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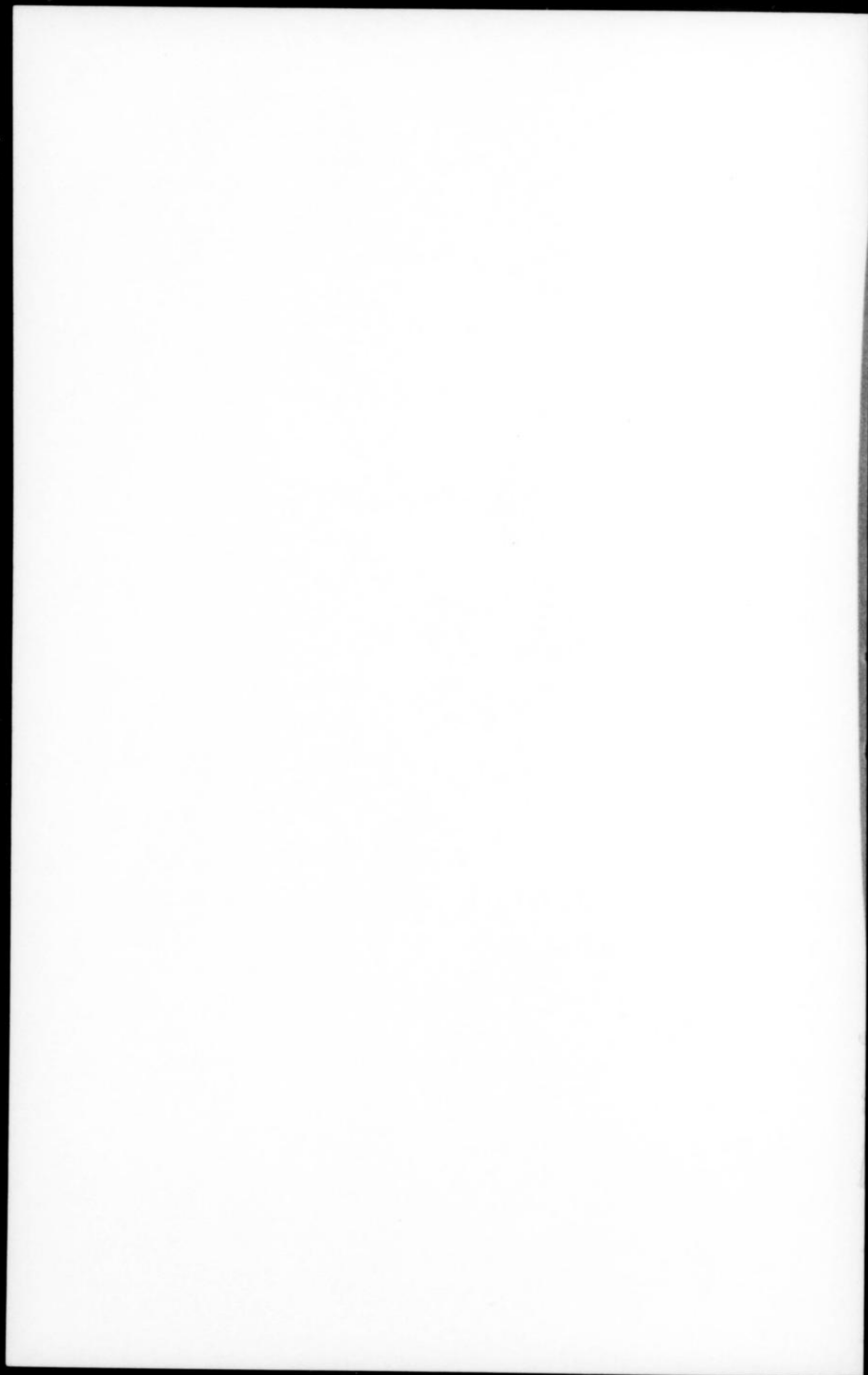
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Responsibility of Communists in joint struggle against imperialism

Erich Honecker
First Secretary, CC SUPG

There have been substantial positive changes on the world scene in the contention between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of war and peace. The greater might and influence of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries is visibly accelerating the liberation of peoples not only from social and national oppression, but also from the danger of war. Imperialism has proved incapable of stopping or blunting the general crisis, the internal and external contradictions, of its social system. The sphere of its aggressive policy has shrunk still more. The ever-growing unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and of all the anti-imperialist forces is facilitating constructive international solutions in the interest of peace and social progress.

The events have totally borne out the Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the world situation by the Communist and Workers' parties at their 1969 International Meeting in Moscow. The world Communist movement is winning new positions and operates ever more effectively as the most significant, the most influential political movement of our time. The Communists of all countries are forging ever closer unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This enables them to deal effectively with the vital practical issues facing the revolutionary and general-democratic movement. And they will still play an outstanding role in consolidating the detente and assuring the triumph of the ideals of peace and socialism. The growing responsibility of the Communists in the joint struggle is a corollary of history.

Take any positive change on the world scene. Socialism's part in it is distinctly visible. Carrying forward the inspiring program of its 24th Congress, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the most experienced, tempered detachment of our world movement, is blazing the trail to man's future. Acting on the decisions of its Eighth Congress, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is building a developed socialist society, and so, in accordance with their own plans, are the other fraternal parties of our community. So-

cialism's great potential is being used ever more fully, and the advantages of the new system are ever more distinct and convincing.

In the German Democratic Republic the economic policy of the Eighth SUPG Congress has brought about a visible stabilization and a new uplift. The 1972 targets have been surpassed, and similarly good results were registered in the first six months of 1973. There have also been welcome developments in all social areas. In line with the basic aim set by the Eighth Congress, the achievements in production were used to boost the living standard and cultural level. We were able to make further progress in many important areas: to improve housing, to reduce rents on new houses, to raise minimum wages and salaries, to provide aid to newlyweds and large families, and to increase pensions for labor veterans.

The socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries will in the long term influence all aspects of socialist construction, because material production is the decisive sphere in society. The integration of national economies according to a master plan will create essentially new conditions for the rapid expansion of the fraternal countries' economic potential, for the advance of the scientific-technical revolution in the interest of socialism and thus in the interest of the people. The economic dynamism of the community of socialist countries is evidenced by the growth of their industrial production: it amounted to 680 per cent against 1950, while the developed capitalist countries registered only 280 per cent. Our community, which represents approximately 18 per cent of the earth's surface, already produces more than one-third of the world's industrial output.

Under the guidance of their Marxist-Leninist parties the fraternal countries are working vigorously to accelerate and deepen the socialist economic integration. This may be seen from the joint decisions of the 27th CMEA session and the efforts to implement them. Our countries are working for the common goal in fruitful cooperation over a vast geographic area.

Thanks to the successful building of socialism and the ever closer unity of the fraternal countries based on economic integration, the community of socialist states has become more and more an alliance of free peoples. Socialism creates a new quality of life, centered on man's happiness: for the first time in history man labors for himself, not for the capitalist oppressors and exploiters, and man's creative potential is given free and full play for the benefit of society and his own.

Not so under imperialism, where the burden of exploitation and oppression is becoming ever more unbearable. Scientific-technical progress is being used by monopoly to get the highest possible profits to the detriment of the people. The basic contradiction between labor and capital is growing more acute, and is increasingly a contradiction between the small financial oligarchy and the majority of the people. The antagonism between the imperialist powers and

the dependent countries, whose socio-economic development is paralyzed by neo-colonialism, is also greater. The law of uneven development under imperialism is clearly leading to sharper antagonisms between the main monopoly-capitalist powers. Countless are the complaints of bourgeois ideologues and politicians about the 'sick society' under imperialism. Recently one American politician wrote that if this society 'proves its inability to end the plight of the poor and the moral poverty of the affluent,' it will 'not survive and does not deserve to be saved.' Absolutely true. Its decline is irreversible.

By virtue of changes in the balance of world strength and the political climate, favorable conditions have arisen to safeguard peace. It is sinking in everywhere that the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is the sole alternative to a new destructive global war. Here the success may be traced first and foremost to the dynamic and consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the coordinated activity of the socialist community on the basis of the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress, backed by the vigorous anti-imperialist actions of the international working class and the national-liberation movement, principally on the anti-war front. Imperialist attempts to 'roll back' socialism, to eliminate it by force, have failed. The defeat of this advenurist imperialist global strategy is a victory for our world movement, a triumph of the general line formulated by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969. The realists among the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries have accepted détente, peace and security.

By signing many important agreements, the governments of the United States, the FRG, and other countries of the Western World have acknowledged the principles of peaceful coexistence as the basis for their relations with the socialist countries. The reference is principally to the large set of European treaties that opened with the conclusion of the Treaty between the Soviet Union and the FRG, and that includes the Treaty on the Principles Governing Relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. These instruments reaffirm and recognize the immunity of the frontiers, the territorial integrity, sovereignty and international role of our socialist German Democratic Republic, with which more than 90 countries have by now established diplomatic relations. And FRG government quarters evidently also understand that it is impossible to alter the results of the Second World War and postwar development.

The visit to the United States of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, is of tremendous significance, and special importance attaches to the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War concluded during that visit. This is the first conclusive agreement of its kind signed in the atomic age. It is an outstanding contribution of the Soviet Union to resolving an issue which the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties described as a cardinal task: *'The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist*

*forces remains the struggle against war, for world peace, against the menace of a thermonuclear world war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind.**

During their friendly meeting in the Crimea, July 30-31, 1973, the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries were able to record considerable headway in the joint offensive for peace. The war in Vietnam had ended, the GDR had won full recognition in international law, relations between Czechoslovakia and the FRG were on the way to an accommodation, Cuba's international positions were consolidated, and the all-European Security and Cooperation Conference got off to a good start. This conference is devoted to the basic aspects of European security. As its participants, the socialist states are working together to extend the détente and lay a dependable foundation of security and cooperation. This will benefit all the peoples. Their interests and peace will also be served by broader mutually advantageous economic ties between the socialist and capitalist countries.

The participants in the friendly meeting in the Crimea stressed that joint effort by all interested states was necessary to consolidate the positive changes on the world scene, that it is important to implement the concluded agreements and treaties, and to advance steadily to the main goal—a more dependable world peace. As the socialist countries see it, political détente should be complemented by military détente, facilitating disarmament. There is no 'automatic' guarantee of peace. Though today capitalist governments are compelled to agree to peaceful coexistence, this does not rule out attempts to use the détente in the interest of capitalism and to the detriment of socialism. It is therefore essential to consolidate and develop the break-through, and to make it irreversible. We must be as vigilant as ever in face of the forces still acting in the cold war spirit, resisting the détente and striving to use the new treaties to continue the old policy, and advocating continued war preparations and inflated military budgets.

The very essence of socialist foreign policy—and this was emphasized at our Eighth Party Congress—requires constant coordination of our peace efforts and our solidarity with the fighters for freedom and national independence in all countries and continents. We support the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and their demands for stringent observance of the Paris Agreement by all the parties. We are giving the fraternal Vietnamese people the necessary assistance to continue the building of socialism. At the same time we urge a settlement in the Middle East, where the situation continues to be fraught with a menace to world peace. A settlement can be reached through complete withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied Arab territories, respect for the independence and legitimate rights of the states and peoples of this region, including the Arab people of Palestine.

While precluding war and the use of force in international rela-

**International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow 1969. Prague, 1969, p. 31.*

tions, peaceful coexistence does not under any circumstances imply reconciliation with the man-hating system of imperialism. In all other areas, the class struggle, the struggle between socialism and capitalism, is developing with increasing force. In conditions of peace, however, the socialist countries will demonstrate still more convincingly the advantages of their historically superior system. Socialism's political, economic and moral weight, its influence on world affairs, will grow. More opportunities will open to the Communists and to all revolutionaries for countering the aggressive forces of imperialism and compelling capitalist governments to consent to new steps in reducing the menace of war.

Throughout its history imperialism has repeatedly sought to use the international arena to resolve its internal contradictions. That is evidenced by the two devastating world wars it unleashed. That road has now been barred by the might of socialism and the durability of the concluded agreements. This is bound to react favorably on the people's fight against capitalism, for social progress, democracy and socialism. And that fight continues despite all bourgeois theories. Such are the incontrovertible facts. Only as a result of abolishing the system of exploitation in the course of socialist revolution, only as a result of the world triumph of communism, only under the new social system will the history of mankind cease to be the history of class struggle.

As is known, the socialist countries have no intention of imposing their social system on other countries in any form whatever. And L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, was fully justified in declaring, at a reception in Moscow on July 10 for the Party and government delegation from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: 'Every people must have the inalienable right to choose its social system and to shape its destiny.' Durable peace is a major condition for the realization of this right to self-determination.

Socialist revolution requires concrete objective and subjective prerequisites in each country. Revolution cannot be exported. But neither will the socialist countries allow the export of counter-revolution. The Communists are resolutely opposed to any imperialist interference in internal affairs of other nations.

It stands to reason that international détente does not eliminate capitalism's internal contradictions. Nor does reduction of armaments moderate the imperialists' profit lust. In other words, the crisis of the capitalist social system will continue and will inevitably grow sharper. This especially refers to its main contradiction, between labor and capital. This means that the working-class struggle against capitalism will be waged in more favorable conditions and will involve ever wider strata anxious to change the socio-economic system. That conclusion is reaffirmed also in the report on foreign policy at the plenum of the French Communist Party Central Committee. It contains this passage: 'We intend to do everything to take advantage of these conditions to intensify our struggle for socialism and bring nearer the hour of its triumph. We want peace and socialism - socialism also for France. That is our duty to the

French working class and people and also our internationalist duty' (*Humanité*, May 29, 1973).

At the same time, however, international détente makes for an upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle and widens its base. More and more people are coming out in support of peace and the prevention of another world war, for peaceful coexistence and the cooperation of countries with differing social systems. United action of the anti-imperialist and peace forces thus acquires new qualitative features. In some countries the Communists and Left Socialists or Social-Democrats have begun cooperating on international issues. Closer ties have been formed between Communists and revolutionary democrats. The Tenth World Youth and Students Festival in Berlin, the GDR capital, and preparations for the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow have raised to a new level the movement of social forces and organizations supporting peace, friendship of the peoples and anti-imperialist solidarity. Anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist coalitions and united fronts are being organized in different countries.

Conscious of the growing responsibility of Communists, and in accordance with the Eighth Congress decisions, the SUPG considers it its bounden duty more closely to coordinate the building of a developed socialist society in our country with the continued growth and strengthening of the socialist community. We consider fraternal alliance with the USSR the cardinal basis and guarantee of the present and future of socialism, of socialist construction in our country. That conviction inspires our people in all their day-to-day work. And the main aim of our Party in educating the people in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism is constantly to deepen this conviction, tirelessly to strengthen friendship with the peoples of the socialist community and solidarity with the international working-class and the national-liberation movement.

The Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries jointly frame and carry out their foreign policy in accordance with the interests of the people. This policy combines fidelity to principle with flexibility. Ultra-revolutionary phraseology, illusions, surrender to imperialist blackmail, are wholly alien to it. The attitude towards this joint foreign policy of the socialist community is now becoming an increasingly clear indicator of who supports and who obstructs peace, security and the interests of the peoples.

Our Party condemns the policy of the present Chinese leaders as directed against the interests of socialism, the world Communist movement and the national-liberation movement of the peoples. And our condemnation follows from an analysis of the Chinese leaders' theory and practice. There is every reason to expose the essence of this policy and what it stands for: it stands for a complete break with Marxism-Leninism and, at the same time, is an obstacle to the progress of mankind. The enemies of a healthier international climate have, to all practical purposes, found a willing and energetic accomplice in the Chinese leadership. All

this is doing great harm to the peoples' fight for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. In the view of our Party's Central Committee, thorough exposure of and active struggle against the Chinese leaders' divisive policy is, in the present situation, a fundamental task of the Marxist-Leninist Party.

It is sometimes suggested that the fight against Maoism is not of such urgent importance as to make it the subject of thorough examination by the international workers' movement. That is not so. Having weighed all the facts, we are forced to the conclusion that, alongside frenzied attempts to torpedo the agreed foreign policy of the fraternal socialist countries united around the Soviet Union, there is increasing evidence that the People's Republic of China is reorientating on contacts with the imperialist states. New facts are constantly coming to light, and they show that, casting aside all principles, the Chinese leaders are ready to enter into alliances with all and sundry to attain their chief goal of harming the Soviet Union, the socialist community and the world Communist movement.

The Chinese leaders are using their false 'two superpowers' thesis in an attempt to disguise their real intentions. That has evoked favorable comment from the imperialist press concerns. For instance, the FRG *Neue Rhein-Zeitung* (March 22, 1973) wrote: 'The philosophy of Chinese foreign policy is glaringly simple,' for it is premised on the following: 'Everything that helps the Russians is bad, and everything that harms the Russians is good.' Consequently, the paper cynically remarks, if NATO is good then the European Community is better still. These and other facts make it abundantly clear that we cannot ignore the Chinese leaders' attempts to prevent détente and normal mutually-advantageous relations based on peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems.

Ideology assumes a greater importance in the setting of peaceful coexistence. Communist policy accords with the objective interests of the peoples and as such can attract new strata of the population and more public personalities to active struggle for peace in countries where capital still holds sway. More and more people in every part of the world are coming to appreciate the humane nature of the socialist system, are gaining closer knowledge of its achievements and perspectives. In this age of confrontation, Marxism-Leninism is cogently demonstrating its viability.

It is very important, we think, that our ideological offensive should keep in step with the socialist countries' political peace offensive. We know that monopoly capital is trying to use the détente atmosphere to poison people's minds with a 'refined' anti-communism. Imperialism relies heavily also on Right and 'Left' opportunism and diverse variants of nationalism. Resolute struggle against bourgeois ideology in all its varieties is an integral part of our Party's efforts to develop the socialist consciousness of the working people and instil the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. The Communists know from experience that the effectiveness of poli-

tical struggle is in direct ratio to ideological maturity. Besides, joint solution by the Communist parties of the problems involved in the international and national class struggle strengthens their unity.

As a contingent of the world Communist movement the SUPG considers it a priority internationalist duty to do everything possible further to consolidate the fraternal alliance of the socialist states and its main force, the Soviet Union, strengthen the unity and promote joint action of the Communist and Workers' parties, work for the cohesion of all the revolutionary and democratic forces of our time.

Promoting socialist statehood and democracy

Béla Biszku
Member PB and Secretary,
CC HSWP

CONTINUING OUR SERIES ON DEVELOPED SOCIALISM*

The transition from laying the groundwork for socialism to building full socialism involves far-reaching social changes. This stage is characterized by closer socialist unity of the people, needed to accomplish the new tasks. Planned economic management becomes more complicated. All this calls for the further improvement of government, political organizations and democratic institutions. This is in the center of the theoretical and political activity of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The 10th Party Congress passed a resolution approving the work done and defining the tasks ahead as follows: 'One of the key tasks in building full socialism is to perfect the system of government and socialist democracy. This must be done by strengthening central authority and raising the efficiency of government agencies while at the same time increasing the autonomy of local bodies and fostering their self-government functions, as well as through more active participation of the population in the work of local and other government bodies and organizations.'

The congress guidelines are based on Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary theory of the working class, which requires the Communist parties to devote special attention to the system of government and its inseparable component, democracy. This applies in every stage of our revolutionary struggle and particularly when

*See WMR, January, March, June and July, 1973.

building full socialism, which has necessitated a series of new decisions consonant with the Congress guidelines.

These decisions followed many years of preparatory work by the Party. Research covered seven areas: constitutional aspects of the social and state structure, the functioning of legislative and executive bodies, perfecting the electoral system, raising the efficiency of government, increasing the social and political role and extending the economic activity of local government bodies, developing the judiciary, and perfecting Party guidance of government bodies. Numerous experts and teams at diverse Party and government levels contributed to the extensive studies that helped the Party to adopt its fundamental political position.

Some of the tasks have already been fulfilled. In 1970 we improved the procedure of election to the State Assembly and local government bodies and amended the electoral law. In 1971 we enacted a law enhancing the social and political role of local bodies and encouraging their economic activity. We also formulated the principles for perfecting the system of government. Last year some amendments to the Constitution were passed.

Our studies have led us to the conclusion that some spheres of government require no substantial change. We have laws and decisions enabling us to improve work in these spheres and the task is to implement them more consistently. This refers to the machinery of legislation and government. What we need here is not new Party decisions but better work.

In promoting our statehood, we are fortifying socialist legality and accentuating the responsibilities of all government and non-governmental bodies. We meet both basic exigencies of socialist legality, namely, that no one may violate constitutional law and order with impunity and that every law-abiding citizen shall be fully protected by the state. Socialist legality is ensured by the improvement of the judiciary and the procurator's supervisory functions, as well as by Party policy.

I have mentioned these specific spheres of our Party's activity to show that promoting statehood and democracy is not an abstract matter for socialist society but a practical task for the fulfilment of which we mobilize considerable forces. At the same time it is evident that if we are to work more fruitfully, we must find solutions to fundamental theoretical problems, including the principles for carrying forward socialist statehood and democracy in the period of building full socialism.

Strengthening the working-class state

One of the main political differences between a revolutionary party and an opportunist party is in their ideas concerning the nature of the state, the significance of state power and the functioning of government bodies.

Marxist-Leninist theory makes it clear that in contrast to the opportunist trend, Communist parties must carry on a class struggle to overthrow and eliminate bourgeois power and establish working-

class rule, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once power has been won and they have set out to build the new society. Communist parties regard the working-class state as one of the main instruments for building socialism.

History has fully confirmed Marx's thesis: 'Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*' (Karl Marx, 'Critique of the Gotha Program').

In accordance with this thesis, our Party maintains that the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist state, must be continuously defended and perfected. The new social system cannot be brought into being without a strong state or a smoothly functioning administration. On the other hand, we consider the historic thesis of the classics of Marxism-Leninism about the withering away of the state to be correct and invariably valid. The answer to the question of when and how this will come about is: when the classless, communist society will have become reality. This will be the result of a long process. And for the Hungarian People's Republic it is not yet a political task of the moment. Before this period of history is completed, it is necessary to perfect the socialist state, its entire system and its functions, in line with the requirements of the stage of building full socialism.

We are now concentrating on measures enabling the state steadfastly to exercise working-class rule by performing the functions of proletarian dictatorship. The working class draws the cooperative peasantry into government and closely collaborates with the intelligentsia and the still existing small proprietors. I need hardly say that the state, which is still a dictatorship of the proletariat, is developing with the progress of the socialist revolution. The functions of the state change with social and economic changes, which enables it to perform its mission ever more efficiently.

There are no more exploiter classes in our country and the time of major internal class conflicts is over. Our Constitution says that we have ended the exploitation of man by man. Our society is composed of classless and social strata whose fundamental interests coincide. They operate as an alliance. In these conditions, the role of the state as an instrument of suppression has diminished. Of course, the state maintains internal order and security. A turn in the international situation for the worse or contradictions of internal development may under certain circumstances influence the still remaining opponents of our system. In such an event, the state should be prepared to deal with these elements and assure internal security. Defense against outside enemies also remains a function of the state. At the same time, the organizing and educational activity of the state in the political, economic and cultural spheres is steadily expanding. This activity is of paramount importance in the period of building full socialism.

We see the general functions and main tasks of the socialist state at this stage as follows:

- defending the socialist country, working people's power and the gains of socialism against internal and external enemies;
- promoting internationalist relations with socialist countries; safeguarding and consolidating peace;
- organizing and leading the masses in building the new society; steadily fostering socialist democracy, economy and culture;
- strengthening the nation's socialist unity by gradually transforming the class structure of society;
- raising the socialist consciousness of the masses and promoting socialist ethics.

Our Party's Central Committee dealt again with the organizing role of the state in the economy and culture at its November 1972 meeting. In the period of building full socialism, this activity has to be stepped up for a number of reasons.

To begin with, the social and political basis of state power has gained in scope and strength. Now as in the past, our system rests on the alliance of the workers and peasants, or cooperative peasants to be exact. Today, however, all working people - the intelligentsia, white-collar workers, and small proprietors - are grouped around this alliance in what is a united nation. The social basis whose objective interests coincide with the policy of the state has greatly expanded, but so has the range of people whose interests, opinions and proposals must be heeded in making policy.

The preeminence of socialist relations of production has enhanced the role of the state as owner of the basic means of production. Through its economic policy, and more particularly through its finance and credit system, the state also influences the development of enterprises and institutions which do not belong to it, such as the cooperatives. But while endowed with definite rights as owner of the means of production, the state has the duty of promoting the growth and expansion of enterprises and institutions in line with the scientific and technological revolution. This means systematically perfecting government management of the economy, an objective which the reform of our economic management system serves. Under the reform, the right to control part of the property, which formerly was exercised by government agencies, such as the right to introduce new machinery and plant, was transferred to the enterprises concerned. But the reform does not limit the role of the state as owner, any more than it does the obligations with regard to management and control flowing from this role, because industrial executives are accountable to the state both in respect of how they exercise their rights and how efficiently they work.

The state owns all educational institutions and cultural establishments - theatres, cinemas, cultural centers - as well as the mass media and many of the publishing houses. It can and should use these immense facilities to foster the socialist consciousness of the whole people, promote and implant socialist moral standards. A most important function of the state is to educate young people

and the adult population politically and ideologically, to provide or extend their general education and professional training.

To perform its manifold functions, the state needs a system of organizations encompassing all economic, cultural and social activities. And if it is to solve all the problems ranging from those of the smallest community to those of the nation as a whole, it must (and does) have political and economic means enabling it to work out correct solutions and put them into effect. This is why our Party regards improvement of the working-class state as a key task.

Extension of democratic centralism

Under socialism democratic centralism is the fundamental principle of the state system. This means that the state operates as an integrated system serving the interests of the working class, performing its will, with all decisions of superior bodies obligatory for all subordinate ones. Needless to say, this also serves the interests of the farmers, intellectuals, and other strata.

All state bodies are fashioned to conform with the principle of democratic centralism. At times, depending on historical conditions, the relation of centralism to democracy may change. Yet we have never allowed centralism and democracy to become mutually exclusive opposites. We have studied them and treated them as interdependent and interactive concepts.

A singular process of decentralization is now under way in our economic and political life, based, firstly, on broader powers for the local government bodies, and, secondly, on broader economic prerogatives for enterprises and greater factory democracy. But this process will ultimately strengthen the central power. It has been said that we had excessive centralization prior to 1956. But to say that by extending rights at lower level we are, in effect, rectifying past mistakes, is a vulgar simplification leading to error. The accent on centralism was unavoidable following the conquest of power. The trouble in those days lay in sectarianism and dogmatism, and later in revisionist treachery. Our present tasks are prescribed by the objective requirements of building full socialism.

The expansion of prerogatives at a lower level was not a spontaneous process. It was not launched until the conditions for it were fully ripe. Not until we had favorable prerequisites for it did we start our reform of economic management. Some functions formerly performed by the central bodies were transferred to lower echelons, but the state's directing role in the economy was preserved. Nowadays it is impossible to run the economy as though the country were one enterprise. We know perfectly well that the new arrangement is not an easy one, that it is not devoid of contradictions, but are convinced that the changes were correct and necessary.

The decentralization under way in the life of the state, which we regard as part of socialist democracy, is important for two spe-

cific reasons. It provides scope for grass-root initiative and, consequently, for the effective implementation of the Party's policy. Secondly, it enables us to verify Party policy against experience, to spot negative factors, collect criticisms, paving the way – as the role of the lower echelons increases – for a system of democratic information that will help us eliminate mistakes and flaws.

Clearly, therefore, the present decentralization will in no way prejudice centralized leadership. On the contrary, it is an auxiliary lever strengthening the central power. The transfer of power to lower-level organs follows a definite plan based on central decisions, promoting the general policy. Wherever this is not the case, central organs may and must invoke effective measures, supplying appropriate remedies. Decentralization does not weaken the central power, because, among other things, there is the concomitant objective of strengthening the central organs of the state. These organs, and the Communists holding key posts in them, the 10th HSWP Congress said, should concentrate more on implementing Party policy and, therefore, on executing government decisions.

The greater powers of local government bodies and enterprises, as we see it, give added impulse to the socialist development of our entire society. The over-all process has never been placed in doubt in any of the controversies over this point, while our arguments about the extent and rate of decentralization have been highly useful. The powers of local government should be expanded only to the extent, and at a rate, desirable in the existing material, objective and subjective conditions. Or take the economy: here the state must play a bigger part in enterprises that cannot improve operations and the condition of their personnel without outside help, without new investment and new approaches. Practice is the best teacher. And the Party learns from experience to control economic development and help enterprises through its own and other public organizations. When necessary, we modify the economic reform in order to achieve our aim: more effective building of socialism.

Socio-economic development and democracy

From the moment of its birth, the dictatorship of the proletariat is already more democratic than any preceding form of power, because it represents the working class, the power of the majority over a negligible minority, and because it furthers the interests of the entire people. And socialist democracy expands in step with the consolidation of the workers' political power, the reconstruction of the socio-economic system. Its expansion is one of the main aims of the HSWP.

The unfolding of socialist democracy during the building of full socialism has a dual purpose. First, it helps enlarge the category of people that can be drawn into running the state and society. Thanks to this the constitutional principle that all power in our country belongs to the laboring people finds embodiment, not only

in the influence exerted by state institutions on society and the various classes, but also, and more directly, in the consciousness and activity of groups and even individuals. Second, through the broad public activity of the masses, and with their help, the growth of socialist democracy helps the spread of socialist ethics and socialist political convictions. The aim is that every citizen should be a conscious builder of socialism.

Growth of socialist democracy is not an automatic process. It is the fruit of deliberate political and organizational work under the guidance of the Party. What it means first and foremost is extension of the democratic rights of the citizens loyal to socialism and conscientious in their work.

Expanding democracy presupposes harmony between the rights and obligations of citizens. Knowledge and observance of civic duties is one of the most important politico-ideological preconditions for democratic rights.

Party democracy has a beneficial effect on democracy in state and public life. The relationship within the Party organizations, the equal rights of Party members, their comradely behavior, their spirit of communist criticism and self-criticism, collective leadership, conscious discipline, and the Leninist standards of Party life – all this is a good example for the rest of our society.

Socialist democracy requires a set of preconditions. Which of these should get priority at different times?

Most people spend a substantial portion of their life – nearly one-third – at work, in production. The climate at the enterprise therefore exercises a tremendous impact on the workers and the entire production process. The scientific and technological revolution, comprehensive mechanization and automation would seem to be downgrading the worker's role. Yet how the operator feels at work has become a crucial issue. Bourgeois ideologists maintain that man is no longer the guide of production, but a mere part of it. Socialist society has arrived at the opposite conclusion.

It is our view that present-day scientific-technological progress shapes the kind of personality essential for the building of full socialism. This is why broader democracy at the shopfloor, in enterprises, is for us the crucial link in the development of socialist democracy. It grows with, and under the influence of, the organizational activity of the socialist state in the economy, parallel with the growing independence of enterprises. It would be a gross error to think that socialist relations of production and the conversion of industry into public property automatically produce a sense of proprietorship in every worker and assure contentment on the job. If this is to be achieved, socialist democracy in production requires planned and conscious development.

For historical reasons, the working class in our country exercises its power through a one-Party system. Yet this does not alter the law of socialist construction whereby development results from the clash and elimination of contradictions. These do not disap-

pear with the change in class relations. And the Party makes a deliberate effort, by means of special institutions, to pinpoint the contradictory interests arising in the development of society, and to accommodate them in due course on the socialist basis. The greater independence and responsibility of the trade unions, which operate under the politico-ideological guidance of the Party, is of immense help. We call on the unions to help develop democracy in enterprises and offices, since socialist construction, economic progress, and higher standards of living, depend on the people that staff them.

Political and organizational work at enterprise level, to fortify democracy, like the development of socialist democracy in general, should pursue two main aims. On the one hand, the management of every enterprise, of every political, economic, scientific or cultural institution, should be designed to harmonize the personal responsibility of its chief administrator with thorough consideration for the opinions and suggestions of the staff, leaning on them for help. On the other hand, Party bodies, the trade unions and all other mass organizations should by political and educational work arouse the interest of staff members in public activity, spurring them to participate in resolving the problems of their enterprise, residential neighborhood, village or town, and thereby the entire country, to assure planned and continuous progress.

Improvement of Party guidance

In the stage of building full socialism state affairs and socialist democracy are tied in with the strengthening of the leading activity of the Party in the state bodies, in all spheres of life. Experience has confirmed the necessity for the Party's leading role. This role also applies to the socialist state, meaning that the Party frames the political line and that its implementation is the duty of Communists working in the state machinery. The Party's Central Committee and its organs regularly study, and closely follow, the activity of the state, prepare proposals and make recommendations to the appropriate Party and state forums. When it is clear that the conditions have matured for change, Party bodies determine the nature, forms and scale of the possible modifications. All the important decisions and laws, and all amendments, adopted in various spheres over the past 15 years, were initiated by the Party's guiding bodies. And the same is true today, when the further growth of the state has become a cardinal objective.

The Communists working in state bodies are an important instrument of Party guidance. And they bear political responsibility before the Party. Their professional activity is centered on carrying out the Party's decisions. Every Communist occupying a responsible government post is at once a political worker. Apart from observing the articles of the law, his Party assignment is to study the socio-political results of his activity, to harmonize it with Party policy, with his communist conscience.

Party committees, branches, and groups in the ministries have a decisive part to play in improving Party guidance of the departments of state. As part of the scheme to extend the powers of Party organizations in the state apparatus, they have been entrusted with controlling the work of their institution, of its administrators (save the minister, who is controlled by the Central Committee), are held responsible for the fulfilment of decisions issued by the Central Committee and its organs, and are obliged to exercise control and render assistance.

Developing statehood and social guidance is an important and necessary objective of the Party's policy of socialist construction. We have many years of analytical work behind us. We have defined our position on the major issues, have hammered out a fundamental standpoint, and are working purposefully to fulfil our decisions.

Nature of state structure in Asian and African countries

Aleksei Levkovsky,
Dr. Econ. (USSR)
Hamid Safari,
Dr. Econ. (Iran)

The Communists in Asia and Africa are fighting economic backwardness and striving for an independent national economy in their countries. The state sector is the key instrument of economic advance. What is its social nature, and what its evolutionary tendencies?

Instrument for eliminating backwardness

The productive forces in the developing countries lag far behind those of the economically advanced states. In the early 70s, countries with two-thirds of the world's population produced only one-fifth of the world's gross national product, as a result of which there is an appalling discrepancy between the average annual per capita income in the developed capitalist states (\$2,400) and the developing countries with their warped and archaic economic structure and low productivity of labor (\$180, or less than one-thirteenth).^{*} Furthermore, two thirds of the population in Asia, Africa and Latin America live in areas of extreme poverty, where incomes average below \$150.^{**} Poverty combines with exceedingly

^{*}Address to the UN Conference on Trade and Development by R. S. McNamara, Santiago, Chile, 1972, p. 9.

^{**}The International Development Strategy in Action. The Role of UNCTAD. Report by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD, Santiago 1972, p. 4.

low employment: as many as 20 to 35 per cent of the able-bodied population in some of the Asian cities, for example, are chronically partly unemployed,* the result, first and foremost, of imperialist exploitation.

The general economic backwardness of the developing countries is reflected in their unequal economic status vis-à-vis the capitalist world, which directly affects their external economic relations.** Their share in global trade is minute and in the case of more modern and sophisticated goods entirely negligible.

By virtue of this unfavorable combination of foreign and domestic factors, the swiftest possible attainment of economic independence is a vital objective, a fundamental national aim, which necessitates state interference in economic affairs. As a result, the state acquires property in key branches of transport, power, industry, trade, banking, etc. New economic bodies spring up, and a state sector takes shape.

Reactionaries go out of their way to belittle the significance of the state sector. They speak of its ineffectiveness, its low profitability, and other 'failings.' The local and foreign bourgeoisie are especially assiduous in this respect. Neither is it in the good books of the ultra-left elements, some of whom totally ignore the compulsive importance of nationalization, as, say, in Bangladesh. The draft resolution of the Ninth Congress of the parallel Communist Party in India quite obviously underestimates such positive government acts as the take-over of private banks, insurance companies, coalmines, etc.

The Communist parties in the Asian and African countries regard the transfer of foreign and local capitalist property to the state as progressive. The resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the CP of India describe nationalization of monopoly concerns and foreign private enterprises as the major objective in the period to come. Seizure of the commanding heights in banking, engineering and commerce by the state sector would assure stability and security for small and medium producers in town and country and make for a steady expansion of small-scale production across the land, reducing unemployment and pressing down prices.

Working for a progressive social system in the Afro-Asian countries, Communists have their sights set on the all-out consolidation of the state sector. A national-democratic regime, the CP of Lebanon holds, would make it possible to end the domination of foreign monopolies and the local financial oligarchy, to nationalize banks, insurance companies, and foreign trade. The emphasis, it holds, should be on building up the state sector.

The revolutionary-democratic parties and organizations, too, stand for a powerful state sector. The draft National Action Charter published by the Iraqi Baath Party in 1971 says the state sector is the foundation for all the branches of the national economy.

The state sector is a crucial vehicle of economic growth, restruc-

*Skorov, *Razvivayushchiesia strani* (Developing Countries), Moscow, 1971, p. 289.

**See statistical survey of neo-colonialism elsewhere in this issue.

turing the national economy and improving the country's position in foreign trade. It can also be a key factor in the state's political consolidation, the guarantor of unity and strength, especially in the case of nationally and ethnically heterogeneous countries. This is confirmed by the case of Nigeria and some other African states.

However, the evolution of the state sector gives impulse to other than just positive factors. Its growth is often accompanied by an over-inflation of the bureaucratic apparatus, and by certain other unfavorable developments that restrict the progressive potential of state property.

National and class aspects of the matter

The state sector is highly dynamic. To begin with, there is a continuous, though uneven, expansion of state property – both through nationalization of private firms (foreign and native), and through new construction. In India, for example, state assets in industry alone totalled 290 million rupees in 1951; 9,530 million in 1961, and 43,010 million by the beginning of 1970.* Substantial gains were also registered in other fields – especially banking, foreign trade, and power.

The expansion of the state sector upgrades the function of planning. In the developing countries state investments were 25-35 per cent of the total in the early 50s, and as much as 45-55 per cent by the end of the 60s.** This means that at least half the investments are made in planned state projects. The objective needs of economic and social development stimulate state activity in the economy even in countries where private capitalist enterprise is unchecked. This is because the private sector is no match for some of the essential projects (due to long recoupment, capital-intensiveness, and the like). In Iran, for example, the fifth five-year plan (1973-74/1977-78) sets the investment target for the state sector at 1,548,000 million rials, and at 912,400 million for the private sector. In other words, nearly two-thirds of new investment will go into state enterprises.

The state sector handles most of the foreign capital, especially funds on the inter-governmental plane, as in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and a few other countries. It can therefore regulate the internal economic use of incoming foreign exchange, and is increasingly involved in the handling and repayment of foreign credits.

Is there any reason common to all the developing countries for forming a state sector? There is, as we see it, and it is rooted in the condition of the productive forces and the unequal position of the newly-constituted states vis-à-vis imperialism. All of them face the acute contradiction between economic backwardness – the direct result of long colonial exploitation – and the burning need for rapid economic and other renovation. To solve it, experience shows, they must combat the consequences of colonialism and the

*India. A Reference Annual 1971-1972, New Delhi, 1971, XII, p. 349.

**General Issues of Industrial Policy, New York, 1969, p. 24.

designs of neo-colonialism, for despite their liberation from direct colonial rule, imperialism is still the main enemy of their progress.

In the national context, therefore, the state sector is necessitated by the objective of restructuring the backward and warped productive forces, the outdated agrarian structure, diversifying the economy, adapting to the scientific-technical revolution, raising the productivity of labor, and eliminating other 'pervasive' problems. And nearly all the classes in society have a subjective stake in accomplishing this, though not all by far are capable of doing so.

Aware of the necessity of state intervention, various classes and groups set out to capitalize on it for their own gain. In dealing with the term 'state sector,' we must therefore remember that it connotes the state's productive activity, and that its social implications still require clarification. For the Marxist, however, the class aspect of the matter is of prime importance. In practice, the national motivation for a state sector is always impregnated with a definite class content, and the execution of the tasks relating to its creation is—in substance, degree and form—adjusted to definite class interests.

Class struggle in countries with multiple economic forms

All Afro-Asian countries have a unique mixture of economic forms.* They are the field of battle between diverse relations of production—a battle in which the way of social development is the ultimate stake.

Marxist literature has already looked into the origin of state capitalism, the evolution of its material and productive basis and economic structure. Far less attention has been devoted to the peculiar features of state capitalism in the Afro-Asian countries with their multiplicity of economic forms.

The essence of the multiplicity of economic forms in the Afro-Asian societies, as we see it, allows for qualitatively different changes in the social function of the state sector. The existence of many classes and large social strata causes the class struggle, including the struggle for using the state sector in the interest of particular forces, to follow highly distinctive patterns. It is fought inside and outside the economic forms.

The main battle occurs, as a rule, between classes associated with disparate economic forms. In colonial times, for example, the foreign monopolies and their political power were opposed by the proletariat, nearly all sections of the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, and the patriarchal peasantry. In the next stage of social evolution, however, the top stratum of the local bourgeoisie and big landowners is challenged by the proletariat and the petty

*In a transitional type of society an economic form is the state of a mode of production, which, should it ultimately defeat (destroy or subjugate) the other economic forms, becomes a formation, thus completing the period of transition from one formation to the next, that is, the period of multiple economic forms. The following economic forms exist in Asia and Africa today: the patriarchal (chiefly of the large mass of rural dwellers); small commodity (the origin of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie); small capitalist (represented by small-scale capitalist enterprise); developed local capitalism (represented by the local big and middle bourgeoisie); state capitalism, and a few others. This article examines just one—the state-capitalist economic form.

bourgeoisie in alliance with all other working people and the small producers.

This, in our view, is the source of yet another special feature of the class struggle in Asian and African countries: the objective division of all classes and their major strata into contending coalitions. The collisions between them combine with struggle for leadership within each coalition. In the bloc of classes defending the status quo, the scrimmage for leadership usually involves the conservative forces only. In Thailand and Iran, for example, there was a long struggle between the feudal aristocracy and the growing big bourgeoisie. The situation in the coalition opposing the conservative forces is different. Here the claimants to leadership are representatives of both the propertied and the exploited classes. And in the Arab countries, the claim to the role of the leading force is staked by the petty bourgeoisie, as well as the small capitalist producers.

In the early stages of independence the main battle is fought between the different capitalist forms, with the result that different sections of the bourgeoisie find themselves on different sides of the barricade. And as members of opposed class coalitions, each of these sections promotes different ways of capitalist development. However, though playing a leading role in its coalition, the particular section of the national bourgeoisie is compelled to consider the interests of the other members of its coalition, as in the case of, say, the policy of the Indian National Congress.

In India today the small-scale capitalist form and small-scale commodity production are ever more actively pitted against the private capitalist economic form. Accordingly, the petty bourgeoisie and the lower strata of the national bourgeoisie jointly oppose the big local bourgeoisie, the private monopolies.

In the stage when the removal from power of the coalition of the upper strata of the propertied classes (the big bourgeoisie and landowners) becomes the prime objective, there appears a broad alliance of democratic social forces – the proletariat, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, and the small producers. These demand an expansion of the state sector in their programs, assuming that it would serve their particular interests.

Metamorphoses of the state-capitalist economic form

Though the state sector is brought into being by the fundamental contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, its subsequent evolution is also influenced by political and other institutions. In the presence of many economic forms, the role played by the superstructure, and first of all the state, is very great. The state is sometimes designated as the state of one class, as, say, a bourgeois state. But this definition is probably deficient. Political power in countries with many economic forms is in the hands of some coalition of classes and social strata, and it is the coalition that determines the ways and forms in which the state

performs its economic tasks. It also determines their scope. The state inevitably becomes an important regulator of the relationship between the various modes of production in the interest of the class forces controlling the state apparatus.

The objective role of the state sector in the Afro-Asian world depends, in the final analysis, not only – and perhaps even less – on the degree of capitalist development, but also – and even more – on the character of the ruling forces. The more radical they are, the stronger the movement of the masses and the more favorable the other internal and external political factors, the more rapidly grows the state sector and the more effective are its efforts to advance the economy.

The social content of the state sector may be different. It may be diametrically opposite. In the developed capitalist states it is the realm of state monopoly capitalism, in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries it is socialism, and in the Afro-Asian countries today it is, as a rule, the materialization of the *state-capitalist economic form*.

Yet state capitalism is an intrinsically contradictory set-up, and has opposite sides and facets in the conditions of multiple economic forms. In our view, therefore, it is more proper to speak of *different* state-capitalist forms in the Asian and African countries, and some that are in a state of flux, representing such types of production relations which we have not yet provided with definitions, because they have not yet been sufficiently studied. The difference in the types of state-capitalism depends, first and foremost, on the class nature of the state active in the country's economic life.

Lenin drew attention to the fact that 'state capitalism in a society where power belongs to capital, and state capitalism in a proletarian state, are two different concepts' (Vol. 32, p. 491). If this is applied to the economically multiform Asian and African countries, we shall find that there are many other class conditions between these two poles, giving rise to other social functions of the state-capitalist economic forms. The social function of state capitalism in a state headed by, say, a coalition led by the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie differs from that headed by the lower strata of the national bourgeoisie, or by the petty bourgeoisie. By and large, the differences in the form of state capitalism are determined by the complex interaction of the multiform basis and its specific political superstructure.

The national and class factors governing the existence and evolution of the state sector are not simply different aspects of one and the same phenomenon. They are conflicting factors. And the state sector is imbued with the striving for their maximum approximation. However, the approximation depends on the course of the class struggle within each society. Its outcome is decisive for the evolution of the state sector, because the different class forces – the landlords, different groups of the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the semi-proletarian strata, and, last but not least, the proletariat – seek dissimilar degrees of development for it, and

follow dissimilar directions. The degree of the development of the state sector may, for subjective class reasons, diverge from the objective needs (this occurs most of all when conservative feudal-bourgeois groupings hold power). The contradiction is resolved in acute social conflicts, accompanied by either gradual or swift changes in the nature of the ruling forces, as this occurred in, say, Pakistan in the early 70s.

Progressive evolution

By intervening in economic affairs, the state objectively creates definite material and even social premises for a non-capitalist way. However, this does not come about automatically. It requires a change of state power or a progressive evolution that ultimately alters its character.

The state sector changes qualitatively and quantitatively when a broad coalition headed by the petty bourgeoisie assumes state leadership. In countries like Burma, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Algeria and a few others, the state controls the commanding heights in the economy – the modern enterprises, transport, banking and commercial institutions. The state sector grows principally at the expense of private capitalist property. State power in such countries may to one degree or another escape the control of the local propertied classes.

It stands to reason that the evolution of the state sector does not follow a straight line. Zig-zags, sometimes even back-peddalling caused by political changes, are quite frequent. Take the example of Indonesia, where the state sector was drastically reduced and its social function considerably modified following the 1965 events. The restoration and consolidation of the state sector in the key industries is now one of the basic demands of the Communist Party of Indonesia in its battle against the military bureaucratic regime. In other words, the class struggle also encompasses the sphere of state property.

The best opportunities for the progressive potential of the state sector to gain ground appear with the advent to power of representatives of the toiling masses. The state sector gains in strength, is used more vigorously in the struggle for economic independence, for the gradual elimination of social inequality, for raising the people's standard of living.

Then, the modern material and technical base is built mainly within the framework of the state sector, which radically modifies its class functions. The social character of production increases, the economy undergoes diversification.

From then on, the entire process acquires features that are distinct from private capitalist development. Elements of spontaneity are eliminated first of all, and the planning principle gains ascendancy. New reserves are brought into play for a more rapid and sweeping economic advance. Where previously the law of value served the interests of a few private capitalists, the state can in the new conditions, controlling the levers of commodity-money relations, use it

more rationally and more fully to raise effectiveness, increase internal accumulation, assure a more uniform economic growth in all areas, raise incomes, relieve the employment problem, and the like. The organizational consolidation of the state sector, its democratization, acquires priority. In brief, new laws of economic evolution come to light, and the prospect appears for a more effective and rapid advance to economic independence.

Originating as a means to overcome economic backwardness, the state-capitalist sector, as we see it, turns at a definite point into an increasingly important 'incubator' of material-productive and class premises preparatory to the building of socialism. In the initial stages of the society with multiple economic forms the development of these premises is only accessory and not deliberate socially. But with the advent to power of revolutionary-democratic forces it is no longer spontaneous. The process must be increasingly directed by the state itself. It is probably safe to assume, therefore, that the passage to socialism in the developing countries will occur, among other things, through the emergence and development of the socialist economic form out of the present state-capitalist form.

The vanguard and the masses

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH GROUP ON PRESENT-DAY SIGNIFICANCE OF LENIN'S '“LEFT-WING” COMMUNISM – AN INFANTILE DISORDER'

This book stands out in Lenin's theoretical legacy for its full generalization of the experience of Bolshevism as political thought and political party and its experience in preparing and carrying out the world's first victorious socialist revolution. The book sets out the major theoretical conclusions on the laws governing social development in the 20th century, and on the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary workers' movement.

The present-day significance of Lenin's book was discussed by a research group composed of G. BANCHERO, Alternate CC Member, CP Chile and its representative on WMR; A. GALKIN, Dr. Hist., Department head, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers' Movement; I. COX, member of WMR Editorial Board, representative of CP Great Britain on WMR; K. PAFITIS, representative of Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus on WMR; J. FUCHS, Alternate CC Member, CP Argentina and its representative on WMR.

This report continues our series on the present-day relevance of Lenin's principal works.*

*See WMR May and September 1972, and January, March, May and August 1973.

To share Bolshevisms' rich experience with other Communist parties, Lenin singled out 'whatever is universally practicable, significant and relevant' for other countries, for international communist tactics (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 47).

He disclosed the international significance of the Russian revolution 'in the narrowest sense of the word,' in the sense that certain fundamental features of the Russian revolution 'have a significance that is not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international' (*ibid.*, p. 21), and will inevitably be repeated on an international scale. Progressive workers in other countries, he emphasized, have, by their revolutionary class instinct, grasped what the opportunists, the 'revolutionary' leaders of the Second International, have failed to grasp, namely, that the fundamentals of Bolshevik theory and tactics have international applicability, that the 'Russian model reveals to all countries something – and something highly significant – of their near and inevitable future' (*ibid.*, p. 22). Lenin's proposition that the fundamental features of the Russian revolution express the chief regularities of the transition from capitalism to socialism and manifest themselves in every country in the course of proletarian revolution and the building of socialism, has been confirmed by all subsequent revolutions and by the building of the new society in the socialist countries.

By generalizing the experience of the October Revolution and the early years of Soviet power, Lenin carried further the Marxist doctrine of proletarian dictatorship and showed that the Communists must prepare for that dictatorship long before the socialist revolution. He convincingly demonstrated the need for working-class dictatorship throughout the entire period of building socialist society. It is not enough to win power; the main thing is to maintain it, repel the onslaught of counter-revolution and build socialism.

And Lenin proved that leadership by the Communist Party is central to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without a battle-stepped and iron-discipline party enjoying the undivided support of the working class, there is no accomplishing the historic tasks of the proletarian dictatorship.

' "Left-Wing" Communism – An Infantile Disorder' is a veritable encyclopaedia of revolutionary proletarian strategy and tactics and of the difficult art of political leadership. The research group concentrated on the problems facing the Communist parties in winning the masses, their ability to win them over ideologically. Lenin emphasized that this was an essential condition for the working-class political vanguard to discharge its historic mission. It is from this standpoint that Lenin examined the key problems of the Russian and international workers' movement.

NEW CONDITIONS, NEW OPPORTUNITIES

To be able to seek, find and correctly determine the specific path or the particular turn of events that will lead the masses to the real,

decisive and final revolutionary struggle – such is the main objective of communism. . . .

LENIN

Marxist-Leninist research methodology requires concrete analysis of concrete situations. And in discussing Lenin's theoretical heritage in relation to present-day conditions, we must first of all understand the specific nature of these conditions, assess the situation and single out the main development trends. Two decisive factors go into the making of the present situation in the capitalist world. The impact of the development of state-monopoly capitalism, attended by the mounting political activity of the working class and other mass detachments of the working people – this, so to say, is the internal factor. The external factor is the impact of existing socialism, the global correlation between socialism and capitalism.

These factors exert a stable influence. And, for all the differences in the situation in the various countries and regions of the capitalist world, this makes for a steady accumulation of proletarian forces. The working class is growing in numbers, partly due to the emergence of new trades closely linked with the scientific and technological revolution. The working class is more organized, has attained a high education level. Class struggle experience is impelling wider sections of the working people towards organic rejection of the capitalist system.

The international situation, a variable, shifting factor, exerts a definite influence, too. The ruling class used the cold war climate to hamper the struggle of the working class, weaken – and if possible paralyze – its political vanguard, the Communist parties. In many countries the levers of power passed to representatives of the most reactionary factions of the monopoly bourgeoisie. An unparalleled anti-Communist witch-hunt was unleashed. The working people were shouldered with the burden of constantly mounting military expenditure. The menace of nuclear war was like the Sword of Damocles suspended over mankind.

Latterly however there have been the beginnings of a substantial change for the better. The consistent and active efforts of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community have visibly reduced tensions and have extended peaceful cooperation between states with differing social systems. This new, favorable turn in international affairs, the result primarily of the Soviet Union's efforts in implementing the 24th CPSU Congress Peace Program, was especially stimulated by L. I. Brezhnev's visits to the U.S., FRG and France and the agreements concluded in the course of his talks in these countries.

We can clearly see, A. Galkin emphasized, a further strengthening of the international authority of the socialist countries, more opportunities for them to influence the international situation in a way that will promote the world revolutionary process. The world Communist movement enjoys more prestige. Detente has created favorable conditions for curbing the more bellicose groups of monopoly capital and for a Leftward shift in the capitalist coun-

tries. There is also more pronounced differentiation within the Social-Democrat movement, accompanied by strengthening of the Left forces and revision of some, primarily foreign policy, concepts.

Speaking of Latin America, *J. Fuchs* remarked that detente is a tangible success in the anti-imperialist struggle. The fight for peace, against imperialist aggression, has always held a prominent place in the programs of Latin American Communist parties. Improvement of the international situation is bound to work against the imperialist aggressors. There is also this important consideration: U.S. imperialism has always sought to isolate Latin America from the Soviet Union and other socialist states, and to prevent commercial, technical, scientific and cultural ties with them. Now, with the beginnings of a healthier world climate, the U.S. imperialist blockade is cracking, and it will not be easy to maintain it.

Obviously, *G. Banchemo* and *K. Pafitis* noted, the crisis of anti-communist ideology is bound to deepen in a detente setting. Even now, the imperialist bourgeoisie finds that it can no longer rely on the arguments it used in the 25 cold-war years. The old figments about Soviet 'aggressiveness,' the Soviet 'threat' to the West, etc., are wearing thin. That does not mean that the imperialists are abandoning anti-communism, their favorite weapon. But it does mean that their propaganda is rapidly losing credibility. They are frenziedly adapting their ideological stock-in-trade to the new situation and working out a new propaganda line.

The research group emphasized that détente is not an automatic process—in fact, the more reactionary circles are stepping up their resistance.

The new situation is bound to influence—is already influencing—the struggle of the working class and its political vanguard. This influence, however, is neither direct nor clearly expressed. The imperialist bourgeoisie is trying to 'project' international détente into internal social relations. And there might well be attempts to instil in the working class the idea that there is no point in revolutionary struggle now that the confrontation between states with different social systems has been eased. Nor should we preclude the possibility that capitalist ideologists will try to revive the no longer popular 'convergence' propaganda, the contention that the two systems will merge as a result, in particular, of capitalism gradually overcoming its intrinsic social evils. In this context, we have to reckon with the possibility of a section of the working class succumbing to reformist sentiments, and of a certain activation of Right-wing opportunist trends.

International detente, *I. Cox* pointed out, has created a more favorable situation for the international Communist movement. Far from damping down the class struggle in the capitalist world, it has stimulated a further growth in the mass movement of the workers. Of course, this is not an automatic movement. It depends mainly on the political initiative and leadership of the Communist Parties, in light of the specific conditions and problems in each

country. Though the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist world are making a powerful impact on world affairs, this does not lessen the importance of the class struggle in each capitalist country.

On the whole, however, the research group agreed, the easing of tensions and broader peaceful cooperation of states with differing social systems offer many additional opportunities for substantially enlarging the mass influence of the Communist and Workers' parties.

WORK AMONG ALL SECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Victory cannot be won with a vanguard alone. To throw only the vanguard into the decisive battle, before the entire class, the broad masses, have taken up a position either of direct support for the vanguard, or at least of sympathetic neutrality towards it and of precluded support for the enemy, would be, not merely foolish but criminal.

LENIN

In the years since '“Left-Wing” Communism – An Infatigable Disorder' was first published, the world Communist movement has sharply increased its influence and many Communist parties in the capitalist countries have become truly mass parties. Nonetheless, far from having lost its importance, the problem of mass influence has in a number of cases become more acute. It confronts parties that already have won over a considerable part, even the majority, of the working class. For, A. Galkin remarked, the very concept of 'masses' has acquired a wider meaning as more and more people are involved in political activity. In the present objectively favorable conditions extending the vanguard's influence to the majority of the politically active population is a realistic goal. Its attainment would be a long step towards the movement's ultimate aims.

Lenin stressed the need to feel the pulse of life, study the real needs of the masses, react to changes in their aspirations and interests, work among all sections of the population and in all fields, accurately assess the political-consciousness level of different contingents of the working class, 'soberly follow the actual state of the class consciousness and preparedness of the entire class (not only of its Communist vanguard), and of all the working people (not only of their advanced elements)' (Vol. 31, p. 58).

From this follows that extending Party influence is inconceivable without a concrete study of the socio-psychological makeup of society, the orientation and aspirations of the masses, and not only those that are widespread, but the whole spectrum of views and interests.

Lenin also laid stress on the political experiences of the masses in shaping their class consciousness. Propaganda alone, he remarked, will not fill the gap between the political level of the vanguard and that of the main mass. For the entire class, for the broad masses of the working and oppressed people to rise to the

level of the vanguard – 'for that, the masses must have their own political experience. Such is the fundamental law of all great revolutions . . .' (ibid., p. 93). And while not belittling the importance of propaganda among the widest sections of the population, the Communist parties are working towards a situation in which the masses will incline towards their programs and policy in the course of economic and political struggles.

Closely connected with this is Lenin's approach to the forms and methods of revolutionary struggle. In this book he draws two crucial conclusions: 'First, in order to accomplish its task the revolutionary class must be able to master *all* forms or aspects of social activity without exception . . . Second, the revolutionary class must be prepared for the most rapid and brusque replacement of one form by another' (ibid., p. 96).

These conclusions have long been basic to communist strategy and tactics. They are an important prerequisite for the parties' achievements. Nor is it merely a matter of choosing between the peaceful and non-peaceful path of the socialist revolution. For all the importance of that problem, the thought expressed here by Lenin has much wider implications. It deals with the immense variety of forms of social activity which must be applied within the bounds of whatever path is chosen. For there might be situations in which the boundary between peaceful and non-peaceful is erased.

G. Banchero drew attention to this. The choice of forms of winning power, he said, is not a 'heads or tails' proposition. Correct choice depends on a number of objective and subjective factors: the alignment of forces within the country and internationally, the level of working-class consciousness and organization, the cohesion of its vanguard, etc. Much depends also on national traditions. The Communist Party of Chile took into account all these circumstances, and more especially the attitude of the working class, in choosing the non-armed path. Its choice is also based on the understanding that Chile's large and well-organized working class is capable of staunchly fighting against reaction. But the way to socialism that we took cannot be described as peaceful in the full sense of the word, for practice has shown that it does not preclude violence. More, as everyone knows, blood was shed in suppressing rebels, and there is no guarantee against the enemies of the lawful government resorting to provocations again and again. Whether or not the main outcome of the struggle will be determined by an armed clash, depends therefore on the development of the concrete political situation. At any rate, the Communist Party has always done everything to prevent that.

In the final analysis, the choice of forms of struggle, Lenin teaches us, is determined by the need to accomplish '*practical* tasks, ever more varied and ever more closely connected with all branches of social life, winning branch after branch, and sphere after sphere *from the bourgeoisie*' (ibid., p. 99).

It is from this standpoint that Lenin examines the communist

attitude towards bourgeois parliaments and reformist trade unions.

Unlike the reformists, Communists regard parliamentary activity not as an aim in itself, but as a form of struggle for the revolutionary reconstruction of capitalist society. They combine parliamentary struggle with struggle outside parliament, tying in parliamentary action with action by trade unions and other mass organizations. Debate in parliament is linked with popular movements outside its walls. This is a safeguard against the virus of 'pure' parliamentarism and a dependable guarantee of effective action.

Combining parliamentary with extra-parliamentary forms is especially significant in Latin America. Chile's Communists have some valuable experience. The CP of Chile and its allies came to power by winning the presidential elections. Some are therefore inclined to describe their way as parliamentary. This, Banchero said, is inaccurate at best. Parliament is precisely that sector of the country's political mechanism where the battle still continues. But this is not all. The main battle for power was fought outside parliament, and always leaned on the unprecedented upsurge of the mass movement, the foundations for which were laid not during the election campaign, but long before it.

In fact, speaking of the parliamentary form of struggle, Communists do not imply any 'parliamentary way,' but, as Lenin taught, revolutionary parliamentary tactics, the correct use of parliament for the political education and organization of the masses. In the capitalist countries many people still believe in bourgeois parliamentarism. For this reason, participation in the struggle on the parliamentary rostrum is *obligatory* on the party of the revolutionary proletariat *specifically* for the purpose of educating the backward strata of *its own class*, and for the purpose of awakening and enlightening the undeveloped, downtrodden and ignorant rural masses' (Vol. 31, p. 59). However, when combining legal and underground, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of struggle, Lenin stressed, it is sometimes 'useful and even essential to reject parliamentary forms' (*ibid.*, p. 35).

In the conditions existing in Britain, Idris Cox said, it is most decisive that the Communists win over the trade unions. The Communist Party in Britain is not a big party. But it is able to influence the Labor Party through the affiliated trade unions, which, by virtue of its unique structure, represent the strongest force within the Labor Party.

The Communists have visibly increased their influence in the unions in recent years. Our comrades hold key positions in influential organizations at a regional and national level, and the stand of some of the unions on fundamental issues is shaped under their influence. This is one of the main reasons for the visible swing to the Left in the unions and the working-class movement.

The Communist press is a powerful factor in stimulating the mass struggle. In mid-July, for example, the Transport and General Workers Union, the biggest in Britain with over 1.5 million mem-

bers, decided at its national conference to support the *Morning Star*, the Communist daily newspaper.

In Argentina, said *Jaime Fuchs*, local reactionaries try all methods, not short of violence, to isolate the Communist Party from the masses, first of all the working class. In the past, the Party held key positions in influential mass unions. Then the Peronists, who came to power at the end of the Second World War, formed parallel unions. These gained considerable influence, and there was the danger that our Party would be isolated from a large section of the working class. So, acting on Lenin's ideas about work in reformist unions, we decided to join them, fighting alongside other forces loyal to the working-class standpoint for the democratization of trade-union life and a militant class policy. This was not easy. The Right-wing leaders of the Peronist unions stopped at nothing to hinder us. Matters came to a point where Communist union activists were simply physically eliminated.

But despite the difficult situation, we did not react to the provocations. We knew that this would only play into the hands of the oligarchy, which was bent on splitting the working class. And subsequent events have proved us right. Our comrades have won positions of influence in some of the regions and in important unions of the General Confederation of Labor. Non-Communist trade-unionists cooperate with us on many issues. And since the central leadership is controlled by Peronist Right-wingers ready to deal with anyone, even the most reactionary regimes, we hold it as cardinaly important to win seats on the higher bodies of the General Confederation.

Union militancy has been impressively displayed in the general strikes of the past three or four years. And the strikes (which in some industrial areas developed into full-scale uprisings and involved non-proletarian strata) played a crucial part in compelling the military dictatorship to hold a general election, in which the reactionary political forces were defeated. The scale of the workers' struggle radicalized the Peronist and non-Peronist masses, and still exercises a strong influence on the present situation.

Our Party, said *K. Pafitis*, is relatively small, but so is Cyprus a relatively small country. On the scale of our state we may therefore legitimately describe it as a mass party. We have a reliable 42 per cent of the electorate behind us, and their support is anything but passive. We have estimated that in an emergency nearly a third of the population could be rallied for action at short notice. We study the needs of the masses and do our utmost on their behalf. Not even our most bitter adversaries would deny that the gains of the workers of Cyprus under Communist leadership are quite considerable.

Much of the credit falls to our trade-union work: the vast majority of the organized workers are members of unions backing our Party.

The struggle for political influence, Lenin taught us, presupposes vigorous work in all mass organizations, including reactionary

unions. And the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus follows this principle faithfully.

Aware of the political overtones of the battle in the Church, we also found it worthwhile to join religious organizations in order to support their progressive elements. And we have unquestionably contributed thereby to the defeat of the reactionary bishops, frustrating their bid on behalf of the fascist-minded General Grivas to remove President Makarios from his post.

Our comrades are active in credit and consumer cooperatives, which have strong roots in the economy. Though the cooperatives are controlled by the bourgeoisie, we see to it that the interests of working people are considered.

In Britain, too, said Idris Cox, the cooperative movement is based on consumer societies. There is the Cooperative Party, with strong progressive trends, which, though it has close links with the Labor Party, has not banned Communists, many of whom are in key positions in it.

The CP of Great Britain has also made some tangible advances among students. Three years ago ultra-left elements were active among the students, but since then Communists and their supporters have been elected to key positions in the 500,000-strong National Union of Students. The NUS has openly declared its solidarity with the struggle of the workers, and students stand side by side with them on the picket lines during strikes.

Our influence among intellectuals, particularly university lecturers and civil servants, has also increased. And in this the Party's active stand for democracy has been an important contributing factor.

The Communists' work in various mass organizations is stimulated by the general situation in Britain today, where the class struggle has reached a new high level. Since 1970, strikes have tended to develop into political struggles against the Industrial Relations Act which the Tory government put into force in an attempt to prevent strikes and to cripple the trade unions. Though May Day was never a national holiday in Britain, this year the TUC issued a call for a national stoppage and protest action of an obviously political nature against the Industrial Relations Act. And significantly, the National Executive of the Labor Party, where the tune is called by reformists, gave its official support. This stand of the trade-union and Labor leaders was made possible only because the Communists used all their influence to mobilize the masses against the Tory offensive on the rights of the working class.

Faithful to our program, 'The British Road to Socialism,' we are working for a Labor majority in the next general election, together with the return of Communist MPs.

Work in mass organizations, Fuchs said, is associated largely with the problem of relations with the allies of the proletariat. Capitalism would not be capitalism if the 'pure' proletarian were not surrounded by a mass of exceedingly motley types transitional from proletarian to semi-proletarian, from semi-proletarian to

small peasant (artisan, craftsman, or petty proprietor), and from small peasant to middle peasant, and if there were no division within the proletariat into more and less developed strata, etc. Hence the incontestable need for alliances with public and political organizations reflecting the interests of the transitional, intermediate and middle strata.

This is a very important point in the case of Argentina, where the petty bourgeoisie and the urban and rural middle strata form a large percentage of the population. So, while always conscious of our obligations to the working class and poor peasants, we endeavor to win these strata for the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle. These days, a kind of all-continental tendency prevails in Latin America towards the formation of Left anti-imperialist fronts. In Argentina, too, we are trying to consolidate the anti-imperialist unity of all Left and patriotic forces in the Peronist and other movements, for a broad democratic front would enable the people to win political power and carry through the vital structural changes.

Chile's experience shows, *Banchero* said, that for successful popular unity Communists must display the maximum patience, tolerance and good will towards their allies. We have very good relations with the Socialist Party. Its positions are internationalist (it has nothing in common with the Socialist International), and we acknowledge the fact that, like ours, it is a working-class party. In dealing with it, we always proceed from the principle that we are not the sole holders of the 'absolute truth' and can gain from a mutual and outspoken exchange of experience and information. If any friction should appear, we consider it useful to first examine our own position for a possible inadvertent error before accusing the other side.

For Lenin, the party's attitude towards its own mistakes was one of the most important and surest criteria of how earnest it is and how it fulfils its obligations to its class and the working people. In '“Left-Wing” Communism . . .' he wrote: 'Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of its rectification—that is the hallmark of a serious party; that is how it should perform its duties, and how it should educate and train its class, and then the masses' (Vol. 31, p. 57). A minor error, he stressed, can always grow into a big error if it is persisted in, if justifications are sought for it, and if it is 'carried to its logical conclusion' (ibid., p. 43). And he amplified: 'What applies to individuals also applies—with necessary modifications—to politics and parties. It is not he who makes no mistakes that is intelligent. There are no such men, nor can there be. It is he whose errors are not very grave and who is able to rectify them easily and quickly that is intelligent' (ibid., pp. 35-36).

Banchero detailed the Chilean Communists' experience in the municipalities, which are relatively autonomous institutions of local government. Winning a foothold in the municipalities, the

Party can be instrumental in solving local problems in the interest of the working class, the laboring masses. It stands to reason that the Party has long since turned its attention to this socio-political work. In one out of every three municipal areas the majority was *made up of* Popular Unity Councillors, and some of the municipalities in these areas were headed by Communist mayors.

When the Popular Unity government came to power, the CP of Chile and its allies faced the problem of using the inherited state apparatus. What complicated matters was that the government controlled only one branch, the executive, of that apparatus. The legislative and judiciary branches were in the hands of the bourgeois opposition, including outright reactionaries.

For a start, the government transferred the main functions of control and direction in the executive branch to people sincerely supporting the program and aims of Popular Unity. This gave a new orientation to the government machinery, and allowed for its more or less effective operation in the interests of popular power. Another significant point is that most of the rank and file in the executive apparatus is contiguous in status and interests to other mass categories.

We in Cyprus are also aware of the importance of working in all bodies of the political system in a bourgeois country, said K. Pafitis. Our state apparatus is shot through with agents of reaction. Many officials, including high-ranking ones, take part in the anti-government actions of the ultra-Right forces. Many top police officials are prominent in the Rightist anti-government underground. We attach urgency therefore to clearing the state machinery of reactionaries, and demand that the government should throw them out.

The armed forces leadership – the army and the National Guard – is also infiltrated by reactionary agents. Naturally, as an influential political force, our Party is determined to prevent the armed forces from becoming a pawn of the reactionaries.

Summing up opinion concerning mass work, Fuchs observed that despite regional and national disparities, the working-class movement and its political vanguard, the Communist parties, face identical tasks and act on the same principles. This once again confirmed the important point Lenin made in ‘“Left-wing” Communism – an Infantile Disorder’ that ‘the unity of the international tactics of the Communist working-class movement in all countries demands, not the elimination of variety . . ., but the application of the *fundamental* principles of communism . . . which will *correctly* modify these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions’ (Vol. 31, page 92).

COMBATING PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONISM

It is now essential that Communists of every country should quite consciously take into account both the fundamental objectives of the

struggle against opportunism and 'Left' doctrinairism, and the concrete features which this struggle assumes and must inevitably assume in each country . . .

LENIN

In recent years, the Communist movement has been attacked by various quarters operating with 'Left' and 'ultra-revolutionary' slogans. Their openly professed purpose was to weaken the Communist parties, pry away some of their supporters, and impose on the democratic and working class movement their own concepts of the basic tendencies in social development and their own ways and means of solving the vital economic, social and political problems of the capitalist world. These groups have been highly active in some countries, and if not combated in the theoretical, propaganda, organizational and political fields, may inflict serious damage on the revolutionary working-class movement.

Lenin had very definite views on the social roots and social base of 'ultra-revolutionism.' He wrote: 'Marxist theory has established – and the experience of all European revolutions and revolutionary movements has fully confirmed – that the petty proprietor, the small master (a social type existing on a very extensive and even mass scale in many European countries), who, under capitalism, always suffers oppression and very frequently a most acute and rapid deterioration in his conditions of life, and even ruin, easily goes to revolutionary extremes, but is incapable of perseverance, organization, discipline and steadfastness' (Vol. 31, p. 32). Lenin's analysis of the social basis of ultra-revolutionism is highly relevant even though today's 'Leftist' currents are by no means a replica of the 'Left' deviationist groups of the 20s. In the case of most capitalist countries, A. Galkin said, we may break up the ultra-Leftists of today into three major structural groups.

The first is made up of intellectuals, including leading ones, and may be described as the ultra-Leftists' 'theoretical elite.' Its stance is often determined by awareness of the fact that capitalist relations of production have no future (an awareness based on actual knowledge), by a lack of real experience of class struggle, and excess conceit.

Another group consists of students and mirrors the general revolutionization of this section of youth, laced with political inexperience and impatience.

The third group is recruited from remnants of anarchist, anarcho-syndicalist and Trotskyist groups who for decades were out of the mainstream of political activity and have in late years been joined by Maoist groups. While competing among themselves, they try to exploit a certain spread of 'Leftist' sentiments, primarily by infiltrating the ranks of students and young intellectuals. This contingent of ultra-Leftists includes declassed elements and even provocateurs used by the police, and occasionally ultra-Rightists.

For all their specific features, today's ultra-Leftists are an ideological and political product of the drastic break-up of the social and economic structures of capitalist society due to the

development of state-monopoly capitalism and the technological revolution, a break-up deeply affecting the middle strata. In other words, we are in the presence of a process similar to the one described by Lenin.

From the outset, the heterogeneity of the ultra-Leftist groups augured their disintegration, and this is occurring the faster, the more clearly the fallacy of the ultra-revolutionaries' main theoretical tenets and the ephemeral nature of their activity come to light and the more dismally they fail to expand their social basis by infiltrating various contingents of the working class. The more firmly Communist parties combat pseudo-revolutionary adventurism, the more rapidly the disintegration occurs.

As ultra-Leftist groups fall apart, their sounder and more sincere spokesmen gravitate towards the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class. Some of their adherents, disheartened by setbacks, abandon all political activity. As in Lenin's time – and as emphasized in his book – various small groups move from the extreme Left to the extreme Right, a fact which reveals the intrinsic kinship of the two nominally opposed standpoints from which the Communist movement is attacked. Swings of this kind are hastened by the Peking leadership's maneuvers. It will be recalled that of late Peking has virtually jettisoned its anti-imperialist slogans to further its foreign policy ambitions. Indeed, the Peking leaders have established political links with the more reactionary factions of the bourgeoisie of some capitalist countries. In these circumstances, Peking's ultra-Leftist yes-men in various parts of the world have become a nuisance for the Chinese. In turn China's foreign policy undercuts the positions of Maoist groups harping on the 'consistently anti-imperialist' line of the CPR. The overall result is, as far as can be said at this stage, less support for ultra-Leftists by Peking and a gradual change of policy in favor of those who attack the Communist movement from the Right. This trend is still in a formative stage, but should be closely watched because support by Peking, in particular with funds, may lead to a revival of Right opportunist forces, which have sustained a telling ideological and political setback.

Our Party is deeply concerned about the ultra-Leftists' activity in Chile, said G. *Banchero*. They seek support among the least organized and less politically mature workers, mostly those engaged in small-scale production, as well as among the poor peasants, and in some cases they are successful.

There are many sincere revolutionaries among Chile's ultra-Leftists and we work among them. However, the ideological and political positions of the Communist Party and the ultra-Leftists are poles apart. The ultra-Leftists' fundamental theoretical argument, as Engels quoted by Lenin in his book put it, is their impatience. They want every problem to be solved at once, faster than 'God created the world.' They take direct and arbitrary action against medium and small proprietors in town and country by expropriating them.

As a result, the 'Leftists' become accomplices of extreme reaction, whether they like it or not. But while it is true that they give a good deal of trouble by harassing us, we can by no means treat them as we treat those who attack the government from the Right. Our chief enemy is domestic reaction and its backer, international imperialism.

To seek working people's unity of action does not mean stopping the fight against false, opportunist concept. The Communist Party of Argentina holds, *J. Fuchs* said, that it must engage in principled debate which would not repel but rather attract to the Party all misguided but sincere people.

Our opponents' favorite ideological weapon is bourgeois nationalism upheld by certain leading Peronist circles. They would like to dissolve the working class in a political alignment led by the bourgeoisie and so they readily advocate 'national socialism,' or a 'socialism' under which landed proprietors, the big bourgeoisie, foreign capital, and working people exploited by capitalists are expected to live together in peace. Small 'Leftist' and Right-wing revisionist groups, for their part, peddle various models of 'socialism' and shuttle between extolling liberalism and singing the praises of barrack 'socialism.'

Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are two aspects of the common line of these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois currents, which try to mislead the masses by slanderously alleging that 'super-powers' are dividing the world into spheres of influence. They equate U.S. imperialism to the Soviet Union, the mainstay of the struggle against imperialism, for peace and national liberation. Nor is it accidental that the present Peking leaders seek contact with spokesmen of these currents. They are particularly eager to establish closer links with those who assail the Communist movement from the Right. They give less and less support to the Left extremist groups, which call for an immediate armed rising, and extend contacts with Right-wing nationalists and bourgeois reformists.

In Cyprus, said *K. Pafitis*, outspoken ultra-Leftists are so few that they cannot even be called a sect. There is just a handful. However, in our country too, there is a visible connection between the Communists' Right- and 'Left'-wing opponents. The Right-wing unions, which account for slightly more than 20 per cent of organized labor, advance extremist demands, in particular for wage increases. They try to extend their influence by means of unrealistic demagogical demands so as to use it in pursuing a Rightist policy.

In Britain as, indeed, in many other countries, *I. Cox* said, the various ultra-Leftist groups are outside the working-class movement. They comprise primarily intellectuals and some students from Asia and Africa. As for workers, they are few and are mostly people who have nothing to do with organized labor.

Not one of the 'Leftist' organizations may be described as a mass organization. They all keep apart and fight both the Communists and one another, with neo-Trotskyists attacking anarchists, Trotskyists attacking Maoists, and so on. They seek publicity by brewing

scandals and provoking incidents. Their influence in our country is declining although the process is not automatic, of course. To eliminate Left opportunist groups for good, the Party must carry on steadfast and meaningful work. We do carry it on, drawing on Lenin's recommendations and deductions contained, first of all, in the book we are discussing. We are well aware, as Lenin taught us to be, that the chief danger in Britain is Right-wing opportunism, which has won strong positions in the labor movement over the centuries of British capitalism's distinctive development.

The world communist and working-class movement, the research group stressed, is yearly becoming richer in experience. Its experience confirms the most important deductions of scientific theory, and the general and fundamental revolutionary principles and laws of the fight for socialism. On the other hand, experience, or revolutionary practice, makes a valuable contribution to theory and teaches us to apply it 'to the *specific features* in the objective development towards communism, which are different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study, and predict' (Vol. 31, p. 89).

'Left-Wing' Communism - an Infantile Disorder is a book which equips us with a scientific methodology of analysis of the international and national experience of the working-class movement and their mutual relationship.

Lenin regarded revolutionary experience as the Communists' common patrimony, a requisite of development of the world Communist movement and the basis for a scientifically sound policy of each of its contingents. Active policy is admittedly a science and an art. And science demands, Lenin stressed, 'that the experience of other countries be taken into account, especially if these other countries, which are also capitalist, are undergoing, or have recently undergone, a very similar experience' (Vol. 31, pp. 80-81). Hence the need to consider and treasure every particle of the revolutionary experience of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

Seeing oneself as a component, an internationalist contingent, of the world Communist movement determines one's attitude to the experience of other Communist parties. This attitude has nothing to do with opportunist theories of "national communism," which amount to a rejection of past and present revolutionary experience.

Exchanges of revolutionary experience are a manifestation of links between brother parties and of coordination of their efforts. Lenin noted that 'the really important interpretation of coordination is this: the best and quickest imitation of a good example' (Vol. 42, p. 328). To be sure, this in no way implies mechanical duplication or blind imitation ignoring the distinctive features of diverse countries. Lenin's book takes a firm stand against 'stereotyped, mechanically equated, and identical tactical rules of struggle' (Vol. 31, p. 92). He ridicules the absurd allegation 'about the Russians only wanting everyone to imitate them' (Vol. 32, p. 464). 'We want the very opposite,' he said. 'It takes more than memorizing communist resolutions and using revolutionary phrases on every pos-

sible occasion. That is not enough, and we are opposed beforehand to Communists who know this or that resolution by heart' (ibid). To help revolutionary workers in all countries to assimilate experience and tactics means teaching them to single out from the manifold experiences of the Communist movement all that is particularly valuable, all that has lasting significance and is indispensable in the particular conditions of various countries.

As well as mastering universal experience, Lenin said, it is important to study the history of the movement in one's own country. Only a blend of universal experience and the practice of the country concerned makes it possible to translate Communist doctrine into the language of each people.

The present-day practice of Communist parties adds to the experience of the world Communist movement and helps in evolving strategy and tactics. Sharing of experience, comradely contacts and cooperation in various forms foster Communist unity in the struggle for the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Sociology and problems of the working class

Stanislaw Widerszpil,
Poland

The article on the structure of Soviet society published in WMR* deals with problems agitating Polish scholars as well. First among these problems is that of the contemporary working class and its role in socialist society. Until recently, our sociologists were concerned above all with the process of formation of a socialist working class. They are now turning to research into the changing composition of the working class, its relations with the peasantry and other social strata, and its role in political and social institutions. This research is essential for framing a correct social policy.

Due to social, economic and political changes in the Polish People's Republic (as in other socialist countries), the working people's fundamental interests coincide in the last resort and the majority of the nation has common socialist objectives. Nor can there be any doubt that as the new society is built inequality and distinctions between social classes and strata are being eliminated step by step. The economic basis of these processes is socialist ownership of the means of production. Whereas in 1947 the public sector accounted for 36 per cent of the national income, in 1970 its share was 81 per cent. In 1970 public enterprises employed 65 per cent of the labor force. At the present stage, the social com-

*R. Kosolapov, *Soviet Society: Analysis of Its Structure*. WMR, May 1973.

position of the population is not conditioned by property relations alone but is increasingly influenced by the division of labor, the place and role of social strata and groups in the social organization of labor, the content of labor, the working people's professional and educational standards, and other factors. Sociologists rightly devote increasing attention to social and professional distinctions. It would be wrong, however, to substitute this analysis for investigation and definition of the political function of the various classes, primarily the working class, in socialist society.

Revisionists have been at pains to minimize the role of the working class. Some of them, claiming that the working class is made up entirely of workers by hand, argue on this ground that it is on the way out, or dissolve it in amorphous social production formations. Others try to substitute for it what they call the 'new strata.' Yet the record of socialist building refutes these speculative constructions and confirms that the working class is the leading force of society.

The working class is growing. Poland had 3.5 million workers (apart from the unemployed) in 1931, 4.7 million in 1960 and 6.8 million in 1970. In 1970, workers and their families (including dependents, pensioners and scholarship students) comprised almost half (49.8 per cent) of the population. Two-thirds of the workers are engaged in industry and construction.

There is a substantial growth of employment in mechanical and electrical engineering, metalworking, the chemical industry and the manufacture of means of transport. The increase is especially marked in industries essential for modernizing the economic structure as a whole, such as chemicals and electrical engineering. This means that there are more and more workers associated with modern technology and fewer and fewer labor-intensive unskilled jobs. The workers' standard of education and proficiency is rising. In 1968, over one-third of the job-holders in modern industries had received more than a basic (seven or eight-year) education. The percentage of technicians has been going up.

Workers are becoming more active in social and political affairs. They constitute the most closely-knit, organized and progressive force of our society, the mainstay of people's power.

In view of the technological revolution, the issue of relations between the working class and the intelligentsia, in particular scientists and technologists, is of special importance. The number of Poland's industrial workers (without building workers) more than doubled from 1950 to 1970 and that of engineers and technicians grew almost five-fold - from 92,000 in 1950 to 450,000 in 1971. To study these relations is also important because the capitalist past is still felt.

It is already possible to unite workers, technicians and researchers in one labor community within enterprises, complexes or combines. Subsequently it will be both feasible and necessary to integrate the working class and technological intelligentsia throughout society. The situation in a socialist country is entirely different

in this respect from that in capitalist society. The paramount fact is that the workers and intelligentsia have the same status as regards property and exercise of co-owners' rights, i.e., in basic economic relations, and there is no third force, i.e., capital, to oppress or divide them, or set them against each other. Technological progress coupled with socialist change can remove the essential distinctions between managerial and technical labor, and put an end to the social heterogeneity of society.

This replacement is no one-sided process. It does not imply the transformation of intellectuals into workers or vice versa. It is a two-sided process in which, however, the working class and its party play the decisive role.

Furthermore, the forms in which the working class exercises its leading role in society vary from one stage of the formation and development of socialism to another.

The workers perform the socialist revolution as the class of exploited hired labor. And in the stage of the class struggle following the winning of power they remain the main force in breaking the resistance of, and in eliminating, the propertied exploiting classes (the big bourgeoisie and the landowners). In the industrialization period, with highly centralized management, the Polish working class wielded its political influence chiefly through its Party and its state power – power *'for the working people'* (Lenin). The whole social, economic and political system functioned in fundamental accordance with the objective interests of the working class. As socialist society develops and the Party's leading role gains in scope every form of socialist democracy is perfected and the workers' direct participation in the management of public affairs increases.

It should be remembered, on the other hand, that the worker's position in socialist society is still dual in a sense. He has become a legitimate co-owner of the whole people's property but is at the same time employed in a specific enterprise and must according to his labor contract mainly perform the technical functions of his particular job. To end this duality, we must end the traditional division of labor, move from mechanization on to automation and carry forward socialist democracy.

The technological revolution, especially automation, substantially alters the worker's position and role in socialist production. More and more, he becomes a regulator, controller, and creative worker. Technological and organizational changes help to eliminate the contradictions between physical and mental labor, between technical and executive, routine and creative labor all of which enables the worker to perform his function as master of production to an increasing extent. In fostering scientific and technological progress, the Party does not confine itself to purely economic problems but concerns itself with these social problems as well.

The Sixth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) stressed the need for the working class to participate in greater measure in socially important decision-making and in the drafting

of programs for socialist changes. It called for steps to carry socialist democracy deeper and create conditions for major social problems to be widely and constructively discussed by Communists and non-Communists alike. The congress found it advisable to use and extend the application of the consultation method, first tried after the Seventh Plenum of the CC PUWP (December 1970). This method consists in discussing every important decision with executives and other working people, in particular with the employees of large industrial enterprises and the social and professional groups concerned.

A highly important aspect of promoting socialist democracy is to organize workers' self-management at the enterprise in the broad sense of the term. The conference and other workers' self-management bodies operating under the local Party Committee's political guidance are entitled to control, or supervise, the management's activity and participate in decision-making on fundamental matters relating to the functioning and progress of the enterprise. These bodies are also becoming a 'school of collective responsibility' for the economic results of management, a school of socialism.

However, it would be wrong to counterpose workers' self-management in the enterprises to centralized economic planning and management. These are a necessity arising from the social character of the productive forces and are effected in the working people's interests and with their active participation.

Workers' self-management conferences function in more than 8,000 Polish enterprises. They comprise about 250,000 working people, over 160,000 of whom are wage-earners. Workers' enterprise councils and their branches involve roughly 100,000 people, two-thirds of whom are wage-earners.

Hundreds of thousands of workers are engaged in various public activities. People's councils include 25,500 workers, or 15.4 per cent of the membership total and 30 per cent of the membership of town councils. Workers are members of council commissions and perform the functions of public labor inspectors, people's assessors, members of arbitration commissions, and so on.

In 1971 there were 894,000 workers among the full and candidate members of the PUWP, which amounts to 13.5 per cent of the total of workers or roughly 40 per cent of all Communists. As for major enterprises, worker Communists there make up 17 per cent of the total of workers. Their proportion is much higher among skilled, as against unskilled, workers.

The leading role of the working class is guaranteed by the Party's correct Marxist-Leninist leadership, which organizes the workers and provides them with a clear aim. The experience of building socialism has shown that when the principles of democratic centralism are infringed in Party or state, or when a contradiction develops between managing methods and the requirements of the productive forces, between output growth and consumption level, there may also develop a contradiction between the work-

ing class or its various contingents, on one hand, and the political leadership, on the other. The Polish working class backs by its production effort and its social and political activity the measures approved by the Seventh CC Plenum (December 1970) and the Sixth Party Congress. These measures are directed towards the further harmonious and dynamic development of Polish society in close cooperation with all fraternal socialist countries. Better conditions are shaping for workers and technicians to perform their rightful function of participation and public control, and enforcement of labor discipline. This is done through Party and trade union organizations, and the workers' self-management system.

The Sixth Party Congress insisted on optional utilization of the findings of scientific research in planning social and economic policies. Hence the importance of investigations of the structure of society, the requirements and living conditions of various social groups, the leading social and political role and internal composition of the working class, and of studying the diverse social groups' subjective perception of their condition and their aspirations. It is a question, among others, of investigations taking account of the psychological factor and new motivations in evidence or likely to come into being under socialism.

Among the problems to be dealt with are organization and management, as well as social planning encompassing both economic and social activity, and promotion of the political, legal and ideological superstructure. We must examine the matter of absenteeism, labor fluidity, waste of raw materials and time, flaws in production cooperation and other negative factors. Sociologists probe into contradictions and conflicts at the enterprise and ways and means of preventing or removing them.

Relations between the working class, on one hand, and the intellectuals, peasants and petty-bourgeois elements, on the other, between the working class and various social and political institutions, the workers' share in economic planning and management, and their direct or indirect influence over government are some of the problems whose study helps to reveal the functioning of this class in the social, political and economic structure of developing socialist society.

The new tasks call for coordinated research in various fields and for closer links between science and social and political practice. The idea is to form teams of political, government, economic and public workers, and of members of the various social sciences. One example: shortly before our Party's Sixth Congress a Party-Government Commission was established for the modernization of the functions of economy and state, which produced a comprehensive concept of changes in planning and management for the immediate future and the long term. Its recommendations are being put into practice.



General and particular in liberation struggle

Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary, Communist Party of Colombia, replies to questions put by **World Marxist Review**.

Speaking at the 1969 meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, you said that the struggle in Latin America has many similarities, but also substantial differences from the struggle in Africa and Asia. Could you enlarge on this thesis, how it applies to the development of the liberation process in Latin America?

I think that the common denominator for most Afro-Asian and Latin American countries is the low level of economic development resulting from imperialist oppression and the plundering of their natural wealth over a long period. Imperialism is the main enemy in the three continents. Once their peoples rid themselves of its yoke, they will inevitably be faced with a common historical task – the elimination of their economic, scientific-technical and cultural backwardness. Under present circumstances this can in the main be achieved through non-capitalist development. Cuba, for instance, which took this path, was able to lay the foundations of a socialist society in a short space of time.

Experience has shown that where the advanced sections of the working class, peasantry, and patriotically inclined intellectuals, guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, organize the conscious vanguard and lead the liberation movement, it progresses successfully, and can go over to socialist construction. This is the main condition for achieving complete independence.

But should the influence of the national bourgeoisie predominate in the leadership of the national liberation movement then, as a rule, it confines itself to winning *formal* political independence, while *in fact* remaining dependent on international monopoly. When that happens the movement loses its elan.

While the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has common features, it also differs in many determinative essentials.

Hence, the *democratic* stage of the revolution on our continent,

the anti-imperialist, anti-latifundist and anti-oligarchic stage, has a more direct, close relation with the socialist stage.

In pursuing their liberation aims, the peoples of Latin America employ and combine various forms of struggle. In Cuba, the people won power by armed struggle supported by the mass of the working people. Today Cuba is in the van of Latin America's second liberation.

In Chile, the popular forces won the elections and formed a government. Thanks to the policy of unity, based on the mass movement, radical structural changes were introduced by constitutional means despite the growing resistance by agents of Yankee imperialism and the local oligarchy. The question, who will prevail, has not yet been solved.

Military-patriotic governments have recently come to power in several countries all of whom, to a greater or lesser degree, adopt an anti-imperialist attitude. The military government in Peru is carrying out important changes and follows an independent foreign policy. Democratic changes are being introduced in Ecuador too, although less obviously, and with the support of the people the Panamanian government is opposing U.S. colonial domination in the Canal Zone. Yet another specific feature of the present stage of the liberation movement is the formation in many countries of broad anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic fronts.

What has been the impact of the peace offensive of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries?

The policy of the extreme reactionary forces such as the fascist militarist clique in Brazil, the Rights in Colombia and other countries, is invariably accompanied by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Both are being used to justify the savage attack on the workers', peasants' and students' movement, and to conceal the betrayal of the national interests and their attempts to halt the consolidation of the patriotic forces.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries promotes conditions for an offensive against these cold-war centers. Every success in carrying out the 24th CPSU Congress Peace Program is a fresh blow at the ultra-reactionary and anti-national positions.

These successes can be developed only if the proletariat and all the people become more firmly united, wage a decisive battle against the Right and 'Left' extremists who oppose the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, thereby assisting North American imperialism and its old handmaiden, the local oligarchy, to stem the rising tide of revolution.

Latterly, Latin America has become one of the focal points of the anti-imperialist struggle. It is only natural that liberation of the continent is central to the ideological confrontation. What can be said, in this context, of the class aims and content of the so-called

'tercerism,' i.e., 'third path' theory? What is your assessment of such developments as the Peronist take-over in Argentina, and certain changes in Venezuela's position?

There is nothing new about the search for a so-called 'third path' in Latin America. Forty years ago, the Peruvian politician, Haya de la Torre, tried to peddle this theory. His opportunist views were exposed from the very start by two eminent Marxist-Leninists, Jose Carlos Mariategui and Julio Antonio Mella. Haya de la Torre's 'tercerism' was based on a game of 'dialectics': the 'thesis' was capitalism, the 'antithesis' - communism, and the 'synthesis' Aprism, that is to say, his own 'teaching'!*

Nowadays, with Aprism discredited, the 'third path' supporters use other catchwords, 'national socialism,' for instance. The apologists of this 'ideal model' of socialism (without class struggle, contradictions and difficulties) ignore or distort, with a diligence worthy of the trumpeters of imperialism and the oligarchy, the experience and heroic achievements of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. They studiously avoid the solution of the great dilemma of our times: national liberation or neo-colonial dependence, monopoly capitalism or scientific socialism. And they usually end up like Senor Haya de la Torre, completely capitulating to imperialism. Some, of course, do make a sincere break with woolly petty-bourgeois ideology and decisively adopt the revolutionary position of Marxism-Leninism.

While it is necessary to bear in mind national features, the general laws of revolution must always be taken into account, and these laws preclude a consistent or enduring 'third position.'

The 'Tercerists' create great ideological confusion. Therefore, in our mass propaganda and educational work we explain that socialism means social, collective ownership of the main means of production: centralized economic planning; constant rise of the working people's standard of living; a revolution in education and, lastly, what is most important and decisive, a change in the class nature of power. In place of the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy which is linked with international monopoly, the alliance of the working class, peasantry and people's patriotic forces take over the reins of government and all the administrative organs of society.

Now about the events in Argentina. In my view, they confirm that even under a militarist regime, elections can be used to the advantage of the popular forces. Once again, and this is extremely important for countries like Colombia, this exposes the untenable position of the ultra-Left elements. There are groups and grouplets of Trotskyists and 'genuine Maoists' who, in the name of high revolutionary principles, advocate boycotting elections, thereby playing into the hands of the traditional oligarchic parties, the

*Aprism is the ideology of the bourgeois national-reformist People's Party, founded in 1924 in Peru and based on APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance). Starting out with anti-imperialist and anti-feudal slogans, Haya de la Torre, the ideologist of Aprism, ended up by trying to refute Marxism-Leninism, and defending U.S. imperialist interests which, he intimated, should share in the development of Latin America. - Ed.

Conservative and Liberal, and giving them wide scope for action. The arch-revolutionary ardor of such elements is directed, first of all, against the Communist Party which considers it essential to utilize the elections as a political weapon.

It should be noted that as soon as the Peronists took power they established relations with Cuba and legalized the Argentine Communist Party. These are signs of the beginnings of broad democratization. Future developments will depend on the outcome of the conflict between the Right and Left forces within the Peronist movement and the whole of Argentine society.

The outcome of the elections to be held in December will determine the character of new elements in Venezuelan politics. Some democratic (and to a certain extent, anti-imperialist) steps of the Venezuelan government have been welcomed in Colombia and other countries. One example is nationalization of internal trade in oil products: the Caldera government has set a four-year term for the state-operated Venezuelan Oil Corporation to set up a monopoly on home sales. A similar arrangement is urgently needed in our country, too. The Colombian Oil Company is striving for control of the internal market to counter the imperialist monopoly.

I should like to draw attention to what I believe is an alarming development, namely, the serious danger to peace in South America. I am referring to the prolonged dispute between the governments of Colombia and Venezuela over the coastal shelf. North American commentators describe this dispute over a potentially oil-rich area as one of the more difficult and significant territorial litigations in Latin America. The North American monopolies and militarists are encouraging strife, are even trying to provoke a military conflict, in order to act the arbiter and so acquire the right to exploit this reserve of oil.

The Colombian and Venezuelan Communist parties conducted a joint campaign of protest against these attempts and are mobilizing the working class and all patriotic forces to fight this threat. Our peoples have a common destiny and common enemies.

You have given a general picture of the Latin American liberation movement. What is the special feature of the Colombian situation and what is the main strategy and tactics of your party? How do the communists resolve the problem of combining different forms of class struggle? Lastly, what are the perspectives for the development of the revolutionary process in your country?

The strategy concepts of the Communist Party of Colombia are similar to those of our brother Latin American parties. We all aim for a united anti-imperialist front to win genuine national independence, which is inseparable from social emancipation. The working class, closely allied with other anti-imperialist forces, must play the leading role in this growing movement. This is the sole guarantee of complete realization of the democratic stage of the revolution and transition to the stage of laying the foundations of socialism.

But despite all that is strategically common, the tactical and political line must correspond to concrete conditions. For instance, one of the more noticeable features of our country is the deeply entrenched domination of the two traditional parties, the Liberal and Conservative. These parties, typical for Latin America during the past century, unlike the situation in other countries, have preserved their influence in Colombia to the present day.*

The Liberals and Conservatives are now concentrating on building up public support for their candidates. As for the other parties, the Christian Democrats have lost whatever positions they had and have officially decided to disband. The National Popular Alliance, founded by ex-dictator Rojas Pinilla, is going through a severe crisis, and repeated attempts to establish parties of a social-democratic complexion have ended in failure. Only the Communists have been able to make a political breakthrough and strike deep roots among the people. Our task now is to transform the Party into a genuine mass Party.

The strong influence of the Catholic Church is still another specific of Colombian life, and the more reactionary circles have taken advantage of this in order to hold the masses in bondage to obscurantism and conformism. However, democratic sections of the Catholic clergy, following the example of the revolutionary priest Camillo Torres, have in recent years been working for a new church which would defend the interests of the working masses, take a patriotic stand and oppose Yankee imperialist oppression. In our work we take into account this shift in church circles.

Finally, there is the broad struggle of the peasantry against latifundism, waged in different forms, including a partisan movement.

In summing up the long and difficult experience of our Party, the 10th CPC Congress, which met illegally in January 1966, stated that Colombia had its own path of development which is based on the use, in combination, of all methods and forms of mass struggle in keeping with the general and local conditions. Partisan warfare is one of the highest forms of mass struggle, and only develops successfully when it is of a mass character. To combine all methods of struggle, giving pride of place to those which accord with each concrete situation, is to interpret correctly the Marxist-Leninist theory and consistently employ it in our country.

The 11th Congress, held legally in December 1971, confirmed this orientation, emphasizing the necessity to achieve greater legality and broaden the activities of the Party. Thanks to painstaking work we have been able to achieve successes in uniting the working class.

*Many readers will know that the 1957 'plebiscite' in Colombia enabled the bourgeoisie to foist on the country the so-called parity system of rule by the two traditional parties. The object was to reconcile the differences between the Liberals and Conservatives and block the Communist Party, which at that time was emerging from illegality. Of course, a system which prevented the emergence of new and the growth of existing parties, could not last for ever. Parity in the municipal and department assemblies ended in 1970. The Communists were able to stand for election as councillors and deputies. The parity arrangement in Congress and the Presidency will be ended in 1974. With this in mind, the Communist Party is establishing a coalition of popular forces so that in April next year it can put up candidates for parliament and for president against the traditional parties, whose candidates this time, too, oppose each other.

Naturally, there are times when we encounter great difficulties. The class enemy takes revenge for its reverses; it outlaws popular movements. Repression against Communists is at times nationwide. The country has been under an emergency, practically without a break, for 25 years. This is still another specific feature of Colombia.

The perspectives for the development of the revolutionary process in Colombia are bound up with aggravation of structural and growing political crisis. Neither of the traditional parties is able to solve the country's problems. Inflation and high prices make the position of the working class more difficult.

The Communist Party of Colombia and its Communist youth movement have many opportunities for growth, organizational strengthening and greater political influence. The struggle for unity of the proletariat is developing, at the center of which is the genuine class Trade Union Confederation of the Working People of Colombia and trade union circles independent of the two official union centers, supported by the government, the big bourgeoisie and the U.S. Embassy. Thus there is the possibility for uniting the trade union movement in the near future.

The struggle of the peasantry against the latifundists continues to expand, and if we are able to eliminate the split and sectarianism within its ranks, we shall have a powerful peasant movement.

The National Opposition Union, an association of patriotic forces formed last year, is growing in importance. As the documents of the July Plenum show, this is not merely an electoral coalition, but a means to unite the people and the forces of the Left, and to establish their place in the country's political life.*

At the same time the masses are gradually becoming disillusioned with the traditional parties, and the same fate awaits the National Popular Alliance, if it does not find a way out of its internal crisis.

A word about expansion of the partisan movement—it will depend entirely on the political situation. The more aggressively the latifundists defend their privileges, the more likely the growth of the partisan movement in the villages. If the extreme reactionary element comes to power, it could expand with the support of the mass struggle in town and village.

But it is more likely that the big bourgeoisie will decide to preserve 'representative democracy,' may even broaden it as compared to the parity period, while employing repressive measures and demagoguery, depending on the situation.

The perspective for the revolutionary and patriotic forces is one of broadening the struggle for democracy. Using legal forms of political activity, we should in the next few years be able to transform this struggle into a decisive factor for profound political change.

The proletariat and other popular forces will achieve success if they are consistent, united and far-seeing in their activities, and if the tenets of Marxism-Leninism become their source of inspiration and their guide on their hard road forward.

*See also A. Vasquez, 'Prerequisites for Victory.' WMR, September 1973.

Threat to Austria's neutrality

Erwin Scharf
Member PB and Secretary CC,
CP of Austria

The European Economic Community has been scrutinized from every possible angle—as a customs union impinging on the rights of non-member-states; as Nato's European economic base; as an authoritarian system buttressing state-monopoly capitalism; as an instrument for supranational regulation of cooperation and competition between West European monopolies; as a vehicle of economic pressure on the socialist countries, and so on.

But what is the Common Market for the neutral states of Europe?

Austria's agreement with the EEC is portrayed by our ruling circles as innocuous—an ordinary 'EEC arrangement' extending the 'free trade zone,' a 'trade accord,' and a 'new understanding.' But harmless as these formulas may sound, they conceal far-reaching designs.

Results of opinion polls are said to have shown that the nation favors the arrangement with the Common Market. But the truth of the matter is that people have only a faint idea of the agreement. Its authors preferred to keep the press in the dark and deliberately played down its most relevant passages. Only the Austrian Communists endeavored to show the people its true complexion and the harm in it for Austria. The Communist Party suggested a democratic nationwide referendum along the lines of the one in Norway, which would compel the other parties to substantiate their attitude to the EEC publicly and in greater detail.

Yet the Austrian super-democrats, always so eager to contrast so-called Western democracy to the socialist countries, scorned this democratic procedure. Though the agreement has an obvious bearing on the country's political and economic future, they wished no interference from the public. *Die Presse*, mouthpiece of Austria's big business, declared: 'The people cannot know everything. That is why they elect deputies, who are, or should be, in a position to understand and know more than the electorate . . .'¹ The parties in Parliament (the Socialist, People's, and the Freedom Party on the extreme Right) share this point of view. Despite their control over the media manipulating public opinion, the ruling forces were visibly afraid of discrediting themselves in an open political discussion of the EEC issue.

They avoided political evaluations and portrayed the EEC agreement as a purely economic arrangement. We were told of the importance of trading with the Common Market countries, which

account for nearly half our foreign commerce. The point that this very fact argued against association with the EEC, was blandly brushed aside. Yet, it could not be more obvious that to consolidate our economic independence we should steer clear of that restricted Western grouping. Meanwhile, its protagonists publicly relished the prospect of keen competition with Common Market firms, which would wipe out our smaller enterprises, letting the big companies thrive on the so-called 'modernization' of economic structures and the greater influx of foreign capital. Rudolf Sallinger, President of the Austrian Industrialists' Union,² declared that if even the Socialist ministers of the present government hoped 'the EEC would offer good chances principally to the economically strong enterprises,' he would be the last to say no.³

The talk about the good chances for 'economically strong enterprises' to come out winners in the competitive struggle, is accompanied by calls for more government assistance to big capital. The so-called ancillary measures, whose adoption is conditional on the ratification of the EEC agreement, envisage greater government incentives to investors, assistance to Austrian investments abroad, continued subsidies to make farming enterprises competitive in foreign markets, and the like.

In other words, billions from the consumer's pocket are earmarked to give Austrian big business a favorable jump-off. Not surprisingly, even *Die Zukunft*, theoretical organ of the Socialist Party, has come out against the Socialist Party government's EEC-oriented economic policy. 'Suffice it to recall the Finance Minister's accord with our exporters,' it said, 'guaranteeing tax privileges . . . of six billion schillings . . . In some cases the accord considerably exceeded the industrialists' own fondest expectations.'⁴

This is evidence enough that the EEC agreement will beef up big business rule. Conversely, it will add to the already heavy burdens weighing on the people, first of all the working class. Yet, workers are enjoined not to upset the 'social armistice' by wage demands, and to suffer the staggering price increases in stoic silence.

Certainly, the ruling party is not blind to the effects which the Common Market agreement will have on the Austrian economy. 'The "free" Europe with which we are now arranging closer relations,' writes Eduard Maerz, economic expert of the Austrian Trade Union League, 'is still the Europe of big concerns and cartels which Genosse Pittermann reminded us about in a moment of truth so rare for statesmen. The steadfast "loyalty" to this Europe of the Peters, Scrinzis and their followers (Freedom Party deputies - E.S.), should carry a clear message for every Socialist.' Also, Maerz is visibly troubled by the mounting influence of foreign capital. 'Foreign interests are clearly felt in the key modern industries, such as chemicals, electric appliances and engineering,' he writes. 'And we may assume that in the not-too-distant future they will become predominant. It is hard to tell whether we shall

be able to cope with these tendencies effectively in the EEC framework.⁵

Private enterprises controlled by foreign interests, mostly FRG monopolies, employ 18.7 per cent of Austria's industrial work force, against the 17.2 per cent employed in the nationalized industries.

And further foreign penetration will be accompanied by increasingly one-sided foreign trade and ever greater dependence on the European monopolies. The danger has never been more real that Austria will soon become a hinterland for West European concerns, supplying the developed capitalist countries not with science-intensive products and products involving a large labor input, but with raw materials and semi-finished goods.

Die Furche, the Catholic paper, noted that the structure of Austrian foreign trade had improved substantially in the ten EFTA years, and drew this revealing conclusion:

'This process . . . marked by a decline in the share of raw materials and semi-finished goods in our total exports while the share of finished products increased, was impelled by EEC customs discrimination and the lifting of EFTA customs barriers. Therefore, there is reason to believe that without Common Market discrimination the stimuli that had helped Austria to change the foreign trade structure would have been much weaker. Without EFTA we should scarcely have been able to disperse our trade over different regions and to increase our exports so rapidly. In the integration context, the combination of positive and negative effects of customs policy have been favorable for Austria.'⁶

In 1959-1971 Austrian exports to EFTA countries went up 650 per cent, while those to Common Market states declined from 50.4 to 38.7 per cent. A new balance, it seemed, was shaping in foreign commerce. But the EEC agreement has halted this sound development. Nothing is said any more of a 'free' build-up of trade with the socialist countries, which had been going down (in 1971 it was 12.5 per cent of Austria's exports and 9.4 per cent of her imports - very little considering that even NATO countries are trying to boost sales to socialist states), and is sure to run into new snags in future. On a recent visit to Hungary, Chancellor Bruno Kreisky admitted that in the next 6-10 years, until the matter of customs privileges is finally settled, difficulties would continue to beset trade with the CMEA countries.

But in the final analysis, the political consequences of the EEC agreement are far graver than the economic.

In the domain of home policy the agreement tends to curtail the people's sovereign rights, while promoting new authoritarian forms of government. Take the so-called mixed committee in which Austria and the EEC are represented on a parity basis. Its decisions, the official commentary to the agreement says, 'are obligatory under international law and have the force of law for Austria . . . Therefore, they are the legal basis for the operation of Austria's executive organs.'⁷

This implies that the mixed committee is empowered to adopt decisions over the head of deputies elected by the people. Need one have a fertile imagination to visualize which of the two partners in the committee has the stronger position, and which will have to accommodate, and submit to, alien interests?

Needless to say, curtailing a country's sovereignty strikes at its independence. So, we may legitimately ask to what extent the EEC agreement is compatible with the provisions of the State Treaty and the Neutrality Act.

During the negotiations that preceded the signing of the agreement, members of the government maintained that Austria's international commitments would be scrupulously observed. In fact, however, virtually nothing was done to determine how the commitments flowing from the State Treaty and Neutrality Act squared with the provisions of the EEC agreement. The arguments presented by Socialist MP, Erwin Lanc, in *Die Zukunft* in support of the government's case for the EEC agreement are more indicative of the reverse. Speaking of the neutrality obligation, Lanc writes, 'The economic aspect of Austria's independence, as defined by Article 1 of the 1955 Neutrality Act, is better ensured by the agreements with the European Community than by the preservation of the status quo, which would inevitably lead to greater commercial and political domination of the FRG.'⁸

But 'commercial and political domination of the FRG,' far from being undercut by the Common Market agreement, is perpetuated in it! By establishing closer ties with the EEC Austria indirectly binds itself with new bonds to the FRG. The one-sided character of the country's commercial and political links becomes more pronounced.

Under Article 4 of the State Treaty, Austria 'may conclude no treaty with Germany, undertake any actions or promote any measures which could promote, directly or indirectly, its political or economic unity with Germany, or be detrimental to its territorial integrity or political or economic independence.'

Against these clear words Socialist Lanc presents a barrage of arguments which only reaffirm the shady nature of any attempt to justify association with the Common Market. Thus, he writes, 'The essence of the Treaty of Rome is that EEC members delegate their sovereignty to the Community.'⁹ He then goes on to the conclusion that the FRG is no longer a full sovereign state, cannot make unilateral decisions, hence any union with it is no longer possible.

But it requires no political sophistication to see that the FRG is the dominant force in the EEC, and if Austria forfeits its sovereignty in favor of the community it thereby submits to the FRG and ties itself to it. Besides, it is one thing for the FRG to relinquish some of its sovereignty to an economic bloc dominated by it, and quite another for Austria, with no influence at all on EEC politics or economics, to do the same. Furthermore, as the FRG

and other EEC countries are also NATO members, Austria's agreement with the Common Market runs contrary to its obligation to maintain neutrality as recognized in international law.

Lanc's most underhand device is his attempt to cite 'arguments' claiming to show that Article 4 of the State Treaty has become virtually meaningless, because the Germany it refers to no longer exists. 'Today, with the GDR and FRG about to join the United Nations,' Lanc writes, 'potential critics of the Austrian point of view can no longer identify the concept "Federal Republic of Germany" with the concept of "Germany" referred to in Article 4 of the State Treaty.'¹⁰

The SPA sees such legal hair-splitting as a means to justify closer ties with the FRG, thus emasculating one of the cornerstones of the State Treaty, the ultimate legal basis of Austria's independence and neutrality in international law.

We Communists consider neutrality an important gain enhancing our country's international standing and presenting new prospects for fruitful participation in detente and the strengthening of peace. For the Austrian masses neutrality is a value to be cherished with the utmost care.

But our statement would like to get rid of the 'burdening' commitments imposed by neutrality. This is seen in demands to give Austrian neutrality 'a new dimension.' Lanc complains that too broad an interpretation of neutrality 'narrows the state's sphere of political activity.'¹¹

Chancellor Kreisky also prefers to disregard that permanent neutrality requires a more qualified foreign policy. In his speech before the European Forum at Alpbach in 1972 he sidestepped this aspect of Austria's status, declaring that 'Austrians enjoy the same opportunities as other Europeans to take part in discussing questions of European integration.'¹²

Kreisky's infatuation with integration is reflected in his address as SPA chairman at last year's Swedish Social-Democratic congress. Calling for a 'new European Social-Democratic policy' in the EEC framework, he stressed: 'We fully realize our responsibilities as Social Democrats and know that the social democracy we intend to establish must represent a convincing alternative to Communist dictatorship.'¹³

Kreisky is obsessed with the idea of a confrontation with communism, and his references to the mission of Social Democrats and Social Democracy are mere rhetoric. As for the EEC agreement, it has brought us closer, not to social democracy, but to the authoritarian domination of the monopolist Common Market.

Outside congresses and other official Social-Democratic functions Kreisky is even more explicit. What he wants is a closer alignment of countries of state-monopoly capitalism against the socialist community, and even challenges the political views of those who see European unity as merely a realization of the 'European' idea.

Writing in the Italian Socialists' theoretical journal, First Secretary of the French Socialist Party Francois Mitterand came out flatly against the growing domination of international monopolies – tools of U.S. hegemony – in Europe. 'Is it fully realized,' he queries, 'that in ten years' time 300 of these enterprises will control 20 to 30 per cent of the world's industrial output and 30 to 35 per cent of world trade? Is it realized that already today they control 30 to 40 billion Eurodollars and thereby decisively influence the fate of different currencies? Has the daily influence of international companies on economic and political decision-making in Europe been correctly appreciated? . . .

'Europe cannot achieve genuine economic independence without a socialist strategy, just as socialism cannot be built in Europe without clearly stating the problem of independence.'¹⁴

Kreisky is immune to such apprehensions. 'Exponents of European integration,' he declared in Alpbach, 'should reckon more with cooperation with the United States and Canada.'¹⁵ Nor is he discouraged by the fact that the EEC agreement contains a so-called 'evolution clause' concerning second-generation integration policy – a clause providing for a unified financial policy, a unified trade and political stance vis-à-vis the socialist countries, a unified foreign and defense policy for an 'integrated Europe.'

EEC summit conferences have already adopted a number of decisions in pursuance of these goals, but there are also opposing tendencies bred by objective conditions. The growing economic and political might of the socialist community, changes in the economic and political balance of forces within the capitalist world, and growing disparities in the development of imperialist countries, prevent the achievement of the desired unity in the Common Market framework. 'In economic relations with the socialist countries this is reflected by the growing interest of more and more monopolies in trade with the East.'¹⁶

The changed balance of forces between socialism and capitalism, the uplift of the national-liberation movement, the expansion of the battlefield against imperialism for peace, has facilitated international detente and paved the way for the all-European Security and Cooperation Conference. Efforts to overcome closed economic blocs can play an important part in these processes: 'With due regard for the primacy of politics, there is a close link between peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation. On the one hand, a system of collective security in Europe, as a kind of touchstone for overcoming mutual distrust, would create better conditions for more active economic, scientific and technological cooperation between countries. On the other, a more intensive expansion of economic links between European states, between East and West in the first place, can be only useful in setting up a collective security system and help make it workable.'¹⁷

It would be good if the Austrian government also saw this perspective and used the opportunities deriving from its neutral status to promote European security and cooperation.

Our country can make a special contribution towards detente and peace only by consolidating its sovereignty and neutrality, not by emasculating them. That is why the Communist Party of Austria forcefully rejects the agreement with the EEC. A statement by its Central Committee calls on all workers and employees, democrats and patriots, to oppose the government's EEC policy and uphold Austria's independence and neutrality. The alternative to the government's present line is the creation of an all-European security and cooperation system 'doing away with discrimination of every kind, providing for the removal of all trade barriers and guaranteeing all European countries full economic and political sovereignty.'¹⁸

1. *Die Presse*, Oct. 1, 1972.
2. An organization of members of the Austrian People's Party - Ed.
3. *Oesterreichische Monatshefte*, Sept. 1972, p. 7.
4. *Die Zukunft*, No. 23/24, 1972, p. 37.
5. *Die Zukunft*, No. 23/24, 1972, p. 41.
6. *Die Furche*, Nov. 11, 1972.
7. *Bundesgesetzblaetter der Republik Oesterreich*, 485 der Beilagen.
8. *Die Zukunft*, No. 17, 1972, p. 12.
9. *Die Zukunft*, No. 17, 1972, p. 12.
10. *Die Zukunft*, No. 17, 1972, p. 12.
11. *Die Zukunft*, No. 17, 1972, pp. 11-12.
12. *Die Zukunft*, No. 19, 1972, p. 2.
13. *Arbeiter Zeitung*, Oct. 3, 1972.
14. *Mondo Operaio*, I-II, 1973, pp. 21-22.
15. *Die Zukunft*, No. 19, 1972, p. 3.
16. *IPW Berichte*, Berlin (GDR), No. 1, 1973, p. 4.
17. *IPW Berichte*, No. 1, 1973, p. 5.
18. *Volksstimme*, October 26, 1972.

Peasants still most important allies

Santiago Alvarez
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In Spain, the class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is interwoven with the contradiction between big capital and the various non-proletarian classes and strata subjected to varying forms of capitalist exploitation.

Due to the Franco dictatorship we are still fighting for elementary political freedoms. These are the cardinal aims along the way to democracy and socialism. And the only force that can win them is a nationwide mass movement based on accord between the working-class party and all other political groups, irrespective of their trend, aspiring to end the Franco regime. The Communist Party is prepared to conclude a Pact for Freedom with any of them.

The growth of capitalism is accompanied by a growth of hired labor, which has been especially steep in the setting of state-

monopoly capitalism and the scientific-technical revolution. Mass ruin has driven peasants, craftsmen and various sections of the urban population to the labor market. Most engineers and technicians, professionals and other intellectuals, have also become objects of capitalist exploitation.

Having thoroughly analyzed the changed class structure of our society, we hold that there are no insuperable obstacles to all the forces striving for economic as well as political democracy, and for socialism, uniting under the leadership of the working class. We conceive this as an alliance of labor and culture. And, as we see it, the alliance of the working class and peasants is the foundation for such unity of the social forces working consistently for democracy and socialism.

The first thing to note, however, are the structural changes in the active population and the general structural changes in the Spanish village. Over the past decades, Spain has developed into an industrial-agrarian country. A large portion of its active population – 4,750,000 or 38 per cent – is employed in industry, which accounted for 35 per cent of the gross national product in 1970. Employment in the service industry, chiefly related to tourist trade, has climbed to 4,235,000 or 33 per cent, accounting for 45 per cent of the GNP, while agriculture produces only 13 per cent. But this does not mean that farming has lost its socio-economic importance. The rural population is still 10,500,000, including 3,750,000 gainfully employed (28.1 per cent of the total active population).

The decline in the peasants' share of the GNP may, perhaps, affect the dimensions of the matter, but not its substance. The socio-political significance of the peasant mass is still tremendous. They are still the natural allies of the working class and an important element in the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary democratic and socialist movement.

The workers and the other democratic forces need the peasants' support to end the Franco dictatorship and win freedom. And we are certain that the peasants will join the Pact for Freedom once they understand that democracy will yield them land and deliverance from social injustice.

People without land, land without people

This is the popular phrase about the situation that has arisen in the Spanish villages due to the predominance of large landed interests and the existence of feudal and semi-feudal survivals.

The growth of capitalism in Spanish agriculture, which has gained pace under the Franco dictatorship, follows what Lenin once described as the Prussian pattern. From 1939 to 1951 it was marked by a growth of capitalist forms of farming on the big estates, on the one hand, and by the ruin of the small and medium peasants farms, on the other. In the 50s and 60s, capitalist relations of production spread to the farms of the rich farmers. Also widespread in farming was a type of joint-stock company. But the distribution

of land did not change to any marked degree. According to the 1962 Census, 51,283 landowners with more than 100 hectares each, owned 53.51 per cent of the arable land, 451,734 landholders with 10 to 100 hectares owned 27.83 per cent, while the 5,500,000 peasants with lots of less than 10 hectares held only 18.66 per cent.

The picture has not changed to any significant extent: there is still the handful of big landlords at one pole, and the land-hungry holders of mini-parcels and the tenants, on the other. The big landed estates are holding up the progress of farming and of the economy as a whole. Thousands of land-hungry peasants and agricultural laborers can find no employment for the larger part of the year, and drag out a miserable existence. Meanwhile, land held by the big landowners either lies fallow or is used unproductively. The owners of 5,616 estates (of over 500 hectares), the National Institute of Statistics reported in 1969, hold 5,619,250 hectares, of which only 1,405,229 hectares, or one-quarter, are cultivated. It is the predominance of these big landlords that is the main obstacle to an agrarian solution, and consequently the battle against it is a crucial issue of the democratic revolution.

The big tenant or agricultural capitalist employing machines and hired labor on a large scale, is still relatively rare. Small-scale tenancy is the most widespread form, with the peasant working his plot alone and using farm laborers on rare occasions only. Sharecropping is also widespread.

The distribution of land naturally affects the rural class structure. The gainfully employed village population consists 14 per cent of employers, 31.5 per cent of wage laborers, 36.3 per cent of independent farmers, and 18 per cent of the working members of their families.

However, the slow but sure conversion of the big estates into capitalist enterprises is accompanied by the penetration of monopolies into farming. They seize control chiefly of the processing, sales and transportation of farm products. Joint-stock companies have appeared on the scene, and are fleecing the peasants. Monopoly capital buys up the produce and imposes prices and sales terms. The ratio between purchasing and sales prices is as great as 1:5. This amounts to outright robbery of peasant and consumer. In matters of seed selection, farming machinery, fertilizers, etc., the peasant mass is directly dependent on the financial oligarchy.

And capitalists add to their possessions by seizing parcels abandoned or depreciated in the mass exodus to the cities. This is true not only of Old and New Castile and Estremadura, where large estates predominate, but even of Galicia, where they are much less numerous. As a result, there is a continuous concentration of arable land in fewer and fewer hands.

The agrarian policy of the Franco dictatorship is designed to speed up capitalist concentration in farming and to oust the small and medium farms. Legislative and administrative measures are invoked to this end, apart from economic levers and various forms of state-monopoly regulation, such as credits.

Recently, the government imposed additional obligatory dues to the agrarian social insurance fund and obligatory membership dues to pro-Franco agrarian unions. These forcible payments have been increased 300-500 and, in some cases, 1,000 per cent. This makes a joke of the government decree waiving taxes for farms with a less than 5,000 pesetas annual income. The new charges are an unbearable burden to hundreds of thousands of peasants in Galicia, Castile and the other central provinces, which are, in effect, calamity zones. And typically, this latest state-monopoly move acts chiefly against farmers employing no hired labor.

Apart from the basic central taxes, peasants also pay numerous local dues and perform a variety of municipal duties.

A 1971 law concerning 'improved model rural areas and farms' and the establishment of a National Institute of Agrarian Reform and Agricultural Development, was nothing but a move in favor of monopoly capital. It implies the continued existence of large estates and a stepped up elimination of hundreds of thousands of small farms. It also implies a full-scale invasion of agriculture by the financial oligarchy, and a still more intensive offensive on small property-holders. The law is in keeping with the Francoist plan of enlarging the labor reserves and stimulating emigration to Western Europe in order to assure a greater inflow of foreign exchange. Rich landowners and joint-stock companies are encouraged by law to acquire abandoned land at low prices in order to expand production or set up game preserves for foreign tourists. Also, it is designed to raise the productivity of capitalist farms.

The results are sure evidence of the failure of the 'Prussian pattern.' Land abandoned by fleeing peasants, absenteeism, gross injustices in the distribution of incomes, outflow of capital to the cities, coupled with low-level investment in farming, have tended to drain off capital from agriculture, causing a pervasive disproportion between demand and supply. The productivity of the main branches (grain, dairy products, and the like) is less than 50 and sometimes only 35 per cent that of the advanced capitalist states.

With the growth of capitalism in agriculture, peasants cease to be peasants, or, to use Lenin's term, become 'de-peasantized,' that is, break up into a numerically small stratum of the rural bourgeoisie, a numerically large agricultural proletariat, and intermediate groups. The CP of Spain takes a dialectical view of this problem of 'de-peasantization.' We are keenly aware of the objective need for developing the productive forces and the greater socialization of labor, on the one hand, and of the exploitative nature of the existing relations of production, on the other. The Franco dictatorship takes brutal measures to accelerate the process. The third 'development' plan (1972-1975) envisages a reduction of the active rural population to 24 per cent of the country's labor force. The theorists and apologists of 'neo-capitalism' coolly maintain that something should be done to ruin the peasants more quickly, and to drive them off the land. To justify this anti-peasant policy, Franco's

ministers and the official press refer to the needs of scientific-technical progress.

The Spanish Communists approach the peasant question from a revolutionary class and patriotic angle. Is scientific-technical progress really necessary? Yes, beyond question. But if the masses are to benefit from it, it must go along with a radical change in production relations. It is those who cling to the old relations of production that are really holding up technical progress in the countryside and dooming peasants to poverty, ruin and unemployment.

Consequently, Spain faces the choice between two diametrically opposite approaches: the policy designed to eliminate small and medium farms, undermining the national economy but serving the interests of monopoly capital, capitalist landowners and rich peasants, or an agrarian reform in the interest of all peasants and other strata directly associated with farming. Radical agrarian changes will not only save the peasants from ruin, but will also undoubtedly benefit the country's economy. We Spanish Communists stand for the second, revolutionary choice.

The CPS uses every opportunity to expose the anti-peasant policy of the fascist state and to explain its dire implications for agriculture and the economy as a whole. In doing so, it helps peasants draw up demands and rallies them to defend their interests and fight Francoism.

Land to the tiller

Land to the tiller is the essential principle of the Communist Party's agrarian program, implying:

- abolition of large landed estates, this most typical and outrageous survival of precapitalist relations;
- subsequent elimination of mini-parcels, the main result of the existence of large landed estates;
- abolition of all forms of semi-feudal exploitation, such as corvees, levies and taxes;
- abolition of share-cropping and other backward and feudalistic forms of farming;
- abolition of the land rent, a burdensome tribute paid by all society to the big landlords.

Transfer of the big estates to tenants and sharecroppers, coupled with the abolition of the land rent, would immediately raise the standard of living in the village. The peasants would be able to invest the released funds in their farms, buying technical equipment and raising productivity.

Our Party is not against the payment of compensation for expropriated land. We have said so publicly as far back as in 1957. The principles were set out in a paper, 'What Comes After Franco?' Subject to such expropriation will be the large estates of the absentee landed aristocracy and the large unworked or only partly worked possessions. Estates that are being farmed or rationally cultivated should not be expropriated, irrespective of their size.

The agrarian reform must not impinge on the property rights of small and medium landholders. On the contrary, it should protect and guarantee their rights.

This does not mean that we are for small-scale farming in principle, that we wish to turn back the clock. We are merely moved by those fundamental humane principles of the workers' movement in relation to the peasant question formulated by Frederick Engels, who wrote: 'We . . . are decidedly on the side of the small peasant; we shall do everything at all permissible to make his lot more bearable, to facilitate his transition to the cooperative should he decide to do so, and even to make it possible for him to remain on his small holding for a protracted length of time to think the matter over, should he still be unable to bring himself to this decision. We do this not only because we consider the small peasant living by his own labor as virtually belonging to us, but also in the direct interest of the Party. The greater the number of peasants whom we can save from being actually hurled down into the proletariat, whom we can win to our side while they are still peasants, the more quickly and easily the social transformation will be accomplished' ('Peasant Question in France and Germany'). What Engels said here is still entirely valid for Spain.

The Communists are champions of the modest property of peasants plundered, exploited and evicted by the capitalists. The Land to the Tiller slogan is also in the interest of the agricultural laborers, of all rural toilers and would, in the final analysis, benefit all society.

For us Communists it is no novel slogan. The CPS is the only party in Spain's history that put it into practice, when in October 1936, with the approval of the Popular Front government, the Communist Minister handed the big landed estates in the Republican zone to the peasants. And it is valid now, because the socio-economic and political conditions in the country are virtually the same.

During the period of transition to socialism, which we call political and social democracy, or anti-feudal and anti-monopoly democracy, there can be a large variety of types of farming, including family farming. This will benefit the country from the standpoint of its socio-economic interests, helping to meet the demand in farm products.

Certainly, we are aware that well-equipped large-scale production is more profitable than dispersed family farming. This is borne out by the experience of the socialist countries. So, large-scale farming adapted to our specific historical development and national peculiarities is our long-term aim for socialist Spain.

To be sure, the Land to the Tiller principle does not solve all the peasant problems. The scissors between the price of farm produce and manufactured goods, high taxes, short credits, lack of schools, poor medical services, and the like, make the peasants' life unbearable and cry out for urgent solutions.

The Communist Party supports the peasants' demands reflecting their vital needs:

- guaranteed and fair prices, and parity prices for farm products, manufactured goods and services;
- lower taxes, and a tax moratorium where necessary for farmers struck by natural calamities;
- no taxes on incomes below or equal to the minimum family budget;
- abolition of the present unjust system of social insurance dues, and a uniform social insurance system for agriculture, industry and the services; medical and sanitary services in rural areas;
- long-term low-interest credits and simpler procedures for obtaining credits;
- full compensation by the state of losses suffered from natural calamities;
- an economic policy that would gradually reduce the gap between incomes in agriculture and other sectors of the economy;
- effective participation of democratically elected peasant representatives in decisions concerning importation of crops and animal products. Temporary suspension of imports where they seriously affect farming at home;
- a new democratic law on cooperatives eliminating supervision; funds and credits for cooperatives;
- unemployment relief; work and land for farm laborers and poor peasants;
- radical restructuring of the village, enabling peasants families to live in dignity.*

Consistent action in defense of the peasants, rallying them to fight for their interests, is the only right way to build up communist influence in the rural areas. There is this other positive side to this policy that what we do for the peasant masses also stimulates the struggle in the cities. This is borne out by the high degree of involvement shown by workers - for instance in the building trades - who have preserved their ties with the village.

The people's-democratic solution of the agrarian question, as advocated by the Communists, is not merely anti-feudal in purpose and social content. In view of the dual (landowning and financial) nature of the Spanish oligarchy and the intensive penetration of big capital into agriculture, the Land to the Tiller slogan, combined with other concrete acts in protection of the peasants, is also anti-monopoly. It calls on the peasants to resist eviction. It calls on the agricultural laborers and land-hungry peasants to seize unworked or irrationally used land, to refuse paying semi-feudal taxes and other excessive duties, and the like. In a favorable situation, during, say, a general strike, and given a strong peasant movement, matters may reach the point where peasants would simply seize the big estates. In the final analysis, however, the main demand of our agrarian program can be attained only through a change of political power, through the establishment and consolidation of the democratic system, or, in other words, with the victory of political, and then also socio-economic, democracy.

*Mundo Obrero, May 23, 1973.

But to undermine, and ultimately eliminate, the political and economic power of the landed-financial oligarchy, we must combine the action of the industrial proletariat, the students and the intelligentsia with the struggle of the peasants, who, to quote Comrade Santiago Carrillo, form the second front of the revolutionary struggle.

The battle is gaining in intensity

Under the Franco dictatorship, they sometimes say, none but the agricultural laborers are capable of militant action. But this is not true. In Andalusia and several other provinces it was not the agricultural proletariat alone, but also the small and medium peasants who have figured in mass actions in recent years. And what they chiefly resorted to was the purely proletarian weapon of striking. There were also the sporadic outbreaks of the 'milk war,' and the small peasants' resistance to the forcible enlargement of parcels. And in Spain's mountain country peasants set fire to thousands of hectares of state afforestation on what had previously been their fields and pastures.

The peasants of Sastago (Aragon), Lerida (Catalonia) and Castrelo de Mino (Galicia) fought against evictions, and the village gendarmerie used arms time and again against peasants fighting for just land distribution. There have been peasant actions in Orense (village of Vegas de Camba), where a monopolist hydraulic engineering firm is planning to flood cultivated land. And when the social insurance dues were raised a protest movement erupted in Catalonia, Galicia and other provinces in response to a Communist call. The Spanish peasants' struggle is gaining in intensity, showing that the discontent and outrage in the villages has grown to explosive proportions.

Our Party's realistic policy and the work of its local branches has influenced the growth of the peasant struggle. The peasant commissions and the commissions of agricultural laborers, which are benefiting from the rich experience of the workers' commissions, have played a prominent role in some of the provinces.

The mass movement of the rural population has helped change the social climate. It should be admitted, however, that the difficulties of organizing the struggle in the village are far greater than in cities. Social fragmentation and diversity are far more typical of the peasants. Due to cultural backwardness, traditional caution, irresolution and fear, the peasant masses are largely blind to their own class interests. Besides, reactionary ideology is still deeply rooted among them, for the dominant class skilfully exploits the psychological duality of the peasant, who is at once laborer and proprietor. This complicates the work of the commissions of agricultural laborers and peasants, which, moreover, have no legal status. So far, we must confess, insufficient use is being made of the possibilities of legal work among peasants. Yet our past experience shows that the maximum advantage should be taken of such

organizations as the agrarian unions and national cooperatives, formed though they are as vehicles of Franco's policy.

The successes of the socialist world system, the political changes in the world of today, the struggle of the working class and other social strata in Spain, are stimulating the spread of the ideas of progress, social justice and revolutionary Marxism among the peasants. Their chief bearers are the working-class and peasant youth, and the progressive students.

Nearly one-third of the gainfully employed population is in farming and its position could influence the future of our country at this crossroads in our history. The struggle for democracy will gain considerably from the peasants' support.

Revolution is performed by the masses. But will the revolutionary proletariat headed by the CPS succeed in winning over the broad peasant masses, as well as the agricultural laborers, for its solution of the socio-political problems? Will the Communists succeed in rallying the peasant masses for a political revolution, paving the way for the necessary social-democratic changes, and eventually for the struggle for socialism? Or will a substantial portion of the peasants remain a counterweight to the revolutionary-democratic process, facilitating, though they may not mean to, the plans of the monopoly bourgeoisie?

Our Party's answer to the first two questions is affirmative, and its political line is centered on achieving these aims.

For the overthrow of monopoly power

Pedro Ortega Diaz
Member, CC PB,
CP of Venezuela

CONTINUING SERIES 'POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF LATIN AMERICA'

Venezuelans will go to the polls in December to elect the President of the Republic and members of the National Congress, regional legislative bodies and municipal councils. A distinctive feature of the current election campaign is that it will for the first time involve the New Force, a broad popular front including the Communist Party.

Social and economic panorama

What people abroad know about Venezuela is, first of all, its role in the wars of independence fought by the American colonies of Spain in the first quarter of the last century, and secondly, the

fact that Venezuela is rich in oil.* Our oil deposits have been worked ever since the beginning of this century when big international companies backed the criminal dictatorship under Juan Vincente Gomez (1909-1935) in exchange for the right to plunder our natural resources.**

Oil plays a decisive part in national life. It supplies almost 20 per cent of the GNP and 65-70 per cent of the national income. The annual output rate is about 200 million tons although recent years have seen a drop. Oil production is controlled by an international cartel, represented primarily by the Creole Petroleum Corp., a branch of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey.

The Venezuelan economy is entirely dependent on foreign capital. Capitalist production relations predominate, but they have been deformed by imperialist domination. Wage labor is the most widespread form in agriculture, but certain semi-feudal forms survive. There is also an appreciable handicrafts sector and residual forms of a primitive economy among the small Indian population.

The class composition of Venezuelan society is highly diversified. The top stratum of the bourgeoisie consists of a few groups linked with and dependent on imperialist monopolies. Together they control the national economy. There is also a middle and petty bourgeoisie, including politically active sections in the countryside which have expanded lately.

Over half the economically active population is proletarian (plus agricultural workers and clerical personnel). Next in numerical strength are the poor and small peasants, including those who were allotted land under the agrarian reform. Handicraftsmen, small traders, members of the liberal professions and students constitute the very large category of urban middle strata.

The people suffer from unemployment, the high cost of living and low pay. They live in unsanitary conditions and medical care is completely inadequate.

The working-class movement is divided. The development of the working people's mass struggle is blocked, among others, by the trade union bosses. But in spite of the orientation of these 'leaders' and the authorities, which declare almost every strike to be unlawful, the workers stage strikes and other large-scale actions. Division is less marked among the rural working people and while their union center, too, is dominated by union bosses, peasant action is extensive.

The working people are not the only ones to be oppressed by U.S. imperialism and the domestic big bourgeoisie. There is also the petty and middle bourgeoisie, especially in the countryside, which resists the pressure of big pro-imperialist economic groups.

*Republic of Venezuela. Area 912,000 sq. km., population ca. 11 million, capital Caracas. A country dependent on foreign capital, one of the biggest oil producers and exporters. Also rich in iron ore and other minerals. The main items of its manufacturing industries are food products, textiles, leather and footwear. There are building materials and automobile assembly plants. Large-scale landownership predominates in agriculture. - Ed.

**Imperialist monopolies have been making fabulous profits for almost half a century. Their profits between 1961 and 1971 amounted to 296.76 per cent of the invested capital.

In working among the people, Communists come up against the influence of the two traditional parties, Democratic Action (DA) and COPEI.* They are the mainstay of the establishment and the principal electoral opponents of the New Force. They uphold the interests of the big bourgeoisie but have characteristics of their own. The former tries to impose its policies by force and repression. The latter uses other methods and its main slogan is "pacification of the country." We Communists are aware of this difference.

Two shadings of bourgeois reformism

The masses in our country have for a long time been influenced by 'traditional reformism,' whose main exponents, Betancourt and his party, the DA, held sway over the trade-union and peasant movement with help from numerous U.S.-trained union bosses. They are linked with the employers and some of them collaborate with the police.

They have dominated the working people's thinking, supported certain of their demands and inculcated backward views. Lately, however, they have been resorting to force more and more frequently and ousting anyone who did not identify himself with 'his' union. To be sure, meetings and elections are held but this is done undemocratically, for the sole purpose of enabling DA agents to maintain their dominant position in the unions. The DA enjoys considerable influence over the political bosses of small communities and, through them, over a substantial proportion of peasants and small-town inhabitants.

The DA is still a strong party even though it is losing ground, as the latest elections showed. Support for its ideology is also declining. Occasionally the DA falls back on the shabby banner of nationalism but what it sees as the main argument in its favor is that while in power it allocated so-and-so many billions of bolivars to improve water supply and housing.

In the present election campaign, the DA puts forward irresponsible, demagogical slogans, such as 'end poverty' or 'provide full employment.' It promises the electorate to establish a 'vigorous democracy,' which means following a strong-arm policy. In this way it wants to secure the support of employers and the backward segments of the population frightened by class conflicts. By exploiting the anti-popular aspects of the COPEI government's activity, particularly the growing cost of living, it has won over a section of the population.

COPEI is an exponent of the Social Christian variety of bourgeois reformism. Social Christianity in Venezuela has gone through an

*The Democratic Action Party was founded in 1941. While in power it pursued a policy of repression against the Left. Its anti-Communist leader, Romulo Betancourt, launched a terror campaign against the Communist Party. This party calls for 'reconciliation' between labor and capital.

COPEI, founded in 1946, is the ruling Social Christian Party. Like other Social Christian parties of Latin America, it advocates a moderate bourgeois reformist program. One of its leaders is Rafael Caldera, now President of the Republic. - Ed.

evolution and abandoned reactionary, semi-falangist* views in favor of the concepts of international Social Christianity which, however, it does not fully share. To cite an example, COPEI disowned and expelled many of its members for subscribing to the thesis of 'communal property.'

The Social Christian government under Caldera advocates so-called 'democratic nationalism.' This is no more than rhetoric. On the other hand, our Party recognizes that due to the favorable international situation, the growing impact of the socialist world, with the Soviet Union at its head, and the increasing resistance to U.S. imperialism in Latin America, the foreign and oil policy of the Venezuelan government and Congress has begun to depart from the traditional pattern of subservience to the United States. This is not to say, of course, that our country's dependence on imperialism has changed substantially. What has changed is only some forms and methods of government policy.

Among the Social Christians' positive foreign policy moves is Venezuela's adherence to the Andes Pact and denunciation of the unequal trade treaty with the United States. The government has raised oil prices** and passed a law nationalizing natural gas. On the other hand, oil companies have with DA backing signed contracts for the exploitation of the Maracaibo deposits, which virtually mean a new concession.

The Social Christians have in the main respected bourgeois democratic freedoms (e.g., the Communist Party operates legally). Nevertheless, the government brutally crushed student demonstrations. As under the repressive DA regime, some citizens 'disappear' and while the police denies having arrested anyone, those who have 'disappeared' are known to have been tortured and murdered.

With regard to the working class the Social Christians follow a policy meeting employers' interests. Strikes have been banned almost completely. Big manufacturers are by contrast granted various privileges. Deals aimed at raising prices are encouraged.

The CC CPV noted that both traditional parties 'still hope to polarize the electorate around their presidential candidates. To force COPEI out of power, the DA tries to prevail on all or most of that party's opponents to vote for Carlos Andres Perez. COPEI, in turn, wants all or most of those who are against a DA comeback to support Lorenzo Fernandez.'***

The Rightists have some other candidates although these lack influence among the electorate. Prominent among them is Pedro Tinoco, the former minister of finance, a man associated with the Rockefeller group. These men may be described as the ruling classes' 'ace in the hole.'

*The Falange, a fascist-type organization, became fairly widespread in Latin America in the 30s and 40s. Its goal was to establish a 'corporate' state. — Ed.

**Oil prices have been dropping for years. However, the international situation today enables dependent countries to set their terms (account should be taken, among other things, of the 'energy crisis' in developed capitalist countries and the changed attitude of Arab countries). This is why all parties in Venezuela's National Congress supported the government's intention to put up oil prices. Prompted by national interests, the New Force proposed a draft law on oil which also won the approval of the DA and COPEI.

***Lorenzo Fernandez (COPEI) is linked with the upper ranks of big bourgeoisie, Carlos Andres Perez (DA) is backed by the greater part of the imperialist and oligarchic set-up

A really new force

The traditional reformist parties' dominant position is challenged by the New Force, the popular nationalist front advocating the alternative of people's rule.* The composition of this front, formed last year, is well known. Take, for example, the People's Electoral Movement (PEM) party. In the past it broke away from the DA in protest against Betancourt's betrayal of the people's interests. Taking a stand against bourgeois reformism, the PEM devoted its energies to the people's fight for democracy and won great influence in the trade unions, among the workers and peasants. Its alliance with the Communists shows that it has opted for revolutionary struggle. The New Force congress in July 1972 nominated Dr. Paz Galarraga, the PEM leader, for the Presidency.

The New Force includes other groups which have broken away from the traditional parties and support a revolutionary program and people's unity. Among them is the Left People's Union, a new organization formed by members of the RDU.** Another group is the Venezuelan People's Democratic Party, made up of one-time Social Christians.

The group of independents is composed of progressives representing diverse segments of the population, one of whom is Miguel Otero Silva, the world-renowned author.

Lastly, the front includes the Communist Party. To quote Jesus Faria, the people are in the presence of a really *new force* entirely different from the traditional leaders and parties who have been in power for 25 years. This is a broad and permanently active front. It is sure to be joined by new alignments and leaders. Others may leave it. But the front will be the instrument of the people's liberation.

The people's unity program sets out the principal tasks of the Venezuelan revolution and the tasks of national liberation with the perspective of transition to socialism. It envisages, in particular, the nationalization of oil, iron ore and power, banking, insurance and credit and the expropriation of the latifundia and other large landed estates. It is a far-reaching plan for the activity of a people's democratic government, for radical change and a higher standard of life.

Nor is it accidental that the New Force, its program and its presidential candidate are under furious attack from the right and 'Left' alike. Among those who minimize the significance of a broad popular coalition is the so-called Movement Towards Socialism (MTS) formed by a group of renegades under P. Marquez and T. Petkoff, who defected from the Communist Party in December 1970.*** In the past they tried to disrupt the Communist Party from

*See Jesus Faria, 'From Division to Unity,' WMR, May 1973.

**Republican Democratic Union, founded in 1946. Originally it was part of the New Force but shortly after the unity congress (July 1972) the RDU leadership resolved to withdraw from the front. The leading and rank-and-file members of the RDU who remained in the front formed the Left People's Union. - Ed.

***See Jesus Faria, 'Failure of a Conspiracy,' WMR, May 1971.

within and today their advocacy of 'socialist' theories disrupts the ranks of the proletariat and misleads many people into abandoning revolutionary struggle. MTS members contributed to the split in the trade unions by setting up a union center which they call 'Class CUT' in contrast to the CUT (United Working People's Center). In the current election campaign, they are splitting popular forces by canvassing for Dr. Rangel, their presidential candidate.

Some time ago we invited the MTS to join our front. Later on we proposed to Rangel to discuss our program. The New Force congress, which met to select a joint candidate, called on Rangel to run on the same terms as the candidates of other parties. But in both cases he and his MTS patrons refused.

Without bothering to adduce arguments, they call our front a 'traditional alignment,' alleged to be dominated by reformism. To justify somehow its reluctance to join the people's unity movement, the MTS criticizes our program. And while we invariably reply that a program can be supplemented and call on them to state their ideas so that we may discuss them together, they refuse to discuss anything.

The MTS position has its ideological roots. Like the Trotskyists, they rejected popular fronts for both theoretical and historical reasons. However, we do not wish to waste time by arguing for the need of popular unity. History has passed its verdict. Besides, we have repeatedly stated our views on this issue.

The increased propaganda activity of the MTS is transitional. The class enemy publicize Rangel and the MTS through the mass media, and will do this as long as it is profitable. The damage caused by the propagation of views hostile to us is not to be underestimated, which prompts us to touch on certain anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist concepts of the MTS ideology.

Another 'national socialism'

CPV reverses in armed struggle gave rise to defeatist sentiments and scepticism among some Party members. But instead of admitting mistakes and searching for new ways of carrying on the fight, renegades like Marquez and Petkoff began to defame the working class, the Communist Party, the socialist countries and the Soviet Union, and this placed them outside the Party.

To believe them, the Venezuelan working class has never played a leading role on major national issues; the fraternal Communist parties are 'existentially' limited and 'cannot give leadership to national revolutionary movements'; the existing socialism is a backward institution, based entirely on the 'Soviet model.' That is Petkoff's reasoning, and it squarely identifies him with the slanderers on the extreme Right.*

The MTS crowd put all their energy and passion into preaching an unspecified national Venezuelan model of socialism. For them

*See article by J. Texier, WMR, June 1971.

socialism is not the initial phase of the communist formation, but rather a society wholly unrelated to communism and even opposed to it. But if such delusions could be excused in the case of, say, Rangel (who was never a Marxist or socialist), there is no excuse in the case of Marquez or Petkoff. They use catchy slogans ('freedom for all,' is one of them) to conceal the fact that the new society is born in difficult class struggle against counter-revolution.

However we assess the 'Venezuelan socialism' of the MTS, the fact remains that it is surprisingly similar to the 'French socialism' of Garaudy, the 'Austrian socialism' of Fischer and the 'Czechoslovak socialism' of Dubcek and Sik. And, of course, there is absolutely nothing national in all these versions of socialism, except their bourgeois nationalism. MTS-ism is a variety of opportunism and as such does not aim at building socialism. The MTS supporters defected from our Party precisely because they do not want to fight for socialism.

One of their arguments is that the Party should be independent of 'all the socialist countries.' But certainly Marquez should know that the Communist Party of Venezuela never shaped its policy to fit in with the whims of some 'leading center.' Marquez was Party General Secretary for a number of years. And he should be asked: what prompted the far-reaching changes in Party policy, what 'leading center' dictated these changes?

Did anyone twist Marquez's arm at the Sixth National Party Conference (1950) to make him steer a sectarian course? Was it on instructions from sources outside Venezuela that the Party Central Committee adopted the policy, a correct one, of working for unity of all the anti-dictatorial forces which culminated in the overthrow of Jimenez? And our erroneous policy of developing the armed struggle—did any 'leading center' impose it, or did the Venezuelan Communist Party adopt this policy independently? Lastly, when the Eighth Plenum (1967) decided to return to legal mass work and take part in the elections, was this imposed on us too? We made mistakes and we corrected them ourselves. Marquez knows that perfectly well.

If he suggests that the Party takes into account the interests of the international working class and its fight against capitalism in shaping its policy, that is another matter. We will continue to follow that line for Cuba's triumphs, the Yankee defeat in Vietnam—they all benefit us workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, representatives of the middle strata of Venezuela. And since the Soviet Union is the vanguard of the peoples' and working class struggle, we try to contribute to the Soviet Union's successes through our policy. That is our internationalist duty.

In common with other revisionists, the MTS supporters stubbornly refuse to reckon with the fact that ours is the age of transition from capitalism to socialism. Every revolution, every progressive social movement in the capitalist world immediately becomes the target of merciless pressure by the forces of imperial-

ism. To survive it must have help. Assistance by the socialist community does not imply submission; it is a manifestation of proletarian internationalism. Hence, when people speak of 'neutralism' in relation to the Soviet Union what they mean is building bridges to the capitalist camp, to the monopoly bourgeoisie.

MTS theorizing is a hodgepodge of Trotskyist and Marcusean concepts, with variations of revisionism, and Right and 'Left' opportunism.* The MTS supporters negate the leading role in the socialist revolution of the working class and its political vanguard, the Communist Party. Taking their cue from Marcuse, they argue that the working class must share leadership of the movement with the intellectual and student elite and the outsiders of Venezuelan society. Behind Petkoff's disquisitions about breaking with the principles of the Third International one can easily detect outright liquidationism. In fact, the revisionists have abandoned the Leninist concept of the Party as the militant vanguard of the working class, united organizationally and ideologically and prepared to storm the citadels of capitalism. They have openly broken with Leninism, and forgetting that Marx and Engels described the proletariat as the grave-digger of the bourgeoisie, they have broken also with Marxism.

We are accused of fighting North American imperialism in the abstract (their favorite accusation), without encroaching on its base and ally, Venezuelan capitalism. Leaping over stages of the revolutionary process, the MTS ideologists arrive at the conclusion that the revolution in our country today bears a socialist, anti-capitalist character.

Let it be said, first, that both in our program and other Party documents we have long since singled out as our strategic enemies the foreign (primarily North American) monopolies and the big bourgeoisie associated with and dependent on them. But we do not class the entire bourgeoisie with our strategic enemies. And since we are not talmudists, we take a sober view of Venezuelan reality: there are hundreds of thousands of small and medium artisans and capitalists, especially among the agrarian population, constantly pressured by big capital and constantly resisting that pressure. They can come over to our side and fight with us to overthrow monopoly power. The revolution opens up definite perspectives for the small and medium proprietors, and they can join us on the path leading to the prerequisites of transition to socialism.

Secondly, in our time, any genuine revolution has an anti-capitalist content, but the concrete task at this stage of the revolution in Venezuela is to overthrow the rule of monopoly capital. To insist upon immediate construction of socialism in our conditions is to misread the alignment of forces and betray complete ignorance of socialism.

The rise and development of the New Force front is an impor-

*See 'The Face of Present-Day Anti-Marxism,' WMR, No. 6, 1973.

tant step towards the attainment of our goal. We know we are right, and we are resolutely combating the bourgeois-reformist DA and COPEI parties, which are our main political adversaries. But at the same time we expose those who help them by their divisive activities. All the difficulties notwithstanding, we feel sure that the New Force popular unity bloc will make significant progress in the coming elections.

Solidarity, youth motto

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION OF YOUNG COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS AND NON-PARTISAN YOUTH

What are youth organizations doing to promote peace, security and cooperation of states with differing social systems?

How will peaceful coexistence benefit mankind? How will it influence young workers and students in capitalist countries in the fight for democratic rights?

How do youth organizations of differing ideological orientation coordinate their efforts for peace?

These were the questions discussed at a round table conference of representatives of West-European youth organizations convened by *World Marxist Review* in Berlin during the Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students. Taking part were Robert Arnott (Labor Action for Peace, Britain), Herbert Oberste-Lehn (Vice President, FRG Social-Democrat Students Union), Horst Bethge (Executive Member, German Peace Union, FRG), Werner Stuermann (Executive Member, Socialist Young Workers League, FRG), Jean Lemaire (Communist Students Union, France, Student of Sorbonne), J. Cueurcu (Youth Communist Federation of Italy, Student of Turin University), Otto Kauer (Secretary General, Council of European National Youth Committees*, Austria), Claude Felix (International Union of Socialist Youth, Executive Committee Member, Young Socialist of Luxembourg), Ilpo Manninen (International Union of Socialist Youth, Member of Central Union of Social-Democratic Youth of Finland).

In opening the discussion, G. Kwiatowski, member of WMR Commission on Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements, said:

"There are 250 million young people in Europe alone. They can be an immense force if they set aside their differences and unite

*The Council unites national coordinating committees of youth organizations of diverse political persuasions in 14 West-European countries.

for world peace and security. And the youth has a stake in a world at peace, for it will be the first to shed its blood should war break out. The future belongs to the youth, but if it is to be a bright and happy future, the present turn to peace must be made irreversible. Is the youth prepared to work for that?

No standstill

Bourgeois political parties and the monopoly-controlled mass media are making every effort to disorganize the peace movement and divert the young generation from the fight for peace. The idea is being instilled of a 'natural' decline in youth activity following the Paris Agreement on Vietnam.

All discussion speakers rejected that idea. They spoke of solidarity demonstrations with the peoples of Indochina and of campaigns to collect money to rebuild Vietnam. The youth keenly follows the position in the various 'hotpoints,' where military conflicts still take a toll of life and where imperialism is seeking to sow the seeds of more dangerous conflicts.

In France, *Lemaire* remarked, the slogan of the Communist youth now, after the Paris Agreement, is 'more than ever we stand with Vietnam.' There is an energetic campaign to release political prisoners in South Vietnam and stop the imperialist intervention in Cambodia and Laos.

In Finland, *Manninen* reported, the youth is systematically donating part of its earnings to help rebuild Vietnam and is coming out in support of the African peoples in their fight against the Portuguese colonialists.

The FRG Social-Democrat Students Union, *Oberste-Lehn* told the meeting, has decided to collect 25,000 marks for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the end of the year. There are also plans for solidarity actions with the progressive youth and people of Chile in their battle against domestic and foreign reaction.

Contrary to what the bourgeois press says, *Bethge* remarked, the youth continues its fight against militarism. As a school teacher I can fully appreciate the need for such a struggle in FRG schools. We demand a ban on all textbooks preaching revenge, an end to the appointment of former army officers to teaching posts in schools and universities. The present detente climate offers favorable opportunities for curbing the military-industrial complexes and for reducing military expenditure in the FRG, the U.S. and other imperialist countries.

South Africa, *Arnott* said, is a potentially explosive region. British monopoly investments there amount to more than £1,500 million. And it is only natural that British imperialism will make every effort to protect its wealth. We are campaigning against the British army's crimes in Northern Ireland and against gunboat diplomacy in relations with Iceland. But even more dangerous is the situation in the Middle East, where U.S. and British imperialism are trying to retain access to the region's vast oil riches. The Middle East

problem, Arnott continued, cannot be solved without establishing a just peace based on recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people. Dismantling of the British military bases in Cyprus, Malta and Gibraltar, those operational centres of U.S. imperialism, would do much to lessen the tension in the Middle East.

Another speaker, *Cuecuru*, suggested that tension in the Mediterranean area is aggravating the situation in the Middle East. Intensified military activity by the imperialist powers in the Mediterranean is encouraging Tel Aviv to be more intransigent. In our talks with representatives of Israel's progressive youth, *Cuecuru* continued, it was suggested that the 'tension belt' was shifting from Central Europe to the South and now extends from Gibraltar to the Persian Gulf. That is why Italian Young Communists attach exceptional importance to joint action with all the democratic youth organizations of this region.

Otto Kauer questioned the hypothesis that the 'tension belt' was shifting to the south. There is friction not only in southern Europe and the Mediterranean, but also in other areas, he said. There have been many victims in the conflict in Northern Ireland. There is the very serious dispute between Iceland and Britain. Nor should we overlook the existence of fascist regimes in Portugal, Spain and Greece, and the influence of the military in Turkey. As for the Middle East problem, *Kauer* continued, the Council of European National Youth Committees has not taken an agreed position. Emphasizing that he was speaking in his personal capacity, *Kauer* said that he saw no possibility of a Middle East settlement as long as the parties concerned did not start negotiations.

That was disputed by *Bethge*. The first thing, he said, was for Israel to withdraw from occupied Arab territory and abide by the UN resolution on the Middle East. In all countries, and notably in the U.S. and FRG, the youth must campaign against the supply to Israel of aircraft and all other weapons. True, there is no consensus in West European youth organizations on the Middle East problem, but in the past year they have more clearly stated that support for Israeli Zionism is support of aggression.

Imperialism is and always will be the chief menace to peace, *Felix* said. Its ally in the Middle East is Zionism. Zionism is fascism and must be resolutely fought.

The speaker was asked: How is that to be reconciled with criticism of the International Union of Socialist Youth by Arab representatives for its pro-Israeli position?

Felix replied that this was not true: the International Union of Socialist Youth was following an anti-Zionist policy and was against the imperialist policy of the Israeli ruling class.

Another representative of the IUSY, *Manninen*, took a different view of its position. It has to be frankly admitted, he said, that the IUSY has not organized actions in solidarity with the Arab countries. This was due to the negative position of the Israeli representatives. And *Manninen* agreed with those who regard the Middle East as a most dangerous breeding ground of tension. The

conflict can be settled only, he said, if Israel begins by carrying out the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967.

No place for cold peace

It was chiefly the initiatives of the socialist countries, *Manninen* said, that launched the process of international detente. *Oberste-Lehn* agreed. He described the Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries (January 1972) on European peace, security and cooperation as a particularly important initiative.

All concurred that the successfully concluded first phase of the European Security and Cooperation Conference stimulated the democratic movements and organizations in the drive to make the positive developments on the continent irreversible.

The prophesy of the *English Sunday Times* that the All-European Conference would substitute a cold peace for the cold war in Europe, the participants agreed, reflected the designs of the reactionary forces, which oppose all progress towards détente. Yet there would be no such thing as a cold peace, no matter how hard politicians yearning for the 'good old' cold war days labor for it. Those who have coined the term, *Cuecuru* said, seek to block the détente and regain positions lost by imperialism in the confrontation with the socialist countries and the national liberation movements.

The peace movement is now global and is supported by millions of people, said *Bethge*. The Soviet-American Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, concluded during L. I. Brezhnev's recent visit to the United States, shows that the long struggle for peaceful coexistence has not been in vain.

We are realists as well as optimists, said *Arnott*. Though certain that war can be averted, we are not going to sit back and let the war architects pursue their aims.

Peace is youth's most cherished wish, but the struggle for it must blend with the workers' struggle for socialism, said *Lemaire*. In France, young Communists are working for the common government program of the Communists, Socialists and Left Radicals, envisaging peaceful coexistence, elimination of nuclear arms, and broader contacts with the socialist countries.

At its Third Federal Congress the Socialist Young Workers' League, *Stuermann* said, defined the five basic rights of the youth. Among these is the right to live in a peaceful world. The economic, political and social rights of the working and student youth will not be secure, he said, unless there is lasting peace.

What is the effect of broader cooperation on the condition of workers, particularly young workers?

Broader economic, scientific and technical contacts and cooperation in environmental protection, development of transport and peaceful uses of atomic energy, *Arnott* said, benefit all sections of society. The living standard of the working class tends to rise and the effect on the social condition of the young workers is certainly positive.

As a port worker in Hamburg, *Stuermann* said, I should like to note that none of my mates have ever doubted the benefits of broader economic contacts. More trade between the Federal Republic and the socialist countries means more work for the port of Hamburg, more work for us.

Felix, however, described this as 'a shortsighted view which ignores the more remote aims.' Though trade with the East may increase employment, he said, it yields higher profits to capitalists.

Stuermann replied that obviously industrialists did not conclude deals unless profit was involved; failing this they would not be capitalists. Trade with socialist countries, he continued, is not to be regarded as a guarantee of full employment. But in the long term broader trade and cooperation with the planned socialist economies gives the Western worker a certain amount of psychological confidence. This is why it is the material foundation for the peaceful coexistence policy.

Manninen concurred. In a cold war situation, he said, reaction is more free to attack the working class and the socialist states. With peaceful coexistence replacing cold war, the situation changes. The workers gain new opportunities to safeguard their rights. For this reason they welcome contacts between countries with different social systems. Yet the process of change in interstate relations is anything but smooth. Among the obstacles is the Common Market policy of discrimination, designed to block European détente.

Economic relations between the socialist and capitalist countries, *Lemaire* said, do not dampen the workers' struggle. The resulting détente helps to combat anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Seen from this angle, economic cooperation benefits the workers' class struggle against capitalism and helps harmonize the immediate and the more remote aims.

Unity is the guarantee of success

We urge the youth to fight anti-communism, *Felix* said. We may not agree with the Communists, with representatives of the socialist countries on all counts, but this should not obscure the main point: not for all the wealth in the world would we forego the chance of living like the socialist peoples. There is no real democracy under capitalism. Peaceful coexistence inspires faith in a better future, in the early triumph of socialism throughout the world.

Youth organizations influenced by the CDU/CSU and SPD are still prey to anti-communist prejudices, but the facts compel them to revise their attitudes, said *Stuermann*. In the circumstances, *Oberste-Lehn* added, united action assumes new dimensions. His organization, the Social Democrat Students Union, he said, has together with the Marxist Spartacus Student Union formed a general student council.*

*Eight hundred youth delegates met this January in Dortmund, FRG, at a Freedom for Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique Congress, including members of the Socialist Young Workers' League, Marxist Spartacus Student Union, League of German Student Corporations, Social-Democratic Union of Students, Young Socialists Union, League of Young Friends of Nature, Sokol, and the Christian unions.

The West German Social-Democrat's stand for united action was acclaimed by all participants, who stressed the importance of broader cooperation at both national and international levels.*

In Finland, *Manninen* said, young Social-Democrats and young Communists have been cooperating for years in the struggle for peace. And as far as I know, he added, the same is true in Italy, France, the FRG, Norway and other West European countries.

The latest general assembly of the Council of European National Youth Committees in Ireland (April 1973), *Kauer* said, has resolved to promote East-West relations and cooperation among European youth. Last year, it cooperated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth organizing the International Conference of Youth and Students for European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki. This Conference of 12 international and 26 national organizations declared the determination of the youth to assist in the materialization of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbor relations of the European states. This kind of cooperation should be encouraged.

The International Union of Socialist Youth, *Felix* said, is also working for closer contacts with the WFDY. Cooperation among youth organizations of different persuasions is now of tremendous importance. This is why, he added, our delegation came to the Berlin Festival.

It is often difficult to coordinate the work of the many different peace organizations in our country, *Arnott* said, and forums such as the World Youth Festival and the forthcoming World Peace Congress in Moscow help forge unity and hammer out joint platforms.

Bethge concurred. The FRG delegation to the World Festival, he said, represented 43 West German organizations, which is something we could not dream of in the past. This is doubly welcome, because we are working in harmony and have reached an understanding to work jointly in future.

Kwiatowski thanked the youth leaders for taking part in the outspoken discussion. What was important, he stressed, was that though views may have differed on some points, all agreed that united action was imperative in the battle for peace, international detente and peaceful coexistence.

*Here are a few of the youth solidarity actions mentioned at Festival exchanges: in November 1972 the WFDY Executive called on the youth of the world to collect \$500,000 for a children's hospital project in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The 600-bed hospital will be named in memory of Nguyen Van Troi, the national hero who laid down his life in the battle for his country's freedom. By the time of the 10th Youth Festival the sum collected was \$1,500,000. The Bulgarian Youth League also contributed the design and blueprints. - Nineteen national and international youth organizations attended a conference on European youth cooperation in Hungary this June, held under the auspices of the WFDY, the Council of European National Youth Committees, and the Hungarian youth organizations. - Students of 21 Latin American countries declared their solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and revolutionary Cuba at their Fifth Congress this May in Santiago, Chile. They also stated their determination to fight against dictatorial regimes.

The new and the old in trade union movement

Commentary

The early 70s have seen deep-going unity processes in the trade union movement of the capitalist world.

In France, two of the three major union centers, the General Confederation of Labor and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, have for more than three years now been concluding joint action agreements. In Italy, a single federation of the three union centers was founded in 1972, and the next goal is achievement of organic unity at the earliest possible time. The possibility is being studied of a joint exchange of union cards in 1974. In Britain, after nearly 40 years, the ban on Communists being delegates to the annual conferences of trades councils has been lifted. In Belgium, the General Federation of Labor and the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions are cooperating at local and national level. There is a growing movement for unity in other European countries too.

Measures to heal the split are being taken also in Asia and the Americas. In India, the National Trade Union Council founded in May 1972 includes the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Indian National Trade Union Congress and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha. In Japan, the General Trade Union Council (Sohyo) and the Liaison Council of Neutral Trade Unions (Churitsu Roren) have contacted the Japan Confederation of Labor (Domei) with a view to forming a national union council. Good headway towards unity is being made in Canada. In particular, the Canadian Labor Congress has readmitted two progressive unions expelled at the height of the cold war and has reasserted the right of Communists to official posts in the unions and their national leadership.* In several Latin American countries united trade-union centers have been established and preparations are under way for a representative congress to form a trade union center for the whole of Latin America.

Even this partial list is indicative of the spreading trend towards centralizing the trade union movement in the leading capitalist countries.

The same trend is clearly apparent also in the international movement. And here the first thing to be noted is normalization of relations between unions of the main capitalist countries and the USSR and other socialist countries. Commenting on the recent Moscow talks between delegations of the British TUC and its Soviet counterpart, the British press said that the unions of both countries were returning to their close wartime relations.

Cooperation of unions of differing persuasion in the International

*See B. Magnuson's article in the July 1973 issue of WMR.

Labor Organization is progressing favorably. Closer understanding and joint action have visibly increased union influence on issues affecting the interests of wage and salary earners.

A big victory for unity was scored in 1971 with the establishment of regular effective cooperation between the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and another leading international center, the World Confederation of Labor (WCL), which speaks for the Catholic unions. Their rapprochement, on the basis of common struggle for the workers' interests, signified complete failure of many years of reactionary attempts to isolate the WFTU. It remains the world's biggest union organization with an affiliated membership of about 155 million and in all its activity is guided by the principles of class struggle.

In fact, joint efforts by the WFTU and WCL were largely responsible for this year's series of international meetings, which would have been inconceivable only a few years ago. One of these, which has had wide reverberations, was the World Trade Union Assembly held in Chile in April to discuss ways and means of repelling the assault of the multinational monopolies. It was attended by representatives of more than 60 national, regional and international organizations.

The International Trade-Union Conference Against Apartheid, held in Geneva in June, was an event unparalleled in postwar trade-union history. For it was the first truly *worldwide* forum, bringing together representatives of more than 200 organizations with an aggregate membership of 250 million.

Last but not least, there was the July trade-union summit in Vienna of top union leaders from the USSR, Hungary, GDR, Britain, FRG and Sweden. It unanimously decided to hold a consultative meeting of European trade union leaders in Geneva next January to discuss cooperation. Such an all-Europe conference could produce many important results. In fact, there is a strong feeling that the Vienna initiative might be the beginning of a new era in relations between Europe's trade unions.

This growing and spreading unity trend, both national and international, is not accidental. It should be seen in the context of the improved international relations and the specific conditions of the class struggle today.

In the present détente climate produced by the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, only the extreme Right union leaders can be enticed by the prospect of remaining the last defenders of the cold war barricades, together with the reactionary bosses of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations.* On the contrary, most union leaders in

*According to press reports, the summer session of the AFL-CIO Executive Council headed by George Meany issued a statement questioning the value of the USSR-U.S. agreement on preventing nuclear war. Besides, Meany came out, in effect, against more Soviet-U.S. trade and economic cooperation on the plea that the trade agreements are 'unilateral concessions' to the Soviet Union.

But there are other trends in the U.S. trade union movement. Such big unions as the United Automobile Workers and United Electrical Workers have formed friendly contacts with unions in the USSR. The Auto Workers' president, Leonard Woodcock, told a Congressional Committee in May that his union favored more trade with the USSR and all socialist countries. The Electrical Workers demanded repeal of all restrictions on Soviet trade union delegations visiting the United States.

the capitalist world have come to the conclusion, albeit belatedly, that if bourgeois governments can accept peaceful coexistence and cooperation of states with differing social systems, there should be no obstacles to unions of different orientation agreeing on joint action and international cooperation.

There is thus ground for the hope that the 'glacial epoch' in the trade union movement is drawing to an end. The postwar split was a product and concomitant of the cold war. It has no place in the new conditions, in a normalized political situation, when new ways of cooperation between the socialist and the capitalist parts of the world are being sought.

There is also this: in their day-to-day activity the unions have to contend with the mounting aggressiveness of big business. The bourgeoisie is becoming increasingly intolerant even of the trade union forms of class struggle. More anti-labor legislation is being enacted in many countries. The reactionary press has started a veritable slander campaign against the unions. They are accused of 'irresponsibility,' 'excessive demands' and many other mortal sins. That being the situation, disunity weakens the union movement in the fight against inflation, for price controls, higher wages, against speed-up and mass lay-offs.

A new, and in many cases decisive, argument in favor of unity is the rapid growth of capitalist integration and the growing strength of the multinational monopolies. Consequently, isolationism and go-it-alone tendencies in the unions have become a dangerous anachronism.

For the facts show that in the social sphere, in which the unions mainly operate, the growth of the multinationals is attended by intensified exploitation and by a deliberate tactic of inciting rivalry between workers. There are many facts to show that these cosmopolitan corporations are at the head of the onslaught on trade union rights, including the right to strike and collective bargaining. In their drive for profits they are merciless in introducing speed-up techniques and reducing personnel.

Of course, the unions are reacting to the menace offered by the multinationals. It has been discussed at a number of important international conferences. Trade-union centers have been started to collect and exchange information on the activities of these far-flung corporate empires. The first coordination centers have been organized, and there have been the first solidarity strikes. Much is being done by the WFTU trade union internationals and the ICFTU international federations. There has emerged what one might call a new tier in the battle for trade union unity, a battle being fought by the workers of one and the same multinational company operating in several countries. There are, for instance, coordinating committees at such multinationals as Dunlop-Pirelli, Solway and Michelin, and they have made it their job to synchronize worker action.

For all that, however, WFTU Secretary-General Pierre Gensous has said that 'the union movement is still lagging in the fight

against the multinational monopolies.' The unions will have to do much more to translate their plans into practical action and confront the international monopolies with a ramified and efficient international system of labor organization.

The positive changes of the past few years in the world trade union movement would have been inconceivable without the big effort put in by the Communist and Workers' parties. At their International Meeting in 1969 they stressed the important role of the unions – the most massive of mass organizations – in the anti-monopoly struggle. And the Meeting added: 'The Communists are consistent champions of trade-union unity within the framework of each country and in the international arena.'

Accordingly, Communists working in the unions combat sectarian sentiment and work for deeper understanding among workers of divergent political views. Whatever post they may be elected to by their mates, they are always faithful and devoted champions of the workers' interests and demands. This is the 'secret' of their influence, the 'secret' of their popularity, which reaction tries to misrepresent. And this is why neither the long years of the split nor the cold war, nor the sustained attacks of anti-communist elements within and outside the labor movement, have succeeded in destroying this influence.

Certainly, the decisive battles for unity still lie ahead. Alongside the positive developments, there is still a lot left that is old and outdated. The forces that wish to preserve the artificial barriers erected during the split, are still active. The monopolies, their propaganda machine, their willing agents and unsuspecting abettors still concoct arguments against unity, for continued division and continued cold war in the trade union movement. Though rusty, the weapon of anti-communism which has served the splitters on so many previous occasions, has not been laid down.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions with headquarters in Brussels is the center of opposition to the unitarian tendencies. Whether due to geographic proximity to NATO headquarters or to the influence of the Right-wing leadership of the Socialist International, with which it has close ideological bonds, the ICFTU has shied clear of all contacts with the WFTU despite countless invitations. And the Right-wing Socialist leaders cling to their stance obstinately, though such inveterate anti-Communists as George Meany of the AFL-CIO and his confederates have quit the ICFTU and deprived it of their blessings and dollar contributions.

Significantly, the biggest and the most influential national centers affiliated with the ICFTU want it to cooperate with the WFTU. The British Trades Union Congress, for example, passed a resolution to this effect back in 1971. And a similar resolution was passed by the League of German Trade Unions (FRG) at its Ninth Congress in 1972. This goes to show that under working class influence West European unions dominated by Social-Democrats have moved to

more radical positions than those of their Right-wing Socialist patrons.

The founding of a new regional center, the European Confederation of Trade Unions (ECTU), this February, may in a way be traced to dissatisfaction with the ICFTU and its sectarian postures. True, it is still too early to say anything definite about ECTU, but, though cast in the same mould as the ICFTU*, its professed intention to chart a different course. Victor Feather, Secretary-General of the British TUC and the first ECTU President, said in an interview that the new confederation renounces the principle of ideological and religious isolation. He said its doors are open to all the trade unions of Europe, and expressed the belief that the trade union centers of the European socialist countries would join it one day, for that is the logic of the present state of affairs in the international trade union movement, gravitating strongly towards contacts and cooperation. This is certainly an entirely new tune, one we have never heard from the ICFTU leadership.

There are signs that the growing peril of the multinational monopolies has begun to disturb the leaders of the ICFTU. Last year, O. Kersten, its Secretary-General, promised in print 'to take a firm *anti-capitalist* stand against the monopolies and make them modify their expansionist drive to fortify their might and boost profits.' A laudable intention. But how does he think the ICFTU will manage to bar the way to international monopolies if it rejects united action with kindred organizations? The assignment is so formidable that *no international trade union organization could hope to cope with it on its own*. It will take concerted action on the international scale to loosen the grip of monopoly.

Covert and overt protagonists of the split contend that the differences in structure, program and social philosophy rule out cooperation among trade unions. Accordingly, last year's ICFTU congress in London resolved 'to leave things as they are.' Could any true foe of multinational monopoly accept such fatalism?

None will deny the big programmatic and ideological disparities in the international trade union movement. There is a world of difference between those who believe in the class struggle and those who nurse reformist ideas of 'social partnership' and 'class peace.' The Communists have never concealed their opposition to these ideas, and criticize them publicly. Yet no sincere champion of unity would require his future partner to revise his ideology or abandon any of his international commitments.

There is no question as yet of fusing different trade union centers (though, as we have seen, such trends, too, exist). Consequently, there can be no question of wiping out any structural, programmatic, let alone ideological, differences. That is a thing of the more remote future. Today's angle of approach is to eliminate the deplorable alienation between labor organizations at national and international levels and to establish dependable contacts in order, ultimately,

*The new Confederation encompasses the trade union centers of 15 European countries with 30 million members. These are also affiliated with the ICFTU, which has 50 million members.

to frame a joint action plan in defense of the working man and his demands.

The Eighth World Congress of Trade Unions, to be held in October in Varna, Bulgaria, promises to be a major milestone on the way to unity and in the anti-monopoly struggle of the trade unions. The WFTU has drafted important documents for discussion by its delegates. These include a draft of an Orientation Document, containing a thorough analysis of the international situation, the situation of the trade unions, their tasks, and the solutions for the more urgent problems of the times, including united action by workers of different trade-union affiliation.

The draft of a Charter of Trade Union Rights and the Socio-Economic Demands of Working People in the Capitalist Countries is another valuable enterprise, generalizing the international experience of the trade unions fighting for the interests and rights of the working class, bringing together the specific demands of different categories – women, youth, immigrants, engineers and technicians – and defining the workers' standpoint on such basic issues as international monopoly, environmental protection, democratization of education, professional training, economic and political democracy, and so on. And it is proper to stress that all these instruments, though concrete, are devoid of corporative narrowness and reflect the aspirations of the vast majority.

In accordance with the constitution of the WFTU, the World Congress is open to *all trade union organizations*, offering a splendid opportunity for the protagonists of unity and joint action. And if a universal trade union charter of rights and demands results from the debate, the position of the organized working class in the capitalist countries will be so much the stronger in the confrontation with monopoly. Past experience shows that to mend the split and assure united action by unions of different orientation is tantamount to doubling or tripling their strength.

Jan Prazsky



Ideological basis of unity

Ib Norlund

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The world is entering a period of momentous change. The pace of history has quickened. That is especially apparent if we compare the world situation today with that of, say, 15 or even five years ago.

It is only natural for Communists to measure this change by comparing the tasks our international movement has consistently set and solved. And such comparison will show that we can now cope with much bigger, historic tasks, for we approach them against the background of a new, much more favorable correlation of the forces of capitalism and socialism. The present situation opens to the Communist movement fresh opportunities, but it also imposes a bigger responsibility for not allowing them to go unused.

Communists everywhere are reflecting on how to wage the struggle now and in the future, how our movement can discharge its historic mission of bringing about a worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism and preventing imperialism from committing its last and greatest crime of plunging the world into nuclear catastrophe. And, naturally, we associate all our thoughts with the problem of strengthening the unity of our movement.

In contributing to the WMR discussion of the problem,* I would like to set out certain considerations that are expressive of the views of Danish Communists.

In this day and age, the *international class struggle* acquires much greater importance for a number of objective reasons. I shall mention two of them.

The peoples of the world are now faced with more general problems than ever before. Their solution depends primarily on the achievement of peaceful coexistence, which contributes to social progress, helps to curb imperialist aggression, and accords with the interests of the workers' revolutionary struggle against all forms of oppression and exploitation.

The mounting importance of the international class struggle is

*See articles by K. Tellalov, F. Fuernberg, C. Alba and J. Fuchs, in the May, June and August issues for 1973.

clearly demonstrated by the results already achieved, notably by the positive changes in the world situation over the last few years. Whereas not so long ago imperialist politicians denounced peaceful coexistence as an 'insidious Communist plot,' today they are signing documents in which peaceful coexistence is accepted as the only possible basis of relations between countries with differing social systems. Whereas before imperialist governments were bent on stifling the socialist countries by economic blockade, today they are concluding far-reaching economic agreements with them. The United States, which for a long time tried to bully the world, and especially the socialist countries, by brandishing the nuclear bomb, has now been compelled to conclude an agreement with the USSR on the prevention of nuclear war. The agreements the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic concluded with the FRG, and the Four-Power Agreement on West Berlin, have contributed to detente in Europe and to the elimination of the consequences of World War II.

All these developments signify changes of international, and not merely national, significance.

On the other hand, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the worldwide class confrontation is having a greater impact on the workers' successful fight against monopoly power *within each country*. And here the additional opportunities are largely due to the fact that imperialism is losing out in its aggressive policy and finds itself obliged to shun war and the use of force as a way out of difficult situations. It has less scope for interference in the internal affairs of other countries to put down liberation struggles or export counter-revolution.

The growing role and effectiveness of the international class struggle against imperialism are most strikingly demonstrated by the victory of the heroic Vietnamese people, won with the all-round assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and with the international solidarity of the working people. These are the factors that forced imperialism to retreat.

Successful accomplishment of the general tasks of the working people of different countries, and solution of their internal problems, demand stronger unity in the international class struggle, and, consequently, above all stronger unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement.

Such unity is all the more important since detente makes it possible, indeed necessary, to set new and bigger tasks in the battle for peace and against imperialism. It is not enough today to work for cessation or prevention of one or another aggressive action. We must go beyond that and make the detente process irreversible. That should not be taken to mean that cessation of aggressive imperialist actions, or preventing their preparation, has been struck off the agenda. Tension is still at a high pitch in the Middle East; Portugal is still waging colonial wars in Africa; the imperialists are preoccupied also with other plans. But for all that, we can use

the substantial concessions imperialism has already been forced to make and develop them into a stable peace. This requires energetic and well organized struggle. It calls for a wide offensive for peace, an offensive conducted along new lines, extending to new spheres and using new forms. The reality of that goal is confirmed by the results already achieved by the persistent efforts of the peace forces and, first and foremost, the Soviet Union in implementing the 24th CPSU Congress Peace Program. But success will come all the quicker, the more united is the anti-imperialist front. In this context the task set by the 1969 International Meeting of raising the movement's unity to a higher level corresponding to present-day requirements, acquires especial urgency.

Comrade Tellalov emphasizes in his article that the problem of international Communist unity is a complex one – it is, at one and the same time, a politico-strategic, ideological and organizational problem. In our view, coordinating Communist Party actions requires above all further development of *ideologico-theoretical co-operation*. And every Party can contribute to this by drawing on its experience. Our root problems can be resolved all the more successfully if we bring to bear all the reserves latent in the experience of the international revolutionary workers' movement and embodied in the creative theory of Marxism-Leninism, the only reliable guide to our advance in new directions and to the development of new forms of struggle in the present dynamic political situation.

Ideological cohesion and community of basic theoretical positions are essential to communist unity. Reference is sometimes made to Marx's letter to the Central Bureau of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, and in particular to this passage: 'Since the various sections of working men in the same country and the working classes in different countries are placed under different circumstances and have attained to different degrees of development, it seems almost necessary that the theoretical notions, which reflect the real movement, should also diverge.'

But here Marx is only pointing to the reasons for these differences in theoretical views. He does not accept them; on the contrary he says: 'The community of action, however, called into life by the International Working Men's Association, the exchange of ideas facilitated by the public organs of the different national sections, and the direct debates at the general congresses, are sure by and by to engender a *common theoretical program*' (italics added).

The accelerated march of events lends exceptional importance to generalizing the achievements of political thought, particularly in new areas, the continued development of Marxist-Leninist theory and collective work on a 'common theoretical program.'

Surely, there are many problems to which joint effort could be usefully applied. I might cite the following: development of the principles of peaceful coexistence and its results; the impact of state-monopoly capitalism and its economic laws; new require-

ments of the working people (in particular protection of the environment, housing, etc.); anti-monopoly reforms and their role in refashioning society; correlation of capitalist and socialist integration; extending opportunities for non-capitalist development of Third World countries; new forms of opportunism in the labor and anti-imperialist movements; the Leninist principles of party organization and activity and their significance for our time.

Tried and tested forms of theoretical cooperation should obviously be applied to these problems, and in this respect the Communist and Workers' parties can draw on a fund of valuable experience. International Marxist discussions – conferences, seminars, roundtable forums, research groups – have been widely practised by *World Marxist Review*, and it would doubtlessly be very useful to enrich the forms of collective theoretical research. But it would be wrong to confine ourselves to 'delegating' these problems to a group of scholars, they have a direct and practical bearing on the international Communist movement. We should look for forms of collective work by fraternal parties in the realm of theory that are most likely to strengthen the ideological cohesion of the Communist movement in the present international situation.

We are dealing with an experienced enemy who will never miss the chance to attack us on matters of theory, ideology and politics and use the new world situation to further its own ends. Experience has taught the Danish Communists that the bourgeoisie knows how to maneuver, spread illusions among the masses, on occasion make concessions to 'placate' the masses, shore up its domination and intensify exploitation of the workers. It was precisely by drawing on international communist experience that the Danish Communists were able to overcome opportunist tendencies which might have led the working class into submission to capital.

International imperialism, too, has to make concessions, but in the hope that somehow they could be exploited for its own purpose. Compelled to abandon outright violence, it sets itself up as a 'peacemaker,' a camouflage for new plans of oppression, new schemes to 'soften up' socialism. Imperialism's propagandists meanwhile present the socialist countries' ideological fight against imperialism as contrary to the very idea of peaceful coexistence.

In fact, there are still attempts to discredit that idea. The nervous reaction it evokes in some circles can be gauged, for instance, by a speech of the British Parliamentary Under-Secretary of Defense, Peter Blaker, at a meeting of the Defense Committee of the West-European Union. Blaker was horrified to discover the tendency of public opinion 'to anticipate a successful outcome of the present East-West negotiations and thus to argue that even our present level of defense effort is becoming unnecessary.' To scotch this 'dangerous' trend, Blaker suggested intensifying propaganda about the 'Soviet menace.'

The present relation of forces between capitalism and socialism enables us effectively to counter all maneuvers by the opponents

of peace and socialism, but this calls for unrelaxing vigilance, initiative and coordinated policy and action. Firmness and fidelity to principle are just as necessary in times of detente as in times of sharp struggle.

Lenin pointed out that every abrupt turn produces new varieties of opportunism and new attempts by it to penetrate the labor movement. Bourgeois propagandists and their revisionist echoers are trying to use peaceful development to inculcate the idea that nowadays social problems can be resolved 'much easier' than through class struggle. Again they are trotting out the old theory of 'convergence' of the two social systems and their 'accelerated fusion,' also theories about the future 'world state,' the 'balance of terror,' 'ideological coexistence,' the allegation that proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity are incompatible with coexistence. If the working class were to fall prey to these theories, it would not only lose all perspective for its future struggle, but would jeopardize the very principle of peaceful coexistence.

Spreading doubt about the real aims of the Communist movement is an old imperialist propaganda trick. The imperialists are doing everything to popularize the small groups operating under a communist label, but actually disseminating bourgeois propaganda. In particular this applies to the numerous 'revolutionary' objections to practical political measures to impose peaceful coexistence on imperialism.

Imperialism makes very wide use of the Maoists' attempts to torpedo detente, particularly in Europe, and of their frantic efforts to prevent the Communist movement from carrying out its anti-imperialist program. One can well understand what British Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home had in mind when he said, at a banquet in honor of a visiting Chinese delegation, that he welcomed China's interest in European affairs. Abusing the name of the great Chinese people, Chinese government leaders are doing everything they can against the world Communist movement and the Soviet Union, which has more than any other country helped to produce the new situation favorable to the forces of peace.

As was only to be expected, the imperialists are utilizing Peking's policy to weaken the ideological influence of the international Communist movement and vilify its noble aims. They have put out the story of 'different kinds' of Communists, subscribing to different ideologies. The obvious object is to cultivate distrust in the Communist movement as an ideological force. The Marxist-Leninist parties are resolutely upholding common ideas and revolutionary principles and are actively combating attempts to distort them. That can be done the more successfully, the closer the unity of the movement.

At all their international conferences the Communists emphasized that peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems is a special form of the international class struggle. And the priority aim, naturally, was to win *acceptance of the coexistence*

principle through the anti-imperialist and peace struggle. Now, however, besides consolidating our positions, it is becoming increasingly important to determine the ways and means of waging the class struggle, the struggle for social change, *in conditions of peaceful coexistence*, in the changing situation, in the setting of new developments and new factors. I would draw attention to the following two new factors.

The anti-monopoly struggle is gaining momentum in developed capitalist countries. Their leaders are finding that traditional methods are progressively less effective in solving the problems of the capitalist system. More and more people are coming to understand the intrinsic fallacies of modern capitalism. State-monopoly regulation, only a few years ago proclaimed a 'miraculous cure,' is now in profound crisis.

This demands of the Communists actions designed to help the anti-monopoly forces come out in a united front and take the initiative in the fight against big capital. Of course, the forms of anti-monopoly struggle are determined by the specific conditions of each country. But there are also major problems that face all capitalist countries.

For instance, the problem of the relation of economic and political struggle. Lenin emphasized that every stage of capitalist development poses the question of how to combine revolutionary struggle with the struggle for reforms and democracy. Wide use of state regulation implies that every action of the workers in defense of their vital *economic* demands inevitably becomes a struggle against the state, a struggle for *political* reforms. And this struggle demands a principled stand, rejecting both deviations towards reformism and Left-sectarian doctrinairism. I feel that this question merits the attention of Communists in many different countries.

Another factor. A major element in advancing new, bigger aims in the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle is the achievements in building developed socialism, primarily the achievements of the Soviet Union which has made the biggest progress in building the new society. And this applies not only to the economic basis, but also to the development of new democratic forms of social life and new relations between people. These achievements are exerting a growing influence on the thinking of workers in the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union's decisive role in the powerful peace offensive is fresh evidence of the growing influence the first socialist state exerts on the international situation.

There need be little doubt that these new factors can be used much more fully in our general struggle by overcoming certain false notions, for instance, that popularization of the achievements and perspectives of the socialist countries detracts from national dignity. These notions are part of anti-Communist propaganda, the purpose being to cultivate in the international workers' movement a feeling of 'alienation' from the socialist countries.

It requires joint international efforts to make full use of the achievements of socialism to promote the struggle of the peoples.

The new features of international development are making themselves more keenly felt. They pose new, responsible tasks for the world Communist movement. And there is every reason to reflect on how its unity can be raised to the higher level required by the times we live in.

The October Revolution and the united front issue

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Communists in capitalist countries have their sights firmly set on cooperation among working-class parties and organizations, and are promoting anti-monopoly united fronts. This they regard as the principal objective of their strategy and tactics.

The following article examines some aspects of the Soviet Communist Party's efforts to forge the unity of the revolutionary forces at the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution, that is, specific historical experience in winning the laboring masses, the progressive and democratic strata, to the side of the revolution.

THE REALITY OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION AND THE MYTH OF A 'CLIQUE COUP'

It was the opportunists of the Second International and the Russian Mensheviks who launched the contention that the socialist revolution in Russia was merely a 'coup by a clique,' a 'Bolshevik putsch' engineered by a 'group of plotters.' And anti-Communists have been harping on this theme ever since.²

It is hardly credible that its learned proponents believe their own Bolshevik 'putsch' story. But since they persist in it, they presumably allow other interests to take precedence over the historical truth. Those who know the basic propositions of the Right and 'Left' opportunist schools will easily grasp the political objectives pursued. The Right opportunists use it to 'prove' the Communists' alleged reluctance and inability to cooperate with other political forces. And for the 'Left' it is an 'argument' in favor of their own sectarian and adventurist slogans. Both twist history to denigrate the revolutionary exploit of the Bolshevik Party, Russia's working class and masses, and to discredit the strategy of the present-day Communist movement, which lays the accent on Left

and democratic unity in fighting monopoly and imperialism.

A simple recapitulation of the events and typical features of Bolshevik activity in the period before the October Revolution will disprove the fabrication that a 'group of plotters,' or even the 350,000-strong Party, performed the revolution by, so to speak, taking advantage of the 'chivalry' of the counter-revolutionaries and without the knowledge of the major portion of the 150,000,000 nation, which they put before a *fait accompli*.

The political spokesman of the proletariat,³ the Bolshevik Party knew clearly that in the imperialistic period none but the working class could be the base and shock force of social revolution. And it worked tirelessly to unite the proletariat organizationally and politically, fusing the labor movement with scientific socialism and consolidating the workers' leadership of the masses roused to revolutionary activity.

The Party worked mainly among the united and organized, and more class-conscious, section of the proletariat – the factory workers. The mailed fist of the revolution was forged in the big factories of Petrograd, Moscow, Kharkov, Baku, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and other cities. This, to be sure, does not mean that the Bolsheviks confined their work to the capital and the industrial centers (though such claims, too, are known to have been made). They were out to win the proletariat of all Russia and worked assiduously in the trade unions, youth and women's organizations, mutual aid societies, sick aid clubs, the smaller enterprises and craftsmen's workshops. And the results were splendid. 'The Bolsheviks were victorious,' Lenin wrote, 'first of all, because they had behind them the vast majority of the proletariat, which included the most class-conscious, energetic and revolutionary section, the real vanguard, of that advanced class' (Vol. 30, p. 257).

The proletariat followed the Bolsheviks, because they confirmed in practice, clearly and incontrovertibly, and for the first time in history, that Marx and Engels had correctly described Communists as representing 'the interests of the movement as a whole' (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*, II). Here, the movement as a whole means not only all sections of the working class, but also other classes, strata and groups of the complex and varied society of the vast country who joined, or became involved, in the revolution.

To accomplish this in agrarian Russia,⁴ the proletarian party had to perform immense work in the countryside. It sent numerous organizers and propagandists to the villages, formed rural Party cells and peasant committees, published special leaflets and a newspaper, *Derevenskaya Bednota* (Village Poor), and took part in peasant conferences and congresses. The growth of capitalism was ruining the peasants and compelled them to migrate to towns in search of a livelihood (as in the capitalist countries today); this was an uncultivated peasant mass, and the Bolsheviks made it their business to see to its political enlightenment, forming zemliachestva (societies for people from the same village or area), propaganda schools and study circles.⁵

Naturally, as they prepared for the socialist revolution, the Bolsheviks devoted their main effort to building the alliance of workers and working peasants, the two exploited classes. But this did not mean that they were indifferent to other strata or groups.

In the light of the present-day ideological and political debates, it is particularly important to stress that the Bolsheviks had always enlisted the intelligentsia for active participation in the revolution, because its social interests were increasingly interweaving with those of the working class, while its creative aspirations clashed with the demands set by the bourgeoisie. Lenin (to use his own words as quoted by Maxim Gorky) dreamed of winning over the scientists, 'all the Russian and European Archimedeses.' The Party did extensive work among mental workers,⁶ and absorbed the flower of the progressive Russian intelligentsia into its ranks. Small wonder that the government headed by Lenin following the revolution was often referred to as 'the world's most cultured and educated cabinet.'

Acting on Lenin's instruction to seek allies among the lower strata of bourgeois democracy, the Party forged political contacts with the urban petty-bourgeois masses and the revolutionary section of the bourgeoisie proper. As the Bolsheviks saw it, the road to the revolution lay in uniting and activating all revolutionary forces on a platform representing the interests of the majority of the people.

And the Bolsheviks were certain that their plan of building a broad popular revolutionary bloc would lead to the ultimate goal. Why?

Firstly, because though economically backward, Russia had entered the imperialist stage. Elements of state-monopoly capitalism were clearly in evidence in its socio-economic and political structure. This meant – just as it does in the developed capitalist countries today – that there had been the inevitable polarization of social forces when the interests of the overwhelming majority clash with those of a small stratum of the ruling classes.

Secondly, because neither the 1905-1907 revolution nor the overthrow of tsarism in February 1917 had satisfied the general democratic demands of the people. The battle raged over two big issues – the universal one concerning land, freedom and democracy, and the class issue of the proletariat concerning the socialist reconstruction of society. This was specific for the revolutionary situation in Russia. To be sure, it was specific as compared with the 19th century, but no longer so in relation to the 20th century conditions in other bourgeois countries. In the imperialist epoch, the merging in one revolutionary stream of the general democratic movement and the class struggle of the proletariat has become an objective law, confirmed again and again by the facts of today.

The Bolsheviks relied on their knowledge of the objective conditions. But they knew, of course, that they could not depend on history to unfold by itself, or on the masses to have the same profound and scientific appreciation of reality as did the Marxist-

Leninists. Therefore, in order to assure the unity of the popular majority and its involvement in the revolution, the crucial task was to formulate a clear and lucid political program. The categories and terms of historical materialism, political economy and scientific socialism had to be put into a language comprehensible to the semi-literate country. And it stands to the everlasting credit of Lenin and the Bolsheviks that they succeeded in finding simple, understandable words to set forth the substance of the social and democratic demands, and the interests of the masses.

For the Russia of that time these were words of peace that the war-tormented country longed for, of bread, whose shortage was leading to countrywide hunger, and of land, without which the peasants could not conceive survival.

This is a very important lesson of the October Revolution. It took a clear aim, envisaging solutions for the country's most acute social problems, to achieve dependable revolutionary popular unity, and to secure the leading role of the Communists – a program that would at the approach of the revolution isolate not the Bolsheviks, but the government of the bourgeoisie and the conciliators. The latter were opposed by a *united front* of the majority of the Soviets, which demanded power; the trade unions and other workers' organizations, which refused to suffer capitalist diktat; the peasantry, which sought an agrarian reform; the masses in the national areas, which languished under the great-power oppression, and whole regiments and larger army formations, which refused to fight on in a war imposed by imperialism. The Bolsheviks united and assumed the leadership of this current of heterogeneous revolutionary forces, directing it towards the common goal.

This is why, speaking at the Third Congress of the Communist International, Lenin declared: 'In Russia, we were a small party, but we had with us in addition the majority of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country. . . . We had with us almost half the army' (Vol. 32, p. 471).

In sum, the myth of a 'clique coup' falls apart when checked against the real facts of the socialist revolution, popular not only because it was performed in the name and in the interest of the people, but also, and primarily, because it was performed by the people, who united to accomplish it.

Who went against the people?

It may be appropriate to stress that Lenin's party, which articulated its political aims openly and distinctly, launched the armed uprising by virtue, among other things, of the will of the electorate which had given it a *majority* in a number of basically important elections – to the Petrograd Soviet, the Moscow city *dumas*, the Congress of Northern Region Soviets, and, last but not least, the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets. Yet our ideological opponents, who either did not take the trouble to grasp, or simply 'overlooked,' this fact, maintain that the 'Bolshevik experiment' of Oc-

tober 1917 was performed by undemocratic means, against the will of the people. It is therefore useful to get to the bottom of the matter, because distortions serve an obvious political aim: to 'prove' that Communists are essentially opposed to democracy and its institutions, and are all but convinced protagonists of brutality and coercion.

As a rule, our critics present two 'arguments': firstly, they say, the majority of the nation had been against Soviet power, as allegedly confirmed by the many mutinies, the Civil War and emigration; secondly, the Bolshevik Party had dissolved the Constituent Assembly, thereby ostensibly betraying its 'contempt for the will of the people.'⁷

Let us first examine the more general point: Did the Bolsheviks employ forcible suppression during the revolution? Yes, they did. But it was forcible suppression *not* of the will of the people, but *by* the will of the people, and not of the *majority* – the workers, peasants and other sections of the laboring mass (as is typical of the social formation with antagonistic classes) – but of the *minority* of the deposed classes, and precisely for resisting the popular majority. Force was employed against the handful of capitalists, landowners and merchants, against saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries, who fiercely resisted the socialist renovation of society. And in so doing, the Bolsheviks followed the lessons of the Paris Commune, which was defeated, among other things, because of its insufficient firmness in combating its enemies.

In general, can there be a revolution, even one that follows the peaceful way, without violence? A revolutionary overturn differs from a simple change of government precisely because it removes one class from political power and replaces it with another. And no ruling and dominant class has ever relinquished power of its own free will. Therefore, violence is an inevitable element of any revolution worthy of the name, and only its forms may differ depending on circumstances.

The Bolsheviks knew that, as in any other country, the bourgeoisie in Russia stripped of political power, would bitterly resist the new system, and for some time still retain possession of capital, the skills of government, military experience, and the support and aid of international imperialism. And so it did. It organized acts of diversion and sabotage, held the so-called employers' strikes, capitalized on the economic difficulties during the building of the new society, and tried to create discontent among the population, and thus incite the masses against the government. It endeavored to create economic and political chaos and to spark a civil war. All these counter-revolutionary activities naturally compelled the Bolsheviks to defend the revolution, the people's power, thus speeding up the expropriation of the expropriators.

When our opponents mention Bolshevik 'violence' and the Bolsheviks' allegedly destructive mission, they pretend to forget that from the outset it had been construction, not violence, let alone

destruction, that was the main sphere of the struggle for socialism. Our Party sought power with a program of positive solutions for the country's problems, a program of deep-going socio-economic reconstruction and a radical restructuring of the economy.⁸ This is a very important point, because, history shows, the question of the Marxist-Leninist party's passage from an opposition to a ruling party is of fundamental theoretical and practical significance.

Indispensable in moulding the socialist economic system, as Lenin saw it, were democratic workers' control over factories, their conversion into public property, nationalization of banks, and the constitution of a supreme economic council to regulate Russia's entire economy. And he attached special importance to workers' control over production.⁹ 'The important thing will not be even the confiscation of the capitalists' property,' he wrote, 'but countrywide, all-embracing workers' control over the capitalists and their possible supporters. Confiscation alone leads nowhere, as it does not contain the element of organization, of accounting for proper distribution' (Vol. 26, pp. 107-108). The first Soviet decrees, and the first practical steps of recasting the economy and socio-political life were indeed nothing if not constructive.

This development of the revolution was interrupted by the civil war. But this war, unleashed by the overthrown exploiter classes and reactionary forces, was in no way expressive of any popular resistance to the Soviets. Reaction resorted to civil war many times more in other revolutions. Pleading that in 1914-17 Lenin urged turning the imperialist into a civil war, our opponents allege that the Bolsheviks were deliberately working to unleash civil war. But, first, Lenin believed that, in the conditions then obtaining in Russia, turning the imperialist into a civil war was the only way of ending the former and abolishing the system that bred war. Second, when the possibility arose of peaceful development of the Russian revolution Lenin himself abandoned the slogan in April 1917. Early in September 1917, following the defeat of the rising engineered by the tsarist general, Kornilov, Lenin again spoke of peaceful development of the revolution that would rule out the very possibility of civil war. There are the facts of history to show that the revolution in Petrograd began practically without bloodshed and the Civil War began only when Kerensky, the head of the deposed Provisional Government, led deceived army units in an attack on Petrograd.¹⁰

So much for the Civil War and its real initiators. As for emigration,¹¹ it involved primarily counter-revolutionaries, men irreconcilably hostile to the people, unwilling to accept defeat and hoping to continue the fight from abroad with the help of their imperialist patrons. The emigres were members of the tsarist aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, landowners, officers fearing retribution for the atrocities committed in the Civil War, also intellectuals who did not understand the revolution and were far removed from the people, soldiers misled into fighting the Red Army. However, many emigres, especially of peasant and working-class background and

intellectuals, later realized their mistake and returned to support Bolshevik policy and share in the building of socialism.

Now for our opponents' second 'argument' that the Bolsheviks were 'undemocratic' in their conduct towards the Constituent Assembly in January 1918.

To begin with, there can be no talk of the Bolsheviks 'seizing power.' Indeed, why should they have had to 'seize power' early in 1918, considering that power had already been captured by the Soviets in October 1917? Power was in the hands of the Soviet government formed by the Second Congress of the Soviets, the delegates to which had been duly elected by the masses before the October Revolution. At the Congress the Bolsheviks had 390 delegates out of a total of 649; the Socialist-Revolutionaries, chiefly of the Left, had 160 delegates. The Left Socialists-Revolutionaries supported the transfer of power to the Soviets, joined the Central Executive Committee elected by the Congress, and later the Soviet government. The Bolsheviks and Left S-R's thus had an overwhelming majority (about 80 per cent).

As for the Constituent Assembly, convened *after* October, the two biggest groups were the S.-R's (370 members) and Bolsheviks (175). The figures are added evidence that in the Russia of those days avowed bourgeois parties were losing the support of the people (the Cadets had only 17 seats) and all the opportunist parties had virtually lost their political influence among the urban proletariat (there were only 15 Mensheviks in the Constituent Assembly).

Even before October, the Bolsheviks foresaw that the Constituent Assembly elections would come as a blow to the bourgeoisie, Kerensky's Provisional Government and the Right opportunists. The latter were aware of this. The Bolsheviks, therefore, insisted on early elections and convocation of the Constituent Assembly, while the bourgeoisie, working hand in glove with the compromising elements, did everything it could to postpone the elections. Only the date of the elections was agreed upon, and candidates nominated, before the October Revolution. And it was in accordance with *these* nominations and on *this* date (in November 1917) that the elections were held. They could not, of course, reflect the main changes that had taken place in the country. First of all, the nominations did not reflect the new alignment of forces, since they were made prior to the revolution, when the bourgeoisie and the compromising elements were in power. Furthermore, though the Left S.-R's, along with the Bolsheviks, enjoyed increasing political influence in rural areas and in the army (made up chiefly of peasants),¹² the S.-R. vote went to the party *as a whole*, and the party leadership was in the hands of the *Right wing*. More, beginning with the All-Russia Election Commission and right down to local commissions, all the arrangements for and conduct of the elections were largely controlled by the S.-R. Rights. The result: of the 370 S.-R's elected, only 40 were of the Left.

Anyone acquainted with the unscrupulous election techniques of

present-day bourgeois democracy will see in this one more proof that the number of votes is not always the best criterion of a party's political strength or of the people's will. The counter-revolutionary faction of the Constituent Assembly, where the Right S.-R's held sway, tried to use its *majority of votes* to make a travesty of the will of the *majority of the people*. That is the only explanation of the Assembly's refusal to recognize the Soviet government, brought to power by the people. That was the only purpose of the counter-revolution, for all the parliamentary trappings, in refusing to accept the genuinely popular social, economic and political program set out in the Declaration of Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People.

Even before it was convened, the Constituent Assembly was, so to say, the *yesterday of revolutionary Russia*. And it was this—not the alleged 'undemocratic' Bolshevik attitude—that decided its fate. The Bolsheviks did not prevent its convocation, though they could have cut short the farce even before the curtain was raised. But the Bolsheviks were convinced that, by its attitude and actions, the Constituent Assembly would discredit itself in the eyes of the people, would itself pronounce its verdict. That is precisely what happened. From the very outset, the Assembly became the mouthpiece of counter-revolution, not a vehicle for carrying forward the revolution. The people very soon saw it for what it was, a reactionary assemblage hostile to their vital interests. Even those who still had some illusions turned away from it. That is why the Soviet government's decree dissolving the Assembly was no more than a certificate of its political death. And that is why, far from meeting with public protest, the decree met with full approval and support. Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly was approved by the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets.

In sum, both the Civil War and the Constituent Assembly episode testify to violation of the people's will. But by whom? Obviously by those responsible for the armed and political resistance to the revolution.

Who was for and who against multi-party cooperation?

In Soviet Russia one party, the Bolsheviks, was in power. Bourgeois and opportunist ideologists cite this to support their contention that the Communists allow only a one-party system under socialism and are fundamentally opposed to political cooperation with other parties. The purpose of such allegations is to isolate the Marxist-Leninist parties and frighten away their natural allies.

Is it true that the Bolsheviks, who headed the people's revolution and sought alliance of the working class with the mass of the working people, were against cooperation with political parties representing the working people? Let us turn to the facts.

It will be recalled that several parties in Russia spoke for the working class and peasantry: the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Internationalists, the Social-Democratic Party of

Poland and Lithuania, the Bund (Jewish Social-Democratic Workers Union), the Latvian Social-Democrats, and others. On many occasions the Bolsheviks worked jointly with other parties, primarily the bigger ones, the Mensheviks and S.-R's, formed a bloc with them for diverse political campaigns, consented to semi-unity, even to full unity. This was done to meet the requirements of the struggle, 'under pressure of the masses, who demanded testing by their own experience' (Lenin). The Bolsheviks did not rule out cooperation with other revolutionary forces in organizing Soviet government after the revolution. Lenin's concept of the Soviets as organs of power, formulated as far back as 1905, was premised on the belief that the Soviets could include representatives of different socialist parties.¹³

But the fact is that the representatives of other parties agreed to cooperate with the Bolsheviks only on condition that the revolution would be a bourgeois-democratic one. That was so in 1905-07 and again in 1917. They were against Lenin's slogan of All Power to the Soviets, first advanced in the April Theses. At the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets in June 1917 the Mensheviks and S.-R's rejected, in effect, the Bolshevik proposal for joint action and thereby rejected multi-party cooperation.

At the Second Congress of Soviets the Bolsheviks, who had an absolute majority, agreed to the congress being opened by the Menshevik Dan. His party was faced with the choice: either accept the overthrow of the Provisional Government, the transfer of power to revolutionary organs and thereby back up the action of the masses, and cooperate with the Bolsheviks in effectuating democratic and socialist transformations, or reject the revolution as contrary to their pattern of gradual maturing of the preconditions for socialism within a bourgeois democracy, and enter into a class alliance with the bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks chose the latter. Together with the Right S.-R's they demanded that the Bolshevik Party renounce Soviet power, remove Lenin, 'the man personally responsible for the October coup,' as head of government and appoint a Right S.-R. leader in his stead. To all practical purposes, this was a long step back to bourgeois dictatorship. The Bolshevik Central Committee categorically rejected these demands, declaring in no uncertain terms that it would not form a government to defend the interests of the capitalists. After that the Mensheviks and Right S.-R's (about 50 of them) walked out of the congress and went to the City Hall where, together with the Cadets, they set up an anti-Soviet center, a counter-revolutionary organization known as the Committee for the Salvation of the Country and the Revolution. Later, again jointly with the bourgeoisie and with the support of foreign imperialists (through the U.S., British and other embassies), they perpetrated their bloody plot against the revolution.

Remaining at the Congress, together with the Bolsheviks, were the Left S.-R's, who were represented in the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and in December 1917 joined the government (they had 7 representatives on the Council of People's Commissars).

Cooperation of the Bolsheviks and Left S.-R's was not a 'legend' or 'myth,' as Peyrefitte claimed in September 1972;¹⁴ it was business-like cooperation, as is evidenced, among other things, by the records of meetings of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars. The cooperation broke down not because of Bolshevik 'perfidy,' but because the Left S.-R's came out against the government.¹⁵

The fact is that even after the Mensheviks and Right S.-R's had left the Second Congress of Soviets, the Bolsheviks still held the door open to them. A resolution of the Bolshevik Central Committee of November 2, 1917, written by Lenin, contains this passage: 'The Central Committee affirms that, not having excluded anybody from the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, it is even now fully prepared to permit the return of those who walked out and to agree to a coalition with them within the Soviets, and that, consequently, all talk about the Bolsheviks refusing to share power is absolutely false' (Vol. 26, p. 278).

More, the Mensheviks (and the other opposition forces) made wide use of the opportunities afforded them. Their Central and local Party committees functioned legally, their newspapers came out regularly, they held conferences, organized meetings, took part in the elections to all Soviet bodies, conducted public discussions at meetings, in the press, at the congresses of Soviets, etc.¹⁶ It was only when the leaders of the petty-bourgeois parties, refusing to reckon with the fact that they had lost the support of the people,¹⁷ resorted to open counter-revolutionary struggle against Soviet power (some as emigres, and these included L. Martov, others within the country) that the Bolsheviks were compelled to take retaliatory measures.

In examining relations between the Bolsheviks and other parties in those early days of the revolution,¹⁸ one must especially take note of this fundamental point. In cooperating with their allies, the Bolsheviks were against unity 'at any price,' just as they were against unilateral concessions and compromises on matters of ideology. Lenin wrote: 'We never ceased and never relaxed our ideological and political struggle' (Vol. 31, p. 72). And it was this fidelity to their ideas that always helped the Bolsheviks in the fight for a united front from 'above' and, more important, from 'below,' that is, through joint action of the workers in the factories, in street demonstrations and clashes, everywhere, in short, where the battle for democracy and socialism was being fought.

Two conclusions

The following conclusions suggest themselves.

First, the October Revolution was the most mass and popular revolution experienced by mankind before 1917. Far from violating the will of the people, it gave full expression to it. In the course of the revolution, the Party of Lenin sought to establish cooperation with other parties representing the working people both at the height

of the revolutionary struggle and in the building of the new society that followed.

Anti-Communists of every hue and stripe have willfully distorted the facts and ignored Lenin's assessment of the October Revolution. They have sought to prove that there was not, nor could there be, a united front in Russia against tsarism and imperialism. These allegations have to be answered, first, because they do not accord with reality, and second, because some aspects of the problem have not received full coverage in the progressive press, while bourgeois publishers have lavishly financed anti-communist literature distorting the truth about the 1917 revolution.

Second conclusion. The stormy and glorious year 1917 produced a fund of concrete experience of universal significance and application. Lenin, a dialectician, insisted that Communists take careful account of the concrete situation in their various countries. More, he helped them see the specific features of the Russian revolution. But he also sharply criticized those who would begin the revolution from 'a clear slate.' The general course of proletarian revolution, he said at the First Comintern Congress, is the same throughout the world. Hence, without a concrete appraisal of past experience, and particularly the experience of the Bolsheviks, who, in Lenin's words, 'paved the way for the art of making revolution without mistakes' (Vol. 28, p. 82) there can be no successful revolutionary activity anywhere. That applies to the Bolsheviks' struggle for a united front, the international significance of which was especially emphasized by the Comintern Executive Committee in 1922. On this question Lenin never drew a distinction between Russia in 1917 and other countries.

1. Continuing the series of articles on broad democratic alliances. See WMR, February, March, April, June, July, August and September 1973 issues.

2. For example, Herbert Marcuse claims that an 'ideologically conscious vanguard' utilized the 'mass party' as a tool in the struggle for power; he contends, in other words, that the October Revolution was performed not by the masses, and not even by the party, which was a mere tool of a 'vanguard' (see *New York Times*, August 7, 1972). Cambridge professor J. Dunn maintains that the October Revolution was no more than a putsch by an insignificant group of intellectuals (Dunn, *Modern Revolutions. An Introduction to the Analysis of a Political Phenomenon*, Cambridge, 1972, p. 46). And Austrian publicist L. Reichhold says the socialist revolution in Russia was performed not by the proletariat, but rather by the revolutionary 'elite of the Russian people' (Reichhold, *Abschied von der proletarischen Illusion. Das Ende eines revolutionären Mythos*, Frankfurt-am-Main, Knecht, 1972, S. 191).

3. The proletarian character of the Bolshevik Party was also reflected in its composition: on the eve of the October Revolution almost three-fifths of its members were workers.

4. Peasants (incl. artisans and craftsmen, but excl. kulaks) accounted for 66.7 per cent of the country's population.

5. Many other key areas of the Party's political work were, in effect, associated with the peasant problem. Bolshevik activity in the army, for example, was centered on the political education of ten million conscripts, who were actually peasants in military uniform. And since the non-Russians (57 per cent of the total population) were predominantly peasants, the Bolsheviks' campaign against national oppression (over 100,000 Party members took part in it), for socialism, was also intimately related to the peasant question.

6. The Party had rich traditions in this respect, dating back to the first Russian revolution when the Petersburg Committee of the RSDLP formed a special group for contacts with the intelligentsia, and the Odessa Party Committee organized a League of Social-Democratic Intellectuals.

7. Contributing to the anti-Communist hysteria during the political campaign preceding the latest parliamentary elections in France, Alain Peyrefitte, leader of the UDR, said, for example, that the Bolsheviks seized power in defiance of the fact that less than 25 per cent of the electorate had voted for them (see *L'Humanité*, Oct. 21, 1972).

8. Among Lenin's more fundamental works on this subject dating to before October 1917, are 'The State and Revolution,' 'The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It,' 'Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?', 'The Tasks of the Revolution,' and others.

9. Workers' control was exercised by elective workers' bodies, such as factory committees, councils of shop stewards, and economic control commissions. They consisted of representatives of the workers and the technical staff and intervened actively in management, vetted the orders issued by the administration, and frustrated capitalist sabotage. According to a 1910 census, most of the factory committees (64.3 per cent) and special workers' control bodies (64.0 per cent) participated in the management of factories.

10. In the Petrograd armed rising there were 6 killed and 50 wounded. The casualties were incomparably bigger in the counter-revolutionary revolt instigated by Kerensky. It lasted several days and was put down by November 2, 1917. On October 30 alone, in the battle at Alexandrovskaya railway station, the revolutionary units crushingly defeated General Krasnov's troops and lost about 200 men, with enemy casualties much higher. We do not here discuss the loss of life in the Civil War started by the bourgeoisie and landowners. According to incomplete data, eight million people were casualties in the war waged by the intervention and White armies. In addition to those killed in battle or who died of hunger and epidemics, about 112,000 were done to death by the interventionists and Whiteguards in prison and concentration camps.

11. All told, about two million people, less than 1.5 per cent of the population, fled the country.

12. In particular this was borne out by the election results in areas where Left S.-R's stood as independents.

13. In his article 'Our Tasks and the Soviets of Workers' Deputies,' Lenin wrote: 'The Soviet of Workers' Deputies, as an organization representing all occupations, should strive to include deputies from all industrial, professional and office workers, domestic servants, farm laborers, etc., from all who want and are able to fight in common for a better life for the whole working people, from all who have at least an elementary degree of political honesty, from all but the Black Hundreds. . . . The Soviet must select a strong nucleus for the provisional revolutionary government and reinforce it with representatives of all revolutionary parties and all revolutionary (but, of course, only revolutionary and not liberal) democrats. We are not afraid of so broad and mixed a composition - indeed, we want it. . . .' (Coll. Works, Vol. 10, pp. 20, 23-24).

14. *Humanite*, September 14, 1972.

15. In July 1918, dissatisfied with the Brest peace treaty, the Left S.-R's organized an armed rising against the Soviet government, thereby expelling themselves from the government and from the Soviets.

16. Thus, there were 62 Bolsheviks, 29 Left S.-R's, 6 Menshevik Internationalists, etc., in the Central Executive Committee elected by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets (October 1917), and these are the figures for the Central Executive Committee elected by the Third Congress of Soviets in January 1918: 160 Bolsheviks, 125 Left S.-R's, 14 Right S.-R's and Maximalists, 2 Right Mensheviks, etc. It might be noted that the Menshevik leader, L. Martov, was a member of the Moscow Soviet and was active in it up to the time he left the country - permission to leave was given by the Bolshevik CC, in its decision of July 16, 1920. In 1920-21 the Bolshevik Central Committee acted on applications of a number of other Mensheviks, S.-R's and Anarchists for permission to leave the country. Recalling that period, the Menshevik Dan wrote: 'In Moscow the [Menshevik. - K.Z.] Central Committee had its official headquarters and club. . . . On behalf of the party we addressed congresses and meetings. . . .' (F. Dan, 'Two Years of Wandering, 1919-21,' Berlin, 1922). As for the nature of the discussions, the following passage from the Menshevik *Novy Looch*, March 24, 1918, should convince even those who still maintain that the Bolsheviks 'prohibited' oppositionary criticism. This is the passage, in an article signed by the Menshevik Shwartz: 'We should go back to the capitalist organization of production. We ought to do away with a situation in which workers' committees and trade unions manage enterprises. Their owners should come back and run the factories and mills.'

17. Even N. Sukhanov, a well-known Menshevik, felt obliged to admit that the Mensheviks and S.-R's, who were in the majority at the First Congress of Soviets, had dwindled down to a 'negligible magnitude' and that they 'organized a plot against the elected representatives of the democratic will, because they found themselves in a minority. . . .' (N. Sukhanov, 'Notes on the Revolution,' Berlin-Petrograd-Moscow, 1923, pp. 180-181, 288). Indicative, too, is the fact that the circulation of the Menshevik *Rabochaya Gazeta* dropped from 100,000 in March 1917 to 10,000-15,000 in September. (Incidentally, the Menshevik and S.-R. newspapers - of which there were about 20 in 1917 - were nearly all financed by the imperialists).

18. Congresses and conferences of a number of parties and unions (Maximalists, Internationalists, Revolutionary Communists, Ukrainian Left S.-R's or Borbists, Bundists, Jewish Communist Party Poalei-Zion) decided to join, and were admitted to, the Bolshevik Party.

From discussion to resolution and action

Gordon McLennan
National Organizer CP GB

This article aims to briefly explain the main democratic processes in our Party life. For this purpose we shall describe the procedure leading up to our National Congress decisions, the collective discussion of measures designed to upgrade all our work in the present political situation and stimulate the growth of the mass movement.

The National Congress of the Communist Party meets every two years. It is the supreme authority of the Party, responsible for its policy, and for the election of the Executive Committee and the Appeals Committee. The preparations for this important event, and the wide-ranging pre-Congress discussion, take place over a period of several months.

All Party organizations are informed well in advance of the Congress dates, and advised that they can submit proposals for alterations of Rules of the Party. Every Branch and every District Committee has the right to submit proposed alterations to the Rules, but they must be received by the Executive Committee six months before Congress. It is then the responsibility of the Executive Committee to consider these and circulate them to all Branches, along with its comments.

In accordance with the Standing Orders for the convening and conduct of National Congress, the Executive Committee must issue the agenda and all preliminary materials to all Party organizations three months before the date of Congress. These preliminary materials include: Report of the work of the retiring Executive Committee; names and attendances of the retiring Executive Committee, with brief factual information of each member; names of retiring Appeals Committee and Auditors; proposed amendments to Rules and Standing Orders; the Draft Resolutions of the Executive Committee.

The various amendments to these preliminary materials, resolutions, and nominations from the Branches have to be submitted to the Executive Committee six weeks before Congress meets.

The publication of the Executive Committee resolutions in the Party press signals the opening of the pre-Congress discussion. This takes place not only in all Party organizations, but also in our fortnightly journal *Comment*. The Executive Committee ensures the maximum space in the Party press for the printing of contributions from Party organizations and individual members.

Outside the period of pre-Congress discussion, members of elected leading committees, in disagreement with any decisions taken by the Committee of which they are members, or with any aspect of

Party policy, have the right to express their views, first in their own Committee, and then to a higher Committee, but not to any lower body or their Party Branch.

During the discussion of the Executive Committee's Resolutions and other materials, each Branch and District Committee has the right to submit any number of amendments. The number of amendments tabled for the 32nd Congress was 1,098. Each Party organization also has the right to submit two resolutions to Congress.

Another key responsibility at pre-Congress meetings is to make nominations for the new Executive Committee and Appeals Committee. Any Party member has the right to make a nomination, and a simple majority vote is sufficient to make it valid. There is no limit to the number of nominations which any Party organization can make.

The pre-Congress meetings also decide who should represent them at the Congress. For the 33rd Congress (as for the two previous Congresses) the Executive Committee decided that the basis of representation would be one delegate for every 70 members. The average size of a Party Branch in Britain is about 27 members, and it is the responsibility of District Committees to group Branches together for the election of Congress delegates where this is necessary. Branches with 70 members or more do not need to be involved in this process, and elect a delegate directly.

Each of the 18 District Committees also elects two delegates to Congress. Members of the retiring Executive Committee, who have not been elected by their Branch or District Committee as full delegates, attend Congress as consultative delegates. The Executive Committee also appoints a number of other consultative delegates, who have the right to attend all sessions and speak in discussion, but do not have voting rights. On the basis of the present membership this means about 470 full delegates and approximately 100 consultative delegates.

At the Congress itself a most essential feature is the work of the Congress Committees, whose composition and function is laid down in Standing Orders. The Elections Preparation Committee consists of four members of the retiring Executive Committee, and one representative from each of the 18 District Committees. The Resolutions Committee and the Congress Arrangements Committee are similarly constituted.

It may be necessary at particular Congresses to elect other Committees. For example, this would arise if the Party Program '*The British Road to Socialism*' came up for discussion. The Standing Orders of Congress stipulates that in all Congress Committees the proportion of Executive Committee members must not exceed one-fourth of the total members of the Committee.

The Committees are provisionally constituted before their endorsement by Congress, and meet on the week-end before Congress in order to be able to make early recommendations to delegates on the procedure of debate, and so on. Their work generally continues

throughout the first two days, and often into the third day, interviewing delegates, and even outside Congress hours.

The Resolutions Committee has a big responsibility. It has to discuss with delegates the hundreds of amendments to the Executive Committee resolutions.

The Committee has also to decide, through discussion with delegates, what Branch and District Committee Resolutions can be taken simultaneously with the debate on the main resolutions, select those which need to be debated separately, and try to get agreement as to which should be referred to the new Executive Committee for its attention.

Another important job of the Resolutions Committee is to recommend what Emergency Resolutions should be discussed in connection with political changes in the national and international situation.

The Elections Preparation Committee is responsible for recommending to Congress a list of proposed members for the new Executive Committee. The first stage in this process are the pre-Congress nominations of those who are considered worthy of serious consideration for the New Executive Committee. Then the Executive Committee itself makes recommendations. Finally, the Elections Preparation Committee presents to Congress a complete list of those who it believes would constitute the most balanced and effective leadership.

Of course, it is easy to find more than sufficient experienced and able Communists for the National Executive, but it is a formidable task to pick a balanced collective leadership. The Executive must have a core of experienced political leaders, including outstanding Communists in the major industries and professions, those who hold key positions in the Labor movement, and those in direct contact with decisive Party organizations, including factory branches. The list would have to include new and promising leaders, and its total composition must have a bearing on the distribution of Communist membership in the country as a whole.

Experience makes clear there is no simple mechanical means of obtaining the most effective political leadership. The best choice can only be made after an exhaustive political examination and discussion.

At this point it might be useful to briefly explain the procedure for appeals by Party members to Congress. The final stage of any appeal against disciplinary action taken against members by any Party organization, including the Executive Committee itself, is at the Congress. Any member who has been the subject of disciplinary action by his Branch can appeal to the District Committee. If the District Committee does not uphold the appeal, the member concerned can take it to the National Appeals Committee—a body not containing any members of the Executive Committee. The Appeals Committee makes its recommendations to the Executive Committee. Should an appeal be made to Congress against the decision of the Executive Committee, then a Congress Appeals

Committee is set up in the same way as all other Congress Committees – except that no members of the retiring Executive Committee or Appeals Committee shall serve on it. The retiring Executive Committee and Appeals Committee appoint a spokesman to answer the Committee's questions. The Congress Appeals Committee reports its findings to Congress, which then makes the final decision.

The democratic procedure that precedes Congress, supplemented by the active involvement of every delegate in the making of Congress decisions, helps to ensure that the policy decisions taken consolidate and advance still further the successes of the Party, assure the growth of its mass influence, and increase the number of recruits into its ranks.

Despite all trials

Hilding Hagberg

Continuing our series of reminiscences by prominent figures in the world Communist and workers' movement, we present Hilding Hagberg, Chairman of the Communist Party of Sweden from 1949 to 1964 and member of the Riksdag (parliament) from 1932 to 1965.

When the editors of *World Marxist Review* asked me to reminisce about the period when the Communist Party of Sweden was a member of the Communist International they suggested that I begin with a brief account of my childhood and youth. I agreed, because I believe that such an introduction can help understand the objective influences that shaped the political views, not only of myself, but of other comrades of mine – Communists and contemporaries of the 20th century.

I was born two months before the turn of the century at Malberget, a community of builders and miners situated 75 kilometres north of the Arctic Circle. Little could I know of course, that when the chimes of the clock announced the coming of the New Year we were crossing the threshold of the most turbulent and creative century in the long history of the human race. In fact, at the time very few much older people with a lifetime of experience behind them were aware of this.

All my childhood impressions revolve around the mine, the miners, the labor movement. I grew up with the peculiar smell of the mine in my nostrils and to this day I feel its absence. The first sounds I remember were the clatter of ore trucks, the staccato of pneumatic hammers. My awareness of social problems dawned with the recurring sight of the yellow ambulance that

drove up almost daily with crippled miners to the small house of the doctor. One day it brought my father.

I attended my first May Day demonstration at five and since then have tried never to miss one; at six I learned a dozen workers' songs; in my lifetime I have addressed at least 50 May Day rallies.

So you see that the very atmosphere of the mining community in which I was born nurtured proletarian self-awareness in the thick of the working class. Besides the burgeoning political, trade union and cooperative organizations of the working class we also had a very influential teetotalers' society and a strong Protestant movement sponsored by half a dozen churches and led by several full-time preachers. It was not long before I was drawn into the conflict with the followers of Christ, and by ten I was already a convinced atheist and rebel against religion.

I went down into the mine one week before the outbreak of World War I. At fourteen I joined the trade union, at twenty I was elected member of the local strike committee. The mine and the labor movement became my universities. I was active in the miners' union, and at 28 was among the leaders of a six-month solidarity strike in support of our comrades in Central Sweden.

I was eighteen when the Great October Socialist Revolution took place, but already a member of the Communist Party of Sweden. Since then I have travelled a long road with the Party. Those were years of hard struggles for the interests of the Swedish and the world proletariat, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. One of the main chapters in our Party's history is entitled 'Section of the Communist International.' It is this important period that I would like to deal with.

Very early two antagonistic trends developed in the Swedish labor movement. The reformist, in which utilitarianism dominated, was influential in the trade unions, the cooperatives, the parliamentary party and the labor press. The revolutionary forces espousing the ideology of Marxism grouped around the Youth League. They did much to spread their ideas, but had no clear program of action. They opposed militarism (occasionally drifting into nihilism or pacifism), advocated the establishment of a republic and fought to prevent the reformist degeneration of the workers' party.

After the outbreak of the War, the Social-Democratic Party's revisionist leader J. Branting gave the government the support of the working class. This was tantamount to a declaration of a class 'civil peace.' At the same time the Right wing supported the refusal of the Second International and the majority of its parties to stand by their solemn declarations of intent against voting for war credits, etc. It also tried to force the opposition, especially the Youth League, to cease their resistance to the policy of the party leadership and parliamentary party. Failing this, in 1916 they expelled the organizations and members who refused to accede to their demands. These included, besides the Youth League, two district organizations and several MPs. In May 1917, these set

up a party which later, when it endorsed the '21 conditions' of membership of the Third International, became known as the Communist Party of Sweden (Section of the Communist International).

The new organization was still a far cry from a mature Communist party. Its proletarian nucleus accepted Marxism. It knew of the Bolsheviks' fight against war and the stand they had taken at the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences. The October Revolution stimulated interest in Leninism, to which the best forces of our Party have remained consistently faithful. We regarded membership of the Comintern as a natural and necessary prerequisite for the ultimate victory of the working-class cause throughout the world. We felt that, following the shameful collapse of the Second International and the revisionist-inspired outburst of nationalistic fever, it was especially important for us to occupy our place in a world-wide party with a strong sense of discipline. We hoped that the Comintern would be able to prevent the repetition of developments so catastrophic to the cause of peace and socialism.

But the party also included groups of a petty-bourgeois and intellectual background which held other views. They brought into the rising labor movement and the new party national nihilism, anarchistic radicalism, petty-bourgeois humanism and pacifism, religious views and demands for 'freedom' that rejected discipline and agreed action. By no means purely Swedish, these ideas were a reflection of international trends. Lenin saw the harm they could cause the Third International, and this concern prompted the '21 conditions' of Comintern membership.

Not surprisingly, the requirements of democratic centralism and discipline formulated in the '21 conditions' aroused the organized opposition of the opportunist forces against which they were directed. In 1921, a group under I. Vennerstrom left the CPS and later rejoined the Social-Democrats, taking with them two newspapers, 4,000 members, 8 seats in parliament and 320 seats in communal and regional bodies. It soon became clear that this was only the first sally against the Party. At the Fourth Congress, which expelled the opportunists, their objections to the conditions for joining the Comintern were supported by the then leader of the CPS L. Hoglund and his group. Their objections referred to both program positions and the Party's name.

At the Fifth Comintern Congress, in 1924, a major effort was made to prevent a split in the CPS, but it failed. Although a referendum among Communists on their attitude towards the Comintern's resolution on the Swedish question produced 5,300 votes for the Comintern supporters and only 700 for Hoglund's faction, Hoglund 'expelled' the majority of the central Party leadership and all functionaries supporting the Comintern. In the end the Hoglund group also returned to the Social-Democratic fold. In the final analysis, the opportunists' departure helped to strengthen the Party organizationally and extend its political influence.

The next five years saw the relative stabilization of capitalism. The employers frequently resorted to lockouts, to which the Swedish working class responded with mass strikes. One of the bitterest was a six-month walkout of miners at Norsbotten in 1928 in support of their comrades dismissed as a result of a lockout in Central Sweden. It was purely a solidarity strike, with no demands put forward by the miners for themselves. But it was betrayed by the union leadership, which displayed perfidy without parallel in the history of the Swedish labor movement.

While the Party grew stronger and its influence among the masses increased, there were also negative aspects. The motley majority in the leadership, with its uncritical assessment of reality, was content with what had been achieved. Its attitude bordered on the ridiculous, as when, in defending its position, it denied that Sweden was an imperialist country and refused to heed those who said that we were on the eve of a new stage in the crisis, on the eve of acute class conflicts and imperialist war. So carried away were they with the capitalist boom that a few weeks before the New York Stock Exchange crash, which began the worst economic crisis in the history of capitalism, the then Party leader wrote in the *Folkets Dagblad*, its central organ: 'It would be a deliberate betrayal if we tried to convince the Swedish working class that capitalism will soon face an economic crisis.'

Differences in the Party resulted in a new split in 1929, which left it greatly weakened, without its central newspaper, with almost no district and few local branches, almost no MPs and a handful of local government officials and trade union functionaries. But in Norsbotten and several other places it maintained its positions. The splitters, headed by K. Kilbom, formed a new party with a group that had left the Social-Democratic Party. Subsequently, the supporters of Kilbom joined the Social-Democrats, while N. Flyg and a handful of functionaries sold themselves and the former Communist newspaper *Folkets Dagblad* to the Hitlerites. After that many of the rank-and-file returned to the Communist Party while others, embittered by the crash of their illusions, left politics altogether.

It took years of tremendous effort to win back the positions lost in 1929, but they enriched the Party with priceless experience and tempered it. In 1931, when the crisis hit Sweden, the Communist Party launched an active struggle against wage cuts and supported the strike movement in every way. In the Adalen district troops fired on a demonstration against strikebreakers, killing five persons. A million workers took part in the protest movement. The fight against organized scabbing broke out at many factories, culminating in bitter clashes between workers and the police. Many leading Communist organizers of the mass struggles, among them Sven Linderot, the Party's chairman, received long prison terms. The Party was still weak, but the very severity of the sentences meted out against its members was indication that the ruling

classes were aware of its potentialities and saw it as a threat to their security.

In 1932 major actions against scabs took place in Clemensnas, Lulea and other places. At the same time the Party led the unemployed in the fight for the right to work and a living wage. The collapse of the Kreuger concern in 1932 shook Swedish capitalism to its very foundations and caused a marked change in the alignment of forces. At the Riksdag elections that year for the first time in history the bourgeois parties found themselves in the minority. Our Party returned to parliament, winning two seats. All through the crisis years the Communist Party of Sweden fought in the front ranks of the working class and for its rights.

Following the Franco rebellion in Spain, our Party took part in the defense of the Republic. Most of the Swedes fighting against fascism with the Spanish republican army and, subsequently, the Scandinavian Battalion of the International Brigade, were Communists. More than 200 of them were killed in action. The Party was fully aware of its duty in the struggle against fascism and war, for national freedom, democracy and socialism, a struggle that determined its policies through the latter half of the 1930s.

At the beginning of World War II the CPS was still weak organizationally and had but modest propaganda means. This, naturally, enabled the bourgeoisie and Social-Democrats to mislead Swedes about Soviet foreign policy on the eve of 1941. At the time the Party described the war as an imperialist one, it defended the Soviet Union and itself became the target of fierce attacks. Its papers were hounded in court, confiscated and their circulation prevented. Party members of conscription age were interned in special concentration camps, Communist civil servants were deported. Many were denied the opportunity of earning a living. The system of persecution included police roundups, internment, telephone tapping and mail censorship. Communist trade union members were blacklisted and thrown out of their jobs. Matters reached a point where reactionary elements blew up the offices of the Communist newspaper *Norrkensflamman*, killing five persons, seriously wounding five more and reducing the building to rubble. The operation was conceived as the beginning of far-reaching reactionary plans aimed at engineering a coup d'etat and armed interference on the side of Finland in the war against the Soviet Union. However, the consequences proved quite opposite to what the organizers of the assault had intended. This act of terror resulted in the isolation of the war advocates, and the military psychosis soon tapered off. The CPS managed to win wider electoral support in the Riksdag elections in the autumn of 1940.

During the war our Party advocated Sweden's neutrality, regarding this as the most realistic line in the fight against Hitler Germany and Swedish military reaction. The ruling circles gravitated towards Germany. This was apparent even before the outbreak of World War II. It was an orientation they openly adhered to up to

the defeat of the nazi armies at Stalingrad. Of course, the government's policy was influenced by the fact that Sweden was virtually surrounded by Germany: Denmark and Norway were occupied in April 1940, and German troops had begun to arrive in Finland. With Hitler's attack against the Soviet Union the Soviet government's diplomatic support of Sweden ended. But now it became harder for Germany to muster enough forces to occupy our country. The Communist Party's struggle for neutrality during the war was conducted in semi-legal conditions and marked with sacrifice and heroism.

During the war the CPS followed the general line of all Comintern sections. True, Sweden did not take part in the war and we did not experience the tremendous difficulties of Communists in the belligerent countries. Nevertheless, the struggle imposed great demands on our local branches, individual members and the Party leadership. They did their duty honorably. Communists demonstrated in practice that the fight for Leninism, for the ideals of the Comintern was not in vain. The steeling they acquired enabled the CPS to withstand trials and tribulations that no other Swedish political party has ever had to face.

World War II was a serious test of the fortitude of all parties in the Comintern. Their common struggle is an unforgettable exploit. Their sacrifices were innumerable. Whence that boundless heroism, that courage with which Communists faced death? What tempered their hearts? What armed tens of millions of people with faith and political foresight, what made them unbending in suffering? What distinguished Communists from those who had called themselves Socialists before the war and then became opportunists and collaborators? Why was it that in times of trouble Communists helped their comrades and never lost courage?

We know the answer: because Marxism-Leninism was their guiding star, their world outlook, because they were educated by the Comintern. A comparison of the collective leadership of the Comintern, its parties, local organizations and individual members with the Second International and most of its parties at the beginning of both world wars shows the difference between them clearly.

But as we all know, in 1943 the Comintern was dissolved.

The question for us was whether the struggle for the ideas which the Comintern embodied – peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism – was still in need of the organization which had been such a mighty source of Communist strength for a quarter of a century? History answered that question. The level of development of Communist parties showed that the Comintern had fulfilled its mission. The changing historical conditions called for new forms of cooperation between Communists around the world in the struggle for their common goals.

In the Swedish translation of Eugene Potier's 'Internationale' there are the words, 'The International brings happiness for all.'

There is no better-known song in the country. People from all classes of society know it, it has been and remains the anthem of the Swedish working class. The ideas of international cooperation of working people, of proletarian internationalism were embraced by the Swedish working class, the Communists in the first place.

There exists a great body of literature on the Comintern in many languages. The enemies of the Third International go out of their way to falsify history. Especially obnoxious are the writings of renegades who defected from the Comintern to join its enemies. Trotskyites, centrists and Social-Democrats try to lay the blame for their own betrayal, for what they have become, on the Comintern. They concoct the most incredible lies about the role of the Comintern and, naturally, whitewash their own deeds. They defile the pure, and decry lofty goals, fidelity to ideals and genuine humanism, the desire to perform the historic task of paving the road towards a worldwide Communist party based on the science of Marxism-Leninism and resolve the difficult problems facing mankind in the Second World War. Renegade writings cast aspersions on our Party, too. Two former leaders, Høglund and Kilbom, like to speak about the time when they were connected with the Comintern. Their words are far removed from the truth. Høglund attempts to present differences in the approach to religion as an important cause of his break with the Comintern; Kilbom claims that he resigned because he refused to reject Swedish neutrality. Both are falsifiers of history attempting to denigrate the Comintern. Events are also distorted by another former leading CPS functionary, Nerman.

Such concoctions are far from harmless. Systematic slandering of the Comintern's collective leadership and distortion of its history creates a basis for various doubts, notably concerning the correctness of setting up the Comintern in the first place. The fact is that the Comintern was made necessary by the straits in which the international labor movement found itself after the collapse of the Second International and the tremendous tasks that faced the working class following the First World War. The brilliant joint actions of Communist parties, especially during World War II, their building of socialism in a number of countries and the establishment of the socialist world system, are unquestionable facts that reaffirm the correctness of the main line in the work of the Comintern. These facts provide the best basis for exposing slander and libel. No serious person can ever accept that the heroic struggle against fascism and the building of socialism would have been as successful as it has been without the unity of the world Communist movement.

More serious is another aspect of the problem: the Comintern's relations with different parties and its leadership's forced involvement in their internal struggles. Much has been written about this, with subjective judgments and indignant accusations concerning which it is, for understandable reasons, not always possible to offer

explanations based on personal experience. Today no one of the old Swedish Communists who had personal contacts with the Comintern leadership from the very beginning, is alive. My own association with the Comintern dates back to 1927, and there are several other comrades who knew it from that time.

One may ask why this question has suddenly become so important. The thing is that our Party, like some others, has lately taken a serious interest in its history. In the process we have uncovered an abundance of anti-Comintern literature. Our ideological enemies distorted known facts beyond recognition. Instead of explaining the true causes of the deviations, crises and splits in the Party—revisionism, reformist illusions, theoretical ignorance, etc—the blame for everything was heaped on the Comintern. From my own experience I can say that these accusations are groundless. I know that the Comintern leadership's interference in the affairs of our Party, for example, was usually due to overspilling sharp contradictions. It is only natural that the Comintern supported those who were on the side of its ideas and policies, but it always exercised restraint and patience, preferring persuasion to make its point. This was true even in dealing with elements who tried to blow up their party from within. On the basis of my Party's experience I can say that the Comintern always strove to isolate its opponents and win over the waverers to its side.

Does this mean that the various Comintern sections pursuing its line never made any mistakes? Of course not. And they were openly discussed in the sections as well as in the Comintern's leading bodies. The Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935 stressed the need for the Executive, in dealing with problems of the working class movement, 'to proceed from the concrete conditions and specific features in each country and refrain from direct interference in internal organizational affairs of Communist parties.' Shortcomings in the Comintern's work were noted self-critically in the decision of the Presidium of the Executive Committee regarding its dissolution. But mistakes did not affect its principles. Sweden's experience shows that they were frequently due to lack of knowledge on the part of those who defended the Comintern line, to immaturity, passivity, etc. Mistakes could also be due to personal shortcomings of some Comintern representatives and their inability to take correct decisions; even among the Comintern leadership there were people who disagreed with its general line. In the 20s our Party tended to give most publicity to those who clashed with the Comintern, ignoring those of Lenin's comrades who were carrying on his cause. The cue was, evidently, provided by certain forces within the Comintern itself. This, obviously, had its consequences. But concentration of attention only on such things and the exaggeration of mistakes detracts from the world-historic significance of the Comintern and its activities, which should be carefully studied and correctly explained. Spreading the truth about the Comintern is of tremendous importance.

To be sure, work is being done to study the Comintern's contributions to the development of the Communist movement and to write its history. But this is an enormous task and it is hard to expect passages relating to individual parties and their relations with the Comintern to be adequately written without the help of those parties themselves. It is my conviction that every party should help to present a true picture of the Comintern's role and its own work in it. The historic lessons of the struggles of the Comintern and its sections are of tremendous importance, for they can help every party gain in strength, wisdom and cohesion, they can help strengthen the unity of the Communist movement as a whole.

Youth in the communist movement

Taisto Sinisalo

Vice-Chairman, CP of Finland

The profound crisis of bourgeois society is impelling more active youth participation in political life. That conclusion of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is fully confirmed by our experience in Finland. There are other factors too: the consistent struggle of the socialist countries and the entire Communist movement for peace, democracy and progress, and the positive, I would even say decisive, influence of Soviet achievement and CPSU policy on shaping the consciousness of Finland's progressive youth.

Youth participation in social life strengthens the anti-imperialist movement. Young people take part in revolutionary battles, fighting side by side with the Communists.

Far-reaching changes in the economy and population structure resulting from the technological revolution in conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, are a dominant feature of Finnish life today. They are having a most telling effect on the youth.

That can be seen from the following figures: the 1970 census revealed that 1.1 million, 23.9 per cent of the population, were between the ages of 15 and 29; about 60 per cent of them were in urban communities, 62 per cent were wage or salary earners, 22.1 per cent students, 14.5 per cent non-employed, and 1.4 per cent classed in other categories.

Also these figures: in the 1960s, employment dropped by one-third in agriculture and forestry, grew by one-fifth in industry, remained the same in construction, increased nearly 40 per cent in trade, 15 per cent in transport and communications, with much

higher increases in the fast-developing industries, where most of the new workers are young: the 15-29 age group accounts for 40.6 per cent of industrial workers, 42.4 per cent in banking, insurance and the service industries, and 43.3 per cent in public catering and hotels.

In 1945, attendance at seven-year primary schools was 450,000, and 73,000 in secondary schools; the figures for the 1970-71 school year were 471,000 and 324,000 respectively. In 1950, only 23.7 per cent of primary-school leavers went on to secondary school; in 1969 the proportion was 60.7. Before the war Finland had 9,000 university students; in 1970-71 the figure was nearly 60,000. Lastly, the proportion of pupils and students in the 7-24 age group rose from 54.1 per cent in 1950 to 62 per cent in 1966.

And though even now 70 per cent of children from low-income families do not go beyond primary school, and middle-class children make up about 70 per cent of secondary-school pupils, the general educational level, including that of working-class children, has risen appreciably (and the tendency will continue as the result of the Communist-initiated secondary-school reform). The proportion of university students from working-class families, now about 20 per cent, is slowly but steadily growing.

Now more directly involved in socio-economic processes, young people are coming to see that their interests and aspirations are in crying contradiction to the bourgeois social system.

The new stage in the youth movement begun in the 1960s was a contradictory one. Young workers tended to be passive, Young Communist branches cut down on their activities, Social-Democratic ideology was gaining ground, cultural radicalism which shuns all class criteria became widespread. There emerged a 'youth sub-culture' expressive of a spontaneous protest against the existing system, but with only the embryo of social struggle.

In criticizing the evils of capitalism, a large section of the youth movement rejected both Right and Marxist-Leninist ideology. Capitalism was not denounced as a system, and most of the criticism was from petty-bourgeois and reformist positions.

The Communist Party could not at that time provide a correct answer to the questions agitating the youth. Besides, there were gross mistakes in policy towards the Democratic Youth League (DYL) and the Socialist Students League (SSL). The youth movement retreated from the fundamentals of communism and, politically and organizationally, found itself at a dead end.

However, aggravation of the international class struggle (Vietnam, activization of the national-liberation struggle, rising strike wave, student demonstrations), the achievements of the socialist countries, and the contradictions within Finnish state-monopoly capitalism, broke Social-Democratic ideological domination, first in the student movement and then in the secondary schools.

The Leftward shift in the student movement reflected its closer organizational and ideological ties with the working class. The

turning point came in 1970, when the SSL was reconstituted and became a Marxist-Leninist organization with influence in all the country's higher educational establishments and in many of its schools. It now has several thousand members, compared with about 300 in 1966, and in 1972 it polled 29.3 per cent of the vote in the leading student fraternities. In Helsinki University it increased its share of the vote from 19.7 per cent in 1970 to 25.9 per cent in 1972. It publishes a magazine, *The Torch*, and a newspaper, *The Torchbearer*.

In 1971, the National Union of Students (NUS), which represents all the universities, joined the International Union of Students. This signified a turn in its political activity, largely due to cooperation of Communists, Social-Democrats and Centrists.

The democratic student movement owes much of its influence to its participation in the anti-imperialist struggle, its active campaigning for democratization of higher education. It has the support of the working class, with students reciprocating by solidarity with striking workers.

The position in the schools has changed radically. The Union of Vocational School Students and the Union of Senior Secondary School Students (USSS), both progressive democratic organizations, have stepped up their activity. Evening-school students have their own organization, too. School newspapers have a total circulation of 150,000.

Elected school councils, with students holding half the seats, were inaugurated this year. The democratic front of Left and centrist forces, committed to USSS policy, won the majority in the elections, and since then the Right forces have been conducting a frenzied but unsuccessful campaign to regain their lost influence.

The chief goals of the pupil organizations (in which the Communists hold strong positions) are a unitary school system, government rather than private production of all textbooks, renewal of curricula to bring them into conformity with modern requirements, especially in the social sciences, freedom for pupils to engage in political activity, etc.

Work among young intellectuals, who are particularly affected by the marked change in the position of scientists and technicians, presents many complex problems. The number of engineers rose from 11,200 in 1960 to 24,800 in 1972, and the proportion of those employed in industry from 3.4 to 6.4 per cent. Most engineers are just salary earners, with only two to four per cent in business for themselves. There is a bigger demand for trained personnel for such ancillary branches as designing, research and development, computers, etc. With more sophisticated machinery being used everywhere, the gap between engineer and worker is gradually being bridged. Engineers employed in industry or designing bureaus are subjected to intensified exploitation. According to official statistics, average wages (before taxes) increased 34.5 per cent in 1963-71, whereas the average salary of an engineer increased only six

per cent. There is also a differentiation process among technical personnel, a widening disparity between top managerial staff and the large group, mostly young people, employed directly in production.

All this greatly increases the revolutionary potential of the scientific and technical intelligentsia, but the attitude of most of its members is still one of petty-bourgeois vacillation. Unless the fight for their professional interests is linked with the fight of the working class, they might side with the extreme Right or the reformists.

There is every reason to promote the democratic development of the traditional intellectual organizations and encourage their cooperation with workers, but we must find appropriate forms for this. Communist members of parliament and municipal councils can help by devoting more attention to the problems of engineers and technicians in industry.

The Communist Party is active among all sections of the young intelligentsia. This January, for instance, a group of progressive educators founded a new organization, Democratic Teachers. Its aim is to secure more funds for the schools, equal educational opportunities, curricula reform, etc. Many young Communists who began their public activities in the Socialist Students' League play a prominent part in the leadership.

A progressive movement of cultural workers, which is having a strong impact on the youth, has developed in recent years, particularly after the special Communist Party Congress in 1970. At the head of this movement is the Marxist-Leninist Union of Cultural Workers, with a sizeable membership among writers, actors, cinema people and artists.

Its congress this spring emphasized that the artist must serve the working class, and to do that he must master Marxism-Leninism, the world outlook of the proletariat. That idea is finding wider acceptance, largely thanks to Communist efforts, among young members of the creative professions.

Young workers have become more active, too, and take a closer interest in the trade unions, where they account for a large share of the membership: 44 per cent in the metalworkers' union, 38.7 per cent in the woodworkers' union, 43 per cent in the transport union, etc.

They played no small part in the strike struggles of the 70s, with young Communists and Social-Democrats cooperating in a number of actions.

For all that, the political activity of the working-class youth still lags behind that of the students and school pupils. Eliminating the lag is a priority goal for the Communist Party.

The weakness of the young workers' movement should be attributed to the considerable influence of Social-Democratic ideas. That influence can be removed only in consistent struggle against reformist and kindred opportunist views. And this implies that the

Communists must take a clear class position on such issues as policy towards state-monopoly capitalism, Social-Democracy, working class unity against Big Business, etc.

A few words about the democratic Soldiers' League. It publishes its own newspaper and is organizing branches in all army garrisons. The Communists play a big part in the League, a factor of major importance in its activity.

Long years of Social-Democratic influence in Finland have created a receptive soil for all manner of reformist doctrines. The Right-wing Social-Democratic leadership is trying to depoliticize the youth by assiduously spreading the ideology of class collaboration.

The Communist Party is working to unite the youth and to foil the splitting tactics of the Right Social-Democrats. However, even a section of the Communists succumb to reformist influence; there are illusions about Social-Democratic policy on youth issues and the trade unions; there have even been attempts to oppose the young workers to the students and intellectuals.

All this complicates the Party's youth work and has an adverse effect on the Democratic Youth League. There have been endless discussions about the League's program and purpose, whether it should be a general democratic or Marxist-Leninist organization. Its last congress decided that the aim of the League, as an organization of working youth, is to unite young workers, students and school pupils to fight for their rights and freedoms, against big capital and political reaction. The League disseminates among the youth knowledge of the position and historic mission of the working class. Its education and political work are based on the theory of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. This will help the League overcome ideological and political differences and combat Right and 'Left' opportunism, reformism, anti-Sovietism and anti-communism in all their diverse forms.

'Left' trends are still alive in the youth movement, especially among students. But we have succeeded in repelling numerous ultra-Left attempts to mislead the youth. We have dealt a decisive blow at Maoism. True, of late the Maoists have shifted to new methods and are making wider use of the Finland-China Society, but the Communists will continue to fight every manifestation of the 'Left' danger.

The ideological struggle for the youth is bound to grow sharper in the years ahead. Experience in Finland and other countries underscores the need for young workers and students to have a socialist, Marxist-Leninist organization capable of upholding their rights and future in close alliance and cooperation with the Communist Party.

The youth is fighting not only for its own interests; it influences social life as a whole. This applies especially to the anti-imperialist movement. The World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students have substantially increased their influence. For instance, the worldwide campaign to collect money

for the Nguyen Van Troi children's hospital in Vietnam was an important event in Finland—our workers, students and schoolchildren collected over 1,000,000 marks, double the target figure.

Young Finns show a keen interest in the Peace Program advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress. They are especially concerned for European security. They feel that friendly relations with the Soviet Union are an important contribution to peaceful coexistence. Young Finland had a conspicuous share in the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the USSR and anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. There were special lessons on the subject in the schools, with reports delivered by pupils and representatives of youth organizations. Materials on life in the Soviet Union were distributed among schoolchildren. All this was done with the help of the Senior Students organization and the Finland-Soviet Union Society.

More and more young people are coming to see the offensive of the extreme Right as a clear menace to the development of our society. And the extreme Right have not abandoned the struggle for the youth; their main blow is directed at progressive youth organizations. In this struggle the Communists are not on the defensive; they are attacking with the strong support of the young generation.

The Communist Party of Finland has always championed youth interests. The 16th Party Congress declared: 'The Communists have always worked for the good of the young generation, whose best representatives join the fighting ranks of the Communist Party.' Our Party has rich militant traditions and the accumulated experience of veteran fighters. This must now be combined with the strength and courage of the youth. The Communist Party and the youth—expressed in these words is the Party and its future. The youth can successfully uphold its interests only with the support of the working-class Party. Youth's place is in the Communist ranks.



The impact of Lenin's doctrine of the Party

Pyotr Rodionov,
D.Sc. Hist.

The success of the Communist party depends to a very great extent on stringent and consistent observance of the Leninist principles of Party organization and activity. That thesis, confirmed by the experience of the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, is comprehensively examined in this new book by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.* It contains, in full or in part, articles and speeches on the subject over the period from 1964 through 1972.

Using many historic examples and facts, the author gives a panoramic picture of the Soviet Communist Party's revolutionary transforming activities. They are evidence of the Party's unswerving scientifically grounded and consistent Leninist general line. The book brings out the immense theoretical contribution the CPSU is making to the treasure store of Marxism-Leninism. In a lucid and convincing manner it deals with the problems involved in the further development of Lenin's theory of the Party, ways and means of perfecting inner-Party life and the forms and methods of Party leadership in the economic and cultural fields.

L. I. Brezhnev devotes much attention to the problem of enhancing the leading role of the Party. 'Everybody knows that this is one of the fundamental questions of the revolutionary movement and the building of the new society,' he pointed out in the CC Report to the 24th CPSU Congress. 'Today it has become the pivot of the struggle between Marxist-Leninists and representatives of various forms of revisionism. The principled stand of the CPSU and its relentless struggle for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the Party, was of international significance, helping, as is emphasized by the fraternal Parties, the Communists and millions of working people to maintain a correct orientation.'

The CPSU has always worked on the premise that a Marxist-Leninist Party in power should direct all aspects of social life—

*L. I. Brezhnev, *Pressing Problems of Party Building*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1973.

political, economic and ideological. Relaxing attention to any of these aspects (which our opponents would heartily welcome) would reduce to nought the Party's all-important function of purposive, scientifically grounded leadership and would help to unleash spontaneous processes in social development, with all the ruinous consequences following therefrom.

The Party's leading role in building socialism and communism – whether in a one-party or multi-party system – follows from the fact that the working class, of which the revolutionary Party is the organized vanguard, has by the very march of history been put in the van of the revolution and the building of the new society. Enhancing the role of the Party is, therefore, an objective necessity and an essential condition for society's advance to communism. But it is not an automatic process. To a decisive extent it depends on the state of the Party, the way its internal life is organized, the quality, discipline and ideologico-theoretical level of its membership, the degree of collectivism and democracy.

The Party's chief function is to draw up the overall prospects of social development, formulate the political line and mobilize the masses to bring it to reality. CPSU policy expresses the vital interests of the Soviet people and is based on a scientific and realistic approach, on profound knowledge of the life and sentiments of the masses, on close contact with the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia. 'The Party's correct Marxist-Leninist policy, its approval and support by all the working people of our country,' the author says, 'is the chief source of all socialism's gains in the past and an essential pre-condition of our future victories.' This is cogently confirmed by the successful solution of the increasingly complex problems of economic and cultural development and improvement of the people's prosperity standards. Foreign policy is likewise formulated to accord with the interests of the working people. And in foreign policy the CPSU seeks to create favorable international conditions for the successful building of socialism and communism, render all-round assistance to the workers' and national-liberation movements, and consolidate international peace and security. The April 1973 CC CPSU Plenum noted that the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress was successfully being put into effect.

The important changes in external conditions are responsible for some of the specific features of the present stage of socialist development. Of special significance in this context is the deepening process of economic integration of the socialist countries. In all our practical activities, Party documents emphasize, we must take into consideration the fact that the economic and technical competition of the two world systems now plays a bigger part in the class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

'To fuse into a uniform policy the thoughts and will of all Party members, our correct political line must always be combined with efficient organization. Only in this way can the Party successfully

play its part of the leading and guiding force in the country's development,' Comrade Brezhnev writes. Accordingly, the CPSU attaches the utmost importance to democratic centralism, the very core of Party organization and activity. It is working to further develop inner-Party democracy, combine collective leadership with higher responsibility of Party members and strengthen conscious Party discipline. Better selection, allocation and training of cadres play an important part in the continued improvement of the effectiveness of primary Party units.

The Party does not guide society by administrative methods, by fiat, or by assuming the functions of government and public organizations, as the anti-Communists allege. 'On the contrary,' the author says, 'one of the tasks of Party leadership of society is to optimize the activity of all units of the social system, improve their work and give them more responsibility.'

In developed socialism, inner-Party life exerts a strong influence on the process of expanding democracy to give all citizens an active share in running the country—the main direction in the continued development of socialist statehood.

The Party is constantly concerned to raise economic effectiveness and increase production. In this book, L. I. Brezhnev closely analyzes the problems involved in the management of industry, agriculture, construction and the service industries.

The Party regards as a special task the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

'More than any other society,' Comrade Brezhnev writes, 'socialist society needs a scientific theory.' While creatively developing Marxism-Leninism, the Party at the same time seeks to make the revolutionary ideas, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, part of the mentality of every Soviet citizen, a guide and stimulus in his work for our great cause.

The book exposes bourgeois and revisionist contentions that the Leninist doctrine of the Party is of 'purely Russian' significance. The author shows the international character of Lenin's ideological, political and organizational principles. Confirmed by experience, Lenin's idea of the Party as the leader of the revolutionary masses, the guiding force of the new society, and Lenin's principles of Party organization and activity, are now the patrimony of true communist revolutionaries in all parts of the world. The work of the CPSU, its unrelenting struggle for cohesion of the socialist community and unity of the international Communist movement, against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, Right and 'Left' opportunism, its faithful and consistent observance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism meet with approval and support from fraternal parties.

L. I. Brezhnev's book is a model of Party approach and of fidelity to communist principles. Published shortly before the 70th anniversary of the Second RSDLP Congress, it is expressive of the

vast experience accumulated by the Leninist Party and of its collective creative thought. There can be no doubt that the book will help the reader better to understand the development of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the principles of its activity and leadership, the sources of its epochal successes in building the new, communist society.

China's foreign policy option

There is a growing number of books and articles on the latest changes in Peking's foreign policy.

Following are reviews of two books which cite indisputable facts revealing the nature of the Maoists' foreign political ambitions.

PEKING'S RECIPES

Chinese Mandarinism is the title of a new book by Dharamvir Singh Tyagi,* a prominent public figure, member of the Legislative Assembly of Uttar Pradesh (India), which analyzes the main features of Peking's foreign policy and their projection on the developing countries.

As a result of the victory of the 1949 revolution, the author writes, 'the People's Republic of China emerged as an important factor in the anti-imperialist struggle and gained great international prestige in the early period. However, instead of continuing the course of cooperation with the socialist community, the only force capable of ensuring China a status commensurate with its objective position in the world, the Chinese leadership in the end of the last decade took the path of adventurism placing China in opposition to the main revolutionary forces of our time.'

Tyagi sees the starting point of the Maoists' policy in Great Han chauvinism, inherited from the propertied classes of old China. Behind the smokescreen of revolutionary talk, it is not difficult to discern that China's foreign policy has nothing to do with the activity of the socialist community. It seeks to take advantage, in its own way, of the struggle between imperialism and socialism, 'unmindful of the general interest of the anti-imperialist struggle.'

To reach its aims, Peking resorted to a vast variety of methods ranging from political flirting to direct, crude pressure. In the early 50s the Maoists tried to impose their recipe of 'protracted armed struggle' and their 'Chinese model' on all newly-independent countries. In an effort to expand their influence in the Afro-Asian countries, the Peking leaders - even while subscribing to the Band-

*Delhi, Rachna Publishers, 1972.

ung Declaration on Promoting World Peace and Cooperation – went as far as to justify behind the scenes membership of militarist pacts like SEATO on the plea of the ‘right of self-defense.’

However, the Bandung phase of Peking’s foreign policy did not last long. The five principles of peaceful coexistence were soon thrown overboard. Peking began to provoke border conflicts; it openly encouraged ‘Left’ adventurist forces in Southeast Asia and denounced non-aligned nations as ‘reactionary.’

As their attempts to export revolution miscarried for obvious reasons, the Maoist leaders again revised the ‘theoretical’ basis of their policy by propounding the thesis of ‘two super-powers.’ This, the author writes, was another attempt ‘to confound the revolutionary forces in the young emergent nations, to isolate them from the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.’ To bracket the Soviet Union with the U.S. is to divert the attention of the peoples of newly-free countries from their main enemy, imperialism.

While posing as a ‘third force’ between socialism and imperialism, the Peking rulers are actually ‘siding with the United States and other Western powers.’ This phenomenon manifested itself most glaringly during the events in Bangladesh, when ‘the Chinese leaders acted as co-belligerents with the United States.’ ‘Their stance of solidarity and support for all liberation movements,’ Tyagi says, ‘was torn to shreds by their unabashed support to the Pakistani military junta in its unsuccessful attempt to crush the freedom struggle of the 75 million people of Bangladesh.’

In the chapter ‘Mao-Nixon Dialogue,’ Tyagi traces the evolution of the Sino-American rapprochement. Secret meetings between PRC and U.S. representatives began in 1958. In public, the Peking leaders stuck to their anti-U.S. stance and the 134 meetings held in 10 years were accompanied by 400-odd ‘serious warnings’ to Washington. Yet even with regard to Vietnam, Tyagi stresses, Peking’s policy was one of ‘indirect conflict and minimum risk,’ of avoiding a direct confrontation with the U.S. Peking advised Vietnam to be ‘self-reliant.’

The Sino-U.S. contact received a shot in the arm with Peking’s policy turning more hostile to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Tyagi considers that the incidents on the Chinese-Soviet frontier were provoked by Peking with an eye to reaching an accommodation with U.S. imperialism. Most of the China-watchers in the West, he points out, have by now come to the conclusion that ‘China’s main substantive grievance is against Russia, not against the United States.’

The author concludes his book by discussing the possible effect of the Peking leaders’ deal with the U.S. on Asian countries. He quotes two top American China experts, Richard Moorsteen and Morton Abramovitz, who wrote in their recent book, *Remaking China Policy*: ‘China is actually or potentially a major influence on every interest we have in Asia. . . . Wherever the Nixon doctrine is challenged in Asia, the Chinese role will be important.’

This is certainly a fitting and significant appraisal. Sarada Mitra

WITH WHOM AND AGAINST WHOM

Several books and articles have lately been published in Poland which critically analyze the present foreign policy of the CPC leadership and show up its incompatibility with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Mention should be made of the article 'Some Ideological Sources of Maoism' by Włodzimierz Byczkowski (*Nowe Drogi*, November 1972) and 'The Communist Party of China in the Face of the International Communist Movement' by Andrzej Janicki (*Ideologia i Polityka*, February 1973). There is also *Notes from China*, a book by Stanisław Glabinski, a Polish international commentator. Recently he published a new book, *America Looks at China*,* to which I would like to call the reader's attention.

The book deals with U.S.-Chinese relations. It should be pointed out (by no means as a demerit of the book) that while the history of the problem is based chiefly on data from archives, the description of the contemporary period draws largely on the author's own observations. Glabinski was in Peking during the 'cultural revolution' and then in Washington, just when the 'new policy' towards China was being framed.

Looking back on U.S.-Chinese relations, the author states that 'the Mao Tse-tung group's anti-Soviet and anti-socialist policy afforded Washington truly amazing prospects, aroused hopes in U.S. politicians and whetted their desire to weaken the socialist camp, change the global alignment of forces in the world, split the world Communist movement and extend their own influence in Asia.'

The beginnings of those designs go back to the years of World War II, when U.S. policy-makers realized that the Kuomintang regime was doomed. Glabinski recalls what a U.S. Sinologist said in 1944. America must do its best, that expert said, to extend its political influence to China's Communists. . . . If the United States wanted to win the battle against the Soviet world it must remember that a split in the Soviet-Chinese bloc would be an event of vast importance to the U.S.

The 60s saw a chauvinist, divisive line gain the upper hand in China's external orientation. Intended to promote hegemonist, great-power interests, it did not go unnoticed on Capitol Hill. The Peking leaders, who earlier had publicly rejected all 'talks with imperialists,' began, for their part, to seek contacts.

It is beyond question that contacts and cooperation between peoples and states belonging to different social systems on the principles of peaceful coexistence contribute to peace and progress. However, the Mao group uses closer links with capitalist countries to the detriment of the international Communist and working-class movement, which objectively makes the group an accomplice of imperialism.

There are many facts proving this. In attacking the Soviet Union

*Stanisław Glabinski, *Ameryka patrzy na Chiny*. Warsaw, Książka i Wiedza, 1973.

as its main target, Peking opposes the peace efforts of socialist countries on a global and regional scale alike. Chinese propaganda goes out of its way to assail the program for peace in Europe and the proposal for a world disarmament conference. Its acclaim of the strategists of a 'new Atlantic charter,' NATO and the Common Market is an outright challenge to the peace policy of socialism. Objectively, the Peking leadership is betting on cold warriors, on enemies of detente whose activity is based on anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Peking tries to torpedo the proposal for collective security in Asia which would safeguard peace on the continent and foster, as a result of substantial cuts in spending on armaments, the economic progress of Asian countries and the living standard of their peoples.

The Chinese leadership's present policy amounts to forming a second front against the socialist community. Peking tries to meddle in the internal affairs of socialist countries and steps up its attacks on the CMEA and Warsaw Treaty. Its attitude in the UN, with Chinese representatives eagerly looking for allies in the most reactionary, anti-Soviet quarters, is particularly revealing.

Glabinski's book bares the mainspring of the Sino-American rapprochement. The United States would like to loosen the socialist commonwealth and divide the world Communist movement with help from China and strengthen the imperialist system thereby. The Peking leadership, in turn, wants to use the U.S. and other capitalist countries for its own foreign policy, whose main objective is to pave the way for world supremacy. *Stanislaw Wacławski*

'Namyn Amydral' (Party Life)

*Jubilee of Mongolian
Communist Journal*

The first issue of *Namyn Amydral*, political and theoretical monthly of the Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, appeared in October 1923. The journal is two years younger than the Party and its record is that of the Party's struggles and victories.

Namyn Amydral mobilizes the Party membership and the people to carry out tasks facing the country. The paramount task at this stage is to fulfill the new five-year plan for economic and cultural development. The journal concerns itself with every aspect of Party life and the people's effort towards promoting animal husbandry and industry, expanding the socialist emulation movement, improv-

ing education and health care, perfecting leadership by Party, government and non-governmental organizations, and the working people's Communist education, and so on.

The journal carries articles on Marxist philosophy as well as on economic, political and historical subjects. It gives much space to theoretical generalization of the experience of socialist countries and to analysis of Mongolia's non-capitalist development.

The themes of the sections 'Life and Experience of Communist and Workers' Parties' and 'International Survey' are the international Communist and working-class movement, the national liberation struggle, and exposure of bourgeois ideology and Right- and 'Left'-wing opportunism.

The range of subjects dealt with is wide and so is that of contributors, who include Party leaders, statesmen, veterans of the revolution, scholars, artists, writers and journalists.

The Editors of *World Marxist Review* heartily congratulate their comrade-in-arms on its 50th anniversary and wish it the best of success.

'Political Affairs'

Magazine of Marxist Thought
and Research,
Theoretical Organ of CP USA

Among the publications of the U.S. Communist Party is its theoretical monthly journal – *Political Affairs* – which has appeared for 52 years. In struggles for its democratic right to publish, *Political Affairs*, as seen in past years, faced the threat of the fascist-like McCarran Act, yet this did not cause it to miss an issue. It has waged consistent theoretical and ideological struggles which have drawn strength from its readers. Communists and sections of militant workers see in the journal a political guide and an aid in their class battles.

The magazine contributes Marxist-Leninist thought to the daily class struggle and cultivates an interest in Marxism-Leninism among workers as to the importance of political and theoretical knowledge. Unity and cohesion of the international Communist and workers' movement and the fight for peace and progress are prominent subjects, as is its unswerving stand regarding the historic role of the Soviet Union in today's struggles for social advance. It helps advance the cause of socialism in the USA.

Using diverse forms – such as issues devoted to one subject, comment on current events, book reviews, discussions, readers' letters – *Political Affairs* analyzes the American political scene, exposes the domination of monopoly, the link between U.S. imperialist plans and internal policy, outlines the prospect in the battle for democracy. The aims of its ideological fight are unity of the U.S. labor movement, realization of the workers' demands, liberation of the Black people and other oppressed minorities, internationalism.

Marxist philosopher Howard Selsam once remarked that there were three methods of conviction – inductive, deductive and seductive. *Political Affairs* has constantly waged a principled struggle against 'seductive' theories that falsify Marxism, against revisionism and sectarianism, and has upheld the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The ability to unite the workers' immediate demands and interests with the ultimate goals of the U.S. and international workers' movement is a distinguishing feature of the journal.

Each issue begins with a political commentary on the central issue of the day, and its analysis is continued in other items. The editors try to keep every problem discussed in the magazine in the center of the reader's attention.

Political Affairs authors include leading personalities of fraternal parties, Marxist scholars, workers and intellectuals in the U.S. and other countries.

D. M.

Workers' control is for the workers

In the environment of socialist democracy, Lenin said, the mass of the population must and will rise 'to taking an *independent* part, not only in voting and elections, *but also in the everyday administration of the state*' (Vol. 25, pp. 487-88). How this was put into practice, and how it is practised today, is the subject of V. Turov-tsev's study, 'People's Control in Socialist Society.'*

The book examines the organizational principles and mechanics of people's control in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, studies the legal status of the control agencies, and their forms and methods.

In a socialist state representing the interest and will of all working people, the author shows, the right of control is vested in the people. State control is complemented by public control in enterprises, collective farms, institutions and offices. It is discharged by workers, farmers, and other employees working in groups, posts and committees of people's control.

The gradual passage to communist society will be effected through the progressive intertwining of state guidance and popular self-administration, and the further growth of public participation.

*V. Turovtsev, *El control popular en la sociedad socialista*. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1973.

The Soviet Union, for example, already has more than eight million public controllers, while the number of professionals is no more than one-tenth of this figure.

Similar tendencies are also observed in the other socialist countries. The book shows that despite certain disparities control is based everywhere on the identity of the fundamental principles. This identity stems from the mass character, publicity, and ever greater efficiency of control.

O. B.

New & current publications

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Brief information on Communist and Workers' Parties

IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

In 1932, Communist cells began to appear in the southern part of the country. The first illegal meeting of Iraqi Communists was held in Baghdad in March 1934. It agreed to establish the first central Communist organization—the Iraqi Communist Party (under the name ‘Committee for Combating Colonialism and Exploitation’) and elected a provisional Central Committee. The first conference was not convened until 1944. It adopted its National Charter as an immediate program.

In April 1945, the First Congress was held in Baghdad; it adopted the Party Program and Rules and elected a Central Committee.

The Second ICP Congress, held in September 1970, reaffirmed the line of stepping up the struggle against imperialist reaction, for consolidating national independence, and promoting democracy and social progress. The Congress adopted a new Party Program, made changes in the Rules, and elected a new CC.

The ICP has been illegal since its foundation, except for a few years when its activities were semi-legal.

The Party structure has a pyramid form, with the lower branches subordinated to the higher bodies. Organization is according to place of work, study or residence. Intellectuals are organized in Party branches according to their professional societies and unions.

Party structure:

Primary committees set up at industrial enterprises, institutes or residence; city committees; provincial committees (city committees in the larger towns have the status of provincial committees); regional committees set up in South Iraq (in charge of Party organizations in three provinces) and in Baghdad; the territorial committee of Kurdistan elected by a congress of the Kurdistan territory convened every four years under central control. The congress can adopt a special program, but its decisions go into effect only after endorsement by the ICP CC.

The Central Committee is the leading Party body between con-

gresses. The CC elects a Political Bureau, which directs the work of the CC between plenums, and the first secretary. CC plenums are convened every six months, and there are provisions for convening extraordinary plenums.

The Party Congress is convened every four years by the Central Committee. Its delegates are the members and candidate members of the CC, representatives of the Kurdistan territory committee, regional and provincial committees and commissions of the Central Committee.

The Party press:

Throughout its history the ICP has managed to publish many newspapers and journals and contributed to non-communist (democratic) publications in one way or another. Most of its publications were illegal, except for a few, and usually for a short time. Now the ICP publishes a legal daily newspaper *El-Fikr El-Jadid* ('New Thought') and a monthly literary and political journal *Eth-Thaqafa El-Jadida* ('New Culture').

Since May 1972 there have been two representatives of the ICP in the Iraqi government.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF LUXEMBOURG

Founded in the city of Differdange January 2, 1921. Almost 80 per cent of the membership are workers, mainly steel workers.

The Congress, convened every three years, is the supreme Party authority. The last, 21st Congress, was held March 24-25, 1973. The Congress elects the Central Committee. The Central Committee elects the Executive and Secretariat.

The CPL consists of primary organizations (groups) at enterprises and residential. The highest authority of the group is the annual general meeting. The meeting elects the groups committee and delegates to the Party Congress.

The Party press:

An 8-page daily newspaper. *Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek*, with 12 pages on Sundays; the 16-page weekly, *Wochen-Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek*, which reproduces the most important articles from the daily newspaper and is circulated chiefly at factories.

From 1945 to 1947 the CPL was a member of the National Unity government and from 1945 on has been represented in Parliament; at present it has 6 out of the 56 seats.

In the latest elections in 1968 fifteen per cent of the votes were cast for the Party (as compared with 12 per cent in the previous elections). In the southern industrial areas Communist candidates polled as much as 22 per cent of the votes. However, the electoral law works against the Party, which by the number of votes should have had more seats in Parliament.

Many Communists are elected to local government bodies and enterprise production councils. The country's second largest city, Esch, is run by a Communist-Socialist coalition headed by a Communist burgomaster. Thanks to the support of the Communists, burgomasters in most of the industrial towns are Socialists. Communists head production councils at the three largest iron-and-steel plants in the country.

The Party is supported in its activities by the United Trade Union Center founded some 10 years ago, which also includes the Socialists. Communists are active in other mass organizations, such as the Luxembourg Women's Union, the Luxembourg-USSR Society, and organizations of former Resistance fighters.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SRI LANKA (CPSL)

Founded July 3, 1943. Its precursor was the United Socialist Party (USP) which was formed in November 1940. In March 1942, the USP was declared illegal by the British rulers and an underground conference of the USP held on July 2-3, 1943, decided to dissolve it and form the Ceylon Communist Party. Its Eighth Congress, held in August 1972, decided to rename the Party as The Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CPSL).

The primary Party organizations, branches, are organized on the basis of the place of work, the institution or the area in which the members work or live.

District Committees are set up to cover all primary organizations within a given district. In places where there are sufficient primary organizations in an electoral Constituency of the National State Assembly an Area Committee is set up under the District Committee.

The National Congress is the supreme authority of the Party. According to the Party constitution it should be convened every two years. The National Congress elects the Central Committee, the Central Control Commission and the Central Auditing Commission. The Central Committee is the higher authority between two National Congresses.

The Central Committee elects the Political Bureau, the Secretariat, the Organization Bureau, the Trade Union Bureau and the departments of the Party. It also elects the General Secretary, the Chairman, Chief Organizer, the Treasurer and the Assistant Secretaries.

The Central Committee also elects the Editors of Party organs - MAWBIMA (Homeland, in Sinhala), DESHABIMANI (Patriot, in Tamil), FORWARD (in English) and the popular daily - ATHTHA (Truth).

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka has six members in the National State Assembly including one Minister and one Deputy Minister. It is a member of the present United Front Government which came to power in May 1970.

Neo-colonialism

Economic methods and manifestations

A SURVEY BY THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, INSTITUTE OF WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

Some data illustrating how neo-colonialism operates in economic relations between developed capitalist countries and the developing nations.

Foreign Trade. The developed capitalist countries' steady economic expansion at the expense of the developing nations is particularly evident against the general background of the steep rise in trade on the capitalist world market. The developing countries' share in exports has decreased by more than 30 per cent over the past 17 years, (see Table I), which has aggravated their financial problems and prevents the restructuring of their economy. And while the economy of many of these countries is geared to export, the latter is the weakest and most vulnerable aspect of their foreign trade.

TABLE I

Exports from non-socialist countries

	VALUE (\$000,000,000)						PERCENTAGE					
	1955	1960	1965	1970	1971	1972	1955	1960	1965	1970	1971	1972
World capitalist market as a whole	84.4	113.0	164.7	278.9	312.1	367.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Developed capitalist countries	60.7	85.7	128.3	223.9	250.5	297.2	72.0	75.6	77.9	81.4	80.3	81.0
Developing countries	23.7	27.3	36.4	55.0	61.6	69.9	28.0	24.4	22.1	18.6	19.7	19.0

Source: *Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics*, 1972, New York, 1972, p. 3; *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, UN, May 1973, p. 111.

However, these figures embellish the actual state of affairs, for a substantial part of the increase in exports from developing countries (in cash value) came from the small group of nine oil-producing countries.

The drop in the new states' share in capitalist exports was due to something more than major changes in world production, such as the relative decline in the demand for natural raw materials,

partly replaced by man-made materials, the utilization of what was formerly unprofitable ploughland, or the working of new mineral deposits. Ousting developing countries from the capitalist world market is a deliberate policy of imperialism with its discriminatory tariff barriers and quotas. According to a recent GATT estimate, dutiable goods are mostly exported from developing countries.* At the same time developed capitalist countries resort to protectionism to encourage exports of their own food products and minerals.

Another sign of neo-colonialism is that exports from developing countries are tied, so to say, to developed capitalist countries. Capitalist powers exploit the developing countries' objective difficulties to maintain an export trend favorable to themselves by exporting capital, setting up trade and economic 'associations' and 'currency zones' and imposing special trade terms.

Statistics show that in the post-colonial period the share of developed capitalist countries in exports from newly-free countries, far from decreasing, has been going up – it rose from 72.9 per cent in 1955 to 74.6 per cent in 1971.** This was accompanied by an appreciable reduction of the developing countries' share in reciprocal trade. See Table II.

TABLE II

Pattern of exports from non-socialist countries (per cent)

	Developing countries				Developed capitalist countries			
	1955	1960	1965	1970	1955	1960	1965	1970
I. Raw materials	87.1	85.7	82.4	75.8	35.4	31.4	28.4	22.9
Food and beverages	32.5	29.7	28.6	24.3	15.5	14.0	14.1	10.8
Raw materials	29.4	28.0	22.6	18.2	14.4	13.4	10.9	8.7
Fuels	25.2	28.0	31.2	33.3	5.5	4.0	3.4	3.4
II. Finished goods	12.9	14.3	17.6	24.4	64.6	68.6	71.6	77.1
Non-ferrous metals	5.1	4.9	5.3	6.4	3.6	3.4	3.4	3.5
Chemical products	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.5	7.0	7.8	8.5	8.7
Machinery and plant	0.5	0.7	1.1	2.4	24.8	28.3	31.2	35.1
Other Items	6.3	7.6	9.8	13.9	29.2	29.1	28.5	29.8

Source: *Handbook* . . . 1972, p. 193; *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, July 1972, pp. XX-XXVI

For all the efforts of new states, the bulk of their exports – or three-quarters of the total – is still raw materials whereas developed capitalist powers have long since switched to finished products.

True, the share of finished products in the developing countries' exports increased after the collapse of the colonial system, especially during the 60s, but their contribution to the capitalist world market nevertheless dropped from 7.5 per cent in 1955 to 7 per cent in 1970.*** Available data show that even if the growth rate of finished goods exports doubles every decade till the end of the century, the new states' share on the capitalist market will be only about one-sixth of the total.****

**Intereconomics*, No. 5, 1973, p. 140.

***Handbook* . . . 1972, p. 46; *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1972, p. XII.

****Handbook* . . . 1972, pp. 114, 130, 142, 154, 166; *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, July 1972, pp. XX-XXV.

*****Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodniye Otnoshenia*, 1973, No. 6, p. 106.

There is still a striking contrast between developing countries and developed capitalist countries in the export pattern of finished products, with textiles, clothing, footwear and other articles of the traditional industries, which statistics class as 'other items,' and non-ferrous metals predominating in the former, and machinery, plant and chemicals and other products of the progressive industries leading in the latter.

Unequal conditions find concentrated expression in pricing.

The postwar period has seen a steady increase in the export prices of items made in developed capitalist countries. By contrast, the prices of items coming from developing countries have been unstable. As a result, these countries' export earnings actually fell 16 per cent from 1955 to 1970.* In absolute terms, the purchasing power of their export earnings from developed capitalist countries fell off by roughly 6.4 billion dollars.**

Trade in scientific and technological know-how has been developing fast in recent years. The export of patents and licences alone reached 3.2 billion dollars in 1970 and its growth rate increasingly exceeds that of commodity exports.***

The developed capitalist countries are, of course, the sellers, and the developing countries are the buyers. According to data for 1968 released by UNCTAD, the developing countries' direct spending on foreign patents, licences, trade marks and expertise amounted to roughly 1.5 billion dollars. Besides, the provision of know-how is accompanied by numerous restrictions. A special UNCTAD report notes that irrespective of foreign participation in an enterprise receiving a technology, its suppliers may make restrictive stipulations ultimately putting them in control of the enterprise and enabling them to exert indirect influence on the country's economic and social structure.

Export of Capital. Developed capitalist countries readily export capital to uphold their privileged position and promote capitalist trends in the developing countries. See Table III.

TABLE III

Export of capital from developed capitalist countries to developing countries (including sums funnelled through international financial agencies)

	(average for period) 1956-1960	(average for period) 1961-1965	1966	1968	1970	1971
Export total (\$000m.)	6.7	8.5	10.4	13.4	15.0	17.4
Government capital (\$000m.)	3.9	5.7	6.4	7.0	8.0	9.0
Proportion (per cent)	58.2	67.0	61.5	52.2	53.3	51.7
Private capital (\$000m.)	2.8	2.8	4.0	6.4	7.0	8.4
Proportion (per cent)	41.8	33.0	38.5	47.8	46.7	48.3

Source: OECD, *Development Assistance. Efforts and Policies, 1967 Review*, Paris, 1967, pp. 34, 57; OECD, *Development Cooperation, 1972 Review*, Paris, 1972, p. 42.

**Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, April 1973, pp. XX-XXI.

***Handbook* . . . 1972, pp. 42, 46.

****Intereconomics*, No. 5, 1973, p. 152.

It will be seen that growth of the absolute amount of foreign capital export to developing countries is a distinctive feature of the post-colonial period. Imperialist propaganda makes much of this fact; it speaks of increased 'aid' to developing countries, applying the phrase to government loans and subsidies as well as to private credits and investments. However, the terms of this 'aid' gear it so closely with the imperialist powers' aims of foreign economic expansion that they drastically restrict the new states' opportunities for using it to meet their needs. Besides, the above data, compiled according to current prices, considerably overstate the real value of the capital exported to developing countries. In 1971 alone, world price increases and new exchange rates of the main capitalist currencies forced the purchasing power of exported capital down by 1.1 billion dollars, or by roughly half the annual increase.*

Private capital accounts for almost two-thirds of the total growth of capital exported in 1966-1971. Private monopolies exported more, primarily because export of state capital had created a favorable 'investment climate' in some developing countries. The increase was also due to steps to encourage private capital exports taken by the governments of developed capitalist countries. Among other factors were the growing demand for oil and the rapid expansion of the home market of a number of developing countries. All this had its effect on the distribution of foreign private investments among various industries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. See Table IV.

TABLE IV

Geographical distribution and industrial pattern of direct foreign private investments in developing countries, 1969-1970 (annual average)

	Africa		Latin America		Middle East		Asia and Oceania		All developing countries	
	(\$m.)	%	(\$m.)	%	(\$m.)	%	(\$m.)	%	(\$m.)	%
Oil*	487	65.9	295	24.3	243	86.2	155	32.7	1,180	43.5
Mining	53	7.8	-29	-2.4			104	21.9	133	4.9
Manufacturing	95	12.8	643	52.9	24	8.5	147	31.0	909	33.5
Other Industries	99	13.5	306	25.2	15	5.3	68	14.4	488	18.1
TOTAL:	739	100.0	1,215	100.0	282	100.0	474	100.0	2,710	100.0

Source: OECD. Development Assistance, 1971 Review, Paris, 1971, p. 89.

*Including natural gas.

Table shows that while the main spheres in the past were mining, plantations and the utilities, investment in the manufacturing industries has vastly increased in recent years. Foreign monopolies try in this way to create new areas in which to apply their capital at a profit. A case in point is, first of all, Latin America, where the greater part of new direct foreign investments is concentrated.

Exploitation in the Monetary Sphere. The increased expansion of international capital has led to greater exploitation of the developing countries in the monetary sphere. See Table V.

*OECD. Development Assistance. 1971 Review, Paris, 1971, p. 148; OECD. Development Co-operation 1972 Review, p. 41.

TABLE V.

*Debt of developing countries to developed capitalist countries
(as of year's end, \$000m.)*

	1955	1960	1965	1966	1968	1970
Developing countries (total)	8.74	16.64	33.30	37.77	48.71	59.74
Asia	2.20	6.35	14.92	17.39	23.32	29.68
Africa	2.45	3.27	6.15	7.20	9.02	10.69
Latin America	4.09	7.02	12.23	13.18	16.37	19.37

Source: IBRD. *External Medium and Long-Term Public Debt: Past and Projected Amounts Outstanding, Transactions and Payments (1956-1976)*, Washington, 1967, Table 1; World Bank, *International Development Association, Annual Report 1972*, Washington, 1972, p. 81.

The table shows that the foreign debt of developing countries roughly doubled every five years. In 1970 it amounted to almost 60 billion dollars, or nearly 17 per cent of the developing countries' GNP for the year.*

A mounting foreign debt and less favorable loan and credit terms made for a still more rapid increase in the developing countries' spending on repayment of credits and on interest. See Table VI.

TABLE VI

Payments to developed capitalist countries by developing countries

	1956	1960	1965	1966	1968	1970
Payments on external debt (\$000m.)	0.73	1.96	3.04	3.38	4.02	5.19
Ratio to loans and credits received over year (per cent)	—	—	59.8	67.2	57.0	62.3
Ratio to earnings from exports to developed capitalist countries (per cent)	4.0	9.9	11.7	12.0	12.0	12.9

Source: IBRD. *External . . . Debt . . . (1956-1976)*, Table 2; World Bank . . . *Annual Report, 1972*, p. 86; *Handbook . . . 1972*, p. 46.

It follows that the ratio between payments and export earnings is nearing a dangerous limit. In Argentina, Afghanistan, Egypt, India, Mexico, Tunisia, Turkey and some other countries** it exceeded 20 per cent in 1970.

A growing external debt and payments on it both undermine the financial standing of new states and endanger their subsequent development. According to an UNCTAD estimate, the foreign debt of developing countries may climb to 151 billion dollars and payments on it to 15 billion dollars by 1980 if current trends persist.***

The crisis of the international monetary system which has taken a sharp turn for the worse, affects developing countries most painfully. Owing to changes in currency exchange rates, their external debt grew in 1971 alone by 2.2 billion dollars, or 3.7 per cent of the total.**** At the same time, the purchasing power of their foreign exchange reserves dropped by more than 0.5 billion dollars.*****

*Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the International Development Strategy. ID/B/429, Add. 2, March 21, 1972, pp. 7, 12, 13.

**World Bank . . . *Annual Report, 1972*, pp. 82-83.

***Debt Problems of Developing Countries (T/118/Supp. 6), December 28, 1971, p. 19.

****World Bank . . . *Annual Report, 1972*, p. 81.

*****The International Monetary Situation, New York, 1972, p. 17.

However, it is the operation of foreign private capital that plays the decisive role in the outflow of funds from developing countries. It receives by far the greater part of investment payments in the form of profits, dividends and interest. See Table VII.

TABLE VII

*Profits, dividends and interest received by foreign capital
in developing countries (\$000m.)*

	1960	1967	1968	1969	1970
Investment payments, all countries, total	3.62	6.41	7.68	8.11	8.51
Profits and dividends	2.98	5.36	6.52	6.84	7.00
Interest	0.64	1.05	1.16	1.27	1.51
Oil-producing countries ¹ total	1.95	3.16	3.58	3.84	4.17
Profits and dividends	1.89	3.10	3.49	3.70	4.00
Interest	0.06	0.06	0.09	0.14	0.17
Other countries, total	1.67	3.25	4.10	4.27	4.34
Profits and dividends	1.09	2.26	3.04	3.14	3.00
Interest	0.58	0.99	1.06	1.13	1.34

Source: *Handbook . . . 1972*, pp. 221-223.

¹Brunei, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Netherlands, Antilles, Saudi Arabia, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela.

The data given in the table are far from complete, as documents of the UN and other international organizations point out. But even they show that for many years earnings taken out of developing countries have invariably exceeded the influx of new private capital. Speaking of direct private investment alone, the excess in the 1966-1970 period varied between 200 per cent and 310, the proportions for oil-producing countries ranging between 530 per cent and 860, and for other countries between 0.40 per cent and 0.70.*

Payments to foreign capitalists limit the opportunities for internal accumulation. Investment payments are the main cause of the developing countries' balance of payments deficit.

The foregoing data reveal the underprivileged position of developing countries in the capitalist world economy and the neo-colonialist nature of the foreign economic policy of capitalist powers towards Asian, African and Latin American countries.

**The Flow of Financial Resources*, ID/B/C3/110, April 24, 1973, p. 53.

In brief

DENMARK

A Communist conference in Copenhagen demanded the nationalization of housing, most of which is in private hands. Rents are rising continuously. In new houses it is 25 to 40 per cent, sometimes as much as 50 per cent, of a skilled worker's average earnings.

The conference protested against the government's policy, which leads to higher rents and encourages profiteering by house owners.

FRANCE

The Communist Party addressed the French armed forces in a message explaining the solutions proposed in the common government program in the sphere of national defense.

The message rejects the idea that security and independence depend on the possession of nuclear arms. The wisest course, it says, is to promote international detente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

A new concept of national defense is required, the message stressed, bringing about the genuine changes advocated by the Communist Party. The FCP urged soldiers and officers to study the proposals in the Left common government program, to read the Communist press (unlawfully banned in the armed forces), and to send suggestions and criticism to Party bodies.

GUINEA (BISSAU)

The PAIGC (African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) held its Second Congress in a liberated area in Guinea (Bissau). The congress revised the Party Rules and elected a new leadership. Artistides Pereira, a founding member, was elected General Secretary.

The congress resolved to convene the first session of the National People's Assembly before the end of the year to proclaim a national state, set up its executive bodies and adopt a Constitution. It approved the 'exemplary punishment by popular justice of the traitors and criminals who took part in the assassination of Amilcar Cabral, the PAIGC leader.'

INDIA

The government of the South Indian state of Kerala under Chief Minister C. Achutha Menon, a Communist, endorsed the draft of a five-year plan and submitted it for approval to the Central Planning

Commission in Delhi. The plan envisages expenditures in excess of 24,000 million rupees and an annual six per cent economic growth rate.

IRAQ

The Iraqi Communist Party and Arab Baath Socialist Party signed an agreement on cooperation in the National Progressive Front.

The Baath Party and ICP, a communique said, are aware that the Kurdish Democratic Party should be part of the Front and signify their resolve to continue a constructive dialogue with it. Other nationalist anti-imperialist forces may join the agreement.

In a speech after the signing of the communique, and later in an interview to the Lebanese weekly *Al Akhbar*, Aziz Muhammed, First Secretary of the CC ICP, stressed the historic significance of the agreement for uniting the revolutionary movement in Iraq.

PANAMA

The Central Committee of the People's Party of Panama met in plenary session after a four-year interval due to repressions and expulsion from the country of its leaders. That CC members could return, the plenum said in a communique, marks the beginning of a new stage in the Party and of a new political situation generally, which, even though still highly complicated, displays rudimentary forms of popular rule. The meeting issued the slogan, 'More Power for the People.'

PERU

Unidad published the main provisions of the CC-approved draft program of the Peruvian Communist Party. Following a broad discussion by Communists, the draft will be submitted to the Sixth Party Congress.

The people of Peru, the draft says, are the main force of the revolutionary process against imperialism and the oligarchy. Within this process the working class and the laboring masses are carrying forward their revolutionary program.

In the new situation, with the oligarchy removed from political power and the state holding stronger positions in crucial economic fields, the Communist Party called on the nation to support measures designed to consolidate the nation's gains and sovereignty, deepen the structural changes and raise the cultural standard and living conditions of the masses.

Peru's economy, the draft says, has effective economic and technical aid from the socialist countries. The Communist Party called on the government to extend financial and technical assistance to small and medium capitalist enterprises, protecting them from the pressure of foreign and local monopoly.

PORTUGAL

A Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party resolved to build up a political campaign among the masses and issued an Appeal to the Portuguese People.

The meeting stressed that the deteriorating economic situation, serious conflicts among monopoly groups, the uplift of the people's struggle, and the mounting protest against the colonial war show that the fascist regime has grown weaker and is in isolation at home and abroad.

The Central Committee urged Party members to campaign for the basic democratic freedoms—freedom of political parties, assembly, trade union activity, and freedom of the press, the right to strike, against repressions and torture, for the dissolution of the political police, an amnesty, release of all political prisoners, repatriation of exiles, an immediate end to the colonial war, talks with the liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique, for higher wages, against rising prices and taxes, and against monopoly.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Party of Labor launched a campaign of solidarity with the employees of the Lip watch factory in Besancon, France. (In the middle of June 1973, the 1,300 employees of the factory occupied it in protest to the owners' decision to close the enterprise, alleged to be unprofitable, and continued production by drawing on the stockpile of watch parts). The leadership of the Basle organization of the SPL censured the French authorities and police for siding with the bankrupt employers. The SPL Neuchatel Canton organization and the Doubs Department Federation of the French Communist Party issued a joint statement describing the Lip labor dispute as evidence of the deep crisis of capitalism. The Lip workers, who have defended their interests so well, deserve the warmest support, the statement said.

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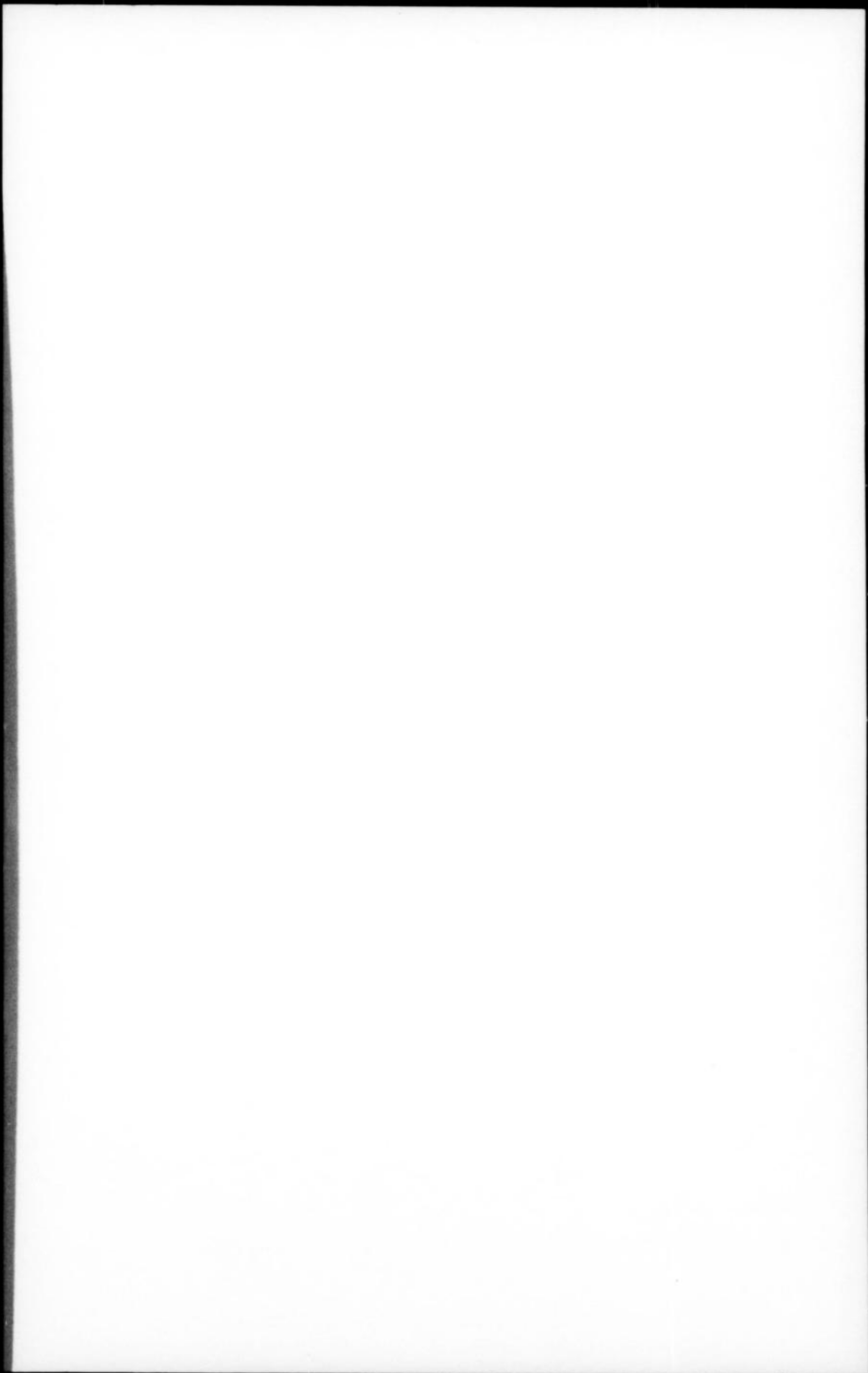
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