipment, helps build and start new industries, exchanges technical information. Czechoslovakia, for instance, exports complete sets of equipment to Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Chile and Peru; Poland sells machines and other equipment, coal, vessels, medicine to Mexico, Colombia, Peru and other countries; the GDR sells heavy equipment, trucks, tractors, medical equipment to Brazil, Ecuador, Colombia and Uruguay.

L. Tomas: Trade missions from Czechoslovakia, Poland and other socialist countries recently visited Panama. A trade agreement has been concluded with Yugoslavia for construction of the first section of a hydropower complex at a cost of more than \$45 million. Diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level have been established with Rumania.

M. Pereira: I would like to stress, in this connection that the trend

towards links with the socialist community is so strong that even in a country like Paraguay, for many years under the heel of dictator Stroessner, there is an increasingly vocal demand for freedom to choose trading partners.

J. Rojas: This growing trend for relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is chiefly the result of deep-going changes in the system of international relations. And these changes, in turn, are the result of the profound crisis of imperialist foreign policy and the triumph of socialist policy. They are the result also of the altered pattern of international relations in the Western hemisphere due, on the one hand, to the failure of Washington's Latin American policy, and on the other, to the growing urge to break out of Washington's tutelage and dependence on the U.S. market and follow an independent foreign policy that accords with national interests.

And so, Latin America's expanding ties with the socialist countries is not a transient development, but a law-governed tendency and an integral part of the liberation movement. Several factors go into this. First, economic development requires broader economic contacts, new markets and more effective use of international division of labor. Even representatives of the national bourgeoisie not tied to the imperialist monopolies, are coming to appreciate the need for broader trade and economic links with the socialist countries.

Second, the revolutionary processes at work on the continent give the masses a definite influence on foreign policy. And they are demanding, alongside respect of the right to national self-determination and non-interference in internal affairs, establishment and development of relations with all countries.

Lastly, contacts with the socialist countries are facilitated by the immense economic, scientific, technical and cultural achievements of the socialist lands, their policy of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres, their economic assistance without any political or other strings, their support for peoples fighting to achieve economic independence and consolidate their national sovereignty. Lenin's words that the peoples are becoming more and more aware of the 'economic necessity of an alliance with Soviet Russia against international imperialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 477) are especially topical today.

It is hardly necessary to detail the immense significance of the cooperation of socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, with Cuba, a country laying the foundation of socialism, and with Chile and Peru.

The socialist countries also maintain economic, cultural and other contacts with other Latin American countries, irrespective of their social, political and economic structure. This undermines the imperialist monopoly on trade, helping to place international relations on an entirely new basis of mutual respect and cooperation, and thereby strengthen independence and sovereignty.

On the other hand, closer ties with the socialist lands inevitably tend to extend the social basis of the anti-imperialist struggle in

Latin America and strengthen the liberation movement. It is no accident that the U.S. imperialists, and their Latin American abettors are at such pains to prove that links with the socialist countries are a danger to the continent. And the U.S. is doing everything to prevent closer contacts with these countries.

It should be emphasized that closer ties with the socialist lands strengthen the Latin American republics internationally, enabling them to use the stable and capacious socialist market. Such ties have a positive influence on their foreign trade, making it progressively less dependent on the imperialist powers. In other words, the Latin American nations, in the past merely the objects of imperialist supremacy, are now becoming the subjects of international relations.

Analysis of international relations in Latin America at the present stage is of great practical value to the Communist parties, the democratic and anti-imperialist forces and the entire revolutionary movement on our continent. Though not every aspect of the problem could be examined in this exchange of views, all the participants agreed that we can draw these conclusions.

A new type of relations is taking shape between a number of Latin American countries, relations based on respect of national self-determination and non-interference in each other's affairs. Closer contacts are being established with the countries of the socialist world system, the decisive force of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The changing relations between Latin American countries are determined by the mass actions led by the Communist and Workers' parties and by the broad patriotic and anti-imperialist movements. However, this process encounters aggressive opposition from imperialism and local reaction. It is therefore necessary as never before, to strengthen the solidarity of the Latin American peoples in the fight against imperialism and the oligarchy.

Heroism multiplied by fraternal support

It was a hot day in September 1971 in Hanoi. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam had just celebrated its twenty-sixth anniversary. The streets teemed with pedestrians and cyclists, the public gardens and cafés were crowded and people swarmed around cinemas and newsstands.

A pleasant refuge from the sweltering heat is the park surrounding the silvery bowl of a lake with a majestic pagoda on its shore. It is rather deserted during the day but after dark you can hardly find a vacant bench. Another favorite resort of Hanoians is the

vast Unity Park in the southern part of the city, laid out by factory and office workers and students on a voluntary basis. Lake Baimau, situated in the park, mirrors the white building of the Polytechnical Institute designed by Soviet architects.

Downtown Hanoi is famed for its market. The stalls are piled high with bananas, coconuts, corn, sweet potatoes, rice and other produce, as well as with poultry, game and fine handicraft wares. A noteworthy place is the modern central department store. There I saw people buy watches, bicycles, transistors. The book and stationary department was one of the busiest. Five million children went to school in the DRV in 1971. I was struck by the thirst for knowledge and culture shown by young and old alike. There are ample opportunities for acquiring both, and they are being fully used.

Here and there you come across grassy hillocks topping spacious bomb shelters. I saw jet fighters patrolling the capital at a high altitude. The U.S. imperialists, realizing that their piratical raids were too costly (the Vietnamese shot down thousands of American planes with the aid of fighters and missiles supplied by the Soviet Union), had to desist from a large-scale air war. However, they go on dropping bombs in the demilitarized zone.

The people of Hanoi show infinite courage in both upholding their national independence and subduing the elements, which in 1971 wrought havoc. August saw flood waters cover an unprecedentedly large area as a result of torrential rains that swelled the Red and Ma rivers with their innumerable tributaries, raising their level by four metres. In some places the water burst through dikes and dams, sweeping away villages, destroying fields and plantations, bridges and roads. Some factories were damaged too. The calamity could have set the economy back for years had it not been organized on socialist lines. Those hit by it got help from hundreds of thousands of servicemen, students, school children and Hanoians. Modern technological facilities were used. Communists led the difficult organizing work. By the end of September, life in the calamity-stricken areas was resuming its normal course. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries and WFTU unions helped greatly.



Guardians of Vietnam sky

In Hanoi I visited a mechanical plant built with Soviet aid, and a textile mill. I sensed the warm friendship linking the Vietnamese and Soviet people together. Once Soviet specialists worked at the plant. Today Vietnam's own specialists are in charge of production at this modern enterprise which makes milling and grinding ma-

In Hanoi I visited a mechanical plant built with Soviet aid, and a textile mill. I sensed the warm friendship linking the Vietnamese and Soviet people together. Once Soviet specialists worked at the plant. Today Vietnam's own specialists are in charge of production at this modern enterprise which makes milling and grinding ma-

chines, pumps and engines. But the workers remember their friends from Lenin's country. The Soviet specialists planted trees along Friendship Avenue. The trees have grown up and each bears a plate with the name of the specialist who planted it.

The Dong Xuan knit-goods factory is typical of socialist Vietnam, whose people are building a new life without letting go the rifle. Three-quarters of its employees are women. Nguyen Thi Sau, a middle-aged woman veteran of the factory, spoke proudly about its operation and its people. The management includes 16 women, and the secretaries of the Party, trade union and youth organizations are all women. The factory runs a secondary school and, besides, numerous workers study by correspondence at the Polytechnical Institute. Some employees have acquired high skill in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary or the GDR.

'Work and fight,' Nguyen Thi Sau said, 'was the line we followed during the u.s. imperialists' air war against the DRV. We still follow it because the aggression goes on. Our arms are ready for use. You can see machine-guns beside the lathes. At the same time we are improving conditions for the workers. They have at their disposal a canteen, a recreation room, a nursery for 200 children and a kindergarten for 500.'

Slender palm-trees and bamboo groves, the red tile roofs of houses set in gardens, sunlit paddy-fields and the straw hats of peasants fell back as we drove through villages ringed by water. Junks nosed their way between houses near which carefree children bathed. An hour later we reached Namdinh. There was a fine drizzle. We walked around. Many blocks were destroyed and the Catholic church, a 'strategic' objective of American pirates, was damaged. Beside it lay a big unexploded bomb, symbol of barbarous aggression. The textile complex we visited had been bombed more than once but had not stopped operating for a single moment. Some shops had yet to be rebuilt, there were holes in the roofs torn by shells and the wind swayed the silk fabric in the finished products department.

The trip to Thanh Hoa Province, on the Gulf of Tonkin, was a memorable experience. The province ranks third in the republic and has two million inhabitants. It is one of North Vietnam's granaries and supplies one-tenth of the country's farm produce. The aggressors have severely damaged its economy. The damage involves 60 per cent of the cooperatives, and many communities and railway stations have been reduced to ruins.

Pham Ngoc Tu, one of the provincial leaders, invited us to the Hoa-Loc commune. On the way there he told us many interesting things about the cooperative movement.

'Our cooperatives encompass over 90 per cent of peasant households today,' he said. 'Due to collective labor, the use of machinery and other modern facilities and scientific achievements, production grows by 13 per cent a year. Hundreds of cooperatives raise five tons of rice per hectare, which is not a bad yield, and some as much as ten tons.'

'Our countryside follows Lenin's cooperative plan, which the Party creatively applies in our distinctive conditions. Numerous leaders of the province and Party workers study Lenin's writings on various problems of socialist building. Those are books we consult again and again. And of course, we benefit greatly from the achievements of Soviet collective and state farms.'

The Hoa-Loc commune is a few kilometres from the Gulf of Tonkin. It was badly damaged by bombings like numerous other communes. But brick cottages have already taken the place of destroyed houses. We were welcomed by Hoang Thi Yen, the young, energetic woman who heads the commune's managing committee. In 1960 she made her way from South Vietnam to the DRV with her son. She finished a seven-year school and then a Party school. She told us that during a U.S. air raid the women's militia unit of the commune downed two pirate planes and that Ho Chi Minh commended them for the feat.

'Our commune is small,' she said. 'Its population is about 3,000. Besides agricultural co-operatives, we have several consumer and credit cooperatives. The main crop is rice - it takes up 250 hectares.

'The villagers' cultural standard is improving. The commune has a secondary school, several elementary schools, and literacy classes for adults. Health care and hygienic measures are among the managing committee's concerns. We have a hos-

pital staffed with five doctors and several trained nurses.'

On the way back to Hanoi, on Highway 1 linking the capital with the south of the country, we were frequently stopped by traffic jams. The road is too narrow for heavy traffic. Countless ZIL and GAZ trucks (of Soviet make) alternate on it with peasant carts drawn by buffaloes and with bicycles carrying bales.

During one of the protracted stops a group of young men stepped off two big buses.

'Soviet?'

'Yes,' we replied.

The next moment we found ourselves in the middle of a smiling crowd. Some tried to speak Russian. I asked them where they were going. They said a recruitment for the People's Army was on and many young men were signing up as volunteers. There was a lively discussion.

'My name is Nghi,' said one of them. 'I'm in my third year at the Polytechnical Institute in Hanoi. I've volunteered for military service. Of course, it's a pity to have to quit so wonderful an institute but so long as the American imperialist aggression is on, I



On look-out for air pirates

must hold on to my gun. I'm going to learn the use of the powerful weapons our Soviet friends send us. Thank you very much for your support. Our people feel the great strength of international solidarity of the socialist countries and progressive world opinion.'

As well as supplying the DRV with military equipment, the Soviet Union renders it comprehensive economic aid, which prevents the U.S. imperialists from paralyzing the economy and starving the people. Over 150 industrial, agricultural and other projects have been put in operation with Soviet aid since 1955. They include the mechanical plant in Hanoi I have already mentioned, a fish cannery in Haiphong, a tin plant in Tintuc, an apatite mine in Laokay and a thermal power station in Wongbi. With Soviet cooperation, the Vietnamese have set up 40 state farms growing coffee, tea, citrus fruits and rubber, as well as factories processing farm produce.

The Vietnamese I met spoke highly of the agreements signed in Moscow in August 1971 under which the Soviet Union will render the DRV further gratuitous aid to strengthen its defenses. At present the Soviet Union helps the republic in building 45 industrial and other projects. The biggest of them are the Thacba hydro-electric station, which will be operating at full capacity in 1972 and will be the biggest in Indochina, the Wangdan and Monduong coal pits and the Campha plant for the manufacture and repair of mining equipment. Considerable assistance is extended in training personnel – as of September 1971, about 10,000 Vietnamese were studying or training on the job in the Soviet Union.

Internationalist aid benefits the patriots of South Vietnam battling with the invaders. I met Nguyen Thi Than, a teacher holding a key educational post in the liberated areas. She was taking back home a group of school children who had spent their holidays in Artek, the international Young Pioneer camp on the Crimean coast of the Black Sea. Some of the children are real heroes who have distinguished themselves in battles against the U.S. invaders. I talked with fifteen-year old Vo Tien Trung from Quang Nam Province. He has been awarded four orders of the People's Liberation Armed Forces of South Vietnam.

'We all hold together like this,' he said, clenching his little, strong fist.

Very true – the socialist countries and progressive people throughout the world are on the same side of the barricade as the freedom fighters of South Vietnam. They firmly back the constructive seven-point program for a peaceful settlement put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and severely condemn the U.S. policy of 'Vietnamization' designed to prolong the criminal intervention.

At the Thong Nhat hotel in Hanoi I had a chat with Val Woodward, professor of genetics at the University of Minnesota. He is a friend of the Vietnamese people and was studying on the spot the disastrous effects of the chemical war in Vietnam.

Prof. Woodward said the American press, radio and television

claimed that North Vietnam tried to 'mislead' public opinion by talking about chemical war. His stay in Vietnam had enabled him to familiarize himself with incontrovertible facts. The U.S. Army used poison chemicals causing chronic diseases, ruining the eyesight and respiratory organs and giving rise to acute gastro-intestinal disorders.

Prof. Woodward added that after two weeks' stay in Hanoi he had become as confident as the Vietnamese that the U.S. was waging an unjust war and was bound to lose it while the ideals the Vietnamese fought for were certain to triumph.

This is how millions of Americans feel today, demanding an early U.S. withdrawal from Indochina. The movement against U.S. imperialist aggression is mounting. It is safe to say that the heroic fight of the people of Vietnam and solidarity by the peoples of all continents will, in the end, force the invaders to retreat.

V. Pukhov

Hanoi - Prague.

'Economic nationalism' and socialist integration

'Economic nationalism' is a new cliché of capitalist propaganda. It is used in Japan when upholding the country's foreign trade interests. Canadians speak of it in voicing resentment at their country's dependence on the U.S. monopolies. The term is current in Western Europe but most of all in the United States. In the heat of discussion, some apply it even to ingrained imperialist practices. The *Washington Star*, fuming over the Chilean government's decision to nationalize the American-owned copper mines, predicted drastic action by Washington - in the name of 'economic nationalism.'

A new term has thus been added to the vocabulary of capitalist economic relations. It reflects a change of circumstances. The monetary crisis, the protectionist measures adopted by the U.S., the inability of West European countries to counter these measures in concerted fashion, and the first shots of a trade war have been widely discussed, hence there is no need to go into them. However, it has not yet been publicly admitted that what hangs in the balance is not only the monetary system but the capitalist world's economic thinking and concepts.

As long as there is capitalism, there will be journalists and scholars who will try to refute the Marxist indictment of the capitalist mode of production. The integration trends of the 60s bred the illusion that inter-imperialist contradictions could be overcome. There seemed to be some grounds for this belief. The Common

Market countries had achieved a growth rate that was high by capitalist standards. Outside this bloc, numerous foreign trade curbs had been lifted and trade had been growing much faster than world industrial output. This prompted many economists and propagandists to speak of 'new' laws, and even a 'new' era in which capitalist contradictions would disappear of themselves. Other writers claimed that capitalism was outpacing socialism in integration and internationalization, and saw this as a further refutation of Marxism.

True, some bourgeois scholars made a reasonably sound analysis of the facts. They admitted that the initial gains might in the long run be succeeded by difficulties due to the long-range effects of capitalist integration and its under-currents. Nevertheless, the optimists were far more vocal.

The time has come when this illusion must be given up. It is now the warnings of the more sober prophets of capitalism that are distinctly heard. The Italian magazine *Successo* interviewed John Kenneth Galbraith. The American economist criticized certain sources of the gains of the Common Market, which has always been publicized as a model of capitalist integration. Modern industry, he said, periodically needs very cheap temporary labor power, which in the United States is recruited in the South, the Appalachian area and the city ghettos. When there is no demand for such labor these workers are fired. In Europe, this labor is supplied by South Italy, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Spain and Turkey. It follows that he who analyzes the situation in West Germany or Switzerland tends to forget that German problems tell, at least in part, on South Italy and that poverty in Switzerland is the poverty of people who, after getting jobs in that country's economy, will then go back to Calabria.

Those who live in the Common Market countries describe the EEC as a 'club for big privileged corporations,' a 'syndicate of the rich' and an 'act of egoism for the economic elites of Europe.' These epithets were listed by William Rademaekers, head of the Paris office of *Time*, who has studied the Common Market ever since its rise. He wrote about general disappointment, shattered hopes and mutual hostility. 'What has happened?' he asked, and found no answer. A statement by the Belgian economist Jean Rey - 'The enemy is inside all of us' - gives part of the answer.

Indeed, what has happened? Were the events of the past year really so unexpected? Analysis shows that they merely bore out what Marxists have long been saying: capitalism cannot provide conditions for the full and unchecked development of progressive integration processes. It imposes on these processes forms alien to them and forces them into the narrow bounds of huckster interests.

Internationalization in the capitalist world means something more than setting up international monopolies or multinational economic associations. It also means an irresistible 'export' of inflation, chaos, unemployment, and increased exploitation of the working people.

The interconnection of national economies has been particularly manifest in recent months, but there are some aspects which bourgeois ideologists do not like to advertise. Here are a few facts out of many.

In Italy, 150,000 to 170,000 people may lose their jobs through the U.S. government's economic measures, said the Italian Minister of Labor. Iran will lose \$40 million within a few months as a result of the same measures. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) plans to retaliate by raising oil prices, nor will the increase affect the U.S. alone, but also other countries purchasing Iranian oil. The Danish government, following the U.S. example, has introduced a 10-per cent surcharge on imports. This is how the protective measures through which various countries try to exempt themselves from capitalism's economic difficulties are snowballing.

'When one thinks,' writes the French *Nouveau Journal*, 'how long it took to liberalize international trade one is pained at seeing how quickly the witches of protectionism started their new sabbath.'

These examples should suffice to show how very widespread is the disillusionment of one-time champions of capitalist integration. The talk one hears these days is about 'economic nationalism' and not the 'cosmopolitanism' of the capitalist economy. It is not merely a change of flag but an outright retreat.

Marxists regard the internationalization of economic life as an objective process going on throughout the world, under both capitalism and socialism. Its forms vary. Thus, the cooperation of the socialist countries at the initial stage could not take the form of very close relations, or integration, for it was necessary first to eliminate the more serious differences in development level between the national economies and effect important changes in economic structure. Socialist integration is only just beginning and its main effect is yet to come. A fact of decisive importance for the future is, however, that socialism affords the most favorable conditions for the unfolding of this process and that integration on socialist lines meets the national interests of the countries concerned.

By the time the CMEA came into being (1949), the socialist countries of Europe showed vastly divergent levels of industrial development. Bulgaria and Rumania had no developed engineering industry comparable to that of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia or the GDR. Yet engineering is the mainstay of economic independence and defense power as well as the most profitable export item. Setting up this industry is no easy task for an agrarian country. There is more to it than the problem of competent personnel, plant, patents or funds. Mass production and a capacious market are indispensable to effective operation. The home market of a small country is not enough and as for the foreign capitalist market, newcomers never get in easily.

How is the problem dealt with in socialist countries?

Viata Economica, a Rumanian journal, wrote (No. 31, 1971): 'The

growth rate of output of Rumania's engineering industry in the previous five-year period averaged 15.9 per cent. . . . As a result, the share of engineering products in total industrial output in 1969 amounted to 24.4 per cent.' What was it that helped Rumania make this progress, along with the effort of its own people? 'The exchange of machinery and plant between Rumania and other socialist countries over the past five years,' the journal wrote, 'exceeded 60 per cent of its overall exchange of machinery and plant. This exchange went on under long-term trade agreements. . . . Large quantities of machinery and plant, new investments and the modernization of enterprises in the 1965-1969 period were ensured in the main by socialist countries.' Rumania's specialization in the manufacture of over 380 standard designs of machines and plant was agreed within the CMEA. The pattern of Rumanian exports is drawing near that of economically developed countries.

And now let us turn to the Bulgarian journal *Ikonomicheski Zhivot* of September 8, 1971. Until recently Bulgaria was only an importer of machinery and plant. In a matter of 10 years, however, this small country has exported over 300 sets of complete plant for food-processing, textile, tanning, tobacco, refrigerating and chemical enterprises. 'Sustained work for years . . . in CMEA commissions and working groups,' the journal commented, 'created favorable conditions for the export of Bulgarian complete plant and factories. Within the framework of this activity, we borrowed highly valuable know-how from other socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, and obtained technical documents and licences, which enabled us in a short time to achieve further technological progress.'

Gains by national economies and experience acquired in international cooperation made it possible to take a new step. While 'economic nationalism' surged high in the capitalist world, eight socialist countries adopted the Comprehensive Economic Integration Program. 'Accomplishing a most important task in socialist and communist building - achieving higher productivity of social labor in the socialist countries compared with the capitalist countries - links us inseparably with the process of the economic development levels of the CMEA countries gradually drawing closer together and becoming equal.'

The peoples of the socialist world take sober stock of their achievements in economic cooperation - the future will reveal its immense potentialities. On the other hand, probably no one will affirm that capitalist integration has already reached its limit, for it is evident that capitalism will yet be able to use this reserve in one way or another. Still, it may not be amiss to bring certain truths back to the minds of those who forget them in years of a relative boom. One of these truths is that, however favorably the situation may shape in this or that period, the fundamental evils of the capitalist system will only disappear with the system itself.

O. Bear



Communists and the youth movement in capitalist countries

Communists and New Developments in the Youth Movement in Capitalist Countries was the subject of a WMR discussion seminar held in Prague on September 28-29 and attended by representatives of 26 Communist and Workers' parties.

The seminar was chaired by the journal's Executive Secretary, V. Novy, and the introductory address, on behalf of the commission on Party work, was delivered by Helene Berg, a member of the Editorial Board. The following took part in the discussion: J. Colpin (Alternate CC member, French CP); G. Quercini (CC member, Italian CP); G. Judick (Executive member, German CP); O. Sjoman (Political Bureau member, CP Finland); E. Blanco (Executive member, CP Spain); P. Borghini (Executive member, Italian YCL); J. Ruotsalo (Vice-chairman, Finnish Socialist Student League); N. Chesman (Young Workers' Liberation League, USA); A. Mendoza (**World Youth magazine**); K. Benmuhammed (**World Student News**). The following permanent representatives of fraternal parties on the journal also took part in the discussion: J. Texier, Chile; P. Bart, USA; A. Rivera, Colombia; J. Fuchs, Argentina; L. Riveiro, Brazil; M. Pereira, Paraguay; L. Padilla, Bolivia; L. Tomas, Panama; G. Toubi, Israel; and V. Venetsanopoulos, Greece. The discussion was summed up by P. Courtieu, member of the Editorial Board.

The following comrades, unable to attend personally, sent the text of their contributions: A. Dawance (CC member, CP Belgium); D. Ahrens (Secretary, West Berlin SUP); H. Safari (Alternate member, CC Executive Bureau, People's Party of Iran); A. Dewhurst (Executive Committee member and Secretary, CP Canada).

The seminar materials are here given in abridged form.

Introductory address by Helene Berg. The youth is our future it is often said, but it is also true that in many respects the youth defines our present, for people under 24 now make up more than half the world's population. The youth represents an appreciable part of the working class, farmers and intellectuals. The number of students is steadily increasing. In the capitalist countries 20 million young people are in the armed forces.

In the socialist countries the youth is looked upon as an innovative and motive force, and that, indeed, is the role it plays in socialist construction. Under socialism, its position in society conforms with its aspirations, though, of course, here too the youth has its problems. Socialist society offers every opportunity for development of the personality; young people can look to the future with confidence.

In contrast, modern capitalism is, by its very anti-humanistic nature, alien to the youth. And more and more young people are coming to see that it has no solution for their vital problems nor an inspiring prospect for their future.

The youth plays an increasing role in the confrontation of the two socio-economic systems and in the workers' class struggle against the system of exploitation and oppression, both as an active participant and as an object of that struggle. Three years ago this journal sponsored a discussion on *The Rise of the Youth Movement in Capitalist Countries*. Some were then inclined to regard the youth movement as an isolated, independent entity. And its spontaneity, scope, and publicity build-up tended to confirm that view. Now, however, it should be perfectly clear that the movement has to be seen in the context of the crisis of capitalism's social structure, as one of the most vivid expressions of capitalism's general crisis, and as a force in the battle against imperialism.

And it is not surprising that today, with wider sections of the population involved in the anti-imperialist and anti-monopolist struggle, the youth is becoming an important factor of social life in many capitalist countries. That was stressed at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which pointed to the 'numerical growth and mounting political activity of young people.'

Needless to say, this activity has its specific features, and we must regard the youth movement as a special sector of the class struggle. The youth possesses traits that make it one of the most mobile social, ideological and moral elements of society. With the vast social and political shifts in every part of the world, with decades equalling centuries in terms of change, with the scientific and technological revolution affecting every sphere of social life, the young generation is especially receptive to change, welcomes it, fights for it.

Youth political activity is steadily mounting. It would be useful to examine the basis of this process, the nature of differentiation among the youth, which ideological trends are on the way out and which still predominate.

Naturally, the main question for us is how to win the youth for socialism, what methods the Communist parties should adopt towards that end, how to bring the youth into the movement for a fundamental restructuring of capitalist society. Though the approach and methods employed by the parties and international democratic organizations vary, we can draw useful and valuable lessons from their experience.

Discussion of the youth movement and the relevant activities of the Communist parties will enable us to look into other problems too, the parties' mass work, for instance, the effectiveness of the various methods, the strength of Party influence.

J. Colpin. A little more than a year ago our Central Committee discussed new developments in the youth movement.

Mass youth participation in the social struggle was glaringly manifested in the big clashes of 1968. And since then youth participation in the struggle of the labor and democratic forces against monopoly power and imperialism, for peace, has continued at a high level. No political force can afford to disregard that fact. That explains the especially tense struggle for influence over the youth now waged by the workers' and democratic movement, on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie, on the other.

The bourgeoisie is resorting to the traditional techniques of Right and 'Left' revisionism in an attempt to hold back the youth movement. The youth is being held up as a special social category, the 'salt of the revolution,' the force that must awaken the 'adult class' out of its consumer-society lethargy. That flattery is aimed at the student. On the other hand, save for a small activist group, the youth is presented as an apolitical mass, whose sole interest is getting the most out of life and whose inertia is holding back progress.

Both these variants of the totally fallacious idea of a generation conflict are complemented by negation of the specific character of the youth. A spokesman of the government party even told a TV audience: 'The youth? It does not exist!'

The French Communist Party Central Committee has countered all attempts to disorient and isolate the youth movement. The youth, we have always maintained, should be seen as an age category subjected to social and political influence, but not a socially homogeneous group. And though the main determining factor in the social and political make-up of young people is their social origin, this does not preordain their future, which is largely affected by economic and social change and by the battle of ideas.

That is especially so in our day, with the rise of a number of new characteristics. Our Party Central Committee analyzed these in order to correctly shape its youth policy and activity. The new characteristics can be traced to changes in social development, the sharpening of class conflicts under state-monopoly capitalism, capitalism's inability to meet youth's demands stemming from progress in science and technology. The new generation wants to live in the fullness of its time, and capitalism, it feels, cannot assure that. It protests against material and moral alienation, injustice, crime, all the evils that are the concomitants of capitalism.

On the other hand, socialism enjoys steadily increasing attraction as the only satisfactory answer to youth's vital questions. And notwithstanding all the effort and money invested in repeated attempts to conceal, obscure or falsify the achievements of the socialist

countries, young people are more frequently turning to socialist reality which, despite the inevitable difficulties of growth, has convincingly demonstrated its superiority over capitalism.

In France this process is helped by Communist Party activity, the Party's mass influence, its popularization of the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, its arguments to show that socialism can be built in France, too, with due account to common regularities and national specifics.

Our Party has singled out several factors that contribute to unity of the youth movement. Chief among these is the very existence of state-monopoly capitalism. Its policy lays an increasingly heavy burden on all social strata. The proletarianization of intermediate groups is proceeding apace both in urban and rural areas. The children of small and middle farmers, tradesmen and artisans stand progressively less chance of inheriting the family business – capitalist concentration sees to that. Young people, whether from working-class or middle-class families, long for an independent and active life, a good job with good wages, the knowledge and skill that are indispensable in modern industry. But the existing education system is inadequately financed, inadequately adapted to the needs of the times, and moreover is based on social discrimination. Only half of the young people who manage to finish secondary school are able to continue their studies. But not all of them finish the course: the first to drop out are the poor students who have to combine work with study. Social discrimination is measurable in this figure: only three per cent of working-class children have access to higher education.

But the biggest question of all is how to find work. Young people make up half of the official number of unemployed, 500,000, and that figure does not include new entrants into the labor force, that is, unemployed who have never been employed. One-third set out on an independent life without any occupational training. And even those with such training cannot find work in their own field and have to accept lower-paid jobs.

And so, all young people are the victims of state-monopoly capitalism.

Another factor that brings the youth together – the longer education process – is a relatively new one, but plays a considerable part in shaping the distinguishing features of the young generation. Enabling children of low-income families to go beyond elementary education has partly removed social divisions – the children of the worker, office employee, technician, civil servant, tradesman, artisan or small farmer are now united in the schools for a longer period than before. And the school can become the starting point for discussions and confrontations of views on a wide range of problems, but also the venue of youth struggle. Senior school children now display a deeper interest in economic, political and social problems, a desire to understand what makes society work. This new interest can be seen, among other things, in the rise and development of the school trade-union movement.

We might also add the mass media which, albeit through the prism of bourgeois propaganda, bring young people into closer contact with national and international events. These factors, in their sum-total, contribute to youth's political maturity, and to its keen solidarity with those who, both in France and around the world, are fighting for the noble ideals of peace and justice.

Though we take a positive attitude to the youth movement and its development trends, we are far from idealizing it. Heterogeneous in social composition, the youth is susceptible to bourgeois ideological influence and reformism. And with the growth of revolutionary sentiments, the bourgeoisie is more and more relying on Leftism. In 1968 there was an obvious attempt to inveigle the labor and democratic movement in adventurism as the prelude and pretext for crushing it. But our Party, and the French working class as a whole, knew how to expose this plot. The Communist Party exposed and condemned those who were preaching adventurism and demanding immediate seizure of political power in total disregard of reality. In 1968 Communist students had to wage a very difficult struggle, often going against the stream. But they stuck to their principles and in the end were able to stem the pressure of Leftism, which has since lost many of its positions. In our irreconcilable struggle against the ideology and politics of Leftism we were careful not to confuse the disease with those suffering from it (excluding, of course, the corrupt leaders). One symptom of a better atmosphere is the revival of the student trade-union movement, largely due to Communist initiative. The Leftists and opportunists had turned the National Students' League into an exclusive organization, torn, moreover, by endless political squabbling. Now the League is confidently moving ahead. It is actively fighting for student demands, enjoys the support of the big labor and democratic organizations, and is returning to its long-standing tradition of international solidarity and anti-imperialist struggle.

The youth movement has always had the Party's confidence, and the Party's support of youth demands has won it the confidence of the movement. A large part of the youth votes Communist, actively shares in our rallies and demonstrations, and accounts for most of new Party members. Last year's *Humanité* festival, the biggest ever, impressed everyone by the mass participation of young people.

Both in terms of membership and activity, the Communist Youth Movement is by far the country's biggest political organization of its kind. And it is most important that the Party can rely on such an organization and train from its ranks young activists with experience in the French and international movement. To fulfil this great mission, the Movement worked out a new leadership system at its December 1970 Congress designed to activate the four component organizations.* The new executive body, the National Bureau, is made up of young activists true to the Party's policy and possessing the political experience and acumen needed to infuse

*The Young Communist League, the Girls' League, the Communist Students' League and the Rural Youth League.

new strength into the movement. In all their work our Young Communists enjoy the political and material support of the Party, and we are certain that this support is fully justified.

G. Quercini. Anxiety, disenchantment and indignation, openly expressed or smouldering just below the surface, are today characteristic of the young generation in every capitalist country. Indeed, this is perhaps the most dramatic indicator of the crisis of capitalism, for no social system, no social class or movement, can hope for a meaningful future if it does not have the support of the majority of the young generation.

Much has latterly been said and written in the capitalist world about the youth. But it is rare indeed for bourgeois sociologists and philosophers to produce an analysis that is not trite or hopelessly gloomy. Time and again we are told that youth discontent is the product of adolescent impatience. In fact, a 'philosophy of crisis' has been concocted to explain the disappointment felt by young people: industrialization, development of science and technology, progress in the broadest meaning of the term, we are told, are the inevitable sources of the 'youth crisis.' And the way out is into irrational, blind and desperate retreat from an incurably sick society. While these philosophers produce their fine-spun theories, the big capitalist interests are amassing profits, building Moloch cities, destroying nature, menacing mankind with new weapons of destruction, and sowing death wherever the people stand up for national and social emancipation. And those who are not satisfied with that kind of philosophy, or with a retreat into drugs, but want to organize and fight for change, are dealt with by the machine of repression, the police and the courts.

We Italian Communists seek to understand and reveal the causes of youth discontent, explain youth's immediate and long-range aims, organize it as a conscious force to refashion society. In our strategy, the 'youth question' is a 'wedge' thrust into the enemy's socio-political front. And by penetrating more deeply into bourgeois society, this 'wedge' has in recent years helped the appearance of new fissures in the enemy front. That, I think, is the distinguishing feature of the 'youth question' in Italy. Nor is it merely a matter of the traditional weakness of Italy's ruling class, for in Italy we have a strong Communist Party which does not allow the bourgeoisie to bring the youth under its influence.

The Italian Communists' approach to the 'youth question' has always implied more than understanding that question and using it for propaganda purposes. The Party has sought to initiate a broad movement of young people, arm them politically and make them conscious fighters for liberation.

The 1960s saw growing discontent among our youth, a reflection of the deep crisis of bourgeois 'hegemony' over the young generation. There are two distinct aspects of that crisis. First, the material aspect, i.e., the inability of the bourgeoisie to give youth a clear prospect of prosperity and security. Second, the ideological aspect,

i.e., the inability of the ruling classes to give the youth a world outlook and values that would inspire it to work for the future.

Working class and popular actions in the 1960s won the youth bigger educational opportunities, higher cultural and professional standards. But capitalism has proved incapable of using this for the benefit of society. More and more young people with diplomas are finding that there are no jobs for them.

The sharpening of the contradictions that are part of developed capitalism triggered off the student protests that swept the West in 1968-1969. They should be assessed in the light of the worldwide revolutionary actions, primarily the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people, and against the background of the aggravated crisis of American imperialism.

The Italian Communists' position in the student movement is the only one possible for Marxist-Leninists: we turned criticism of its ideology into criticism of the capitalist society that produced that ideology.

The qualitative changes in the social position of the young generation, the pronounced trend towards closer social homogeneity of the youth—this was bound to reflect in the struggle, its ideological and political orientation.

In its new phase, our unitarian policy is predicated on the realization, by all youth movements, that the crisis of the past few years is but an aspect of the general and profound crisis of bourgeois democracy in Italy.

Today, we no longer regard the process of political unity of the youth as indeterminate social unity of workers, students and peasants, or as organic unity of Marxist youth groups, but rather as a dialectical unity, the encounter of the three main ideological and political streams that unite Italian youth: Catholics, Socialists and Communists. That unity is based on concrete social problems, but also on a program of radical reconstruction of society; it is based on discussion of the type of socialist society all of us want to build.

The central element in this unitarian youth policy is independence of youth movements. For us that is of strategic and not only tactical importance. For we believe that the young generation must itself organize its ranks, itself forge unity and solve the problems history has placed before it. This is important today and will be much more important in the socialist society of the future.

J. Texier. The new element in the struggle of Chile's revolutionary youth is its participation, together with all the people, in administration of the state and in the process of social change.

The paramount task of the Left youth is to join with the working people in implementing the government's economic program, for in their plans to bring down the new popular government the forces of reaction and imperialism pin their hopes on economic failure. And they are doing everything they can to disorient public opinion, maintaining that by restricting private initiative the government is

heading the country towards stagnation, food shortages, high prices and inflation.

Economic normalization has, therefore, become our greatest political problem, a question of life and death for the popular forces. At present state-controlled industry accounts for most of the country's output, but the ultra-Lefts are spreading the idea that production should be left to the capitalists. They refuse to see that the food supply is, above all, a political issue, and that the historic mission of the popular government is to lay the foundation of the new relations of production.

Most of our young people understand the country's economic problems and the need to solve them. That is largely due to the influence the Communist and Socialist parties built up among the students long before the Presidential elections. The Communists were in the leadership of the two biggest student federations, at the Chile University and the State Technical University. The YCL was and remains the main political force in the student movement.

The enthusiasm, energetic and effective actions of the Left youth, particularly in economic upbuilding, are mainly the result of its close link with the democratic parties and its active participation in all the Popular Unity campaigns. University students organized numerous summer camps to help the peasants, build homes, schools, clinics, improve our cities, etc. The students have an active share in the country's political and cultural life. And everywhere the enthusiasm stems from the knowledge that they are laying the cornerstone of Chile's socialist future.

That enthusiasm and activity have put an end to the chaos and pessimism which the Right-wing forces tried so hard to exploit. Now it is perfectly clear that the battle between the new Chile and the forces of reaction and imperialism will be fought on the economic front. The 50,000 young people in our volunteer building brigades did more than help solve some pressing economic problems — they did much to raise the political understanding of the entire people.

The first National Youth Assembly organized by the Popular Unity bloc summed up this work and set the next task: cultivate in the people a new attitude to work.

The youth is always on guard, vigilantly watching reactionary intrigues. When a group of saboteurs were exposed in the copper mines, engineering students immediately went to mining centers where their technical assistance was required.

The youth has an appreciable part also in our socio-political life. Many youth leaders were elected to municipal councils in the April 1971 elections. The government has set up a National Youth Secretariat. You will find young people among the new executives elected by the workers at nationalized enterprises, or in the management of some of our biggest concerns, for instance, Chile's leading publishing house.

The Socialist and Communist youth leagues, now working in close cooperation, play a leading role in the Popular Unity youth move-

ment. The Young Communist League, founded 38 years ago, now has a membership of 40,000 and has undertaken to recruit 25,000 new members for the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party.

The close ties between Left youth organizations and their parties, their common aims, their firm adherence to the Popular Unity program, and the very strength of the mass movement, are the earnest that the growing generation will live in a socialist society free of exploitation and poverty and assuring all its members all-round development. The road to that society is illumined by the rich experience of the socialist world.

G. Judick. Winning over the working and student youth is a major element in the work of the young German Communist Party (GCP). The youth is well represented at our public meetings and demonstrations; Communists are welcome speakers at meetings of young people, apprentices and students; young people make up the bulk of the new members who joined the Party since its 1968 Essen Congress.

The contradiction between growing material wealth in the Federal Republic and the inadequate attention the government pays to youth problems, is brought home to young members of the Social-Democrat, Free Democrat and Christian-Democrat parties.

The program of youth demands drawn up shortly after the Essen Congress and adopted after long discussion, holds an important place in GCP activity. It formulates the basic rights of the youth: peace, protection against militarist and neo-Nazi propaganda; modern, humanistic and science-based education; a say in deciding all questions concerning the youth; security and equality; cultural and recreation facilities.

We want to bring the youth into the fight for these rights. The first GCP youth congress (May 8, 1971) and a number of mass actions in cooperation with friendly groups, including the Bremen Anti-Imperialist Solidarity Congress, the Recklinghausen young workers' anti-monopoly congress, and the inaugural congress of the Spartacus Marxist Student Union, are all part of this effort.

The GCP has close ties with the Socialist German Labor Youth and Spartacus. Relations with these independent organizations rest on acceptance of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, on common class positions and common action in the day-to-day class struggle. Young Communists are also active in trade union and other organizations, in workers' clubs and among apprentices. Naturally, there are certain shortcomings and we do not have the forces needed to extend our work. But the Party has made significant progress, is devising new methods and strengthening its positions in the fight to win over the mass of our young people.

Relentless exploitation of factory apprentices instead of proper training, low wages, shortage of occupational training schools and the woefully low standards of training—these are some of the causes of youth protest in the past two years. The Socialist German Labor Youth and other progressive organizations are using new

forms in the campaign for better occupational training. These include meetings of apprentices, exposure of some of the worst schools, public presentation of 'prizes' for poor training, agitprop shows exposing such schools (for instance the 'Koeln Flea' cabaret and its musical program, 'Profit Hogs').

Young workers and factory apprentices have lately been the most active force in the wages struggle. At the Bayer plant, which employs 42,000 workers (the union there did not call for a strike), the apprentices held demonstrations and brief strikes. Many of them attended meetings off the premises during working hours against the orders of the management and the will of the production council, which seeks 'social partnership.'

The 'red sign' movement is one of the more interesting forms of struggle against high commuter fares. It originated in Hannover where it had a fare increase called off late in 1969 and, indeed, won a reduction. By now it has spread all over the country. Last spring, for more than six weeks, hundreds of young people daily blocked traffic hubs in Dortmund, bringing trams to a standstill. At the same time they set up improvised stops from which cars displaying the 'red sign' took passengers to their destinations free of charge. In Dortmund the 'red sign' movement involved blue- and white-collar workers and the delegates' committees of big enterprises. Thousands of workers took part in demonstrations, demanding higher wages to offset the higher fares.

The 'red sign' movement brought about broad unity of action of students, apprentices, Young Socialists, Communists, members of the Socialist German Labor Youth, young trade unionists and members of Christian Labor Youth.

The GCP devotes considerable attention to the anti-militarist struggle of youth. More and more often, participants in mass actions denouncing the U.S. imperialists' dirty war in Vietnam openly question the need for the Bundeswehr. Progress in the campaign for European security, and first of all the Soviet-West German treaty under which the Federal Government recognized the frontiers existing in Europe, has called into question the 'notions about the enemy' inculcated by anti-communism. Realizing more and more that nothing threatens their country, young people question the need for the Bundeswehr and for intense armaments building.

In taking the office of Defense Minister, H. Schmidt, a Social-Democrat, spoke of the need of reforms in the Bundeswehr and announced that he was going to discuss with servicemen of all ranks their problems and suggestions. Young Communists, Socialists and progressive servicemen took him at his word and submitted a document entitled 'Serviceman, 1970.' It analyzes the condition of servicemen, exposes the anti-Communist and neo-Nazi ideas widespread in the Bundeswehr and criticizes its aggressive aims and the possibility of using it against its own people under the 'emergency laws.'

The Party's youth policy is particularly effective in higher educational institutions. There are Party branches in almost every big

university. In numerous universities Spartacus members and Communists perform important functions on student committees, such as those of chairman of the general student committees of the universities of Hamburg and Bonn, the biggest in West Germany. Unity of action with the Social-Democratic Higher School League brought into being and built up against decisions of the SDP Executive, enabled Spartacus members to uphold the existence of a single student organization, the Federation of German Students, which now has 300,000 members. The struggle was waged on two fronts – against the government and ultra-Leftists of various shadings.

Compared with the period of action against the 'emergency laws' (1968), Left opportunist groups have largely lost their influence.

On the other hand, the number of groups with a Trotskyist orientation has grown in recent months. Although they are mostly made up of students, universities and schools are not the main field of their activity. They have all 'discovered' the working class and want to edify it. A mere three years ago they declared that the working class had lost its revolutionary potential. Today they stop fighting on the campus and try to impose their demands on the working-class movement from without. However, their gains are very small. Ruling quarters and the reactionary press take advantage of these groups by attributing their views to the Communists to complicate our Party's work among the masses and check the growth of its influence in the enterprises.

All sorts of theories about a 'third way' between capitalism and socialism and various 'models of democratic socialism' have lately been advocated among youth, especially the students. In view of this, our Party, Spartacus and the Socialist German Labor Youth have stated in no uncertain terms their attitude to real socialism, to the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries. We consider that a class approach to existing socialism is an essential prerequisite for winning large numbers of young people for class positions and of helping them to see the alternative to the state-monopoly system. Our work over the past two years has shown that despite the enemy's ideological attacks against precisely these positions, they are of decisive importance to the rapid growth of a militant Marxist party in the Federal Republic.

A. Rivera. In Colombia, as in other Latin American countries, the younger generation takes an active part in the difficult battles for national and social liberation.

The exploitation of our country by imperialism, the national bourgeoisie and the caste of big landed proprietors, repressive measures against the people designed to preserve the Establishment, and uncertainty about the future arouse anti-capitalist, radical sentiments among young people.

Youth are becoming increasingly aware that their hopes have no chance of materializing under capitalism. They compare their

deteriorating condition with the benefits and rights which millions of young people enjoy in the socialist world.

This prompts them to join in the anti-imperialist movement and make common cause with other forces. Their dynamic role in this movement may become an appreciable factor in transforming society. Practice has shown that the revolutionary movement needs the highest degree of organization if it is to make headway. Young people can accomplish more when they are organized and have a clear orientation. Otherwise their dynamism degenerates into individualism and isolated pseudo-revolutionary, anarchic actions.

The Communists are striving to win over the youth masses. This involves deep analysis of the causes of young people's growing activity, political vacillations and immediate demands, and calls for a correct approach.

Our Party tries to establish contacts with young people everywhere—in town and country, in the factories and streets. It discusses topical problems with them and organizes political study groups, forums, festivals, get-togethers of urban and rural youth. It tries to ascertain the forms of activity that are particularly attractive to this or that group of young people. The success of the 'songs of protest' movement is worthy of special note. Young people rebuff in their songs those who embellish capitalism or advocate a sceptical, pessimistic view of the future.

Young Communists lay special emphasis on work among university students. They combat Maoist and neo-Trotskyist subversion and take a stand against 'revolutionary' phrasemongers adhering to the same position as the Rightists who advocate anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Communists do their utmost to further the popular movement. The Party's youth organization plays an active part in this. Colombia's Young Communists carefully study new opportunities for closer links with all young fighters. They help to found mass organizations of peasant and working-class youth and students and show how to use the most diverse forms in fighting the oligarchy.

The Communist Party has proposed establishing an opposition front against the oligarchic regime. Young people are bound to be a very important component of this front.

P. Bart. The struggles of youth against aggression in Vietnam and persecution at home; the deepening socio-economic crisis of U.S. imperialism are but reflections of the grave problems facing the American people. One observes a new qualitative development in the youth anti-war actions. The Spring (April-May 1971) demonstrations to end the Vietnam war brought one million peace partisans to the capital. It was hailed by the peace movement everywhere. When on May 3 tens of thousands of youth rallied in a demonstration, which was part of the week's activities, they were met by an armed force of soldiers and police and brutally attacked. Some 13,000 were arrested and herded into makeshift 'concentration camps.'

Something new was happening. The youth movement had been going through a process of maturing. Here were youth from the campuses, shops and communities. It also attracted a number of uniformed soldiers and veterans. Youth actions had taken place previously in Washington. But this rally contained a higher political maturity, more effective organization and greater clarity of purpose. It contained the germ of anti-imperialist understanding.

In its early stages many saw the Vietnam aggression as an isolated event. But the war continued and was extended into all of Indochina. In the meantime the U.S. abortive invasion in the Bay of Pigs (Cuba) and other aggression helped propel the youth into a rethinking of their position towards U.S. foreign policy, thus creating conditions for viewing not a series of single actions, but a coordinated policy of U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism is in crisis – in the stage of decay. It has nothing to offer its youth. Some sociologists and scientists have begun to reassess the present state of society. They are compelled to recognize that growing sections of youth are disenchanted with the glittering promises offered them. To youth seeking a bright future, it gives no hope, it cannot inspire nor generate confidence – which are prerequisites for young people. It can only offer them new wars and threats of war.

Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP USA, summarized this concept when he wrote:

'The reason for such a crisis of ideology is that capitalism is losing its ability to appeal to reason. There is no reasonable explanation for the mass napalm burning of a people. There is no reason for rat-infested slums when all could have decent homes. There is no reasonable explanation for the oppression of 20 million Negro Americans. There is no reasonable argument for imperialism, for the waste of war production, for the insanity of overkill.'

An ideological break from the moorings of capitalist thought does not yet guarantee the shift to Marxism. But it makes it possible for youth to enter the swift currents of revolutionary development which lead to the shores of Marxism-Leninism. Such a course can only be steered through united actions and the constant struggle for ideological clarity. The youth movement, even its most militant section, is still to be won to Marxism. This is a major task for the Communist Party first of all, with the active cooperation of the Marxist youth organization, the Young Workers' Liberation League (YWLL).

In our work among youth our Party places for top priority the reaching of and winning working-class youth. The working-class youth contains the stability, cohesiveness and continuity essential to the whole movement. About half the American working class is youth. This is seen in such large industries as automobile production, electrical, communication and others. The killing pace of speed-up requires the recruiting of youth in these industries.

Their problems are inadequately dealt with by the trade unions. Such serious problems as apprenticeship, job upgrading as well as

their participation in the trade unions are neglected. Discriminatory practices are especially sharp among black youth.

In addition to the general problems facing the working class, its youth carry special burdens. Deprived for jobs, they constitute the largest percentage of unemployed. Due to neglect and discrimination, they are denied apprenticeship training. Due to their shorter period of employment, they have not accumulated sufficient insurance funds and therefore have been denied unemployment insurance. Their future in employment is especially insecure.

As I have already indicated, the greatest unemployment is among youth, especially from the minority population. The eruptions and actions which are daily reported in the American press are in no small part due to this situation. Let me cite a few figures regarding this critical condition. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates approximately 45 per cent of all black teen-agers were unemployed during the first quarter of 1971 compared to 32 per cent a year ago. The actual figures are much higher.

In addition there are 400,000 unemployed veterans who have returned from Vietnam. They are overwhelmingly youth. We consider this problem of great concern to the youth movement. In some communities actions have already developed around this issue, and the YWLL has played a leading part in its development.

In the recent past, the campus was the dominant scene of demonstrative actions. The student movement will continue to hold a significant position among youth. Sharp struggles are waged by divergent ideological forces, with a diminishing pull of 'Leftist' ideology. This struggle influences and spreads beyond the bounds of the campus. The students find themselves in sharp conflict between the academic world and the one they enter when leaving school. They are being trained for war. Their knowledge is appropriated for the prosecution of war. In the U.S. the Pentagon continues to dominate all major educational institutions. It was and continues to be essential for Marxist ideology to contend for leadership on the campus. Following the lessons of 1968, changes began to occur in the student-youth movement. It began to develop alliances with other forces in the peace movement. It found alliances with labor groups in specific struggles. In the U.S. it gave support to strike actions. A change was beginning to take place.

Black youth in particular play an important role on today's social scene. Their militancy and organization has an influence on the whole liberation movement. It has had a serious influence in the struggles of every minority group—Puerto Ricans, Chicano and American Indians. In the black movement numerous ideological currents are contending for leadership. It is well to note the attraction of some black youth to Marxist ideology, and many of them have found their way into our Party. They make up the most significant sector of leadership in the YWLL. The militancy of black youth, their resistance to special oppression, finds them the victims of the most brutal and murderous assaults by a racist government.

Angela Davis represents the new young black intellectual force in our country. Through a constant search and thirst for knowledge and by her own experience she was attracted to Marxism and joined the ranks of the Communist Party. She is an outstanding leader of the black liberation movement. She has won the admiration and active participation of large sections of youth in her defense.

Racist ideology remains the major barrier for the advancement of black-white unity – for the whole progress of the youth movement. Marxists must be most responsive in maintaining a consistent struggle against this alien ideology which penetrates the working class and progressive movements. Without vigilance these ideas seep into our organizations also. The struggle to come to grips with this poisonous influence remains an essential challenge to the youth movement. The ideological and practical struggle rests, first of all, with white youth and our young members seek to take the lead.

The 1972 presidential elections take on special significance for the youth of our country. New developments make possible to involve millions of youth, for the first time, in the elections. The previous election laws required a person to reach the age of 21 to be eligible to vote. As a result of years of struggle an amendment to the constitution reduced the age to 18. This adds 25 million new voters to the election roster.

The two major parties, the Republicans and Democrats, have already allocated large sums of money and designated special staffs to woo the young voters.

Our electoral activities will be directed towards the youth. We will work to create and join in mass actions of concern to the youth. We will seek to associate to an even greater extent with the problems of black youth and those of other minorities. We have already nominated for our national ticket and designated comrades Gus Hall for President and the young black national leader of the YWLL, Jarvis Tyner, for Vice-President.

A new kind of youth generation has emerged in the past decade. The 70s will see further development and maturity of this youth. The old capitalist society possesses no attraction for them. The youth can only look to a new kind of future. And the future for them in the capitalist world is already seen in the socialist successes of today. From their own experiences and observation the advances of socialism give an alternative direction as the way out.

J. Fuchs. The crisis through which Argentine society has been passing for the last few years has had a disastrous effect on youth. The growing concentration of production and capital in the hands of foreign monopolies and the enrichment of big capitalists and land-owners has been going on at the expense of the working class, scientific and technological personnel and other non-proletarian sections. The deterioration of living standards strongly affects working youth – they are hit by a steadily mounting cost of living, which

may go up by as much as 50 per cent in 1971, according to some estimates. Some 150,000 young people entering an active life join the unemployed every year. Young peasants who have neither land nor a chance of finding a job in the countryside move into the poverty zones around Buenos Aires and other cities. At the other pole, a thousand big landed proprietors own 70 million hectares of land, vast estates used ineffectively, if at all.

The students are no better off. The authorities now raise greater obstacles to prospective students and cut appropriations for education, with the result that many students are compelled to give up their studies. Only 20 per cent of university students are graduated. Numerous young specialists take jobs that have nothing to do with their training, others emigrate. Ten thousand creative workers, researchers and technologists have emigrated to the United States over the past decade. In a country which is among the foremost on the continent for literacy, more and more children drop out of school and illiteracy is on the rise. About 3.6 million people are illiterate or semi-literate or drop out of school before finishing the seventh grade.

Young people are stepping up their struggle against the regime. Students increasingly coordinate their action with the struggle of the working class for radical change.

There is a tense ideological struggle. Tremendous efforts are made from both the Right and 'Left' to influence youth, to mislead them by taking advantage of their political inexperience, dull their social consciousness, isolate them from the fight of the working people, involve them in political adventures and, above all, keep them away from Marxism-Leninism.

Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories regard youth as an abstract category rather than a social category with its own characteristics, as Marxism-Leninism treats it. They put youth outside or even above society and set them apart from production relations and from their own classes. Occasionally they regard youth as a 'new social class' in revolt against industrial civilization, capitalist and socialist alike. The bourgeois press has widely publicized Marcuse's writings. Maoist propaganda pointing in the same direction and praising the 'revolutionary spirit of poor nations,' the 'Third World' or the 'intermediate zone' is allowed to circulate unhampered, primarily among the students and the petty bourgeoisie. It is used to support opportunist and extremist positions in the youth movement. Some of this propaganda tempts young people with the role of vanguard and denies the necessity for political parties in general and the Communist Party in particular. Another part of it, operating under the guise of a 'national Left,' calls for class collaboration, helping the military dictatorship thereby.

Our Party and its youth organization—the Communist Youth Federation (CYF)—vigorously fight these concepts. They have won notable successes in the universities. Ever since the Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the University Federation of Argentina (No-

vember 1970), the majority of votes in the universities has gone to the organizations led by Young Communists and other Left forces. The student movement has been reorganized in line with a program calling for a progressive university within reach of the people. We have succeeded in reorganizing the Communist cadres among university youth, and over a thousand have joined the CYF during the past two years.

The CYF, which has 20,000 members, recently held its Ninth Congress in illegal conditions. It is not concerned with students alone. It also helps the Party among young workers, especially in big enterprises owned by foreign monopolies. Young Communists seek a patriotic front of young people opposed to the military dictatorship. The recent setting up of the Coordination Center of Politically Active Youth was an important step in this direction. The main youth organizations are active in the National Meeting of Argentinians, a mass movement. The first national conference of Argentine youth was convened not so long ago and brought together 1,000 delegates from 50,000 young people.

Thus the Communist Party and Communist Youth Federation work to use the militancy, energy and courage of youth in the struggle of the working class and the people for an agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution with a socialist perspective.

O. Sjoman. The political situation in Finland between the 60s and 70s was characterized by a sharp increase in class contradictions, intensified struggle against monopoly, better organization of the working class, increased cooperation on the Left and greater political activity on the part of youth.

The strike movement which swept the country early in 1971 involved tens of thousands of young people, many of whom were among the strike leaders. The strikers were backed by young people active in culture and the arts, who helped them through concerts and by joining in demonstrations and meetings.

For the first time ever, the student movement sought the support of the working class and strove for contact with it. A fairly large number of students today are of working-class origin and their influence in the leadership of the movement is tangible. Besides, fewer and fewer students can class themselves as privileged people to whom every door of society is open. Once graduated they become part of the labor power and find themselves in the same condition as the workers. They, too, are constantly threatened with unemployment and their future is just as insecure.

To strengthen the unity of action of the workers, progressive intellectuals and students is all the more necessary because of the mounting activity of the Right-wing forces, including the neo-fascists.

Along with the growing political activity of our youth there are negative developments, expressed in ultra-Leftist trends, with their retreat from reality, adventurism, 'revolutionary' snobbery and anarchism.

Like other Communist parties, the Communist Party of Finland attaches great importance to work among youth and organized activity by young people. The education of youth cannot be regarded as an isolated field of Party work – it is inseparable from Party life as a whole. The Party's every activity, whether political, economic or ideological, bears on youth in one measure or another. The experience of recent years prompts the Party to see one of its primary tasks in helping to organize working-class youth. The need is, first of all, to bring young workers into trade unions and build up the Democratic Youth League.

This is not to say that our Party underrates the students' contribution to the class struggle. But neither do we have any reason to overrate it. The students, for their part, should realize that they can achieve success only by joining effort with the working class and its organizations.

The democratic youth movement in our country has gained some positive experience in recent months. This expresses itself, among others, in the fact that trade union clubs for young union members have come into being in towns and large communities. Their membership is growing fast and so is interest in them because they enable young people to take an active part in political struggles.

The ideological education of youth is a particularly vast sphere of Party activity. The problem is not only to arouse interest in Marxism-Leninism but to help young people to assimilate it properly and use it in a creative spirit, with due regard to the political situation. The Party organizes political discussions in cooperation with the Democratic Youth League.

Establishing links with rural youth is particularly difficult for the Party. The situation has been complicated in recent years by the outflow of young people to the towns. Mechanization in agriculture releases labor power for industry, in particular the service industries. This labor force is made up mainly of those who have no strong roots in the countryside and, on the other hand, are still out of touch with the working-class movement. Despite these difficulties, the Party regards it as a key task to seek better economic and social conditions for rural youth.

In preparing for the coming 16th Party Congress, which will analyze the situation in the youth movement as well, we strive to close the ranks of our Party, foster its unity and step up its activity among the working people, including the younger generation, which personifies the country's future.

L. Riveiro. Brazil has about 430,000 students and 4.8 million school children. These are not large numbers since there are 17 million young people between 14 and 24 years of age.

The rout of the student movement, accompanied by the outlawing of numerous organizations, from the National Student League and state student leagues (virtually banned in 1964) to academic directorates, fascisization of the university and repeated arrests among the students made for decline and stagnation in the move-

ment. At the same time petty-bourgeois propaganda, which seeks to draw young people into adventurism, has been stepped up.

Nevertheless, the student movement is reorganizing. More important still, it now shows greater political maturity than earlier, when it tended to give in to false, ultra-Leftist slogans.

The ultra-Leftists rejected political struggle in any form and recognized nothing but armed struggle, praising 'guerrilla warfare' in town and country. This view was also held by numerous university students. Some of them were linked with the Catholic Church and others with Trotskyists and Maoists. We Communists urged mobilization of the students to fight for democratic freedoms, university autonomy, a better educational system and other demands of the students. In some cases we found ourselves alone as we urged unity of action of the diverse trends of the student movement. But we never refused to take part in organizing street demonstrations and protest campaigns.

The terrorist groups that have sprung up are mostly composed of ultra-Leftist students. They kidnap diplomats, hijack passenger planes and raid banks to obtain funds for guerrilla operations. These rash moves and acts of adventurism and terrorism have led the dictatorship to step up repression. It uses the army, police and judiciary to fight the nation's progressive forces, and first of all the Communists, workers, students and their university organizations.

The Communist Party condemns terrorism, which it regards as an expression of despair and inability to win the masses for the revolution, a result of the influence of petty-bourgeois ideologists, who have no faith in the working people and cultivate individual heroes.

The Brazilian Communists' effort in the student movement at this stage is aimed at restoring the students' traditional organizations and reviving their political activity. The Party's tactics proceed from the following considerations: the necessity for student unity on the issue of university autonomy and for campaigning against Decree 477*; the importance of alliance between students and teachers; strengthening student unions and their collective bodies.

The growing movement in support of the students' demands in no way reduced the importance of the fight for democratic freedoms, against U.S. imperialism, for peace, against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The student movement plays a growing role in Brazilian society. It influences the academic staffs of universities, progressive intellectuals and the Church. Democratic demands of the students, such as the demand for repeal of Decree 477 and for free education, have become part of the program of the anti-dictatorial opposition. Students campaign, in cooperation with the Church, against the death penalty.

*The decree empowers the university authorities to suspend students charged with subversive activity for as long as three years or to expel them altogether.

Considering the numerous obstacles to political activity, the university students' movement has a special role to play in establishing an anti-dictatorial front. The independent, democratic character of the movement, its integrity and militancy have earned it the respect of all political trends. But it will discharge its mission only if it develops on the basis of the scientific world outlook, as a mass movement, and if it re-establishes and strengthens its organizations and stands firm on its rights and demands.

(To be concluded in the next issue of WMR)

Strike struggles

Summer and autumn 1971

The climate of the capitalist world in the second half of 1971 was markedly pessimistic: 'Dollar Crisis,' 'Hard Times,' 'Protectionist Comeback,' 'World Monetary Crisis' were typical headlines. And there was plenty of room for pessimism, for both economic and political indicators betoken further sharpening of imperialist contradictions.

The United States is in the third year of its harshest post-war recession. In Britain, industrial stagnation has passed into decline. Business activity is declining also in the Common Market countries. Japan is cutting back production, with obvious stagnation in some industries. The worsening economic picture is compounded by spiralling inflation—prices are rising at a rate higher than at any time in the past 25 years with no end in sight. All these processes have culminated in a new flare-up of the world monetary crisis.

As is usual in capitalist society those least responsible for the crisis are the hardest hit, notably by the massive growth of unemployment: 5.5 million in the U.S., 970,000 in Britain, 600,000 in France, 514,000 in Canada, 300,000 in Spain. In fact, the situation in some countries has reached a point where capitalist economists can no longer speak of unemployment as a temporary cyclical develop-

ment. And no wonder the monopoly-serving press no longer extols the supposed benefits of full employment. The line now is that 'healthy unemployment' would help the economy. Some capitalist papers in Britain blandly state that an unemployed army of 1.5 or 2 million would dispel 'inflation sentiments' among the workers.

For the first time since the economic crisis of the thirties, unemployment has become a problem for the technical intelligentsia and white-collar workers. Early last year, 114,000 technical specialists were out of work in the United States. The figure was greater still towards the end of the year, reaching its peak, 6.3 per cent, among aerospace engineers and technicians.

In most capitalist countries unemployment is compounded by soaring prices, which eat up the bulk of wage rises won in hard-fought struggle. These are the figures: living costs rose 10.1 per cent in Britain from September 1970 to September 1971, 16 per cent in Spain, 7.6 per cent in Holland, 7 per cent in Japan and 5.4 per cent in the FRG. In France, the price rise has been well above the government ceiling of 3.2 per cent. In Latin America prices have been rising at a catastrophic rate—30.4 per cent in Argentina, for instance, in the first 9 months of 1971.

Economic and financial pres-

asures have obliged the ruling classes to re-think and re-shape their social strategy. In some cases this has even meant abandoning the liberal demagoguery of the postwar years in favor of the old, unadorned anti-labor policies. This has been pointed out by William Kashan, General Secretary, CP Canada: '... We are now entering a stage in which the monopolies are less inclined to make concessions in the face of sharpening class struggle. Canadian state-monopoly capitalism is beginning to backtrack, abandoning its proclaimed policy of full employment and stable prices.'

And this backtracking, a reflection of the deep crisis of capitalism's labor policy, is a hallmark of the seventies in most capitalist industrial countries, including Britain, France, Italy and the FRG. One of its aspects is more anti-labor legislation, more oppressive measures against the trade unions, curtailment of trade union freedoms and, of course, the celebrated wage freeze. On the other hand, the monopolies are allowed to maximize profits on the plea that otherwise there would be no stimulus to invest.

The measures taken by the U.S. monopolies last year are obviously meant to make the workers bear the economic burden of the aggression in Indochina and similar adventures. The 'new economic policy' President Nixon proclaimed on August 15 is based on a 90-day wage freeze which the *Daily World* has described as the most massive assault on the working class since the 30s.

Phase 1 of Nixon's special

economic measures has meant a loss of \$500 million in unpaid but agreed wage rises for 600,000 civil servants and 2.4 million school teachers. In contrast, these figures: 537 leading corporations reported an 11.6 per cent profit rise in the third quarter of 1971 compared with the same period of 1970. White House statements suggest that Phase 2, begun in November, will continue indefinitely.

Britain's Tory government is following much the same course. Its plunderous incomes policy and Industrial Relations Act, approved by Parliament on August 5, are designed to hamstring, even strangle, the trade unions and paralyze labor's resistance to the all-out monopoly offensive. The union registration clause, industrial courts and industrial relations boards are part of the machinery being built to break the biggest and most militant unions. For henceforth the government can proclaim a 60-day cooling-off period, in other words, can forbid or stop a strike if, in its opinion, it constitutes a threat to the national interest. There is a blanket ban on unofficial strikes, whether in a single shop, single enterprise or group of enterprises. The penalty is fines or imprisonment. Most of this legislation is a carbon copy of the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law enacted in the U.S. in the forties, at the height of the reactionary wave. American imperialism is exporting to other capitalist countries not only its economic difficulties, but also its methods of bridling labor.

Little surprise, then, that last year the class struggle was at

high tide in most capitalist countries. And the tide is measurable in the strike movement: 30 million strikers in the first half of the year, with no seasonal abatement in the second half. The relevant figures, elsewhere in this issue, will show that the working class, the widest sections of the working population, have served notice that they will not accept continued curtailment of their trade union rights and economic interests, and are not prepared to make further sacrifices at the altar of the incomes policy while the capitalist monopolies continue to rake in immense profits.

'The trade union struggle,' Lenin wrote, 'is one of the constant forms of the whole workers' movement, one always needed under capitalism and essential at all times' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 34, p. 356). It would be wrong to contrast the trade union struggle to the struggle for socialism, for the ultimate aim of the working class. Defense of the workers' day-to-day economic demands and interests has, of course, lost none of its importance under state-monopoly capitalism. And needless to say, trade union struggle is an absolute must at a time when the monopolies, supported by the capitalist state, are trying to deprive the workers of what they have won at such a high price.

The following are some of the highlights of last year's strike movement:

- scale and militancy: more industry-wide strikes and stoppages affecting a nationwide service industry (railways, postal workers, civil servants, etc.);

- broader social composition of strikers: white-collar workers, technical intellectuals, teachers, doctors, bank employees, farmers, have taken over the workers' strike tactic and are using it with increasing confidence;

- economic demands (wage increases, better conditions) supplemented by demands for an end to police repressions, release of arrested activists, nationalization of industry, repeal of anti-democratic laws, other reforms;

- more united action by workers of differing political persuasion (Communists and Social-Democrats, for instance) and trade union affiliation;

- more diverse forms of struggle, with such traditional forms as work stoppages and picketing complemented by mass rallies, demonstrations and, not infrequently, sit-in strikes;

- mass action to prevent lock-outs and closures on the excuse that the enterprise is 'operating at a loss.'

This latter circumstance needs to be more closely examined. For what we have is not only an acute problem of unemployment, but a serious change in the workers' mentality. The workers in capitalist countries have learned much from the socialist world, where unemployment is a forgotten past, and are no longer prepared to accept closures, and resultant unemployment, as a fatal necessity against which there is no remedy. There is a new and growing feeling of human dignity, a better understanding of the economic mechanism, and, with it, the understanding that

the workers must uphold their right to work. In fact, job security has in a number of countries become a key strike demand. 'The problem of job security has emerged as the most crucial economic issue for the working class as a whole,' Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP USA has emphasized. And it is having a revolutionary impact on the masses. Men who have lost their jobs, or are under the constant threat of unemployment, are beginning to realize that not only their employer, but the bankrupt capitalist system are to blame.

The 6,000 Scottish shipbuilders have set a sterling example of proletarian initiative and courage. Faced with mass unemployment as a result of the bankruptcy of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, they took over management of the yards through a trade union coordinating committee. The Tory government used pressure and threats to break this 'strike in reverse,' but without result. The yards are operating under the management of shop stewards and are closely guarded. From the Luddites to assumption of responsibility for the operation of a huge complex—such is the historic path travelled by the working class.

Expressed in the courageous actions of the Clyde shipbuilders, which have the support of many sections of British workers, is the loss of reformist illusions and determination to fight for work. However, it should be clear that only resolute political struggle can provide an effective guarantee of the right to work. The events

on the Clyde are evidence that the class struggle is passing into a new and higher stage. 'If the government cannot guarantee our rights, and if the social system cannot guarantee our rights,' Jimmy Reid, the Communist shop steward convener said, 'then we must change the Government or modify the system.'

In France port workers were out nine months in support of their demands for job security. The new collective agreement provides for full compensation for lost time, better pension arrangements and, more important still, operation of the 1947 law (adopted on the initiative of the then Communist Minister of Labor Croizat) guaranteeing the dockers regular and steady employment. Textile workers in Nancy area fought a long and hard battle to prevent closure of a knitgoods factory; in the end management gave in.

Job security was the main issue in the strike of 45,000 American dock workers in East Coast and Gulf of Mexico ports. The men walked out when management decided to delete from the new collective bargaining agreement the guaranteed work clause, won by the union three years ago. Another job-security strike took place in November at Heathrow airport in Britain—ground personnel virtually closed Britain's 'air gates.'

Militancy coupled with perseverance is paying off. And not only in winning economic demands, but in inducing trade unions to take a more Left stance. Indicative in this respect are the changes in the British

Trades Union Congress. At its September conference, it trenchantly condemned the Industrial Relations Act, factually calling upon unions not to submit to it. Its resolution against union registration is a challenge to the Tory government. It voted full support for the Clyde ship-builders' demand for nationalization of the yards, which private capital has made bankrupt. It demanded more union participation in formulating economic policy. All this presages aggravation of the already sharp confrontation with the monopolies.

Similar Leftward shifts (not always consistent, it is true) can be observed in other countries too. Mounting economic difficulties and worsening conditions of the working class are compelling the reformist unions to take a more active stand in defense of their members.

As is always the case at crucial moments, there is a growing urge for labor unity. In several countries practical steps are being taken to eliminate divisions and reestablish unitarian national trade union federations, but this time on a class, anti-monopoly basis. That is being done in Italy: the three trade union centers (Italian General Confederation of Labor, Italian Confederation of Labor Syndicates, and Italian Union of Labor) have issued a statement calling for a single, unitarian trade union center. It stresses the class nature of the trade unions and defines their object as defense of the workers' economic and social interests. And there have been practical steps towards unity—joint meetings, merging of press ser-

vices and publication of a monthly magazine speaking for the three confederations.

The trend towards unity is gaining momentum also in France, where the General and the Democratic Confederations of Labor are jointly drawing up socio-economic demands and working out the tactics of mass struggle. At a joint meeting in September, the two Confederations agreed on an extensive joint action program on such issues as pensions, trade union rights, the position of foreign workers, etc. They also agreed on effective measures against persistent attempts by government and monopolies to shift the burden of the monetary crisis on to the workers. The French working people, their joint statement says, refuse to bear any responsibility for the crisis, nor to foot the bill for the policy of the ruling classes. The two Confederations reaffirmed their opposition to the incomes policy and rejected the idea of social partnership between labor and capital.

The 1971 strike movement is evidence that there can be no such 'partnership' on an international scale either. The fact is that state-monopoly capitalism, for all its subtle techniques, has failed either to moderate social contradictions or 'integrate' the working class and its mass political and trade union organizations in the capitalist structure.

There has been no relaxation of the strike movement anywhere. The worsening economic position in a number of countries—the result largely of

America's emergency economic measures—and growing unemployment portend a further rise in the class struggle.

True, the monopolies believe that a huge army of unemployed will make the workers and their unions more pliant, even compel them to accept low wages, inflation and speed-up. That's nothing new—shortly before the October Revolution, Ryabushinsky, one of Russia's

biggest capitalists, threatened to use the 'gaunt hand of hunger' to strangle the labor movement. Nothing came of that half a century ago, and nothing will come of it now.

The trade union struggle against monopoly policy, unemployment and low wages, in defense of the workers' vital interests, has the full and active support of the Communist and Workers' parties.

FACTS AND FIGURES

USA. General signalmen's strike in support of wage claim paralyzes most railways. Airport strike in Oakland, sanitation workers strike in New York and Detroit, building workers in California and Oregon. June: 20,000 Eastern Union telegraphists take strike action. July: Pacific Coast dockers begin 100-day strike; 39,000 copper workers in eight states stop work. Southern and Union Pacific railway clerks strike, involving 41 per cent of national rail network, is followed by stoppage on three other lines; strikers win their demands. National strike of 500,000 communications workers. Department of Labor figures indicate about one million on strike in July. October: East Coast and Gulf of Mexico ports paralyzed by dockers strike, their first ever national walkout. November: 100,000 coal-miners in 20 states win 44-day strike.

Britain. 12,227,000 man-days lost in labor disputes in 9 months of 1971, according to official statistics, figure does not include

strikes against Tory anti-labor laws and is considerably higher than for the whole of 1970. June: 15,000 blast furnace workers strike for higher pay; 37,000 schoolteachers take strike action. Shop stewards take over Clyde shipyards, first instance in Britain of workers taking over industrial enterprise. August: 80,000 demonstrate in Glasgow in support of Clyde shipbuilders; more than 200,000 down tools in solidarity. November: strike of 6,000 Bristol workers in plants producing Concorde engines.

Belgium. August: strike at Safac plant for reinstatement of a victimized worker. September: strikes at Azar coal-mines, and Cur St-Etienne metallurgical plant. November: steel workers strike in Liège industrial area.

Spain. June: 20,000 workers at SEAT plants in Barcelona take strike action when management refuses to recognize elected trade union delegates and turns down wage claims. Doctors strike in Madrid and other cities.

Schoolteachers stage biggest national strike. September: Building workers strike in Madrid for higher pay, better conditions and right to organize free trade unions. Solidarity strikes, involving 20,000 in several provinces and 230 Madrid priests. October: strike of 12,000 Asturia miners. New strike at SEAT plant, management resorts to lockout and other repressive measures.

Italy: 150,000 demonstrate in Rome to demand new economic policy assuring full employment and economic development of South. 185,000 Fiat workers out for more than one month in demand for broader trade union rights in industry. Wave of farm labor strikes continues throughout summer and autumn. Strike at 20 Rome building sites in September. More mass action against growing unemployment and higher prices and in defense of trade union rights. Main seaports affected by strikes in November.

Portugal. 20,000 demonstrate in Porto against political repression. More than 2,000 bank personnel demonstrate in Lisbon for release of their trade union leader. June: stoppages at Lisbon and Porto textile mills. Industrial disputes in metallurgical industry, strike of Lisbon shop assistants.

FRG. Defying repressive measures financed by employers' anti-strike fund, chemical workers win wage raise after their union applies new strike tactic of combining demonstrations with pinpoint stoppages. November: 112,000 metalworkers stage token strikes to press demands for higher wages and better conditions.

France. May: In response to appeals by country's two biggest union centers, strikes and demonstrations for higher pensions held in many parts of France. Renault auto workers win important concessions after hard-fought strike. June 4: national action by government employees for higher wages and better conditions, with mass strikes by teachers, communications workers, customs officials, hospital personnel and local government workers. Mass demonstrations in several cities. September: staggered strikes in merchant navy; general strike of schoolteachers. October: 10-day strike on Paris Metro.

Switzerland. May Day demonstrators demand shorter workweek, longer holidays, reduction of military spending, higher pensions, repeal of all discrimination of foreign workers.

Israel. Israeli Labor Ministry admits 1971 strike movement biggest in past 10 years. Prime Minister Golda Meir is quoted as saying that the situation in the country is unparalleled and borders on revolt. June-July: Strike by hospital staffs joined by more than 1,800 doctors demanding higher pay and recognition of doctors' union. Tel-Aviv airport personnel and customs officials in Ashdod strike in autumn; 8,000 shopkeepers strike in protest against devaluation.

India. General strike in many parts of Andhra Pradesh in solidarity with 400,000 striking civil servants. Strike lasts 56 days and is supported by all Indian trade union centers. National Struggle Day in June: in response to Communist Party appeal, thousands of workers, office person-

nel, professionals demonstrate in main cities under slogans of peace and democracy and radical social and economic reforms. One-day general strike in West Bengal August 27 in protest against factory closures and for higher pay. On September 1, 200,000 Bombay textile workers strike for 24 hours for higher wages and re-opening of closed mills. New textile strike in October.

Lebanon. Strike at Central TV Station. Bank personnel take strike action against illegal dismissals. No less than 95 per cent of work force involved in national one-hour strike to force observance of government-ordered price-cuts on medicine.

South Korea: National University students strike in protest against arrests of nine students and suppression of civil rights.

South Vietnam. May: Esso Oil personnel walk out, joined by costal railway workers. July: strikes in banking, air transport, breweries, refrigeration plants, Saigon port paralyzed by stoppage. October: Saigon dockers refuse unload American arms cargo.

Japan. July: general government employees strike. In addition to economic demands, Autumn Labor Offensive calls for unconditional return of Okinawa, its demilitarization and end to U.S. aggression in Indochina. About 1.5 million take part in traditional Anti-War Day on October 21. On November 10 Okinawa saw biggest political demonstration ever, demanding return of the island without military basis and nuclear weapons.

Dahomey. May Day demonstration sponsored by General

Labor Union features protest against government's economic policy and stepped up exploitation. July: strike wave extends to all parts of country—6,000 metalworkers demand reinstatement of discharged workers, 1,500 airline workers walk out, also textile workers and Cotonou dockers.

Kenya. May: strike of 17,000 workers of East African Community enterprises, biggest East African industrial dispute in past three years.

Namibia. July: Big metalworkers strike.

Mauritius. General strike of transport and power workers for higher wages called August 12 is won in face of army intervention and threats.

Réunion. June: general office workers strike against wage cuts.

Argentina. Pay strikes by Standard Oil and Shell workers; Chrysler auto workers and Buenos Aires dockers. Civil servants strike in Buenos Aires, Cordoba, La Rioja and Tucumán provinces. June: general teachers strike in Cordoba for repeal of reactionary legislation, release of political and trade union detainees and substantial wage increases. Same demands predominate in general 24-hour strike called by Confederation of Labor on September 29. Strike involves 5 million, including bank and municipal employees, actors, service workers, etc., brings main industrial centers to standstill and paralyzes transport. Tense strike struggles in Cordoba continue through October and November.

Bolivia. Strikes continue after military coup: tin miners out for better conditions, university and

senior school students in La Paz and other towns strike against persecution.

Venezuela. Goodyear rubber workers out for several weeks, with strike spreading in June to other American-owned industries. General strike in July of metalworkers in South Venezuela involving 42,000. American-owned plants closely guarded, virtually besieged.

Honduras. National Culture Defense Front and Progressive Teachers Association call general students strike in August against new reactionary curriculum and interference by American education advisors.

Colombia. General strike in May in Cucuta directed by committee representing all political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations, to force government carry out its own decision to nationalize American-owned Colombian Petroleum Co. Strike joined by tradesmen, industrialists and bankers. Bogota primary schoolteachers strike for more than two weeks in August.

Salvador. Demonstration of 40,000 in capital in August demanding new labor legislation and the right to organize for farm laborers. Demand supported by industrial workers, stu-

dents and transport workers. Teachers strike for better conditions and the right to organize supported by solidarity actions by eight industrial and transport unions.

Uruguay. General 24-hour strike in capital June 10 in response to appeal by National Workers' Convention. Government pressured to repeal emergency, re-establish constitutional guarantees, implement important socio-economic measures, release political prisoners, etc. Another 24-hour general national strike later in June in retaliation to government's decision to reintroduce emergency. Day of Struggle (July 20) brings out 500,000 in various industries to press for repeal of reactionary law.

Ecuador. Schoolteachers in Guayas province strike in June, supported by schoolchildren, for higher wages and reinstatement of unlawfully dismissed colleagues. General 48-hour strike July 28-29 for higher wages and radical agrarian reform.

Australia. Metalworkers walk out in mid-July in one-day stoppage for more pay and better conditions. Same demands figure in strike of 70,000 railwaymen in August.



By readers' request we are introducing a new feature: remembrances of prominent leaders and personalities of the world Communist movement. Pages from history often help understand the events of the present, are a source of valuable experience,

Remembrances of a communist

Jacques Duclos

When I was asked by *World Marxist Review* to write my remembrances I decided to describe several of the more significant events in my life, and to present them in the light of present-day problems.

To take first things first, I must naturally mention the influence which the October Revolution had on me and describe how I joined the French Communist Party, founded on December 29, 1920.

This was in 1917

In the autumn of 1917 I was in a Westphalian prisoner-of-war camp with some Russians and being avidly interested in everything going on in their country I lost no time in getting acquainted with them.

Exchanging impressions, I and my French mates, who were also eager to know what was happening in Russia, learned about the discussions in the camp between the supporters of Kerensky's provisional government and those who supported Lenin and the Bolsheviks. I wanted to know what their debates were about, and doubly so because the newspaper we managed to procure emphasized the sharpness of the struggle in their country. The information communicated to us by the Bolshevik supporters was so convincing that I soon felt of one mind with Lenin's friends.

To be sure, I was unable to explain theoretically why I concurred with them, but it was clear to me that the provisional government was not of the kind

that would radically alter things in Russia. It was continuing the war and its methods were very much like the tsarist. Furthermore, it appeared to be incapable of containing the attacks of the counter-revolution.

This is why I felt attracted to the Bolshevik standpoint, which we discussed in camp and which was so widely discussed in the German press. The press was not friendly to Lenin, but this only rendered us more sympathetic, and from what we were able to learn the Bolsheviks were becoming very strong in Russia, were aspiring to power, and would bring about a revolution that would change the situation radically.

The hatred of war which manifested itself throughout 1917 and inspired mutinies in France, was one of the important factors in my option for the October Revolution. The Soviet government was unlike any other – if only because of its peace proposals. And for me, who was on the way to becoming a socialist, who was trying to understand socialism and grasp the sense of the Paris Commune, for me, who knew from his peasant origins what landownership really meant – for me the Land Decree passed by the Soviet government signified a complete rupture with the past. The victorious revolution in Russia, as I saw it, was a continuation of the revolution of 1793, only it went much further and was much superior. I had no idea yet what its new quality was, but accepted it with all my mind and heart.

Ever since then – that is, since the end of 1917 – I have been

an adherent of the October Revolution and have never wavered in my convictions.

Others may have viewed the problems differently, seen the facts from different angles and in other circumstances. For my part, I was fortunate to have quickly grasped the immense significance of the October, though like many others I was asking myself whether the revolution would manage to survive, for before our eyes was the experience of the 72 days of the Paris Commune. The French reactionaries did not think Soviet power would live, but their initial confidence changed to bitter disappointment, which they vented in vicious anti-Soviet campaigns.

As I have said, by the end of 1917 my choice was made. Watching the developments in Russia, of which so much was being said, I felt in accord with the Bolsheviks, who had overthrown the provisional government and established Soviet power.

I join the Party

On returning to France after the November 11, 1918 armistice, I considered it my duty to join the Third International committee and participate in the campaign for affiliation with Lenin's organization.

The issue became very acute after Marcel Cachin and L. O. Frossard returned from their trip to Moscow, where they had been sent by the Strasbourg congress (February 1920) to ascertain the terms and admission and who – notably Cachin, for his companion finished

badly, leaving the Party at the beginning of 1923 – expressed themselves in favour of affiliation with the Communist International.

The matter was settled at the congress in Tours, which opened on December 25, 1920. At a night session on December 29 congress voted for affiliation, and the following day I betook myself to the section in the 10th *arrondissement* to apply for Party membership and was instantly accepted. Thus, I took part in converting the socialist section into a communist one. A discussion was launched to find out who of the members agreed with the entry decision and who, to use Leon Blum's expression, wanted 'to stay in the old stable.'

The new SFIC* found quarters in the Rue de Sambre-et-Meuse premises of the L'Egalitaire Cooperative. Most of the old members had accepted the Tours congress decision, and what with new adherents flocking to us, we soon were several hundred strong in the 10th *arrondissement*.

Our political life was intensive and invariably several hundred people packed the big L'Egalitaire hall for the section meetings. Soon I noticed that people with the gift of the gab, often ridiculing the sensible arguments of others, began to come to the fore. This prompted me to study Lenin's works, then appearing in pamphlets, to study Marx and Engels, and little by little I began taking part in the debates, attacking that which I

considered contrary to the interests of the communist cause.

In due course, I became aware that certain elements were trying to keep alive the customs and style of work of the old party. These people were in the habit of questioning the decisions of the Communist International and suggesting that what they averred to be erroneous was probably to be traced to faulty information. I was incensed by this manner of undermining the authority of the Comintern, for which I had the deepest respect, and in time grew bolder, learning to present my ideas with sufficient clarity and coming to grips with those who tried to discredit the International or denied the necessity of discipline.

The new party still retained many of the old features and customs. The section meetings of 200 or 300 were like a parliament where things were volubly discussed but none remained to carry out decisions.

I took part in the political discussions more and more actively and gradually won the trust of my comrades, so that I acquired a certain amount of influence. At the end of 1921, when we had to pick leaders for our section, I was nominated to the office of secretary and elected after a vehement political scrimmage.

Thus, I became the secretary of a section, the meetings of which attracted many people, though only a few deigned to go hanging up posters and distributing leaflets.

Yet we had to prime for a great political battle – the battle for a united working-class front.

*Section française de l'Internationale Communiste.

The battle for a united front

The Third Comintern Congress issued the political slogan, 'With the Masses!' Having acquired a communist party, which gave it organizational and political independence, and freedom of action, the vanguard of the working class was to break the road to joint action with workers grouped round the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, the latter of which endeavored to maintain the precarious equilibrium between the Second and Third.

For this we had to draw up a concrete program of actions responding to the aspirations and needs of the masses, which would convince them in practice of the devotion and combat capacity of the FCP. At that time nothing but a united front policy could bring the Communist Party into the mass actions. However, that which seemed obvious to me was anything but obvious to some of the comrades.

The situation in the Party was unclear. In my section, too, I encountered strong resistance to the united front policy. What was more, in April 1922 a motion against united front tactics was passed by a large majority at the National Council held in Aubervilliers.

The Comintern Executive, which convened in June, moved to rally the sound forces against the Right elements, and our *Comité directeur* approved the Frossard-Souvarine theses aimed at regrouping the Left and Center-Left.

It was in the hall of Bellevil-

loise that Frossard set out the theses, which the Party would discuss before its Paris congress opened in October 1922. In my section an imposing majority pronounced itself in favor of the theses, which looked like an acceptable compromise.

But Frossard was playing a double game. Hostile to expelling the Right elements, who did not belong among us, he was looking for a pretext to quit the Party. Failing to win a majority in the Party leadership, he and his cronies stirred up trouble at the Paris congress, which, it seemed to me, would culminate in their desertion. I was present at the sitting when, with ill grace, they put on a show of indignation because Jaurès had allegedly been insulted, which was not at all the case.

The arbitration of the Fourth Comintern Congress led to measures against the Right elements. However, the representation in the Party leadership of different trends was preserved. Though even in those early days organized factions were not allowed in Marxist-Leninist parties, they survived in the young French party.

The death of Lenin

It was during the Party congress in Lyons that we received the dreadful news of Lenin's death. We had known, of course, that the great strategist of the October Revolution was ill, but the bourgeois press had announced his demise so many times before that we were inclined to think the reports of Comrade Lenin's ill health

grossly exaggerated. I had known from the press that Lenin did not participate in the 12th Party Congress in April 1923, but we hoped all the same that he would recover.

Now, on January 21, 1924, the leader of the world's Communists, the man who personified so many of mankind's fondest hopes, was dead. The blow was so great that we even thought the future of the Soviet Union was now in question. What would become of that vast country where a socialist revolution had triumphed for the first time in history? Who would carry on Lenin's work? Many of us asked these questions.

I knew that the 12th Bolshevik Party Congress had rejected Trotsky's propositions, which would surely have resulted in a breakdown of the worker-peasant alliance. Acting on Lenin's recommendations, it had also turned down Trotsky's proposal of a partial lifting of the foreign trade monopoly. But I also knew that, taking advantage of Lenin's absence, Trotsky then mounted an attack against the Central Committee.

In the circumstances, it was important for the Bolshevik Party to observe Lenin's teaching, and, as I saw it, this was also the only right course for the FCP. A public memorial meeting was held for Lenin in Saint-Denis on Place de la Mairie. Many of us could not check our tears, and again we wondered what would now become of the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement.

A member of the Central Committee

I was elected deputy from Paris to the National Assembly in March 1926 and was a delegate to the Fifth Party Congress in Lille, June 20-26.

I remember Pierre Samard challenging concepts which questioned the Party's ideological and organizational principles. I remember Maurice Thorez, the Party's organizational secretary since 1925, presenting the vital organizational objectives: to form Party cells in big enterprises, promote their political activity, assure the election of capable cell bureaus, and arrange for the regular appearance of cell newspapers.

That these problems (which cannot be settled once and for all) were raised over forty years ago speaks of our determination to make our party a real Communist Party.

Yes, I remember the Lille congress very distinctly. It was there, battling the national nihilism that surfaced in the Party as a reaction to the chauvinism in the labor movement during World War I, that Maurice Thorez opposed repayment of debts to the United States and Britain, weighing the national interest of our country against that of the big capitalists across the Atlantic and in the United Kingdom.

After the debate, we held elections to the Central Committee. I experienced the joy of being elected a member of that body along with my old friend, Benoit Frachon. As for Maurice Thorez, he had been elected to

it two years before, at the Lyons Congress. Thus, less than three months after becoming a National Assembly deputy, I also became a member of the Central Committee and was obliged to prove myself equal to my new responsibilities. And I must confess that I felt a quick sense of anxiety, for I was conscious of my lack of a formal education and not at all sure that I could cope with my new duties.

Certainly, I had studied hard, but as in the case of all self-educated people my studies had been almost entirely without method. I set out, therefore, to study diligently and fill in the gaps in my knowledge. True, I had by then digested G. Deville's 'Abridged Capital,' but this stultified version was insufficient, and I tackled Marx's own work, studied the master's texts, rather than being content with a mere commentary. And difficult reading, such as that of 'Capital,' involved much reflection and occupied much time.

The time left from doing my Party work I devoted to learning. I spent hours reading and taking notes, for, fortunately, I possessed the capacity of recuperating my powers with just four or five hours of sleep. Feeling physically fit, I determined to be just as fit in the theoretical and political domains, and in general knowledge.

Imprisoned

Persecuted for anti-militarist propaganda, I was arrested in Tarbes and transferred to the Prison de la Santé in Paris,

where I joined Comrade Marcel Cachin, Gaston Monmousseau and Henri Gourdeaux, and several individuals who later betrayed the Party—Dorriot, Barbe and one named Chasseigné, subsequently a state secretary in Petain's government during the Nazi occupation.

The fixed routine for Santé's political prisoners was as follows: at 9 p.m. each was locked up in a separate cell until 7 a.m., whereupon we could go into the corridors of the political section or walk in a small yard, much like a well amid the surrounding buildings.

We had our meals together, with Marcel Cachin presiding at the table. Upon reading the papers we exchanged views on the political situation. We were allowed to receive books, and the prison library, too, was at our disposal. As a diversion from my theoretical reading, I devoured a huge quantity of fiction, especially Balzac and Alexander Dumas père.

In prison we thrashed out some of the political and economic questions more thoroughly. Marcel Cachin and I, for example, made a study of the railway companies and the conditions in which they were formed, and took special note of the fact that the state had financed their infrastructures and afforded them many advantages. This, as we saw it, would justify the nationalization of railways—which was indeed carried out, though on terms highly advantageous for the companies, for which the railways are still a source of substantial profit.

In 1927, while in prison, I was brought before the court on

six charges relating to press articles, for each of which I was sentenced to five years' imprisonment to be served consecutively.

Thirty years at one blow, I counted, but did not believe that I would have to stay all that time in prison. In the meanwhile, prison life continued.

Gaston Monmousseau was released after serving his four months and left me his little radio set, which I concealed in the drawer of the table in my cell. When locked in, I could now listen to the musical broadcasts of the Paris radio.

Being prisoners, we could not write for the press under our own names. But we picked pen-names that helped the reader guess our true identity. Everybody knew that Jean Brécot was none other than Gaston Monmousseau and that Marcel Breton was Marcel Cachin. As for me, I merely truncated my surname, making it Jacques Duc.

An extraordinary parliamentary session was opened on November 2, 1927. At once, the Communist group demanded the immediate release of imprisoned deputies. It was strongly opposed by Minister Maginot, who had made his political career by exploiting a war wound and gave his name to the famous line that eventually proved as useless as it was onerous, though it was a lucrative business for certain entrepreneurs and contractors. But Maginot failed to rally support and by 265 to 220 votes the Chamber ruled in favor of our release.

Given my freedom, I toured the country and spoke at nume-

rous public meetings; besides, I participated in the Chamber of Deputies debate of the 1928 budget. Marcel Cachin and I held a big meeting in the Alhambra in Bordeaux, and Party veterans came from all parts of the *département* to see Cachin, who had been active in the Bordeaux Party branch in his younger years.

It was a stirring sight to see these men and women looking with admiration and affection at the 58-year-old Communist deputy, who for them was the symbol of loyalty and courage.

In Berlin with Georgi Dimitrov

By virtue of the vote in the Chamber of Deputies, my deputy status (I had won against Leon Blum in the 1928 election) had served to suspend the execution of my sentence, but did not annul it. After my defeat in the 1932 election I was therefore again liable to imprisonment.

The Party decided to place me at the disposal of the Communist International, and I was sent to work with Georgi Dimitrov in the Comintern's West European bureau.

The bureau had its clandestine seat in Berlin, where Georgi Dimitrov, who headed it, lived clandestinely under the alias of Helmut or, sometimes, Rudolphe Guediguer. I was also underground, and my alias was Lauer.

The bureau's function consisted in aiding parties requiring elucidation of some problem. To be sure, its competence did not extend to such large Communist parties as the German or

French, but we could not help discussing the situation in Germany, and doubly so since it was rapidly deteriorating due to the rise of Nazism.

We were in Berlin at the time of the coup of July 20, 1932. Chancellor von Papen issued an order dismissing and arresting the ministers of the social-democratic Prussian government of Otto Braun. By so doing, von Papen, who in many ways facilitated Hitler's seizure of power, removed one of the last obstacles from the Nazi's path. The July 20 coup, at the height of the election campaign—the Reichstag elections being due on July 31—was the first in a succession of events that speeded Hitler's advent to power in Germany.

Von Papen knew that the Prussian social-democratic government had earned the hatred of the bulk of the people for its suppression of workers' demonstrations and that the Social-Democratic Party would not react to his move. In fact, Otto Braun, the Prime Minister of Prussia, and his colleagues submitted meekly to the arrest without even a try at defending the powers vested in them by universal suffrage.

It was nothing short of a coup d'état, putting to the test the anti-Hitler and working-class forces. Everyone was aware that von Papen's policy, whatever his intentions may have been, was opening the door to Hitler.

On the day of the coup, with all papers full of the news of the Prussian government's dismissal, I hastened to the Bayerischer Hof, a beerhouse near

Postdamerplatz, where Dimitrov usually kept his secret rendezvous. By the way, after Hitler came to power it had been one of its waiters who denounced Dimitrov, whom he had seen frequently and whose foreign accent had attracted his attention.

Needless to say, Dimitrov and I discerned grave perils in the situation created by the coup. Having exchanged opinions we did not linger, and parted after arranging another rendezvous in the house of a friend, where we were to meet Ernst Thaelmann.

The clandestine meeting with the leader of the Communist Party of Germany was carefully prepared, for our comrade was too well known. All Germany knew him from photographs posted on all walls during the presidential election. While Dimitrov and I passed undetected because unknown in Berlin, the utmost precautions were necessary in bringing Thaelmann to the meeting place.

I see the three of us together as clearly as though it was yesterday—the piercing, blazing eyes of Dimitrov as he told Thaelmann of his alarm over von Papen's maneuver and Thaelmann, pensive and anxious, following Dimitrov's explanations and nodding his head in agreement from time to time.

It is with deep emotion that I recall these two departed comrades as I saw them during that conversation of July 20, 1932. What had transpired, we agreed, was paving Hitler's way to power. I still seem to hear Dimitrov asking Thaelmann if a strike could be arranged against

von Papen's government, and Thaelmann's reply, explaining how difficult, if not impossible, this would be.

To counter von Papen, installed in the Chancellery by Hindenburg, the Social-Democrats' candidate, the social-democratic leaders, bitterly hostile to united action, merely called on the German people to protest by voting for SDP candidates on July 31.

In view of the Social-Democrats' negative attitude to a strike, the Communist Party of Germany, weak in the unions and with but a small number of cells in the enterprises (many of its members were unemployed), could not call for a strike by itself, for it would not be followed by the mass of working people.

Though the Nazi party did not win the majority, it considerably augmented its number of seats, and this was the dominant element in the July 31 elections, auguring very hard times for the working class.

Campaign for Dimitrov's release

It will be recalled that soon after Hitler's advent to power the Nazi-staged Reichstag fire was used as a pretext for unleashing brutal repressions. The mentally deranged Van der Luebbe, who was connected with the Nazis, was accused of setting fire to the parliament building, but apart from that highly suspicious character, a few other people were charged with arson against whom there was not a shred of evidence—namely, **C o m m u n i s t s** with Georgi Dimitrov at their head.

Dimitrov was arrested along with Popov and Tanev on March 9, 1933, and as is readily divined, his arrest shocked me deeply. On returning to France after the promulgation of an amnesty, I lost no time in presenting my view of the situation in Germany to the Party leadership. We concluded that if nothing was done, the developments across the Rhine would project themselves to other countries; in face of the looming danger the Party had to be put in readiness for the tasks ahead.

The year 1933 was highlighted, among other things, by a vigorous campaign in France and elsewhere for the release of Georgi Dimitrov, who, magnificent in his courage and political insight, transformed his trial into a trial of Hitlerism, winning the admiration of millions of people across the world, who saw him as a champion of freedom and human dignity against the Nazi barbarians.

The trial opened in Leipzig on September 21, 1933. Two Bulgarians, Popov and Tanev, a Reichstag deputy, Torgler, and the wretched Van der Luebbe, were in the dock alongside Dimitrov. The latter, it will be recalled, delivered a great speech, making an enormous impression everywhere, notably in France, where objective conditions were ripening for a Popular Front.

World opinion followed the trial with a highly critical eye. A commission of inquiry was set up in 1933, comprising eminent jurists of several countries, and at about the same time a Brown Book was published,

establishing the Nazi chiefs' guilt for the Reichstag fire.

A huge meeting was held in Paris on the eve of the trial, attracting a large crowd to the Salle Wagram and its vicinity. It was before this huge audience that Moro-Giaferri, the lawyer, exclaimed at the end of his speech, 'You, Goering, are the firebrand!.' A counter-trial, held in London, determined that none but the Nazi leaders could have set fire to the Reichstag.

Making a minute study of the bill of indictment, Dimitrov found in it the proof of what he had already put down in his written declaration after his arrest. All evidence showed that the fire and trial pursued a dual political aim: to put the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International in the dock and thereby to obtain the justification for a campaign to destroy communism.

This explained the particular importance which the Nazis attached to the political part of the bill of indictment and the trial. What Hitler, Goering and their acolytes wanted was to manufacture 'evidence' that the Communists had been priming for an armed rising at the end of February 1933, for which the Reichstag fire was to have been the signal.

Throughout his trial Dimitrov used every opportunity to refute this specious contention, putting embarrassing questions to such witnesses as Count Helldorf, Goering, Goebbels, and company. In fact, all the witnesses were compelled to recognize that there was no concrete proof for the charge against the German Communist Party.

Dimitrov, that intrepid revolutionary whose heroic battle against the Nazi firebrands and assassins made the hearts of millions of people beat in unison and filled us with enthusiasm, not only disproved the allegation of a Communist uprising, but also cited facts to show that a violent and illegal action had indeed been prepared in Germany for January-February 1933, but by none other than the National-Socialists, the Nazis, who planned thereby to seize undivided control and end the vacillation of both the German nationalists and the *Stahlhelm* people, who, though accomplices, were also their rivals.

On October 8 the tribunal was transferred to Berlin and on November 4 Goering in person came to confront Dimitrov, who, facing the real arsonist, turned from accused into accuser. He forced Goering to admit the lie in his official communique that a Communist Party of Holland membership card had been found among Van der Luebbe's effects.

In a matter of minutes the dressed up, pomaded and be-medalled gangster was reduced to a criminal at bay.

Having known Georgi Dimitrov and moved by a warm affection towards him, I participated heart and soul in the campaign for his release. The release was demanded with all the more insistence and ardor, because all evidence provided Dimitrov's innocence and incriminated Goering, the new-fangled Nero, and his patron Hitler. It was these two criminals who, short-

ly before the Nazi collapse, issued the order to assassinate Ernst Thaelmann, whom they kept in prison and concentration camp for many years.

The unity in the battle for Dimitrov's release yielded important political results for France. It is safe to say that in 1933 qualitative changes took place in the relations between Communists and Socialists. A new climate developed in face of the fascist menace, and in the following year, after the

abortive February 6 mutiny, the conditions were ripe for a joint action pact between the Communist and Socialist parties, followed by the formation of the Popular Front for bread, liberty and peace in 1935 and its election victory in 1936.

All these events are of the past, but also relevant today. They comprise only a fraction of my memoirs. However, the restricted dimensions of an article compel me to end my remembrances.

The Prague RSDLP Conference

The Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party held its sixth conference in Prague 60 years ago, in January 1912.

The experience of the CPSU was and remains an inexhaustible treasure-trove for the world working-class movement. For the CPSU was the first party of the new type, and the first to carry the socialist revolution to victory and build a socialist society. To a tremendous degree this is attributable to the fact that the Party was founded and at crucial stages of its development and activity led, by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the genius of revolutionary thought and practice and the recognized leader of the international proletariat.

The path traversed by the CPSU is of interest for Marxists and revolutionaries the world

over. But some pages of its history have a very special meaning and contain lessons of enduring value, both for revolutionary theory and practice. One such page, beyond all doubt, is the Sixth All-Russia Conference, widely known as the Prague Conference.

Let us look back to the events preceding it. The years 1910 and 1911 saw a new rise of the workers' movement in Russia. After the grim years of reaction and repression, the workers were again coming out in support of economic demands and taking up the struggle against the autocracy. There were many strikes, some of them political, and political demands were raised also by the progressive-minded students. The Social-Democrats were more active also in the State Duma.



Former People's House, now V. I. Lenin Museum, in Prague

Yet the situation within the RSDLP was out of all keeping with this revolutionary upsurge and the new opportunities it offered the labor movement. The Bolsheviks worked consistently and vigorously to unite the Party and extricate it from the crisis caused by the activity of factional groups. The most dangerous were the liquidators who, to all practical purposes, wanted to dissolve the Party, convert it from a united militant organization into a kind of debating club.

The main liquidator group worked through the legally published journals *Nasha Zarya* and *Dyelo Zhizhni*. But there were other factions which though not openly advocating dissolution of the Party followed much the same policy as the avowed liquidators. These included the Trotskyites. Lenin wrote at the time '... Trotsky and the "Trotskyites and conciliators" like him are more pernicious than any liquidator; the convinced liquidators state their views bluntly, and it is easy for the workers to detect where they are wrong, whereas the Trotskyites deceive the workers,

cover up the evil and make it impossible to expose the evil and to remedy it' (*Coll. Works*, Vol 17, p. 243).

The Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party could hardly function as a united militant organization. At the Conference, Lenin said there were actually two parties. Later, after the Prague Conference, he spoke of reviving the Party. That alone is indicative of the Conference's importance for the destinies of the Bolshevik Party and the Russian revolution.

The question squarely posed was: should, and could, the Party seek reconciliation with the liquidators, tolerate within its ranks virtually irreconcilable and mutually-opposed trends, or work to unite the Party on the principled basis of revolutionary Marxism, and break with the liquidators? Lenin chose the second course and explained why in a number of his writings. The very course of the struggle left no other choice save a full break with the opportunists. This made possible the revival of the RSDLP on a militant Bolshevik basis and—without exaggerating—its subsequent victories, including the Great October Socialist Revolution.

An Organizational Commission was set up in Russia to arrange for the Conference. It actually replaced the Party Central Committee, which had broken up as a result of Menshevik activity. The Commission was able to revive the work of the illegal Party organizations in St. Petersburg and Moscow, the Urals and the Caucasus, in the Volga country and other

working-class centers. It was active abroad, too, among emigre Social-Democratic organizations, to which Lenin attached much importance. He wrote: 'A base of operations abroad is necessary and inevitable for a party which is working in conditions like ours' (Vol. 16, p. 185).

The Conference was preceded by titanic theoretical and organizational work by Lenin and by dedicated effort of hundreds of Bolshevik revolutionaries. In a situation of illegality, with the Party constantly harassed by the tsarist police, it was necessary to elect delegates from various parts of the country and then assure their safe journey to Prague. Every precaution had to be taken to prevent the arrest of the Party's main cadres. Indeed, the arrangements for the Prague conference were full of drama and demonstrated the Bolsheviks' ability to organize such meetings. The details could comprise a thrilling account of revolution in the making.

This preparatory work completed, the conference met in the People's House, 7 Hybern-ska Street, then the center of the Czech labor movement. In 1945 it was made a Memorial Museum of the Prague RSDLP Conference, and later in 1953, the V. I. Lenin Museum. And we of the museum staff welcome visitors from Czechoslovakia, the USSR and other socialist countries and representatives of Communist and Workers' parties from all parts of the world who come to see our exhibits and the historic building.

The Czech Social-Democrats played an appreciable part in arranging the conference. In November 1911, Lenin wrote to the Czech Social-Democrat representative on the International Socialist Bureau. The latter agreed to help find suitable premises and lodgings for the delegates. Among them were representatives of Party organizations in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Tiflis, Kazan, Saratov and organizations abroad, also representatives of the central Party organs. Maxim Gorky, the great proletarian writer, could not attend because of illness and sent a message 'wishing the conference every success.'

The Conference accomplished much. Suffice it to say that it discussed 15 questions, including such important ones as the report of the Organization Commission and the Party's central organ, reports from the localities, the situation in Russia and the Party's tasks, policy on the forthcoming elections to the State Duma, Party work outside Russia, elected the Party's Central Committee. There was a spirited debate on all these points, but, as the Soviet multi-volume 'History of the CPSU' notes '... No matter how sharp



Site of Prague Conference

differences were, no one disturbed the friendly and comradely atmosphere. In this Lenin set the tone—in polemics he gave an example of businesslike approach and comradely attitude.'

The Prague conference was a cardinal factor in building the new-type party. It signified the complete victory of the Leninist trend and united the Party's main forces on a consistently Marxist platform. It held aloft the revolutionary banner of the Bolshevik Party, first unfurled in 1903. And in this lies the fundamental significance of the Prague Conference, which, in its implications was equivalent to a Party congress.

And it did more than resolve organizational problems, important as these were. Thanks to Lenin, the Prague conference was able to draw up a concrete action program on all aspects of the revolutionary struggle. In his report, Lenin gave a precise Marxist analysis of the situation and outlined the tactics the Party was to follow. The resolution on his report spoke of the rising revolutionary sentiments among the workers and democratic sections of Russian society. The Conference emphasized that the central political aim remained the overthrow of tsardom and democratic revolution as the prelude to socialist revolution. It defined the Party's tactics in the factories, in labor

movement centers and in the Duma elections.

The conference adopted a number of resolutions on international issues. The one on the Chinese revolution noted the worldwide importance of the Chinese people's struggle and extended greetings to the Chinese revolutionaries on behalf of the Russian proletariat. Another resolution condemned the Russian government for its attack on Persia. The Conference declared its solidarity with the Finnish Social-Democrats in their fight against the tsarist regime.

The conference decisions were widely publicized in the Social-Democratic press and published in a pamphlet circulated to all Party organizations. The policy formulated in Prague met with support throughout the Party. This was a powerful factor in promoting Party unity. Lenin assessed this period of struggle against the liquidators as 'completing the organization of a working-class party' (Vol. 19, p. 46).

On the 60th anniversary of the Prague Conference, Communists see it as a vivid example of Lenin's theoretical and organizational work, as a sterling example of struggle against opportunism, for militant unity of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party.

M. Piskorova, I. Strakosova
Prague.



A look at theoretical journals

RINASCITA

In an article on European security in the November 5, 1971 issue of the Italian Communist Party weekly *Rinascita*, Sergio Segre, head of the Party's International Department, stressed the importance of the talks between L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and French President Georges Pompidou. The Soviet-French documents signed in Paris, he wrote, 'are a new and decisive step forward not only in the two countries' political, economic and cultural cooperation, but also in framing the principles which should regulate peace and security in Europe.'

Sergio Segre recounted the long struggle, mainly by the Communists, to eliminate the consequences of the cold war and establish a new type of relations between the European countries. The 1967 Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties was an important milestone. Addressing the Conference, the General Secretary of the Italian CP, Luigi Longo, said: 'It stands to reason that

for us the struggle for European security is not only a struggle to solve problems that still cause tension on our continent. It is also a struggle to create conditions for reliable development and a peaceful future for each country and Europe as a whole.'

In the period since the Conference a great deal has been done to create the climate in which it is possible to speak of a sharp turn in European history. Suffice it to recall the treaties between the USSR and FRG, Poland and the FRG, and the start made in the dialogue between the FRG and GDR. That, Segre said, is not all. A marked desire is shown by West European countries to be more independent of their overseas partner. In recent years there have also been more large-scale actions for European peace by the working class and people.

The new situation is an 'extremely important success in the almost 20-year struggle in which, alongside the energetic activities of Western Europe's progressive forces, the exist-

ence of the socialist states was one of the decisive factors.'

While noting the positive foreign policy changes, the author pointed out that in Western Europe this was not accompanied by 'activity of an equal magnitude to achieve progress, that is, to determine the democratic and social content of the new European policy.' The situation in Europe, he continued, is different, because there is a difference between conditions and goals in the socialist countries, on the one hand, and the capitalist countries, on the other. The working class and all supporters of progress in the West-European countries should take these differences into account.

PROBLEMAS DE ECONOMIA

The greater role that international relations play in shaping the historical destiny of countries is an objective development of our age. The broadening of inter-state ties is impelled by many internal and external factors. Among the strong external factors in the case of the Latin American countries is American imperialism, which continues to exert pressure on the Latin American countries and to increase their economic dependence. Although new neo-colonialist methods are used, the goals are old—to prevent any change in the foreign policy of the Latin American countries and preserve existing positions in the region.

Several articles showing the various forms of economic interference in Latin American countries by U.S. imperialism are

This brings to the forefront the problem of coordination between the Communists and other Left forces, mainly the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties in West Germany, Austria and Britain. The problem is not new, of course, but in some aspects there is a certain novelty. More favorable opportunities have arisen to find points of contact in the struggle for social progress.

The time has come, the writer concluded, for broad and courageous initiative if we want to contribute to the consolidation of the West-European progressive forces round the tasks of democratic renovation and social progress with a socialist perspective.

to be found in the 25th issue for 1971 of *Problemas de Economia* (the last issue put out by noted Communist economist Ricardo Olivari, its former editor, who died recently), a journal of the Communist Party of Argentina.

American investments in the continent are growing. Between 1967 and 1969 they rose from \$11.9 billion to \$13 billion. In 1966, out of total foreign investments in Venezuela the U.S. controlled 99 per cent, in Argentina 50 per cent, and 66 per cent in Peru. However, the winds of change sweeping over the continent and the new trends in foreign policy are forcing the U.S. monopolies to be more cautious in picking countries for investment. In 1970, *Time* magazine classified Chile, Peru and Bolivia as undependable spheres of investment, Venezuela and

Brazil as doubtful and Argentina and Colombia as good.

U.S. monopoly capital positions on the continent are still unquestionably strong.

At the same time, other imperialist powers have gained fairly strong positions, and are also attempting to influence the foreign policy of the Latin American countries. These days, the journal points out, the investments in Latin America of the FRG, Britain, Switzerland, France, Canada and Japan total nearly \$3 billion. In Argentina, British capital is fairly strong, with the FRG and Italy increasing their holdings. The Mitsubishi emblem, too, always the symbol of Japanese imperial-

ism, has appeared in the country. It is fairly certain that in the near future the continent will become the arena of sharp clashes between many imperialist states.

In any case, the articles show clearly that these contradictions have already begun to surface.

The journal examines the forms and methods of imperialism's economic penetration into Latin America. The facts show the importance of the struggle against U.S. economic domination. Latin American Communists regard it as a basic condition of political independence and an independent foreign policy.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

LE DUAN, *Selected Articles and Speeches (1965-1970)*. Moscow, Politizdat, 1971. 359 pp.

The works of comrade Le Duan, the First Secretary of the CC of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, which comprise this selection, present the position of the WPPV on the main questions of the country's international situation and its development, and the most important features of the party's work in the contemporary stage, and reflect the successes gained by the working people of the DRV in the building of socialism, the struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, for freedom and independence, and for the uniting of the country. The book acquaints us

with the rich revolutionary experience of the WPPV and helps us to understand the characteristic traits and specifics of the Vietnamese revolution.

Substantial space is given in the selection to an analysis of the question of the correlation of the world revolutionary process and the struggle for peace. Le Duan speaks of the possibility of a victorious revolution in conditions where world war is absent and the basic interests of the working class, of all the peoples, demand the defense of peace. The development of the revolution in various countries and the struggle for peace serve, as the author shows, "as prerequisites for one another." He stresses that the prevention of world war and the consolidation

of peace objectively create new favorable conditions for the development of the revolution; on the other hand, the revolutionary movement not only does not increase the danger of world war, but on the contrary, promotes the achievement of universal and inviolable peace.

In his treatment of the struggle for peace as a democratic movement and at the same time a revolutionary task, Le Duan writes that the aim of that struggle is to thwart all the war plans of imperialism, particularly that of the United States, to bring about the total defeat of its policy of unleashing war, and in the long run, with the complete victory of the world revolution, to eliminate the source of war from human society. The author considers the policy of peaceful coexistence to be a component part of the entire strategy of the struggle for peace. He differentiates between peace founded on the assurance of freedom and independence for the peoples relying on the socialist system, and "false peace." Without struggle against imperialism, against its striving to enslave peoples, there can be "only the 'peace' of tears, mockery and shame." Le Duan stresses that the waging or support of just wars serves the interests of peace throughout the world.

The author concretizes that thesis by referring to an analysis of the lessons of the Vietnamese revolution. Its specific feature is that it is taking place in conditions of a people's war against the American aggressors. Bringing out the class content and international significance of the

Vietnamese people's war of resistance, Le Duan writes that it is a just war for the completion of the national-democratic revolution in the whole country and in defense of socialism in North Vietnam, that final victory in the sacred war would mean "not only a tremendous step forward in the Vietnamese revolution, but also an active contribution to the cause of strengthening the world revolution and consolidating world peace." Le Duan gives high praise to the fraternal international support and assistance rendered the Vietnamese people by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, communist and workers' parties.

The following idea is expressed in the book: "No other sphere of activity demands such creativity on the part of revolutionaries as the methodology of accomplishing the revolution." It is bolstered by a wealth of factual material showing in what way, in which form, and with the help of what concrete measures the WPPV is carrying out its political line. Speaking of the sources of this creativeness, Le Duan stresses that the more the rich revolutionary experience of other countries is studied, the more possibilities it provides for revolutionary creativity in one's own country; at the same time, in order to correctly apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the general laws of revolution and the experience of fraternal countries, it is imperative to be guided also by concrete practice, to take into account the living reality of one's country with all its specific features. *E. Jorgen*

R. FRELEK, *Thema: Europa* (Theme: Europe). Warsaw, Verlag Interpress, 1971. 236 pp.

The Polish journalist Ryszard Frelek has devoted his book to a topic on which whole mountains of articles and pamphlets have been written during recent years. It would appear difficult to say something new on this subject. Nevertheless, his essays are read with unflagging interest. The author presents many fresh observations on the contrast between the Versailles system and the Potsdam settlement, his treatment of the "cold war," his analysis of the problems of peaceful coexistence in postwar Europe and the prospects for general European cooperation.

The "secret" is simple: the author has his own approach to events, his own point of view. He discusses European matters not only as a confirmed internationalist but also as a Pole, an ardent patriot of his socialist motherland. "I write of Europe and think of Poland . . ." — this phrase, dropped by R. Frelek, is like a key to the whole book because the author does not hide that the problem of European peace is the main problem of the foreign policy of People's Poland.

Not so long ago the regular dish on the menu of imperialist propaganda was the slanderous assertion that the socialist countries of Eastern and Central Europe had no foreign policy of their own and were doomed to follow in the wake of "Soviet interests." This book's contents prove how false that thesis was from the very first. Friendship

and close collaboration with the USSR and other socialist countries was founded not on serving foreign aims but on the organic community of fundamental interests. In particular, the author again and again returns to the idea that "the new relations with the Soviet Union are the basis of Poland's new place in Europe."

Poland does indeed occupy a new place. Development along the socialist path and friendship with the USSR and other fraternal countries, R. Frelek writes, has reversed the fate of the previously weak and unstable state which was completely dependent on the mercies of its imperialist patrons. Today, he proudly declares, no one can say, as the Hitlerites in their time claimed, that Poland is supposedly "a seasonal state," no one can cast doubt on its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. "For our country, which was once called the crossroads of Europe, the 25 years of People's Poland have been a period of peace and complete security of all our borders. Never before in its thousand-year history was Poland in such a position: in alliance with all its neighbors, all its borders sanctioned by bilateral treaties and inviolable."

All the materials in the book, especially the essays "Maturing of European problems," "More than just coexistence" and "Flowing out of all Polish experience," tear to shreds the lying assertions regarding the diplomatic "passivity" of the socialist countries of Europe. They demonstrate in particular the great

contributions made by Poland to the solution of European problems, both those introduced together with other fraternal parties and those made independently. Such proposals as that for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, and later for the freezing of nuclear weapons on that territory, can serve as examples of the constructive initiatives undertaken by Poland.

Speaking with optimism about the future of Europe, the author stresses that "conditions for the stability of the favorable situation lie in the solidarity of the socialist countries, prevention of any breaches in our system of cooperation and security. Our western partners should know that a dialogue with the socialist countries and collective decisions on European problems offer the only perspective for a good situation in Europe. They should know that there is not and cannot be any prospect of changing the European correlation of forces by way of 'softening' or 'detaching' separate socialist countries."

R. Frelek's interesting book deserves international readership. Interpress Publishers in Warsaw did well to publish it simultaneously in German, English and Russian. L. Din

Foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Volume I – 1944-1962, 659 pp; Volume II – 1963-1969, 602 pp. Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo, 1970-1971.

This collection of documents and materials compiled by the staff of the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is the first extensive publication of this kind. The materials presented in chronological order reconstruct the history of Bulgarian diplomacy from 1944 to 1969, showing the development of new directions of its foreign policy following the victory of the socialist revolution on September 9, 1944.

The role of Bulgaria in the system of socialist international relations is set forth in these two volumes. The work traces the development and deepening of bilateral and multilateral collaboration of the PRB with the socialist countries, its participation in the Warsaw Pact Organization, the CMEA. The community of the positions of Bulgaria and the USSR in international questions and their close collaboration is demonstrated.

The book provides a picture of the active participation of the PRB in world politics. The work of the Bulgarian delegation at the UN is directed to the strengthening of peace and world security, to disarmament. Bulgaria consistently champions the interests of peoples struggling for their national liberation, independence and social progress: it took a resolute stand in defense of countries that became victims of imperialist aggression – the Korean PDR, the Republic of Congo, Cuba, Vietnam, etc. – condemned the aggression of Israel against the Arab peoples. In its relations with capitalist countries, the Bulgarian government carries into practice one of the basic principles of its foreign policy – the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. It

supports the call for an all-European meeting on questions of security and cooperation in Europe. It must be noted that documents of recent years bear witness to the striving of the PRB to activate bilateral and multilateral cooperation with all its Balkan neighbors.

Government statements, notes,

agreements, communiques, declarations of the Popular Assembly and other systematized documents will unquestionably enable the reader to get a picture of the foreign policy principles of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and their practical application.

Zh. Grigorova

NEW BOOKS

K. MARX, F. ENGELS. *On Colonialism*. Collection of articles and letters. New York, International Publishers, 1971. 382 pp.

V. I. LENIN. *Nasjonal politikk og proletarisk internasjonisme* (National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism.) Oslo, Forlaget Ny Dag, 1971. 214 pp.

V. I. LENIN. *The Awakening of Asia*. New York, International Publishers, 1971. 80 pp.

V. I. LENIN. *On the Foreign Policy of the Soviet State*. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1971. 497 pp.

W. BEILICKE. *Sozialpolitik in der EWG* (Social Policy in the CMEA). Berlin, Verlag Tribuene, 1971. 208 pp.

A. S. BAKHOV. *Organizatsiia Varshavskogo dogovora* (Organization of the Warsaw Agreement). Moscow, Nauka, 1971. 162 pp.

V. N. VISOTSKY. *West Berlin and Its Place in the System of Contemporary International Relations*. Moscow, Mysl, 1971. 483 pp.

J. KAMECKI, J. SOLDACHUK, W. SIERPINSKI. *Miedzynarodowe stosunki ekonomiczne* (International Economic Relations). Warszawa, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1971, 678 pp.

H. MEISSNER. *Konvergenztheorie und Realitaet* (The Theory of Convergence and Reality). Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1971. 243 pp.

Wspolczesne stosunki miedzynarodowe (Contemporary International Relations). Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1971. 390 pp.

N. A. USHAKOV. *Non-intervention in Inner Affairs of States*. Moscow, International Relations Publishers, 1971. 168 pp.

P. S. FONER. *American Labor and the Indochina War. The Growth of Union Opposition*. New York, International Publishers, 1971. 127 pp.

GUS HALL. *The United States in a Revolutionary World*. New York, International Publishers, 1971, 224 pp.

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Bulgaria – 'Khemus,' Sofia, 'Rusky,' 6.

Czechoslovakia – Artia, Praha 2, Nove Mesto, Ve smeckach, 30.

GDR – Deutscher Buch Export und Import GmbH, 701 Leipzig, Leninstrasse 16.

Hungary – Kossuth Konyvkiado, Budapest V. Steindl u. 6.

Mongolia – Mongol Ulsyn Nomyn Khudaldaany Gazar, Ulaanbaatar, V. I. Leninii gudamzh 41.

Poland – EXPRIMRUCH, Warszawa, Wronia 23.

Rumania – I.C.E. 'Libri,' Calea Victoriei 126, Bucuresti.

USSR – V/O Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Moscow G-200.

new pamphlets and books

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New stage of continuous capitalist crisis, basic instability, increasing defeats; strength of socialist countries and other anti-imperialist forces; rising struggles in U.S., danger of fascism and need for new initiatives, possibilities of new victories. Report to Communist Party National Committee, November 12, 1971. **40 pp.—50c**

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The Sharpening Crisis of U.S. Imperialism and the Tasks of the Communist Party. Bankruptcy of U.S. imperialist policy, heightened power and consciousness of anti-imperialist forces, possibilities of important victories, need for full mobilization of the Communist Party. **64 pp.—85c**

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