

WORLD

Problems of

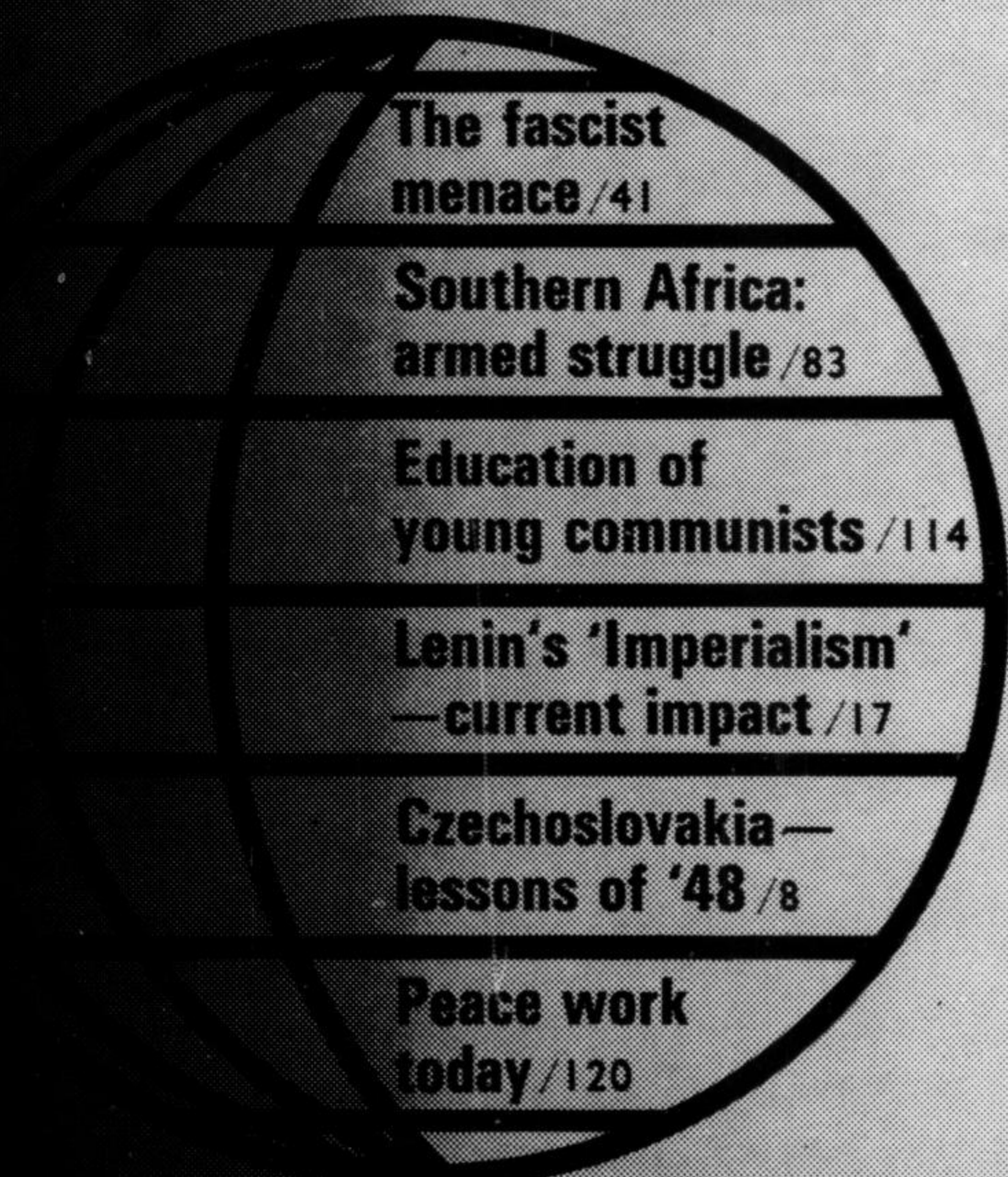
MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

May 1973, Vol. 16, No. 5

50¢



**The fascist
menace /41**

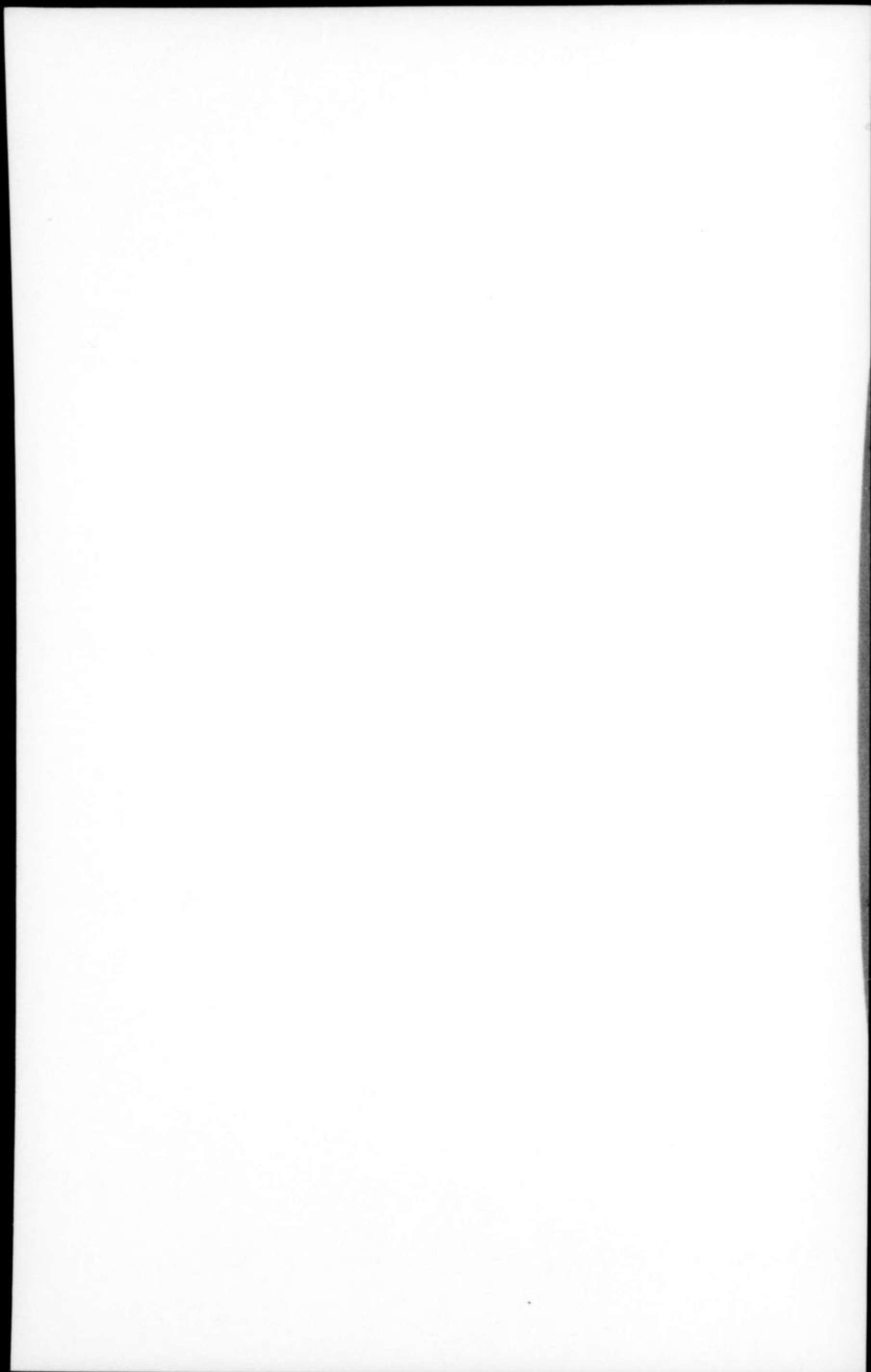
**Southern Africa:
armed struggle /83**

**Education of
young communists /114**

**Lenin's 'Imperialism'
—current impact /17**

**Czechoslovakia—
lessons of '48 /8**

**Peace work
today /120**





May 1973, Vol. 16, No. 5

WORLD

Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

Features

- 3 Solidarity in struggle

Theory

- 8 Lessons of our socialist
revolution and the present
V. Bilak
- 17 Theoretical basis of anti-
imperialist struggle
(materials of international
research group)
- 30 Revolutionary guide
- 32 Soviet society: analysis
of its structure
R. Kosolapov

Politics

- 41 Reality of the fascist
menace
(International Marxist
discussion. Conclusion)
- 67 Something new in
Honduras?
D. R. Bejarano

- 71 The socialist economic
executive
K. Kolev, M. Kowalewski,
A. Levikov

- 81 Freedom for Camacho
and his comrades
S. Zapirain

- 83 Southern Africa: armed
struggle against
imperialism

The Party

- 92 Strengthening unity: a law
of the communist movement
K. Tellalov
- 101 From division to unity
J. Faria
- 105 The Communist word
R. Arismendi, J. Sirkar,
C. G. Urritia, P. Verges,
J. Villegas, Kh. Roy
- 114 Educating young
communists
O. Podolsky
- 118 In brief

(continued next page)

(cont'd)

Readers' column

- 120 New developments in the
peace movement
R. Chandra
- 125 Reactionaries stymied
G. Banchem

Data

- 128 Brief information on
Communist and Workers'
Parties: Rumanian CP,
CP Finland, Lebanese CP
- 131 Education and science
in socialist countries

In memoriam

- 141 Tim Buck

Second class mail registration number
2352. Printed in Canada.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal Problems of Peace and Socialism published in Prague.

Microfilm edition available through University Microfilms Library Service.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$5.00 a year, \$9.00 for two years. Single copies 50 cents. Overseas: \$8.00 a year.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in Arabic, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese,

Rumanian, Russian, Singhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions to these may be obtained through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE, 487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto. M5V 1T4

Or, in USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, 320 West Ohio St., Chicago, Ill. 60610

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. M5V 1T4

Copyright © 1968 by
Progress Books, Canada.
All Rights Reserved.





Solidarity in struggle

May Day occupies a place of distinction in our calendar. The history of this proletarian holiday, celebrated for the 83rd time this year, is in a way profoundly symbolical. It reflects the special mission of the working class – a class that by liberating itself also liberates the whole of mankind. Set apart in tribute to Chicagoan workers and revolutionaries who fell victim to bourgeois terror, May Day is the embodiment of the militant international solidarity of all progressives.

The conditions in which May Day is celebrated differ. If it were possible to cast one's glance over the whole of the planet, one would behold a grand and exciting picture.

One would see how joyously May Day is celebrated in the socialist countries, where it is one of the brightest holidays of the victorious working class, of all working people, the day of reviewing economic achievements and demonstrating international solidarity. One would see the tremendous scale of the class battles against monopoly capital in the imperialist citadels, the enthusiasm and uplift of the masses in the young Asian and African states aspiring to freedom, democracy and economic independence, the truly massive movement against imperialism in the Latin American countries, seeking to change the outdated socio-economic structures, and the embattled patriots of the South of Africa, waging a war of independence against colonialism and racialism.

None but the working class, which, to quote the *Communist Manifesto*, is the truly revolutionary class, could conceive a holiday like May Day.

Time and again, the bourgeoisie have tried to distort the purpose and dampen the militancy of May Day manifestations. Opportunists have sought to prevent the workers' struggle from transcending minor economic demands, though, admittedly, their arguments for this changed with the times. At first, they said workers were not yet 'grown' to political struggle and should be content with partial improvements of their condition. And today they say that workers have 'outgrown' the stage of political struggle, for what they aspire to can be obtained under state-monopoly capitalism without a revo-

lutionary recasting of the existing society. And though some workers still believe these false contentions, the facts are destroying their illusions slowly but surely.

These days, few will venture to maintain that state-monopoly capitalism is capable of 'crisis-free development.' Economic recessions and shake-ups breed mass unemployment. The inflation 'swallows up' the wage increases won by the working class. The monopolies are shifting the burden of the over-production crisis and the monetary difficulties on the working people. Hence the visible proliferation of strikes and other mass actions: participants in strikes and other actions in the capitalist world have grown in numbers from 36 million in 1965 to 60 million in 1972.

The strike movement provides a good schooling in political, as well as economic, struggle for large sections of the people. They encounter the unfeeling egoism of the monopolists and the government's merciless wage-freeze policy ostensibly motivated by the necessity of 'combating inflation.' Made aware of the hostility of big capital and its media of power, and subjected to police repression, thousands upon thousands of strikers, even those far removed from politics, are beginning to see the reactionary essence of the imperialist system. And many learn from their own experience that the Communists are right in saying that no improvement of the socio-economic condition can be lasting as long as political power is held by the monopoly bourgeoisie.

That is one of the reasons for the militant mood of the working class, and for the further radicalization of the masses, and for the ever greater popularity of socialist ideas, and for the mounting interest in broad democratic programs paving the way to socialism, advanced by Communist parties. The Communists' fidelity to principle, their loyalty to the working-class cause, their inexhaustible energy and their courage, are winning them respect and prestige among the masses.

Communists have done more than anyone to develop and multiply the glorious May Day tradition. Born in the midst of the working class, the idea of international solidarity has found its fullest expression in the Marxist-Leninist principle of *proletarian internationalism*, which the Communist parties regard as the cornerstone of their ideology and policy.

The development of the world Communist movement, particularly in the complex conditions of the past 10-15 years, has required of the fraternal parties special attention to the problems of unity.

One of the key objectives of the Communists in the socialist countries is to *expand all-round cooperation between the socialist lands*. The successes of socialism, its ability to influence the course of world events and effectively to counter imperialist aggression, depend in considerable measure on the unity of the socialist states. Also, united action by the socialist countries is a premise for the unity of all anti-imperialist forces.

The fraternal parties have noted the progress made in this direction of late. We are witness to the continually strengthening unity

of the socialist community, successful accomplishment of its economic integration program, increasingly closer coordination of foreign policy, which has brought splendid results in many important areas of international relations.

For the first time in many long years, the heroic Vietnamese people celebrate May Day in peace. This has been made possible in no small measure by international solidarity, all-round fraternal assistance of the socialist states, and the broad international movement against the U.S. aggression and in defense of Vietnam's just cause.

A higher degree of unity of the Communist movement is another major factor in increasing the Communist and Workers' parties role in solving the problems facing the peoples. In this respect, too, the Communists have stepped up their efforts and achieved good results. Links between the parties have become closer and bilateral and multilateral consultations on pressing problems of the movement more systematic. The fraternal parties believe that, despite differences in the approach to concrete problems, this makes for closer cooperation in the fight against the common foe.

The Communists are concerned not only for the unity of their own ranks, or for the unity only of the working class. They are the heart and soul of the movement for *united action of all the Left forces*, for a broad democratic front in each country and internationally. And the record shows that important progress has been made toward that goal. In Chile, the recent elections have further strengthened the Popular Unity bloc. Based on close cooperation of the Communist and Socialist parties, it has set the country on a new course. The French Communist Party played the decisive part in framing the common government program with the Socialists and Left Radicals. Communist effort and energy assured considerable success at the polls, with 11 million votes cast for the Left, and with the Communists doubling their Assembly seats. In Italy, Communist policy made it possible to retain, strengthen and expand – in the teeth of reactionary resistance – Left unity in many municipal, provincial and regional councils, and in all mass organizations. Working-class pressure for unity has already resulted in the three trade union centers coordinating their activities. In Japan, the Communists and Socialists have agreed on a Communist-proposed United Action program. In Syria, the Communist, Baath and other parties are represented in the new Progressive National Front. In Iraq, the National Action Charter proposed by the Baath Party is now being discussed. The Communist Party is represented in the government.

Communist Party statements emphasize that the trend towards unity of all the democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist forces will continue to gain momentum, for such unity is objectively needed by the working people, who make up the vast majority of society.

And though the working class has changed beyond recognition since the Chicago events of 1886, the solidarity idea that is central

to all May Day celebrations has lost none of its appeal or validity. For the workers' enemies persist in their attempts to sow division along religious, racial, national, professional, political lines. Capitalism seeks to incite white workers against their Black brothers, Protestants against Catholics, native workers against immigrants, etc. The danger of this policy is all too obvious.

The rapid increase of migrant labor and the growth of multinational monopolies have intensified the international economic exploitation of the workers. This makes it vitally important to devise new forms of international proletarian solidarity and mutual support in order effectively to uphold the interests of the working class.

The anti-imperialist movement of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples has become an inseparable part of the world revolutionary process. The constantly developing trend in these continents toward mutual support and unity, both within the zone of the national-liberation struggle and with the socialist countries and the world working-class movement, has a crucial meaning for the future of mankind. The powerful international campaigns for solidarity with Cuba and Chile, and with the struggle of the patriots of Southern Africa, are a sign of the times. Imperialist intrigue to divide the main revolutionary currents of our time is meeting with ever stronger resistance.

On May Day the working class demonstrates its solidarity with revolutionary fighters the world over and with the victims of police terror and judicial tyranny. Hundreds and thousands of sterling fighters for peace, democracy and socialism are languishing in prison in countries ruled by reactionary regimes. A short while ago the world was shocked by news of the dastardly murder of leaders of the Guatemalan Communist Party. Death sentences are still being passed on Communists in Indonesia, where many thousands have already been done to death. Colonialist-paid terrorists assassinated Amilcar Cabral and other dedicated freedom fighters. Repressions against democrats and patriots continue in Spain and Greece, South Africa, South Vietnam and Northern Ireland.

The Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review* conveys heartfelt May Day greetings and expressions of fraternal solidarity and support to all those who, stinting neither their strength, freedom nor life itself, are battling against imperialist oppression and exploitation, against the monopoly stranglehold, for peace, democracy, economic progress, social and national liberation. And together with all honest men and women everywhere we demand: Freedom for all prisoners of reaction!

This year May Day is being celebrated in a more favorable international climate, particularly in Europe. The re-establishment of peace in Vietnam is a crucial development. The victory of the Vietnamese people, its friends and allies, is now formalized in the decisions of the Paris Conference. However, that should not be taken to mean that the traditional appeal for unity in the battle for peace, disarmament and against the menace of fresh wars of con-

quest will no longer figure in the May Day demonstrations. The cease-fire does not extend to the whole of Indochina. American bombs are still bringing death and destruction to Laos and Cambodia. And the Middle East, where the Israeli aggressors and their U.S. protectors continue to sabotage the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, remains a major center of international strain, with the constant threat of resumed fighting.

The imperialists would be going against their very nature if they gave up all plans of exploiting the present relaxation of tension. They hope that in this new, warmer international climate, it might be easier to attain their old aims of 'softening up' the common front of the socialist countries and undermining the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties. Their old weapon, Right opportunist and revisionist anti-communism, is being supplemented by a new one, 'Left-wing anti-communism': they are encouraging the anti-Soviet activities of all manner of political defectors and renegades. But all such plans are doomed to failure.

In the present detente climate, as at the height of the cold war, the fraternal parties cherish and guard proletarian internationalism, their victorious weapon in the past and one that will serve them well in the future.

On May Day the traditional battlecry of the workers resounds throughout the world with undiminished force:

Hail May Day, day of militant review of the revolutionary forces of the working class, day of international proletarian solidarity! Forward to peace and mankind's socialist future!



Lessons of our socialist revolution and the present

Vasil Bilak
Member Presidium, CC Secretary,
CP of Czechoslovakia

Instead of fading, the significance of some events in the liberation movement begins to stand out in bolder relief as subsequent development adds meaning to them. Such, too, were the Czechoslovak events of February 1948, the culmination of years of struggle for working-class power, paving the way to a new era for our nations, to a socialist society. 'It depended entirely on the February events whether or not we should consummate our program of national and democratic revolution, a necessary prelude for socialist development,' said Gustav Husak, General Secretary of our Party, at a recent Central Committee meeting. 'Should the bourgeois political parties have succeeded in preventing those events and have returned the country to the pre-Munich situation, all the sacrifices made by the people in the battle against fascism, and for a new Czechoslovakia, would have been in vain.'

Looking back at the February events that ushered in the victory of our socialist revolution is like looking back at the past quarter of a century from the standpoint of its main lessons: a consistent working-class approach to the revolutionary transformation of society can be fully effective; to confront the bourgeoisie there must be an alliance of all democratic forces; if the mass movement of the working people is broad enough the conquest of political power can be relatively peaceful. Today, when the efforts to mend the split in the working-class movement and secure the unity of all Left forces, is gaining momentum, these lessons of our February 1948 are of no small international relevance. The journal has done well, we feel, to have stressed the importance of analyzing past experience of forging democratic unity in its article, 'Marching Together.'*

But we also regard the February as a source of important lessons for the present stage in our own country. During this jubilee year our people are determined to achieve headway in building a

*WMR, No. 2, 1973. Also see, 'Apropos of the Possibilities of Cooperating with the Social-Democrats, WMR, No. 4, 1973.

mature socialist society. In February 1948 the Czechoslovak Communist Party summoned the people to battle reaction under the slogans, 'Forward, Not a Step Back!' and 'Forward to Socialism!' This battle-cry, CC CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev stressed in his speech in the Old Town Square in Prague on the 25th anniversary of our February, 'is still alive. It lives on in the hearts and deeds of the working class, the working peasants, and the people's intelligentsia. It lives on in all your work to fulfil the decisions of the 14th Congress of the CPC.'

We follow the revolutionary commandments of our February, and develop its traditions by improving our socialist society, adding to its economic strength, raising the ideological, political and cultural level of the people, cementing the unity of the Party and people, deepening our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and promoting the cohesion of the international Communist and working-class movement.

The February victory confirmed the universal validity of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution and his conclusion about finding concrete 'forms of the *transition* or the *approach* to the proletarian revolution' (Coll. Works, Vol. 31, p. 92). In Czechoslovakia's case this form of transition was a national and democratic revolution with chiefly national-liberation, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist objectives, which broke out in the concluding stage of the Second World War.

The national liberation struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks succeeded thanks to the country's liberation by the Soviet Army. The Soviet Union's heroic defense of mankind against fascism redoubled the influence of socialist ideas throughout the world. It revolutionized our working class and all working people aspiring to a new republic that would solve all the social and national problems with justice.

The policy of our Party, which emerged from the national-liberation struggle as a consistent, revolutionary and, in effect, the sole battleworthy political party, was oriented on the growth of the national and democratic into a socialist revolution. Its strategy was based on Lenin's teaching of revolution, on the experience of the Soviet Communist Party, and on the guidelines of the Seventh Comintern Congress.

Following Czechoslovakia's liberation from fascism, the Party launched a political and organizational drive to complete the national and democratic revolution. In April 1945, addressing a conference of Party activists, Klement Gottwald said: 'Despite the favorable situation, it is not our immediate aim to set up Soviets and carry through socialization; our aim is to complete the present democratic, national revolution, so that in its further course we should be able to open up the way for new aims, moving ahead in the broadest possible national front in the lead of the nation. The main political question is to succeed in heading the entire nation as a party of the working people and as a workers' party, and to be recognized as representative of the nation.'

Deep political and socio-economic changes laid the foundation for a people's democratic system in 1945-1946. The depth of our revolutionary democratic measures was determined by the unity of the people around the working class and the Communist Party. But in the first several years after liberation, political power was also partially held by the petty and middle bourgeoisie that had not discredited itself through collaboration with the fascist invaders. We knew, of course, that the further development of the revolution, its growth into a socialist revolution, would be resisted by the bourgeoisie, and that sooner or later there was bound to be a showdown. From the outset, the development of People's Democracy was accompanied by an acute class struggle over the future of Czechoslovakia.

Thanks to the favorable international and inner-political conditions, the Communist Party was able to work for a peaceful development of the revolution. This course was realistic first and foremost because of the strength of the working class, which had by and large attained ideological, political and organizational unity and stood at the head of the masses.

The main problem was to win over other sections of the working people, especially in the countryside and among the urban middle strata. The broad National Front of all the existing political parties and mass organizations became a base for mass unity. Our approach to winning the masses, 'the entire nation if possible,' had nothing at all in common with unprincipled political alliance-making; it was always a class approach, designed to fortify the leading role of the workers. In the first three years of the revolution, coming to grips with its political antagonists and combating reformism and Right opportunism, the Communist Party concluded numerous tactical agreements, including agreements with bourgeois parties. Yet it never departed from its class positions.

For us the National Front, a system of several, including bourgeois, political parties, was not a coalition of parties, but an alliance of working people in which parties participated to the extent to which they expressed the interests of the people. This is why in February 1948, when the bourgeoisie prepared the ground for a counter-revolutionary government putsch, it proved politically weak and isolated, and exposed itself by its reactionary policy and disruptive actions as an anti-national and anti-popular force.

Consistent national-democratic changes, our experience showed, are important and highly effective in paving the way for the socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. It also showed that to succeed one must not let the revolutionary perspective escape one's field of vision at any point. The revolution developed very rapidly and the socialist element, nourished by the national-democratic changes, grew stronger. The consolidation of the political and economic positions of the working class and its Communist vanguard accentuated the anti-bourgeois, pro-socialist

character of the workers' alliance with all other working people, enabling it to begin the new stage of the revolution.

The Communist Party rallied the overwhelming majority of the people around the working class and overpowered the bourgeoisie with the people's active support, paving the way for socialist construction. It was not easy, of course, to win the majority of the people to the side of the working class. The complexity of revolutionary development required creative use of Marxism-Leninism, tactical flexibility and political skill. Furthermore, the different sections of the bourgeoisie were removed from power gradually, by stages, and were therefore able to hang on here and there, and to act. In these conditions the Communists must very firmly follow the class line, preventing the remnants of the exploiting classes removed from the political scene from trying a comeback, as they did in Hungary in 1956 and in our country in 1968.

In principle, however, as our experience attests, promoting the growth of the national and democratic into a socialist revolution, winning the majority of the people to the side of the working class and gradually removing the bourgeoisie from power, facilitates the transition to, and the building of, socialism on the basis of a broad political alliance. The Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties says that in the capitalist states 'favorable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned, of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favorable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism. The main force in this democratic alliance is the working class.'

In the February 1948 events the question of 'who will win' was settled by a combination of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of struggle. Our Party was strong in the parliament - where it had nearly 40 per cent of the seats after the 1946 elections and on some issues was supported by the Left Social-Democrats - and in the government, where, being the strongest political force, its representatives held the premiership and headed the decisive ministries. But it also encouraged the initiative of the masses, warning that the bourgeoisie may try a reactionary putsch. The masses exercised pressure on the government, helping the Communists thereby to push their demands. 'We have a rare set of favorable circumstances as we conduct the revolution simultaneously from above and below,' Gottwald said.

Bourgeois reaction tried to undermine the Communists' influence in the parliament and government, and to reverse the country's policy behind the backs of the people. While we worked in the government and parliament for the implementation of the agreed program consonant with the interests of the people, the bourgeoisie sabotaged the government's work, crippled parliament,

and finally precipitated a government crisis by the resignation of 12 out of 26 ministers. With the backing of President Benes this was designed to provoke the resignation of the National Front government, to be succeeded by a cabinet of bureaucrats with a line more to the liking of the bourgeoisie.

Following the resignation of the reactionary ministers, the Communist Party did not hesitate to appeal to the people, who demonstrated their support of our policy. Congresses of factory councils, peasant commissions and public organizations spoke up for Gottwald's National Front government and for continued revolutionary reconstruction. Action committees of the reactivated National Front were set up throughout the country. And when the attempt of certain bourgeois army elements to organize an armed action was discovered, a part of the working class also armed itself. This was how our People's Militia came into being.

The attempted counter-revolutionary putsch speeded up the revolution. The revolutionary awareness and militancy of the masses frustrated the designs of the bourgeoisie. The government crisis was resolved favorably and in full conformance with parliamentary and constitutional principles and procedures. Ministers loyal to the National Front program joined the Gottwald government, which received the confidence of the parliament. In the May 1948 parliamentary elections National Front candidates polled 90 per cent of the vote: the vast majority of the nation thus demonstrated its support for the policy advocated by the Communist Party.

The victory of our socialist revolution may be traced to the political activeness of the masses, who used the parliament and other bourgeois democratic institutions, which, thanks to the far-sighted leadership of the Communist Party, became an instrument of the popular will. Thus, our experience bears out the following conclusion of the 1969 International Meeting: 'While making use of all possibilities of parliamentary activity, Communists emphasize that the mass movement of the working class and of all working people is the decisive factor in the struggle for democracy and socialism.'

In February 1948 People's Democracy in Czechoslovakia assumed the character of a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the political leadership of society was taken over by the working class, with the Marxist-Leninist Party at its head. It was neither 'imposed' nor 'imported' but resulted logically from the revolutionary process in our country. As this process went on the working peasantry, progressive intellectuals and other working people saw that none but the working class could lead the people's struggle for social progress and that only under its leadership and in alliance with it could the people attain their fundamental interests.

As the CPC sees it, the development and defense of socialism requires that the working class should continue to play the leading role in society, which also implies, needless to say, a high degree of activity by the masses and the promotion of socialist democracy. The 1968-1969 crisis was overcome rapidly because after the

Soviet Union and other socialist countries had extended their internationalist aid we succeeded in encouraging the activity of the bulk of Communists, workers and other working people, bringing about a turn in Party and society with their help between August 1968 and April 1969 and safeguarding the socialist path of development thereby.

Socialist building in our country was not easy – it encountered obstacles and difficulties. The December 1970 Plenum of the CC CPC adopted a document saying: 'Mistakes and tragic errors were made in the course of the rapid and complex development of our society, with our Party and working class only just beginning to master the art of leadership and management. In addition to difficulties stemming from the novelty and intricacy of the tasks involved, socialist development was accompanied by certain subjective mistakes. These expressed themselves in complacency, inconsistent application of Leninist principles in Party life and activity, inadequate generalization of practice and the experience of the masses, neglect of the class approach to social problems, attempts to rush development, and infringements of the principles of democratic centralism and inner-Party democracy. The fight against bourgeois ideology, petty-bourgeois trends and ideological subversion lost in sharpness due to a slackening of political and ideological work. This necessarily loosened the links between the Party and the working people.'

But no difficulties or shortcomings can nullify the basic results of socialist development in Czechoslovakia over the past quarter of a century. The chief result is that socialism has solved the fundamental social problems left unsolved throughout the country's earlier history. Every sober-minded person will admit that Czechoslovakia today clearly displays the advantages and superiority of socialism over capitalism; this is borne out in comparison not only with the pre-war bourgeois republic, but also with present-day capitalist countries.

Far-reaching economic and social changes have been accomplished in the past 25 years. We have socialized the means of production, shaped socialist production relations and introduced planned economic management. The classes have changed and we now have a new social structure of society and comradely cooperation among our nations based on equality. Political power is wielded by the working class in alliance with other working people, and socialist democracy is gaining in scope. Big changes have occurred in culture: consolidation of its socialist content, development of diverse forms, higher educational standards, and greater social consciousness.

The economy is making steady headway. The gross national product grew by 390 per cent in 25 years (1948-1972), the national income 330 per cent and industrial output almost 660 per cent. The average annual growth rate in industry was 8.8 per cent, and also in recent years has exceeded the rate of developed capitalist

countries. In the 1964-1971 period it averaged 6.6 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 6 per cent in France, 5.7 per cent in the FRG, 4.8 per cent in Italy, 2.8 per cent in Britain and 4.2 per cent in the United States. Gross agricultural output today is roughly 80 per cent greater than in 1948 although the land area and the labor power engaged in farming have decreased considerably. Agricultural output per permanent worker is 240 per cent higher than 25 years ago.

We have also scored noteworthy gains in other economic fields, with the result that the country has a high and steadily rising standard of life. Per capita consumption is almost 230 per cent higher than in 1948 and the average increase under the current five-year plan should be at least as high as five per cent. Typical of our society are a continuous growth of earnings, increasing satisfaction of the people's needs out of public funds, and stable prices, especially for consumer goods. Our educational system, public health and service industry, as well as the extent to which the people's cultural requirements are met, place the CSSR among the foremost countries of Europe and the world.

It will be seen that socialism has given the working people of Czechoslovakia and brother countries high material and cultural standards and brought them new values and security, and that it offers them the prospect of continued all-round progress. This is why socialism has taken firm root in the people's consciousness. The main conscious purpose of their lives is to proliferate the achievements of the new system, to use all its potentialities and advantages, to advance its growth. No amount of imperialist plotting or ideological subversion can lastingly upset, let alone reverse, this attitude to socialism. The reason why the counter-revolution in 1968 was able to confuse the working people only for a while and why the CPC was able to do away with the consequences of this confusion in a relatively short time was that the ideas of socialism have struck deep roots among the people and that the people's unity behind the working class and the Communists is indestructible.

Twenty-five years is a very brief span in the life of any nation, and this applies still more to our nations, which have travelled an arduous path of historical development. For centuries they fought for freedom and independent statehood, and at times for their very existence. More than once it seemed as if they were doomed. In this short 25-year period, the experience of the masses has proved that socialism in Czechoslovakia is a viable system, the only system expressing and meeting the interests of the working people and nations, and that it has indisputable advantages over any earlier system.

This must be stressed all the more because Czechoslovakia had a developed economy, primarily a developed industry, a strong working class and an experienced Communist party, as well as a strong, experienced bourgeoisie having manifold international links, developed bourgeois-democratic institutions and long-standing tra-

ditions, which also meant the existence of widespread petty-bourgeois and Social-Democratic illusions. Hence the numerous peculiarities of the Czechoslovak road to socialism. Nevertheless, the experience of the revolution and of socialist development in our country confirms the validity of the general laws of building socialism, which first manifested themselves during the October Revolution and socialist construction in the Soviet Union and afterwards in other countries that adopted the new system. Our experience shows that even in countries which were relatively developed in the past there are most favorable objective and subjective conditions for the full development and manifestation of the advantages of socialism.

Czechoslovakia has now entered a new stage. In line with the 14th Party Congress, it is continuing to promote and strengthen socialism and is building a developed socialist society. February remains valid as a great event which opened a new chapter of our history and a powerful source of revolutionary inspiration and experience. Moreover, and above all else, it was a stage in our revolutionary development at which the fundamental principles, whose application enabled the working people led by the working class to achieve victory, crystallized and asserted themselves. Looking back on 25 years of experience, we can say that we succeeded whenever we applied these principles consistently. The events of 1968 and 1969 showed that the attempt of domestic reactionaries and international imperialism at a counter-revolutionary coup in Czechoslovakia was spearheaded against these fundamental principles of February and took the form of an 'anti-February.' The defeat of the counter-revolution and the resumption of building and consolidating socialism, too, were successful to the extent that the principles of February were consistently implemented.

In this connection, mention should be made of this important point: the working class and other working people of Czechoslovakia owe their victory in February 1948 to their internationalist bonds with the Communist Party, working class and other working people of the Soviet Union, as well as of other countries which at the time were setting out to build socialism, and to the support of the international Communist and working-class movement. For their part, Czechoslovakia's Communists have always realized their internationalist duty to help consolidate and extend the positions gained by world socialism.

The period of revolution and socialist development is a vast class battle between socialism and imperialism also from an international point of view. Our country is situated on one of the main strategic lines of this battle in Europe. This is why imperialist reaction, which expected (and, indeed, still expects) to influence us, has always tried to weaken this sector of the front.

Before February 1948, reaction counted on the strength and experience of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie. The February victory defeated its plans. The Czechoslovak people's socialist choice was

therefore of great international significance because it fortified the positions of socialism and, moreover, frustrated the imperialists' designs of retaining an important strategic bridgehead. It is only natural that in later years imperialist reaction, pinning its hopes on the remnants of the routed domestic reaction and on revisionist, opportunist and nationalist elements, tried to stage a revanche, an 'anti-February.' This was the foreign policy content of the anti-socialist forces' counter-revolutionary attempt in 1968. Their defeat made the positions of world socialism stronger. 'The formation of the socialist world constitutes an integral part of the class struggle being waged in the international arena,' says the Document of the 1969 Meeting. 'The enemies of socialism are keeping up their attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist state power, thwart the socialist transformation of society and restore their own rule. To give a firm rebuff to these attempts is an essential function of the socialist state . . .

'The defense of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists.'

This conclusion is entirely in keeping with both the experience and the interest of Czechoslovakia, of its working class and Communist Party, of our nations. We are well aware of the inseparable connection between the development of the CSSR and the world revolutionary process, between our national and international tasks. This explains the CPC's efforts to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries, extend their economic integration, to fortify the cohesion of the Communist movement and increase its capability.

We see our internationalist duty also in making the greatest progress on the road opened for us by February 1948. The working class and other working people of Czechoslovakia, inspired by their revolutionary experience and led by the Communist Party, are working hard to put the decisions of the 14th Party Congress into effect, advance socialism in Czechoslovakia and help strengthen it throughout the world.

The major historic achievements and revolutionary changes brought about by our people over the past decades are a result of conscious and purposeful struggle and heroic effort by the working class and other working people led by the Communist Party. Our revolution, February, and the entire process of socialist building have been marked by tremendous initiative and activity on the part of the masses united behind the working class, by the unity of will and action of all national revolutionary forces.

For decades bourgeois propaganda has alleged that in Czechoslovakia socialism, the Communist Party's policies, have no support among the masses. Yet our experience, like that of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, is proof of the contrary. It shows that socialism advances and triumphs only and always as a result of enormous conscious effort by the revolutionary masses. It shows that when the people take their destiny into their own hands they become the real maker of their history.

Theoretical basis of anti-imperialist struggle

V. I. Lenin's classic 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism' epitomizes the unity of revolutionary theory with the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary working-class movement. It has laid a scientific foundation for the anti-imperialist struggle in the 20th century.

The present-day relevance of the book was examined by a research group, consisting of **Philip Bart**, member of the National Council CP USA and its representative on this journal; **Idris Cox**, member of our Editorial Board and representative of the CP of Great Britain on this journal; **R. Kumpf**, head of the Engels Center in Wuppertal (FRG); **F. Speranza**, professor of the Italian CC Central School and **Jaime Fuchs**, alternate member of the CC CP of Argentina and its representative on this journal. This summing up is one more in the series of studies of the works and ideas of V. I. Lenin and their present-day relevance.*

Lenin's study of imperialism and his theory of socialist revolution are a compelling summons for the masses to transform the old world.

Lenin created a scientific theory of imperialism. He was the first to explore its nature, contradictions and laws. His analysis projected and enriched the teaching of Marx and Engels on capitalism, showing the peculiarities of capitalism's highest and last stage. Lenin's book is a model of the creative approach to new phenomena, a model of scientific generalization and conception, of determining the nature of the world's revolutionary transformation. Lenin's theory on imperialism and socialist revolution has stood the decisive test – that of history and the experience of the revolutionary creativity of the masses.

The monopolies and the state

. . . The deepest economic foundation of imperialism is monopoly.
Lenin

. . . the state can on no account be something inert, it always acts and acts very energetically, it is always active and never passive.
Lenin

Marxists never question the fact that the imperialism of today is nothing like it was at the turn of this century. But its essence – exploitation and oppression of working people, antagonistic polarization of society, omnipotence of the monopolies, reaction all down

*See WMR, Nos. 5, 9, 1972; Nos. 1, 3, 1973.

the line, and aggressive policy – is naturally the same. What has changed is its place and role in the historical process. The world situation is entirely different. Imperialism is now strongly affected by the achievements of world socialism and the struggle of the two systems (the main content of our epoch). The progress made by socialism, by the international working-class and national liberation movement is compelling the financial oligarchy to adapt itself to the new conditions of the class struggle on both the national and world scale, and to operate in a manner that often departs from the 'classical' capitalist pattern. This bears out Lenin's words that certain of capitalism's 'fundamental characteristics began to change into their opposites' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 265).

Economically, imperialism strives to keep abreast of the scientific-technical revolution and, within certain limits, to rationalize economic development by state regulation and programming. Socially and politically, it is forced to make concessions and carry out certain, sometimes quite substantial, reforms within the framework of the existing system. Its political and ideological machine and refined social demagoguery, the theories of 'class harmony,' 'social partnership,' 'open society,' 'convergence,' and 'new industrial society,' are designed to dampen the class struggle, to align the working-class movement with bourgeois parliamentarism, and camouflage the domination of monopolies and the financial oligarchy. But it also resorts to terror and violence, making a mockery of bourgeois democracy. And despite the general growth of inter-imperialist contradictions, imperialists of different countries frequently operate hand in hand in the battle against socialism and the national liberation movement.

The Marxist-Leninist assessment of present-day imperialism has nothing in common either with the dogmatic negation of the new elements introduced by state-monopoly capitalism or the revisionist contention that imperialism has undergone a radical transformation. State-monopoly capitalism is a new economic and political force, which has to some degree modified production relations and – though the instability, unevenness and cyclical character of the economy remain – also the mechanics of capitalist reproduction. But it does not change the nature of imperialism or the situation of the main classes in the system of social production.

Formerly, state-monopoly capitalism was a superstructural category; now it has also become part of the capitalist basis. The bourgeois state is an active participant in the process of reproduction, regulating and programming the processes of capital accumulation, production, circulation and distribution. In the leading capitalist countries the modern state has nationalized enterprises and whole industries, and produces 15-20 per cent of the industrial output, and is thus a major capitalist entrepreneur and exploiter. It has become a large-scale investor, accounting for 30-50 per cent of the gross capital outlays and consuming 25 and more per cent of the finished social product; it has become the organizer of science, financing more than two-thirds of the cost of research, and

a major exporter of capital. It is the coordinating center framing and defining the economic strategy of monopoly capital.

As a rule, all the resources of the state are centered on capitalism's main objective in the economic competition with socialism: to stimulate and secure relatively high and stable growth rates and scientific-technical progress. Yet in the setting of chronic inflation it is compelled from time to time to follow a deflationary policy of cutting back growth by turning on the tax pressure and raising the price of credits.

Against the background of intensifying class struggle and acute socio-economic antagonisms, the research group stressed, the state has also begun to interfere in social relations. Principally through the so-called incomes policy—regulation of wages and other incomes in the interest of monopoly. But the state is also more active in education, personnel training for automated production, social security, health, town-planning, public transport, and housing.

State attempts to regulate consumption as well as production, and marketing as well as accumulation, are ever more conspicuous. Many researchers note, therefore, that it is wrong to describe state-monopoly measures in the social sphere as mere concessions to the working people's demands or as 'charity' of the ruling class. For present-day monopoly capital maintenance of conditions for capital accumulation, for consumption of goods, and reproduction of manpower, is first and foremost a means of self-preservation, lacking which it would be ever more difficult to increase the profitability and effectiveness of capitalist production. Another function of social regulation is to give the system a veneer of respectability and dress up the image of the 'affluent society.' With the ever more acute confrontation between socialism and capitalism, and between labor and capital, the monopolies are compelled to buttress their 'social base' and secure a definite degree of 'social peace,' for which they require the aid and support of the state.

Idris Cox. Even in Marxist circles there is still some unclarity on state-monopoly capitalism. There is the view, for example, that in the United States state-monopoly capitalism has not reached the high stage that prevails in the West European countries or Japan. Of course, there is no nationalization of key industries and no state programming of general economic development in the United States. Still, state-monopoly capitalism does exist very definitely there, though it takes different forms. Even if the huge monopolies are under private ownership, the state machine is an instrument of the financial oligarchy and regulates the economy by its fiscal and monetary policy, and in many other ways.

Philip Bart. It is quite true that nationalization is not the main feature of state-monopoly capitalism. In the light of Lenin's conclusions, it has reached a high degree of development in the United States. The U.S. state apparatus is the instrument of the monopolies. Doing what it is bid by monopoly capital, the bourgeois state finances fundamental research, atomic energetics, the atomic industry, and the space programs. The cost of this would be too high for

individual monopolies, so the state robs the taxpayer to pay for it.

F. Speranza. Any one-sided interpretation of state-monopoly capitalism, reducing it to just nationalization, is unquestionably wrong in theory and dangerous politically. State-monopoly capitalism is a phase of imperialism at which monopoly power fuses with the power of the state.

The following questions arose during the discussion: Has capitalism really entered a new stage or phase? Has its development really attained a qualitatively new level? Some say that since the difference between monopoly and state-monopoly capitalism is more substantial than the difference between free-competition capitalism and monopoly capitalism, it would probably be more correct to divide the history of capitalism into two periods – pre-state-monopoly and state-monopoly. Some investigators hold, however, that this division would minimize the role of monopoly, whose development brought about a qualitative change in capitalism at the turn of the 20th century.

Cox. It would probably be useful to recall how Lenin described the essence of imperialism. In his 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,' we have an outline of the five main features of imperialism: concentration of production and capital to a point where it created monopolies, which play the decisive role in the economy; merging of bank with industrial capital, and the emergence on this basis of finance capital, of the financial oligarchy; export of capital; formation of international monopolies, which divided up the world; territorial division of the world by the biggest capitalist powers as a finished process. At the same time, Lenin stressed that if it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism, we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism.

The research group examined the concentration and centralization of production and capital, the ever greater interlacement of state and monopoly, and the growth of multinational concerns, and stressed that the threads of predatory exploitation converge more and more at one center – a handful of omnipotent monopolies. The biggest U.S., West European and Japanese corporations have grown into powerful, highly diversified complexes with vast economic, technical and organizational resources for effective production and exploitation of labor. They control all the economic levers, the bulk of production and circulation. In the United States, for example, the biggest 100 corporations account for nearly 40 per cent of all marketed production and about 50 per cent of the profits. The research group called attention to the growing economic and political role of multinational monopolies. In the early 70s the so-called international production (production of foreign affiliates, and of enterprises with foreign capital) exceeded \$300,000 million annually, or approximately one-tenth of the gross national product of the entire non-socialist world.

Imperialism, Lenin showed, is a blend of two opposite 'principles' – competition and monopoly, anarchy and planning. In mod-

ern bourgeois society, too, the planning and anarchy trends coexist, State regulation, the research group noted, has caused far-reaching changes in the mechanism, nature, and scale of anarchy in production, has modified the forms of competition. The contradiction between the division of labor inside of the enterprise and the anarchy of the division of labor in society, which Marxist described as immanent in capitalism, has changed considerably. Capitalism, as Lenin pointed out, evolves directly into 'its higher, regulated, form' (Vol. 24, p. 306); state-monopoly capitalism, as he put it, 'is something centralized, calculated, controlled and socialized' (Vol. 27, p. 294).

Bart. Monopoly giants dominating various industries (in two's, three's or four's) have made it necessary and possible to estimate the size of markets and the conditions of redividing them, the quantity of raw materials, the size of production, production and marketing capacity, growth of related industries and competing products, and probable technical developments. Producing for an unexplored market now gives way to computerized market studies. The monopolies have made the state responsible for economic analyses and regulation, economic information, short and middle-term forecasts and programs and long-term economic prognostication.

In discussing why 'the trusts never provided, do not now provide, and cannot provide complete planning' (Vol. 25, p. 443), why state-monopoly capitalism cannot eliminate production anarchy, speakers stressed that monopoly capitalism does not exist in pure form. Lenin's proposition that 'the essential feature of imperialism, by and large, is not monopolies pure and simple, but monopolies in conjunction with exchange, markets, competition, crises' (Vol. 24, p. 464), retains all its validity. Monopoly, including the state variety, cannot abolish either pre-monopoly economic forms or the myriad of small and medium enterprises. Nor does it abolish competition; it exists side by side with it, generating sharp contradictions, friction and conflict. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized the sharpening 'contradiction between the social character of present-day production and the state-monopoly character of its regulation.' State-monopoly capitalism does not remove market anarchy in the imperialist countries, or in the integrated groupings, or in the world capitalist economy.

The world capitalist economy: break-up of structure

Capitalism has developed concentration to such a degree that entire branches of industry are controlled by syndicates, trusts and associations of capitalist multimillionaires and almost the entire globe has been divided up among the lords of capital in the form of colonies, or by entangling other countries in thousands of threads of financial exploitation. **Lenin**

The purpose of his main work on imperialism, Lenin wrote, was to produce a summarized picture of the capitalist world economy in the opening years of the 20th century, when capitalism had

grown into a world-wide system of colonial oppression and financial strangulation of the vast majority of the world's population by a handful of 'advanced' countries.

There is now ample evidence, the research group noted, that the capitalist world economy, based on exploitation of the weak countries by the strong, is in a state of profound crisis. The crisis is the result of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, break-up of the developing countries' colonial economic structures, wider economic links between the countries, and the socialist world. The imperialist economy's operation sphere has contracted.

New processes are at work in the export of capital – 'one of the most essential economic bases of imperialism' (Vol. 22, p. 277). Since the war, state loans and subsidies have been growing twice as fast as exports of private capital. State investments account for about 70 per cent of all capital exports by industrial powers to Third World countries. The state also guarantees private investments. In fact, without the support of such state or inter-state organizations as the U.S. Export-Import Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund, private-capital exporters would have a very hard time indeed. With national-liberation revolutions gaining momentum in Third World Countries, the monopolies use state funds to bolster their economic and social positions, i.e., create a congenial climate for private investment and cultivate bourgeois social relations in these countries.

Speranza. Capital and commodity exports encounter many obstacles, some of them insurmountable. First, there is the socialist community, not only the powerful bulwark of the international working class, but also a serious economic rival of imperialism. Second, the changed situation in developing countries. For every million dollars the U.S. monopolies export, the U.S. government exports millions more to safeguard the 'private million.'

Kumpf. Most private capital exports are now to developed countries. The change is due, besides such factors as disintegration of the colonial system and the mounting threat of nationalization, to the scientific and technological revolution in developed capitalist countries. It has substantially increased the demand for capital to finance modernization of the economy. Capital exports are used not only to redivide the world economically and keep ex-colonial countries within the capitalist system, but also as a means of pressuring the home and foreign policy of weaker integration partners.

Cox. Despite the fact that the U.S. and Britain are the worst hit by the balance of payments and currency crisis, they continue to remain the chief capital exporting powers. In the past British imperialism exported most of its capital to Commonwealth countries. Now, most of it goes to the countries of Western Europe, Japan, to a certain extent Canada and the U.S. No less than two-fifths of the total profit won by the British monopolies comes from abroad. The class struggle is sharpening, particularly because the monopoly capitalists are prepared to sacrifice the national interests

of the British people in favor of bigger profits from overseas investments.

Speranza. In the past five years Italian capital exports amounted to 20 per cent of national income. And this in a country with more than one million unemployed, with a distinct tendency to cut back production investments, and with the South virtually reduced to the status of an underdeveloped country. The capitalist system has reached a point where it can no longer use its resources, even for capitalist purposes. The working class is directing its efforts towards defense of national economic independence, but at the same time is stepping up the fight against the big monopoly groups, foreign as well as national. And it is a hard struggle. For instance, the head of the big Fiat concern, Agnelli, pleading competition by foreign firms, has called on all Italians, workers and capitalists alike, to join together in defense of the national economy. This is dangerous demagoguery that might take in the more backward elements of the working class, those who do not realize that the interests of national and international monopolies run counter to the genuine interests of the Italian economy.

Fuchs. Some Latin American economists maintain that the continent is undergoing a process of decolonization as a result of the relative reduction of the U.S. share in foreign investments. True, the changed alignment of forces in favor of the national-liberation movement and socialism, mass actions against imperialism, and the Andes Pact, do not encourage North American monopoly expansion. But Latin America still plays a big part in U.S. imperialist strategy and policy – U.S.-based monopolies account for four-fifths of total foreign investments. And every invested dollar brings them \$4-\$5 in profits. Sales of U.S. subsidiaries in the main Latin American countries are five times greater than U.S. exports to the whole of Latin America. Only united mass action led by the working class can put an end to this imperialist domination.

Colonialism without colonies, the research group noted, is a new important development. In place of colonial exploitation based on direct possession of colonies, imperialism is devising a new pattern of international dependence adapted to the confrontation of the two world systems. It supports the reactionary elements, hampers elimination of backward social structures and tries to impede the socialist-oriented development of the young states. The imperialists impose on these countries economic agreements and military-political pacts that impair their sovereignty. They exploit them through the export of capital, unequal trade and diverse forms of 'aid.' But imperialism has not abandoned the traditional methods of direct, 'classical' colonialism.

Cox. Present-day reformism and revisionism equate imperialism with direct colonial rule. They deny the existence of imperialism on the grounds that colonial rule has now ended. That is the underlying idea of John Strachey's book, 'The End of Empire' – Strachey at one time claimed to be a Marxist – and of a book by Michael Brown, once a British Communist, entitled 'After Empire.'

In this context it is useful to take into account that although Lenin was sharply critical of Kautsky, Hilferding and Hobson, he made a certain distinction between them: Hobson, a liberal radical who never claimed to be a Marxist, gave a more profound definition of imperialism than the former 'Marxists' Kautsky and Hilferding. Today revisionists are often more reactionary than the liberals who never professed to be Marxists.

In actual fact the exploitation of the peoples of Third World countries is more severe than when they were territories under direct colonial rule. In the view of British Communists, in order to end the system of British imperialism we have to have an alliance with the peoples of the former empire. We lay emphasis on solidarity with the liberation movement because every blow the Third World peoples strike against British imperialism is a blow in support of the struggle within Britain itself. And every blow struck in Britain is in support of the advance of the national liberation struggle.

Fuchs. Latin America's subordination to the U.S. monopolies is largely achieved through increasing their technical dependence. Various means are used: licenses and patents, technical aid programs and, more especially, investments in modern industry, which rose from 16.5 per cent of total U.S. private investments in 1950 to 35 per cent in 1970. In recent years, more than 50 per cent of U.S. profits in Latin America have come from technical assistance and patent payments.

The scientific and technological revolution, coupled with state intervention in the economy, the group noted, enhance manifestations of the law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism, aggravates old foci of imperialist rivalry and conflicts, and breeds new ones. In the early 60s, the FRG squeezed Great Britain into third place among capitalist countries in industrial output. The beginning of the 70s saw Japan outstrip France, Britain and the FRG to move into second place in industrial output and gross national product. The U.S. remains the main economic power of imperialism, but its share in capitalist production is diminishing. Over and over again events reaffirm Lenin's criticism of the theory of 'ultra-imperialism' and the impossibility of worldwide imperialist unity. National imperialisms have not receded into the past, underscoring the crisis of the American strategy of 'globalism.' Capitalism today develops in an unending fierce struggle of national (rather nationally isolated) imperialisms (See V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 106).

Relations between imperialist countries are influenced by two interacting tendencies: one centrifugal, 'divisive,' stemming from the growing inter-imperialist contradictions, the other centripetal, 'uniting,' aimed at overcoming or alleviating these contradictions in the setting of the confrontation of the two world systems. Every imperialist state pursues goals of its own, but at the same time they are all links in the imperialist world system. Communist and Workers' parties, the working class, the anti-imperialist forces

reckon with the contradictions in the enemy camp and seek to use them in the interests of peace and progress.

Bart noted that the United States' leading role in the capitalist world has weakened significantly, with America-centrism in the imperialist camp's economics and politics being gradually replaced by polycentrism. The confrontation between U.S. monopolies and powerful integrated groups, whose combined economic potential approaches the American level, is mounting. Several large centers of economic and political gravitation, 'power centers' contraposed to the United States, have appeared, most notably Western Europe, especially the Common Market nine, and Japan. Economic and political rivalry between them is increasing steadily.

Cox. Due to the law of the uneven development of capitalism, sharp contradictions have arisen between the ruling classes in the imperialist countries, and to a certain extent they have been forced to modify their attitude to the socialist world. This is testimony to the correctness of Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. In the present situation, when the socialist world has grown so much stronger and the liberation movement has won big victories, imperialist contradictions have become very much sharper.

Kumpf. The Common Market symbolizes the internationalization of economic life and imperialist cooperation against socialism. The Social-Democratic government of the FRG regards the strengthening of West German ties with the EEC and the consolidation of the EEC and the Atlantic alliance as one of the prime objectives of its policy.

Speranza stressed that the thesis about the acceleration of West-European integration has to be clarified. Important differences between national monopolies and between Common Market countries remain and are growing sharper. The dollar crisis and the recent monetary turmoil revealed the weakness of the EEC. Political integration is being held up by sharp differences.

The research group noted that Lenin saw the unevenness of capitalist economic and political development in the epoch of imperialism as a major factor determining the peculiar features of the world revolutionary process and the inevitability of a more or less long era of revolutionary change, class struggles, and coexistence and struggle of socialist and capitalist countries.

Eve of proletarian social revolution

The epoch of capitalist imperialism is one of ripe and rotten-ripe capitalism, which is about to collapse, and which is mature enough to make way for socialism. **Lenin**

The most important scientific and political conclusion deriving from Lenin's theory of imperialism is that capitalism, as it achieves its highest stage of development, brings society directly to the

threshold of socialist revolution. Imperialism itself creates the objective economic and social conditions for its demise.

Predicting the destiny of capitalism, Marx wrote in *Capital*: 'Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument.' Lenin showed that the process of concentration and centralization of production and capital, which lies at the root of monopoly formation and growth and the subsequent development of state-monopoly capitalism, constitutes the essence of the imperialist stage, making it 'the immediate stepping stone to socialism' (Vol. 26, p. 386).

The research group stressed the significance of Lenin's idea that aggravation of the main contradiction of capitalism at the imperialist stage does not imply stagnation of the productive forces or preclude the possibility of economic growth, even its acceleration.

Bart. Understanding this is of tremendous importance for a correct assessment of the specific features of modern world development and for working out a program of anti-imperialist struggle. Thus, the acute crisis of U.S. imperialism in no way justifies the earlier Maoist theory about the United States being a 'paper tiger.' Imperialism as a whole and U.S. imperialism, in particular, continues to be very powerful despite the great aggravation of all its antagonisms.

Speranza. It is wrong to say that the structural crisis of imperialism deprives it of the capacity for political maneuvering. That capacity is in fact provided by the very processes of concentration and centralization of production and accompanying international integration and internationalization of capital. Attempts to provoke and exploit differences between socialist countries, and neo-colonialism in the developing countries, are the most prominent aspects of imperialist diplomacy and expansion. We must not underestimate the dangers of imperialism's inherent aggressiveness for the world as a whole, or for the bourgeois countries themselves, because the deepening of their internal crises creates the threat of neo-fascism.

Only Lenin's theory of imperialism, it was pointed out, offers a correct understanding of why modern capitalist development, even when it results in considerable industrial expansion, far from strengthening the bourgeois social system, actually weakens and undermines it from within.

Speranza cited the example of Italy, whose economy had burgeoned during the 50s and 60s. But what was the price of the 'Italian miracle?' Greater exploitation, very low wages, mass unemployment, neglect of agriculture and, as a consequence, the further pauperization of the peasants. It was also achieved at the cost of stagnation in many industries and staggering disproportions in the domestic market. Today the monopolies are again trying to boost production and productivity through further concentration of investment in the bigger enterprises, Italian businessmen make no secret that they see the only way out of the present economic im-

passee by restricting consumption of the working class, the toiling people. Monopoly policy inevitably deepens the crisis of Italy's small and medium industries and agriculture.

Thus, the very logic of capitalist development leads to the expansion of the social base of the anti-monopoly front. The research group stressed that favorable opportunities are developing in capitalist countries for the formation of a broad democratic, anti-imperialist coalition of the working class, middle sections of town and countryside and parts of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie suffering from monopoly domination. New sections of the population—the technological intelligentsia, students, women—are being drawn increasingly into the fight against the social institutions of exploitation and oppression preserved and supported by imperialism.

The deepening of social contradictions and growth of anti-imperialist forces in capitalist countries is taking place at a time when imperialism's international positions are being further undermined and weakened by the growing strength of the socialist states and national-liberation revolutions. Imperialism is like an old fortress surrounded and attacked from without and within by the forces of social renovation and progress.

While regarding imperialism as the eve of socialist revolution, Lenin emphatically opposed the dogmatic and revisionist notions that the capitalist system, even in the last stage of its development, would collapse unassisted under the burden of its contradictions. In their organizational, political and ideological work aimed at promoting the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, the Communist and Workers' parties of capitalist countries proceed from the Leninist conception of the subjective factor and its importance in bringing about the collapse of bourgeois society.

Cox. Conditions today favor the growing political consciousness of the fighters against imperialism and the monopolies. This has been facilitated in the first place by the development of the labor movement. In Britain, for example, during the past year's strike movement, the mass demonstrations of protest, the picket lines, all forms of mass organization, have reached a level exceeding anything achieved since the end of the Second World War. The economic struggle is gradually developing into a political struggle. The mass of workers have reached the stage of realizing that their battle is not simply against an individual firm, against the captains of one single industry, but against the whole machinery of exploitation. The successes of the labor, trade union and democratic movements have totally refuted the claims of Marcuse and the like about the 'bourgeoisification' of the proletariat, or that it has lost its revolutionary spirit.

That doesn't mean to say that the British working class as a whole has reached the stage of socialist consciousness, but the trend is apparent, and testimony to this is, among other things, the growing influence of the Communist Party. Notably, more Communists are being elected to leading key positions in the trade unions. Through the unions they can influence Labor Party confer-

ence decisions. The workers support Communists during strikes, in the fight for economic demands. Our immediate objective is to change the policies and leadership of the Labor Party, win greater support among the working class, and develop unity with the trade unions and progressive Labor MPs in the mass struggle.

Speranza. The Italian labor movement is growing stronger and more militant. Today not only Communists, but representatives of other political affiliations – Socialists and many Catholics – realize the need to fight the Center-Right government, for the democratization of public life. Sometimes the policy of alliances is influenced by sectarian views. An important political aspect of Lenin's theory of imperialism is sometimes overlooked, namely, that the concentration of capital and growth of monopolies leads to the virtual subordination of many thousands of small and medium businessmen and the numerous engineering personnel to the monopoly giants. The realities of capitalism objectively push them into the anti-monopoly struggle. This, of course, doesn't mean that their political activity is necessarily democratically oriented. More, many fall easy prey to neo-fascist demagogy. That is why Italian workers and Communists aim at raising the political consciousness of these sections to a level which would enable them to realize their real interests in conditions of monopoly domination.

Kumpf. The policy of the German Communist Party formulated at its Duesseldorf congress is based on Lenin's theory of imperialism. In particular, the GCP constantly stresses its importance in analyzing class relationships and defining concrete tasks of the West German labor movement. We emphatically reject ultra-Leftist concepts ignoring the role of the subjective factor in revolutionary struggle and insisting recklessly on an immediate transition to socialism. According to Lenin's teachings, which have been proved correct by the entire course of world development, the revolutionary process necessarily includes the stage of general democratic struggle. This is why our program calls for an effective political alliance of democratic forces on an anti-monopoly basis.

Group members dealt with the dogmatic tendency to counterpose direct revolutionary action to the fight for general democratic reforms. They pointed out that to adapt to the situation, state-monopoly capitalism carries out an occasional social or economic reform. The working class and its Communist party counter this policy of reform, which serves the interests of monopoly and the financial oligarchy, with a program of change intended to curb the power of monopoly capital. In line with Lenin's teachings, they regard implementation of this program as a stage of the revolutionary struggle and a school training the masses for more active participation in this struggle.

Bart and Speranza said that a correct and exhaustive assessment of the war in Vietnam won by the people is vastly important when analyzing problems of contemporary imperialism and changes in the imperialist camp and the alignment of class forces on the world

scene. By studying the causes, course and outcome of the war, we get a better idea of the present situation of imperialism and the likely effects of its Vietnam defeat on the class struggle in each particular capitalist country and throughout the world. Bart stressed that the Vietnam war has speeded the process of 'reappraisal' in the United States and given rise to a nationwide debate on key social and political issues. Spokesmen of the most diverse segments of the population probe into the causes of U.S. involvement in the 'Vietnam crisis' and of American society becoming a 'sick society.' This is bound to extend the social basis of the fight against imperialism.

The defeat of imperialism in Vietnam confirmed the need for the unity of all the peace forces opposed to imperialism and revealed the effectiveness of the unity of the three components of the revolutionary process of today – the socialist countries, the working-class movement and the national liberation movement. Accordingly, there was criticism of opportunists theories meant to set some anti-imperialist forces against others.

Fuchs said that in recent years books by P. Baran, P. Sweezy, H. Magdoff, H. O'Connor and A. Frank have gained some currency in the academic community of Latin America. What these authors are concerned with in analyzing new phenomena of imperialism is primarily the technological aspect of production and not production relations, capitalist contradictions or state-monopoly capitalism. They substitute the 'law of growing over-accumulation' invented by them for the declining trend of the average rate of profit. They are ignorant of the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism and so they advocate a new version of the Kautskian concept of ultra-imperialism.' Adhering as they do to petty-bourgeois positions, they claim that initiative in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism has been taken over by the poverty-stricken masses in the underdeveloped countries, that power today is wielded by 'neo-imperialism,' the successor of capitalism and imperialism, and that the domestic bourgeoisie is the chief enemy of Latin America's peoples. They are opposed to the idea of an anti-imperialist popular front led by the working class, and they see adventurist armed action to establish socialism immediately as the only way to liberation.

The notion that the oppressed masses of the developing countries, the national minorities or the other groups discriminated against in bourgeois society are the main anti-imperialist forces of today plays into the hands of imperialism and reaction by minimizing the revolutionary role of the international working class and its chief creation, the socialist system. *Speranza* stressed the importance of Lenin's proposition that imperialism is but a stage in capitalist development, which means that the fundamental contradiction of the capitalist formation – the contradiction between labor and capital – persists at the imperialist stage.

This, the research group stated unanimously, determines the leading role of the working class in uniting all anti-imperialist forces,

and the significance of its international unity against imperialism. The inevitable downfall of imperialism and the revolutionary replacement of capitalist by socialist social relations, theoretically proved by Lenin, became a reality in Lenin's lifetime on one-sixth of the planet when Russia's working people and oppressed masses, led by the working class and the Bolshevik Party, overthrew the exploiter system and set about building a new society. Socialism today is a system of states, the decisive anti-imperialist force, a source of support and invaluable revolutionary experience for the working-class and Communist movement in capitalist countries, for all liberation movements against imperialism.

Lenin's concept of imperialism as the eve of the socialist revolution is creatively applied by Marxist-Leninists, who translate it into revolutionary action. 'The struggle against imperialism is a long, hard and strenuous fight. Tense class battles lie ahead and they cannot be avoided. Let us step up the offensive against imperialism and internal reaction. The revolutionary and progressive forces are certain to triumph' (Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties).

Revolutionary guide

The 125th anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto*, the first program document of scientific communism, is a milestone in Communist and working-class history. It was the theme of an international forum, 'The Historic Mission of the Working Class and the World Revolutionary Process Today,' held in the homeland of Marx and Engels on March 15-16, 1973. The forum, sponsored by the CC SUPG, brought to the capital of the GDR 45 delegations from Communist and Workers' parties and national revolutionary parties. It was also attended by a delegation of *World Marxist Review*.

The forum was opened by introductory remarks by Erich Hon-ecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG. Papers were presented by Kurt Hager, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC SUPG, and B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU.

The forum was one of the major events devoted to the 125th anniversary of the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*. The anniversary was widely commemorated in the Soviet Union, the land of the October Revolution, which brought to historic reality the ideas of the *Manifesto*. In particular, there was a joint scientific conference of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Academy of Social Sciences and Higher Party School (all of the CC CPSU) and the humanities institutes of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In other socialist countries there were theoretical conferences, book exhibitions and articles in the press.

In some capitalist countries there were anniversary meetings and forums held on Communist initiative. The Communist press in all countries marked the anniversary too.

The powerful echo aroused by the anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto* was due to the vitality of the ideas of this immortal work, to its indelible imprint on both people's minds and the course of history.

The anniversary events re-emphasized the lasting validity of the fundamental idea of the *Manifesto*, above all the thesis that the working class is the maker of social progress. Marx and Engels saw in this class the real force determining the nature of social movements, a force which must and can bring to reality the communist ideal, the future of all mankind.

The achievements of the victorious class constitute a triumph for the ideas of the *Communist Manifesto* and are the principal result of their realization. The existence and progress of the socialist community has a tremendous revolutionizing effect on the struggle of every contingent of the international working-class and liberation movement. The strength and example of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, and the community's influence on world affairs add to the objective potentialities of the working class. It is the working class, the most revolutionary class of today, that must destroy the capitalist system, the greatest obstacle to social progress.

The anniversary reminded of the highly important idea of the authors of the *Manifesto* that vigorous activity by the Communist parties is the main condition for using the new and steadily increasing possibilities of the working class. Now that the objective material prerequisites of far-reaching social changes are there, it is the Marxist-Leninist parties that play the decisive role in speeding this process.

Marx, Engels and Lenin saw in revolutionary practice the chief, and the most severe, test of social theories and concepts. Life itself disproves all anti-Marxist theories and prophecies while revealing the power and depth of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of reality. The results achieved in carrying out the anti-imperialist program approved by the 1969 Meeting are an important proof of the historic correctness of the communist world outlook. The trend towards forming broad anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist coalitions and bringing about cooperation between Communists and Social-Democrats on international issues is growing. Communist cooperation with revolutionary, national democrats has made further headway. All this shows that anti-imperialist unity as a whole is rising to a higher plane. Credit for this is due primarily to the world Communist movement, which abides by the tenets of scientific communism and proletarian internationalism set out in the *Communist Manifesto*.

The commemoration of the 125th anniversary of the *Manifesto* was a new indication of the greatness of this scientific work, which provides a powerful stimulus for carrying forward revolutionary theory and for putting it into practice.

A.V.

Soviet society: analysis of its structure

*Richard Kosolapov,
Dr. Phil. (USSR)*

The study of new developments in the Soviet social structure has been expanding of late, for which the 24th CPSU Congress has acted as a powerful stimulus.

The growing interest in the current social evolution of the Soviet Union has strong roots in practice. First, it is vital to determine the degree to which the country has come closer to its basic aim of creating a classless society and set up the current targets accordingly. Second, study of changes in the social structure and social relations is an essential element of scientific leadership, equipping the governing Communist Party with a detailed knowledge of the object of government. Third, the direction and rate of the social changes are essential initial data for current and long-term economic and cultural planning.

Extensive material has been gathered on various aspects of social development. Discussion has brought to light viewpoints and problems requiring further elaboration. It is with some of these that we shall deal here, for, as we see it, this may be useful for Marxists in other countries.

I. The social structure of a people reposes on a material foundation of historical origin, conditioned by social production. Marxism-Leninism defines this foundation as *social division of labor*. In other words, the social structure is a natural reflection of the division of labor as represented by groups of people active in its various specialized spheres and by their mutual relations. For Marxists, to quote Engels,* the history of the development of labor is the key to the understanding of the history of society; similarly, the history of the division of labor is for them the key to the understanding of the history of social relations.

The interest which Communists show in the social division of populations arises in connection with the search for a scientific revolutionary solution of the perpetual problem of *equality*, presupposing elimination of the old divisions of labor and their consequences – the antithesis between mental and manual, creative and routine, organizational and operational labor, between town and village – and obstructed mainly by the sharpest of all social divisions – the *division of society into classes*, a product and also the guardian of the old division of labor.

*'Ludwig Feuerbach and the end of Classical German Philosophy.'

Attacking the liberal idea of 'equalizing classes,' the First International defined its stand as follows: 'It is not the logically impossible *equalization of classes*, but on the contrary the *abolition of classes*, this true secret of the proletarian movement, which forms the great aim of the *International Working Men's Association*.'* The example of the Soviet Union shows that the working class unravels this 'secret' in its revolutionary practice and advance to the great aim.

Some properties of a classless society are already in evidence in the USSR. Yet obviously the historic objective cannot be attained by some single action, and should never be viewed simplistically.

At the time of the 1917 October Revolution Russia still had several modes of production – from the patriarchal all the way up to the big capitalist – with all their class contrasts and social differentiation. The socialization of the means of production in two basic forms – state property and property of cooperatives and collective farms – caused radical changes in the social structure: the bourgeoisie, landowners, merchants and kulaks, who comprised 16.3 per cent of the pre-revolutionary society, were stripped of their economic and political privileges and gradually disappeared as classes.

The social structure of the working population, too, changed radically. The numbers of factory workers (no longer proletarians) and other employees in the public sector of the economy, grew most intensively, climbing from 14.8 per cent of the population in 1924 to 80.7 per cent in 1972. And with the building of the material and technical basis of communism, in the setting of the scientific and technological revolution, their influence is rising continuously. Self-employed peasants and artisans, who in 1924 comprised 75.4 per cent of the population, are now, in effect an extinct category. Having gone over to large-scale collective farming, the peasants have changed their social nature and become part of the socialist forces, comprising nearly one-fifth of the population.

With the elimination of class and social antagonisms and the emergence of a society consisting only of laboring classes and groups socialist by nature, the use of the concept 'class' as defined in Marxist literature is placed in question. Most investigators note that it is entirely valid for describing the present-day Soviet working class and collective farmers, and assessing their place and role in the world revolutionary process.

However, using it to characterize class relations, is quite another matter, because the border lines between classes in Soviet society are growing fainter. Here the concept 'class' no longer offers as clear a reflection of the social reality as it did in reference to the antagonistic-class structure, because the object is essentially new and has an opposite social essence and orientation. An examination of how the features of classes as defined by Lenin appear in the present-day Soviet society shows that developed socialism is *devoid of social antagonisms, and the boundaries between classes have*

*Marx, Engels, 'Fictitious Splits in the International.'

been substantially destroyed, with the lines of social demarcation being highly mobile and citizens moving freely from one social group to another.

'In order to abolish classes,' Lenin wrote in 1919, 'it is necessary, first, to overthrow the landowners and capitalists. This part of our task has been accomplished, but it is only a part, and, moreover, not the most difficult part. In order to abolish classes it is necessary, secondly, to abolish the difference between factory worker and peasant, to make *workers of all of them*. This cannot be done all at once. This task is incomparably more difficult and will of necessity take a long time' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 112). Soviet experience has shown that developed socialism discharges what Lenin termed as the second part of the task of abolishing classes. The differences between the main class criteria of the working class and the collective farmers, described by sociologists as 'class-forming,' are now becoming increasingly faint. This means that the two classes are objectively in the stage of a close approximation bordering on organic fusion in a single whole – a close-knit classless labor association as predicted by Marx and Engels.

Frequently, the concepts 'classless society' and 'socially homogeneous society' are used interchangeably. A socially homogeneous society is, indeed, a society without classes. However, though signifying a qualitative advance to social homogeneity, the fact that class disparities have been eliminated does not imply a final solution of the problem. Briefly, if a classless social structure is created in a non-antagonistic society by equalizing the main 'class-forming' criteria, the socially homogeneous structure could be the result only of a complete elimination of the old division of labor. Building a classless society and achieving social homogeneity are both elements of a gradual solution of the same problem, but are different in content and attained at different times.

II. Soviet society, sociologists note, has a simpler class structure (macrostructure) these days, and the deepest and sharpest of the social disparities have been eradicated. But the intra-class structure (microstructure) is more complicated. Relatively, the part played in daily life by non-class disparities previously of secondary importance, is growing. By virtue of these objective peculiarities, it is important to bear in mind the determining social force behind the formation of a classless socially homogeneous society. Failing this – carried away by sociological exercises in determining increasingly fragmented social, professional, age and other groups – we may lose our grasp on the main perspective and the over-all train of events, falling prey to delusions about the eradication of class disparities being an ostensibly disorderly and chaotic movement.

The force referred to is the *working class*, the 'social brain and heart' (Marx) of the burgeoning classless society, as it is of all other revolutionary processes. As valid as before and richer in content is Engels' thesis that 'the condition of the working class is the real basis and point of departure of all the social movements

of our time . . .'* By virtue of Lenin's following main criteria, the working class is the mass guarantor that a socially homogeneous society will be built. It has been schooled, united, trained and steeled by decades of economic, political and ideological struggle against capital; it has assimilated the urban, industrial, big-capitalist culture and has the determination and ability to protect it and, to preserve and further develop all its achievements, and make them available to the working people; it is able to bear all the hardships, trials, privations and great sacrifices which history inevitably imposes upon those who break with the past and boldly hew a road to a new future; its finest members are full of hatred and contempt for everything petty-bourgeois and philistine, for the qualities that flourish so profusely among the petty-bourgeoisie; the working class is especially strong, because it has the steeling acquired through labor and is able to inspire respect for its efficiency in every working person and every honest man.**

These qualities are embodied in concentrated form in the Marxist-Leninist party, created by the working class and representing its vital interests. The working class is the natural bearer of the socialist ideology and social relations of cooperation and mutual aid in an exploitation-free society, and the most consistent fighter for the ideals of communism.

In a socialist society, the working class controls a powerful modern industry, decisive for the growth of the productive forces, and thereby also for the welfare of society as a whole. It produces the bulk of the social product, is linked with the most advanced technology, and is employed in areas vital for scientific-technical progress, from where this progress spreads to all the other branches of the economy. It is united by the large-scale industry and the corresponding discipline, and by the modern production methods requiring a high degree of concentration and coordination. The part played by the working class in the revolutionary movement and in building the new society, its political image and interests, its organization and conscious discipline, views and morality, are a kind of *social model* for all other social groups. And in our country the constant movement of peasants and the intelligentsia closer to the working class is therefore absolutely natural. It proves that Djilas and other opponents of Leninism are wrong in saying that the socialist revolutions were proletarian 'only' ideologically, not socially.***

The workers' leading role under socialism, traceable principally to their place and part in the system of production is also fortified by their cultural uplift. Some three-fifths of the Soviet industrial workers have a higher or secondary education, with the highest rates of educational progress registered in the working-class milieu and with the workers in the big industrial, scientific and cultural centres well ahead. Along with the other groups of builders of communism, the working class is rightly regarded as the bearer of the creative and cultural potential of socialist society. 'Such a

*Engels. 'The Condition of the Working Class in England' (Preface).

**See Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 390.

***See *International Herald Tribune*, August 2, 1972.

worker,' L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said, 'is a match for' the problem of raising the effectiveness of social production, of intensive economic development. He has become an immediate participant in the solution of the imposing problems of the scientific and technological revolution.'*

By virtue of their alliance with, and under the leadership of, the working class, the peasants have undergone a far-reaching qualitative evolution. They have turned from a class of petty proprietors with distinctly private-capitalist inclinations into a class whose objective condition of development daily fosters the habit of collective labor and a collectivist psychology. And with farm labor approaching factory labor technologically and in living conditions and standards, collective farmers are beginning increasingly to resemble the workers.

It may therefore be proper to recall the view that the formation of a socially homogeneous society is a process in which all classes and strata absorb each other's best socially-valuable properties, and not merely those of just one advanced class, be it even the working class. Indisputably, a mutual enrichment of socialist classes and groups does occur, but there is also a basic and dominant tendency. Take the reciprocal influence of the working class and the peasants: here the basic tendency is quite distinct, for it is not the workers who are becoming more like peasants, but vice versa; the peasants are becoming more like workers, that is, rising to the higher socio-political, cultural and technical level; thus there unfold the socialist potentialities of the rural population.

We are not being vulgarly empirical when we say that the peasants, or any other social group, are becoming more like the workers; neither are the implications meant to be universal. Like any other real social stratum, the working class has its advanced and also its backward sections. Marx, Engels and Lenin never deified the proletariat and they combated fortuitous and extraneous sentiment, including the petty-bourgeois, in the working-class milieu.

At the same time they rejected attempts to represent the working class as a meek sufferer, an ignorant victim of capital incapable of upholding its interests. Anti-Marxists today resort to a similar falsification. Ernst Fischer, for one, disregarding the historic mission of the proletariat, attributes a vanguard role 'in West and East' to 'inconvenient intellectuals.'** All this is quite incompatible with the nature of the proletariat, which 'dominates the center and nerve of the entire economic system of capitalism, and . . . expresses economically and politically the real interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people under capitalism,'*** and even more incompatible with the position of the working class in power in socialist countries.

*L. I. Brezhnev, 'Leninskim kursom' (On the Leninist Course), Vol. 3, Moscow, Politizdat, 1972, p. 344.

**See Ernst Fischer, *Kunst und Koexistenz, Beitrag zu einer modernen marxistischen Aesthetik* (Art and Coexistence: A Contribution to Modern Marxist Aesthetics). Hamburg, 1966, pp. 63, 78 and foll.

***V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 374.

The historic mission of the working class is certainly not to draw members of every profession into unskilled manual labor—a vulgar notion imputed to Marxism by 'Left' revisionists. It is a revolutionary mission and to support it and help in accomplishing it is an important indication of belonging to the forces of progress. The working class—primarily its skilled and politically conscious section, of course—is the most advanced group of those engaged in modern, scientifically organized industrial production, whom no one can match in social labor initiative, universality or professional efficiency in this age of technological progress and revolutionary change in social relations.

A noteworthy feature of developed socialism is the growing number of highly cultured working people who harmoniously combine mental with physical labor and production effort with social and political activity. This law-governed process may well prompt the view that in today's Soviet society there is, in addition to the two laboring classes and the social stratum of people's intelligentsia, a new socio-historical category, that of workers of the communist type, comprising members of every social stratum and sharing the leading role with the working class.

However, this view would be a theoretical misinterpretation of reality. First of all, it assumes that mental and physical labor cannot be combined in the production effort nor can the essential distinctions between these two varieties of labor be removed within the classes themselves—the working class and the collective-farm peasantry. Actually, the growing intellectual content of the labor of these groups and their increasing proficiency show that this process is taking place within both of them as well as in their relations with the intelligentsia.

Secondly, it is a mistake to pose workers of the communist type against the working class, for they acquire this quality by embodying the finest traits of the working class in the most concentrated form. And this means that the rise of the new type of workers does not disprove the generalizations made earlier. Any other approach merely betrays a narrow view on the character of the contemporary working class.

The above considerations are particularly important, as we see it, in analyzing the relationship between physical and mental labor, or, to use the phrase current in our sociological literature, between the working class and the collective-farm peasantry, on the one hand, and the people's intelligentsia, on the other. We say 'current phrase' because the classification rule of mutual exclusion of components is not strictly observed in the formula 'working class—peasantry—intelligentsia.'* This rule applies to both classes but not to the intelligentsia, which is not a class inasmuch as it is not the basic class-forming criteria that distinguish it from the rest of the working population but its belonging by profession (and by profession alone) chiefly to the sphere of mental labor.

*The methodological faults of the 'trinity'—the intelligentsia, the proletariat, the peasantry—in prerevolutionary conditions were noted by Lenin as far back as in 1902 (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 198).

Under capitalism, to say nothing of feudal society, the intelligentsia begins by serving almost exclusively the interests of the ruling class, towards which it gravitates by virtue of its position and way of life. But as professions assume a mass character due to the technological revolution, the intelligentsia changes in composition. In capitalist countries, more and more intellectuals are reduced to the condition of wage workers and are exploited accordingly.

The primary distinguishing feature of the socialist intelligentsia is that its bulk is recruited from the workers and peasants, with whom it forms a nationwide labor community. Its background is indicative of the social composition of society.

Most of the Soviet intelligentsia, a group now more numerous than the collective farmers, are engaged in the state sector of the economy and in culture and the service industry. The rest are active in cooperative production. Nor do they constitute an intermediate stratum, for they are on an equal footing with other categories with regard to the means of production. What sets them apart is only such historically secondary characteristics as their being engaged in a definite sector of labor division, their high educational standard, their greater professional competence. According to whether they belong to the state or the cooperative and collective-farm sector of the socialist economy, the groups of intellectuals concerned already possess, to one extent or other, the basic class-forming characteristics of the working class or the collective-farm peasantry. In 1953, G. K. Ordjonikidze* said that 'in our country, the engineer is a great builder who works for the workers of his own country, being a worker himself, and for its collective farmers, being a collective farmer himself.' The deep meaning of this remark is coming out more and more.

In the new, progressive industries brought into being by the technological revolution, the ratio between engineers and technical personnel is such that specialists often make up half the staff of an enterprise or more. Mental labor in science and technology is increasingly becoming productive. As a result, Soviet engineers and technologists, who do not differ from most workers as regards their relations to the means of production, are becoming an intellectual contingent of the working class as they draw nearer to other categories of industrial employees.**

This transformation is a logical but long process, nor should the progress made by it to date be overrated. Underlying it is a two-fold trend, mental workers are swelling the ranks of the working class and the labor of a growing number of workers is assuming an intellectual character. This trend indicates the future line of

*G. K. Ordjonikidze (1886-1937) was a prominent revolutionary, a noted leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet state and organizer of socialist industry.

**'Engineers and technicians, who in the past generally served the capitalists in the matter of exploiting and subjugating the workers,' Georgi Dimitrov said in 1948, 'are now fusing with the working class, becoming a part of it.' This trend, pointed out by Dimitrov in the early period of transition in fraternal Bulgaria, is all the more manifest in a country of developed socialism.

evolution of the leading class of socialist society and gives an idea of the problems that will have to be solved in educating the intelligentsia, 'CPSU policy,' said M. A. Suslov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, 'is aimed at furthering the alliance between the working class and people active in science and technology. Our Leninist Party fights, as it always has, against reformist attempts to minimize the leading role of the working class, as well as against underestimation of the importance of the convergence of the workers and intelligentsia.'

Many a misunderstanding or mistake is occasioned by the fact that in analyzing the socio-economic situation and evolution of the intelligentsia in Soviet society, use is made of methodological principles applicable under capitalism but not, unless substantially revised, under socialism.

Closer links between engineering and technological personnel and the working class, and their fusion, refute the technocratic concept of an 'intellectual elite.' On the other hand, all workers by brain must evidently be made aware of being part of socialist society's great army of working people, of the 'collective worker,' with whom we must also class the peasantry, along with the agricultural intelligentsia.

The fact that 'the division of labor gives rise to *different* kinds of labor within *one and the same* class' (Marx) is becoming more marked at this stage of development. The result is that many non-class, in particular professional, distinctions in our country make themselves felt to an increasing degree while class distinctions are disappearing. Thus, highly skilled workers are closer to engineers and technicians in know-how and general culture than to unskilled manual workers. Farm machine operators are nearer to industrial workers than to the collective farmers who perform traditional, unskilled farm work.

In this respect, the intelligentsia is no homogeneous community, either. Its various sections gravitate towards this or that class: this has given rise to a discussion in which reference is frequently made to Lenin's statement that specialists will remain 'a separate social stratum, which will persist until we have reached the highest stage of development of Communist society' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 194). The question arises, however, whether this refers to the entire intelligentsia (incidentally, Lenin speaks of 'specialists'), whether it will remain unchanged, and which of its contingents will remain a separate group. Regrettably, these questions, which are relevant, are not always looked into. Yet the need for a concrete and differentiated approach is obvious. Numerous categories of intellectuals, such as teachers and the medical profession, will remain for a long time to come stable specialized groups. This is equally true of people engaged in certain scientific activities and in the arts. As for those groups of intellectuals now classified as production personnel, the foreseeable future will witness their fusion with the classes on which they adjoin as these classes fuse with one another.

Dogmatic attempts are still made to associate consistently socialist interests with only the activity of industrial workers. This is a narrow view indeed, as is only too evident in the light of the fact that it is precisely the situation of manual workers that undergoes the greatest change in the course of socialist development, and that most workers and peasants participate in intellectual activity to one extent or another.

The social strata of socialist society are drawing closer together as the people's living and cultural standards rise and their way of life is reshaped by industrial progress. The common, Soviet way of life of workers, peasants and intellectuals is evidence of the close mutual social links achieved by them. It takes shape and becomes established also because the proportion of 'purely' working-class, peasant or intellectual families is diminishing in Soviet society.

The interpenetration and merger of diverse sections of the working people are indicative of the spread of a distinctive process of social 'diffusion' in our country. This is a phenomenon peculiar to the Soviet people as a new historical community of men whose rise may be regarded, to quote L. I. Brezhnev, 'as a summary of the economic and socio-political changes that have taken place in our country in the past fifty years.'*

It is, of course, not a question of a chaotic 'mixing' of all social strata but of a law-governed and meaningful trend in their evolution. The change coming about may be briefly described as their gradual transformation into highly cultured workers of the proletarian historical type, a transformation which does not admit of perpetuating backwardness and is, on the other hand, fundamentally opposed to intellectualist individualism. This confirms what some sociologists try to express through the concept of 'one-class' society but which Engels, speaking of the working class, described more accurately. 'The time must come,' he wrote, 'when it will no longer be a class and will encompass the whole of society.'

By building a non-antagonistic society with gradually disappearing class boundaries and an uncommonly high degree of social mobility of people, the Soviet system has taken a historic step of international significance toward a socially homogeneous population structure. However, to content ourselves with this result would mean to halt halfway. The CPSU devotes itself to the solution of major economic, social and political problems, which, in turn, hastens the elimination of class distinctions in today's developed socialist society.

*L. I. Brezhnev, *O pyatidesyatiletii Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik* (The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Moscow, Politizdat, 1972, p. 23.



Reality of the fascist menace

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST DISCUSSION

New forms of the fascist menace, intensified reaction and means of combating them were the questions discussed at an international Marxist symposium in Essen, FRG, organized by this journal with the assistance of the German Communist Party. Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties from 21 capitalist countries took part in the discussion. The welcoming speech by GCP Chairman Kurt Bachmann and the main report by our Editor-in-Chief, K. I. Zarodov, appeared in the April issue. In this one we conclude our summary of the Essen discussions.

Central to the discussions was the fascism of today, or neo-fascism, its class and historical roots, essence and specifics at the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism, concrete manifestations and real dimensions of the fascist menace. The approach to all these questions was premised on the conclusions drawn by the Seventh Comintern Congress and the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The collective analysis of neo-fascism, its tendencies, forms, methods and aims was preparatory to devising ways and means of intensifying the struggle against it. And the analysis largely followed these lines: distinctive features of existing dictatorships and the fight to overthrow them; the place of the neo-fascist movement in the system of monopoly-capital power; international aspects of the anti-fascist struggle.

I. VARIETIES OF TERRORIST DICTATORSHIP

IMPORTED AND HOME-GROWN REGIMES — COMPLEMENTING REPRESSION — CREEPING FASCISM — PROMISES OF EASY SOLUTIONS OF HARD PROBLEMS — ROLE OF ULTRA-LEFT — ISOLATED FROM THE PEOPLE — ANTI-DICTATORSHIP FRONT

Symposium participants disclosed the characteristics of fascist and other tyrannical regimes, analyzed their class function, social basis and power mechanism in a number of countries.

The Communist Party of Greece, P. Mavromatis, member of the CC Political Bureau, said, regards the colonels' regime as a military-fascist dictatorship with practically all the distinguishing features of traditional fascism. The junta dissolved parliament, all political parties and hundreds of trade unions, imposed an emergency, instituted military tribunals, resorted to torture methods comparable to the Inquisition. In short, the country was under a reign of unmitigated terror. Many anti-fascists have been killed. The main blows were aimed at the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

However, the regime lacks such an attribute of fascism as mass fascist organizations. Attempts to build up a youth organization proved unsuccessful, both because the youth refused to join and because the colonels fear any mass organization, even if of their own creation. The dictatorship is isolated from the people and from all the traditional political parties. Whom then, does it rely on?

Even before the military dictatorship, Greece was an important base in U.S. imperialist global strategy against the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement. The popular democratic movement was a menace to this strategy. And the April 1967 military-fascist coup, carried out with American assistance, was meant to keep Greece a jumping-off ground for imperialist aggression. But Greek fascism is not entirely an imported product. The mass struggle led by the working class threatened the positions also of the Greek monopoly bourgeoisie. Its class interests thus coincided with the political and strategic interests of world imperialism.

There was also this factor which helped the coup – the organizational weakness of the Communist Party: it was not in a position to give leadership to the powerful mass movement of 1965-67 and direct it against the fascist menace. The Party underestimated the danger of a coup d'état.

An analysis of the class line-up will show that the regime relies for support on the monopolies, the bureaucracy – greatly strengthened by state interference in the economy – the small part of the middle bourgeoisie that has benefited from the dictatorship, and the more well-to-do peasant farmers. The regime is granting more privileges to big capital, both national and foreign. In fact, Greece is the only country whose constitution expressly provides for privileges to foreign capital.

The Communist Party's task is to topple the dictatorship. And all the anti-dictatorship forces, from Communists and Left democrats to the Rights opposed to the present regime, can share in achieving that aim. These forces are divided. They can be brought together in a broad anti-dictatorship front on a program acceptable to all. The Party has formulated such a program. Also it is expanding and strengthening its illegal organizations.

In reply to a question about the impediments to an anti-dictatorship front, the speaker said the most important was the anti-com-

munism of the bourgeois parties. A sharp political crisis, with the people openly combating the dictatorship, can impel them to cooperate. There is no such crisis now, but there are the beginnings of a broad workers' movement in support of economic demands that could be the forerunner of an anti-dictatorship front.

For 47 years now Portugal has been living in a fascist nightmare, *Catarina Mendes* (Portuguese CP) said in her written contribution. The history of our Party is the history of long years of proletarian struggle, in which many Communists gave their lives and many more went through years of prison and torture and all the hazards of underground work to advance the cause of the working people.

Portuguese fascism was able to survive World War II and gain strength as a weapon of imperialism. Under Caetano, the fascist regime implanted by Salazar remains a government of big business and the big landed interests. Comrade Mendes drew attention to two features in the new methods employed by Portugal's fascist government.

All its actions indicate its determination to maintain the fascist dictatorship and continue the policy of terror and war. However, big capital, a staunch supporter of Salazar, now blames him for the country's backwardness and sees itself as a victim of Salazarism. In contrast, Marcellism (after Marcello Caetano) is presented as little short of an economic blessing for the people, the end of fascism and the beginning of 'liberalization.'

The second feature. Portugal is an important base for imperialist aggression against the socialist countries and peoples battling for independence. It is a NATO proving ground. The Portuguese armed forces are regularly inspected by U.S. and other NATO generals. The U.S. has a permanent mission and important bases in Portugal.

The Communist Party is concentrating on promoting working-class unity in the day-to-day struggle against fascist policy, wider unity of all democrats, anti-fascists and patriots to overthrow the dictatorship, end the colonial war, grant the Portuguese colonies independence and the Portuguese people freedom.

The Communist Party of Spain, *E. Lopez*, member of the CC Executive, said, consistently upholds, and is guided by, the conclusions of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The Meeting expressly described the Spanish and Portuguese governments as seats of fascism, and it is from these two countries that the fascist poison is spreading.

To the Spanish people has fallen the herculean task of freeing the country from fascism by their own forces. This is bound to be a long and difficult process. There is bound to be more torture, executions, long years in prison, endless persecution, humiliation for the whole of our people. For many years the U.S. imperialists supported the Franco regime in exchange for the military, including nuclear, bases needed for their aggressive plans.

The Franco regime, the speaker said, was, is and will be a fascist regime until it is overthrown. The people are denied all free-

doms, the workers the right to organize class trade unions. Freedom of assembly, expression and organization no longer exists. There has not been even one real amnesty in the 34 years of Franco power. Every day brings fresh reports of police harassment and persecution. And now the regime is preparing a monstrous trial against 10 trade union leaders, among them men like M. Camacho, widely known and respected in Spain and in many other countries.

The Spanish people's long struggle to rid the country of the Franco regime is approaching its concluding stage. Our Party's policy has helped to build up a powerful workers' movement and bring into the anti-fascist struggle large members of peasants, students, intellectuals, women, young people, small tradesmen, etc. The Church is now in conflict with the regime, and liberal if not democratic tendencies are appearing in such politically conservative groups as the civil servants and the army.

It is not only the working class and the middle strata that are in conflict with the regime. The more dynamic groups of the bourgeoisie, and even the oligarchy, are beginning to question the wisdom of retaining the fascist structure. There is an identity of views of the working class, the people and some capitalist elements on the need to oust Franco and give Spain a democratic government. Of course, this is only a temporary identity of views in the fight to eliminate fascism and win political freedom. It will take a long struggle by the workers and the people generally to convert it into a political agreement (or what in Spain is generally known as the freedom pact) offering a real alternative. And the freedom pact has already become a reality throughout Catalonia, in Andalusia, Aragon, Valencia, the Balearic and Canary Islands. That is the road that leads to the final collapse of Francoism.

J. Rodrigues, CC member, Brazilian CP, pointed out that propaganda is a key weapon of neo-fascism, and it is usually vicious propaganda larded with slander, threats and intimidation. It presents the fight for democratic freedoms as violation of law and order, strikes as attempts to sow chaos and anarchy, the peasant fight for land as encroachment on the 'sacred right of property.' Neo-fascist propaganda is demagogic, promising easy solutions for hard problems and speculating on the vital needs of the masses. Its characteristic feature is using the revolutionary label to cover reactionary and counter-revolutionary actions. But we should not underestimate its effectuality. In Brazil fascist propaganda used the slogan 'With God, For Brazil, For Democracy!' to provoke mass actions by the middle and petty bourgeoisie and backward sections of the working people as part of the preparations for a coup d'état.

'National security' is the usual justification for police terror and for using the army to 'contain internal subversion' and suppress the liberation movement in other parts of Latin America.

Neo-fascist propaganda, both for home and export purposes, holds up Brazil as a model of development. Actually, the so-called Brazilian miracle is based on poverty of the workers and on the

reckless squandering of the country's wealth by foreign monopolies. In short, a miracle for the rich, not for the people.

Brazilian fascism differs in some respects from the traditional variety. But all the main features are there, albeit adapted to the conditions of a country dependent on North American imperialism. From the class standpoint, Brazilian fascism is the military-terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary and chauvinist elements of state capitalism and the latifundists, within the framework of dependence on imperialism.

The Brazilian Communist Party is working to bring into a broad united front all the forces ranged against the dictatorship. Recent trade union congresses decided to press for higher wages in disregard of government policy and condemned the dictatorship for abandoning the country to the mercies of foreign monopolies. On many issues involved in the fight against the dictatorship, the position of progressive Catholic elements is similar to that of the Communist party.

The only thing that will stop fascism is organized unity of the people, T. Varela, Executive Committee member, CP Colombia, said in his contribution to the discussion. The Communist Party does not consider the present government completely fascist. But with the deepening crisis of the bourgeois 'national front' system, the government's repressive policy acquires a more pronounced fascist orientation. The far-Right within and outside the government has taken as its ideal the 'Brazilian model,' with its total militarization of national life, anti-Sovietism and submission to the CIA.

Rightist trends within the government are encouraged and supported by monopoly interests closely associated with imperialism and latifundism. They consider themselves 'short-changed' by the restricted agrarian reform, trade with the socialist countries and the Andes Pact on treatment of foreign capital. And it is these monopolies that finance such fascist terrorist groups as the 'Black Hand' and 'Tradition, Family and Property.'

The Communist Party consistently emphasizes the need for unity of the democratic and revolutionary forces, further strengthened by ability to take advantage of every clash within the ruling classes. The Party explains to the people that fascist repression is directed not only against the Communists, but against the entire people and its civil rights. The Party is fighting for repeal of the emergency imposed in 1949 and for an end to the military tribunals. It draws a sharp line of division between the pro-fascist top military, who take their orders from imperialism and the oligarchy, and the soldiers and democratic and patriotic-minded officers who can come over to the side of the people. The Party tries to utilize this class differentiation within the armed forces.

The establishment of reactionary and pro-fascist regimes is chiefly financed by foreign imperialist monopolies which dominate the country's economy, and also by the local landed and financial oligarchy, J. Fuchs, alternate CC member, CP Argentina, pointed out.

Characteristic of Argentine politics over the past 40 years has

been the existence of two types of power: the civilian (with all the restrictions that are part of formal democracy) and the military, exercised by the extremist army elements. And the militarists react to every manifestation of working-class militancy, and to every attempt to rally all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces, by engineering a coup d'etat.

Unlike earlier ones, the June 1966 coup was meant to turn Argentina into a fascist corporative state. Despite the wave of repression, the plan was foiled by the heroic struggle of the workers – acting in defiance of the Right Peronists' compromise directives – and by peasant actions culminating in a veritable mass rising. The movement was led by the class trade unions organized by the Communists and other progressive forces. Social and economic slogans were paralleled by democratic political demands. The dictatorship also found itself opposed by small businessmen and a sizeable section of the urban middle strata. This unity of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces laid the beginnings of the National Encounter of Argentinians.

In an attempt to prevent mass action and a leftward shift, the dictatorship launched on a new venture, the Grand National Concord movement. The idea was to give the regime a semblance of 'representative democracy' and thereby legitimize the 1966 coup and all the policies and actions of the government. This cover would enable it, it hoped, to carry out its pro-imperialist plans. That is the purpose of the general elections appointed for March.* The junta has reserved the right to be represented in the civilian government as the 'military party.' Its purpose is to replace direct military dictatorship by a thinly disguised reactionary government in which, however, the military would have the final say.

The defeat of the fascist axis was a bitter blow to the South African fascists, *Michael Harmel*, CC member, South African CP, said. But they did not give up. South Africa has been governed since 1948 by the Nationalist Party. No doubt this party was led by men deeply imbued with fascist ideas. But this did not mean that they could transform the country into a fascist state overnight. The transformation of South Africa – a sort of creeping fascism – took place over a number of years. There were a number of reasons for this. Chief among them was the stubborn, magnificent resistance of the Black people of our country organized by the African National Congress and its allied organizations, the working class headed by the underground South African Communist Party.

Nevertheless, year by year the mountain of repressive, anti-democratic and anti-Black legislation grew higher. A 'small' but

*In its March 16 statement on the elections, the Communist Party says the voters in no uncertain terms rejected the military dictatorship, and its reactionary, anti-national policy. But the Party emphasizes the need to consolidate this success and warns of a possible plot by the more reactionary forces to prevent Hector Campora, the successful Peronista candidate, from taking office or, if that fails, impose certain conditions. The Party insists that the will of the people be respected. It will resolutely support every positive step of the Campora government, while criticizing steps that are contrary to the interests of the working class and the nation. The statement stresses the considerable success of the Communist-supported Revolutionary Popular Union and calls for its extension and strengthening. The Party will continue to work for a broad anti-imperialist and democratic front to bring Argentina national emancipation and socialism. – J.F.

deeply significant fact: South Africa, with a population of about 20 million, is responsible for about half of the legal executions in the world. The blood-stained fascists have created in my country one of the most atrocious and oppressive regimes in the world. As shown by many writers, notably Brian Bunting in his 'The Rise of the South African Reich' (Penguin Books, London, 1969), the South African state today resembles in many respects the pattern of Hitler Germany. But it also differs in essential respects, for in South Africa the fascists took over in a state which has always been ruled by methods of typical colonialist terror. If we look to Europe for an analogy with present-day South Africa, we should look not to Hitler Germany but rather to the situation in countries the Nazis had occupied and enslaved.

What we have in South Africa is not merely the product of 25 years' rule by a particularly nasty, fascist-minded party. It is the product of centuries of aggression, conquest, dispossession and superexploitation of the original African population by Dutch and British colonialism. It is only against that historic background, with the great majority of the people deprived of any vestige of democratic or citizenship rights, that the neo-Nazi Nationalist Party could ever have come to power.

It is for this very reason, too, that our Party has put in the forefront of its program the fundamental question of the national-democratic revolution, the main content of which is the national liberation of the African people. This task is one of great difficulty involving all forms of mass struggle, including armed struggle and a war of liberation. For this struggle not only our Party, but the entire front of national liberation centered around the African National Congress, have long been working and actively preparing.

In analyzing despotic regimes and reactionary organizations in underdeveloped countries, (Comrade Harmel continued) we should be particularly wary of using the label of 'fascism.' For in Africa, for example, we may find a number of regimes headed by the bloody-minded, imperialist trained and backed military men, or bourgeoisified politicians, or feudal or tribal rulers, who have sold the nation's independence for dollars, francs or pounds, and who sustain their power by ruthless terror. But I would question very much the correctness of describing such regimes as 'fascist' or 'neo-fascist,' in countries which have barely, if at all, entered upon the path of capitalism, which have not yet produced a consolidated bourgeoisie, still less an indigenous finance-capitalist class. Nor could one accept without considerable debate that in such cases the allegedly fascist regime is really exported from capitalist countries. For in that case the situation is surely to a large extent one of colonialism or neo-colonialism – and the resultant struggle largely bears the character of a fight for national liberation.

K. I. Zarodov gave a more precise formulation of the question of fascist regimes emerging in underdeveloped countries and the import and export of fascism. The nature of terroristic dictatorship in an underdeveloped country, he said, must be examined not only

in its national factors, if the country is part of the imperialist system. In that case the function of its political regime is to prevent the breakdown of the colonial system and keep the country within the imperialist orbit. To do that, it needs the support of finance capital and the militarist element of the imperialist powers. The regime seeks to build up a mass base by winning over and subordinating the petty bourgeoisie. We thus have a new, unusual phenomenon, a product of finance capital in the era of colonialism's collapse. Export of fascism combines the interests of international imperialism with those of the reactionary local bureaucracy and militarists. The situation in each country has to be approached concretely. Of course, not every underdeveloped country ruled by a despotic regime is fascist. The chief criterion is whether or not the regime speaks for the most reactionary elements of the international financial oligarchy.

S. Sudiman, Deputy-Secretary, Committee Abroad, CP Indonesia. Fascism of the 'traditional type,' with its West-European distinguishing features is not applicable to our agrarian country with its low development of national capitalism. However, a concrete analysis of the policies and practices of the present reactionary military regime, its attitude to democracy, its class substance, will show that Indonesia is ruled by a neo-fascism that has certain specific features.

The Communist Party considers the present regime a 'military-fascist dictatorship.'* It came to power after the reactionary forces, supported by U.S. imperialism, unleashed a reign of terror which in a few months took the lives of at least one million Communists, democrats and their families. The reactionaries took advantage of the 1965 adventurist action provoked by the ultra-Left to bring this national tragedy upon our country.

All state power, all government institutions and offices are tightly controlled by the military and other reactionary elements. The Communist Party has been outlawed, as have other revolutionary mass organizations. The 1971 parliamentary elections were followed by measures to disband all political parties. The military regime continues its harsh repressions. And not only Communists, democrats and patriots, but everyone who subscribes to the ideals of democracy and humanism has become the target of persecution and harassment. The regime is using the armed forces to suppress popular mass movements, especially among the youth and students, arrests and tortures their leaders. Meetings, demonstrations, strikes have been outlawed.

The treatment of political prisoners is reminiscent of the cruelty of the Japanese and German camps. Many die in the torture dens. In many prisons the only food is what the detainees receive from home. Prisoners are denied beds and blankets, and even the most elementary medical aid. They are made to work long hours on building roads and dams. On Buru Island thousands of Communists

*Urgent Tasks of the Communist Movement in Indonesia. Communist Party Publication, New Delhi, 1969, p. 2.

and democrats, mostly scientists, writers and other intellectuals, are being held in the country's biggest concentration camp. All told, there are no less than 300,000 political prisoners.

The underground Communist Party systematically exposes the regime. It is rousing the masses to fight for the re-establishment of democracy, better conditions, freedom and social progress. We are thus preparing for the next stage, the overthrow of the military-fascist regime and its replacement by a national democratic and anti-imperialist government.

F. Balagatas, CC member, CP Philippines. More than a quarter of a century of neo-colonialist setup, featured by sharpening class struggles, increasingly bitter rivalries among the ruling classes, alternation in office between two pro-American bourgeois parties, both vying for American support, widespread corruption, violent and fraudulent elections, increasing criminality, private armies, chronic and galloping inflation, and the extreme poverty of the overwhelming majority and the scandalous affluence of a tiny minority – all these produced the objective conditions for either a popular democratic revolution or a neo-fascist dictatorship. In the prevailing alignment of class forces, the democratic forces were too weak to prevent, but strong enough to tempt the reactionaries to resort to dictatorship. Last September, President Marcos proclaimed martial law on the plea of saving the country from the imminent threat of Communist rebellion.

In this situation, the Maoists played a shameful role. Their plots diverted the masses from the fight against the main enemy, U.S. imperialism and its feudal and compradore servitors, and were made the pretext for the establishment of the dictatorship. In a bid to strengthen its position, the government combines reforms with repressions.

The Communist Party is working for a broad anti-imperialist, anti-feudal front, and seeks to broaden it further by involving all elements opposed to the regime, with the immediate aim of restoring democratic liberties and ending martial law. The Party is using diverse methods and forms of organization to maintain its link with the masses. At the same time, it is tightening and consolidating its underground organization, urging the militant masses to prepare themselves against armed attacks from the class enemy. The Maoist rank-and-file is beginning to see the dubious role played by their leaders in setting up the dictatorship. The Party is approaching them to involve them in the common struggle and eventually help them break out of Maoist influence.

N. Ashhab, member of Central Committee, Jordanian CP, spoke of the reactionary regime in his country. With the ruling reactionary elements representing the big landowners, tribal chiefs and the compradore bourgeoisie, it is second nature to hate democracy and freedom. The Communist Party operates underground. Under the 1951 anti-Communist law membership in the Communist Party or participation in its activity is punishable with 3-15 years in jail. Those who have not experienced the effect of the emergency regula-

tions can hardly imagine what they are like. The authorities employ NATO-provided foreign experts, including former Nazis, who have introduced new physical and moral tortures, and take part in applying them. More than one of our comrades has chosen death from these 'modern' methods rather than dishonor himself before the Party.

Since 1970, when the bases of the Palestinian resistance movement were wiped out and all the small bourgeois parties fell apart under terrorist pressure, the Communist Party is the only remaining organized political force in the country. And its struggle with the masses against the occupation and reactionary terror, has won it respect. In conclusion, Ashhab stressed the importance for his Party of consolidating and expanding contacts with the world revolutionary movement, with fraternal parties. Our Party, he said, deeply appreciates the international solidarity and support of the Communist movement in its battle against the reactionary terrorist regime.

2. THE NEO-FASCIST OPPOSITION

MANEUVERING WITHIN LIMITS OF BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENTARISM — THE 'ORDER BLOC' — GUARDIANS OF THE GENE POOL — A FEW WEEKS OF LEADING THE MASSES — AGAIN A CORPORATIVE STATE A LA MUSSOLINI — 'IS MY ENEMY'S ENEMY MY FRIEND?' — IDEOLOGICAL MEANS OF UPROOTING FASCISM

The symposium dwelt at length on the struggle against the fascist danger in some of the developed capitalist countries of Europe and Latin America, where monopoly capital exercises its power through the attributes of bourgeois democracy. It analyzed the social-economic and political factors behind the rightward tendency, and the peculiar tactics of neo-fascist parties and groups.

It would be a dangerous delusion, said *Max Schaefer*, member of the Presidium of the German Communist Party, to think that a concrete fascist peril cannot arise until there is a mass fascist party. Yet it is on these false grounds that many people in the FRG underestimate the ultra-Right and neo-fascist danger. Just because the neo-Nazi National-Democratic Party (NDP) polled fewer votes in the November 1972 elections they have concluded that the FRG is immune to Right extremism and neo-fascism.

It is quite true that the present conditions bear no resemblance to the time when Hitler fascism was on the rise. There is a socialist world system, and a socialist state — the German Democratic Republic — thrives on part of the territory of the former German Reich. The old forms of Nazism are discredited. And when setting up the separate West German state, the ruling element was compelled to reckon with the democratic demands of the population, which is reflected in the FRG Constitution.

However, the economic and political power of monopoly capital, which fathered Hitler fascism, has been restored. There are also

political factors which make the FRG receptive to a fascist rival. Hitler officials from areas outside the FRG were granted special appointment privileges. As a result, the state machine, especially the secret service, the police, the judiciary and, after the remilitarization, also the army, is packed with former Nazis. Communists, champions of a peace policy, and democrats, were victims of wholesale persecution. A criminal code was enacted for political offences, based on regulations of Nazi vintage. Bans were showered on democratic organizations. Thus, elements have been fostered in the state machine that will in certain circumstances enable West German imperialism to revert to fascist forms of government if the mass struggle fails to rise to the occasion.

Ideological processing is on a mass scale. Though such forms as anti-Semitism have been abandoned, anti-communism, revanchism and slander against the GDR in schools, the press, radio and television, remain the stock-in-trade. School books portray the causes of the war in an anti-communist and revenge-seeking spirit, and white-wash fascism.

Sudden monopoly capital attempts to go over to fascism in order to preserve its rule, Schaefer said, should not be discounted. How quickly fascist movements expand at times of imperialist crises, may be seen from the example of the NDP. Formed in 1964 out of several small neo-fascist groups, it polled two per cent of the vote in the Bundestag elections the following year, and in 1967-1968, in the setting of relatively minor economic crisis, as much as 9.7 per cent in one of the FRG lands. Though only 0.5 per cent of the votes were for the NDP in the 1972 Bundestag elections, this was chiefly due to the fact that former NDP voters backed the CDU/CSU seeing that it followed a policy constant with their wishes.

The offensive on democratic rights continues, for the present government also represents the interests of big capital. The ban on the CPG is an everlasting danger to democracy. There is a shift rightward in legislation. Four 1972 laws have extended the prerogatives of the secret services and police, curtailing civil rights, and there is a rule against Communists holding government jobs or teaching in schools, universities, etc.

The GCP is fighting back. The offensive on democratic rights and freedoms, it warns, is fraught with the danger of fascization. But we also have to meet the challenge of the ultra-Left, which says that fascism has already arrived. That sort of thing is dangerous, because it confuses the real substance of the fascist peril.

P. Mavromatis asked if the democratic forces in West Germany were strong enough to repulse the fascist danger, which tends to increase rapidly in a critical situation. Schaefer replied that there was no acute fascist danger at present. Three things are required to act effectively: consolidation of the GCP as the Marxist party of the working class, working-class unity in the battle for democratic rights, anti-monopoly reforms and the advance to socialism, and an alliance of all popular anti-monopoly forces. And this, he said, is the objective of the policy of the GCP.

Asked if the repressions under the Social-Democratic government differ from those of the CDU/CSU, Schaefer said that the difference is substantial. Though the present government did not totally rule out repressive measures, its chief method was to try and integrate the working class and its organizations, principally the trade unions, into the system of state-monopoly capitalism.

The idea of holding the symposium was timely, said M. Tognoni of the Italian CP Secretariat, because a more precise idea is required of authoritarianism and neo-fascism, and the ways of combating them. The neo-fascists and Right extremists are eager to win influence, and are expanding international ties. Recently, neo-fascist congresses gathered in the FRG and in Italy. They rely for support chiefly on organizations, governments and the intelligence services of fascist and authoritarian states in Europe, operating in close contact with most reactionary elements of U.S. imperialism, notably the CIA and NATO.

The main purpose of the neo-fascists is to hold up or retard the tendency towards European détente, the success of forces aspiring to socialism: the consolidation of democratic regimes and their progress to advanced democracy and socialism, especially in countries where powerful Communist parties act in alliance with other Left forces.

The neo-fascist movements and parties solicit the support of the most reactionary monopoly elements and cultivate a mass base chiefly among the urban and rural middle strata and the lumpen-proletariat, while also seeking contacts and alliances with conservatives and reactionaries in other parties and especially in the state apparatus. Their plan is to create an 'order bloc,' that is, a reactionary government which would repattern the political superstructures, destroying the democratic and representative institutions and putting a strait-jacket on the workers' parties and other class organizations.

The Italian Party is aware that the authoritarian and fascist aspirations of the Italian monopoly bourgeoisie are very strong. Comrade Togliatti reminded us of this continuously, and Comrade Berlinguer referred to it at the 1969 Meeting. But we are also aware of the strength of the Italian working-class and democratic movement, which has managed to safeguard the basic gains of the Anti-Fascist Resistance. Take the most recent facts: when the neo-fascists convened their national congress, there were large-scale united anti-fascist demonstrations in many of our cities, notably Rome. Characteristically, they combined with the powerful strike against the Right and Center Andreotti government on January 12, 1973. The struggle is for a new democratic political orientation and for wiping out all fascism.

Fascist outrages have proliferated in recent years: night raids on the offices of democratic newspapers and of the Communist Party and other democratic organizations, attempts on the lives of Left activists, and bomb explosions in government buildings. This is designed to create a state of extreme tension that would justify

stern measures to restore 'authority and order.' But the foolhardy, all too often provocative, behavior of the so-called Left extra-parliamentary groups is certainly of no help to us in mobilizing the masses against the really dangerous extremism of the neo-fascists.

The neo-fascists have polled more votes in the latest elections. The Italian Social Movement (ISM), the national Right-wing, has won a stronger position in Parliament and may attempt to influence the political options of the government. It uses sports societies, cultural clubs, charities and especially the Italian Confederation of Labor Unions to build up ties with the masses. The neo-fascists are strongest in the South, where they have managed to enlist the support of a substantial part of the urban middle strata, but also that of propertyless classes. Making the most of the poverty and backwardness in Reggio di Calabria, they took the lead in a stormy mass movement of several weeks, based on corporative and parochial demands.

We, too, have many such Calabrias, said *Philip Bart*, member of the National Council CP USA. Millions of Americans are permanently out of work. A large number of them, mainly young people, are behind bars for vagrancy, or for some other, either actual or framed-up, offence. They are classed as lumpenproletarians or de-classed elements. This merits closer scrutiny. It is certainly wrong to say that all these forces are necessarily a base for the revolutionary movement. Yet the poor, who make up a large group of the population, especially in the ghettos, should be regarded as an important factor in the general struggle.

The lumpenproletariat, *Tognoni* replied, is not devoid of a revolutionary potential, and in Italy the Communist Party has gained some influence in its midst. People in the suburbs of Rome, many of whom are lumpenproletarians, gave 50 per cent of their votes to the Communists, and participate eagerly in street demonstrations against fascism.

The neo-fascist leaders have tried to work out an ideological, political and economic platform in order to build up a mass base. The most conspicuous action to this effect was the resolution of the ISM Congress in January 1973. The avowed political objective is 'to promote the idea of order and authority, making state power stable and effective in order to guarantee its primacy in government.' Economically, it proclaimed a 'radical shift in the corporative direction' and 'elimination of the materialist class principle so far foolishly applied by Marxist doctrines.' In foreign policy it demanded 'unconditionally to strengthen participation in the Atlantic Pact, to work for an arms balance, to develop the struggle against communism into an indefeasible means of guaranteeing peace and European security.'

Need it be said that the professed ISM intention of working for this platform by democratic means, is thoroughly false. The neo-fascist movement has only slightly dressed up its facade, but is the same in substance and in the eyes of the public.

Asked to define neo-fascism on the basis of Italian experience, Tognoni replied that the present-day neo-fascists differ from the fascists of the 1920s. No longer do they capitalize on nationalism, for they are the obsequious servants of the United States. Neither can they expect mass support from the student youth. Lastly, they have no large organized force. And as for a theoretical definition of neo-fascism, there is evidently little to be added to the one given by the Communist movement in the past. The thing is to study the neo-fascist movement in the concrete situation and work out effective ways of combatting it.

Since it is isolated, neo-fascism is neither a serious nor an inescapable danger. Italian capitalism may still use it for provocations or blackmail, or to promote certain actions against reform, but will surely not venture on an open alliance with it.

Speaking of the class essence of present-day fascism M. Azcarate, member of the Executive Committee, CC CP of Spain said there was the Leninist principle that any capitalist state is essentially a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It may assume different forms. But this should not overshadow the main difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism. G. Dimitrov's definitions at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International are still essentially valid. In Spain extremist groups deny the difference between fascism and bourgeois democracy, being oblivious to Lenin's conception that democratic freedoms facilitate the fight against capitalism and for socialism.

J. Raskin, member of the CC CP of Belgium, said that the policy of big finance in his country centers on using the three traditional government parties: the Socialist, Social-Christian and the Party of Liberty and Progress, which is a right-of-center liberal organization. But for the long term the bourgeoisie keeps two more parties in reserve – the Popular Union and the Walloon Assembly – in case the traditional parties should be unable to defend the interests of big capital. These two parties oppose the present government on the national question and advocate a federal arrangement envisaging continued monopoly domination.

With its substantial political leverage in the framework of bourgeois parliamentarism, big capital denies support to fascist groups. The fascists are poorly organized and take practically no open action. Their meetings and posters make little or no impact on the population. But there are fascists and pro-fascist elements in some of the political organizations, particularly the Popular Union and the Social-Christian Party. However, their moves are firmly resisted by democratic organizations and the trade unions, with foreign workers playing a big part. It was the latter who prevented a visit to Belgium of Almirante, the Italian fascist.

The growing unemployment, the ruin of shopkeepers and the increasing social and national problems are discrediting the democratic institutions and fertilizing the soil on which fascism may revive at any moment. To stop the rightward trend, the Communist Party has called on the Socialist Party to give up class cooperation,

and is working out a new policy that would win support in the country.

Defense of democratic freedoms, Bart said, is part of the class struggle. The crisis of state-monopoly capitalism is leading to a further strengthening of different forms of reaction and to a rightward tendency in the administration. It is the two United States parties of monopoly capital that bear the seeds of the Right danger. Their monopoly of political power creates difficulties in the struggle for democracy. While the reactionary groups operate easily within each of these two main parties of capitalism, promoting their interests, the working class and the mass movements are denied such an opportunity. What they need to protect their interests is an independent political party headed by the working class. And this is a programmatic demand of the CP USA.

Marxists have always associated the struggle for democratic rights with their overall objective of the transformation of society. They see no conflict between this and their attitude to the bourgeois state. Frederick Engels noted that 'the political freedoms . . . are our weapons . . . use of these means does not signify that we recognize the prevailing order.'*

U.S. imperialism remains powerful and retains significant maneuverability. However, to counter popular pressures it initiates new restrictions, launches new attacks on the rights of the people. Its apologists are weaving new ideas of how best to curb democratic rights, and want to cover them with constitutional approbation. Take the scheme of Zbigniew Brzezinski. He recommends a 'constitutional dictatorship' to be set up in time of 'recognized danger.'** The moves of the Right and the corroding of democratic processes are observed in the extension of the centralization of presidential powers. The elected bodies, such as Congress, play increasingly a lesser role, while the presidential prerogatives increase. Long established rights in the Constitution are discarded. Certain agencies, especially the CIA, present a distinct threat to democracy. Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP USA, describes the CIA as follows: 'This is a body with disturbing powers. Although its activities are hidden from the people, it has the power to instigate wars of aggression. . . . It tends to usurp the authority of the Cabinet.'***

The decay of imperialism has given rise to a social crisis. This affects all sectors of the population, especially the youth and the minorities living in the congested ghettos. This condition is being used to fan the flame of racism and reaction. To cite Kahn and Bruce-Briggs, the futurologists: 'An American fascism, properly prepared by Leftist frontlash, could be immensely popular, even democratic, if it required extreme patriotism and traditional public morality, wiped out the drug traffic ruthlessly, ended forced integration and reverse discrimination, regulated public employees' trade unions, and took a tough *Machtpolitik* or even isolationist

*Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 245-246.

**Brzezinski, *Ideology and Power in Soviet Politics*, New York, 1962, p. 18.

***Hall, *Imperialism Today*, New York, 1972, p. 119.

line in international affairs.* These conclusions could well be adopted in toto by the ultra-Right.

The turning of ghettos into areas of police concentration, the escalation of terror and the wide and indiscriminate mass arrests – the whole system of racial persecution, has led some to the conclusion that we are already living in a fascist state. This opinion prevails not only in ghettos, but among other Leftist circles as well. This assessment reflects political immaturity, lack of understanding of the fascist state as a distinct transformation from the present monopoly structure. The situation in the United States leads to the conclusion that there is no fascist regime today, and there may be none in the foreseeable future. Terrorist acts by the government are frequently described as fascist, but this assessment is more rhetorical than it is scientific. Sectarian conceptions lead only to the isolation of the working class. This aids the Right and weakens the progressive movement.

A total victory for the Right, as a political trend today, is not inevitable. There is an emerging movement for its defeat. I wish only to add that the defeat of the Right in the U.S., while of direct concern to us, would be of no small significance to all other countries.

In Canada, said Mel Doig, member of the Central Executive, CP of Canada, the neo-fascist organizations are small in size and without any mass support. We neither overestimate them nor discount their usefulness to the reactionary circles of monopoly, which are giving them many indications of support and encouragement in the existing situation, with the menace of a drive to the Right.

Within the last year the Latvian Hall in Toronto, owned by emigré nationalists, has twice been the scene of banquet-meetings of neo-fascist groups. Outside that hall, during the second of these two meetings, police clubbed and beat participants in a united anti-fascist protest demonstration. Inside the hall, with the silent acquiescence of the authorities, members of two Canadian neo-fascist groups, the Edmund Burke Society and the Western Guard, met together with members of the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan. These latter two, both notorious United States fascist organizations, boast that they have now established membership branches in Canada.

The Edmund Burke Society and the Western Guard engage in racism. Their posters shriek, 'Keep Canada White!' Their literature is filled with Nazi-like excretions about 'keeping the Canadian gene pool pure.' Firearms and arson have been their weapons in attacks on progressive bookstores; and they constantly threaten the headquarters of the CP of Canada. Anti-communism is their main stock-in-trade. They denounce the idea of cooperation between the peoples of Canada and the USSR.

The facts show that neo-fascist groups are seeking wider platforms for their policies. They are being fostered by reaction in conditions of monopoly's many-sided attacks on the living stand-

*H. Kahn and B. Bruce-Briggs, *Things to Come*, New York, 1972, p. 98.

ards and democratic rights of the working people. The repressive, anti-democratic character of the 'get tough with labor' policy itself spawns neo-fascistic tendencies and ideas. There are multiplying signs of monopoly's growing use of neo-fascist methods against the organizations of the working class.

Against the danger from the Right, the working class and the democratic forces are fighting back in growing unity. Last autumn in British Columbia's provincial elections, following police raids on trade unions, it was the unity of the organized labor movement that swept from power the Social Credit provincial government which had ordered those raids to be made. When in October 1970 the Trudeau government invoked the repressive War Measures Act, it was this unity of the working class, first in French Canada, and then in English Canada, that was the deciding factor which divided the government cabinet and obliged it to drop the repressive legislation.

In the struggle to defeat the drive to the Right in Canada, it is the initiative and leadership displayed by the Communist Party, in the confrontations of the working class and democratic forces with monopoly, that will create more favorable conditions for building a broad, democratic alliance directed against U.S. imperialism and Canadian monopoly.

British imperialism, said *Jack Cohen* of the Executive Committee, CP of Great Britain, is trying to extricate itself from the present economic difficulties and world political positions by first of all attacking the working class, by driving for authoritarianism inside the country, and joining the reactionary forces in Europe in the Common Market.

In Great Britain we cannot speak of an immediate danger of fascism, of neo-fascism. But there is a danger of a gradual advance to an authoritarian corporate state. This takes the form, first and foremost, of attacks on the rights of the working class, especially of the trade unions. Second, there are attacks on the rights of Parliament, and third, on the whole system of law in our country to the advantage of reaction. All this taken together made even Harold Wilson admit that the policies of the Heath Conservative Government are leading Britain along the road to a corporate state à la Mussolini.

The Industrial Relations Act opens a new period in Britain, namely, that agreements between employers and trade unions are being replaced by the state regulation of wages and working conditions. Opposition to this Act is attacked as a violation of democratic institutions. The Industrial Relations Act has no parallel in any other capitalist country with the exception of Greece and Spain. Its provisions go farther than the Taft-Hartley Act in the United States. It aims to destroy the trade unions as effective class organizations that use their power to defend and improve the working conditions of workers. It aims especially to provide a legal basis for preventing solidarity strikes and actions, and, in particular, political strikes against the government.

Asked about the struggle of the trade unions against the danger of authoritarian government, Jack Cohen said that there is a totally new relation of forces in the leadership of the British trade union movement than, say, five years ago. Now the trend in the General Council of the Trades Union Congress is for the Left. Ninety-five per cent of the British trade unions do not recognize the government's Industrial Relations Act, and have refused to register under its provisions. The immediate perspective is one of intensified class conflict in Great Britain because of the government's whole policy. Unquestionably, there will be a swing to the Left in the trade unions. To bring this about depends very largely on the Communist Party. We are faced with a big perspective of breaking the Right-wing leadership of the Labor Party for the first time since it was founded.

Several speeches were devoted to the problems of combating neo-fascist ideology. The task of eradicating fascism, said A. Matzinger, CC member, CP Austria, has an ideological aspect. People must be brought up in a democratic spirit; anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, which constitute the backbone of neo-fascist ideology, must be resolutely opposed. The specific feature of the situation in Austria today is that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are fostered not only by neo-fascist groups but by bourgeois politicians who come out against frankly fascist organizations. By their anti-communism these politicians help, often unwittingly, the neo-fascist forces.

At the end of last year, chauvinistic bands of the so-called *Heimatsdienst*, which includes members of the National-Democratic Party, launched a series of attacks against the Slovenian minority in Carinthia. At first Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky denounced them as neo-fascist, but a few days later he modified his criticism. This was not accidental, for both of the two major parties, the People's Party and the Socialist Party, are vying for the neo-fascist vote. The opportunism, which merges with anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, prevents a clearcut dissociation from fascist ideology.

The task of the Communist Party and all progressive forces is to work for the spread of democratic views, especially among the youth, and the broadening of democracy, and resolutely to oppose every form of nationalism, neo-fascism and anti-communism.

When one defines the character of an ideology, said James Stewart, Deputy General Secretary, CP Ireland, one should be very precise and thorough in analyzing its specific role at this or that stage. The setting up of the Northern Ireland statelet helped to create and develop the ideology of Unionism, which is truly imperialist in content. It is based on the false premise that the link with Britain will solve the problem of the businessman, the small farmers and workers. But it is also based on the deliberate division of people on religious, sectarian lines, in other words, on the supremacy of the Protestant section of the people over the Catholic section in Northern Ireland. The democratic struggle for

civil rights in 1968 brought together Communists, Republicans, Nationalists, Liberals, and even Unionists, causing a split in the Unionist party along class lines.

But the ultra-Left in this period of struggle defined all forms of Unionism as fascism. The direct result of this was that they drove sections of the Protestant workers who were in the process of rejecting Unionism away from the movement. The ultra-Lefts' sectarian stand led to the conditions where the civil rights movement in the eyes of the Protestant section of the working class became identified as a Catholic movement. And thus the Unionist Right wing were able to engage in stirring up traditional sectarian hatreds.

Events of the last few years have shown that the neo-fascist ideology of the Unionist Right wing is bankrupt. The Unionists were ousted from power. Now the Right wing has set up new forms of organizations, such as Vanguard, the Ulster Defense Association, and the Loyalist Workers' Association, in an attempt to win the working class once more behind the Unionists.

British imperialism carefully manipulates the divisions amongst the working people of Northern Ireland. It has called in the army to maintain its control. The Communist Party of Ireland states that the present problem cannot be resolved in the interests of the people through civil war and rejects the position of the Provisional IRA on this question. The first essential, the Party holds, is the unification of the working class. The struggle, North and South, is a struggle for democratic rights for the entire people of Ireland.

Speaking of fascist tendencies in the Iraqi national movement, *Ara Khachadoor*, CC member, CP Iraq, drew attention to their historical roots. During World War II, reactionary nationalists fostered illusions that Axis successes could help the fight against the British colonialists. They swallowed the Nazi propaganda bait with its false logic that 'my enemy's enemy is my friend.'

Gradually, step by step, the Arab national movement developed into an important component of the national-liberation, anti-imperialist movement and shed the influence of fascist ideas. However, traces of this ideology can still be seen in the approach of reactionary circles to the solution of political problems, especially as regards democracy, their stance vis-à-vis the Communists, the masses and their political, trade union, professional and public organizations. Iraq suffered most tragically from manifestations of fascist ideology during and after the February events of 1963, when the blood of Communists, democrats and progressive flowed abundantly.

In spite of recent important social changes, the fight against fascist ideology remains an important problem in Iraq. The danger of anti-communism, that most virulent form of rejection of democracy, remains. Right-wing reactionary nationalist movements nurtured by imperialism and seeking to overthrow the present regime, may well resort to fascist methods again.

It was pointed out at the symposium that today it is important

for the Communist movement to analyze the struggle against political reaction and the Right-wing threat and the various manifestations of neo-fascism, discuss the problems involved, and work for the unity of all anti-imperialist, Left forces.*

3. SOME QUESTIONS OF TACTICS

WHAT STRENGTHENS AND WHAT WEAKENS FASCISM — BEHIND THE SCENES OF 'LIBERALIZATION' — IMPERIALIST TOOL AGAINST DETENTE AND PEACE — DEMOCRACY'S SELF-DEFENSE — NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR PREVENTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF FASCISM

The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized the need to give greater international support to the fighters against present-day fascism. Proceeding from this premise, the participants in the symposium discussed the forms of such support that would be in keeping with international political realities and specific situations in different countries.

It was stressed that the existence of the world system of socialist states is a prime factor in the fight against imperialism, fascism and reaction. The discussion centered around the question of the significance of the socialist states' foreign policies and the impact of the drive for international détente on the internal situation in countries where fascist or military-oligarchic cliques are in power.

It was noted that, in organizing opposition to fascism on an international scale, it is necessary to bear in mind the role of fascist regimes and movements in the global strategy of imperialism and the fact, stressed at the 1969 Meeting, that fascist and other tyrannical regimes are at the beck and call of U.S. imperialism and that world imperialism remains the main enemy of all democrats and progressives.

Attention was also drawn to neo-fascist attempts to challenge the democratic forces on foreign policy issues. This was the subject of the contribution by O Nurminen, Secretariat member, CC CP Finland. In Finland, he said, the extreme Right and neo-fascists aim their main blow against the policy of peaceful coexistence on which the Finnish-Soviet treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance is based.

Successes in the drive for détente have forced the reactionaries to give up some of their positions; at the same time, however, various Right-wing movements are getting more aggressive, often acquiring a fascist character. As noted by the 16th Congress of the Finnish Communist Party, the organization of neo-fascist forces and the determination of reactionary, imperialist circles to prevent détente and the establishment of relations of peaceful coexistence in Europe should not be underestimated.

The Right-wing attack against the policy of neutrality became

*Some of the problems involved in building up a broad alliance of democratic forces in the fight against imperialism and reaction, for democracy and socialism are discussed in this year's February issue of WMR.

especially malignant in 1972, when the law to extend President Kekkonen's tenure in office was being debated in the Diet. Members of the Conservative Right, Agrarian Party, Swedish People's Party and Liberal Party (many of whom are former members of banned fascist organizations) launched a fierce attack against the official foreign policy line.

The struggle over the presidential issue showed clearly that the question now is: will Finland continue its present foreign policy or alter it in the spirit of the anti-Soviet policies of the 30s? It would be a great mistake to imagine that the offensive of the extreme Right was no more than a foray of a few hotheads. In actual fact their actions were prompted by the monopoly capital groups that want a reactionary course in both domestic and foreign policy. The Right-wing revival is an indication that although the forces of peace have grown stronger and the people support the policy of peaceful coexistence, cooperation among democrats is still inadequate. In Finland, extreme Right-wing attitudes find expression mainly in anti-Sovietism. It is therefore important to continuously explain the advantages of friendship between Finland and the Soviet Union for the peoples of both countries, emphasizing that it is a guarantee of Finland's security.

We see neo-fascism, said *E. Lopez* (CP Spain), as a weapon, a reserve which imperialism may in certain conditions use to hold back, paralyze and, if possible, reverse the worldwide trend toward détente, peace, freedom and social progress. But the problem of neo-fascism cannot be understood if one overlooks the basic fact that Europe still has such fascist regimes as Franco's, that foster-child of Hitler and Mussolini, which to this day is a haven and staging ground for neo-fascist groups from many countries.

The fight against fascism and the neo-fascist menace should, in the speaker's view, be based on the new European reality, which is characterized by hostility to Franco and all he represents. Major political forces bearing a large measure of historical responsibility for Franco's victory are changing their traditional positions. Even the Vatican is at odds with the regime and supports, if not inspires, the separation from it of the Spanish church. Some Common Market governments have declared that the EEC doors should be kept closed to Spain as long as it remains fascist.

A leftward shift has taken place in the attitudes of European Social-Democrats to fascism. During talks between the Communist Party of Spain and leaders of European Social-Democratic parties the latter denounced the Franco regime more forcefully than ever before in recent years. In his speech at the Labor Party Conference, Harold Wilson appealed to all European socialist parties to withhold support from any European organization contemplating openings to the Franco regime. Other parties and unions under Social-Democratic influence have also been taking a more resolute anti-Franco stand. All of which shows that possibilities are emerging for the establishment of a genuinely democratic front in Europe to block Francoism. This would be of tremendous help to Spanish

opposition forces. The maturing of an anti-Franco front in Europe coincides in time with the growing crisis of the dictatorship inside Spain caused by mass action and contradictions within the regime. In such circumstances, a Freedom Pact sponsored by all opposition forces way well become a reality.

And this, Lopez said, is just why the Communist Party of Spain opposes the present Spanish government's participation in the European conference on security and cooperation. Problems of European security can easily be discussed and resolved without the participation of governments like Franco's. Lopez also spoke out against the establishment of diplomatic relations and other government-level contacts with Franco's fascist regime. One of the arguments in favor of letting Franco take part in the European security conference or establishing diplomatic or state relations with his regime is that it is in keeping with the policy of peaceful coexistence. But, he queried, is this argument not rooted in an opportunist interpretation of peaceful coexistence? Imperialists interpret coexistence as a preservation of the social and political status quo, that is, as an impediment to the revolutionary, liberation, democratic, anti-fascist changes brewing in the capitalist world. Rebuttal to this interpretation of coexistence is a question of principle. The primary task of peaceful coexistence is the prevention of a new world war. That is why the Spanish Communist Party realizes the need for, and supports, the participation of the United States in the discussions and agreements on European security, an inevitable prerequisite in the light of present-day realities. Franco, however, is an entirely different matter.

Franco Spain is a fascist country, even though lately Franco has been feeling less secure and trying to present his regime especially in the eyes of the outside world as less fascist or not fascist at all. In this way he is trying to get out of his international isolation and, the speaker claimed, is seeking diplomatic recognition from the socialist countries and access to European organizations.

Promises of 'liberalization' from the Greek colonels and Spanish fascists' 'new' political tactics and strategy, aim at securing more open support from American imperialism and the monopoly groups integrating on a European scale, and at overcoming the reservations and resistance of European bourgeois governments to the participation of fascist states in economic, political and military groupings (EEC, the European Parliament, NATO, etc.).

The tasks and objectives of the struggle against fascist-type movements and states concern not only the revolutionaries and democrats of the respective countries, but the labor and democratic front of Europe and the world as a whole. On the European scale, it is necessary to step up the activity of all organizations capable of responding to anti-fascist initiatives. It is also necessary to step up the struggle to force on the imperialists a policy of European détente which would lead to the removal of American military bases, put an end to NATO and other military blocs.

In our country, said *Ib Norlund*, EC and Secretariat member, CC

CP Denmark, the fight against the fascist menace has a strong international aspect. For subordination to the imperialist policy of blocs is fraught with the direct danger of mounting pressure by the fascist forces. Democrats oppose participation in blocs, which propel Denmark towards alliance with fascist regimes maintained in power because they serve the military and economic objectives of U.S. imperialism. It was public opinion that forced the government to denounce the actions of its ally, the Portuguese fascist government; and the fascist takeover in Greece, closely linked with NATO military plans. The broad popular movement against joining the Common Market was also impelled by the fear that a strengthening of the positions of West Germany would nurture the growth of ultra-reactionary and neo-fascist forces. Active movements of solidarity with the victims of fascism are at the same time a form of self-protection for democratic forces. Solidarity with peoples fighting fascist oppression, especially in Spain and Portugal, is a duty and task of the labor movement and broad democratic sections of the public.

There is another question of common concern in the fight against the fascist menace. The new balance of world forces creates new opportunities for preventing the development of fascism by stepping up the fight for peace and détente. It has been amply shown by experience that fascist movements thrive on war threats and international tensions which, as a rule, create a favorable climate for anti-communism and other reactionary trends. It is no accident that fascist regimes remain in power or come to power precisely in countries where the imperialists are especially anxious to retain their military bases. Hence, the fight for détente and peace is at the same time a means of combating fascism or its threat.

Advance towards European security and cooperation will, undoubtedly, create conditions unfavorable for the preservation or installation of fascist oppression. When imperialist states are compelled to accept the principles of peaceful coexistence their anti-communist propaganda runs into difficulties, to the detriment of fascist regimes. And if participation in imperialist military or economic blocs aimed against socialism strengthens fascist regimes, it follows that the creation of an all-European peace zone must surely weaken them. That is why the fight for European security and cooperation and the development of state relations between countries regardless of their social and political structure should be seen also as help to the people fighting for democracy in the difficult conditions of dictatorial, fascist regimes.

The Communists of Argentina, said Jaime Fuchs, have always attached great importance to the establishment and development of diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with the socialist world; they have sponsored mass movements in support of such relations under reactionary or pro-fascist governments as well as under pseudo-democratic governments. This is a form of struggle for a progressive orientation in the country and for world peace.

Imperialism, North American in particular, spared no effort to

keep the countries of Latin America away from the socialist community, especially the USSR. The financial and landlord oligarchy feared that relations with the socialist world would arouse interest in the life of socialist countries among Argentinians and promote their political awakening and struggle for social progress. Furthermore, ties with the socialist countries, as is apparent from the experience of Argentina, help to breach the economic dependence on imperialist powers and facilitate independent economic development. Such relations weaken the positions of imperialist monopolies, that bulwark of reactionary and pro-fascist forces.

This in no way implies support of the social and political status quo. Quite the contrary. Communists are guided by the proposition of the classics of Marxism-Leninism that the working class fights for democratic freedoms not for the defense of this or that bourgeois government but in its own interests, to create the best possible conditions, international included, for its social liberation.

The discussions were summed up by K. I. Zarodov. This useful and fruitful meeting, he said, took place in a comradely atmosphere. Many interesting views were voiced, some of them conflicting, but all promoted by a desire to dig deeper into the problem and thoroughly analyze it from Marxist-Leninist positions. The contributors were united by a common concern for greater cohesion and ideological cooperation between the brother parties and the stepping up of the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle.

What has the symposium revealed?

First. All participants gained a clearer idea of the importance of the problem and the need to expose fascism and reaction as inveterate opponents of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Many speakers noted that the initiative to hold the symposium was a timely one and that the problem had been formulated correctly, in line with the state of affairs in the world today.

It should be re-emphasized that the problem of fascism cannot be reduced to four or five countries. Such an approach was criticized at the 7th Comintern Congress by Georgi Dimitrov. And this symposium has examined the fascist and neo-fascist menace as an integrated, international phenomenon.

A clear and more realistic idea has been gained of the dimensions of the threat, the ways of fighting it, of the various factors and tendencies of state-monopoly development and the present stage in the general crisis of capitalism that facilitate the activization of fascism and reaction. The participants in the symposium analyzed various aspects of fascism as a system of government, a political party, an ideology. The conclusions to be drawn are that the fascist menace should not be underestimated and constant vigilance is necessary.

Second. The participants in the symposium made an attempt to interpret in theoretical terms the new and dangerous phenomenon of neo-fascism. This is an important initiative that will promote the further and deeper investigation of various problems of the anti-

imperialist struggle. Nowadays, when fascists are trying to extricate themselves from their moral and political isolation and worm their way into different sections of society and the masses at large, a correct understanding of the essence and specifics of neo-fascism is of tremendous importance for elaborating a tactic of effective struggle against it.

The question of defining neo-fascism was raised. The discussion makes possible a conclusion along the following lines: neo-fascism is fascism seeking to adapt itself to the conditions of the present stage in the general crisis of capitalism and the new alignment of forces inside the capitalist world and on the world arena. It is used by the most reactionary elements of monopoly capital to hold up, at all costs, the irreversible process of disintegration of the old system. And not just by trampling democratic rights and freedoms, fierce police repressions and persecutions and anti-labor legislation, but by establishing an openly terrorist, counter-revolutionary dictatorship. Neo-fascism is fascism, which, as a rule, serves U.S. imperialism.

We have tried to define the place and function of neo-fascism within the system designed to maintain the power of monopoly capital. The prospects of development in countries where fascism is still in power and the relative danger of neo-fascism in different countries, were analyzed. It was pointed out that, as a rule, the neo-fascists have no mass parties. While trying to build up parties of their own, they also seek other ways and means of establishing dictatorships: by military putsch, by taking over the bourgeois state machine from within through the reactionary government bureaucracy, by infiltrating the traditional bourgeois-democratic party apparatus.

Several key elements in Communist tactics of anti-fascist struggle can be formulated on the basis of the views expressed at the symposium:

- mobilization of all anti-imperialist forces and, first and foremost, working-class unity. Communists fight for the unity, not only of those workers who share their convictions, but also of those holding other political and ideological views - Social-Democrat workers, Catholic workers - and of all other democratic forces capable of allying themselves with the proletariat, including urban and rural petty-bourgeois strata. In this way, a powerful political army is formed in the struggle for democracy, peace and socialism, capable of resisting reaction and pro-fascist sallies and plucking out the roots of fascism. An especially important problem in many countries is that of winning over to our ideas the trade unions and, through them, the broad masses of the working people.

- concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis and the exposure of fascism, both 'traditional' and updated with regard to methods and superficial features. As pointed out by the participants in the symposium, fascists and neo-fascists must be resisted every day and everywhere, through the press, at public meetings and parliamentary forums. Our word, the Communist word, is addressed first and

foremost to the masses, and its purpose is to isolate fascism politically and ideologically.

- anti-fascist propaganda, which includes explaining the bitter and instructive lessons of the fight against fascism and, in particular, the decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress; exposing the present-day class roots of neo-fascism; criticizing its ideology; and combating Right-wing opportunist tendencies to underestimate the fascist menace, and Left-wing sectarian tendencies to exaggerate it.

- practical help to, and support of, fighters against fascism in countries under its heel; exposure of the situation in those countries; international solidarity and protest campaigns against the murder of revolutionaries, patriots and democrats, against repression and terror.

Third. The fundamental importance of the foreign policy of the socialist countries in the struggle against imperialism and fascism was stressed. Many speakers drew the important conclusion that the policy of détente creates an unfavorable climate for fascist regimes.

It has been shown by experience that whenever imperialism is able to unleash war or aggravate relations between peoples it becomes much more difficult for the progressive forces within the country to fight the regime, which seeks to justify terror and dictatorship by the 'external threat.' It is not accidental that fascist regimes in the major countries collapsed only as a result of military defeat. On the other hand, in conditions of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems the progressive forces gain new opportunities for carrying out a broad, mass struggle against fascism within the country and working for international anti-fascist solidarity. In every country the fascists and neo-fascists are inveterate opponents of peace and security of peoples. They seek by every means to prevent the normalization of relations between socialist and capitalist countries. U.S. imperialism uses countries with fascist regimes as strongpoints in the struggle against world socialism. That is why the Communists of such countries as Portugal, for example, hold that the development of cultural, tourist, sporting and economic ties with the USSR and other socialist countries would serve to weaken the positions of fascism in Portugal and, even in the present conditions, facilitate the popular struggle there; hence, they conclude, the promotion of relations between Portugal and the socialist countries is, with due consideration of every possible inflection in them, a form of the struggle against fascism and colonialism.

It is hard to disagree with the comrades who say that for success in the fight against present-day fascism on the international scale, all Communists, all democrats and patriots must:

- act in the mainstream of the anti-imperialist struggle, the basic strategic sphere in all our actions. The broader its scope and the more firmly anti-imperialist fronts are united, the more successful is the fight against the fascist menace, the more effective is resist-

ance to pro-fascist activity.

– link the fight against fascism and reaction with the common struggle of the three great revolutionary forces of our time – the socialist world system, the international working class, and the national-liberation movement – against imperialism. It was socialism, the Soviet Union, that rid mankind of the fascist yoke, and today socialism is in the front ranks of the fighters against fascism and war;

– use every possible channel – political and military, ideological and diplomatic – in the fight against fascism, attack fascism not only frontally but indirectly as well, use every opportunity to facilitate the struggle of democrats and Communists and accelerate internal processes undermining the fascist regime and promoting the growth of mass anti-fascist opposition; wage an offensive against fascism from outside, making wide use of such a form of class struggle as peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Expansion of the fight against fascism, neo-fascism and reaction is an imperative of our time. Fascism once managed to mislead the masses and draw the world into a terrible holocaust. This must not happen again.

Something new in Honduras?

Dionisio Ramos Bejarano
General Secretary,
CC CP Honduras

CONTINUING OUR SERIES 'POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF LATIN AMERICA'

At dawn on December 4, 1972, President Ramon E. Cruz of Honduras was told that he was no longer in office and was under house arrest. This representative of the reactionary Nationalist Party had been elected for a six-year term, but his rule lasted only 18 months. He had been deposed by the army. That same morning the world learned of the coup d'état, nothing unusual in Latin America. But this one did not follow the usual pattern.

Again the military

The question mark in the title is intentional, suggesting that there remain unanswered questions concerning the nature of the December coup. The situation in Latin America today is diversified and

dynamic and it is not always possible to determine at once the political meaning of an event.

Superficially this coup is not different from previous 'pronunciamientos.' At six a.m. that same morning the radio broadcast the news of Cruz's removal and the reason for it, though the political stand of the initiators of the coup was not disclosed.

The military said that the 'chaotic situation in the country' compelled them to intervene. They also expressed regret that the government of 'national unity' which had come to power as a result of an agreement between the traditional parties in 1971* had been unable, 'in accordance with the principles of the Constitution, to solve the country's problems and put an end to the 'shameful past which had done so much harm' and had become the cause of 'national discord.'

It is perfectly true that under the deposed administration the economic and political situation had gone from bad to worse. But the 'chaos' to which the military drew attention started long before Cruz had come to power, and has a history of at least 10 years. Its real reasons were not explained in the proclamation.

The military declared their aims to be the genuine unity of the nation, solution of the main socio-economic problems and concern for the welfare of the people. To achieve these aims they declared their readiness to 'offer posts of responsibility to all those who, irrespective of party alignment, were prepared to serve the beloved country.' This was something new, and gave grounds for hope of a change for the better.

What do the ministers say?

Thus, Cruz's regime, which expressed the interests of the latifundian oligarchy and North American monopolies, has been overthrown. In its place there is a government headed by General Oswaldo Lopez Arellano.** The more important posts are held by the army, but there are also civilians, including representatives of the Party of Renewal and Unity.*** It is still too early to predict the future. The new Government has not yet announced a broad and definite program of action, and we can only judge its intentions from isolated statements by members of the Cabinet.

Clearly, there is no change in foreign policy. In the words of the Foreign Minister Cesar A. Batres the policy of its predecessors will continue, notably, on such questions as the border dispute with Salvador and relations with the Central American Common Market.

The new Economics Minister, Jose A. Bennaton, a well-known supporter of Honduras participation in CACM, made his intentions

*'National Unity' - the union of the National and Liberal parties which monopolize political power in Honduras. The National Election Council had refused to register the other parties, preventing them from participating in parliamentary activities.

**This well-known 53-year-old Honduran General governed the country intermittently from 1956 to 1971, and deposed two presidents - in 1963 and 1972.

***The democratic organization which, under the previous regime, was not permitted to take part in the elections.

clear in an interview with a correspondent of 'El Dia,' 'We are living in an era of expanding relationships,' he said, 'We are part of a particular region. Our countries have common frontiers and historical traditions which make for economic integration.' Without going into what kind of integration is implied, we can only remark that imperialism will be the first to benefit.

And what of the new Government's domestic policy? One of its aspects was outlined by General Arellano in the most general terms. On appointing Colonel Policarpo Gracia as head of the Security Forces he said that they should not be used to suppress the people. It is true that the December coup, unlike the aftermath of the *pronunciamento* of 1963, was not followed by arrests, persecutions or deportations of political leaders. At the same time, the traditional parties' domination has been broken. A special Government decree forbids them to organize meetings whose aims are at variance with the aims of the armed forces.

Trade union, peasant and student organizations work openly. Officially, the Communist Party is not legal, but at the same time we have far greater possibilities for activity. Undoubtedly, this is a positive aspect of the prevailing situation.*

One of the Government steps worthy of mention is Decree No. 3 which forbids the Republic's Chief Treasurer to deduct three per cent of the salaries of government employees (more than 134,000 lempiras) for the ruling parties. This, undoubtedly, is a positive, though far from revolutionary step.

Although the Minister of Health and Social Security, Dr. Enrique Aguilar Paz,** in an interview with *Tiempo*, said that 'the armed forces of Honduras, striving towards progress, have opened up an era of revolutionary development in the country,' we are disturbed by the preference shown for the economic plans of the previous regime. To judge from the statements by Manlio Martinez, Executive Secretary of the Supreme Council for Economic Planning, attempts are being made to 'give clear guidelines to activize the private sector of industry, capital investment and financing.' Meanwhile, the emphasis is on the old long-term development plan, which, it is alleged, is financed with foreign loans, North American in the first place.

It is not clear, however, that the penetration of foreign capital is not in the national interests? And it is being opposed by all our democratic forces. All talk about an 'era of revolutionary development' will remain empty phrases unless the military transform conditions for the overwhelming majority of poverty-stricken Hondurans.

There can be no doubt that positive steps will be supported by the working people. As Oscar Gale Varela, Trade Union president of the Tela Railroad Banana Company, remarked: 'Our main con-

*For more detailed information about the conditions in which the Communist Party in Honduras works, see D. Ramos Bejarano, M. A. Soler, 'Building Up Strength.' WMR, March, 1973.

**Member of the EC of the Party of Renewal and Unity. The Minister of Public Works and Communications engineer Miguel Angel Rivera, is also a representative of this Party.

cern is the solution of the nation's problems. If the Government tackles this we will unhesitatingly cooperate with it.'

Too early to draw conclusions

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of Honduras held in the spring of last year analyzed the crisis in the country and indicated the inevitability of change. In this sense the December events were no surprise to us.

We did not condemn the military coup, since it was clearly directed against the anti-popular 'National Unity' regime. It can now be stated definitely that the industrial bourgeoisie of San Pedro Sula* was actively involved in the preparations to overthrow the Cruz government. It makes no secret of its ties with foreign capital, notably the Standard Fruit Company. It is also supported by some trade union and peasant leaders.

Thus the coup was dictated by domestic and foreign political factors affecting the requirements of the country's economic development. A prelude to it was the mass 'hunger march of the peasants.'**

While opposing the more reactionary elements of our society – the big landed oligarchy and corrupt regime of 'National Unity' – the military are continuing the policy of those classes that dominate the economy. But this does not justify hastily conclusions. In specific circumstances the armed forces can temporarily 'be above' classes, on coming to power, can play the role of 'arbiter' of social conflicts, and carry through a policy of unity with intermediate social forces or with the politically less influential sections of the ruling classes.*** Latin American experience shows that the patriotically minded military can achieve significant success in socio-economic development.

In the statement of the political commission of the CC of our Party on the December coup we refrained from defining the class nature of the military/civilian government. Time will show whether the new regime is democratic or even revolutionary, as some Cabinet members claim. It has yet to prove its ability to change the situation in favor of the people, and achieve success in defense of the national interests.****

The Communist Party calls on the Government to 'introduce basic changes so essential to the country, to put an end to chaos and

*A town on the north coast of Honduras, where the influence of the 'young' bourgeoisie predominates. As distinct from the 'old' bourgeois-landlord oligarchy, it seeks the industrialization of the country and the introduction of some reforms.

**Mass peasant action which took place shortly before the coup demanding that the Cruz government implement the Law on Agrarian Reform, enacted more than ten years previously.

***See L. Padilla, J. Laborde, E. Souza, *Anti-Imperialist Struggle and the Armed Forces of Latin America*. WMR, March, 1971. – Ed.

****This March of the CP of Honduras set forth its attitude towards the regime in a specific statement. It described the regime as liberal-reformist. The government will go no farther than a few reforms, the statement said, enabling the bourgeoisie to control the commanding heights in the economy, but without ending the U.S. imperialist domination. As the Communists see it, the coup of December 4, 1972, was intended to anticipate more radical action by the people and progressive army elements. The CP accused the regime of going back on the promises made in the armed forces proclamation. Lopez Arellano's unclear position, or drift rightwards, the statement emphasized, will deepen the contradictions within the army. The people will side with those who have progressive and democratic slogans. – Ed.

economic crises, the source of poverty.' It emphasizes that, if the Government really intends to fulfill its pledges, it must get closer to the people. We shall, without doubt, support any initiative, any beginning of progressive and democratic advance, but will also not refrain from criticism and exposure of the government, if it gives in to pressure of the landed oligarchy and North American imperialism.

The more reactionary forces have been driven from political power but they have not been defeated and are only waiting for a suitable moment to stage a comeback. They hope that the new Government will fail to achieve its positive (albeit vague) aims and so will compromise itself in the eyes of the people. Reaction will also take advantage of the existing laws that put many obstacles in the way of progressive change. Therefore, we Communists call for vigilance.

The solution of the nation's problems largely depends on us, on our ability to rouse the working people to demand changes which will extricate the country from its economic crisis and give the peasants land. It is hoped that the social rights of the working people will be respected and trade union freedom achieved, and that wages and salaries will be increased. We look forward to a growing struggle against rising prices, poverty, illiteracy and, in the final analysis, against neo-colonialism.

We will assist the development of this process. Basing ourselves on the masses, we can exercise pressure on the government to pursue a policy that can lead the country on to the path of democracy, progress and independence.

The socialist economic executive

*K. Kolev, M. Kowalewski,
A. Levikov*

BULGARIAN, POLISH AND SOVIET PUBLICISTS GIVE A COMPOSITE SOCIAL PORTRAIT

Every socio-economic formation evolves its own type of production organizer. In modern capitalism this is the manager, a man specially trained, and highly paid, to maximize capitalist profit. Socialist production, naturally, has its own type of executive. What are his qualities and distinguishing traits? Can we speak of a type of economic executive common to all the socialist countries? To answer these questions and produce a composite portrait of the socialist executive,

we invited to Prague representatives of three newspapers, **Rabotnichesko Delo** (Bulgaria), **Tribuna Ludu** (Poland) and **Literaturnaya Gazeta** (USSR), who have written extensively on socio-economic matters.

Kolev (Bulgaria). Describing one man is not easy, producing a social portrait is a very hard job indeed. Perhaps the best way is to begin with the vital statistics: age, family background, education. And let us apply them first to the capitalist manager. A study of 576 top executives in British, Belgian, Dutch, Italian, French and West German industry revealed that three-quarters come from the 'top crust' of society, and even the 'second-rank' are usually the sons of businessmen, white-collar workers or civil servants. Common people account for less than five per cent of executive personnel. And that is only natural: the manager comes from the class that rules society.

What of the socialist countries?

Levikov (USSR). Here, I would like to go back to an episode of the 1930s. Young workers at Moscow's first ball-bearing plant got together for a 'dreamers' conference' (that's what they called it). They dreamt of the day when the whole process of manufacturing ball-bearings would be fully automated. It has been. But they did not foresee how they themselves would develop. One of the 'dreamers,' lathe operator Anatoly Gromov, is now director of the plant, a Hero of Socialist Labor, holder of Lenin and State prizes and a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Kowalewski (Poland). Shortly after the war a 'Red technical school' for workers was started in Butom. A while ago sociologists made a poll of its 140 first graduates: 76 hold executive positions, including 11 factory directorships, and one, Jan Mitrenga, is Deputy Prime Minister – he started as a coal miner.

Levikov. The Soviet Union's first socialist executives were trained at Workers' Faculties. Often enough a worker without special training would be placed in charge of production – we had no choice. A poll of 159 factory directors conducted in 1922 revealed that 63 per cent had only a primary education and only 13 per cent (often former factory owners or managers) had a university diploma. In those days one could hardly imagine that in Kazakhstan (where, before the revolution, very few could even read and write), a Kazakh, Nabi Zhaksibayev, who holds a degree in technology, would be director of the Zyrianovsk lead combine built in the Soviet years. That is one example; this is the general picture: the USSR is training more engineers than any other country; more than four million diploma-holding specialists are now working in the economy.

Kolev. Bulgaria, as other socialist countries, has a veritable army of trained technicians. Indeed, we could not do without them in this age of technological revolution. A poll of 200 enterprises conducted by my paper showed that 25 per cent of their directors had

prior to their appointment been deputy directors, chief engineers and so on, and the rest held intermediate executive jobs or were Party or local-government officials.

To buttress its contention that the socialist countries are producing an elite standing above the people, bourgeois propaganda says that nowadays factory workers are not made factory directors. But higher professional competence does not change a man's social status. In the socialist countries executives do not owe their position to the wealth or status of their parents. All our executives come from the working people. Our schools, from elementary up, are open to all. Every young man and woman can advance to more responsible positions. Everything depends on his or her ability, energy and diligence, not on family background. In fact, the composition of our managerial personnel reflects the social structure of our society. To this should be added that persons appointed to executive positions share the ideals and views of the working class and act in accordance with its will. How this is done in practice, I will discuss later.

Levikov. It is only natural, I think, that our managerial personnel should reflect the social structure of our society, in which there are neither exploited nor exploiters. Soviet sociologists Melnikov, Kaidalov and Kuzminsky have completed a survey of 2,000 production managers. Here are some of the preliminary results: 35 per cent come from working-class families, 20 per cent are of peasant background and the remainder come from white-collar or professional families. The survey covered cities in several Union Republics—Moscow, Kirov, Orel, Tula, Dushanbe, Tbilisi, Lvov and Tallinn. Much the same picture emerges from other surveys. In Novosibirsk, for instance, nearly half of the 70 directors of major enterprises began as workers.

The figures show that there is no impediment to workers advancing to executive jobs. The school leaver who goes into industry has every opportunity for advance, first to team-leader or foreman. A study by Kharkov sociologists shows that out of 740 foreman questioned, 85 per cent began as ordinary workers. A foreman who studies and shows ability can become a shop superintendent. A Leningrad sociological study produced these figures: 40.7 per cent of those advancing to higher jobs continued to study at evening or through correspondence courses, as against only 16.7 per cent of those who had not advanced to a better job.

Kowalewski. Education, professional competence, are doubtlessly the main requirements for any executive in this age of technological revolution. I have data for the whole of Polish industry, including even the smallest enterprises, and not only of their directors, but also their technical and economic assistants. The figures show that nearly 71 per cent have a higher education, and the proportion in the electronics, electrical engineering and chemical industries is as high as 91 or 92 per cent. Also these statistics for the country's 132 biggest enterprises: 90 per cent of the directors and their deputies have a specialized higher education.

Kolev. Similar figures for 200 Bulgarian plants show that 93 per cent of directors have a higher education. Before our 1944 revolution, there were about 100,000 specialists, now there are 457,000 with higher or specialized secondary education. About 20 per cent of the directors interviewed are doing research besides their regular jobs, and some have academic degrees.

Levikov. There is one more vital statistic – age. Some say it is not so very important. Generally speaking, that may be so. But we are working on a concrete, not abstract, social portrait, and it has to be given in its authentic setting.

Some factory managers began their career when we had very few properly trained experts. And there are data to show that their educational levels are below the average for the younger age groups. Of course practical experience counts for much, but these older men do not always 'catch on' to the new technology or new organizational ideas. True, they do not make up a very high percentage. A poll of 2,000 executives in industry showed that 6 per cent were under 30, 60 per cent between 31 and 45 and only 11 per cent above 55. The average age is 41.5. Another study, by L. Chervonnaya in the Urals shoe industry, indicates that the average age tends to decline – every new generation of executives starts at a lower age.

Well, we have established the link between age and education standard. But does a man's attitude to his job depend on age?

Kowalewski. You know, to a certain extent it does. A poll of shop foremen at Warsaw heavy industry plants on how they see their job, including relations with superiors, colleagues and subordinates, revealed a difference as between age groups (the under and over 30s). This should not be interpreted to mean that in one group the attitudes are socially useful, in the other socially harmful. The younger men's intolerance of shortcomings is useful, but their intolerance of the opinion of others is harmful. The very fact that there are such differences, I think, suggests that we should strive for an optimal combination of age groups, find optimal proportions that would assure both continuity and proper reaction to new ideas and innovations.

Kolev. I think that is the correct approach. In Bulgaria the 40-50 group predominates, followed by the 30-40. But, I believe, the main distinguishing feature of the socialist administrator is his world outlook, the goals he sets himself.

World outlook, aims, motives

Kowalewski. At one time there was much talk in the West of a technological gap between Western Europe and the USA. Today the difference in economic potential is measured in terms of management rather than technology. And management does play a big part. But its aims and methods differ depending on the socio-economic system, just as the aims of production and society differ. It should not, therefore, be difficult to visualize the ideals and

world outlook of the socialist executive. His image was described by Lenin in the early Soviet years, and this laid the foundation for the training of our cadres. But every new stage of social development presents its own demands on management and managers.

Kolev. Perhaps we should begin with the question: what do the workers expect of a socialist executive? 'What is your criterion of a good executive?' That question was put shortly before my trip to Prague to 100 workers at the Lenin Steel Mills in Pernik. And here are some of the answers: 'He should know his job and do it well' – Radoslav Kirilov, 48, mechanic. 'Should be strict but fair' – Dora Borisova, 33, crane operator. 'He is a good director who has been steeled in practical production' – Vasil Popeshki, 20, steel worker.

Kowalewski. These are very reasonable demands, to be sure, but don't they apply to the capitalist manager as well?

Kolev. Yes, they could. It would be absurd to maintain that bourgeois and socialist executives have absolutely nothing in common. Many professional requirements apply to both. But take these typical answers: 'He must bring his heart and mind to his work' – 30-year-old steel worker Ivan Momchev; 'Be true to the working class' – 52-year-old smelting foreman Gencho Stefanov. A capitalist manager might bring his heart and mind to his job, too, but the worker in a capitalist mill is least of all concerned that he should. And to demand that a capitalist manager be true to the working class – that would never occur to anyone.

Levikov. In a similar poll, the vast majority of workers and office personnel at the Moscow Hammer and Sickle Plant put the accent on professional knowledge, a comradely attitude, willingness to offer advice, organizational ability, exacting but fair towards subordinates, cool-headedness, readiness to stand up for the community. And the workers' opinion is important – the factory director holds a key position: he has to combine the interests of society, the work-collective and the individual worker. Objectively, there is no contradiction, at any rate no antagonistic contradiction, between these interests. There is nothing like the irreconcilable contradictions, between the capitalist and the wage worker in the distribution of the produced values. But, in the concrete conditions of socialist industry, the ability and efforts of the executive are decisive in preventing contradictions or in reducing them to a minimum.

Kowalewski. Much is being done in Poland to improve economic management by combining more effective overall central planning with more independence and initiative to leading enterprises. This year, such enterprises – they account for about one-fifth of industrial output – have gone over to a new management system. It is vitally important that the interests of the collective coincide with those of society as a whole.

Relations between the capitalist manager and the capitalist state are based on the former's desire to give the latter as little as pos-

sible (by concealing income, paying less taxes, etc.), and get as much as possible. Our enterprises are public property and if one or another factory director tries to counterpose the interests of his collective to those of the state, that will not be tolerated for long. Relations between individual enterprises rest on mutual assistance and common interests, and not on competition. The director's relations with the collective should be seen in the context of the dual role of the enterprise: it produces for the whole society and, at the same time, satisfies many requirements, material and spiritual, of its own collective. The director should not be inattentive to either of these functions. And whether it is a matter of dealing with higher organizations, other factories or subordinates, the director of a socialist enterprise is always guided by interests other than those of the capitalist executive.

Levikov. I would add that the head of a socialist enterprise is, so to say, at the crossroads of two management lines, production and social. For instance, P. Sharov, director of the Shchekino Chemical Combine, is now conducting a socio-economic experiment. In one of his articles he remarks that his purpose is both economic and social, to make the workers' job more interesting and creative. And to do this he is looking for ways to create a 'new environment and a new man.' Here we have a social thinker, not a technocrat.

Kolev. One of the questions in our poll of 200 factory directors was: 'What is your motto?' Here are some of the answers: 'Everything for the people and the country!' – Angel Panev, 30, Khaskovo textile mill. 'Help the laggards to catch up!' – Penu Minchev, 46, Gabrovo tool plant. 'Everything depends on man!' – Vyso Penevski, 46, deputy director of the Dimitrovgrad cement combines. 'Study and work!' – Iordan Lazarev, 50, Pazardjik building combine. Reflected in these answers are different characters, but the sentiment is the same and so is the socialist ideal.

Levikov. Our composite social portrait can be supplemented by the answers of the managers of large Soviet engineering plants whom Kharkov University sociologists asked about motivations of their activity. They listed, first of all, responsibility to society and the staff, and interest in their work. The money aspect was last but one on the list. Now compare that with the motives of capitalist managers whom B. Gournay, a French sociologist, tells about in his book, *An Introduction to the Science of Management*, with reference to the findings of his French and British colleagues. In first place is job security, then comes money, power, prestige. While polling methods were dissimilar and not all findings permit of comparison, the fundamental difference in the answers given is evident and understandable.

Kowalewski. X. Gliszczynska, a Polish psychologist, writes that a very important motivation of human activity is satisfaction with the results of one's efforts and awareness of their value. I often have occasion to talk with plant managers and I wish to stress that all of them, like the employees of the plants they head, work

with added zest today. This applies above all to the period since the Party decided on measures to foster the economy and raise the standard of life. The fact that workers and managers have common objectives makes for mutual understanding and comradely relations.

Kolev. I think some readers, at least in non-socialist countries, may see a moot point here. After all, labor is not unpaid in our countries, there are many material inducements. Executives receive a salary and efficiency bonuses. How does all this square with the motives we have just discussed?

Kowalewski. We don't claim that our managers (or workers) are indifferent to earnings. What we are talking about are the main motivations or decisive interests. We also have our bad managers, men who think more about their personal interests than the public interest. But we are concerned with the characteristic traits of the socialist industrial executive.

Kolev. Most of our executives are Party members, and this, I think, clears up the issue of world outlook and motivations. Of the 200 managers of big plants polled, 97 per cent were BCP members. In the engineering industry the proportion is 98 per cent.

Kowalewski. In Poland, 63 per cent of the managerial personnel in engineering are Party members, for managers and deputy managers the proportion is from 82 to 91 per cent. Under socialism, it's logical that the economy should be run by Communists.

But there is another aspect. Bourgeois propaganda alleges that in a socialist country nobody can get an executive job if he isn't a Party member. As we have seen, even among engineering plant managers in Poland nine to 18 per cent don't belong to the Party.

Levikov. I wish to add that according to some Soviet sociologists, notably, L. Chervonnaya, many specialists join the Party *after* being assigned executive jobs. They realize that their new position also makes them public figures. Joining the Party, they are in closer touch with the collective, benefit from its experience and the advice of fellow-Communists.

Ability to win people

Kowalewski. The world outlook of a production organizer has its effect on the objectives and motives of his activity as well as on his working methods. I think his relations with subordinates and the staff as a whole, are particularly important.

The principles of these relations are determined by the nature of our society, in particular the absence of antagonistic contradictions. However, to lead the staff of a modern enterprise, one needs an increasing amount of special knowledge. We in Poland had a discussion on whether it's enough for a manager to be an engineer. That was some time ago. Today almost 80 per cent of our engineering works managers are graduates of technological or engineering faculties. However, we set up an advanced training center as far

back as 1960 which gives instruction in management and related subjects. Since then, 37 more centers have come into being.

Levikov. Sociologists asked a group of one-time workers promoted to various managerial jobs and working hard to improve their qualifications what kind of knowledge they felt they lacked most of all. One-third of them replied that they needed sociological, psychological and educational knowledge. We are now removing defects of training in a number of fields. We've set up an Economic Management Institute under the State Committee for Science and Technology which offers classes to ministers, deputy ministers, and general directors of firms. There are dozens of other institutes for the advanced training of executives. Several universities have organized courses in economic cybernetics. Various institutes train students in the 'organization of information processing' and 'organization of managerial activity,' and offer lectures on management and engineering psychology. Institutions of higher learning have established 80 faculties for refresher training of industrial leaders. Needless to say, these institutes never confine themselves to purely technological training. Marxist-Leninist education underlies the training of every specialist. It is particularly needed by executives.

Kolev. We, too, have institutes training economic executives. There is an advanced training center under the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management. Large industrial combines and complexes set up their own centers to train executives of different levels. However, professional competence isn't the only requisite of proper relations between manager and employee.

In developed capitalist countries, too, managers are trained or retrained in numerous classes set up for the purpose. Some training aids go as far as to indicate who and when you should smile to or shake hands with. I believe, however, that there's a fundamental difference of approach to this branch of knowledge and its progress in capitalist and socialist countries.

Kowalewski. In Poland, success is achieved by only those managers who take the right view of their function in the system of socialist self-management and maintain proper relations with the Party organization, the trade union, and the workers and specialists generally, that is, do not try to put themselves above the others. One-man management doesn't imply uncontrolled power. Production targets are formulated by the whole staff.

Kolev. In the capitalist world systems of so-called worker 'participation' in management are often advertised. There is no point in going into these systems at length, especially as even bourgeois economists differ over them, while many employers simply reject them. The objective of all these systems is the same. Mr. Schaefer, director of the West German Roehling Bank, stated it quite clearly. 'If anyone convinces me,' he said at a forum sponsored by the Evangelical Academy at Bad Belle, 'that there is a model of worker participation in management which helps raise productivity,

then I shall be for it.' He could hardly have spoken more clearly. The worker is allowed to 'participate' in managing capitalist property so as to increase it—and that's all.

Socialist production democracy, however, is a form of exercising public ownership of the means of production. It entrusts industrial leaders with managing this property but the employees concerned are by no means debarred from management—they draft and adopt decisions on key matters. For this there are elected economic committees in the enterprises.

Levikov. In the Soviet Union non-governmental organizations have both formal and real power of control over the activity of executives. I mean the Party organization, which has the right of control over the management's entire economic activity. There is also the trade union organization, which concerns itself with the employee's direct interests and participates in management, including production and financial planning. The executives themselves participate in the many non-governmental organizations. As he advances to higher executive positions, the manager is active along two lines: production (energy, competence) and social. Sociologists say that those who rise to executive posts are 18-20 per cent more active socially than those who do not. And their social activity goes far beyond the enterprise.

Kowalewski. In Polish light industry, social and political activities take up more than 20 per cent of the managers' working time, according to G. Rupinski and S. Taubwurcel. It's true that a manager's social activity cannot always be separated from his official duties. Occasionally a manager goes to the undesirable extreme of shouldering too many social responsibilities.

Levikov. At a time when socialist economic executives were only just being trained, Lenin pointed out that they must have a special capacity for 'winning people.' I thought of this more than once while acquainting myself with the work of our more efficient executives. It is not only because they must that they associate with their subordinates. They confer with them before making a decision and try to bring as many of them as possible into the discussion of an idea, to arouse their interest and win them for the idea. Research into relations between executives and their subordinates was carried out in Moscow, Kharkov, Ufa, Semipalatinsk, Tallinn, Novosibirsk and other cities. It revealed an atmosphere of mutual understanding and sound comradeship. Only six per cent of the employees of petrochemical and oil-refining plants said they were dissatisfied with relations with their superiors.

Kowalewski. What is the basis of these relations? Feather bedding or familiarity? But no enterprise can function properly on such a basis. We know that a key duty of executives is to educate people and maintain rigid discipline in the enterprises they head, and furthermore, to set an example of discipline, especially in fulfilling government assignments and meeting their own commitments to partner enterprises. Performance of this function does not preju-

dice comradely relations with subordinates because socialist discipline is neither 'the discipline of the bludgeon,' nor 'the discipline of hunger' (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 419), but 'a discipline of faith . . . a discipline of comradeship, a discipline of the utmost respect, a discipline of independence and initiative' (*Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 515).

Kolev. It's impossible for us to look into all the traits of the socialist executive but we ought to add, I believe, that he should be assessed from the standpoint of both his competence and his human qualities. A cold, officious administrator can hardly be expected to win people's esteem. Bulgarian plant managers do scientific research as a hobby (35 per cent of the 200) and are avid readers. One-tenth of them go in for hunting and fishing and one in twenty goes in for photography.

Levikov. I can add that two-thirds of the 2,000 executives polled in our country go frequently to exhibitions, concerts, museums and the theatre. The press sociology group of the Siberian branch of the Academy of Sciences polled readers of national dailies, with special emphasis on executive personnel (the poll was led by V. Shlapentokh). The noteworthy thing about the answers is that economic executives showed themselves to be highly cultured people with a creative interest in life and a critical mind. In other words, they possess qualities which are particularly valuable in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution and social progress.

Trends and prospects

Now for some generalizations by way of a closing communique, so to speak, on the Prague meeting of the Bulgarian, Polish and Soviet journalists.

Is an internationalist type of socialist economic executive evolving? Yes, and this is natural. The similarity of the principal qualities of business executives in our countries is due to economic relations of a common type, common social goals and a common ideology. To be sure, the activity of every executive is influenced by local, in particular national, conditions and by economic and socio-psychological specifics. But what we are concerned with here is the more general traits of the executive due primarily to the distinctive features of the social and economic system that mould him. It is obvious that as socialist economic integration goes on and as common problems are solved and experiences exchanged, these common traits will become more marked and these contacts will undoubtedly benefit our executives.

The socialist manager should be viewed in the process of development, since his working conditions change. Many of the problems he had to grapple with in the past stemmed from post-war dislocation and shortages. They consisted in overcoming what may be called difficulties of the first order.

Today economic organizers as well as specialists have to give

more and more of their energy to the creative solution of production and social problems. The scientific and technological revolution and social changes in society put new demands to executives and change the executives themselves. Great energy, the ability to get things done, is plainly no longer a sufficient qualification. Priority today goes to competence and the ability to work with people, who have changed too, because they are better educated and have a keener sense of dignity, as befits members of a developed socialist society.

Competence and the ability to work with people are demands put to capitalist managers as well. Does the scientific and technological revolution bring these two international types of executive closer together? We think we have shown the distinction as it stands today, but what about the future?

As far as managing techniques are concerned, many of them, such as the use of computers and certain principles of organizing modern production, are common to both kinds of manager. But in regard to ideals, aspirations, goals and methods the distinction persists and, in fact, tends to grow. This is due to the development of socialist production and social relations. Take, for example, the development of socialist democracy and self-management. Key documents of our parties set this task as a highly important one, and much is being done to fulfil it. A socialist manager, in specifying production targets and selecting the means of reaching them, does so not only on behalf and in the interests of the state and the workers, but also in common with his staff, with the workers.

Freedom for Camacho and his comrades

Today's Spain knows many instances of glaringly arbitrary treatment of the working class and its Communist Party, of all democrats, by the Franco regime. However, there are cases of a particularly outrageous nature which rouse the masses to action throughout the country and cause a strong outcry abroad. One of them is the disgraceful trial of Marcelino Camacho and his nine comrades.

Prominent labor leaders who served long terms in Franco's jails, they had been delegated by fellow-workers to vertical unions* in which they invariably and firmly upheld the interests of their brothers. They have now been rearrested and are to be tried again by a fascist court. And what is more, the only charge is their past revolutionary activity which has already cost them years of prison. It is on this ground that the public prosecutor of the 'court of pub-

*Labor organizations formed by the Franco regime. — Ed.

lic order' wants them to be sentenced to further prison terms ranging from 12 to 20 years.

The manifest purpose of the trial is to intimidate the Spanish proletariat, militant vanguard of the democratic opposition, strike at the new working-class movement embodied in the workers' commissions and silence all democrats.

The alarming news of the nine trade unionists' arrest and the filing of the infamous No. 1001 Case raised a vast protest wave. Hundreds of young men and women of Madrid held a demonstration of solidarity with the ten inmates of Carabanchel prison. The National Workers' Commission of Catalonia issued an appeal in defense of the arrested. Protests came from the union delegates of dozens of enterprises, who were joined by engineers and technicians. During collective bargaining sessions the employees of almost all Catalan enterprises voiced their support for the defendants. The population of several Barcelona neighborhoods collected signatures to a petition for the release of Camacho and his comrades. The metalworkers' union of Seville demanded their release.

The case of the ten labor leaders has had worldwide repercussions. Action in their defense has been taken by the World Federation of Trade Unions, Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity of the Working People of Latin America, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (Soviet Union), General Confederation of Labor, French Democratic Confederation of Labor, Federation of Public Education of France and trade unions of Britain, the GDR, Poland, Bulgaria, India and Luxembourg. Special mention should be made of a committee for the freedom of Spanish trade unions formed in Italy on the initiative of the General Italian Confederation of Labor, Italian Confederation of Working People's Trade Unions and Italian Labor Union. It plans a series of actions in support of the Spanish working people in cooperation with prominent lawyers.

At the 20th Congress of the FCP Georges Marchais, responding to Santiago Carrillo's call, said his Party would 'fulfil its duty to the end in defending the Spanish anti-fascists and democrats threatened by the dictatorship.'

In Paris, the Committee for Information and Solidarity with Spain and the French Relief Committee for Political Exiles held a meeting at which French lawyers back from Spain described the trial as a travesty of justice. (A document sent to ILO by Camacho says as much.) Progressive organizations of Latin American countries joined in the solidarity campaign. In Caracas the Freedom of Spain organization sponsored a series of actions in defense of Camacho and his comrades. On March 1 the National Association of Salary-Earners of Venezuela called a meeting which was also attended by delegates from the United Center of Working People, spokesmen of other trade unions and members of the Portuguese Patriotic Junta. Australia's dockers and their unions resolved to boycott Spanish ships until the ten Carabanchel prisoners are set free.

We hope that the current powerful campaign of worldwide solidarity and protest will help win freedom for the ten Spanish trade unionists.

Camacho and his associates are confident of the working people's solidarity. This is seen in their letters to French and Italian trade unions. 'The years spent behind bars, and the additional 20 years' imprisonment they want to give us,' Camacho writes, 'do not matter if the great cause of social justice and freedom gains ground. The regime's sinister plans shall not materialize. Trial 1001 shall not be a trial of workers' commissions. Our comrades, the working people of France, Europe and the world, all of us together will turn Trial 1001 into a trial of Francoism . . . This will help us link today's fight with the radiant perspective of a monopoly-free Europe.'

Marcelino Camacho's optimistic words are evidence of unshakable confidence in the successful outcome of the battle which the Spanish working class is fighting and in the effectiveness of international proletarian solidarity. They must have the support of Communists and democrats the world over.

Sebastian Zapirain
CC member, CP of Spain

Southern Africa: armed struggle against imperialism

Five countries in Southern Africa whose indigenous populations all suffer under the yoke of racist regimes: the world's largest remaining colonies – Angola and Mozambique; Namibia (illegally annexed by South Africa); Zimbabwe (Rhodesia); and South Africa. Here it is through armed struggle that the people are fighting for national liberation.*

Our correspondent had talks with prominent leaders of parties and organizations heading this struggle, and today we present the views of:

SPARTACUS MONIMAMBO: member of the Governing Committee of the Angola Popular Liberation Movement (MPLA).

MPLA was founded in 1956. The attack on the prison of Luanda, capital of Angola, on February 4, 1961, sparked off the armed struggle.

JOAQUIM CHISSANO: Member of the EC and CC of FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front).

FRELIMO came into being on June 25, 1962. The armed struggle developed from September 25, 1964, first in the three Northern provinces – Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and Tete.

*Reports on the struggles in Angola and Guinea-Bissau appeared in WMR, August, 1971.

SAM NUJOMA: President, South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Namibia.

The armed struggle of the peoples of Namibia led by their vanguard, SWAPO, commenced on August 26, 1966, in the far North Western part of the country, by an assault on the South African army post in Onkulumbahe.

JASON MOYO: Chairman, Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Council; National Treasurer, Zimbabwe Africa People's Union (ZAPU).

We began to prepare for armed struggle from 1964-65, setting up a ZAPU organization abroad in order to provide for essential political and material support. The first guerrilla actions in Zimbabwe took place in 1966.

OLIVER TAMBO: President, African National Congress (ANC), South Africa.

In 1967, joint detachments of the ANC and ZAPU were formed. They carried out a number of operations against the combined forces of Smith and Vorster in Rhodesia.

By force of arms

The peoples of Southern Africa have no doubt whatsoever that the colonialists and racists will not voluntarily relinquish their power. All those interviewed stressed the importance of armed struggle. Naturally, the situation varies from country to country. Therefore, let us first learn about the situation on the various fronts.

Joaquim Chissano: On 25 July, 1972, a new front was opened in Manica e Sofala, at five different points. This province, situated in the center of Mozambique, is extremely important, both economically and militarily. It has large sugar cane plantations and mining enterprises belonging to Japanese, American, French, and West German capital. It has a long border with Rhodesia. It is the starting-point of the railway and oil pipeline from the port of Beira to Rhodesia. It is also a staging ground for newly arriving Portuguese troops.

Of course, the struggle in other provinces continues, including the rear of the liberated areas where Portuguese military camps remain, surrounded by our forces. At the end of 1972, the town of Tete and its airport Chingozi were attacked and 17 planes and helicopters were destroyed. An attack on Mueda airport resulted in the destruction of 18 aeroplanes on the ground and one in the air. The staff headquarters of the Portuguese forces in Tete were damaged by artillery fire, as well as a bank and other military and civilian targets. These operations were conducted with modern artillery equipment, thus signifying a qualitative change in our struggle. We have now been able to form 'squadrons': military units equipped with their own artillery.

The struggle now involves four of Mozambique's nine provinces. A quarter of the territory with a population of one million has been liberated. Hence, any negotiations with the Portuguese can now be only on the basis of their complete surrender.

There is a tendency in the Western press to assess the successes or lack of success of the armed liberation struggle of the Mozambique patriots in terms of progress at the Cabora Bassa dam project.* However, we regard the positions we hold in Tete the rear base for operations in Manica e Sofala. We see Cabora Bassa as a detail, true, an extremely important one, because participation in the dam's construction by USA monopolists, West European countries and South Africa, is one of the fundamental reasons for the support given to Portugal by its NATO partners and the racist regimes of Southern Africa.

Spartacus Monimambo: At the present moment more than a third of the territory of Angola with a population of over 500,000 has been liberated. Military actions cover five fronts in nine out of 15 administrative districts.

The very scale of the struggle makes for certain difficulties. The fifth front is farthest to the west, in Bie district. Ammunition and other military supplies have to be brought in on foot across 500 kilometres of savanna and forest, which may take anything from 30 to 50 days (depending on the season).

It takes 45 days from the Zambian borders to reach Front No. 1 in the North-East of the country. The nearest way, across the Zaire frontier has, hitherto, been closed to MPLA. This explains our inability to take the offensive in this region, so strategically important, where the centers vital to the colonialists – plantations, mines, etc. – are situated.

The situation on Front No. 2 in Cabinda has improved somewhat. The Portuguese set out to create divisions within MPLA, by falsely promising autonomy for the people of Cabinda. Some, like Alexandre Taty and Nzita Tiago swallowed this bait, and began to collaborate with the Portuguese. However, the Cabindan people now understand the cunning of the Portuguese and are returning to the path of struggle with more determination than ever. MPLA is laying the basis for a military structure in South-West Angola, in the Cuene district, close to the border with Namibia. The first joint operations with SWAPO armed forces have taken place. Remoteness from supply lines, however, makes the development of active struggle there difficult at the moment.

The representatives of fighting Mozambique and Angola described how the Portuguese colonialists make wide use of methods of anti-guerrilla warfare elaborated by the Americans in Vietnam. Scorched earth tactics, napalm, defoliants – everything is employed, causing enormous damage to the peaceful population of agricultural areas. Following the Vietnamese pattern, the local population is moved into 'strategic hamlets.' Attempts are made at 'Angolization' and 'Mozambiquization' of the war. 'African companies' are formed and sent against the patriots. However, the soldiers are joining the guerrillas in growing numbers, and the population is rallying more closely around FRELIMO and MPLA.

Sam Nujoma: Our people understand that freedom and indepen-

*See J. Serra: 'Portuguese Colonialism up a Blind Alley,' WMR, May, 1972.

dence will be achieved through their own efforts. It will be won through struggle* – no outside force will hand it to them. The armed struggle against the South African racist colonialists is expanding to new regions of Namibia, in the North and the East, especially in the districts of Caprivi and Okavango. It is significant that last year the enemy was forced to abandon the construction of five strategic roads in these regions.

The people's faith in our fighters is on the increase. We employ guerrilla tactics, operating in small groups and avoiding head-on engagements. Ambushes, mining of roads, attacks on army posts, the enemy has not a moment's respite.

The South African racist regime copies the barbaric methods of the American imperialists in Vietnam, burning villages, expelling inhabitants from 'combat zones,' and so on.

The racists tried to make Namibian fight Namibian. Now they are afraid to give arms to the indigenous inhabitants for, as one racist leader said: 'These people could turn out to be either sympathizers or members of SWAPO, and you know what will happen. . . .'

Of late the South African regime has been actively recruiting Africans, black and colored, in South Africa itself, to strengthen the police and colonial forces engaged in Namibia. They are either forcibly enlisted or attracted by the money and are sent to Namibia as cannon fodder, the Whites only giving orders. But this attempt by Vorster to 'Africanize' the colonial war is fraught with danger, too. During the Second World War Black South Africans were not given arms. Now we hope they will turn them against the racists.

Jason Moyo: Guerrilla activities in Zimbabwe commenced in 1966 and developed until 1970, spreading to the districts of Sipolilo, Wankie, Victoria Falls, Lupani, Sinoia.

However, in 1970, ZAPU suffered an internal crisis, during which the basic principles of the Party were under question, due largely to external intrigues. By October 1971 we had overcome the crisis, adopted a new structure, the nucleus of which was the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA). The armed struggle was resumed in August 1972. A number of acts of sabotage on railways and roads in the Sinoia, Plumtree, Wankie, Urungwe and Binga districts were carried out.

However, our fighters operate in exceptionally difficult conditions. We need considerable support from progressive African countries.

Oliver Tambo: Armed struggle is the basis of our strategy. After the first steps taken jointly with ZAPU in 1967-69 in Zimbabwe, we encountered difficulties which made it impossible to continue guerrilla activities.

We now understand that in order to launch a successful armed struggle on the territory of South Africa, thorough preparations

*See WMR, July, 1972. A. Lerumo in 'Imperialist Strategy and African Resistance' describes the general strike in Namibia at the beginning of 1972. Mass actions by Namibian workers are becoming more frequent (in March this year there was a wave of struggle in the capital Windhoek). A major influence is the creation of a coalition (the National Convention) of patriotic parties and organizations, including SWAPO.

are essential. This will take time. The South African government is doing all in its power to prevent such a turn of events.

We must be assured of the wide support of the people, the kind of support given to the national-liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies. There is another problem: outside help. There is a tendency observable in Africa to concentrate on support for the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies, the direct results of which are evident. We consider that support for the liberation movement in South Africa will also yield fruit, although not immediately.

Organization of struggle and work

The struggle for national liberation is waged both on the military and political fronts. Hence the importance attached to problems, such as how the party heading the struggle is organizationally adapted to the specific conditions of its country and its people.

Jason Moyo: ZAPU is not an emigre organization as is frequently asserted by racists and imperialists because we have an organization abroad. It is a political party, active inside Zimbabwe under conditions of illegality and harsh repression. Most of its leaders are in prison, including its president, Joshua Nkomo, who has been under detention for nine years.

The National Executive leads the work of the Party. Our organization abroad handles all the material aid which we receive from progressive forces in Africa and around the world, and it acquaints the international public with our struggle.

The ruling body of ZIPRA is the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Council, which elaborates the strategy and tactics of the armed struggle. It includes members of the ZAPU National Executive and the military command, representatives of trade unions and the Party abroad, and has been in existence since the end of 1971.

All ZIPRA fighters are volunteers, and they participate in the making of political decisions. This makes for cohesion and unity, and helps to overcome tribal and religious divisions.

'A revolution is not only inevitable in Zimbabwe but necessary. To destroy capitalism, racism and all their devices or apparatus it must be an armed revolution. To prevent their resurgence at any other future stage it must be a people's armed revolution,' says the ZAPU statement, 'The Party's Ideological Concept.' This envisages the establishment of a Zimbabwe People's Democratic Republic and defines the basic provisions of its future constitution, which 'shall declare socialism as the system of life or the prevailing order in the country.'

Sam Nujoma: The SWAPO CC is elected by the Party congress. The National EC is responsible for carrying out congress decisions. The Party gives leadership to the armed forces, youth organizations and the Women's Council. The congress elects the heads of the various departments: defense, labor, education, economy.

The Namibian People's Liberation Army is led by the National

Headquarters, which also includes all the members of the SWAPO EC. Control of operations in the area is exercised by Regional Headquarters, and district and regional commands.

Joaquim Chissano: The war of liberation is a political fight which, through force of circumstances, has become an armed struggle.

FRELIMO is headed by a CC elected at Congress. Some CC members can be appointed by the party president ex officio, for instance, the commander-in-chief, political commissar, etc. The EC bears responsibility for the day-to-day work.

In the provinces, provincial councils and executive committees are elected, and departments at all levels are set up by the executive committees. At the head of the military department are the local commander of military operations and the political commissar. Districts elect FRELIMO secretaries and their deputies, but the responsibility for a district is held by the political commissar. Combat units have political instructors.

The growing consciousness of the masses and their close cooperation with the guerrillas makes the work of national reconstruction* much easier in the areas controlled by FRELIMO.

We explain the meaning of our struggle to the people, show its objective to be the ending of exploitation of man by man. We strive to show the people the advantages of collective work, teach people to read and write, inject a new consciousness amongst women as equal builders of the new life. There are many difficulties which have to be overcome. Here are the recollections of a girl guerrilla fighter which we published in our official journal:

'When we girls started to work there was strong opposition to our participation. Because that was against tradition. We then started a big campaign explaining why we also had to fight, that the FRELIMO war is a people's war in which the whole people must participate, that we women were even more oppressed than men and that we, therefore, had the right, as well as the will and the strength, to fight. We insisted on our having military training and being given weapons' ('Mozambique Revolution,' No. 51, 1972).

As to the future state, we are actually in the process of creating it in the liberated areas. We have laid the basis for the formation of production cooperatives, we have increased the production and export of our main agricultural products, ground nuts, sesame and cashew nuts.

Our main attention is focused on education and health. Primary schools have been established in the liberated areas where over 20,000 children are studying. We have, in a few short years, taught more children in primary schools than did the colonialists in all the period of their domination. There is also a FRELIMO secondary school in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. This fulfills the dearest wish of our people, as can be seen from the following quotation taken from an article on the 10th anniversary of FRELIMO published in the same journal:

'Soon after the launching of the armed struggle a group of

*By 'national reconstruction' is meant the building of the new life in the liberated territories.

old men went to President Mondlane and spoke in these terms: "We know that the war will be a long war and we are already old. We don't ask anything for ourselves, but it is necessary that our children go to school. We are ready for all sacrifices. This is the only thing we ask of FRELIMO".'

In addition to the central FRELIMO hospital in Tanzania we organize medical care and prophylactic services in the localities. In the provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado there are hospitals, medical centers, first aid posts, and quarantine stations. We spread hygiene and medical knowledge among the population.

Of course, all this is very little, but it is a concrete achievement, tangibly felt against a background of colonial poverty. We have something to show to the people, and they can see the path we are taking.

Unity of the patriotic forces

Tribalism and racism are the weapons of the colonialists in the struggle against the patriots, a means of splitting their ranks. The fighters for independence oppose this with unity, striving to do away with contradictions, to rise above transient differences in the struggle to achieve the highest goal – liberation.

Spartacus Monimambo: An agreement on the amalgamation of MPLA and FNLA* for struggle against the Portuguese colonialists was signed on December 13, 1972, after a meeting between the leaders of the two organizations, Agostinho Neto and Holden Roberto, held in Brazzaville.

The agreement provided for the setting up of three governing organs, in each of which there is to be equal representation of both movements. The leading positions are as follows:

- Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola (SCLA): Chairman, from FNLA, Vice-Chairman (who is also Secretary of the Council), from MPLA.

- United Military Command (UMC): Chairman, MPLA; Vice-Chairman, FNLA.

- Angola Political Council (APC): President, FNLA; Vice-President, MPLA.

The tasks of the Supreme Council are to coordinate at highest levels the activities of the other two executive organs, whose members are all on the Supreme Council.

The UMC is responsible for planning the armed struggle, military actions, intelligence, security, recruitment and training, politico-ideological educational work in the army and among the population. We should like to stress the importance of the latter.

Included in the responsibilities of the Political Council are activities abroad of a propagandist and diplomatic nature, and the organization of political and economic administrations in the liberated areas.

*The Angolan National-Liberation Front formed in 1962. It has very few armed forces within Angola, and is based mainly in Zaire, whose government supports the FNLA.

An Arbitration Commission of the Organization for African Unity has been set up to observe the fulfilment of the agreement and resolve possible disagreements. Its members are representatives from the Congo, Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia.

MPLA and FNLA retained their organizational independence as political parties (FNLA is an alliance of two parties).

What prompted us to join with FNLA?

I have already mentioned the difficulties experienced when organizing the transit of fighters and war supplies to the battle fronts, particularly in battle zone No. 1, and of the difficulties resulting from the closure of the 2.000 kms. border with Zaire.

But that wasn't the only reason. The unity of all national forces in the interests of the revolution meets the will of the people. Moreover, the demand for unity with MPLA came from Angolan refugees living in Zaire who were under the influence of FNLA, and from FNLA armed forces, as shown in the demonstration in Kinkuzu Camp in Zaire.

We consider it quite logical and natural to make concessions if they serve the interests of the revolution, more especially as ideological problems are not involved. As regards one other organization calling itself a National Liberation Movement (NUCIA)*, this is merely a group of shouters who have no roots among the masses of Angola, and the question of their inclusion in a united front does not arise.

Jason Moyo: As is known, there was a split in the liberation movement in Zimbabwe in 1963, as a result of which the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) came into being. There was enmity between them, partly due to personal factors, partly external influences, which we strive to overcome. More recently, both organizations have come to realize the necessity for cooperation. Together with ZANU we have set up a United Military Command (UMC) whose task is to lay the basis for firm unity of the people of Zimbabwe. Unity forged in battle is stronger than unity on paper. Once we are successful in the armed struggle, we can start thinking about organizational unification, which should not be limited to the leadership, but strengthened from below, based on the people. But at the moment UMC has not started to operate. It requires material support from the Progressive forces in Africa.

Joaquim Chissano: Sometimes the Western, and even the African press tries to slander COREMO,** linking it with problems of tribalism. However, tribalism has nothing at all to do with this. COREMO is an organization which has no roots within the country, and it even opens its ranks to reactionaries. Therefore, for FRELIMO the question of unity with COREMO does not arise.

In 1968-69 opportunists within our Party tried to inflame tribal differences. Uria Simango, then a member of the leadership, claimed, 'The people from the South wish to dominate those from the

*National Union for the Complete Independence of Angola.

**Mozambique Revolutionary Commission, headquartered in Lusaka (Zambia).

North.' These tendencies increased after the villainous murder of our president, Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, in 1969. However, the healthy forces were able to overcome the crisis engendered by provocation.

The Portuguese try to profit from tribalism. One of their favorite propaganda points says: FRELIMO is only concerned with the Makonde people (the majority in the Northern provinces), and the Makua (the majority group in Central Mozambique) do not support the struggle, fearing domination by the Makonde.

This could be said while the struggle remained outside the Makua regions. But now, when the front has reached the Manica e Sofala province, the Makua are coming over to us en masse. Tribalism is bred by colonialism. It assists reaction. It is the blood brother of racism.

The Portuguese colonialists have concluded an unholy alliance with the South African racists. Thus, South Africa supplies them with aircraft and herbicides. Rhodesia sends infantry and flight personnel. Portugal's NATO allies supply her with the latest arms, and the colonialists now have such an effective weapon of anti-guerrilla warfare as helicopters.

To the united front of colonialists, racists and imperialists, the patriots oppose the international unity of freedom fighters. This was stressed in all the interviews. Thus, FRELIMO works with ZAPU, and helps it. Joint actions have been undertaken by MPLA and SWAPO, ZAPU and ANC. Oliver Tambo emphasized that one of the chief directions of present activities by ANC is the struggle against recruitment among the Black and Colored populations of South Africa of soldiers for Namibia. The African National Congress, he said, is increasing its attempts to bring together the Colored and Indian populations of the Republic of South Africa. United action is being achieved in the youth, trade union, and other public and political organizations.

We consider, said Jason Moyo, that we in Southern Africa, whether in Mozambique, Angola or Zimbabwe, in South Africa or Namibia, all face a common foe. We struggle not only against the racists and colonialists of South Africa and Portugal, but also their supporters. The liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and on all the fronts of Southern Africa is part of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle.



Strengthening unity: a law of the communist movement

Konstantin Tellalov
Secretary, CC BCP

The history of the working-class movement since the *Communist Manifesto* has been marked by the advance of Marxist-Leninist ideas, by evidence of their revolutionizing role and their powerful impact on the revolutionary process. Proletarian internationalism is a key factor in this development. Once a slogan and an ideal of lone revolutionaries, it has become a great weapon of the international working class and the solid basis for the unity of thought and action of the millions-strong army of Marxist-Leninists.

Milestones of this evolution were the 1957, 1960 and 1969 Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties, which incorporated the principles of proletarian internationalism in a concrete program of struggle against imperialism. The 1969 Meeting stressed the importance of the dialectical unity of the Communist parties' international and national tasks and the dependence of each Party's policy on successes and setbacks in its own country as well as on the activity and cooperation of brother parties.

In the almost four years that have passed since the 1969 Meeting, Communists have gained much experience in working together. However, this period has also brought out more saliently, in the light of our achievements, the difficulties and obstacles to the fuller unity needed by the movement.

I do not here propose to analyze all the manifold activities of Communist and Workers' parties for closer unity based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. Setting out our views on a number of issues, I merely wish to call attention to what is most important. An exhaustive analysis of the complex problems of the movement can only be carried out collectively, by the Communist parties of all countries.

Results and problems

Communists and all revolutionaries and peace supporters know well of the tremendous amount of work done in recent years to put the ideas of the 1969 Meeting into effect. What are the results of this work, the more tangible gains of the Communist and working-class movement in strengthening its unity?

Hardly anyone will deny the effectiveness of joint action by the socialist countries and Communist parties in support of the heroic people of Vietnam, who showed unparalleled fortitude in fighting against U.S. imperialism. The cease-fire in Vietnam, and hence the Pentagon strategists' defeat, is due to the courageous efforts of the patriots of Vietnam and the solidarity of the Communists of all countries. The Arab peoples' legitimate demands aimed at eliminating the effects of the Israeli policy of expansion in the Middle East enjoy active support and so do the demands of the peoples fighting against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. There were consultations and collective statements on these matters by Communist parties, and Communists are at the head of the movement of solidarity with fighters against imperialist aggression. Expressed in agreed actions, proletarian internationalism has been the main factor in realizing the program of the 1969 Meeting.

There is no need to comment at length on what is becoming a reality – the fact that peaceful coexistence is being imposed on the imperialists as the basis for relations between countries with different social systems. The results are apparent: the recent treaties and agreements, notably those between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Soviet-American dialogue and cooperation, and progress towards a European security conference. The concerted actions taken by the socialist countries and Communist parties played a decisive role in bringing about what until recently was seen by many as unattainable. Lastly, credit for the progress, if modest, in the effort to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and negotiate arms reduction should also go by rights to concrete joint action in the spirit of the 1969 Meeting.

Experience confirms time and again that proletarian internationalism, as Georgi Dimitrov stressed on more than one occasion, is not an abstract concept; it implies concrete political actions by Marxist-Leninist parties; declarations of proletarian solidarity must always be backed by real deeds and real aid.

The trend towards closer cooperation and more contacts between Communist parties has on the whole prevailed over the trend towards disunity and looser contacts. Bilateral and multilateral meetings have come to play a more important and more effective role. Since July 1969, there have been 24 regional meetings to discuss major aspects of activity. The presence of hundreds of fraternal delegations at the more than 50 Communist congresses held in the same period was cogent evidence of the growing unity of our movement.

The events commemorating the Lenin centenary, the 150th anniversary of Engels's birth, the centenary of the Paris Commune and the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union were unquestionably manifestations of the Communists' ideological and political unity. There were dozens of international theoretical conferences and symposiums of Communists, some of them sponsored by *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (World Marxist Review).

The international conference on the 90th anniversary of Georgi

Dimitrov's birth (Sofia, 1972), brought together 115 delegations of Communist parties and progressive, democratic organizations. Most speakers pointed out the continuing validity of Dimitrov's call for linking the class struggle at national level with the class struggle in the world arena and patriotism with internationalism, and of his thesis that the attitude to the Soviet Union is the touchstone of loyalty to socialist ideals.

The participation of Communist and Workers' parties in all these events helped to bring points of view closer together, advance our movement ideologically and affirm the internationalist character of Marxism-Leninism.

The effort to strengthen the ideological unity of Communist and Workers' parties is accompanied by steps to curb the corroding influence of opportunism and to isolate it. The struggle against every variety of opportunism has become more effective. We take more clear-cut class positions in cooperating with democratic forces. This applies to a number of Communist parties of Europe, Latin America, Asia and the Arab world. Support for the socialist countries' internationalist actions, the reaffirmation of the validity of democratic centralism and the ridding of Communist parties of anti-party elements are all positive, constructive developments. There has been sharp criticism of revisionist concepts that harmed the revolutionary movement.

We can look back on difficult struggles and meaningful gains, but this does not mean that we can disregard the difficulties and shortcomings we will yet have to cope with.

Can we say, four years after the 1969 Meeting, that we have accomplished our main tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism? The expansion of the anti-imperialist front is, undoubtedly, a big achievement of the revolutionary forces, and Communists did much to bring it about. But can we Communists stop there?

In estimating the growing trend towards closer Communist unity and greater cooperation within our movement, we must say that this is not the limit of our possibilities. There are untapped opportunities to overcome factors which in the past prevented closer unity. As the 1969 Meeting noted, 'the most important prerequisite for increasing the Communist and Workers' Parties' contribution to the solution of the problems facing the peoples is to raise the unity of the Communist movement to a higher level in conformity with present-day requirements.'

Maoist theory and practice is still the main factor impeding closer communist unity and the further consolidation of the socialist world system. It is farthest from our minds to interfere in the internal affairs of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China. But why, we ask, must Parties look on in silence while the Maoists impair their work and that of the movement as a whole with their divisive activity? They were compelled to speak up and fight back, and this has in many ways helped to eliminate, or at least to reduce to a minimum, the adverse consequences of Maoist activity. And can we ignore the obvious

refusal of the Peking leaders — leaders of a socialist country — to take joint action against imperialism, or their egocentric moves on the world scene, or the charges of 'imperialistic policy' they shower on the USSR, and of revisionism and opportunism on the Marxist-Leninist parties? Should anyone be entitled to pour out lies, while those on the receiving end are expected to keep silent? As we see it, this is illogical to say the least.

There is still some evidence of nationalism in the Communist movement. The principles of relations between parties, reaffirmed by the 1969 Meeting, are sometimes conceived one-sidedly (accentuating national while minimizing international obligations, abandoning a firm proletarian class position, and so on). Then there is the theory of 'superpowers' or 'a multi-polar world,' and covert or overt anti-Sovietism. All this presents a great danger. But we must not exaggerate it, and must not imagine that there are signs of nationalism everywhere.

However, we feel that unity is not being strengthened as fast as we would like it to be. There is not always the same degree of coordination within our movement on particular issues or lines of common struggle. In other words, there are no grounds for complacency, and the task of raising the level of international Communist unity, set by the 1969 Meeting, is still valid.

The experience of the socialist community

In examining problems of Communist unity, we naturally turn to the experience of Bulgaria and the socialist commonwealth. We assess it soberly and critically from the standpoint of the movement as a whole and in terms of common tasks in the fight against imperialism. We maintain that the very existence and development of the socialist community are important for the worldwide revolutionary process and that the principles of cooperation and coordinated action by the socialist countries, as history shows, are always the prime concern of Communists all over the world.

The Communist Party is the leading social force in our countries. This also determines its role in relations between fraternal countries. Proletarian internationalism, which in these conditions translates itself into socialist internationalism, is embodied in government policy and encompasses economic, political, cultural, military and other relations between socialist countries. While the Party's activity differs from that of the state in method and approach, the two have a common objective, which is to build a socialist society.

Cooperation between socialist countries in any field is based on strictly party principles. This found vivid and concentrated expression at congresses of the Communist parties of these countries and in their policy documents and decisions. These deal with important theoretical and practical problems of the present stage of socialism. They are inspired by the conviction that in spite of the difficulties encountered by the socialist system, the dominant trend is towards greater cohesion of the community, closer multilateral and bilateral links, greater and more effective cooperation among the Warsaw

Treaty countries and economic integration of the CMEA countries. Cooperation is growing and new forms are being devised.

The Bulgarian Communist Party attaches much importance to the Comprehensive Program for socialist economic integration. 'In Bulgaria,' Todor Zhivkov said recently, 'scientific and technological progress and high technological and economic indices in industry can only be achieved through extensive international division of labor, specialization and cooperation in production and increasing socialist integration.'* Neither a closed, autarchic economy nor a one-sided one are, as we see it, compatible with the nature of socialist country. Integration within the CMEA framework cannot injure our country's national sovereignty or security. We are certain that this is an international economic organization which actually makes for closer links and coordination between national economies. This means, as we see it, taking real steps towards the ultimate creation of 'a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 147).

The foreign policy initiatives and moves of the parties in the socialist countries have acquired a new quality, especially since the adoption of the Peace Program by the 24th CPSU Congress. Coordination in this sphere has been practised before, but now it has become more systematic and is a standard for relations between our countries. The leaders of brother parties and countries meet to settle, in a spirit of complete mutual understanding, important problems of the strategy, tactics and foreign policy of the socialist community. Special credit must go to the CPSU leadership, which has shown competence and tact in working for the closer cohesion of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement.

The present relaxation of international tension is an indisputable achievement of the socialist countries and Communist parties. But we know full well that growing cooperation with countries of the opposite social system confronts, and will confront, the socialist community with new tasks and new problems. The effect of increasing contacts between socialism and capitalism on various aspects of our social life, on the economic, social, cultural and educational functions of socialist states, is now already a topical question.

We must not imagine that imperialism has given up its strategic goal of fighting against socialism, that its aggressive nature has changed. On the other hand, we must take account of changes in imperialist tactics and bear in mind the imperialists' cunning policy of adapting to the new world situation. It would be a dangerous delusion to believe that every party can by itself resist imperialist pressure. Brother parties realize that in the future as hitherto, they will need coordinated action and extensive cooperation.

We can learn from the experience of ideological cooperation among the brother parties of a number of socialist countries. Mutual consultations, exchanges of information on important

**Rabotnichesko Delo*, November 24, 1972.

measures at home or abroad, the work of research groups, joint publication of scientific works, exchanges of experience, and other forms have been actively used in late years. Cooperation in ideological work was formalized in agreements signed by our Party with the CPSU and some other parties over the past two years. These agreements help to improve coordination in the ideological struggle against imperialism and to bring brother nations closer together and enrich them spiritually.

Being Marxist-Leninists, we realize that both objective and subjective difficulties may arise as relations between our parties develop. Some of them are due to differences in social and economic development or historical tradition. But they can be overcome by constructive exchanges of views and comradely cooperation.

There are, however, difficulties born of exaggeration of the role of the nationally specific and the tendency to oppose one's experience to collective experience and national interests to common interests, which may result in disregarding class tasks and the perspectives of socialism as a world system.

Communist parties strive to make the greatest possible use of internal potentialities in building socialism. However, this has nothing to do with the theory of 'going it alone.' To allow scope for this theory and give in to its disastrous influence would be to hold up the economic and technological development of the country concerned, handicap the economic contest of socialism with capitalism and prejudice the revolutionary struggle of the working class and other working people in capitalist countries and of the peoples fighting for independence.

The revolutionary movement in recent years has shown growing appreciation of the objective role of socialism, the Soviet Union and the CPSU in world developments and in social progress. Experience shows that the movement cannot expect to achieve real and lasting success in the fight against capitalism and imperialism without strengthening and extending its links with the Communist parties of socialist countries, first of all with the CPSU, and without drawing on their vast theoretical and practical experience.

All Communist parties have a vital stake in the achievements, unity and cohesion of the socialist community. Their leaders have repeatedly stressed in meetings with BCP leaders that the most effective way in which the Communists of socialist countries are helping them is by building the new system and by acting together in the world arena against imperialism. By the same token, our mistakes, reverses and differences create additional difficulties for revolutionary struggle.

We are aware of this and try to solve the problems of building socialism in a way that brings out all the advantages of the new social system, increases its appeal and wins more people for communist ideas.

Looking ahead

The revolutionary process poses many new problems whose solution

requires closer Communist cooperation. They concern not only this or that party or the Communist movement in a particular region, but our movement as a whole. The slightest failure to meet the objective requirements of the revolutionary process is bound to retard the movement and progress generally.

In this case, too, we should like to set out our view on some aspects of this wide range of problems.

To begin with, there is the problem of ideological and political unity of the Communist movement.

The 1969 International Meeting drew up, by a collective effort of Communist parties, a common policy and united action program in the anti-imperialist struggle. Today, of major importance for the Communist and workers' movement and all revolutionary forces, is, in addition to continued joint political action, the ideological cohesion of Communists. This is an important prerequisite for unity in all spheres.

The current emphasis on this question is prompted, among other things, by the fact that imperialism is increasingly shifting the brunt of the struggle to the ideological domain. And it assigns a special role to opportunists, which means that special clarity and depth are needed in formulating our attitude towards opportunism.

The 1969 Meeting denounced Right and 'Left' revisionism and gave a principled critique of distortions of Marxism-Leninism. It called on the parties to emphasize what they hold in common, not what divides them. This approach is valid today too, but opportunism and the attitudes of the majority of parties towards it has changed in the last few years, and this, in our view, calls for more concrete criticism of opportunism.

We should like to draw attention to at least three consequences of the fight against revisionism since the Moscow Meeting: *first*, the watershed between the ideological and political positions of creative Marxism-Leninism and open revisionism has become more clearly defined; *second*, powerless to gain a foothold in the movement, opportunism is degenerating into an ally of imperialism, resulting in the ever greater self-isolation of Right and 'Left' opportunists on the national and international scale; *third*, forceful criticism of revisionism helps Communists purge their ranks of its spokesmen.

It is not our contention that divergent points of view, even in ideology, or mistakes in theory or politics should necessarily be qualified as 'desertion to the opportunist camp.' Our movement has found sure ways and means of overcoming differences through comradely debate, constructive criticism and democratic discussion based on Marxism-Leninism. This has been widely practised since the Moscow Meeting.

The revolutionary movement is expanding, involving new areas, new sections of the working people. Representatives of different social strata with traditional mentalities and attitudes are increasingly joining the revolutionary struggle, and this cannot but be

reflected in the Communist movement. 'Many of them,' as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his speech at the 1969 Meeting, 'enter politics with a great store of revolutionary energy, but with rather hazy ideas about how to solve the problems agitating them. Hence the vacillations, the swings from stormy political explosions to political passivity, from reformist illusions to anarchistic impatience.' The Communists' task is to use the expanding base of the revolutionary process in the interests of the working class and socialism. Otherwise there will be scope for spontaneous factors that open the road to opportunism and have, as we know, driven more than one party to opportunism and nationalism.

The growing diversity of the world revolutionary movement makes it incumbent on its detachments to show greater responsibility and self-reliance, flexibility and careful consideration of national conditions in elaborating their policies and tactics. Another, dominating, trend of social progress is its accelerated internationalization, which calls for higher Communist unity. In view of these two trends it is necessary, in our view, constantly to seek and find the ways of dialectically combining the expanding volume and deepening content of the tasks facing each Communist Party with the internationalist class line of the movement as a whole.

Proceeding from this objective requirement, our Party Program says: 'World communism can attain its lofty goals only as a united international movement. Solidarity and unity on the main questions of theory and practice does not preclude differences in tactics or forms of struggle, which are due to the diversity of conditions in which individual Communist parties work. But proletarian internationalism and the independence of Communist parties are indivisible, just as the national and international responsibilities of Communists are indivisible.'

Relations between the fraternal parties are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, mutual support, independence, equality and non-interference in internal affairs. But it is not enough to proclaim acceptance of these principles. Communists take them in their organic unity, without contraposing them. References to 'independence' and 'non-interference' cannot be used as a kind of 'Chinese wall' behind which one can take refuge from Marxist-Leninist discussions of class and international duties. An expression of this is a peculiar 'neutralism:' appeals for restraint from open criticism of one brand of opportunism or another 'in the name of unity.'

The question arises whether this is a normal situation. When the very principles of the Communist movement's strategy and tactics are rejected it would be inexcusable and dangerous not to come out openly and resolutely against this. Essentially, the question is whether or not to challenge retreats from class positions that as often as not bear the stamp of petty-bourgeois nationalism.

Tolerating manifestations of nationalism means providing opportunities for discrediting communism; this, in the most vulgarized form, is what the Maoists's actions lead to. This is not an internal

question of concern to a particular party or country. If we say that by its origins, character and objectives the Communist movement is first and foremost an international movement and that the cause of socialism is as international as it is national, then any deviation from our ideology and principles affects the movement as a whole. Comradely criticism in such cases has nothing to do with 'interference in internal affairs.' We hold that such criticism is an international obligation. 'Marxism,' stressed V. I. Lenin, 'cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the "most just", "purest," most refined and civilized brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism . . .' (Vol. 20, p. 34).

The international Communist movement's ideological unity is strengthened by correctly combining the struggle against opportunism and bourgeois ideology with creative elaboration of the new developments and problems of our time. The 'theoreticians' of opportunism and anti-communism seize on problems that have not been adequately elaborated by Marxist-Leninist theory. The political and ideological work of Communist parties depends in many ways on the theoretical comprehension of new problems. These include the character of economic and socio-political changes in the present-day world, the special features of the present stage of the communist formation, the ways of socialist and imperialist integration, new forms of class struggle in capitalist countries, the forms of alliances between Communists and revolutionary-democratic forces in the anti-imperialist movement, the place of youth in modern society. Symposiums held in recent years have facilitated the collective elaboration of some questions of theory, but there is still much to be done in this sphere of joint Communist Party activity.

While emphasizing the importance of ideological and political unity we cannot overlook other aspects of unity. Attention could, evidently be given to the organizational consolidation of the movement.

Calls for unity are meaningless if there is no action to achieve it, if content is not clothed in appropriate form. Today the Communist movement has no organizational center, and nobody suggests creating one. It is fully capable of resolving its main tasks through voluntary coordination of ideological and political positions. The absence of an international center, however, does not mean rejection of joint action in different spheres.

At different stages the trend towards unity assumes concrete forms. Today, when most parties have attained a high degree of maturity, it is their right and collective duty to determine what these forms should be. The international character of the fight for socialism and the building of the new society requires collective elaboration and harmonizing of party policies, and this can best be achieved by employing appropriate organizational forms. After all, bilateral and regional meetings and consultations, exchanges of experience and comradely debate are now accepted as a form of col-

lective discussion and elaboration of an agreed Communist policy. Obviously, international conferences of Communist parties play a special role. The Bulgarian Communist Party's position on this question is clear: 'International Communist meetings,' Comrade T. Zhivkov stresses, 'have become a vital necessity and tradition; they should be convened in future as an effective means of bringing our positions closer together, of strengthening the unity and united action of our movement.'

The problems of Communist unity is an integrated one, it is a political and strategic, an ideological and organizational problem. It is in conditions of all-round unity that the communist movement resolves and can the more successfully resolve its cardinal tasks.

From division to unity

Jesus Faria
General Secretary,
CP Venezuela

VENEZUELA'S COMMUNISTS FIGHT FOR REVOLUTIONARY UNITY

I would like to tell how the Communist Party of Venezuela restored its unity by ending the split brought on by the revisionist group late in 1970. Our experience may benefit those who are wrestling with similar inner-Party problems.*

Strengthening the Party

It is well known that the Communist Party of Venezuela was seriously weakened by the factional activity of opportunists. By now it has completed the reorganization decided on by its Fourth Congress (1971). Great credit for this is due to Gustavo Machado and other CPV veterans.

The revisionists have been expelled, and discipline and Leninist organizational principles are being restored. Party branches are functioning normally. Meetings of the Central Committee and other Party bodies are constructive and take agreed decisions which are put into practice. The CPV has become a staunch contingent of the world Communist movement.

During the factional fight, experienced Party leaders did their best to keep the greatest possible number of honest but mislead members in the ranks. This goal has been attained. We have augmented our ranks with many new members – the Party has grown fivefold since the Fourth Congress. Over 60 per cent of the new members are workers and peasants, with a sizeable percentage of women. They have been issued Party cards, and all members again wear

*For details of the splitters' conspiracy, see the May 1971 issue of WMR. – Ed.

Party badges. The growth of our membership is a natural and continuous process involving working people in industry and agriculture. The Party is operating legally throughout the country and has representatives in elected government bodies.

The Young Communist League has been revived. Only two years ago the League had largely succumbed to revisionist propaganda. Almost all its leaders deserted to the splitters, who had led a whole generation of young Communists astray by stuffing them with 'national communism' and anti-Sovietism and inducing them to fight the 'old men' and the CPV. The renegades saw loyalty to proletarian internationalism as a fault, not a merit. As a result, for years Venezuelans in international youth organizations almost invariably backed anti-Soviet actions.

Only one year after the Fourth Party Congress the YCL was already reorganized all over the country under the slogan, 'Always Communists, never deserters.' Its new leaders, mostly young Party members, work with devotion. The League Congress in February 1972 was a political landmark. It was attended by numerous delegations and foreign guests. The League now has over 15,000 members and continues to grow. In this way Venezuela's Communists, having overcome the ruinous effects of division, are building up their Party and the YCL.

Our main activity is to unite the working-class movement, for one of the worst effects of the revisionists' subversion was the split of the United Center of Working People (CUT). Hostile elements tried to set up a parallel trade union center. But although they had prevailed on some unions to break away, the CUT has by now closed its ranks, improved its work and strengthened its organizations at all levels. In August 1972 it held its National Congress, which we assess as a notable advance towards unity of action with other union centers. The international organizations attending the Congress voiced their approval of the explicit class orientation of the CUT, which firmly upholds the working people's rights.

The Congress again disproved the revisionist allegation that the working class has become 'bourgeoisified' and is no longer revolutionary. Indeed, how can the working class have become 'bourgeoisified' if imperialism and the oligarchy brutally exploit it? How can anyone affirm that it is no longer revolutionary if it carries on economic and political struggles as the vanguard of the revolutionary movement?

The revisionists also theorized about the peasants' role, saying that there are virtually 'no peasants in Venezuela' or that, if there are any, they have 'lost their revolutionary potential.' This false concept has lost the Party ground in key agricultural areas.

Peasants make up 25 per cent of the population. Most of them are landless or land-hungry peasants and semi-proletarians who are becoming more and more active in the fight for a radical agrarian reform. In the light of this, how can one speak of the peasants having 'lost' their revolutionary potential?

After the splitters were expelled, work among the peasants be-

came one of the Party's big tasks. We have succeeded in improving the situation, so that the peasants are again ready to fight along with us. They break with other parties, the ruling party included, and many of them join the CPV. This is an unmistakable sign of change in their thinking. We are working hard to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance.

Propagandist, agitator and organizer

Tribuna Popular, the Communist newspaper founded over 25 years ago, contributes in important measure to the Party's effort to strengthen its own organization and the worker-peasant alliance. Under the Perez Jimenez dictatorship it was banned, but continued to appear illegally. Illegal and legal publication alternated according to the political situation. Since September 14, 1971, it has been appearing daily. Its circulation ranges from 16,000 to 25,000 copies. To increase it, we periodically launch circulation drives during which Communist and Young Communist teams are formed to sell the paper. On June 11, 1972, we sold over 115,000 copies in this way, and on November 5, some 100,000 copies plus 90,000 copies of other publications.

On days when our press is brought out in large editions, this not only extends our propaganda, but also earns us substantial sums needed to continue publication.

Tribuna Popular confirms in practice Lenin's definition of a working-class newspaper as defender of the working people, whom it helps in fighting for a just cause. Its growing popularity is seen in the fact that during strikes it is also distributed by strikers because it exposes employers' tyranny and condemns police brutality.

Tribuna helps us extend and reinforce the Party and build up Left unity. There will be a general election at the end of this year, which means that *Tribuna* must publicize the program of the popular unity front. We believe its circulation will go up considerably. We will launch circulation drives more frequently because they enable us to establish direct contacts with thousands of Venezuelans.

For popular unity

The CPV has gained much experience in promoting unity of the popular forces resisting imperialism and its underlings. It was operating underground when the 1968 general election took place. Its leaders were persecuted, some of them were behind bars and others in exile. Nevertheless, we took part in the election and scored some gains. Six Communists were elected to the National Congress. The CPV became legal. Many political prisoners were set free. The persecution of Communist leaders stopped.

After 1968 some opposition parties showed a desire for unity.*

*The opposition polled a total of 1.5 million votes in the election against one million for Caldera, the successful presidential candidate. — Ed.

With this year's election approaching, the need for a progressive bloc became apparent. As a result, a front called the New Force came into being last year. It comprises three parties: the People's Electoral Movement, Republican Democratic Union, and Communist Party, and its rise is the most noteworthy event of recent years.

The New Force is not merely an electoral bloc but an alliance of parties united around a common long-term program which provides for a series of measures to restructure the economy. The program calls for nationalization of oil and iron ore, banks and all major enterprises controlled by foreign monopolies, immediate agrarian reform, and relief to the unemployed, homeless children and youth. The program has been hailed by the people, but the monopolies and their flunkies are attacking it fiercely and doing their utmost to misrepresent its purpose.

On July 29, 1972, the bloc held a convention in Caracas, attended by 1,800 delegates – 300 from each party and 900 independents.* Dr. Angel Paz Galaraga, General Secretary of the People's Electoral Movement, was nominated for the Presidency as the candidate of the popular unity front.

That day thousands of people gathered outside the Sports Palace to hear the nomination results. Many public leaders commended the Communists' effort for unity. The convention was one of the most important actions ever sponsored by us. The impact of this forum on the nation's political life is beyond question.

The opposing forces, alarmed by the success of the front, tried to counter it. They nominated 'Left'-wing pretenders to the Presidency (described as 'the most suitable for the people'), including the 'socialist' Rangel, who was backed by the revisionists expelled from the CPV. They also stepped up propaganda against the New Force parties.

Opportunists of every shade accuse the CPV of having 'renounced' the struggle for socialism on the grounds that this slogan is not included in the front's program. We Communists hold that to promise socialism in Venezuela in 1973 means betraying total ignorance of the alignment of forces and adopting an unscientific stance. On the other hand, our entire effort for progressive unity and our fight against imperialism constitute an important step towards a socialist society in Venezuela.

We persevere in building up popular unity despite attacks from the Right and 'Left.' On November 10, 1972, a rally was called at the former Maracaibo airport. It drew over 120,000 participants, causing panic in the enemy camp. The ruling circles used every imaginable pressure against it.

In the difficult political situation in which we found ourselves, the decision of the Radical Democratic Union's leadership (one of the three parties in the bloc) to withdraw its support of Paz Calaraga as Presidential candidate played into the Rightists' hands. How-

*The New Force unites parties as well as eminent figures belonging to no party, including some high-ranking members of the armed forces. – *Author's note.*

ever, most rank-and-file members and numerous leaders of the RDU, especially in the provinces, reject this divisive position and remain loyal to the idea of unity.

The New Force candidate and the parties backing him continue their political and organizing work to strengthen and extend the front. We welcome the joining of the bloc by any political force willing to seek implementation of the revolutionary program adopted by the July convention.

We believe in the triumph of popular unity despite the obstacles raised by imperialism and the oligarchy and the intrigues of opportunists and splitters. We are confident that this year's election will bring us notable gains. But that will not be the end of our struggle. The battle against imperialism will continue on all fronts.

The communist word

How do Communists counter the powerful mass media of the monopolists and the attempts of the bourgeoisie to increase their ideological influence?

The ideological armory of the Communist Parties contains very many effective weapons for influencing the masses. These are the workers' press, political leaflets and posters, popular Marxist books – 'the people's textbooks' as Lenin called them – and much else.

However, the Communists' chief weapon still is live political agitation, direct personal contacts and daily, painstaking ideological work.

Below, leaders of our brother parties in Latin America, Asia and Africa recount how Communists perfect their agitational work, and how they increase their influence amongst various sections of the population. Naturally, these experiences have many facets, and conditions of work vary. Our contributors deal only with some aspects of the subject.

RODNEY ARISMENDI
First Secretary of the CC,
Communist Party of Uruguay

*A Communist member of
Parliament is an agitator and
organizer.*

When a Communist member of a bourgeois parliament rises to speak, he presents the view of his Party on some crucial issue. This is not a dispassionate 'participation in debates,' but a principled rebuttal of calumnious attacks by the enemy or vigorous polemics with representatives of the ruling classes; he explains the demands and proposals of the Party, elucidates its program, tactics and ideological position.

Naturally, it is desirable that both in form and content the speech of a Communist member of parliament should make a powerful impact

A deputy must be resourceful, active and have political acumen. Whether working in a parliamentary commission, or taking part

in parliamentary debates, a Communist always makes full use of each and every opportunity to act in the interests of the masses and of his Party.

But, obviously, if the activities of a Communist deputy amounted to nothing more than speech-making, no matter how important – then, in effect, they would be only individual efforts, limited to the confines of parliament.

We have no such Communist deputies who are only engaged in parliamentary activities. They are in the leadership of the Party and the trade unions. In other words, at one and the same time they carry out several Party jobs; their parliamentary activities have become part of the general and organizational work of the Party.

For Marxist-Leninists the combination of parliamentary struggle with extra-parliamentary actions of the masses is a basic tactical problem. It is the rule for Communist deputies to have close ties with the working class and popular movements, and with the struggles of the trade unions and other mass organizations. When speaking of such links, we do not mean a mere assessment of the mood of the workers, or this or that spontaneous process or ferment which, when dealt with in parliamentary speeches, can draw the attention of the public. No, what we wish to emphasize is the direct tie-up between speeches in parliament, the press accounts of these speeches, wide discussion of their results, and organized mass action outside parliament.

The continual demonstrations of thousands upon thousands of workers who drop work and congregate around the parliamentary building to demand the adoption of some laws or to protest against others, are witness to the way in which the parliamentary struggle in Uruguay rouses the feelings of the people. At times Montevidean transport workers surround parliament with their buses in a tight ring. Deputations from demonstrations present their demands to deputies and the public galleries of parliament are filled to overflowing. Meetings and mass marches are held on the streets and squares of the capital which very often culminate in big street battles with the police and military.

Our deputies leave the chamber to take part in mass actions, to be amongst the demonstrators, speak at meetings and meet striking workers.

A Communist deputy is an agitator and an organizer. He writes for the press and also distributes leaflets at factory gates. He is active amongst his constituents and takes part in the daily struggle of the people. The activities of Communist deputies, propagandists, trade union organizers, are all judged from the same angle: their success in mobilizing the masses and raising their political consciousness.

More than once we walked many kilometres to workers' centers outside Montevideo where there was unrest, and at times on the way back we marched in the midst of columns of workers. The workers appreciated our solidarity, listened to our speeches and

advice. It was easy to establish mutual understanding, for people knew that the Communist Party supports their struggle, organizes supplies and medical aid for strikers. Clearly, in such circumstances even the most politically backward person will stop thinking of a Communist deputy as representing a body alien to the working people.

Coordinated Party work, using the parliamentary forum in combination with the mass struggle, and the daily activities and initiative of the deputies, all help us to learn from the people's experience and at the same time to enrich that experience, to raise the political awareness of the workers and help them understand the laws of the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. And if today all fully employed workers have been drawn into the trade unions, if demonstrations, strikes or general strikes are held under such political slogans as freedom for the people and national independence, this is largely due to the work of Communists in parliament.

Our deputies never fail to promote the economic demands of the workers. We have prepared many bills on conditions of labor, wages, pensions, sick benefits and unemployment benefits, and other matters. These bills are the result of the deputies' contact with the workers, fruitful discussions with trade union leaders and other progressive deputies. As a result of our initiative the Uruguayan Parliament has passed more than 100 laws that help the working people. We fought for these laws inside Parliament and in parliamentary commissions, while the masses fought through strikes and general strikes.

The Party strives to make the fullest use of Parliament to expose the ruling classes. Our parliamentary tactics are effective when they are spirited and sharply critical of reactionary circles, the oligarchy and imperialism. Communists do not wish to remain prisoners of their political enemy or to follow slavishly the agendas proposed by the ruling cliques. They, therefore, try to set the pace by directing the debates around exposure, questions and proposals put forward by representatives of our Party and the Left deputies. There are all manner of ways in which this can be achieved—from the introduction of bills to interjections and fact-finding investigations, which in our country have become a deeply rooted tradition.

An example of the serious blows sustained by the oligarchy was last year's parliamentary investigation into the activities of the meat packing industry, started on the insistence of our deputies. This was a concrete expression of our support of workers who were fighting for their economic rights, and against the financial abuses of the imperialist companies. There was great public response to the investigation of banking and the machinations of the most powerful representatives of the oligarchy in state electrical and telephone enterprises. There was also the exposure of corruption amongst government employees in the port of Montevideo and the unlawful profits of powerful middlemen from the sale of wool.

It is obvious that the more initiative the Communist and progressive deputies display, make use of documents and facts and base their activities on the demands of the masses, the greater will be their success and the livelier the people's response. We could not fulfill our task properly, while taking part in the struggle, if we were not acquainted with the economic and financial situation, the subtleties of the budget, or the pressing national issues. Furthermore, it is essential that the needs of the regions be studied. After all, our Party, and now the Broad Front, are represented not only in Parliament, but in all the local councils. Hence, parliamentary work is closely linked with the work in municipal bodies, and this gives the Communist Party and the Broad Front and all Left forces the opportunity to increase their role both in Parliament and in public life as a whole.

Deputies play an outstanding part in the struggle against repression. Parliamentary activities open up wide possibilities for exposure of abuses. While the publication of certain political documents is forbidden, a parliamentary speech will be widely reported in the press. Newspapers may also report activities of deputies in connection with industrial conflicts, defense of political prisoners, and so on, and this always meets with response from the workers.

Finally, on the basis of many years' experience I draw the conclusion that parliamentary work has become an essential condition for the growth and development of the Party as a real political force, as the Party of the masses.* Political struggles in Parliament combined with the working class movement, support of the workers' demands by deputies, their activities against oppression, repression and for freeing of political prisoners, have aided the unification of Left forces and the birth of the Broad Front, bringing together the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist forces, from Communists and Socialists to representatives of the Church and the military, such as, for instance, General Seregni.

JAGANNATH SIRKAR

Member of Central Executive,
National Council of the CPI.

*If we only speak of those who
are already with us, we shall
never win new friends*

In the State of Bihar where I come from, more than 80 per cent of the population (and in the rural areas even more) are illiterate. The agitator, who, in explaining the policies of our Party, forgets this for one moment, makes a big mistake. But equally wrong are those of our comrades who, afraid that people with little knowledge will not understand them, limit themselves to questions of regional import only, not touching on wider issues. Our task is to enlarge the outlook of the masses, arouse their active interest, and involve them in political life. The skill of an agitator lies in his ability to use simple, well-known facts which provide the link to big political questions, and to be able to draw conclusions.

*Comrade R. Arismendi has been a member of Parliament since 1946. — Ed.

Many people attend our meetings. Usually the first rows are full of people who wholeheartedly support the Party, and behind them, on the periphery, so to speak, are those who are not in agreement with everything we stand for or have simply come to hear Communists. There are times when our speakers, carried away by the response of our warmest supporters, continue to address them and speak only for them, encouraged by their repeated applause. They forget about those standing at a distance who do not agree with the Party line, and so they do not try to model their speech to win them over. But if we only speak to those who are already with us, we shall never win new friends.

An experienced speaker 'throws his net' wide, catching both the 'near' and the 'far,' and leaves no question of burning concern unanswered. The audience may not themselves put questions, but the speaker should pose them, anticipating the unspoken thoughts which naturally arise from the logic of his reasoning. 'You probably disagree,' he may say addressing those at the back, and straight away he exposes the incorrectness of the anticipated objections or seemingly powerful counter-arguments with which he is well acquainted through talks and from the press of various parties, through thousands of current ideas. By guessing the likely objections and straight away convincingly disposing of them, the agitator succeeds in stimulating his hearers, makes them think, follow his reasoning and gradually leads them to the undisputed conclusion.

The main strength of the Party lies in the workers, agricultural laborers and poor peasants. But today teachers, students, and white collar workers are also drawn to us. That is why, while orienting himself on the main bulk of the audience, the speaker must not forget our potential allies. It is quite possible that a particular subject may not be of equal interest to all present at the meeting, but each section should be able to recognize something of importance to them. A well-thought-out speech should be directed to various sections of the audience alternately, so that none find the speech boring or uninteresting.

An experienced agitator strives to be good at polemics. When we hold meetings at which there are no representatives of other parties, it is obviously easier to argue against their objections to our points of view. But the situation is more complicated if a joint meeting is held. In fact, frequently in preparatory arrangements for such meetings, agreement is reached that the speakers will not criticize the attitudes of the Parties taking part. However, there are times when this agreement is broken, and attacks are made on the Communists, albeit veiled. Bearing this in mind we try to let our comrades speak last so that, if necessary, they can reply to indirect criticism. When we are the first to speak and we are certain that we will be attacked, we, anticipating the hostile attacks, ourselves raise controversial questions to which we give our answers. While our polemics with reaction are sharp, we try to disprove in a friendly way the mistaken views and statements of our allies.

CESAR GODOY URRUTIA
CC Member,
Communist Party of Chile

*We need legions of agitators,
propagandists and capable
speakers.*

The art of public speaking has always been very important in the revolutionary working-class movement. There have been many brilliant orators in the working-class movement, among them August Bebel, Paul Lafargue, Karl Liebknecht. The irrefutable logic of speeches by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels won over their listeners, and Lenin's speeches made an enormous impression on the masses.

In every country the Communist movement creates its own tribunes. Amongst those whom we Chileans know well I will mention only one, Luis Emilio Recabarren – an outstanding leader of the Latin-American working class movement, founder of the Communist Party of Chile. His speeches will remain forever in the memories of those who heard him.

Millions of working people are now entering a conscious political life. Under such circumstances we cannot be content to rely on one person or a group of outstanding speakers. The spread of Marxist ideas is today the collective responsibility of Party members. The Communist movement needs legions of agitators, propagandists and capable orators.

It is always useful for speakers to use such devices as sarcasm, comparison, metaphors. The dialectical method as understood by the ancient philosophers is effective in political arguments, that is to say, the art of destroying your opponent by using his own arguments.

A good speech is marked by the unity of logic and emotion. The speaker appeals to the reason and emotions of the masses. If many years of personal experience count for anything, then I would say that you must feel deeply about what you are saying. Then your emotion is transferred to the listener, it arouses attention; the speech overwhelms and thrills. If ideological arguments do not touch the heart, then they will not excite the mind. There is a story about a young lady who was studying singing. Although she had a good voice she used it without feeling. The teacher asked her whether she was in love. She replied, no. In that case, said the teacher, let's leave our lessons for a while and start again when you've fallen in love.

We won't bring up the old argument as to whether a prepared written speech or an extemporaneous one is better. At any rate we shall not advise you to copy Leon Gambetta who boasted: 'I only think when I speak.' If it's not always possible to write out a speech in full, still it is useful to plan it, think over the main theses and put them on paper, even isolated sections, noting the places where it is necessary to introduce an actual example or refer to some fact or something which someone has said.

Lenin prepared his every speech, and even in the heat of an argument at congresses and meetings he would make notes before

taking the floor, jotting down the main ideas of his antagonists, and their main statements word for word. He was precise in speech as well as in print, always stating the source of his figures or quotations. He adhered to the rule which he advised his colleagues to follow that one must not play into the hands of the enemy by misquoting him.

Lenin advised that in dealing with people they should be approached with patience and with care; that apart from the political standpoint there was also the pedagogical, and that a speaker should put himself in the place of the audience; he should do more explaining rather than attacking. This a Communist should never forget.

PAUL VERGES
General Secretary, the
Communist Party of Réunion

*Successful agitational work must
take into account the political
understanding of the workers.*

Although our class enemy possesses all the means of mass information, his ideological influence on the workers is limited.

This is due, in the first place, to the illiteracy of the people, particularly in the villages. Another reason is that the official language, the language of the press and radio, is French, while the language used by the people is Creole. Hence, the effectiveness of official colonial propaganda is lessened. Through the spoken word and through direct contact with people we frequently gain the advantage over our ideological enemy.

Naturally, I don't wish to make a virtue out of necessity; ignorance is the scourge of the people, a brake on our work. Everyone who has had to address illiterate or semi-literate workers and peasants, knows how difficult this is.

We have faith in the common sense of the people, the soundness of their reasoning and their political acumen. Our peasant or worker may not know where to find Vietnam on a map or the whereabouts of Cuba, but politically they are responsive and understanding. We can only carry out agitational work successfully if we bear in mind the level of the workers' political understanding. The art is to be, at one and the same time, comprehensible and precise.

The people cannot stomach falsehoods. The strength of a Party agitator lies in his truthfulness and sincerity. Our enemies have no such qualities, nor does their propaganda reflect reality. We have often proposed to the supporters of the existing order that we should hold joint open meetings where our different points of view could be aired. But they have always refused, and I think the main reason is because our political foes cannot present a program which would enjoy the active support of the workers.

Communists go to mass meetings with open hearts. We regard meetings as a way of broadening our influence, an organic part of village life, of the life of workers' settlements, stimulating the political activities of workers, peasants and youth.

The special feature of our public meetings is that they are held in the open, in streets, in farmyards and fields, and people stand and listen. Old people and women and children are there, too. The ability of an agitator is put to the test in such conditions. For the people will not listen if the speaker is not to their liking. We regard a skilful agitator as one who speaks to the point, with feeling, without false pathos; one who, bearing in mind the political level of the masses, is able to shed a new light on well-known facts with clear and simple turns of speech. The art of simplicity, however, is not easy. Once a 'learned' word or some abstract thought slips into the speech, the masses are on their guard. They don't understand. The speaker may be pleased with himself, but the people will disperse dissatisfied.

Our Party is the only organized force fighting for the solution of a dual problem, the social transformation of society and the national liberation of the country. Mass political work amongst the workers is coupled with organizational work, to strengthen the ranks of the Party. This is why the influence of our Party amongst the people is growing.

JESUS VILLEGAS
Member of EC,
Communist Party of Colombia

We must use every form of agitation from talks to individuals to speeches at public meetings.

Revolutionary work in the villages has been carried out by our Party from its very inception, and started by Communists mixing and talking with the peasants. They went from ranch to ranch, from hovel to hovel, appeared at secret meetings and among large crowds on market day, held personal conversations and spoke at village gatherings. The agitators explained that the power of the peasants lay in their unity and in organization. Otherwise, they could get nothing from the authorities, not even the fulfilment of the most elementary demands: the building of roads, bridges, schools, let alone a democratic agrarian reform.

And Communists today, too, see the spoken word, live contact with the masses, especially in the rural areas, as of prime importance. We devote a great deal of attention to meetings, mass gatherings, peasants assemblies.

The Party frequently organizes deputations to the central authorities. The peasants elect about a hundred men and women to present a memorandum describing the abuses and demanding an investigation. They are backed by mass processions and village gatherings, to which the deputation reports back. The speakers urge keeping up the pressure on the Government, closer unity and better organization. Such legal activity is effective.

The Party agitator, if he wishes to interest the audience, must always remember that the peasant's thoughts always center on land. He must always talk about the land and how to win it – there is no more important theme – but the different interests of the small proprietors, rich peasants, and middle peasants must never be for-

gotten. For instance, it is quite clear that there are class contradictions between the middle peasant and his laborers. And yet both the small proprietor and laborer need defending and can be drawn into the revolutionary struggle.

Experience has shown that at certain moments our peasant movement enters into temporary alliances even with its antagonists. When at the end of the 1940s Colombia was engulfed in a wave of terror, the Communists gained the majority in the elections in the Tequendama district, or to be more accurate, the municipality of Vjota. The military and the Yankee Embassy declared that they would not permit a Communist peasants' region to exist only three hours' ride from Bogota, and that they would put an end to this 'communist infection.'

What did the Communist peasants do?

In this region there are large estates whose coffee harvest reaches several million peso. The leaders of the local mass and Party organizations met the big landowners and said: 'Repression is being prepared against the region. We can lose a great deal. We shall have to stop working our plots to defend ourselves, and the soldiers will occupy your estates. Let us unite in order to prevent repression and ensure peaceful labor.' The landowners could lose a great deal and their greed made them agree to a temporary agreement with the peasant movement. They approached the Government and the High Military Command, and their appeal and pressure combined with the mass actions of the peasants, averted the blow, and rid the region of repression.

The tireless activity of Party agitators helps strengthen the mass organizations in the village and further consolidate the agrarian regions where a revolutionary mood prevails. The Communists use all kinds of agitation amongst the peasantry—from talks on the way to the fields, talks in the family circle, to speeches at mass meetings.

KHOKA ROY
Member Secretariat of CC,
CP of Bangladesh

*We must let the young comrades
speak more often.*

Our meetings in the towns are attended by a mixed audience: workers, intellectuals, and peasants from the neighboring villages.

The intellectuals prefer 'high-brow' language, and so-called global problems; they want theoretical arguments and are not afraid of abstractions and paradoxes. The workers are attracted by a simple exposition and an analysis of day-to-day problems. To be able to convey one's ideas to the peasants is indeed an art. It is not only a question of their narrow cultural and political outlook. Peasants see things differently, they have their own mentality and their colloquial language is different from that of the townspeople.

We often organize meetings for selected audiences. For instance we hold indoor meetings to which we invite political workers, white

collar workers and students, even though they may not hold the same views. People attend such meetings prepared for deeper discussion, and there a good speech should be analytical, argued from all aspects, and strengthened by the use of facts and figures.

The art of agitation is a difficult one, but it can be acquired. If you think clearly politically and you have something to say, you can mount the platform boldly. You cannot learn to swim unless you enter the water. Listen to the public speeches of others and gain experience yourself. Of course, the ability to convince the masses and win their support does not come at once, but all the same it is something that can be acquired.

There are some people in the Party who, when organizing meetings, ask the leadership to send along a popular speaker. They are afraid that someone who is little known will not draw a crowd. We, however, believe that it is necessary to let the young comrades speak more often. Let them test themselves, learn the art of agitation. Otherwise, public speaking will become the special preserve of a small group.

We have decided on the planned training of young Communists in the art of addressing mass meetings.

Educating young communists

Otto Podolsky
Member, CC CPA
Chairman, Communist Youth of
Austria

Smouldering protest

Capitalist society is indifferent to the problems of youth. It has no solution to offer. It is only logical, therefore, that the contradictions and anomalies of the bourgeois system should bring protests from young people.

In Austria, these contradictions have not been eased by three years of Socialist Party rule. The contrast between the capitalists, who live in luxury, and the workers, whose wages are depreciated by inflation, is as marked as ever. Manufacturers' profits are growing as exploitation intensifies. The educational system has been rid of none of its ills. University students of working-class background make up a scant nine per cent of a total of 50,000. Millions have been spent on the Bundesheer in recent years while housing construction is on the decrease, university facilities are inadequate and physical training gets a negligible share of budget appropriations.

It is indicative that the sick rate among children and teenagers has been mounting year after year. A noted sports doctor has said that if things go on like this Austria will have a generation of cripples. Professor W. Kuenzel of the School and Sports Buildings Designing Institute holds that the country needs at least 2,800 more gymnasiums, 1,800 sports grounds and 280 indoor swimming-pools.

To divert youth from social problems the ruling classes present relations between generations in a false light and set young against old. They use the mass media to foster a consumer mentality and advertise spurious ideals. The effects of the bourgeoisie's ideological offensive show in young people's use of their leisure time. Bourgeois sociologists point out that only 20 per cent of our young men and women read systematically, 18 per cent go in for sports, 16.8 per cent go to the cinema and 5.2 per cent improve their skills in their off hours. Dances and travel attract the greatest proportion - 22 per cent. Only 1.3 per cent of young people go to the theatre or to a concert more or less often.

What is the attitude of young Austrians to a society which does so little for them?

An increasing number take a critical view of existing institutions and political parties. Fewer and fewer of them are taken in by the demagogy of the Social-Democratic leaders. Young people are fed up with the talk about the workers sharing responsibility for the nation's prosperity with the capitalists. They are faced with barriers in every social sphere. It is no longer easy for youth organizations linked with bourgeois parties to lull young people with fairy tales about social peace. The more socially alert among youth try to sort out social problems and turn to Marxist literature more and more frequently in searching for solutions.

A task of the whole party

Communists know that the youth organization and the Communists active in it cannot by themselves cope with the task of winning the young generation for socialism. This is a task for the whole Party.

Our movement needs a certain reorientation. The dialogue with young people should not be confined to problems bearing directly upon them. It is also essential to conduct ideological discussions so as to foster young people's class consciousness, reveal the nature of social problems to them and help them to resist the policy of the bourgeoisie, the Church and the Social Democrats, who try to keep youth out of the ideological battle and the working-class movement.

From 1945 to 1969, the Communist Party of Austria exerted its influence on the younger generation through the Free Austrian Youth (FAY). FAY was founded in the early postwar days by young Communists, Socialists and Catholics as a democratic anti-fascist

organization associated with no party. The idea of a non-party youth organization seemed correct at the time. After Austria's liberation from Hitler fascism it became necessary to set up a broad-based democratic front that could unite the rising generation and win its support for the perspective of non-capitalist development. Later on, in the 50s, the changed political situation at home and abroad made it clear that the youth organization should be brought closer to the leading party of the working class both ideologically and organizationally. The CPA and FAY leaderships discussed the possibility of founding an autonomous Communist youth league but could not bring it into being. The result was disappointing, for FAY did little to make young people class-conscious, Marxist-Leninist theory was not studied properly and the historic role of the working class was underestimated.

It will be recalled that serious ideological differences arose in the CPA in 1967-1968. They were carried into FAY—with help from such revisionists as E. Fischer and F. Marek. To oppose young people to the Party, the revisionists played up the theory of the conflict between generations. They advocated the highly doubtful idea of an autonomous youth league and failed, of course, to point out that such an organization could hardly be viable without the Party's support. The CPA crisis resulted in young Party members losing their bearings.

This naturally prompted the mass of young Communists to try to found a working-class youth organization adhering to Marxism-Leninism. However, this task was complicated by the fact that some youth leaders, backed by the revisionists, became members of central Party bodies at the 20th CPA Congress (January 1969). They were expelled from the Party and youth organizations during the Party campaign for ideological purity. In November 1969 the CC CPA resolved to form a Communist youth league and entrusted the task to young Party members who had resisted the revisionist policies of the former youth leaders.

The communist youth of Austria

The Communist Youth of Austria (CYA) was founded in Vienna on May 10, 1970, at a congress attended by 160 delegates from all nine federal provinces. The political program of the CYA approved by the congress says: 'The Communist Youth of Austria is an autonomous organization working with and among youth. The CYA, which has the same ideological and political basis as the CPA, wants as many of its members as possible to continue their political activity in the ranks of the CPA.'

The 21st CPA Congress (May 1970) stressed that Party organizations must concentrate on drawing young people into Party work. This was of decisive importance to the growth of the Party itself. Young workers and salary earners should be helped to see the causes of the difficulties they were passing through and mobilized

to fight for legitimate demands. The Party educates a new generation of Communists in cooperation with the CYA, whose activity has increased considerably over the past two-and-a-half years. It now has more members and branch organizations than FAY had in 1968-1969. There are CYA organizations in all federal provinces. Cells are formed on the territorial principle. CYA committees closely cooperate with Party committees and carry out various measures in common, which enables young people to use the experience of their elders and stimulates to a certain extent the activity of Party organizations.

The three main activities of the CYA are organizing public functions and campaigns, Marxist-Leninist education, and building up the CYA.

The CYA tries to help young workers first and foremost. With this object in view, it organized actions demanding a 38-hour week for young workers and apprentices and submitted a bill on vocational training in line with present-day exigencies. In common with the Association of Communist Students founded in October 1972, the CYA insists on workers' children being afforded the same opportunities of receiving a higher education as are enjoyed by the members of the affluent social strata. The CYA reveals the reactionary nature of proletarian internationalism. To this end it organized discussions, photo exhibitions and film shows under the motto 'Youth accuses imperialism' and sponsored hundreds of meetings in support of Angela Davis and powerful demonstrations against President Nixon's visit to Austria in May 1972.

To bring more young people into the movement, the CYA seeks contacts with other youth organizations. But since the leaders of these organizations are closely linked with political parties upholding the capitalist order, we are compelled to follow a policy of alliance 'from below'—through discussion and dialogue primarily in branch organizations or with individual members. Joint youth action in support of the struggle of Indochina's peoples and the campaign to raise funds for a new children's hospital in Hanoi were particularly effective.

Public actions by the CYA earned it the sympathy of numerous young Austrians and helped it to increase its membership and prestige.

The ideological and political education of CYA members must be carried on through concrete deeds and not in an abstract manner. We consider it very important to bring the exact meaning and purpose of our every initiative home to Young Communists. We promote Marxist-Leninist education through groups set up by branch organizations for the study of the history of the Austrian working class, the fundamental problems of Marxism-Leninism and ideological trends in the working-class movement. The groups have ten members on the average and their program is made up of six to eight lectures plus the reading of Marxist literature. Over 400 young Communists had completed the course of study in these groups by July 1972.

In the middle of 1972, the CYA held in collaboration with the CPA and the Trade Union Unity group a theoretical conference on 'Working Youth and Socialism.' The conference was attended by 300 young people, 78 per cent of whom are workers and apprentices. Conference committees discussed four important themes: 'Youth and Production,' 'Youth and Leisure Time,' 'Youth and the Bundesheer' and 'Youth and the Family.' The discussion was a valuable spur to Communist work among youth.

In the October 1971 elections to the National Council, although the CPA fell 2,500 votes short of seating its representatives in parliament, many of the new votes it won were cast by young people who see our Party as a force capable of providing an alternative to the prevailing system.

In the past, especially between 1967 and 1970, not many FAY members joined the Communist Party. But in recent months numerous CYA members were admitted to the CPA, which helped the Party to begin rejuvenating its cadre. The CYA Federal Executive has passed a resolution on the training of future Communists — our paramount task. At the same time we persevere in the effort to win more new members for our own organization.

The younger generation wants to break out of capitalism. The Communists are the only ones who can help them to do so — by fighting for socialism.

In brief

CUBA

Communists of Pinar del Rio province held a conference to sum up the results of 1972. They cited achievements in the production of tobacco, rice and citrus fruit, animal husbandry and housing construction in the province, once the most backward in the country.

The conference was addressed by Paul Castro, second secretary, CC CP Cuba, and First Deputy Premier of the Revolutionary Government, who stressed the growing role of party members in carrying out the plans for creating the material base of socialism.

D R V

The Political Bureau of the CC of the Working People's Party of Vietnam has passed a resolution, 'Work with Leading Cadres at the New Stage,' outlining the basic requirements that functionaries are expected to meet: devotion to the country, socialism and Marxism-Leninism; acceptance of the Party's political line; doing one's duty, active education, constantly enhancing one's cultural standards; closeness to the masses, respect and realization of the peo-

ple's right to be collective masters; selfless labor, respect for discipline.

The resolution also outlines the basic principles to be adhered to in training and assigning cadres, and stresses the need to enhance the Party's leading role.

G D R

The eighth congress of the Domowina, mass organization of the Sorbian people of Lusatia, the only national minority group in the GDR, was held at Bautzen. The Sorbians, a Slavic people, inhabit the Kottbus and Dresden districts.

The Domowina congress, which coincided with the 25th anniversary of the law guaranteeing the Sorbian people equal rights in the socialist state, discussed their contribution towards carrying out the decisions of the eighth congress of the SUPG.

NORWAY

The front of Left forces supporting a single slate in this autumn's parliamentary elections has broadened with the holding of a conference of representatives of the Communist Party, Socialist People's Party and the Labor Movement Information Committee Against Entering the EEC recently in Telemark province. This is the second Norwegian province in which the Left has joined forces for the election campaign.

SOUTH AFRICA

A plenum of the CC of the South African Communist Party devoted considerable attention to the strengthening of the underground structure of the Party and stepping up its work, to problems of unity and the effectiveness of the revolutionary national-liberation movement. The participants in the plenum declared unanimously that their duty was to continue to work for the fulfilment of the lifework of Party Chairman John Marks, who died last year. Yusuf M. Dadoo was elected Chairman of the South African Communist Party.

SWEDEN

A plenum of the board of the Left Party - Communists has discussed preparations for the autumn parliamentary elections and participation in the new trade union collective bargaining campaign.

In its statement the plenum stresses the need for unity of progressive forces in the fight against the domination of capital. The plenum rejected a proposal of the pro-Maoist splitter group that has appropriated the name 'Communist Party of Sweden' for 'technical cooperation' with the LPC in the election campaign. Cooperation with an organization engaged in a deliberate struggle against the LPC could only mislead the electorate, the plenum decision emphasizes.



New developments in the peace movement

WHAT ARE THE OPPORTUNITIES OF CONTRIBUTING TO THE MAINTENANCE OF WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY WHICH THE SOCIAL FORCES HAVE TODAY?

ROMESH CHANDRA, Secretary General World Peace Council:

*... I shall gladly answer questions from readers of **Problems of Peace and Socialism** on this subject.*

In the January issue of this journal we announced Romesh Chandra's consent to reply to readers' question. Since then we have received many letters asking for more information on various aspects of the peace movement and the activities of the World Peace Council.

During a brief stay in Prague, Romesh Chandra visited our offices and replied to readers' questions, as summarized by members of our staff.

— The peace movement has accomplished much and can look back on many achievements. However, its concrete tasks in the framework of world peace and security change with the changing international situation.

What are the main features of the movement today?

Chandra: They are closely linked with progress towards détente and acceptance of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. In fact we can say that the most important changes in recent years can be linked to the Peace Program adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress. The initiatives taken by the USSR and other socialist countries have already brought tangible results and continue to have a favorable impact on the world's political climate. That applies above all to Europe, the gradual normalization of Soviet-American relations and to the universally welcomed change-over from war towards peace in Indochina.

Take the Vietnam problem. The cease-fire agreement is primarily a victory for the heroic Vietnamese people. It was made possible — as our Vietnamese friends always emphasize — by the immense support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But the road to the cease-fire was paved also by the unremitting efforts of

the peace movement. Worldwide solidarity with Vietnam was a weighty contribution to victory over imperialist aggression. Much the same applies to other positive changes in international affairs: we are fully justified in associating them with the increasing influence of world public opinion.

These successes provide fresh opportunities – first, because the international positions of the peace forces are now much stronger, and second, because the people are more confident of their ability to bar the road to aggression and curb the aggressor.

Our movement is working to make the best of these opportunities and bring into the fight for peace new millions, regardless of their political or other views who want to prevent a third world war, put an end to colonialism and racialism and rid mankind of poverty and hunger. This has made for serious organizational changes in the peace movement.

More than 100 countries are now represented in the World Peace Council. Not all of them have National Peace Councils in the old sense of the term. In Latin America, for instance, there are Committees for Peace and Economic Emancipation which are combating domination of U.S. capital and the local oligarchy. In the WPC they represent their countries just as national liberation movements represent South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia. On the other hand, in the USA where there is no single nationwide Peace Council, delegates of more than 100 big and small public organizations share in the activities of the World Council. Much the same applies to the FRG, Britain and Australia.

We have abandoned the old idea of uniting only a certain number of large national organizations. Today our rules and regulations provide that any organization subscribing to our principles and prepared to cooperate with us, even if only on one particular issue, can be represented on the WPC.

This is indicative of a major change. At one time the WPC was perhaps the organization of the public forces actively working for peace. Now the peace effort has been joined by thousands of democratic, progressive, anti-war organizations in all parts of the world.

– In capitalist countries there is closer coalescence of the monopolies and the state, with the result that the monopolies exert an increasing influence on foreign policy and political decision-making in general.

That being so, can the WPC effectively influence international relations, and how, through what channels?

Chandra: I have referred to the organizational changes in our movement. They have important political implications.

Everywhere the Communist and Workers' parties are in the forefront of the struggle for peace. Naturally this applies to the ruling parties in the socialist countries. This is the political cornerstone of our movement. The WPC has representatives also of parties in power in a number of countries with revolutionary-democratic governments, and countries following anti-imperialist or nonalignment policies. About two years ago we established a category of 'perma-

nent observers.' This has helped to bring into our work Social-Democrats and made it possible for representatives of other parties to establish close contacts with us, though, for various reasons, they cannot officially be represented in the WPC.

It will thus be seen that we represent a much wider spectrum of political trends and our work has become more effective as a result. The bigger role we play in international life is expressed in the fact, for instance, that relations with the United Nations have been put on an entirely new basis. Representatives of the UN, including its Special Committees on Apartheid and Decolonization, attend all important meetings of the WPC. A representative of the UN Secretary General has participated in recent sessions of the WPC Presidential Committee. On the other hand, for two years now our representatives have had the privilege of addressing the Special Political Committee and Fourth Committee of the General Assembly.

Last November Dr. Waldheim received a WPC delegation and emphasized the absolute necessity for the UN to cooperate with such influential public organizations as the World Peace Council.

Thus, we have firm and expanding contacts with national and international political circles that play an important, and in the case of the socialist countries, a decisive role in the world of today.

The political forces now associated with the WPC are broadly representative and can effectively work to extend the anti-imperialist movement in various countries in keeping with our policies and slogans. On the other hand the WPC is sufficiently strong and influential to extend its cooperation with many organizations of diverse political orientation.

This has defined two directions in our activity, and the following examples will show how they are combined.

Let us recall the 'Stockholm spirit,' the spirit of broad international cooperation on one single issue, Vietnam, and later, Indochina as a whole. The initiative taken by the WPC and other organizations represented in the Stockholm conference on Vietnam has helped to rally all the peace forces working to end U.S. aggression. However, the WPC conducted the solidarity with Vietnam campaign also on its own. As a result, we were able not only to activate the national anti-war movements, but also to explain to the masses the meaning of the anti-imperialist struggle in Vietnam and in this way raise to a higher level the political understanding of millions of people.

Or take the problem of European security. The WPC had an active part in preparing and conducting last year's European Forum of Representatives of Public Opinion in Brussels. We contributed to its useful discussions. But while cooperating with other organizations and trends, we always emphasized that, alongside common tasks, we had our own – of explaining to the people the essence of the security issue, resolutely exposing the opponents of European détente and helping the European peoples understand what they can and should do to promote peace and cooperation in their con-

continent. We regard the fight of the peoples of many countries for withdrawal from NATO, dismantling of foreign military bases on their territories, the fight against the neo-fascist regimes in Portugal, Spain and Greece as an essential element of the political process of building a system of European collective security.

We are now cooperating with a number of parties and organizations representing a wide political spectrum for action for peace and security in the Middle East. The WPC is working in many different ways to support the Arab peoples against the Israeli aggression. The WPC Presidential Committee, at a special session in Cairo, drew up a program of concrete actions to mobilize world public opinion for a just peace in the Middle East. Not so long ago we had a meeting in Addis Ababa with the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity and we agreed on a number of joint measures and programs, notably in the fight against racialism and colonialism. All this helps towards a healthier international climate in the Middle East and Africa. It also helps to strengthen the unity of all forces of peace and of the national liberation movement.

It will thus be seen that the WPC, and the movement as a whole, can influence international affairs through many different channels and in many different forms. And while it is true that, in the setting of state-monopoly capitalism, the monopolies increasingly shape foreign policy, it is also true that there is a countervailing tendency, namely, that leading circles in imperialist countries are more and more compelled to reckon with international realities, with the peoples' will for peace, of which our movement is the concentrated expression.

- The peace movement is being joined by a generation that has not experienced the horrors of World War II. Young people know of the war only from books, films or from their parents. Imperialist propaganda is exploiting this to falsify the history of the war and belittle the role of the forces that made victory over Hitler Germany possible and saved mankind from the menace of fascist enslavement. The point and purpose of this propaganda is to divert the young generation from active participation in the peace movement. What is the WPC doing to counter this?

Chandra: Yes, it is true that the young generation has not gone through the horror of the last world war. But it is not true that for the youth of today war is something very remote and very abstract. For several years young people in Europe and North America have through television followed the record of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. This moved vast masses of youth into action against war and imperialist brigandage. And one of the most characteristic features of our movement today is the major role youth plays in demonstrations, collection of funds, signing of petitions, etc.

One of our central aims is to expose the propaganda figments meant to keep young people away from the forces ranged against imperialism and keep the youth divided. There is increasing evidence that the youth groups which confined themselves to the

Vietnam issue are now looking for more active means of supporting the liberation struggle of the African peoples and the effort for European security. On the whole, I think, our movement is effectively helping to end youth isolation from the anti-imperialist struggle of the democratic forces.

— With tangible relaxation of international strain, public attention in all countries now centers on three main international problems. And though they are not of equal significance, consolidation of universal peace largely depends upon their solution. These problems are, first, a just peace in Vietnam, second, European security, and third, the Middle East conflict resulting from the aggression started by Israeli ruling circles with U.S. imperialist support. Supplementing what you have already said, could you describe the WPC's approach to these problems?

Chandra: Just before the signing of the peace treaty, I led a WPC delegation to the DRV at the invitation of its Peace Committee. We saw the terrible destruction caused by America's barbarous air attacks in those 12 days of horror in December. But we also saw that U.S. imperialism's attempt to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees had failed dismally. We had a keener understanding of how peace in Vietnam had been achieved. We welcome it as the first victory, and one of truly immense significance.

However, the WPC feels that this is not the time to relax the vigilance and action of world public opinion. And there has to be resolute action to ensure that the peace agreement is implemented and that the Vietnamese people reach their goals of freedom, independence and national unity. We are now working to save the lives of political prisoners in South Vietnam. In many countries the WPC has launched a campaign for funds to rebuild the heroic cities of Hanoi and Haiphong and help the Vietnamese in rebuilding all their cities, all their villages, all their homes.

Now the Middle East. The WPC has consistently opposed the continuing aggressive policy of the Israeli rulers and U.S. imperialism which is giving them military and other assistance.

Working hand in glove with the worst reactionary and chauvinist forces, the imperialist powers are intriguing inside the Arab countries in an attempt to split and divide them and prevent Arab unity, so essential for success in the struggle against aggression. They have raised the tattered banner of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in repeated attempts to divide the anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world and isolate the Arab peoples from their true friends. There is no underestimating the danger of these intrigues.

In addition to what I have already said about European security, I would like to add the following: the imperialists are doing their best to instil in the Afro-Asian peoples the idea that the success of European security would lead to European East-West cooperation at the expense of the Third World. The obvious purpose behind that piece of propaganda is to build a wall of suspicion between the socialist countries and the other forces working for a lasting peace in Europe and the developing countries.

It is not Europe against the world, but Europe with the world – that is the concept the socialist countries are working for. And we have the important task of explaining and emphasizing this aspect of the socialist countries' policy of peace in Europe.

– In conclusion, can you briefly describe preparations for the World Congress of Peace Forces, to be held in Moscow in October?

Chandra: First, how does this congress differ from other congresses the World Peace Movement sponsored in its 25 years' history? We anticipate that the Congress will bring together representatives of many different peace organizations, mass democratic movements, national liberation movements, ruling and opposition parties, trade union, youth and women's organizations, public, non-government and religious bodies. In the past the emphasis was on bringing together influential personalities. Today it is possible to bring together these very many different non-governmental organizations with representatives of the United Nations, UNESCO, UNCTAD, the Organization of African Unity, the Arab League and other inter-governmental organizations.

At the International Consultative Meeting for the World Congress of Peace Forces, which was held in Moscow from March 16 to 18 last, 40 international and 81 national organizations from 60 countries were represented, as were the UN, some of its Special Committees, UNCTAD and the League of Arab States. The deliberations at this meeting were marked by a spirit of mutual comprehension, inspired by the conviction, which was repeatedly expressed in the course of the various interventions, that the convening of the World Congress corresponds to the need of the hour.

The proposal of common preparation for the Congress by as many organizations as wish to participate in this preparatory work was accepted by all participants, and it was decided that the main working documents of the Congress would be prepared jointly by working groups of interested organizations, dealing with such key issues as Indochina, the Middle East, disarmament and security, decolonization and racial discrimination, economic and social development and cooperation.

We are also stressing another aspect of the preparations: discussion at grass roots, so that delegates come to the Congress prepared to center the discussion around the theme: 'What Can the World Congress Mean for My People, for My Country?'

And we trust that the Congress will clearly voice the sentiments of all the peoples of the world.

Reactionaries stymied

We have been receiving many letters asking us to convey warm congratulations to the Chilean people on the success of the Popular Unity bloc in the parliamentary elections. *World Marxist Review*

warmly congratulates the Popular Unity parties and the Chilean people and wishes them continued success in their march to socialism.

Readers would like more information. Readers Etelka Palfalvi, a schoolteacher in Szeged, Hungary, and M.A. Ilyakhinsky in Feodosia, USSR, want to know why the reactionaries were so anxious to win a two-thirds majority, whether there are provisions for recalling members of parliament, and how the elections have altered the position in parliament.

Gabriel Banchero, Alternate Member, CC CP Chile, answers:

The closing days of February and the early days of March were among the hottest in the country's history – in Santiago the temperature was 36° C. But nobody took much notice of the heat – on the eve of the March 4 elections political passions were at fever pitch. The whole country anxiously awaited the election results.

Under the 1925 Constitution, which is still in operation, Chile has a presidential form of government. The head of state is elected for a six-year term by universal, direct franchise and secret ballot. He has broad powers which, however, can be restricted by the National Congress – it can approve or reject any government bill, can even depose the president by a two-thirds no-confidence vote. The Congress consists of two chambers, the Senate (50 members) and Chamber of Deputies (150 members). The Chamber of Deputies and half of the Senate are elected every four years.

The electoral system, inherited from earlier bourgeois regimes, does not provide for proportional representation of the various population groups, nor for deputies' accountability to the people, nor the right to recall them if they go back on their election pledges. An obsolete system, but still used.

The alignment in the Congress elected in 1969 was to the disadvantage of the Left parties, was used to block revolutionary change and spread anti-government propaganda. Exploiting temporary economic difficulties, the reactionaries tried to win over the politically backward part of the people. And in this respect they pinned great hopes on the March elections. In fact, the reactionary press both at home and internationally, predicted defeat for the Left and victory for the opposition – 70 per cent of the popular vote and a two-thirds majority in the new Congress. This would enable it to paralyze the work of the Allende government, even depose it by a no-confidence vote.

None of this happened. The opposition polled 54.7 per cent of the vote, which does not give it a dominant position in parliament, and in fact lost a number of seats to the Left. And though the opposition parties can be relied upon to sabotage Popular Unity initiatives, they now have considerably less leeway. It should also be remembered that the opposition is not united: its two bourgeois parties, the National and Christian-Democrat, are divided over many issues and their social base is shrinking.

The Popular Unity parties polled 43.39 per cent of the vote and increased their representation from 18 to 20 in the Senate and from

57 to 63 in the Chamber of Deputies. That, however, is not the most important thing. For in assessing the election results it should be remembered, first, that the Popular Unity is a close-knit political alliance, so that even a small increase in parliamentary strength extends its opportunities to support the government. Second, the Left parties increased their vote by 7.19 per cent compared with the 1970 presidential elections. This is in sharp contrast to the time when the Demochristians were in office: in the 1964 presidential elections their candidate, Eduardo Frei, obtained 55.7 per cent of the vote, in the 1969 parliamentary elections the party's vote dropped 26.7 per cent.

Unlike the Demochristians and other bourgeois parties, the Popular Unity bloc has been steadily gaining support in the two-and-a-half years since it took office. This is unparalleled in Chile's political history. It indicates that deep-going changes are taking place in the class and political alignment as result of the popular government's policy and practice, and that there is mass support for that government. We can therefore speak of a major success for the Left in the recent elections.

The main social base of the Allende government is the proletariat. Popular Unity candidates obtained their biggest vote in industrial centers. They did well also in the farming areas of central and south Chile which, not so very long ago, were ruled by the latifundists and were the bulwark of reaction. Still another gratifying development is the active support of women, who accounted for 39 per cent of the Left vote.

The elections close a chapter in Chile's political development. Many difficulties and much struggle still lie ahead. To deepen the revolutionary transformations we will strive to give the working class a bigger share in running the country and its economy. We shall initiate legislation to consolidate the achievements of popular rule, and, though, as I have already said, the opposition still has a relative majority in parliament, we are confident that, with mass support, we will defeat the reactionaries, curb their subversion, make the revolutionary process irreversible. Reaction has been stymied; we will emerge victorious!



Brief information on Communist and Workers' Parties

RUMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (RCP)

Founded in May 1921.

Had 2,281,372 members as of January 1, 1973.

Its organizations are built on a territorial-institutional principle: the primary party groups in offices, enterprises, agricultural co-operatives, higher educational establishments, schools, villages and neighborhoods (cities) come under village, town, city and district organizations. In urban areas, some organizations are formed of members employed in a specific industry or sphere.

The RCP has a Bucharest Party organization, 39 district, 46 city, 189 town, 2,706 village and 69,193 primary organizations.

The highest organ of each organization is its general meeting or conference.

The supreme organ of the Party is the Congress (convened every five years).

Congress elects the Central Committee, the General Secretary, and the Central Auditing Commission.

Party activity between congresses is supervised by the Central Committee. The Central Committee elects the Executive Committee, Standing Presidium, and Secretariat. The Executive exercises leadership between the plenary meetings of the CC, the Standing Presidium deals with current Party policy, and the Secretariat controls execution of decisions and handles personnel matters. The Central Committee also elects the Central Party Collegium.

Social background: workers 46.49 per cent; peasants 23.08; intelligentsia and white-collar workers 22.97; others 7.46 per cent (in 1972 workers comprised 57.85 per cent of newly-admitted members). Women total 23.7 per cent of the Party membership. Over 56 per cent of the membership is under 40. Nearly 10 per cent have a higher education and 32 per cent a secondary technical education. The Party's national composition corresponds to the country's national structure: 89.45 per cent of the membership are Rumanians, 8.03 Hungarians, 1.19 Germans, and 1.33 other nationalities.

The Party press:

Scinteia – daily organ of the CC RCP, founded in 1931, circulation 1,000,000. *Era socialista* – a fortnightly theoretical and socio-political journal of the CC RCP, founded in 1920, circulation 60,000. 55 newspapers and magazines (organs of local Party committees) are published in Bucharest and the 39 districts of the country, of which 41 are dailies in Rumanian, 8 dailies and 2 weeklies in Hungarian, one daily and two weeklies in German, and 1 weekly in Serbian.

Theoretical centers and Party schools:

Institute of History and Socio-Political Science, CC RCP.

Stefan Gheorghiu Academy (CC RCP). Trains cadres for Party, socio-political, economic and government work. The Academy encompasses an institute for socio-political training, a school of journalism, an improvement center for functionaries of the Party and other mass organizations, a center for improved politico-ideological training of instructors in socio-political sciences for schools and higher educational establishments, courses for functionaries of the Party, the Young Communist League, the trade unions, and for international relations. The Academy has a socio-political doctorate.

There are ten inter-district Party schools.

Out of the 465 deputies to the Grand National Assembly 93 per cent are members of the RCP. Out of the deputies of People's Councils more than 65 per cent are RCP members.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND (CPF)

Founded on August 29, 1918.

Had a membership of nearly 48,000 at the end of 1972.

Organizational structure: primary Party group (Party branch), city (district in rural area) and regional groups. There are industrial Party organizations (chiefly in building and factories) and independent Party groups.

In 1972, the CPF consisted of 17 regional, 13 district, 7 city, 20 industrial and 1,326 primary organizations. In addition, there were 151 independent Party groups.

A primary Party organization consists of at least three members. Out of the primary Party organizations 10.7 per cent are at the Communists' place of employment, 42.1 are urban residential and 47.2 rural residential.

The supreme organ is the congress (convened in the early half of every third year). The latest, 16th Congress convened in March-April 1972. Congress elects the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission. The Central Committee elects the Chairman of the Party, two Vice-Chairmen, the General Secretary, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat, and the Party Control Commission.

Social background: workers 58.5 per cent, white-collar workers and service employees 6.6, peasants 1.2, small producers and artisans 2.3, students and intellectuals 3, pensioners 12.7, and

housewives 9.7 per cent. Women comprise some 23.8 per cent. Swedish-language Party members comprise 1.3 per cent.

The Party press:

The Communist Party, jointly with the Democratic Union of the Finnish People (mass socio-political organization founded autumn 1944 on initiative of Communists and Left Social-Democrats) puts out a daily newspaper, *Kansan Uutiset* (People's News), circulation 46,500. The *Folktidningen Ny Tid* is a Swedish-language Party weekly, circulation 4,000. The CPF also has five provincial newspapers, of which one appears five times weekly, and the others thrice weekly.

The political and theoretical organ of the CPF, the journal *Kommunisti*, has a circulation of 3,500. The journal *Rauhan ja Sosialismin Ongelmia* (Problems of Peace and Socialism) appears as a supplement to *Kommunisti*. The CPF also issues an information bulletin, *Paivan Posti*, containing Party decisions and topical political recommendations. The bulletin appears eight times yearly and is distributed among members of the Party.

Training centers:

Party members may receive political training in the Higher Sirola People's School (founded 1946, subsidized by the state since several years ago) and in the trade union schools. In addition, there are national and regional Marxism-Leninism seminars and courses. In 1971-1972 there were 566 Party study circles.

In parliamentary and communal elections the CPF campaigns as a collective member of the Democratic Union. Thirty-seven deputies, including 33 Communists (total deputies 200), were elected on the Democratic Union ballot in 1972. In the 1972 communal elections, 1,731 candidates of the Democratic Union won 17.5 per cent of the municipal council seats.

THE LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY (LCP)

Founded on October 24, 1924 in Beirut.

Until April 1925 was officially registered as Lebanese Party of the People. Affiliated to the Communist International from inception. Renamed Syrian-Lebanese Communist Party and later Communist Party of Syria and the Lebanon, a name retained up to the organization of two separate parties, Syrian CP and Lebanese CP.

The Party's first legally convened congress was held in December 1943-January 1944. The Congress adopted a program, the National Charter. A political program and the Rules were adopted by the Second Congress, held underground in July 1968. The latest Third Congress convened legally in January 1972. The Congress adopted theses and amended the Party Rules.

Organizational structure: primary party organizations – district – regional. The primary organization is formed on the employment or residential principle. Local, city and industrial Party organizations may be formed in districts and regions.

The Central Committee determines the number of regional com-

mittees and their zones of activity coincide basically with the provinces.

The Congress (convened at least once every four years) is the Party's supreme organ. It elects the Central Committee, which exercises leadership between congresses. The Central Committee elects the Political Bureau and the Secretariat, the Central Control Commission and the Financial Commission.

Social background: workers, other employees and poor peasants 64 per cent; teachers and instructors 11 per cent; students, pupils, trainees 9 per cent; intellectuals 7 per cent; housewives 6 per cent; others 3 per cent.

The Party publishes several newspapers in Arabic and Armenian. In some districts, Communists are members of local government.

Education and science in socialist countries*

The general school

Public education in the socialist countries is based on these democratic principles: equal rights irrespective of social origin, property status, sex, nationality or religion; unity and continuity of the educational process; all schools are secular and closely tied in with the life of the community. These principles are consolidated legislatively (the right to education is incorporated in the Constitution) and materially (free tuition, scholarships and stipends).

The development of socialist culture started from different levels in different countries. In some a considerable part of the population was illiterate when popular rule was established. In the Soviet Union—where there are 108 native languages—48 nations and nationalities acquired a written language only after the revolution. One of the achievements of the socialist cultural revolution is the continuous evening out of educational levels in the socialist countries.

School attendance increased sharply in all these countries with the establishment of popular government. Now that many of them are completing the shift to universal secondary schooling, the growth in attendance at general schools has slowed down somewhat. The rate of growth now depends chiefly on the size of the respective age group, so that total attendance might decline in

*Compiled by WMR commission on problems of socialist construction from CMEA, UNESCO and national statistics. CMEA statistics follow a uniform methodology and are therefore fully comparable, but in some cases may differ slightly from National Statistics. Blanks in the tables indicate no published data available.

some years, though the proportion of children attending school increases. (Table 1)

Enrolment in general schools (primary, elementary, secondary), 000s, beginning of school year

TABLE 1

	1950/51	1960/61	1970/71	1972/73 ¹
Albania	176.6	273.1	480.8 ²	...
Bulgarian	970	1,213	1,157	1,131
Hungary	1,282	1,532	1,284	1,207
DRV	190 ³	1,112 ⁴	approx. 4.6 mln. ²	...
GDR	2,514	2,059	2,667	2.7 mln.
KPDR	...	...	2,102 ⁵	...
PRC	30,490	approx. 99 mln ⁶	approx. 110 mln. ⁵	...
Cuba	...	1,152	1,602 ²	...
Mongolia	68.7	115	240	261
Poland	3,608	5,272	5,869	5,449
Rumania	1,839	2,590	3,329	3.2 mln.
USSR	34,636	36,051	49,010	over 49 mln.
Czechoslovakia	1,736	2,227	2,077	2,036
Yugoslavia	2,083 ⁷	3,147	3,041 ²	...

1. Preliminary figures. 2. 1969. 3. 1945. 4. 1958. 5. 1965/66. 6. 1959. 7. 1951.

By 1975, the USSR will have completed the changeover to compulsory secondary ten-year schooling. At the close of 1970 about 80 per cent of 8-year school graduates continued in secondary school. Eight-year schooling is compulsory in Albania and Yugoslavia and nine-year in the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Bulgaria is going over to compulsory secondary education, and in 1975 about 85 per cent of eight-year school graduates will be able to continue their studies towards a full secondary education. In Hungary, in 1971, 84 per cent went on to secondary school. The proportion in the GDR was 85 per cent in 1970, and secondary school graduates can go on to the 11th and 12th grades. In Poland, 87.2 per cent went on to secondary schools in 1970/71. Rumania has compulsory 10-year schooling. In Czechoslovakia about two-thirds of 9-year school graduates continue in secondary school (3-4 year course) or in specialized schools some of which have a five-year course. In Yugoslavia about one-third of those in the 15-19 age group attend secondary school.

Mongolia had only one school in 1921; now seven-year schooling for all children between the ages of 8 and 16 is compulsory. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam carried out an education reform in 1950-51, introducing 9-year and later 10-year schooling. In a matter of two years, Cuba introduced compulsory elementary six-year education, something its bourgeois government had proclaimed 60 years before that but never made a reality. In the People's Re-

public of China, 87 per cent of the child population attended six-year elementary schools in 1960. Studies in all schools and higher-educational establishments were suspended during the 'great proletarian cultural revolution.' The return to normal began in 1969 and studies are gradually being resumed.

Most socialist countries have varied material assistance to school-children. This takes the form of boarding schools and semi-boarding schools, free meals, summer camps, free textbooks, etc. And practically in every country there are special after-work schools for young workers and farmers and evening classes for adults. Their students are allowed time off to attend classes, take exams, etc.

As a rule, all schools are financed out of the national or municipal budgets, though in China they are maintained by enterprises and People's Communes. In 1971, USSR appropriations for education amounted to 25,000 million rubles.

In multinational states – USSR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia – there are schools in the native-language in all republics and autonomous regions. In these countries, and also in Hungary, DRV, Rumania and several more, there are native-language schools for ethnic minorities.

The socialist countries have an extensive network of vocational schools open to all elementary-school leavers. Many of these give the student a full secondary education besides technical training.

There has been a steady growth in the number and quality of teaching personnel. (Table 2)

Number of general-school teachers, 000s

	1950/51	1960/61	1970/71
Albania	5.1	9.8	18.9 ¹
Bulgaria	37.2	51.3	54.5
Hungary	38.1	63.0	70.3
GDR	75	86	138
DRV	5.6 ²	...	160
PRC	...	1,780.8 ³	...
Cuba	...	36.9	65.4 ¹
Mongolia	3.1	3.7	8.7
Poland	95.2	193	267
Rumania	70.6	105	154
USSR	1,467	1,994	2,477
Czechoslovakia	59.9	92.9	104
Yugoslavia	62.8 ⁴	113.3	126.9 ¹

1. 1969. 2. 1945. 3. 1955. 4. 1951.

Specialized secondary and higher schools

Unlike capitalist countries, where workers' children often find it hard, if not impossible, to continue their education beyond elementary school – in some countries there are 'dead end' schools, which expressly preclude further study – in the socialist countries the

student is given every opportunity and encouragement to continue his studies in specialized secondary schools, colleges or universities. (Table 3 and 4)

*Enrolment in specialized secondary schools
(000s beginning of school year)*

TABLE 3

	1950/51	1960/61	1970/71
Bulgaria	61.0	92.9	151
Hungary	56.1	101	179
GDR	34.7	171	189
Mongolia	3.2	8.8	11.1
Poland	279	380	805
Rumania	128	51.5	154
USSR	1,298	2,060	4,388
Czechoslovakia	94	238	286

*Enrolment in higher-educational establishments
(000s, beginning of academic year)*

TABLE 4

	1950/51	1960/61	1970/71	1972/73
Bulgaria	33.6	55.0	91.6	101
Hungary	32.5	44.6	80.5	90.9
GDR	31.5	102	139	153
Mongolia	1.5	6.9	8.4	8.9
Poland	125	166	331	354
Rumania	53.0	72.0	152	144
USSR	1,247	2,396	4,581	4.6 mln.
Czechoslovakia	45.2	94.0	131	128

Instruction in all higher schools is free of charge and students receive stipends. There are also many correspondence and evening-class students combining studies with their regular job. They are allowed extra holidays and enjoy other privileges.

In the 1950s and 1960s there was a sharp rise in the number of students, especially in various branches of technology. In Bulgaria, to take one example, high-level technological training was unknown prior to the September 1944 revolution; in the past 20 years Bulgaria has trained more than 40,000 engineers. The USSR has more technology students than the USA, Britain, FRG, Italy and France taken together. (Table 5)

College and university students per 10,000 population

TABLE 5

Bulgaria	1972/73	118
Hungary	1971/72	83
GDR	1971/72	89
DKV	1970/71	34
KPDR	1964/65	155
Cuba	1968/69	44

Mongolia	1971/72	66
Poland	1970/71	106
Rumania	1971/72	72
USSR	1971/72 (total)	187
	(of which technology students)	88
Czechoslovakia	1971/72	89
Yugoslavia	1970/71	128
Great Britain	1969/70	87
Iran	1968/69	21
Italy	1969/70	91
USA	1969/70 (total)	244
	(of which technology students)	17
Turkey	1968/69	40
France	1968/69	117
FRG	1969/70	56
Sweden	1969/70	140
Japan	1969/70	125

Many foreign students, notably from developing countries, are being trained in the socialist countries. In Moscow University, for instance, there are students from about 40 countries. Besides, the Moscow Patrice Lumumba University trains students from dozens of countries, chiefly underdeveloped.

Science and research

New research centers have been established in the years of popular rule, research is on a much wider scale and a veritable army of scientists and research workers have been trained. (Tables 6 and 7)

Employment in science and research – 000s (Number of degree holders given in brackets)

TABLE 6

	1960	1965	1971
Bulgaria	14.7 (5.8)	21.6 (8.9)	56.4 (13.2)
Hungary ¹		50.2 (18.4)	70.6 (26.8)
Mongolia	1.5 (... ..)	3.3 (... ..)	4.1 (0.6 ²)
Poland ³		184.5 (34.1 ⁴)	259.4 (42.5)
Rumania	40 (... ..)	59 (... ..)	68 (14.2 ²)
USSR	1,763 (354.2)	2,625 (664.6)	3,374 (1,002.9)
Czecho-slovakia ³	106 (19.0)	148 (29.2)	176 (39.9)

1. Research-institute personnel. 2. 1970. 3. Research-institute, laboratory, designing bureau and experimental-center personnel. 4. 1967. 5. Including university graduates.

The USSR accounts for a quarter of the world's scientific and research personnel.

*Science graduates per 10,000 population
(based on UNESCO Yearbook for 1971)*

TABLE 7

USSR	(1970) — 38.2	Japan	(1970) — 27.7
Czechoslovakia	(1970) — 25.4	USA	(1969) — 26.4
Bulgaria	(1970) — 18.4	FRG	(1969) — 13.0
Poland	(1969) — 16.7	France	(1969) — 11.7
Hungary	(1970) — 14.8	Belgium	(1969) — 10.4
Rumania	(1970) — 10.3	Italy	(1969) — 4.7

The main method of training research cadres is through post-graduate courses (including correspondence courses run by universities and research institutions. (Table 8)

Post-graduate students

TABLE 8

	1960	1965	1971
Bulgaria	729	1,738	2,777 ¹
Hungary	1,714 ²	584	467 ³
GDR	...	3,870 ⁴	8,920
Poland ⁵	...	4,088	8,768
USSR	36,754	90,294	99,308
Czechoslovakia	3,150	9,594	8,331

1. 1970. 2. 1961. 3. Decline due to reorganization of post-graduate studies. 4. 1967. 5. Number of post-graduate scholarships.

Academic degrees (Cand. Sc. and Dr. Sc.), and academic titles (Docent, Professor) are criteria of scientific knowledge and experience.

These are the figures for holders of Dr. Sc. and Cand. Sc., respectively: Bulgaria 103 and 2,469, Hungary 578 and 3,799, GDR 2,914 and 13,123, USSR 26,100 and 249,200, Czechoslovakia 962 and 11,224, Poland 12,668, and Rumania 3,005 (data on Bulgaria and Rumania for 1970, all others for 1971).

One of socialism's great advantages is that it allows for rational organization of research, for research facilities are not the property of private companies concerned mainly with promoting their own interests, but belong to the whole of society. (Table 9)

Research centers (exclusive of higher-education establishments)

TABLE 9

	Bulgaria	Hungary	Poland ¹	Rumania	USSR ²	Czechoslovakia	Yugoslavia
1965	163	232	259	216	2,146	390	432
1971	234 ³	337	277	303 ³	2,648	405	463

1. Research institutes and central laboratories. 2. Research institutes, affiliates and branches. 3. 1970.

In most socialist countries the Academy of Sciences directs fundamental research and coordinates the work of research institutions. After the revolution the academies were reorganized to meet the

requirements of socialist construction. In Mongolia and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, academies were established only after the revolution. In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam all scientific and research activity is supervised by State Committees on science, technology and the social sciences. In Albania, the Tirana State University is also the national research centre. (Table 10)

Academies of science (1971)

TABLE 10

*	Full and Corresp. members		Research institutions
Bulgarian ¹	56		35
Hungarian	176		41
German ¹	158		40 ²
Polish	277		66
Rumanian ¹	199		61 ³
USSR	675		246
Czechoslovak	188		86
Yugoslav ⁴	359		35

1. 1970. 2. Decline due to amalgamations since 1965, when there were 76. 3. Including research centers of specialized academies. 4. 1969.

In multinational countries with federal state structures, there are also academies in the national republics. In the USSR, 14 academies in the Union Republics have been started since the revolution and branches of the USSR Academy have been set up in 7 autonomous republics of the Russian Federation. Czechoslovakia has a Slovak Academy of Sciences besides the central one in Prague. In Yugoslavia there is the Yugoslav Academy in Zagreb, the Serbian, Slovene and Macedonian academies of the Arts and Sciences, and an Academy of Sciences in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Some countries have large regional research centers (the Siberian branch and affiliates of the USSR Academy, the Saxony Academy of Sciences in the GDR). In a number of countries there are special academies of sciences for agriculture, medicine, pedagogics, the social sciences, art (USSR), nature study (GDR), etc.

The socialist countries spend an appreciably larger amount on research (on a per capita basis and with account to economic development) than capitalist countries. Data compiled by the Czechoslovak Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, based on UN and UNESCO figures for 1969, give us the following picture. Taking the ratio of the share of the U.S. GNP invested in science and research to per capita GNP as 100, the Soviet indicator would be 229, Czechoslovakia's 160, Poland's 143, Hungary's 147, whereas France's would be 100, the FRG's 80, Italy's 59 and Belgium's 57. (Table 11)

**Expenditures on science (budget and other allocations,
in national currencies)**

TABLE 11

	1960	1965	1971
Hungary (000 mln. forints)	2.3	3.9	8.9
GDR (mln. marks) ¹	1,261.3	1,336.9	3,517.5 ²
Poland (mln. zloty) ¹	1,900	2,853.4	7,074
USSR (000 mln. rubles)	3.9	6.9	13
Czechoslovakia (mln. crowns)	4,270 ³	6,337	12,727

1. Budget allocations only. 2. 1970. 3. 1961.

Rumania's expenditure for research in 1961-65 amounted to 4.6 billion lei and to 9.1 billion in 1965/70, of which 1.2 and 1.7 billion respectively were invested in new research facilities.

Internationalism is a splendid feature of science in the socialist countries. It is expressed in the freedom of all nationalities to share in scientific work and in the close cooperation of scientists from various countries in the constructive use of all that is best in world science. More than 40 nationalities make up the Soviet scientific community. These are the figures (for 1971): 666 thousand Russians, 107.5 thousand Ukrainians, 66.8 thousand Jews, 22 thousand Armenians, 20.5 thousand Byelorussians, 19.4 thousand Georgians, 14 thousand Azerbaijanians, 12.9 thousand Uzbeks, 12.6 thousand Tatars, 8.8 thousand Lithuanians, 8.6 thousand Kazakhs, 6.3 thousand Letts, 5 thousand Estonians and over 32 thousand other nationalities. The socialist countries have international research centers (the Joint Nuclear Research Institute, the International Economics Institute of the Socialist World System, etc.).

Scientific potentials differ from country to country. But the advantages of the new social system have enabled most countries to make rapid progress. The Soviet Union's achievements in peaceful uses of atomic energy, space exploration and other fields, are widely known. 'An important requisite for the development of socialist society is to give full scope to the scientific and technological revolution, which has become one of the main sectors of the historic competition of capitalism and socialism' (Moscow 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties).

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

An on-the-spot report

A delegation of *World Marxist Review* visiting India at the invitation of the Communist Party witnessed a demonstration of workers, peasants, farm laborers, youth and students protesting against rising prices, poverty and unemployment, demanding the elimination of big landownership and monopoly domination, and calling for opposition to neo-colonialism.

On March 27, 1973, more than half a million people joined a march to Parliament building in Delhi which lasted several hours. The Communist-led mass demonstration of working people's power was carefully prepared. Communists, members of the Communist Party's mass organizations held meetings all over the country, calling on the people to join the fight for their rights.

The action by India's Left forces took place at a complex and important time. Although the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has been pressured by the people to proclaim a series of social and economic changes, they still remain unrealized. The big capitalists and landowners are doing their best to prevent their implementation and are counter-attacking the positions of the working people. The promised socio-economic reforms will be realized only when the masses themselves join the struggle for them. The Communist Party and its mass organizations put forward a program of demands which the toiling people see as a true reflection of their aspirations.

Right-wing attempts to unleash a campaign of lies against the Communists and to disrupt the demonstration failed. The voice of the people sounded loudly inside Parliament when Communist Party representatives handed the Speaker a petition listing the working people's demands and bearing more than 15 million signatures.

After the demonstration a rally was held in the square in front of Parliament building. It was addressed by Comrade Rajeshwara Rao, General Secretary of the CPI, and leaders of Communist Party mass organizations.

Delhi

B. Avramova, S. Mitra,
A. Khachadoor, R. Sevortyan

IS THIS NOT DISCRIMINATION?

For a long time, there have been joint activities between the students of the Faculty of Agriculture and those of the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot. This summer, the students of the Faculty were invited to attend the weekly films at the Weizmann Institute. We, two Arab students of the Faculty of Agriculture, were refused entrance at the main gate of the Weizmann Institute, when we attempted to see the film. All our credentials were shown to the guard at the gate. Our obviously Arabic names were the

only reason why we were refused admittance. We were treated with the utmost disrespect.

Is the entrance of Arab students into the area a threat to national security?

Is this not discrimination?

We request that you publish this letter in your magazine.

Muhamad Ali Ganaiim and
Zacharia Matar,
Rehovot, Israel

DIARY

On a visit to our offices, Comrade Mario, a leader of the Guatemalan Party of Labor, described the tragic death of the Party's General Secretary, Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, and his comrades, and the battle against the bloodstained Arana Osorio dictatorship. Comrade Mario thanked the journal for supporting the people's cause in his country and discussed his Party's further cooperation with us.

Travelling through Prague, Comrade Humberto Vargas Carbonel, member of the Political Committee of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, spoke before our Latin American Commission and described the political situation in his country, the present alignment of class forces and the Communists' efforts to forge democratic unity.

Comrade Abdallah al-Akhmar, Deputy General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Baath Party (Syria), told a sitting of the journal's commission studying the Afro-Asian national liberation movement about topical Middle East affairs, the role and tasks of the Arab national liberation movement, its ties with other forces of progress, freedom and socialism, and replied to questions. On behalf of his Party he called for broader cooperation with the journal, and in a conversation with our Editor-in-Chief, K. I. Zarodov, wished the journal further success.



Tim Buck



Comrade Tim Buck, prominent leader of the Canadian and international Communist and workers' movement, passed away at the age of 82 on March 11. He was a devoted fighter for the working-class cause, a faithful Marxist-Leninist, and a staunch internationalist. His life was a sparkling model of loyalty to Marxist ideas and the interests of the working people.

Tim Buck was born in 1891 into a worker's family in England. At 12 he was an apprentice in a steel mill. Ever since then he has been asso-

ciated with the working class, with the struggle for its interests. He became a trade unionist, and on moving to Canada in 1910 at once joined the Canadian labor movement. In 1913-1917 Tim Buck was in the United States, where he studied Marxism and participated in the movement for industrial unions. He returned to Canada with richer experience and devoted himself to organizing Canadian workers. The Great October Revolution, as he wrote, had a galvanizing effect on the working-class movement in Canada. The Communist Party of Canada was founded in 1921, and soon thereafter he was elected to its Central Committee and Executive.

Tim Buck was the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada from 1929 until 1962, and since then was Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party.

He has contributed tremendously to uniting and organizing the

Canadian Communists, and to forming the militant vanguard of the working people. He was a tireless propagandist and fighter for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and implacable against opportunists. He has written prolifically on the history of the Canadian labor movement, its contemporary problems, and on questions of strategy and tactics.

A consistent and principled internationalist, Tim Buck worked all his life for friendship and solidarity with peoples of other countries. He was a delegate to the Fifth and Seventh Congresses of the Communist International. At the Seventh Congress he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Comintern. During the Franco fascist mutiny he organized a campaign in support of the Spanish people, and a battalion of Canadian volunteers, the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, was formed on his initiative. Together with the famous Republican Fifth Regiment, Tim Buck took part in battles from Toledo to Madrid.

In the post-war, he participated in the International Communist and Workers' Parties' Conferences of 1957 and 1960. And his prominent part in the world Communist movement, in working for friendship and mutual understanding among peoples, has been rewarded with the Order of the October Revolution. Tim Buck is well known among Communists of all countries, and his life and work are a model for many young fighters of the working class. He was a loyal friend of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

Tim Buck's death is a painful loss for the Canadian Communist Party and the world Communist and working-class movement. The Communists of the world will cherish his memory, and his name will go down in the history of the glorious struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

SPRING 1973

New & current publications

- ANATOLY LVOVICH KAPLAN.** Artistic chronicler and interpreter of Sholom Aleichem. His lithographs are known the world over and among them is the story of the siege of Leningrad in World War II. In all — 141 reproductions — black and white and color — with English and Russian commentary. Handsome, permanent binding and excellent book stock. Size of book 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x9 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. **\$19.50**
- ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE WORLD** by K. Spidchenko. For the general reader it covers key economic, social and political problems affecting all countries; then treats of specific countries. **Cloth—\$2.50**
- HUMANISM** by M. Petrosyan. The Marxist-Leninist theory of humanism, its philosophical, ethical and sociological aspects. **Cloth—\$3.25**
- HEALTH PROTECTION IN THE USSR** by Y. Lisitsin. Basic principles, services, etc., in informative paperback. **Paper—\$0.95**
- PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND REVOLUTIONS IN THE EAST** by G. F. Kim and F. I. Shabshina. This volume is concerned with one of the most vital problems of today. It examines the liberation movements and social revolutions in Asia to show the tremendous importance of proletarian internationalism as one of the basic laws of social revolution and socialist construction. **Cloth—\$4.95**
- ON SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM** by Marx, Engels, Lenin. In a single volume the germinal writings of history's greatest revolutionaries. **Cloth—\$2.95**
- ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT: A Sociological Analysis of Western Theories** by D. Gvishiani. This book is the first ever study in Soviet writings of the main trends and schools of bourgeois theories of organization and management from the turn of the century to our days. **Cloth—\$4.95**
- WE OF THE MOUNTAINS—Armenian Short Stories.** A collection of short stories will introduce the reader to life in Armenia past and present. **Cloth—\$3.50**
- FIFTY LESSONS IN RUSSIAN** by Nina Potapova. This is a short course aiming at teaching the student fundamentals of Russian phonetics, grammar and vocabulary. **Cloth—\$2.50**
- CONTEMPORARY TROTSKYISM: ITS ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY NATURE** by M. Basmanov. A thoroughgoing treatment of its origins, and modern-day forms, including an exposure of entrism. **Paper—\$0.95**

Order from:

PROGRESS BOOKS, 487 Adelaide Street West, Toronto, Ontario. M5V 1T4

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... **PROV./STATE**..... **ZONE or ZIP**.....

Add 25 cents exchange for U.S. cheques.

SPRING 1973

NEW PAMPHLETS

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS by L. I. Brezhnev. Full text of December 1972 report containing vital current materials and perspectives. **35 cents**

ALONG THE ROAD OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION TO THE TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM by K. T. Mazurov. Report made at a meeting devoted to the 55th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, November, 1972. **25 cents**

SOCIALISM CAPITALISM — ARE THEY DRAWING CLOSER TOGETHER? The Theory of Convergence and What is Behind it, by L. Leontyev. **45 cents**

A TRUE SON OF THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS by N. Matusovsky. A brief biography of Harry Pollitt, for 27 years General Secretary of the British Communist Party. **75 cents**

CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. As amended and Supplemented at the Second Session of the 8th Supreme Soviet of the USSR. **45 cents**

LABOUR LEGISLATION IN THE USSR. Invaluable for trade unionists and others. It contains full texts of current laws on labour and commentary. **35 cents**

SOVIET POWER AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN—INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY by V. I. Lenin. **45 cents**

THE STATE AND REVOLUTION by V. I. Lenin. **45 cents**

THE TASKS OF THE YOUTH LEAGUE by V. I. Lenin. **25 cents**

THREE SOURCES AND THREE COMPONENT PARTS OF MARXISM by V. I. Lenin. **45 cents**

CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHA PROGRAMME by Karl Marx. **35 cents**

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE by Karl Marx. A new printing in pamphlet form—"A work of genius" writes Engels about the work that laid bare French history. A classic use of historical materialism in the analysis of history. **65 cents**

Order from:

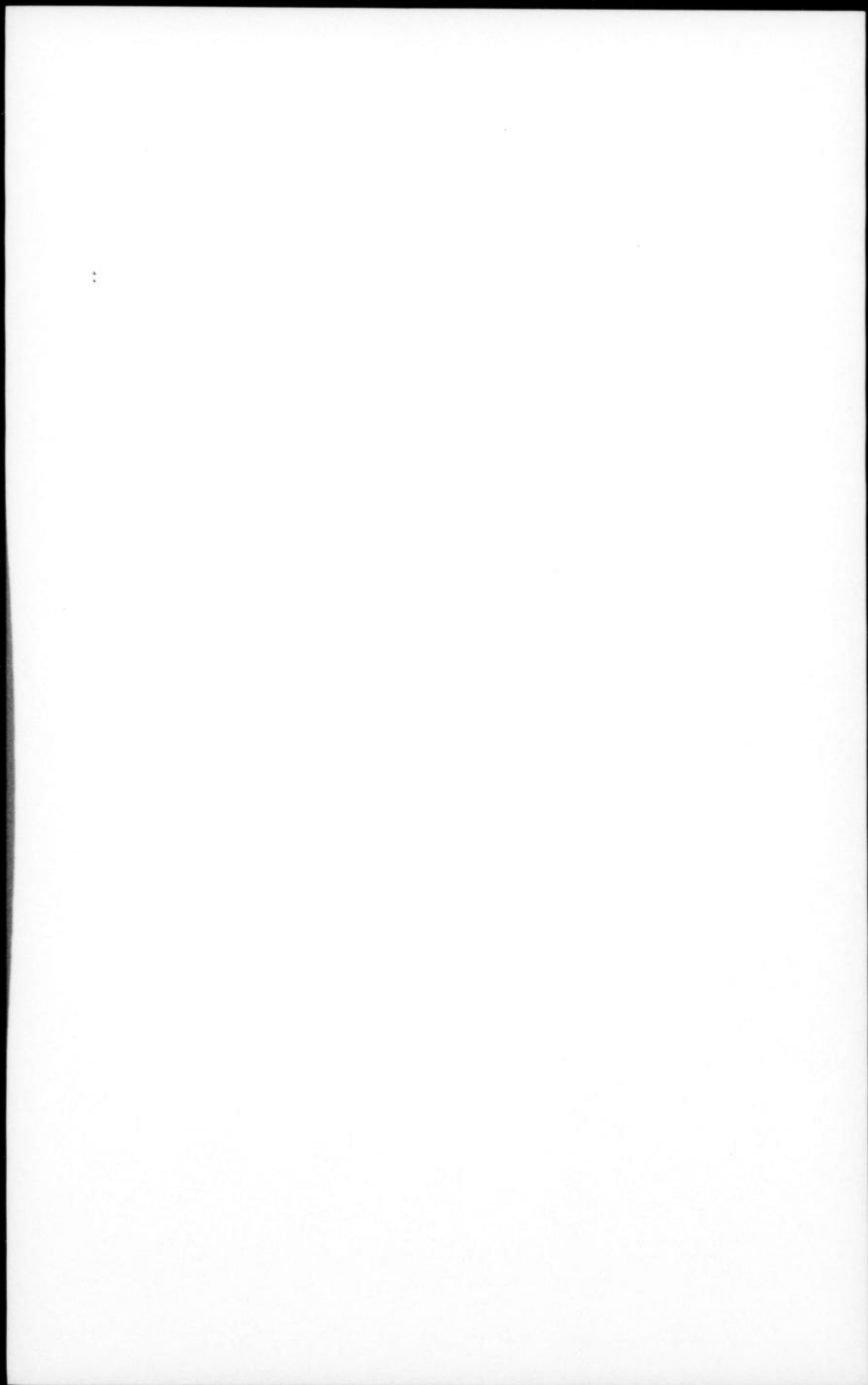
PROGRESS BOOKS, 487 Adelaide Street West, Toronto, Ontario. M5V 1T4

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... **PROV./STATE**..... **ZONE or ZIP**.....

Add 25 cents exchange for U.S. cheques.



Editions of the journal

'PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM'

1973

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH

(World Marxist Review):

Central Books Ltd., 37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1, England.

Progress Subscription Service, 487 Ade-
laide St. West, Toronto 2B, Ontario,
Canada.

Imported Publications, 320 W. Ohio St.,
Chicago, Ill. 60610, USA

FRENCH EDITIONS

(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale):

Societe d'Edition et d'Information 9,
Boulevard des Italiens, Paris (2e) France.

Librairie du Monde Entier, 162 Rue du
Midi, Bruxelles (Belgique)

Librairie Rousseau, 36, rue J.-J. Rous-
seau, Geneve.

RUSSIAN EDITION: Stredisko pro roz-
sirovani tisku, Praha 6, Thakurova 3,
Czechoslovakia.

BULGARIAN EDITION: 'Ruski' 6, 'Hem-
us', Sofia.

CYPRUS EDITION (in Greek): Laikon
Praktorion, Tricoupi Street, 53 r. Nicosia.

CZECH EDITION: Artia, Praha 2, Nove
Mesto, Ve smeckach 30.

DANISH EDITION: Förlaget Tiden, Dr.
Tvaergade 3, 1302 Kobenhavn K.

GERMAN EDITIONS:

Deutscher Buch-Export und Import
GmbH, Leipzig 701, Leninstrasse 16.

'Globus', Vertrieb ausländischer Zeit-
schriften, Wien XX, Höchstädtplatz 3,
Austria.

Genossenschaft Literaturbetrieb Zürich,
Zürich 4, Feldstrasse 46, Switzerland.

GREEK EDITION: Akadimias 57 (Siné
Opera) 1 etage Athènes 143.

HUNGARIAN EDITION: Kossuth Kiado,
Budapest, V, Steindl u. 6.

ITALIAN EDITION: Libreria Rinascita,
Via delle Botteghe, Oscure 4, Roma.

MONGOLIAN EDITION: Mongolgoskni-
gotorg, ul. Lenina 41, Ulan-Bator.

NORWEGIAN EDITION: Boks 3715, Oslo 1.

POLISH EDITION: P. K. W. Z. 'RUCH',
Warszawa, Wronia 23.

RUMANIAN EDITION: I.C.E. 'Libri', Ca-
lea Victoriei 126, Bucuresti.

EDITIONS IN SPANISH:

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo, Apt. Na-
cional 1253, Bogota, Colombia.

Ediciones Pueblos Unidos, Casilla Cor-
reo 589, Montevideo, Uruguay.

Fondo de Cultura Popular, Apdo. postal
2353, Mexico 1, D.F.

Empresa Editora Austral, Agustina 1101
—Local No. 6, Casilla 13201, Santiago,
Chile.

Editorial 'Anteo,' Entre Rios 1033,
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Ideologia & Politica, Jr. Moquegua 718-
203 Lima, Peru.

Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa,
Praha 6, Thakurova 3.

SWEDISH EDITION: Förlagsaktiebolaget
Internationell Revy, Kungsgatan 84, 112
#27 Stockholm.

VIETNAMESE EDITION: So'o xuất nhập
khâu, sach bao 32, Hai Ba tru'ng,
Hà-noi.

