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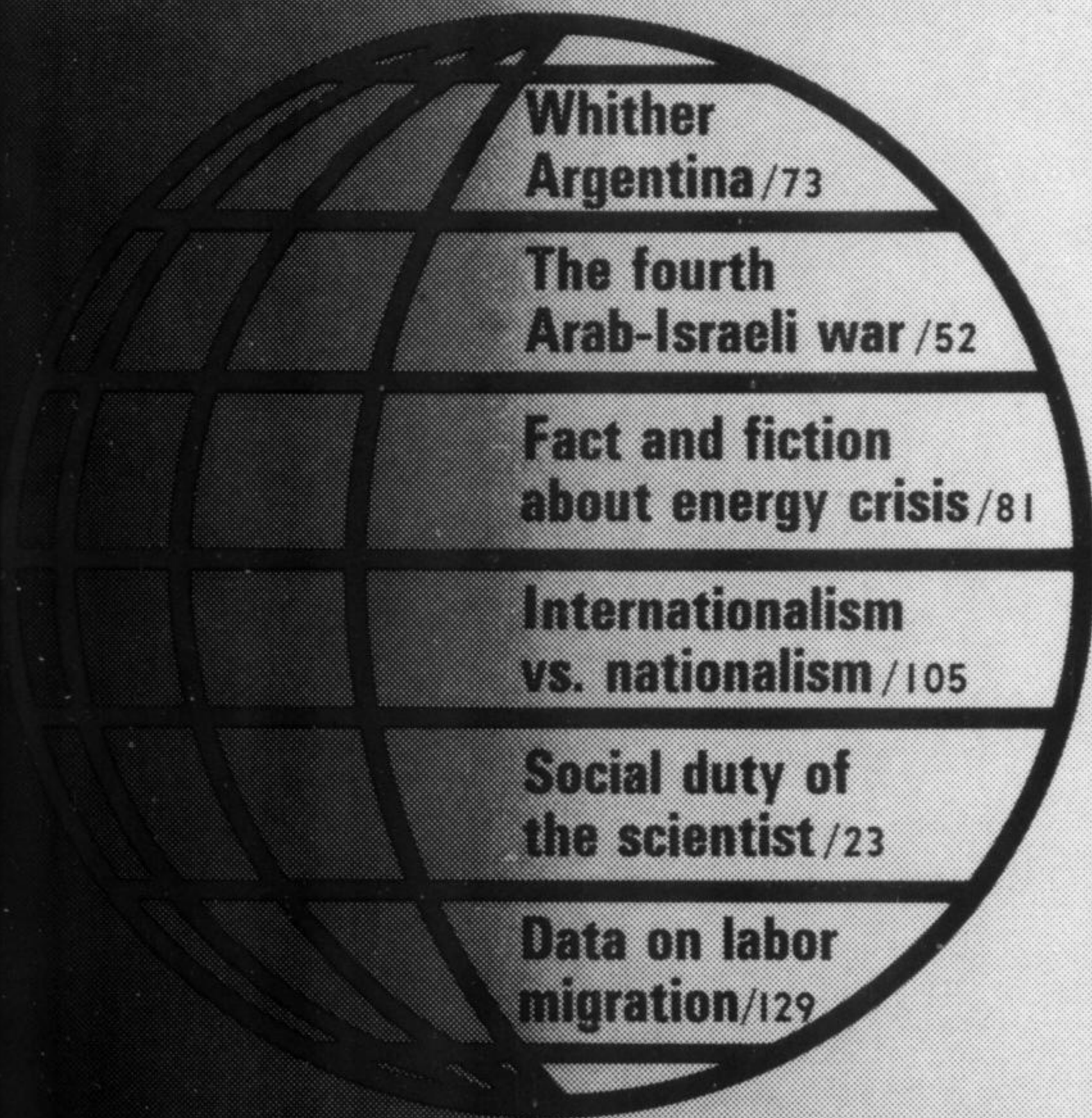
MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

Dec. 1973, Vol. 16, No. 12

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**Whither
Argentina /73**

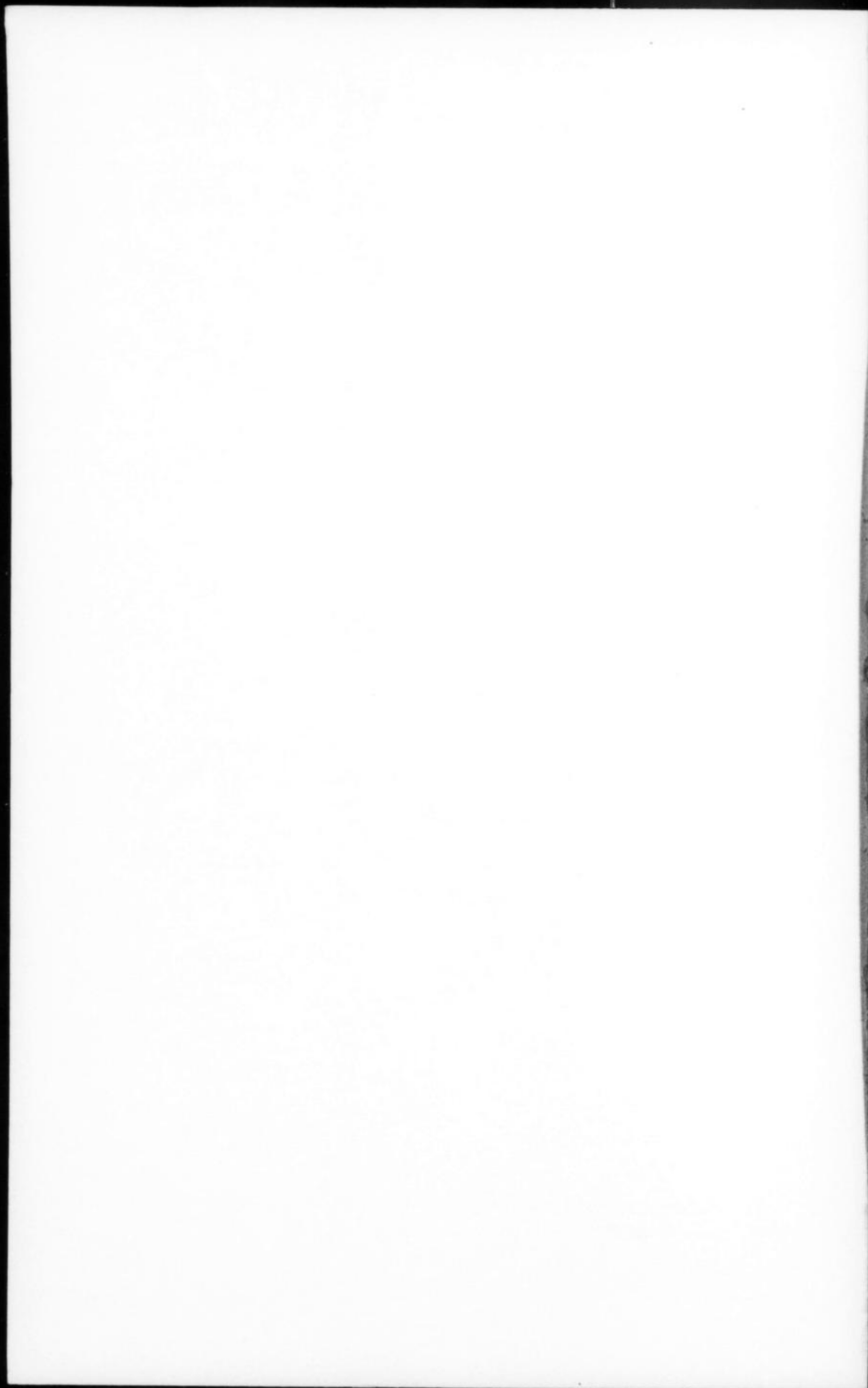
**The fourth
Arab-Israeli war /52**

**Fact and fiction
about energy crisis /81**

**Internationalism
vs. nationalism /105**

**Social duty of
the scientist /23**

**Data on labor
migration /129**





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Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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Features

- 3 The peoples' will,
the peoples' cause
L. Padilla, M. Rossi

Theory

- 8 Contours of a great plan
(International research
group on present-day rele-
vance of Lenin's last works)
- 23 Social responsibility
of the scientist
Y. Zhdanov
- 32 Economic integration in
the modern world
(International discussion)

Politics

- 48 Chile: tear out the roots
of fascism
F. Suarez
- 52 The fourth Arab-Israeli war
Y. Primakov
- 60 Facing new round in the
anti-monopoly struggle
M. Doig, L. Sheidin

- 66 Socialism and democracy
at factory level
M. Buza

- 73 Whither Argentina?
(Continuing series on
Latin America)
O. Ghioldi

- 81 Truth and falsehoods
about the energy crisis
V. Perlo

- 90 Non-capitalist develop-
ment and religion
D. Dashzhamts

- 96 Senegal: problems and
difficulties
A. Dansoko

- 101 Liberation movement
in Mozambique
I. Cox

The Party

- 105 Proletarian international-
ism versus nationalism
C. Florakis-Yotis
- 113 The foundations of Party
strength
M. Jakes

(continued next page)

(cont'd)

- 118 Fight for Left and
democratic unity
G. Savvides

The press

- 124 Struggle for peace and the
revolutionary process
V. Vinogradov

- 127 USSR - GDR: the fruit of
scientific cooperation

Data

- 129 Labor migration in figures
(a WMR survey)

- 134 Brother Parties greet WMR
on its 15th anniversary

- 137 Contents for 1973

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The peoples' will, the peoples' cause

The World Congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow in the final week of October is unquestionably an important milestone along the peoples' historical road to a just and democratic peace, international security and cooperation.

Glancing back, all Congress delegates, and we, the delegates of this journal, were deeply conscious of humanity's long quest for peace. Foes of war raised their voices in the past century. And in this century – before and after the First World War, and especially after World War II – there were other congresses of the friends and champions of peace. But for many many years their voices were muted by the thunder of guns or frozen by the cold war. While conscious of this, the Communists are aware that it is their revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which has mastered the laws of social development, that shows the real way to just and enduring peace.

The persevering and enlightened efforts of the peace forces, to which Communists are making the decisive contribution, have set the peoples in motion, giving them the power to withstand the imperialist forces of war.

It is noteworthy that this unprecedented worldwide congress of peace forces convened in Moscow, capital of the country which, following the October Socialist Revolution, made Lenin's Decree on Peace the first of its legislative acts.

The Congress was evidence of the peace forces' confidence in the strength of their unity and the growing scope of their movement.

The socialist countries, which have taken many a peace initiative and worked tirelessly for détente and peaceful coexistence; the militant international working class; the peoples that have won wars of liberation and the peoples still fighting against imperialism and neo-colonialism; the newly independent states and the non-aligned countries; the public, democratic and mass movements, have all contributed to the consolidation of peace.

No longer are the friends of peace represented by lone individuals or pacifist leagues that abstained from action. Nowadays, war is combatted by powerful political and public forces. And international cooperation and lasting peace, the Communists are deeply convinced, are perfectly feasible and no longer utopian.

Thousands of organizations, parties and groups of different political and ideological convictions worked together to prepare and convene the Moscow forum. Some 3,200 delegates representing nearly 1,100 organizations in 143 countries and more than 120 international organizations, took part. And most significant was the participation of representatives of the United Nations, its committees and specialized agencies.

The materialization of this representative congress, described as one of the biggest popular assemblies ever held, is a blow at the sceptics and pessimists who ignore the strength of world opinion, at the cold warriors and anti-Communists eager to sow suspicion and distrust among the diverse peace groups in order to obstruct joint action.

There was complete unanimity in assessing the impact on the world of the positive changes in the international situation. The true friends of peace cannot but rejoice

- that the danger of a nuclear war that has prevailed since the mid-40s, has diminished, that the first steps have been taken to limit armaments, and that the outlook for a further easing of tension has improved.

- that the people of Vietnam, and with them the socialist community and all peace forces, have won a historic victory;

- that a number of other seats of war have been eliminated;

- that the principles of peaceful coexistence are gaining ever broader acceptance in relations between states with different social systems;

- that far-reaching changes have taken place in relations between the socialist countries and West European states, particularly France, the FRG, and Italy. The two German states have been admitted to the UN, and the first phase of the European Security and Cooperation Conference has been completed successfully;

- that the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States have improved visibly;

- and that international economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation is making steady progress.

The unprecedented nature of this general assembly of the peoples derives from the significance of its agenda, taken up at plenary sessions and meetings of its 14 commissions. The Congress made a thorough examination of the situation in all regions of the world. Among the specific topics were Chile, Indochina, the Middle East, European security and cooperation, and peace and security in Asia.

A broad regional approach to the program for future action blended with a comprehensive study of a variety of problems. The most topical issues were subjected to the closest scrutiny, such as peaceful coexistence and international security, disarmament, the national-liberation struggle against colonialism and racism, development and economic independence, economic and technico-scientific cooperation, social problems and human rights, the environment, cooperation in education and culture, and cooperation of inter-governmental and international non-governmental organizations.

The range of standpoints represented by the delegates in the search for a common approach, was extremely broad. This was natural. For the Congress was open to all who supported its aims and aspired to a more solid peace, regardless of their political, ideological or religious convictions, social background, race or nationality.

A direct and deeply committed dialogue was the principal medium, involving Communists, Socialists, Social-Democrats, representatives of revolutionary-democratic parties and national liberation movements, members of women's and youth bodies, and delegates of different churches — workers, farmers, intellectuals, businessmen, believers and atheists.

We saw the absorbing interest shown in the speech of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, 'For a Just, Democratic Peace, For the Security of Nations and International Cooperation.' Delegates pointed out in their contributions that it displayed a strong sense of responsibility for the future of nations and contained a profound thorough analysis of the present international situation and a program for the furtherance of the peace offensive. All participants, even those few who may not have shared some of the views expressed in the speech, came away with the unequivocal impression that the Soviet people are striving for peace. Certainly, the people of the Soviet Union have served the peace selflessly and loyally for more than 50 years. By their peerless heroism, at the price of tremendous material sacrifice and the loss of more than twenty million lives, they contributed decisively to the victory over fascism, saving civilization from destruction. Modern society has changed as a result, and the front of peace, democracy and socialism has never been as broad. The example of the Soviet people shows that socialism and peace are indivisible.

L. I. Brezhnev recalled in his speech that the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party epitomized the consistently peaceable policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state at the present stage, serving as the basis for the peace offensive to develop. The peace initiatives that followed have yielded rich fruit in the past several years. They furthered the turn from cold war to détente, from confrontation to more solid security.

'I do not think that any of us would be satisfied with a peace based as before on a "balance of fear",' Brezhnev stressed. 'That kind of peace would differ but little from the cold war. It would be a "cold peace" that could easily revert to a tense confrontation depressing the consciousness and life of the peoples, and fraught with the danger of worldwide conflict.

'The peoples want a dependable and irreversible peace based, if one may say so, on a balance of security and mutual trust. It is a peace open for broad international cooperation for the sake of progress.'

But that kind of peace does not descend from the heavens. Wars and acute international crises are not yet over. Dialogue must be followed by action. Of this the Congress delegates were reminded by the gunfire of the war that had erupted yet another time in the

Middle East as a result of Israel's imperialistic expansionism. While the Congress was in session, the Israeli rulers acting with outside help, brazenly challenged world opinion. A tape recording of Salvador Allende's last speech was another reminder of the need for vigilance, warning against the danger of foreign and home reaction, ready to go to any length, to commit the most bloody of crimes, in a bid to retain its privileges and block social progress.

Imperialism has not and will not change its aggressive nature. The foes of détente have not and will not give up without a fight. The early victories must not cause complacency and self-assurance among the friends of peace. The Appeal of the World Congress offers this stark reminder:

'Much has been achieved,' it says. 'But far from everything. There are still regions in the world where tensions are running as high as before, where flashpoints of aggression fraught with danger for all mankind have not yet been eliminated. While the foundation is being laid for relations of peaceful coexistence between states with various social systems, those who wish to tear down what has already been built and drag the world back to cold war are still at work. The arms race has not been stopped. The nuclear bombs are not destroyed. The military budgets of many countries are still growing. And the military blocs have not been dissolved.

"The forces of imperialism, aggression and reaction are still holding the last remaining strongholds of colonialism. They are organizing fascist putsches. They are sowing strife and enmity between peoples. And as long as there is even an inch of land where blood is being shed and aggression committed, as long as any people are denied the right to settle their own future, and as long as there are fascist and racist regimes suppressing the democratic will of the people, the conscience of mankind cannot rest, and the edifice of peace will not repose on a dependable foundation.'

The forces of peace look to the future with confidence. The men and women at the Moscow forum may well have repeated the words spoken by Frederic Joliot-Curie a quarter of a century ago at the opening of the First World Peace Congress: 'We have gathered here not to beg for peace from the warmakers, but to impose peace on them.' What are the reasons for this confidence? The times when a handful of rulers made all the decisions and drove the peoples to war, are receding into the past. Nowadays, the people, their organizations, the political parties, the progressive public, have a part in making the crucial decisions. This was convincingly borne out by the Congress.

The final documents of the World Congress of Peace Forces have been published. Cumulatively, they represent a fundamental platform of action for peace. The strategy of the struggle has been drawn up. So have the concrete ways and means of implementing it. Supplementary organizational steps have been taken to give impetus to practical activity.

But the Congress was only the beginning of a major undertaking. The document, 'Measures to Follow,' contains a call to all peace

bodies to endorse the reports and recommendations of the Congress, and put them into effect in the form and to the degree consonant with their methods, traditions, and the conditions in which they work. The Congress decisions are to be made known far and wide.

The peace forces have received a new powerful impulse for active involvement, for consolidating joint action, and building a still broader front to make the détente irreversible. The world public plays a special role in achieving this historic aim. The experience of recent decades shows that it is strong enough to influence the most crucial political decisions.

The public movement can contribute greatly to the achievement of a climate of security and mutually beneficial cooperation, exposing the forces of reaction, and the bellicose maneuvers of the 'knights of tension.' It can certainly help solidify the foundation of the edifice of an irreversible, just and democratic peace.

L. Padilla, M. Rossi

Moscow-Prague

DEAR FRIENDS:

The editorial collegium, editorial board, the whole international collective of **World Marxist Review**, warmly greet you with the coming of the New Year!

We wish you success in struggle and labor, health and happiness.

May the coming year bring new achievements in the dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism, in the uniting of the ranks of the international communist and workers' movement on the impregnable foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

May the New Year bring you new victories in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism!

HAPPY NEW YEAR, COMRADES!



Contours of a great plan

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH GROUP ON PRESENT-DAY RELEVANCE OF LENIN'S LAST WORKS

In January 1974 it will be 50 years since the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The record of the past half century has fully confirmed the correctness of his plan of socialist construction, of which his last works, dictated by him in December 1922-March 1923, are the cornerstone. These are: 'Letter to the Congress,' 'Granting Legislative Functions to the State Planning Commission,' 'The Question of Nationalities or on "Autonomization",' 'Pages from a Diary,' 'On Cooperation,' 'Our Revolution (Apropos of N. Sukhanov's Notes),' 'How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection,' 'Better Fewer, But Better.'

Their importance for our time was discussed by an international research group composed of **Bistra Avramova**, Alternate CC Member, Bulgarian Communist Party; **Ts. Namsarai**, Alternate CC Member, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party; **A. Owieczko**, Deputy Director, Party Studies Institute, Higher School of Social Science, CC Polish United Workers' Party; **V. Zevin**, Dr.Hist., Deputy Director, Marxism-Leninism Institute, CC CPSU, and **V. Novy**, CC Member, CP Czechoslovakia.

With this summary we complete our series of research studies of Lenin's main works.*

One of the greatest services rendered by Lenin was elaboration of concrete ways and forms of translating into practice the Marxist conception of socialism. In his post-October writings and speeches, he supplemented that conception and provided solutions for a number of new problems. These last works, dictated by him at his country home in Gorki, consummated his program of restructuring Russia along socialist lines in the light of the world revolutionary process, and the Party's general long-range policy.

The propositions formulated in these works were of fundamental importance in building socialism in the USSR, and have not lost any of their validity today. The degree of socialism achieved in member

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

countries of the socialist community requires closer study and definition of its essence, development stages, and the ways and means of perfecting both the basis and superstructure. Their dynamic social development makes it urgently necessary interpretatively to generalize the results of their practical steps, resolutely to discard obsolete views, abandon ineffectual positions, and boldly face and solve the new problems.

Learning to build socialism in practice

'We have approached the very core of the everyday problems, and that is a tremendous achievement. Socialism is no longer a matter of the distant future, or an abstract picture, or an icon . . . We have brought socialism into everyday life . . .'

LENIN

The experience of the USSR and of other socialist countries fully bears out Lenin's conclusion that it takes more than dedication and enthusiasm to accomplish the tasks involved in building socialism. We must learn efficiently to manage production, combine revolutionary scope with economic practice, concentrate on 'peaceful, organizational, "cultural" work.' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 470 et seq.). The research group noted that this conclusion acquires special significance today, for the rate of social and economic progress in the socialist countries is increasingly determined by the level of management and operational efficiency.

V. Zevin. We cannot properly assess the permanent significance of Lenin's last works unless we regard them in the context of his main works of the 1917-22 period. This is necessary, first, because of the development of Lenin's ideas and, second, because of the conditions in which the last works were dictated (his doctors allowed Lenin only 5-10 minutes of dictation a day). Lenin could not, nor did he intend to, encompass all the problems of socialist construction. Some major problems are etched in bare outline. They can only be understood and elucidated in the light of Lenin's entire works.

That is often exploited by falsifiers of Leninism, by imperialist ideologists and revisionist historians and publicists. I need only name such bourgeois 'biographers' of Lenin as Louis Fischer, Stephan Possony, Adam Ulam.* They try to depict Lenin in the last years of his life as a man tormented by doubts about the correctness of the path he had indicated. This is meant for the uninformed Western reader, for Lenin's last letters and articles are imbued with revolutionary optimism and deep faith in the victory of socialism. This is evidenced by Lenin's statement that Russia 'has all that is necessary to build a complete socialist society' (Vol. 33, p. 468) and that 'the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured' (*ibid.*, p. 500).

Even when the anti-Communists set out in some detail or quote

*I. Fischer, *The Life of Lenin*. New York, 1964; St. Possony, *Lenin: The Compulsive Revolutionary*. Chicago, 1964; A. Ulam, *Lenin and the Bolsheviks. The Intellectual and Political History of the Triumph of Communism in Russia*, London, 1966.

Lenin's last letters and articles, they studiously avoid mentioning their main propositions, distort some statements, tear others out of the context or treat the text in isolation from earlier writings. They try to make the most of Lenin's sharp remarks about shortcomings in the Russia of those days (cases of bureaucracy, inefficiency, etc.) which Lenin made in order to concentrate attention on certain questions. But his critics bring to the fore, and carry over to our days, propositions and formulations relating to the concrete situation of the early 1920s.

Not infrequently Lenin's last works are counterposed to those of the pre-October period. Bourgeois ideologists maintain that in 'The State and Revolution,' Lenin regarded the organization of socialism differently than in his last articles. But in 'State and Revolution' Lenin was concerned with the rise of the communist formation and its intrinsic development laws. In fact, in a certain sense he avoided discussing the international situation, the peculiarities of individual countries, for his aim was to single out the most characteristic, essential features of the future society, rather than evolve concrete methods and forms of building that society.

But with the victory of the October Revolution and the division of the world into two antagonistic social systems, it was no longer possible to treat major problems of socialist construction only within the framework of the intrinsic laws of the new system. And it is a sign of Lenin's greatness that he was able to tie the concept of building socialism with the concept of the developing world revolutionary process.

V. Novy. After the upheavals Czechoslovakia passed through in the second half of the 60s, we see many of Lenin's works in a new light, have a deeper appreciation of their vast importance for theory and practice, methodology and politics. This applies in particular to the works in which Lenin sets out his plan of building socialism, his conception of socialism as a social system.

We sometimes come across dogmatic, Left-sectarian absolutization of low development levels. Starting from such levels, we are told, it is easier to achieve your objective, and revolutionary undertakings will meet with less opposition from the philistine, consumer-minded element. Our experience, however, has demonstrated that Czechoslovakia's high industrial level and universal literacy made for a faster pace of socialist transformation. In a single decade we eliminated private-capitalist relations in industry, trade and agriculture, laid the material and technical foundations of the new system and carried out our socialist cultural revolution. Slovakia was industrialized in a historically short span. We had thus created a socialist society and entered a new stage, in which socialism develops on its own basis. The irrefutable achievements of the 50s were the direct result of following Lenin's plan and carefully studying and drawing on Soviet experience.

However, these achievements did not provide a permanent guarantee of efficient management, or of correct solutions of the many diverse problems of socio-political and national relations, cultural

development, etc. Lenin's injunction to 'learn to build socialism in practice' should not be taken to mean merely laying the foundations of socialism. But that is precisely how it was interpreted in the late 50s and early 60s by the Party and state leadership, which exaggerated our achievements.

And working on the illusion that the material and technical foundation of the new system would all but automatically increase the gains of socialism, there was a tendency to abandon the class approach to pressing political and economic problems. There was no consistent policy on the cultural revolution, and no consistent struggle against opportunists, revisionists, even outright bourgeois views. Certain sections of the intelligentsia began to question the value for Czechoslovakia of Soviet experience and the Leninist program of socialist construction. Widespread voluntarism led to unrealistic plans (which remained unfulfilled) and to all manner of 'models' of socialist society as an alternative to the 'Soviet example.'

All this opened the floodgates to Right opportunist propaganda and, as the 14th Party Congress pointed out, 'the mass of working people could not counter this organized and coordinated pressure of revisionist and hostile forces at home and abroad.' This explains, in particular, why, in a country where fundamental socialist transformations had been carried out, the very essence of socialism, its main gains, were in jeopardy.

A. Owieczko. In his last letters and articles, Lenin dealt with the pressing problems then facing the Party and the country. In this sense it is true that the principles of socialist construction were in these articles formulated primarily in adaptation to Russian conditions. But it should be remembered that these conditions, for all their specificity, were not so unique as to prevent Lenin from setting aims that have universal significance. And these are the aims: elimination of the excessive wartime centralization and, simultaneously, strengthening Party unity; extending the worker core in leading Party organs to give them more 'stability as a guarantee against a split' (Vol. 36, p. 594); building the material and technical basis of socialism so that the country could shift to 'the horse of large-scale machine industry, of electrification, of the Volkhov Power Station, etc.' (Vol. 33, p. 501); the development of cooperation to facilitate the transition from individual to social farming 'by means that are the *simplest, easiest and most acceptable to the peasant*' (ibid., p. 468); cultural revolution as a whole period of 'cultural development of the entire people' (ibid., p. 470); lastly, systematic work to perfect the state and Party apparatus, struggle against bureaucrats who, Lenin emphasized, are to be found 'in our Party offices as well as in Soviet offices' (ibid., p. 494). All this is part of building the new society in any country.

Lenin's last works have not only a theoretical, but also a political relevance. And that is emphasized by the day-to-day practice of socialist construction, especially at abrupt turns of social development (such as we had in Poland at the close of 1970), when the

country's political stability is disturbed and the Party and state apparatus do not properly react to the danger of the 'leaders being cut off from the masses they lead, the vanguard from the entire army of labor' (Lenin, *Complete Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 44, p. 497).

Of course, there is no foreseeing all the zigzags on the socialist path, but the theory of scientific communism, the Leninist plan for organizing socialist society, provide a reliable compass through the turbulent sea of the times we live in.

Avramova. In the 50 years since the heart of the great Lenin stopped beating, socialism has become a reality for a third of the human race. As a goal, as the future of all peoples, it has triumphed, fully and absolutely also in the minds of millions upon millions in the non-socialist world. That is why these Lenin writings, with their contours of the new society, acquire more and more importance with the passage of time. For those who have taken the socialist path, and those who will do so in the not too distant future, they provide answers to many complex problems.

In re-reading Lenin's last letters and writings, one's mind goes back 30 years to the days when people's democracy was established in Bulgaria. The boundless enthusiasm and the ardent desire to solve all problems as quickly as possible came up against not only the hostile activity of the overthrown bourgeoisie, but also against an undeveloped economy, lack of experience and a dearth of trained personnel. And if we were to point to the key factors that have gone into the truly stupendous changes in Bulgaria over the past 30 years, we would have to single out the ability of the Bulgarian Communist Party creatively to apply Lenin's insistent recommendation to draw the widest masses into the work of building socialism, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, and resolutely curb petty-bourgeois anarchy, that extremely dangerous enemy that has ruined all earlier revolutions (Vol. 33, p. 67).

A predominantly agrarian country, Bulgaria was faced with the pyramidal problem of restructuring agriculture along socialist lines. And here, too, our Party's starting point was Lenin's cooperative plan. We did not regard it as a set pattern to be mechanically applied. We drew the correct conclusion that, in Bulgarian conditions, 'nationalization of the land is not an obligatory prerequisite for expanding and mechanizing our agriculture' (Dimitrov).

At the early stage of cooperative farming, the peasant was paid both for his work and for his plot of land. This accelerated the growth of the cooperatives, and only when they were sufficiently strong, when there emerged a new class of cooperative farmers with a collectivist ideology and psychology, did the peasants opt for making the land cooperative property and voluntarily accepted the socialist principle of payment only according to work done.

Namsarai. There is the contention that a country's backwardness inevitably distorts the objective laws of social development. Thus, in his 'The Chinese Problem'* Garaudy pleads historically-formed specifics to justify such gross deviations from the Leninist concep-

*Roger Garaudy, *Le problème chinois*. Paris, 1967.

tion of socialist construction as the 'great leap' or 'great proletarian cultural revolution.' Such arguments will not bear critical scrutiny. True – and the founders of scientific communism drew attention to this – when a social formation is still in a rudimentary state, its development laws manifest themselves merely as trends, and only later, as the formation matures, do we have full-fledged laws.

But this has nothing in common with deliberate distortion of development laws, or subjectivist attempts to cancel them – both grievously damage the socialist cause. Mongolia's record of non-capitalist development is evidence that if the revolutionary leadership of a backward country consistently adheres to the universal Leninist principles and draws on the support of fraternal states, such a country can successfully cope with the work of establishing and consolidating the new system.

We are fully justified in emphasizing Lenin's proposition that Marxism cannot be regarded in the 'impossibly pedantic' Social-Democratic way (ibid., p. 476). That approach, Lenin wrote, is wholly alien 'to the idea that while the development of world history as a whole follows general laws it is by no means precluded, but, on the contrary, presumed that certain periods of development may display peculiarities in either the form or the sequence of this development' (ibid., p. 477). And, as if anticipating possible distortions, Lenin formulated this proposition very cautiously. He likened distinguishing features in the manifestation of objective laws to 'certain amendments (quite insignificant from the standpoint of the general development of world history), adding that such distinguishing features are, of course, in keeping with the general line of world development' (ibid., p. 477).

There are many would-be 'interpreters' of Lenin's ideas among the Right and 'Left' opportunists. For them the creative character of the ideas is sheer voluntarism. All such interpretations have absolutely nothing in common with Leninism, for Lenin's understanding of the development of socialist society rests on the firm foundation of objective laws.

The specificity of each stage

'It is not enough to be a revolutionary and an adherent of socialism or a Communist in general. You must be able at each particular moment to find the particular link in the chain which you must grasp with all your might in order to hold the whole chain and to prepare firmly for the transition to the next link; the order of the links, their form, the manner in which they are linked together, the way they differ from each other in the historical chain of events, are not as simple and not as meaningless as those in an ordinary chain made by a smith.'

LENIN

A study of Lenin's program of socialist construction and its realization in the various countries will show that socialism is not a brief stage in the assertion of the communist formation, but an indepen-

dent phase of socio-economic development, with its own degrees of maturity. Members of the research group noted that a wrong assessment of achievement levels can either retard solution of outstanding problems, or result in by-passing objectively necessary stages.

In his post-October works Lenin uses the terms 'developed socialist society' and 'complete socialist society,' 'building the foundation of socialist society,' the 'victory of socialism' and 'socialism finally victorious and consolidated.' Guided by Lenin's propositions and the documents of the CPSU and fraternal Parties, we can speak of two basic stages in the building of socialism: first, laying its foundations and, second, its final consolidation, the building of a developed socialist society.

Novy. The goal set by the 15th Congress of the CP Czechoslovakia is a higher level of political, economic and cultural maturity of our socialist society, completion of the building of developed socialism. That cannot be achieved at one stroke, by some 'big leap.' The Party has drawn the necessary conclusions from the mistakes of the past, when, for instance, the third five-year plan, completed in 1965, was declared 'an economic growth plan for building a developed socialist society, a plan that would create the prerequisites for transition to the building of communism.'

Building developed socialism proved to be a much more complex task than was then thought. It adds a new qualitative dimension to all aspects of social life. In particular, socio-economic development is increasingly tied in with the scientific-technological revolution: only as its achievements are brought to bear can we build mature socialism. Then there are major tasks in ideology and in deepening the cultural revolution.

Zevin. History has demonstrated the universality of Lenin's conception not only of the stages, but also the forms and methods, of building socialism. They have been employed in the Soviet Union and in other countries. But consideration has to be given – and Lenin warned of this – to specific features stemming from local conditions. The dialectic of development is such that without understanding these specifics we cannot understand the universality of the basic regularities. For instance, the need to build heavy industry has been conclusively proved by the experience of industrialization in the USSR and subsequently in other countries. But can we speak of industrializing the GDR, say, or Czechoslovakia? Both countries were industrially developed under capitalism.

Obviously, we should avoid a simplistic interpretation of Lenin's plan. True, its basic elements are industrialization, cooperative farming and the cultural revolution. But that only gives us an idea of Lenin's plan in its narrow sense, in adaptation to such countries as Soviet Russia in the early 1920s. If we are to take the international implications of Lenin's ideas, then we have to see his program of socialist transformations in its wider sense, and here the basic elements are: building the material and technical basis

of the new system, socialist reorganization of agriculture, and socialist renewal of spiritual life.

Novy. That is absolutely correct. Even developed industry, in the capitalist sense, does not provide an adequate material and technical basis for socialism. The new system brings with it a new structure of social requirements and this, consequently, calls for a new structure of the economy. The economy of bourgeois Czechoslovakia was oriented on foreign trade and therefore subjected to the capitalist world market. Export of light-industry goods was the main consideration, while heavy industry was inadequately developed. Besides, industry was unevenly located, with developed areas alternating with backward ones, such as Slovakia, for instance, and this made for even sharper social inequality. We had to alter the economic structure to make it serve the needs of socialism. Needless to say, this is more easily and more quickly accomplished than industrialization, but the problem is a formidable one nevertheless.

Our approach to the socialist cultural revolution was different too. Illiteracy had been eliminated in the pre-socialist period; there was a large group of trained personnel in the technical and other professions. The main task therefore was of an ideological nature: overcoming petty-bourgeois traditions and survivals, the fight against the Social-Democratic ideology, the influence of which was tangibly felt even in the Communist Party, founded in 1921 out of the Left wing of the Social-Democrat Party.

The socialist years have wrought a fundamental change in people's thinking, but petty-bourgeois views are still very much alive. A principled and consistent struggle against philistine, consumer sentiments and views remains an important, I would even say central, factor in deepening our cultural revolution.

Avramova. In the spring of 1971, our 10th Party Congress approved the new Party Program which we call a program for building a developed socialist society. It defines the armed rising of September 9, 1944 as the beginning of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, and the popular-democratic revolution as a continuation of the cause of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a repetition of its main, basic features. At the Fifth Party Congress in 1948, Georgi Dimitrov set the immediate task of building the foundations of socialism, to be followed by the building of the edifice of socialism. Bulgaria has entered the stage of building developed socialist society, when the material and technical basis of the new system is being completed, socialist social relations perfected, our culture enriched, prosperity standards heightened, and the all-round development of the personality assured. The 10th Party Congress declared: 'It is through this completely new, rich and multiform creative effort that we are building developed socialist society. In this sense we can say that mature socialism is being built and developed on its own, socialist basis.'

As the Bulgarian Communists see it, the thesis that socialist society develops on its own basis is essential for a correct under-

standing of the historical place, the content and criteria of the maturity of socialism.

At the present stage the socialist forms and methods of economic management that have proved their worth are being expanded in breadth and depth together with the perfection of production relations. Before, the task was to set up socialist industry and co-operative farming; now it is to advance and enrich the two forms of property, which will merge gradually through the utilization of similar forms of economic organization, methods of production, incomes distribution, etc. Cooperatives will adopt the best features of state-owned enterprises, such as planning, discipline and one-man management, while state enterprises will promote cost accounting, democratic management and other positive aspects of cooperative relations.

The socialist cultural revolution is progressing in depth, especially along the line science-education-production. Scientific and scientific-industrial amalgamations are being set up, new research centers are being organized within state economic amalgamations, research institutes are integrating with higher educational establishments. The base for this was laid in the preceding years of socialist construction with the achievement of total literacy and the emergence of a numerous socialist intelligentsia. None of this could, of course, ever have been achieved on the basis of the Maoist 'great proletarian cultural revolution' concept. Far from trying to give the people all of the best accumulated by world culture, the Maoists fan the poisonous flame of hostility to the culture of the socialist countries and make backwardness and self-imposed isolation from them into all but a blessing. But proletarian culture, any culture in fact, cannot be created out of nothing.

Namsrai. It is not enough to say that the present epoch is the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, for the starting point, as events have shown, can be either capitalist or pre-capitalist production relations. In Mongolia, the transition from feudalism to socialism can be divided into two stages, the general-democratic and the socialist. The transitional period was a long one because of what Lenin called our 'material and cultural poverty,' the difficulties of establishing a socialist economy and of bringing hundreds of thousands of small, widely scattered peasant households into cooperatives. It took some 40 years of consistent, painstaking work to achieve total collectivization.

In our case the cooperative movement had a number of specific features. Firstly, it was launched in a country whose industrial base was still in the making. Secondly, socialization involved mainly livestock, as the land had been nationalized immediately after the 1921 popular revolution. Thirdly, well-to-do families were drawn into cooperatives on a voluntary basis, without expropriation.

In the 30s, socialist change in agriculture was greatly harmed by 'Left' opportunists in the leadership of the MPRP and government, who had sought to bypass one development stage, violate the voluntary principle and legislate mass collectivization. After defeat-

ing the 'Leftists,' the MPRP consistently followed the Marxist-Leninist policy of socialist transformation and development of agriculture.

Owieczko. The main criterion for defining the stages of socialist development is the level of the productive forces and the relations of production. But judgment cannot be pronounced on the basis of a single criterion, and others must be taken into account and, furthermore, without falling into over-simplification. The fact is that, whatever the stage of socialist construction, all problems have to be tackled to one degree or another, including those of preceding and subsequent stages.

Poland is currently at the stage of gradual transition to developed socialist society while at the same time working to lay the foundations of socialism, especially in the sphere Lenin called educational work among the peasants. 'And the economic object of this educational work among the peasants,' he pointed out, 'is to organize the latter in cooperative societies' (ibid., p. 474).

The documents of the Sixth PUWP Congress state: 'The 70s must become a period of further progress in the formation of a developed socialist society in our country. This requires the solution of a number of important and difficult problems, economic and social.'

Our Party stands consistently by Lenin's cooperative plan. Its policy is aimed at promoting state farms, as well as various forms of farm cooperatives, at strengthening their economic and organizational links with the state sector, and the steady intensification of farm production. Thus are the technico-economic and socio-political prerequisites being created for accelerating the processes of socialist reconstruction in Poland's countryside.

Zevin. We are, apparently, all agreed that two stages - laying the foundations of socialism and developed socialist society - are obligatory for all countries. However, within these stages any number of specific steps may be taken to effect revolutionary change, and they need not follow any cut-and-dried order or sequence.

The sequence of change in one country cannot be canonized as a law or example to be necessarily followed by all other countries. That Lenin resolutely opposed such 'law-making' is well known. While stressing that 'on certain very important questions of the proletarian revolution, all countries will inevitably have to do what Russia has done' (Vol. 31, p. 31), he adamantly warned against stereotyped utilization of the Soviet experience. At each stage in the advance to socialism, he insisted, it was necessary to set realistic goals and concentrate on the key socialist transformations, with due consideration of objective factors; it was necessary to 'grasp the main link. Not a link chosen at random' (Vol. 33, p. 302).

In this connection emphasis should be laid on the common aspects of problems tackled by the Soviet Union, where a developed socialist society has been built, and by those countries where its construction is in progress. They were, I think, aptly defined by CC CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev in his address at the Eighth Congress of the SUPG: 'At present a number of countries of

the socialist community have entered a period of development which their Communist Parties define as building mature or developed socialism. They are faced at this stage with immense and very difficult tasks: how best to combine advantages of the socialist system with the newest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution; how, on this basis, to ensure the high efficiency and planned, promotional development of the economy and a substantial increase in the living standard; how best to foster and promote the socialist spirit in people; the ways to be taken in continuing the creative development of socialist democracy; how to raise cooperation between fraternal socialist countries to a new level.'

Enhancing the leading role of the Party, perfecting the state machinery

'If we really make a thorough study of our machinery of state and work for a number of years to improve it, that will be a great asset and a guarantee of success.'

LENIN

The more mature the socialist system, the less place there is for spontaneous, uncontrollable processes. Concentrating on this thesis, the members of the research group stressed that it does not imply any underestimation of the laws of social development. Greater insight into objective laws enables the society to benefit from them. In this context, the role of the subjective factor—the Communist Party and socialist state, in the first place—increases, despite the anti-Communists' claims to the contrary.

Owieczko. Socialism creates the socio-economic prerequisites for the moral and political unity of the people. It is not, however, a mere coincidence of basic interests of different classes or social strata. Unity can come only as a result of political work which takes divergent interests into account, finds ways of balancing them, and removes non-antagonistic contradictions. The problem has acquired special importance at the present stage of socialist construction in Poland and is directly linked with the tasks outlined by Lenin in his last works: strengthening the worker nucleus of the Party and its central bodies, improving the machinery of state and Party guidance of it, and developing socialist democracy, including greater worker participation in industrial management.

Our experience tells us that 'mutual understanding and mutual confidence between the vanguard of the working class and the workers' mass' (Vol. 32, p. 212) is not an *a priori* factor for all times. Confidence in the policy of the Party and the state must be won in day-to-day practical work, it must be fostered in all units and echelons of the society's political structure. The Party cannot perform its leading role if it does not enjoy the support of the working class. And such support will be forthcoming when the people feel themselves masters of the country, when socialist democracy develops. Accordingly, the Sixth PUWP Congress set the task of

better implementing Lenin's principles of Party leadership of the state, enforcing the norms of inner-Party democracy, perfecting the style and methods of work of the trade unions, enhancing the role of elective bodies (the Sejm and People's Councils), extensively discussing decisions on basic economic and social issues with the working class, providing more information about Party and state policy.

In guiding the machinery of state, the Party proceeds from the consideration that educational standards alone are not enough to ensure correct action where relations between the classes and sections of the society are concerned. Central to the Party's leadership of the state and economic machinery is selection of personnel of adequate professional, political and ideological standards and the creation of conditions for the best use of talent and creative ability, and initiative. While advocating more modern methods of decision-making, the Party at the same time seeks greater ties between the administrative machinery and the working class and the workers' mass. Only such ties, accompanied by Party control, both from 'above,' by Party bodies, and from 'below,' by the rank-and-file, can effectively counter technocratic tendencies.

Socialism creates conditions objectively favoring the liberation of the reserves latent in the 'human factor,' in the experience, initiative and activity of the working people. Thus, a well-functioning system of worker democracy is a necessary prerequisite for success in production. Underestimation of the working people's role in management (at a time of the naturally growing importance of experts and specialists) is fraught with the danger of technocratic distortions of the Marxist-Leninist principles of management and administration and the socialist forms of utilizing the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. Our system, Comrade Edward Gierek stressed at the Eighth Plenum of the CC PUWP (1971), turns to the best progressive and democratic traditions of the Polish people to perfect its inherent forms of democracy as expressed in Lenin's idea of participation of the masses in running the country.

The continued development of socialist democracy is becoming a general law of the new system. The level of this development is expressed in terms of mass participation in running state affairs and resolving social problems, as well as in the practical realization of the principle of real social equality. It is a long process, however, with difficulties and obstacles in its way. The workers do not immediately feel themselves to be the co-owners of the means of production and the national wealth. The establishment of people's power and creation of the public sector in production are but the prerequisites of socialist democracy. Its growth depends on many factors, among them the Party's ideological and political influence in society and inner-Party democracy; economic development and the associated improvement of living standards; the changing

balance of class forces in the country and on the international scale in favor of socialism; the political maturity of the masses as reaffirmed by strict adherence to the principles of the inseparability of rights and duties and the ability to blend personal and public interests; perfection of the institutions of worker self-management; openness of political life (prompted by genuine state interests); creation of an atmosphere conducive to public criticism.

Namsarai. Although bureaucracy is not inherent in the socialist state, the worker-peasant power is forced to engage in a protracted struggle against bureaucratic distortions rooted in survivals of the pre-socialist past, capitalist as well as feudal. Manifestations of bureaucracy are due to low political culture and to objective and subjective obstacles to the right of the working people to participate in running the state and to control the executive machinery of power.

Success in combating bureaucracy is in direct proportion to success in overcoming petty-bourgeois views and anarchistic lack of discipline, strengthening law and order, and removing 'every trace of extravagance from our social relations' (Vol. 33, p. 501).

True to Lenin's behests, the MPRP repeatedly took steps to reduce administrative personnel and cut the costs of running the machinery of central and local government. Now we are placing emphasis on improving the system of verification of the way the decisions of legislative bodies and Party directives are carried out. Speaking at the Fifth Plenum of the CC MPRP (1973), Comrade Y. Tsedenbal stressed: 'To raise the responsibility of our cadres, it is essential to ensure adequate verification of performance and increase Party control over the way members abide by the Party Rules. We should recognize that we have not been doing enough to meet the great Lenin's requirement of checking to see how people carry out their assignments.'

Zevin. Lenin's last articles and letters are filled with great concern for ensuring the leading role of the Communist Party. He dealt with many aspects of the Central Committee's work, laying stress on the principle of collective leadership. The CPSU is currently working on these problems, regarding the further development of inner-Party democracy as a prerequisite for expanding democracy in the society as a whole. Lenin's emphasis on the need to increase the working-class nucleus in Party bodies in order to give them greater political stability remains as relevant as ever. Events in China show that neglect of this principle can develop into a tragedy, not only for the ruling Party, but for the people as a whole. The question is not merely of the quantitative balance of workers and non-workers in the Party and its leading bodies. It is one of promoting a genuinely worker policy.

Lenin attached great importance to scientifically substantiated decision-making, in which experts had an extremely high role to play. The novelty of his approach was his principle that in person-

nel selection the important thing was cooperation of professional politicians and learned specialists. Promotion to executive positions, he held, should be based not only on considerations of a person's devotion to the communist cause, but also on professional qualities: competence, leadership abilities, political and organizational talent. 'The chief of a state institution,' wrote Lenin in his letter 'Granting Legislative Functions to the State Planning Commission,' 'must possess a high degree of personal appeal and sufficiently solid scientific and technical knowledge to be able to check people's work. That much is basic. Without it the work cannot be done properly' (Vol. 36, p. 600).

At a time when the scientific and technological revolution is in full swing, Lenin's ideas about the great role of science and technology in building socialism and communism are as relevant as ever. At its 24th Congress, the CPSU set the historic task of blending the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism.

To improve the machinery of state, Lenin held, it was absolutely essential to expand and strengthen the Party nucleus and enhance the role of Communists; select personnel with the utmost care; promote unquestionably devoted workers and peasants with practical experience and instruct them in managerial work; ensure control of the masses and their public organizations over the functioning of the state machinery.

Lenin repeatedly stressed the importance of strengthening the links between the state machinery and the masses and of systematic planned work aimed at drawing thousands upon thousands of non-Party workers into running the state, both by way of elections to representative bodies, promotion to administrative posts, and participation in control activities. All of the CPSU's measures aimed at enhancing the role of elective government bodies and public organizations, perfecting legislation and improving the functioning of the state machinery, are based on these ideas of Lenin's.

Avramova. Building a developed socialist society and its subsequent advance imposes new demands on the Party as the leading force of society and presupposes the enhancement of its role and responsibilities. Bulgarian Communists attach great theoretical and political significance to the CPSU's conclusion that, with the emergence of mature socialism, the working-class party becomes a party of the people as a whole, thereby giving added force to the objective need to enhance its leading role.

In connection with the problem of perfecting the political organization of socialism, a few words should be said concerning public-state principles of management. In Bulgaria they have for several years been applied in the management of those spheres of public life where it is especially essential to combine competence with democratic debate in decision-making. The greatest experience in this respect has been gained in the cultural field, as well as by the Committee on Science, Technical Progress and Higher Education and the Recreation and Tourism Committee. Of course, the establishment of public-state bodies is not the only way of expand-

ing socialist democracy, but Bulgarian Communists see it as one of the most promising.

Novy. Reflecting on the present-day relevance of Lenin's last works, one is bound to single out the problem of effective management at all levels of socialist construction. 'In order to manage,' Lenin said, 'one must know the job and be a splendid administrator' (Vol. 36, pp. 521-22). But he also insisted on assigning to managerial posts advanced workers unaffected by 'the spirit of bureaucracy,' wholly devoted to socialism and with close ties with the people. Lastly, Lenin regarded the following as 'musts' for every Party and state functionary: wide range of knowledge, high cultural standard, fidelity to principle, firmness, tactfulness and concern for others, ability to use the power delegated to him with reserve and caution, intolerance of flattery and suppression of criticism, and of anything smacking of a personality cult. And only if these requirements are unswervingly met, Lenin held, can one 'obtain solid human material' for managerial purposes, capable of reducing to the minimum the negative effects of personal, incidental factors and ensuring that Party and state policy really accord with the fundamental objectives of socialist construction.

The departure of the CPC leadership from these Leninist requirements during the years of crisis development undermined the system of economic and social management and reduced the effectiveness of the Party and state apparatus. 'In 1968, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia gradually ceased to be the leading center of the socialist social system. . . . The CPC Central Committee, the Party's supreme authority in between congresses, and its executive bodies ceased to operate as the guiding center of the development of socialist society and defense of its revolutionary gains' ('Lessons of the Crisis Development in the CP Czechoslovakia and Society After the 13th CPC Congress').

In the years of consolidation the Party was able to bring hundreds of thousands of new people into all levels of management, ridding it of 'ballast' and 'unsolid' human material. There was a marked rejuvenation of executive personnel, and many workers were promoted to positions of responsibility. The revisionists claimed that the departure of some top specialists would disrupt the mechanism of management and executive leadership. Nothing of the sort happened. For, first, the new CPC leadership did not appoint to executive positions everyone who wanted the job, but only the best front-rank workers with a broad political outlook and high sense of responsibility. Second, the new executives were given a proper training at specialized courses and at Party schools. Such training is now carried out on a regular basis and expanded to include the personnel of both elective and administrative bodies. Obviously, many difficult problems remain to be resolved in further improving all aspects of administrative management and Party work, but there can be no doubt that we are on the right road.

It is impossible to elucidate, in a single review article, the wealth of ideas contained in Lenin's last works or trace all their connec-

tions with the present. While noting this, the research group also emphasized that the experience accumulated by the fraternal countries, on the one hand, confirms the scientific and political value of Lenin's plan of socialist construction and, on the other, enriches the theory of scientific communism. Socialism, Lenin stressed, should not be approached as 'an icon painted in festive colors' (Vol. 33, p. 442). Marxism, he urged, should be carried forward. That is the only correct approach to Lenin's works, too. They are not a dogma, but a guide to action.

Social responsibility of the scientist

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The scientist of today is more and more often faced with problems of a philosophical nature. In all fields, the natural sciences are going through a period of intense revolutionary breakup, and the scientist cannot avoid drawing philosophical conclusions. Nor is that all. The conversion of science into a direct productive force, and scientific and technical progress into a key sector of the historic competition and confrontation of the two world systems, markedly increase the social significance of the natural sciences and the scientist's responsibility to society. Today as never before there is a very topical meaning to Lenin's conclusion of the need to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the progressive representatives of the natural sciences. The question of the specific, and in capitalist conditions often contradictory, ways that lead science to this alliance with the proletariat's scientific ideology and class struggle now acquires immense importance. Let us examine some aspects of the problem.

Scientific progress and the battle of philosophies

The achievements of the natural sciences over the past decades are truly stupendous. The mastery of atomic energy, the design and building of spaceships, the landing on the moon of men and automatic stations, rockets sent to Venus and Mars, advance in radio and X-ray astronomy, tempestuous progress in the physics of solids, electronics, bionics, cybernetics and computers, the use of molecular engineering in biology, the decoding of the molecules of proteins, ferments, nucleic acids, the use of mathematical, physical and chemical methods to revolutionize such branches of knowledge

as genetics, ecology, ethology – such is but a partial list of what modern science has accomplished.

These achievements inspire pride in every scientist and give him a deeper appreciation of the social value of his work. But many fundamental problems still await solution. The list includes creation of a unified field theory, understanding of the nature of nuclear forces, the evolution of matter in the universe, the origin of atoms and of galaxies, the origin and evolution of life, the mechanisms of chemical and biochemical processes. Vastly important, too, is enhancing the role of the natural sciences in mankind's spiritual and social progress.

Just as in the days when Engels worked on his 'Dialectics of Nature' and Lenin on his 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism,' the natural sciences need a theoretical generalization of their findings. And only the philosophy of dialectical materialism can be the scientist's guide in forming an integral picture of the world and relating his work to its social problems. In the socialist countries he is guided by materialist dialectics in all his research, and world science is developing in that direction. Lenin's conclusion that 'the basic materialist spirit of physics, as of all modern science, will overcome all crises, but only by the indispensable replacement of metaphysical materialism by dialectical materialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 14, p. 306), retains all its validity. The sharp ideological battle in philosophy over the social conclusions to be drawn from recent discoveries squarely faces the scientist with the need to take a definite partisan stand. He must be fully aware of his responsibility for making all such discoveries promote the scientific world outlook in the fight against all manner of idealistic scholastics and reactionary theories.

Achievements in the natural sciences are prompting their representatives to accept elements of dialectics, the ideas of development and of historical approach. The natural sciences accept the concept of the material unity of the universe, and there is increasing acceptance of the universal character of the links between processes and phenomena in nature, and of the objectivity of its laws. Einstein's theory of relativity revealed the unity of matter and movement, space and time. The idea of the unity, struggle and interpenetration of opposites is steadily gaining acceptance, both in its ontological form (contrast of matter-field, matter-anti-matter, diffusion and concentration of matter in the Cosmos, assimilation and dissimilation in biochemistry) and in the gnosiological sphere (the relation of dynamic and static regularities, the principle of complemented wave and corpuscle properties, the relation of heredity to mutability).

There is a gradually deepening understanding of development. The evolution of matter in the universe is now understood as a process interrupted by catastrophic explosions, cosmic cataclysms. Leap-like mutations are considered a necessary element of the development of living nature. The dialectics of form and content in living nature have been enriched by an understanding of pedomorphosis,

i.e., progressive evolution through immature, unspecialized forms, bypassing some development stages. The correspondence principle has led the scientist to the idea of theory developing by negating the preceding stage, while retaining its substance. i.e., to an understanding of the relation of absolute and relative truth.

However, these progressive features of modern science have yet to reach maturity. Bourgeois scientists are moving ahead by assimilating, like the bourgeois philosophers, 'in a one-sided and mutilated form certain of the component parts of dialectics' (*ibid.*, p.330). This is due, above all, to the traditional class and social prejudices which, in the capitalist world, prevent the scientist from consciously assimilating the method of materialist dialectics. Ignorance of dialectics as a science leads to erroneous conclusions, to reactionary leanings, produced by the *very progress of science*, which, in the end, acquire a definite social coloring to suit the class interests of the bourgeoisie. There is also the built-in disparity between the scientist's special knowledge and his general world outlook. The latter is subjected to the constant influence of bourgeois ideology and education, compounded, often enough, by lack of even elementary knowledge of the essence and history of social relations.

There is also a tendency among scientists to transplant to social relations and human behavior regularities applying to their own special field of investigation. Some biochemists, Jonathan Warner, for instance, use concepts determining the chemical and physical properties of atoms, ions and molecules to describe all human traits. That eminently suits bourgeois ideologists, for all errors, all distortions of consciousness, can be blamed on the innocent atoms and ions. Another widespread tendency is to plead the imperfection of human nature, supposedly discovered by the natural sciences at the genetic level or in the correlation of cortex and sub-cortex. Complaints about the unbalanced genotype and the mutual hostility of the new (human) and ancient (animal) parts of the brain are used by some apologists for capitalism to blame all the ugliness and evils of bourgeois society on Mother Nature.

Advances in cybernetics have occasioned a good deal of sociological speculation. To be sure, they give us a better understanding of guidance and communication processes in nature and society, have facilitated the design of technological and economic control systems. But they have also produced a certain infatuation with what might be called metaphysical cybernetic materialism. Cybernetics is seen as an overall method of analysis of social problems. That, of course, is wrong, for cybernetics does not extend to the realities of production and socialist relations. The theorists of the 'managerial society' which, we are told, will replace capitalism, rely heavily on cybernetics, too. Its terms are bandied about in attempts to equate the human brain with cybernetic systems, in total disregard of the social nature of consciousness.

By his very nature, man is, above all, a social being. As the supreme stage of the development of nature, man is the embodi-

ment, in essential form, of all the basic regularities and properties of the preceding stages in the evolution of matter. Proper functioning of the social organism, society, is the earnest of the normal functioning of all the physical, chemical and biological processes in the human organism.

The natural sciences are now engaged in a thorough study of integral organic systems: the individual, species, population, biocenosis, biosphere. In these conditions, the scientist finds himself less and less satisfied with the method of reductionism, i.e., reducing higher forms of movement to lower ones, the whole to the sum-total of its parts. But lacking knowledge of dialectics, this negative reaction sometimes leads to errors of another kind: to attempts, primarily, to re-establish the teleological understanding of processes. Thus, while rejecting the decisive role of physico-chemical processes in living phenomena, biochemist Mora invites us to 'direct our thoughts towards teleology.' Nowadays, religious concepts very rarely intrude into scientific research. But some bourgeois scientists resort to religious and idealistic arguments in discussing social or ethical problems. Hence, the struggle against the survivals of religious views has shed none of its topicality and continues to be the social duty of the scientist.

The optimistic conception of man as the zenith of the evolution of nature and endowed with limitless creative ability to understand and intelligently refashion the world he lived in, was fundamental to science in the Renaissance. It was the counterweight to the anthropocentrism of the church, which seemingly made man the center of the universe but actually degraded him, and to religious pessimism.

Today, however, with capitalism in decline, pessimism has again gained currency among bourgeois scientists. They take a sceptical view of man and his place in nature. Melvin Calvin attributes this to loss of the anthropocentric view of man: Scientific conceptions, he writes in his *Chemical Evolution*, have brought man down from his central place in the universe to a subordinate place, at any rate from the standpoint of matter and energy.

Another scientist, the well-known biochemist Fraenkel-Conrat, leads his reader, not without sad irony, to the conclusion that man is simply the cumulative result of the genetic errors made over the millions of years of evolution.

Scientific research has, of course, abandoned the naive anthropocentric views, but man is not lost in the universe as a meaningless or even pernicious grain of sand in infinity. Quite the contrary, precisely now science is producing an ever clearer picture of the evolution of matter in the universe and how it leads to the formation of life. And today man stands forth as the most mature, the richest creation of the natural course of development. He stands forth as an active force bringing into the new processes of technological advance more matter and energy and subjecting nature to his rational aims. And if in some cases this process is spontaneous and attended by undesirable consequences, that is due

primarily to the immaturity of social relations, the domination of narrow-minded private interests under capitalism, the anarchic forms of social intercourse.

The humanistic traditions of science and the anti-imperialist struggle

For centuries the methodology of science was shaped by spontaneous materialism, while the scientist's world outlook has been shaped by the traditional humanism of science.

We regard humanism as the sum-total of definite philosophical, ethical and political views and principles, and also as a definite political stand in the social struggle.

The ideas of humanism find their specific expression in science. Its humanism follows from the objective position of the natural and technical sciences in society, where their function is to serve production, assure its uninterrupted progress and use of the forces and materials of nature to satisfy the needs of human practice. At the same time, however, the humanism of the scientist has its subjective sources: his world outlook is formed under the influence of the progressive philosophical, ethical, legal, political and aesthetic views of society.

Progressive scientists have never stood aloof from social problems, from the needs of their times and the struggle of social forces. In discovering the objective laws of nature, they sought to spread knowledge among the people, utilize their discoveries to benefit the people, improve their conditions. Expressed in this is the unity of the fundamental interests of scientists and the working people, also the basis of the scientist's humanism. And it is no accident that there is a deep-rooted popular belief that knowledge and good are inextricably linked.

But there is another trend in science: the exploiting classes have always tried to hamstring the freedom-loving and humane aspirations of science.

The capitalists' use of scientific achievement is contradictory: they help scientific advancement only to the degree that it strengthens their class domination and assures bigger profits. Scientific discoveries which, for one or another reason, the monopolies find unprofitable are deliberately suppressed; a laboratory may be assigned to develop a means to worsen the quality or reduce the lifetime of an article. Manufacturing technologies for medicines needed to treat patients in all countries are jealously guarded secrets. The motivation: monopoly profits. In their efforts to promote their goods and beat their competitors, manufacturers of food add bright synthetic dyestuffs, some of which are health hazards. Capitalist firms approach the checking and testing of new drugs with criminal unconcern. The most notorious example is that of thalidomide, which resulted in the birth of deformed children.

Reactionary exploitation of the achievements of science against humankind has long been a cause of alarm and concern to progres-

sive scientists. Thus, the well-known Soviet geochemist V. I. Vernadsky wrote as far back as in 1922: 'The time is not far off when man will harness atomic energy, a source of power that will enable him to build the life he chooses . . . Will man be able to use this force for his own good, not for self-destruction? . . . Scientists should realize their responsibility for the consequences of their discoveries. They should link their work with a better organization of the whole of mankind.'

Nowadays the question of the scientist's responsibility for the political utilization of scientific and technological achievements has acquired truly apocalyptic dimensions. The contradictions of capitalist utilization of science have been greatly aggravated. Lenin repeatedly emphasized that 'political reaction all along the line is a characteristic feature of imperialism' (Vol. 23, p. 106). This reaction embraces all aspects of bourgeois society, it penetrates into laboratories and universities, and influences the minds of scientists, subordinating their work to the anti-human propensities of the ruling class, distorting and perverting the objectives of science. It was under imperialism that a qualitative leap took place in the development of anti-humanitarian tendencies and Malthusian prattle expanded into gas chambers, national haughtiness into genocide, the hatred of senescent reactionaries for everything new into radioactive strontium.

Science, of course, continues its swift advance, penetrating deeper and deeper into the secrets of nature, creating new means for making human labor easier. But the militarization of society under present-day capitalism has laid a fateful imprint on scientific activity. If formerly technical innovations and inventions were usually employed for peaceful purposes first and only subsequently put to military use, many of the major discoveries of our time began by becoming implements of destruction, weapons of war. The unholy alliance of some bourgeois scientists, who have chosen to disregard humanistic traditions, with imperialism distorts the true purpose of science and corrupts the soul of scientists.

In his philosophical drama, 'The Life of Galileo,' Bertolt Brecht says through the lips of his hero: 'With time you may succeed in discovering all there is to be discovered, but your advance in science will be away from humanity. And the gulf between you and humanity may become so great that one fine day your triumphant proclamation of a new discovery will be greeted with a universal cry of terror.' These words offer a kind of explanation of the anti-science movement in capitalist countries. Supported by monopoly circles, it seeks to blame science for the threats to humanity created by imperialist applications of scientific discoveries, just as the Luddites regarded machines as the source of the evils of capitalist exploitation.

Some scientists try to justify their break with humanism. One of them is the well-known German physicist Jordan. He faithfully served the Nazi regime, and back in 1935 declared that war was a natural state of man. Today, too, Jordan is openly opposed to

the humanitarian views of other scientists. For example, he soothes the conscience of his colleagues by saying that modern weapons of mass annihilation are no worse or more immoral than the medieval arbalest and in future wars people will grow used to them. Needless to say, the issue is not a sophist argument regarding 'ethical' ways of killing men but of banishing thermonuclear war from the life of society!

One of the well-known war advocates of employing the newest means of destruction was Teller, 'father' of the American H-bomb; he cynically declared that radiation is more apt to prolong life than shorten it.

It is the duty of every honest man of science to keep the fire of Prometheus from being used to kindle a new war. This duty is understood not only by scientists in the socialist countries, but by progressive scientists of the bourgeois world, regardless of their ideological convictions.

There is no hiding from the problems in an ivory tower, there is no shielding from radiation behind a pile of books. Humanitarian principles are neither a sweet lullaby for dulling the conscience of men nor an exhortation of submissive forgiveness. To be a humanist in our time is to hold a very definite position in the class confrontation and, first and foremost, to be an ardent champion of peace. Outstanding Communist scientists like Frederic Joliot-Curie, Paul Langevin, John Bernal and others devoted their lives to the fight for peace, for the lofty, humane objectives of science.

Although the humanism of bourgeois scientists is of a limited kind, it is an effective force in the fight for peace, against the anti-humanitarian uses of science. Besides, it is hard to blame the scientists working in capitalist conditions for the restricted nature of their humanism, due primarily to objective class causes. And it is entirely possible for consistent humanism to gradually draw bourgeois scientists to the ideological and political positions of the working class, to Marxism-Leninism, which has inherited all the best democratic and socialist elements from the humanism of the past and raised it to a qualitatively new level. An understanding of the lofty purpose of science impels many scientists not yet sharing the Marxist-Leninist outlook towards cooperation with consistently anti-imperialist forces.

Today, when the task is to make the positive changes on the international arena brought about by socialism's peace offensive irreversible, it is especially important to rally the forces of science against the attempts of imperialist reaction, militarism and the military to contaminate the source of knowledge, use science against man and reverse the process of détente. Of great significance in this connection is the Pugwash movement of scientists.

Scientific progress calls for the joint efforts of scientists on a worldwide scale. This need is reflected in the agreements signed recently between countries with different social systems, notably between the Soviet Union and the United States. In conditions of

détente, the international collaboration of scientists is not only a means for advancing science, but also an important factor for strengthening the objective basis of peaceful coexistence.

As often as not, narrow specialization prevents a scientist from clearly realizing his social responsibilities. The need for specialization has been prompted by the snowballing volume of scientific and technical knowledge. To know one's field and be more than a mere dilettante, one must focus attention and talent on a narrow field, deliberately foregoing diversions or distractions. As Bernard Shaw once remarked, specialists could one day wind up knowing 'everything about nothing.' Excessively narrow specialization often means a childish innocence of other spheres of human activity or, what may be even worse, knowledge based on rumor, current opinion or incorrect information. And this carries the danger of irresponsible, thoughtless decisions, when a scientific or engineering problem overreaches its boundaries and invades other spheres of human activity.

The social prestige of the scientist, especially in socialist society, is great indeed. This imposes a great responsibility, especially when one's judgments go beyond the frame of purely professional interests. Regrettably, this sense of responsibility has been totally lost by Academician Sakharov, whose past scientific services were highly rewarded by the Soviet state. Having stopped his scientific work and broken with progressive Russian scientific tradition, he fell under the influence of anti-scientific 'theories' alien to our people, ending up with opposing détente, siding with the Israeli aggressors and in effect supporting the Chilean counter-revolutionary junta, which has trampled upon all the human rights and freedoms Sakharov claims to espouse. As the newspaper *L'Unita* correctly noted in this connection, his position should have opened the eyes of those in capitalist countries who considered Sakharov a serious man. This is how you get to see the man in a true light.

New generations of scientists must take over the humanistic traditions and ideological foundations of science from the older. Failure to do so produces tragic ruptures which could be defined as the 'Max Born complex.' Max Born was not only an outstanding physicist but a genuine humanist as well. How then could it happen that two of his pupils, Teller and Jordan, landed in the anti-humanist camp? Born himself writes sadly: 'It is wonderful to have two such bright and capable pupils, but I would have preferred them to be more wise than bright. Perhaps it was my mistake to have had them study only research methods and nothing more.' Born's confession is a warning to those concerned with the training of young scientists. One of the prime tasks of the older generation of scientists is to bring up the youth in the spirit of humanism, in the finest traditions of science.

Together with the working class

Life confirms the Marxist-Leninist thesis that scientists can go over to the side of the working class in their own ways, not neces-

sarily from the ideas of class struggle of the proletariat, but through the findings of their own science. Only together with the working class can the scientist be certain that the purpose and results of research remain genuinely humane in character and serve the interests of man. It is not accidental that the struggle against anti-humanitarian use of science by imperialism, launched by progressive scientists in all countries, links up with the struggle to reshape society along planned, socialist lines.

The proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, are interested in establishing a firm alliance with the broadest sections of the scientific community for the general-democratic, anti-imperialist struggle for peace and social progress, the rational utilization of the environment, and socialism. The task can be successfully resolved only if it rests on a Marxist analysis of the social role of the scientific community, the peculiarities of its functioning, world outlook, ideological traditions and trends of development.

In particular, it should be remembered that the scientist's position in bourgeois society is most contradictory. On the one hand, in respect of working conditions, consumption, living conditions, traditions, habits and privileges, many members of the scientific community are objectively or subjectively close to the bourgeoisie. Not infrequently this breeds Messianic illusions, elitist attitudes, feelings of exclusiveness, which set many scientists apart from the people. At the same time, as paid workers, scientists are exploited by capital, which uses their talent and knowledge for its own selfish ends, subordinates their labor to profit, market fluctuations and the vagaries of capitalist employment and dismissal. The pressure on scientists of state-monopoly capital and military-industrial circles increases with the advance of the scientific and technological revolution and the aggravation of class antagonisms in society. This impels scientists towards alliance with the working class and creates the objective possibilities for involving them in the anti-imperialist liberation movement.

It was Marx who wrote that only the working class could 'convert science from an instrument of class rule into a popular force, convert the men of science themselves from . . . allies of capital into free agents of thought! Science can only play its genuine part in the Republic of Labor.'

The universal character of science as the quintessence of historical development can find embodiment only in the maximum socialization of labor, in socialist society. Socialism puts an end to a state of affairs in which the scientist's work is socially recognized only as a means of multiplying capitalist profit. It realizes the spontaneous socialist tendencies, latent in science, which inevitably lead its representatives to recognizing the need to change society along communist lines.

Unlike the bourgeoisie, the working class, as the decisive force of social progress, has a vital interest in the freest possible development of science, for, as Engels wrote, 'the more ruthlessly and

disinterestedly science proceeds, the more it finds itself in harmony with the interests and aspirations of the workers' (Engels, 'Ludwig Feuerbach . . .'). The toiling classes master science, the wealth of accumulated knowledge, to build communism and, in the final analysis, solve the historic task of eliminating the difference between mental and physical labor.

The eminent Russian scientist K. A. Timiryazev once wrote: 'Science resting on democracy, democracy made strong by science and, as a symbol of this alliance, something virtually unknown in past ages – the democratization of science: that is the forecast of the future.' This forecast is coming true in the socialist countries. Their experience in using science for the benefit of the masses at large, in the rational planning of the economy on the basis of scientific achievement, in the stimulation and support of scientific creativity, is an important factor in moulding the world outlook and social attitude of scientists all over the world.

Objective historical tendency

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CONTINUING OUR DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION*

During the discussion an attempt has been made to give a more exact definition of integration. In science, it figures primarily as an economic category, presumably because it is precisely in economics that this objective process has been studied more thoroughly. However, some of its elements are present, in differing degree, in other areas of social life. It is therefore essential that a *general* concept of 'integration' be elaborated, to enable a more comprehensive definition of economic integration to be made within its framework. Lack of such a comprehensive definition affects our understanding of the economic integration processes.

Identical processes

Integration is, in our view, identical to the process that Marx and Lenin called internationalization, although nowadays, obviously, we are dealing with its new qualitative stage. This process which, according to the founders of Marxism, also included the tendency towards the assimilation of nations, applies to the same degree, in their opinion, to both material and spiritual productive processes.

*For earlier contributions see WMR for July, August, October and November 1973.

In carrying further the ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin showed that one of the main tendencies of capitalism is 'the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc.' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 27).

Lenin's thoughts about the process of the assimilation of nations are very much to the point today. He noted that, discounting all coercion and inequality, this concept embraces 'capitalism's world-historical tendency to break down national barriers, obliterate national distinctions, and to assimilate nations—a tendency which manifests itself more and more powerfully with every passing decade, and is one of the greatest driving forces transforming capitalism into socialism' (*Ibid.* p. 28). Lenin regarded moves towards international unity of capital characteristic of 'a mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society' (*Ibid.* p. 27).

The Marxist-Leninist classics held that the internationalization process was, in the final analysis, a positive phenomenon. They did not criticize internationalization as such, but its imperialist forms and the negative social results following therefrom.

Historical category

Time has proved the correctness of the scientific conclusions of Marxism-Leninism. In general terms they apply to present-day integration processes. Today, integration develops on a qualitatively higher level, for besides capitalist, there is socialist integration. And it is with these fundamental differences in mind, that we must add and develop the Marxist views on integration.

The founders of scientific socialism regarded economic factors as the motive force in internationalization or integration, above all because of the tendency of large-scale industrial production. Experience has proved them right. Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that today political motivations play a much more conspicuous part.

In contrast to the view that mankind's entire history, the development of nations and international relations are a single and uninterrupted process of integration, we maintain that integration is exclusively a product of capitalist and socialist societies. In other words, integration is a category stemming from a specific historical stage and, as distinct from the original meaning of the word, only applies to economically determined internationalization.

Integration, now a universal phenomenon, has passed through several stages. In the period of pre-monopoly capitalism and free competition, the process consisted mainly of unifying national markets within the world capitalist market, thereby accentuating the international nature of capital.

In the imperialist era, integration increased with the establishment and expansion of international monopolies. As is known, it was the wrong appraisal of this phenomenon that lay at the root of Kautsky's incorrect theory of ultra-imperialism.

Integration, which today is of two mutually opposed types in terms of social and class content, is now an aspect of state policy and develops increasingly through inter-state agreements. Of course, it has to be borne in mind that in modern integration processes, stable and regulated phenomena combine with the transient and spontaneous.

Thus, integration can be defined as an objective historical tendency and, at the same time, a consciously directed process of internationalization, as well as assimilation of nations (in the Marxist-Leninist meaning). It passes through different stages both in the material and non-material spheres of social life, is realized at inter-state and other levels, within an organized framework and outside. Economic, political and ideological factors determine this process, but its main motive element is the internationalization of productive forces and economics in general, the objective need for the further growth of the productive forces.

So far as the most important and more developed aspects of integration – the economic – are concerned, one can agree with the definition given, for instance, in the statement of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences.* Socialist and contemporary capitalist (or, to be more exact, monopoly, state-monopoly) integration, as already noted in this discussion, differ from each other, not only in their socio-economic, class content, but in their methods of implementation. Integration processes unfold mainly within regional and sub-regional boundaries, but they also acquire a much wider, world form. Integration began under capitalism, but can only achieve completion under socialism.

Some socio-political problems

Integration, particularly economic integration, has a profound impact on the domestic affairs of nations and states, the world economy and foreign policies, on the entire system of international relations, on the class struggle, both national and international, on the relation of class forces throughout the world, on international organizations, science, culture, customs, and so on. In many countries and groups of countries integration policy has become one of the pivots of their international strategy.

In these circumstances, it is important to work out our attitude and mode of action towards various integration groupings and processes, especially those based on state-monopoly capitalism.

Modern capitalist integration is the sum total of spontaneous and consciously regulated processes in the interests of state-monopoly capitalism, with all its inherent antagonistic contradictions and negative features. Insofar as this integration is embodied in the activities of states and of international institutions representing the states, to that extent the policy of the socialist countries in relation to it, can only be dictated by the principle regulating relations of states with different social structures.

*See WMR, July 1973, p. 19.

The relations between CMEA and the EEC deserve special attention. We cannot ignore the fact that there is a tendency within the EEC towards exclusiveness, a policy of discrimination towards the socialist countries, which seriously impedes the adjustment of general European questions. The leading groups of the EEC are far more concerned with working out their own particular strategy, which is orientated on 'Atlantic' solidarity, and show no desire to develop relations with CMEA. Since the constituent integration units are sovereign states, the problem can only be solved through affirming the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social structures advocated by the CMEA countries, through an all-European security and cooperation system. This could lead to business relations between CMEA and the Common Market.

The West European revolutionary working-class movement accepts the EEC as a reality, stemming from the objective tendencies in the development of the productive forces and the internationalization of capital. It combats the negative results of imperialist integration, exposes its anti-democratic aims. The West European fraternal Parties strive, on the one hand, to strengthen the class struggle at home, and on the other, to a far greater degree to coordinate on an international scale their fight against monopoly capital.

Now as in the past, monopoly integration hampers the development and consolidation of positive change on the world scene. Socialist integration has a stabilizing influence on the international situation, strengthens the cause of peace, security and cooperation of all peoples.

NEW STAGE IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE

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Historically, economic integration originates on a national scale, as the capitalist economy expands. With the extension of the social division of labor, the different branches of economic activity and territorial units gradually unite to form a complex but integral whole, the national economy. Under capitalism, especially at its monopoly stage, there develops a world market, world trade and international division of labor. The national economies are linked by numerous ties and become interdependent. The organizational form of this is economic integration.

Of course, not every kind of interdependence merits the term integration. *That term applies only when interdependence reaches a high stage and from the sphere of circulation steadily penetrates the sphere of material production.*

The tendency towards a single world economy is an objective factor of social progress. It originates under capitalism, manifests

itself under socialism and reaches its consummation, as Lenin foresaw, after the victory of communism on a world scale, even over a long period after that victory.* This means that both the tendency towards a single world economy and international economic integration arising on its basis cannot escape the regularities of the historical stages through which mankind passes in its advance to communism.

Resultant on the deep revolutionary transformations associated with the rise and development of socialism and the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system, mankind is going through a period in which closer economic interdependence is proceeding against the background of the rise and flourishing of sovereign nations. From this follow several conclusions that have a methodological bearing on analysis of present-day economic integration.

First, international economic integration differs qualitatively from integration on a national scale. That explains why the very term 'integration' has different meanings. Semantically (the in-gathering of various parts to form an integral whole) it is applicable only to national economies. Economists, however, do not use it in that meaning; in fact, it has acquired differing, often contradictory, meanings. It should be borne in mind that the correlation between the part and the whole is not the same in national economies (even in federal states) and on an international scale. Hence, the difference in the content and forms of national and international integration. Countries desirous of participating in various forms of integration do so as independent entities: *integration extends only to economic ties between them.*

Second, the content, form and methods of international economic integration differ depending on the nature of the social system and the economic levels of participating countries. Different levels lead to different attitudes towards integration.

State-monopoly capitalism and integration

Imperialist integration bears the imprint of the concrete conditions in which monopoly capitalism develops. It is the principal form of state-monopoly capitalism's action on the international scene. It is also capitalism's reaction to certain development trends in the world economy.

State-monopoly capitalism extends and develops contacts, but also contradictions, between capitalist states. It uses the integration process to redivide zones of influence and power centers by the stronger subjugating and exploiting the weaker. The disintegration of the colonial system, and in particular the rise and growth of the socialist world system, and the mounting class struggle in capitalist countries, the marked strengthening of the national and

*Referring to the 'tendency towards the creation of a single world economy regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan,' Lenin wrote in his 'Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions,' that 'This tendency has already revealed itself quite clearly under capitalism and is bound to be further developed and consummated under socialism' (Vol. 31, p. 147) - Ed.

international anti-imperialist front – they have all stimulated the trend towards monopoly integration, at the same time giving it a distinct anti-labor and anti-socialist orientation.

This type of integration does not make for optimal development of economic cooperation or for the exchange of material and spiritual values within a world community.

Capitalist integration accelerates socialization of production and the maturing of objective – in the final analysis also of subjective – conditions for the triumph of socialism. Only with the victory of socialism can the contradictions of modern capitalism be resolved.

In keeping with national and international interests

Socialist economic integration is a dynamic and complex process. Its roots should be sought in the new scale and level of productive forces and production relations in the various countries and in their resultant economic interdependence.

A detailed description of socialist economic integration will be found in the Comprehensive Program adopted by the 25th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Bucharest in 1971. It defines socialist integration as a process of international socialist division of labor, the coming together of the economies of CMEA members, the formation of modern and highly effective national economic structures, the gradual approximation and evening-out of their economic levels, the formation of close and stable ties in the main branches of the economy, science and technology, expansion and consolidation of their international market, and perfection of commodity-money relations. From this follow the characteristic features that make socialist integration superior to capitalist.

First, socialist economic integration is the highest stage of interdependence between sovereign national economies. Such interdependence is achieved through better plan co-ordination, extension of production cooperation and specialization, permanent stable contacts between various branches of the economy, science and technology, joint construction projects, cooperation in science and technology, perfection of currency and financial relations, etc.

Second, socialist economic integration is a planned process regulated by the Communist and Workers' Parties and governments of participating countries in accordance with their national and international interests and with observance of the principles basic to relations between socialist countries. These principles are: socialist internationalism, respect of sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-interference in internal affairs, full equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance. Integration rests on the voluntary participation of interested countries and is not attended by the organization of supra-state or supra-national bodies.

Third, the coming-together and evening-out, in a historically short space of time, of economic development levels is an essential and organic component of socialist integration. Measures to pro-

mote international production specialization and other forms of cooperation should assure the all-round development of each national economy in accordance with its potentials and its current and long-range requirements. It will also be necessary to afford conditions for countries with relatively similar production structures to complement each other, and for a faster development pace for countries with relatively low economic levels.

Fourth, socialist economic integration is an open process in the sense that all countries participate on a voluntary basis and that non-participation does not affect cooperation in other fields. Each country is free to announce its interest in integration measures and share in them at any time, even if, for one or another reason, it did not originally wish to do so. Socialist integration does not isolate the socialist states from others but, on the contrary, presupposes more extensive relations with all countries irrespective of their social system.

And so, socialist economic integration is a complex process aimed not only at interdependence of the countries concerned but also – through this interdependence – at accelerating the economic development of each participant. Hence its exceptional importance for economic theory and practice. The Rumanian Communist Party had an active share in formulating the Comprehensive Program and is fully determined to see it translated into practice, the aim being, as Comrade Ceausescu has emphasized, to 'expedite fulfilment of national economic programs, assure the independent development of all countries, at the same time promoting their all-round cooperation and enhancing the unity and strength of socialism.'

Socialist economic integration is expressive both of the key economic interests of each country and of the need to consolidate the socialist world system. Production specialization and cooperation within CMEA raise the effectiveness of national production and its competitive power on non-CMEA markets. And more trade on these markets can, in definite circumstances, provide fresh opportunities for cooperation within the CMEA framework.

CMEA, an open organization

The existence of two types of integration within the two world systems does not preclude movement towards economic integration on a world scale.

The development and growing diversification of productive forces, in combination with the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution, tend to stimulate interdependence of countries not only on a regional, but also on a world scale. Economic integration should not lead to autarkical regional blocs. That would be tantamount to disintegration of the world economy and fragmentation of the world market, which would adversely affect economic exchange and retard social progress. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is an open organization – open to other countries. The new pattern of international relations is exerting increasing

influence, as will be seen from the interest some non-socialist countries have shown in cooperation with CMEA.

One or another country's participation in a regional economic organization does not, in our opinion, preclude cooperation with other international economic organizations or with their member states, whatever their social system. This follows from the objective nature of the international division of labor and from the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing systems.

CAN EUROPE BECOME A CONTINENT OF COOPERATION?

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Marxists of several countries are in agreement on the fundamental differences between socialist and capitalist integration in terms of class content, aims, economic and legal instruments and methods. While fully subscribing to this consensus, I should like to make some remarks on the outlook for European cooperation in the context of integration processes.

All democrats and progressives want to see Europe a continent of cooperation and progress. For that Europe needs, above all, peace and the socialist countries have been working consistently towards that goal. In 1966 they took a new important initiative with the Bucharest Declaration, which proposed strengthening the security and cooperation of all European countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

At its 27th Session in Prague this June, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance reaffirmed that its member countries' political and economic goal at the present stage was cooperation in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields with all countries irrespective of their social and economic systems, and détente and peaceful economic competition between the two social systems.

Cooperation would make it possible to utilize the vast production potential of the Continent, which is equal to that of the rest of the world.* Cooperation between European countries is now especially important in scientific and technological discoveries, patents, licences, and so on. Economical mass production of many new goods, especially those requiring a highly developed scientific infrastructure, is feasible only given wide cooperation of several European countries. Then there are the problems of raw materials, energy, environmental protection, which can effectively be solved only on a continental or even wider scale, and only through cooperation of socialist and capitalist countries. This applies also to the big trans-European communications, transport and energy projects.

But one might well ask: how do the economic and political real-

*Europe accounts for one-fifth of the world's population, 47 per cent of its national income and 55 per cent of its industrial output. The socialist countries account for about half of Europe's population and for more than half of its national income and industrial output.

ities of present-day Europe, with its two integration groups, CMEA and EEC, fit in with the requirements of European economic cooperation?

As for the CMEA countries, they have declared their readiness to cooperate on a mutual-advantage basis with all countries of the world without exception. Nor does CMEA have special tariffs and customs barriers, nor does it impinge on the interests of other countries, nor hamper their contacts with the outside world. On the contrary, CMEA stands for most-favored nation treatment for all countries prepared to reciprocate. But what is the EEC attitude on such matters as détente and all-Europe cooperation on a mutual-advantage basis?

As a closed economic and political grouping of the capitalist countries, founded, moreover, for the express purpose of consolidating the national and international positions of monopoly capital, the EEC has from its very inception followed a policy of 'coordinated action' in economic and commercial relations with the socialist countries. And the two salient features of this policy are, first, measures directed against the interests of the socialist countries and, second, the so-called 'differentiated approach' meant to divide the socialist countries, but also to serve as a weapon in rivalry with other capitalist countries.

EEC is now trying to adapt itself to the changed alignment of world forces in favor of socialism. But it has not abandoned its imperialist aims. The socialist countries have to contend not only with economic and political discrimination but also with attempts to turn EEC into a political and military organization and thus torpedo cooperation and détente in Europe and the world. That is how capitalist integration is understood, and advocated, by the British Tories, some Christian-Democrat leaders in Federal Germany and, more recently, by the Maoist leadership, which has been especially zealous in this respect.

However, the realization is growing in EEC countries that cold-war discrimination is boomeranging. Capitalist integration, it turns out, has no solution for Western Europe's economic problems. Broader economic relations with the USSR and other socialist countries could moderate some of the adverse developments in the West European economy and the negative consequences of U.S. expansion.

Many difficulties will have to be overcome if European economic cooperation is to be made a reality – and it can be made a reality.

Analysis of some new developments in monopoly capital has an important bearing on shaping the future of Europe. And one of the major developments is the emergence of giant super-concerns engaged in 'superexploitation' on an international scale. Though industrial and financial concentration anti-dates EEC, the latter has stimulated the rise and expansion of monopoly, all manner of conglomerates, holding companies, tighter bank control of industry, etc. Now that it is internationally integrated, big capital is seeking to dictate economic policy to governments, is curtailing bourgeois

democracy and, linked as it is with the military-industrial complex, presents a clear menace to peace in Europe and to the independence of its Western countries.

That being the situation, it is important to formulate a democratic alternative to imperialist integration, one that would be in the interest of the peoples of the EEC countries and would help social progress. In present-day conditions such an alternative must provide for democratization of political institutions and the machinery of government and for nationalization of the top EEC monopolies. These democratic measures would doubtlessly be the most reliable guarantee of effective European economic cooperation.

And so, in discussing European economic cooperation we can single out two distinct stages. The first — transition from the cold war to détente based on peaceful coexistence of countries belonging to the two systems. Such a cardinal change of the European political situation follows from the continued changing alignment of forces in favor of socialism and peace. Its economic foundation is elimination of the artificial division of the world economy engineered by the imperialists. It should be added, however, that this does not necessarily involve changing the essence of capitalist economic integration, but only removing obstacles to cooperation, obstacles chiefly of a subjective, political character. Nor should it be difficult to foresee that at the next stage, as European economic cooperation takes hold and develops, the question of a democratic alternative to imperialist integration, now insistently posed by the progressive forces, would become a potent factor in Europe's socio-economic progress.

MONOPOLY RIVALRY

Friedl Fuernberg

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There has been a tremendous propaganda buildup for capitalist integration in Europe — it is supposed to overcome nationalism and obliterate obsolete national boundaries, and much more.

What is the reality behind the propaganda? The revolutionary development of technology and the vast power concentrated in the monopolies have accelerated industrial concentration. State-monopoly capitalism has developed apace. Using new methods of extending their influence, the monopolies are breaking out of national boundaries to form international concerns bigger than anything attempted, or dreamt of, in the past. All these changes have objective roots. Expansion is mainly powered by the profit drive, but there are other important factors that go into capitalist integration.

One of them is the rivalry between the newly-muscled European and Japanese monopolies and the 'old' American giants. And the struggle is being waged with increasing ferocity, prompting the monopolies to join forces against their enemies. Of course, integration does not preclude competition within one or another grouping, but that competition is part of the bigger rivalry on the world

market, and the two react on each other. With the enhanced might of the socialist countries and the international workers' movement, the capitalists no longer consider war a means of resolving their rivalry. Wars are unleashed only on the periphery of the capitalist world, against ex-colonial peoples breaking through to freedom. The international situation is such that the monopolies find themselves compelled to employ only 'peaceful' means. Thus we see monopoly partners making one attempt after another to reconcile their differences within or outside of the integration framework. But these 'reconciliations' are short-lived and are soon followed by new rounds of rivalry.

There is no telling how, concretely, this rivalry of the monopoly giants will develop and what its consequences might be. But what can be said with certainty is that it will mean more exploitation for the working people – that follows from the very nature of capitalism and from the present rivalry within the integration framework.

For the small capitalist countries, Austria among them, monopoly integration also raises the question of their national independence, of safeguarding against encroachment, in the case of Austria by West German monopoly capital, as it was in the past. And it is not an easy struggle by any means, for it has to be directed also against Austrian monopoly capital. There is also the question of assuring Austria's developed industry the necessary markets. Furthermore, the measures taken by the Social-Democratic government veil the domination of state-monopoly capitalism. However, the economic difficulties generated by monopoly rivalry, and primarily spiraling inflation, are bringing home to the working people that national and foreign monopolies are steadily and sharply stepping up exploitation.

THE 'SUPER-NATION' THEORY

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Recent events are evidence of the greater activeness of counter-revolutionary forces in Latin America. Assisted by their agents, imperialist monopolies are trying to stamp out the revolutionary process, and to safeguard their positions. They are using everything, from economic blackmail and political manipulation to hate-filled propaganda and military coups. And much of the emphasis is on finding models of uniting the rebellious nations under U.S. auspices. The object is to convince Latin Americans that integration with their 'great Northern neighbor' is historically preordained. The oppressor's hoary motto, 'divide and rule,' has now become 'unite and rule.'

The utopia of annexation

'Factors of Latin American Integration,' a book compiled by experts of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)* is one of the

*Factores para la Integración Latinoamericana. Fondo de Cultura y Económica. Mexico, Buenos Aires, 1966.

'fundamental' works envisaging the continent's development through inclusion in a 'supra-national system.' It contends that any possibility of Latin America's developing along its own models and in its own form is bound to disappear, and speaks of the approaching disintegration of unity, both regional and national, and of the gloomy prospects ahead for the exploitation of the continent's human and natural resources by 'other civilizing political centers.'*

The sharpening crisis of the socio-economic structure is, the book says, due to the inability of the states of the region to create the essential institutional and political basis for stimulating and safeguarding development because, allegedly, 'when compared with modern super-powers they are not so important.' It claims that even in a big country like Brazil, 'internal contradictions and survivals of semi-colonialism, would be easier to overcome on a regional, rather than on a national scale.' Modern technical developments and the emergence of large economic communities 'create the historical need for establishing a Latin-American macro-society and elaborating a regional Latino-nationalism.'**

Ignoring the real reasons for the socio-economic and economic crises in our countries, the authors offer us a remedy for all our ills. 'In present conditions,' they assert, 'regional integration is the only way for Latin American development and its incorporation in a new international system of supernations'.*** And to bring this about, they suggest a stage-by-stage scheme.

The stage of *cooperation* 'already entered' by the continent will yield multilateral treaties or a series of agreements. The signatories agree on joint solutions of 'problems of common interest,' while 'retaining sovereignty and freedom.' At this stage, the basic juridical institution is the Organization of American States. Apparently aware that the OAS is compromised by the U.S. presence and tutelage, the authors recommend renaming it the Organization of *Latin American States*.

Here end all concessions to the national feelings of the Latin Americans. In the subsequent stage – *integration* – the countries of the region will have to hand over some of their sovereign rights to the future Inter-American Economic Community. This is envisaged as a closed, uniform bloc, within which 'by agreement on the appropriate political course to be adopted, and under the protection of the supra-national institutions, there will be a free flow and equal treatment of people, benefits, services and capital.'

At the third stage – *unification* – there should be a merging of states with 'only some attributes of sovereignty with the same policies in all important spheres of life.' Thereupon, the IADB experts aver, the map of the world will include the United States of Latin America which (at long last) can 'integrate' in the system of 'super-nations.'

The authors admit that their main aim, 'the federalization' of the countries of the continent and the U.S., is 'utopian, though by no

*Ibid., p. 64.

**Ibid., p. 25.

***Ibid., p. 65.

means a chimera.' They attribute their optimism to the fact that every stage of historical development paves the way for transition to the next stage, except where the development is interrupted 'by the influence of external factors or forces which are always present and which in some degree or other act against integration.'*

Such, in brief, are the premises of one of the 'theories' on the creation of a Latin American super-nation being widely circulated in our countries. Its authors conveniently forget to mention U.S. imperialism, although it is precisely U.S. imperialism which bears the main guilt for the backwardness of Latin America. The exploitation of our human and natural resources by this 'civilizing and political center' is not a perspective, but reality. Throughout this century we have been exploited by North American imperialism, and the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy. The billionfold profits extracted by the monopolies are bleeding our economy white. The history of the counter-revolution in Latin America proves that imperialism does everything possible to block development 'along our own models and in our own form.'

What worries the advocates of a 'Latin-American super-nation' is the prospect of a 'disintegration of unity, both regional and national.' That is the language they use for the inevitable collapse of the pan-American system and the revolutionary remoulding of Latin America. They know that the anti-imperialist unity now shaping on the continent and in each of its countries makes a chimera of their utopia of a United States of Latin America (or would it be more correct to say 'Latin America of the United States'?).

Their search for a way out of the existing situation betrays a definite aim, namely, to preserve and strengthen U.S. imperialism's positions. That is why the imperialists do not just theorize. Wherever possible (e.g., in Central America, or the Bolivian region Mutum on the borders of Brazil) they attempt to accelerate the economic internationalization spurred by the growth of the productive forces and the international division of labor, in order to make it serve their own interests.

The integration processes now taking place in the capitalist world, writes Sunkel, a Latin-American economist, make its peripheral regions (Latin America) increasingly dependent on the centers of economic power (U.S.). Our countries are becoming the 'unwilling objects of the intensive process of integration . . . led by the main power—the hegemon.'** The emphasis on liberalizing trade and building large economic zones through the integration of our markets, Sunkel stresses, is directed, in the first place, to guaranteeing advantages to foreign private enterprises operating in several countries. Having achieved a position of privilege, these can ultimately edge out Latin American private enterprises, establish control over centers of an integrated economic system and, finally, over the national economic systems. 'To make it more effective,' concludes the author, 'the growing integration of Latin America in

*Ibid., pp. 46 and 47.

**O. Sunkel, *Integración Política y Económica: el Proceso Europeo y el Problema Latinoamericano*. Santiago de Chile, 1970, p. 21.

the international capitalist system is achieved by integrating Latin American markets and thus helping to strengthen the political and economic control of the dominant power.*

What this perspective of fusing Latin America with the U.S. amounts to is a bid by the giant imperialist monopolies to gain markets free from all commercial, customs, monetary and political barriers to their expansionist policy and absolute power.

There is nothing new to this Latin American 'super-nation' theory. After the Second World War, imperialist ideologists announced that the era of 'national autarky' was ending, to be replaced by a 'world state.' The emergence of the powerful socialist community led by the Soviet Union, the selfless struggle of the working people in capitalist countries and the forward surge of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, were a cold shower for the imperialists' ambitions. This was when the theory of 'regionalization' appeared, envisaging the merging of small capitalist states into large politico-economic communities. The scheme we have just examined is one of the variants for our continent.

Are there Latin American nations?

In counselling the continent's unification within a so-called 'supra-national' (read 'imperialist') system, some imperialist ideologists call on us to 'rise above prejudices.' The 'national state,' they claim, is undergoing a worldwide crisis and proving a serious obstacle to economic progress. Furthermore, to hear them speak, 'Latin America simply does not exist,' but is 'a ghost haunting people living in regions once ruled by Spain and Portugal.'** The IADB experts go even farther. They favor union in the framework of the Latin America of the colonial period. If the Spanish Empire had not been defeated in the War of Independence and if Brazil had remained an appendage of a small European kingdom, they argue, two gigantic nations would have resulted and there would be no need for Latin American regional integration today.***

Hence, they conclude that there are no historically established nations in Latin America, but an 'ethnic unit,' a 'disintegrated nation' artificially divided into several republics. As a result, the peoples of the continent have become 'degraded' and unable to achieve economic, technical and social maturity.

But ignorance of history and the laws of social development is feeble ground for categorical statements. It is well known that when, during the first quarter of the past century, most of Latin America was freed from colonial rule, there were no 'super-nations' whose continued existence would make easier the process of integration today. Separate nations were only coming into being at that time. Since in all essentials they were tied to their respective metropolitan countries, the colonies of Spain, Portugal and other European countries had no economic, political or cultural links, and their levels of development were dissimilar. This is why, despite their

*Ibid., p. 20.

**Vision, Santiago de Chile, July 15-19, 1972, p. 30.

***Factores para la Integracion Latinoamericana, p. 65.

common language and territory, the Spanish colonies, for instance, 'disintegrated' after their liberation. Though they wished to unite, they were unable to do so since there was no real basis for it. As a result, they developed in different ways.

The so-called 'disintegration' of Latin America was helped in no small measure by the arrival of new rulers – at first English and then American capital. They carved up the continent, set the peoples against each other, provoked wars and internecine dissension. The development of a foreign-dominated capitalism and big bourgeois landlordism produced an abnormal socio-economic structure, which left its mark in the make-up of the Latin American nations. The present backwardness is not due to the 'disintegraton' or 'degradation' of the Latin American nations, but to the crisis of the present structure which certainly prevents the establishment of 'the essential politico-institutional basis for stimulating and safeguarding development.'

'Developing capitalism,' wrote Lenin, 'knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break-down of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc. (Coll. Works, Vol. 20, p. 27).

The formation of national states about which Lenin speaks, has in all essentials been completed on our continent. The Argentinian, Brazilian, Colombian, Mexican and other nations possess all the main features of historically developed communities, although nevertheless, the overwhelming majority are still dependent on the metropolitan power. In this sense, their national liberation is still incomplete. But the process is making headway despite all imperialist attempts to delay and suppress it.

The second historical trend referred to by Lenin is also present. As we have already pointed out, in certain cases the U.S. monopolies try to accelerate a break-down of the national frontiers which will be to their advantage. Concepts of 'nation,' of 'sovereignty,' are denounced as anachronisms, and substitutes, such as 'economic space,' 'zones,' etc., are put forward. All expressions of anti-imperialist ideology are labelled 'mini-nationalism' and countered by cosmopolitan, regional 'maxi-nationalism.'*

Behind all this phrasemongering is the attempt to revive some form of pan-Americanism. But no matter how hard its advocates may try, history teaches us that only when a nation has been freed from all forms of oppression can it achieve full flowering. The path to the development of national states in Latin America lies not through uniting with the 'great' Northern neighbor, but through liberation from his domination.

Marxists must show the significance of the struggle for liberation from imperialism and for national sovereignty as well as the

*Factores para la Integracion Latinoamericana, p. 25.

objectives of imperialism in prosecuting the integration process in Latin America. It is especially important to work out concepts of anti-imperialist and democratic integration.*

Our alternative

The national-liberation movement in Latin America is democratic, popular, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. Its main objective is to assure the political and economic *independence* of the Latin American nations. Coalitions of popular unity made up of workers, peasants, petty and middle national bourgeoisie, are becoming widespread. They fight against imperialist monopolies and the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy. Their struggle reflects the tendency to break away from the neo-colonialist system of imperialist oppression and achieve complete independence.

Since there are common features in the struggle of the peoples in different countries, this assures the unity of the liberation process and provides a basis for future economic and political cooperation among the liberated Latin American republics in the bid for socio-economic progress. The coming stage of the revolutionary process will be that of anti-imperialist economic integration. Such integration is impossible without the liberation of the Latin American peoples and without the introduction of appropriate revolutionary structural changes.

While imperialism promotes its 'unifying' concept in order to abolish Latin American national states and reduce them to outlying provinces of the North American imperialist empire, the national-liberation movement, on the contrary, helps to strengthen individual nations and sovereign states and, at the same time, creates real conditions for their voluntary unification. The struggle against Latin American integration in the interests of imperialism and for progressive integration is part of the national-liberation movement of the Latin American peoples.**

In formulating our ideas on anti-imperialist integration we must bear in mind the national peculiarities of our countries, and the possible variety of forms of future economic and political unions. But despite all the national specifics, the anti-imperialist integrational process cannot develop successfully unless it is linked with the fight of all nations against imperialism, and unless there is strict observance of the Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, since 'an international alliance is possible only between *nations* whose existence, autonomy and independence in internal affairs are included in the very concept of internationalism' (Engels to Laura Lafargue, June 20, 1893).

In reply to the annexationist plans of U.S. imperialism we offer a real progressive alternative – liberation from oppression by imperialism and the oligarchy, and the voluntary union of the free nations of Latin America.

*See 'Latin America: Economic Integration and the Working Class,' WMR, No. 11, 1969.

**'Latin America: Economic Integration and the Working Class.' See also 'Economic Integration in the Modern World,' WMR, July 1973.



Chile: tear out the roots of fascism

Felipe Suarez
Chilean publicist

The military coup in Chile shook the world. Never before had our people been dealt such a terrible blow, and never before had our country been placed under such a reign of terror, savagery and repression.

In its Appeal to the People, issued in Santiago on October 11, the Communist Party says: 'Every act of the military junta is a complete negation of what the forces in opposition to the Popular Government had purported to uphold. They spoke of freedom: they are building concentration camps; they spoke of human dignity: they are daily shooting people without a trial or investigation; they said they were for pluralism and autonomy in the universities: they have placed them under military control.

'The real state of affairs is that a fascist dictatorship has been established with all its attendant criminal actions and arbitrary rule.'

The fascists overthrew the Popular Unity government, murdered President Salvador Allende and have now started a vile campaign to besmirch the memory of this man, whose whole life was dominated by love of country, who devoted many years to the liberation of his exploited and oppressed people, and who died a hero's death at his post. Imperialism and the oligarchy have not forgiven the Popular Unity government and President Allende what they did in the interests of the Chilean people: nationalization of mining and banking, extensive agrarian reform, founding of a public sector in the economy, promotion of science, education, culture and the arts.

The advent of the Popular Unity government was a supreme gain for the Chilean working class. And the main purpose of the parties in that government – the Socialists, Communists, Left Demochristians and Social-Democrats – was to carry out far-reaching anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic reforms, clear the road to broad democracy and build a new society founded on justice. The government program was being implemented in accordance with long-established laws, and much was accomplished in the three years of popular rule.

From the very outset, these reforms came up against vicious resistance from internal reaction and imperialism. We know from history that the exploiter classes never relinquish power voluntarily and always fight in a desperate bid to regain their lost privileges. That is a law of social development. Removed from the helm of state, the reactionary forces, supported by the imperialists, were dead set on overthrowing the government and bringing back rule by the bourgeoisie.

Indeed that was the basis of the ideological and political rapprochement of the opposition parties. Economic chaos and sabotage, terror and violence, strikes by 'professional associations,' hysterical anti-government campaigns in the Right-wing press, adamant refusal by the reactionary parliamentary majority to support the government and vote appropriations for its wages-to-prices adjustment program—they were all part of a counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

The next stage in that conspiracy was direct preparation of the coup. The reactionary generals grossly violated a long-standing tradition: the army has always been true to its professional duty, has always respected the Constitution and the civilian government. The ultra-Right Tacna group left nothing to the imagination when it said in its journal: 'It is not parliaments like the present one, nor traditional political parties, that are the main force of the age. The main force is the army. It must come to power, but not to pave the way to government by one or another party. The armed forces must remain in power.' The army tried a coup on June 29 but failed; the coup of September 11 put Chile under a fascist regime.

It has directed its repressions against Communists and Socialists, Social-Democrats and Demochristians, men, women and children, workers and intellectuals, atheists and Catholics, supporters and even opponents of Popular Unity. All political parties, including the Demochristian, which inspired and welcomed the traitor generals, have been dissolved—there is the old saying that the snake stings the one who nurtured it. All trade union organizations, and first of all the United Trade Union Center, have been banned. Both Houses of Congress have been dissolved and the credentials of senators and deputies annulled. All universities have been closed. Textbooks have been withdrawn.

No one should be surprised if Hitler's 'Mein Kampf' is adopted as an official textbook. For the organizers of this pronunciamiento (unlike the few earlier military coups) have openly announced their intention of emulating the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini. They have adopted a policy of genocide, encouraging people to denounce their friends, using all manner of torture and violence. The *New York Times* remarked that by publicly burning books and newspapers, for the first time since the Hitler days, the generals apparently believe that, in the words of one of the junta leaders, this will 'burn out the Marxist cancer in Chile.'

There is no doubt in anyone's mind that North American imperialism is bent on consolidating its positions in the southern cone of Latin America at whatever cost. Events in Peru and Argentina, Ecuador and Panama are not developing to the liking of the imperialists. With every passing day Latin American peoples are winning more and more ground in the battle against foreign domination. The events in Chile have made it clear that the old slogans of 'representative democracy' and 'Alliance for Progress' have lost all their value for the imperialists.

In a vain attempt to justify their illegal seizure of power in the eyes of Chilean and world opinion, the fascists are using the big lie technique: they have put out the story that the army was faced with the alternative of taking over power or being attacked by the allegedly existing para-military Popular Unity forces. This brazen lie was concocted, and is being spread, by the imperialists and their fascist hirelings because the junta knows that the world condemns its crimes.

All the facts show that the junta is anti-patriotic and is acting against the interests of Chile as an independent state.

The Chilean political scene has changed radically since the coup. Today the line of division is not between Popular Unity supporters and opponents, but between those who support fascism and those who are prepared to fight it. For fascism, whether in civilian or military garb, stands opposed to the people of Chile who, notwithstanding all the terror, are uniting, organizing, intensifying their struggle. They will not allow their country to be ruled by the law of the jungle.

Rank-and-file Demochristians are involved in that struggle. The only honest path open to that party is opposition and action to overthrow the gangster clique that has seized power. A group of Demochristian leaders and MPs headed by such personalities as Radomiro Tomic, Bernardo Leighton and Renan Fuentealba have publicly denounced the military coup and the actions of the junta. This does them credit. And there need be no doubt that they are speaking for the vast majority of Demochristians, unscrupulously betrayed by their official leaders associated with the putschists.

The militarist minority in power has declared civil war. History provides many examples of counter-revolution imposing civil war on the working class and the people. It happened in Russia, Finland, Hungary, Spain and other countries. Lenin called civil war against the bourgeoisie 'a form of the class struggle.' In Chile as elsewhere, contemporary capitalism is carrying the class struggle to breaking point. The people will emerge victorious.

The coup destroyed all state institutions, leaving only a docile judiciary ready to serve the regime. Law is non-existent. Chile has become a police state ruled by a gang of rabid militarists who ride roughshod over the Constitution and law. But when the people come back to power they will, of course, be under no obligation to re-establish all the old institutions. They will adopt, through

democratic procedures, a new Constitution, new codes and laws, will promulgate new decrees, found new institutions and establish an order much superior to the one destroyed by the militarists. In the new state there will be respect for freedom of conscience, for the norms of humanism. But there will be no place for laws that serve as a guise for the advent of fascism, or for economic sabotage and subversion.

After what has happened the Chilean people are fully justified in aiming at a new type of army and police, or at least at expelling the fascist elements from the army, police and investigative bodies to rule out the very possibility of a repetition of the present national tragedy.

The present situation cannot last for ever. For the lie cannot prevail over the truth, nor oppression over freedom, nor fascism over democracy. The country is bound to come out of the present state of dark reaction. No force on earth can keep our people in chains for long or suppress progressive trends in society. The new rulers fear the people. That is why they continue martial law and the curfew, are stepping up the terror, muzzling television and radio broadcasting, closing down Left newspapers.

Yes, we are going through a difficult period in our struggle. And we must act cautiously, with cool heads and not succumb to adventurism. The supreme goal of the people obliges us to make responsible and thought-out, not hasty, decisions. The accent should be on organizing unity of the people and developing their political understanding. The frustration apparent in some circles today is transitory.

Our people will draw the necessary lessons from these terrible ordeals. All the false values, in which many so sincerely believed, have been jettisoned. Tomorrow no one will defend the present tribunals, nor the parliament that committed suicide by its involvement in the anti-government plot. These and other questions require study and reflection, and there must also be a critical and self-critical analysis of the nearly three years of Popular Unity government. Much was accomplished in these years, but there were also grave errors. Much damage was done by the Leftist elements and reformist groups, whose activity adversely affected some aspects of government.

The Communist Party is confident that its unqualified support of the Popular Unity Alliance, its efforts to achieve closer understanding with other democratic forces, especially at grass-roots level, and instill a feeling of confidence in the middle strata, its policy of directing the main blow at the main enemy, imperialism and internal reaction, its persistent work in strengthening the Communist-Socialist alliance, working-class unity and understanding among the Popular Unity parties, its struggle to expand production and raise productivity, put state-owned enterprises on a paying basis and assure stringent labor discipline - all these were components of a correct overall policy.

The Communist Party does not, of course, shy away from committed mistakes, but it believes that this is not the time to discuss mistakes by the government, The Popular Unity bloc or any of its affiliated parties. The time for that will come. If we were to concentrate on such a discussion today, we would be impairing unity of the popular parties, and that unity is the principal condition for successful struggle against the military dictatorship and for joint solution of the new problems facing the working class and the people.

The world condemns fascism's crimes in Chile. It demands an end to the bloodshed and terror. The life of Louis Corvalan, that sterling revolutionary, fighter and patriot, must be saved. Progressives and democrats the world over must lose no time in demanding his freedom and that of thousands of other revolutionaries and patriots held in the junta's concentration camps. The powerful wave of solidarity that has swept the world, rarely matched in past history, is for us an inspiration to continue the fight.

The task before us is to open the path to a new upsurge of the revolution in Chile, and that imperatively demands the broadest possible unity of the people. Unity to uphold the right to life and end the repressions and murder. Unity to uphold the right to work and end the mass dismissals. Unity to uphold the gains of the working class and win higher wages so that the standard of living achieved under the Allende government can be maintained. Unity to keep our trade unions and to prevent the exploiters getting back the nationalized industries. Unity to win back civil freedoms. Unity to return to the path of revolutionary transformation.

In its Appeal to the People, the Communist Party says that it has sustained serious losses, but will rebuild its strength and, steeled in the new, difficult conditions, will be stronger and enjoy still greater influence.

Our people has inexhaustible reserves. It will not give up the struggle until all the roots of fascism are extirpated from the land of Chile.

The fourth Arab-Israeli war

Prof. Y. Primakov (USSR)

An Arab-Israeli war, the fourth in the lifetime of one generation, broke out in October 1973. In terms of tank battles, employment of anti-aircraft weapons and planes, casualties sustained by both sides and also in terms of the deliberate brutality of Israel's air raids

on Egyptian and Syrian towns, villages and non-military targets, the war surpassed all previous hostilities unleashed by Israel against its Arab neighbors.

The war started in a specific international situation. The conflict took a turn for the worse and entered a crisis stage at a time when there was a shift from cold war to détente and when normalization had begun in Soviet-American relations. For the first time in the history of the conflict, it became possible—due to both the new character of the armed confrontation and the new international climate—directly to link the UN Security Council decision on a cease-fire with the issue of eliminating the causes of the conflict, the Soviet Union playing a most active part in achieving this result.

The road to lasting peace in the Middle East will unquestionably be long and difficult in view of the present Israeli leadership's expansionist policy, which has become traditional, the persisting ambitions of Israel's militarists and the fact that this policy and these ambitions are backed by the U.S. imperialists. Nevertheless, there is now reason to look with greater optimism on the prospects of a political settlement. Speaking to the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow about the chances of a fair and durable peace in the Middle East, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said: 'Let me say that the Soviet Union is prepared to make and will make a constructive contribution to this matter. Our firm stand is that all the states and peoples in the Middle East—I repeat, all of them—must be assured of peace, security and the inviolability of borders. The Soviet Union is prepared to take part in the relevant guarantees.'

Causes of the war

When, after the beginning of hostilities in October, Egyptian forces crossed the Suez Canal to Sinai and Syrian forces advanced to the Golan Heights, the Israeli leadership and Zionist and pro-Israeli quarters in other countries did their utmost to misrepresent the objectives of the two Arab countries, which set themselves a strictly limited task: to free by every means the lands seized by the Israeli militarists and create a more favorable atmosphere for a political settlement of the conflict. The Arab leaders' relevant statements were merely ignored in Israel. At the same time Prime Minister Golda Meir again accused the Arabs, on no grounds at all, of trying to 'liquidate Israel,' and the Chairman of the Knesset made a speech threatening 'the aggressor who has invaded our territory.' In this manner the Israeli leaders tried to bypass or completely eliminate the point at issue: the fact that the Arab armies had moved into Egyptian and Syrian territory overrun in June 1967 and forcibly occupied by Israel ever since, contrary to UN decisions and the demands of international opinion.

Tel Aviv at once betrayed a tendency to regard the fourth war in isolation, ignoring its logical connection with the previous evolution of the conflict. This approach distorts the picture and dis-

sembles the real cardinal causes of the new outbreak of the crisis. Yet it is of far more than academic interest to reveal the causes of the war, since how effective the quest for a real settlement in the Middle East will be depends largely on this.

The long-standing Arab-Israeli conflict is due to a number of causes.

First of all, it began, historically speaking, as a clash between Zionist doctrine and practice, on the one hand, and the interests of the Arab population of Palestine, on the other. The mainspring of the Zionist movement is often represented as the desire to 'transfer a people without a country into a country without a people.' This interpretation is entirely wrong. People of Jewish nationality had lived in many countries of the world for a long time and most of them regarded those countries as their homeland. Besides, by the time the idea of founding a Jewish state materialized, Palestine was by no means a 'country without a people.' As for Jews, there were only 84,000 of them living in Palestine in 1922, that is, they made up only about one-fifteenth of the population. The rise of Israel created the problem of numerous Palestinian refugees, most of whom have not become integrated into the life of other Arab countries. By 1966, or shortly before the 'six-day war,' which was followed by a new large wave of Arab refugees, the number of Palestinians who had abandoned their homes was set by the UN at 1.3 million.

Secondly, the meaning of the conflict is not restricted to the collision between Israel and the Palestinians, who are supported by other Arab peoples. Arab countries were involved in the conflict directly, and not only through their support of the Palestinian people's rights. As soon as Israel came into being, it made expansion at the expense of Arab neighbors state policy. Ben Gurion, its first prime minister, offered the following 'theoretical argument' in support of that policy - 'Every state consists of land and people. Israel is no exception but it cannot be identified with either its present area or its people. . . . It must now be said that Israel was created in only a small part of Israeli territory.' Events of the past quarter of a century have shown how this theory was carried into practice.

Thirdly, the evolution of the conflict was largely conditioned by the policy of the imperialists, especially those of the U.S. Support for Israel's policy of expansion served to consolidate and extend imperialist positions in the Middle East. Relations between foreign imperialists and the Israeli leadership were based on opposition to the dynamic progressive regimes established in the Arab world in the 50s and 60s. Imperialism seized on Israel's aggression in 1956 and 1967 as a means of doing away with national-liberation, progressive trends and processes in Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries.

Fourthly, in view of Israel's increasingly expansionist, aggressive policy, certain elements in Arab countries, for their part, adopted an extremist stance and called for the liquidation of that state. 'We

Arabs,' wrote M. H. Heikal, editor-in-chief of *Al Ahram*, the Cairo daily, after the 'six-day war,' 'did ourselves much political harm in the eyes of friend and foe alike. Israel talked of peace and made ready to fight. We talked of war but were unprepared for it. Yet the peoples of the world want no war. The Arabs' behavior before the aggression was seen by the world as irresponsible . . .'

The West widely exploited irresponsible and occasionally downright provocative statements by some Arab leaders to make believe that Israel was fighting for its very existence and that its foreign policy was intended to preserve that 'little island of civilization' in a 'raging Arab sea.' This description had nothing to do with reality. Israel has been, and remains, an active force meaningfully pursuing its expansionist aims. In the context of overall imperialist policy, Israel was a weapon against the vigorous processes of liberation and revolution in the Arab world in the middle of this century.

The above contradictions were the main general causes of the conflict. As for the crisis in October 1973, it was predetermined by certain aspects of the development of these contradictions shortly before the events.

After defeating the Arabs militarily in June 1967, the Israeli leadership set out to annex the Arab lands captured in the 'six-day war.' This policy expressed itself in the rise of numerous Israeli settlements in the occupied areas, in particular on the west bank of the Jordan, in the Gaza Strip and on the Golan Heights. The country's leaders did not deny that the settlements served the object of annexation. 'The new settlements in the occupied territories,' said Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, 'are like trees which have struck deep root in the soil and not like flowers in pots which can be shifted from place to place. No matter where we set up a community, we shall leave neither the community nor the place.' The occupation status was to be 'legalized,' according to Tel Aviv's plan, by municipal elections on the occupied lands, which actually took place in May 1972.

Israel's ruling party took a demonstrative decision shortly before the fourth war by including in its election program a provision for the sale and lease of land in the occupied Arab territories. This was to become, in effect, part of the political program of the Israel government to be formed after the elections set for early November. Even the *Washington Post*, which is anything but unsympathetic towards the Israeli leadership, called the decision 'a long step towards permanent annexation of a major part of the territories won from its Arab neighbors in 1967.'

At the same time the Israeli leadership flatly refused to recognize the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. To judge from official Israeli statements, it was determined to ignore all UN resolutions recognizing the Palestinians' right to return to their homeland or adequate compensation for those who might decide against returning.

It follows that Israel's policy directly prevented a political settlement of the conflict. Ignoring international opinion and resolutions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly, the Israeli leaders concentrated – politically, economically and militarily – on preserving and consolidating the results of the 1967 aggression. Tel Aviv virtually rejected every initiative likely to 'unfreeze' the conflict and resolve it on a fair basis, in the interests of all the peoples of the region. Israel gave a negative reply to the memorandum of Gunnar Jarring, special representative of the UN Secretary General, who proposed that Tel Aviv assume definite commitments to carry out all the provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. By advancing unacceptable demands, Israel torpedoed Egypt's initiative (February 1971) aimed at reopening the Suez Canal for international shipping. This policy of obstruction was supported with constant acts of aggression by the Israeli military clique against Arab neighbors.

International imperialist and reactionary quarters, primarily those of the U.S., backed this Israeli stand. They expected that the 'freezing' of the conflict and the creation of a 'no war, no peace' situation would make for a general swing to the right in the Arab world, increasingly weaken revolutionary democratic regimes, deepen rifts between Arab countries, make it easier for frankly reactionary and right-nationalist Arab forces to maneuver and strengthen chauvinist and ultra-Islamic trends, which were assuming an anti-Soviet and anti-Communist character.

Some Arab countries searched for a constructive political settlement of the crisis based on a compromise. On February 15, 1971, Egypt stated in its reply to Jarring's memorandum that if Israel withdrew its troops from the occupied Arab territories it would be willing to carry out all the measures listed in the memorandum, specifically to end the state of war with Israel; cooperate in setting up demilitarized zones on both sides of the frontier; agree to the stationing of UN troops at a number of points; accept the great powers' guarantees of the frontiers of all states of the region, including Israel; prevent the use of Egyptian territory for purposes hostile to other countries; guarantee freedom of shipping for all countries on all the sea routes of the area, including the Suez Canal. However, every constructive step proposed by the Arab side was intransigently rejected by Israel.

At the threshold of the 1973 war, the Arab countries' economic and political difficulties born of the aggression were increasing visibly. Egypt was compelled to keep a mass army and spend about 1,000m. Egyptian pounds per year on defense. Syria's defense spending claimed 60 per cent of its budget appropriations. Many observers noted that the delay in settlement might generate an acute political crisis in both countries. The situation was aggravated by a marked intensification of Israeli provocations along the cease-fire line. There were numerous reports in September about Israeli troop concentrations on the east bank of the Suez Canal and in

the area of the Golan Heights. Early in October Israel called up its reservists, which heated the situation to the utmost.

It was in these conditions that the war broke out on October 6.

Results of the war

The 20 days' fighting (the war did not really come to a halt until three days after the adoption of the Security Council resolution on a cease-fire) was widely reported in the world press. Within the scope of this article it is hardly worth studying the finer points of the military communiqués concerning the successes or failures of one side or the other. Still, some conclusions can be drawn regarding the results of the war as a whole, its impact on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the possibilities of a future settlement.

Probably the main conclusion is the collapse of the Israeli military doctrine based on the assumption of Israel's capability to strike at the Arab countries when and where it chooses without fear of suffering any appreciable losses. The doctrine (of which the Israeli leadership's political line is, in effect a projection) was based on 'continued Arab inability' to offer any significant resistance to the Israeli war machine, let alone achieve 'local' success in any confrontation. In the Israeli military's view, 'unlimited' superiority over the Arab countries was assured by 'unchallenged' air superiority. And only last July, General Sharon was saying: 'Israel is a superpower . . . Within a week we could conquer the whole area from Khartoum to Baghdad and Algiers.'

The October hostilities not only deflated such boasts but, more importantly, challenged the theoretical constructions of the Israeli General Staff. According to unofficial figures from Israeli sources, in the first two weeks of the war Israel lost 30,000 men killed and wounded, 900 tanks, and 250 aircraft or about one-half of its air force. Of course, the Arabs suffered heavily, too, but the vast disparity in human reserves places Israel at a special disadvantage.

Another result of the war which will doubtlessly have its impact on the future, is the Arabs' overcoming of the psychological barrier created by the military defeat of 1967, recurrent Israeli 'dagger strikes' since the 'six-day-war,' and Western claims of the Arab states' inability to offer serious military resistance to Israel. It should also be stressed that the psychological barrier was surmounted on the basis of a realistic assessment of the true balance of military forces which, Arab leaders hold, does not yet favor the Arab countries.

Nevertheless, the latest round of fighting has registered a distinct change. As the American UPI agency reported from London, Western experts have come to the conclusion that the military balance in the Middle East had been judged incorrectly. The old assessments of imperialist governments had always been based on Israel's superiority over Egypt and Syria in the air and in the quality of its armaments and the ability to use them. This view is now being revised.

The change in the military balance, coupled with the Arabs' overcoming of the psychological barrier and their vital concern for liquidating the consequences of the Israeli aggression, can create an entirely new situation in the confrontation. This is something the Israeli leadership will have to reckon with if, contrary to common sense, it persists in its policy of opposing a political settlement.

One important result of the war is the swing away from Israel in the international climate. Most indicative in this respect is the stand of West European countries. The nine EEC countries have issued a statement calling for a political settlement of the Mideast conflict on the basis of the November 1967 Security Council resolution. Britain and France have imposed embargos on weapons supplies to the belligerents, including Israel. And the FRG has refused the United States permission to use its territory for its arms airlift to Israel.

An important consideration behind the stand of the West European countries is their dependence on Arab oil imports, which cover around 80 per cent of their requirements. When, during the hostilities, the Arab states announced their intention to reduce oil production month by month until Israel relinquished the territories occupied in 1967, the outlook for West European consumers became gloomy indeed. The West European position was additionally influenced by the decision of some Arab states to raise the price of crude oil.

But oil was not the only factor in determining the stand of Western Europe during the October war. Displeasure is steadily mounting, at least among the major countries, with Israel's inflexible, adventurist policy and U.S. support for it. Differences were further exacerbated when the U.S. put its armed forces around the world, including bases in Europe, on alert without first consulting its NATO allies. As the West German *General-Anzeiger* wrote, 'The United States' West-European partners have never been so peeved by the brusque style of American politics.'

Israel's mounting isolation was underscored by the breaking off of diplomatic relations by 24 African countries during the fighting.

A result of the fourth Arab-Israeli war is a higher level of solidarity and cooperation of Arab countries in the struggle against Israeli aggression. For the first time Israel was forced to fight a real war on two fronts. For the first time the capitalist world has been confronted with the threat of Arab countries really using oil as a weapon in the struggle for their legitimate rights. For the United States, with its policy of direct support for Israel, the result has been the virtually total suspension of oil deliveries from the Arab world. In conditions of the mounting 'energy crisis' in the U.S., Arab use of the 'oil weapon' is all the more effective.

And finally, the events have meant a serious defeat for the forces bent on undermining the friendship between the Arab countries and the Soviet Union and other socialist states. The series of anti-Soviet myths dutifully peddled by imperialist and reactionary Arab elements, from fabrications about the quality of the weapons used

by the Egyptian and Syrian armies to claims that the Soviet Union had 'retreated' from its principled position of support for the Arab peoples' just struggle to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression, has been completely refuted.

Effects of détente

The present round of hostilities in the Middle East began at a time of normalization of relations between the countries belonging to the two opposing world systems. This had a direct impact on the events. To the Soviet Union détente has never meant the abrogation of the class character of its foreign policy. This is wholly reflected in its stand of resolute support for the forces fighting against Israeli aggression.

As is known, at the time of the 1973 talks between CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev and President Nixon, the Soviet Union's policy remained that of combining normalization of relations with the United States and détente with a search for a just settlement of the Middle East conflict. It was on the insistence of the Soviet Union that the U.S. agreed to include the statement on recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights in the text of the joint Soviet-American communique.

After the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East the Soviet Union, while supporting the Arab countries in their armed struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories, used every opportunity at its disposal to seek a political settlement of the conflict based on Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories. A major achievement of the Soviet Union's principled, active policy was the Soviet-American resolution adopted by the Security Council on October 22, which directly linked the call for a ceasefire with the practical implementation of the 1967 resolution. The Security Council's new resolution also provided for immediate political talks between the parties concerned under suitable auspices. This was a major step towards the settlement of the Mideast conflict in the interests of all states and peoples of the region, in the interests of universal peace.

The Soviet Union continued its energetic pursuit of a just and lasting peace after Israel's ruling circles, having declared their acceptance of the Soviet-American resolution, deceitfully violated it. On October 23, the Security Council categorically repeated its call for a ceasefire. The Soviet Union's active stand contributed to the adoption of the October 25 resolution providing for the creation of a United Nations emergency force. Speaking at the Peace Congress in Moscow, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev announced that at the request of President Sadat the Soviet Union had dispatched a group of observers to Egypt in furtherance of the Security Council's ceasefire resolution. Following this initiative, the United States was also compelled to send observers to the Middle East.

While actively seeking a political settlement on conditions discouraging aggression, the Soviet Union neutralized U.S. attempts to pressure it away from its firm line aimed at ending hostilities and

restoring peace in the Middle East. As a result of the Soviet Union's principled stand the U.S. retracted its purely demonstrative move of alerting its armed forces on October 25-26.

Many bourgeois observers have noted that the combination of the Soviet Union's constructive policy of continued détente with principled support of the Arab countries' just struggle to liquidate the consequences of Israel's aggression had a profound impact on the position of Washington. As a consequence, and also because the hostilities had demonstrated the growing ability of the Arab states, with the support of the socialist countries, to buttress their resistance to the aggressors and inflict palpable losses, U.S. ruling circles were compelled to make some readjustments in their Mideast policy. They were also prompted by the Arab countries' concerted and much more effective use of the 'oil weapon' against countries supporting Israel. It was not, of course, a question of the United States' refusing to support Israel: this was amply demonstrated by the airlift, to compensate for Israel's losses and strengthen its war machine, President Nixon's message to Congress requesting 2.2 billion dollars for urgent aid to Israel, and the redeployment of the American Sixth Fleet, reinforced with aircraft carriers, to the eastern part of the Mediterranean. At the same time, however, the situation has forced the appearance of some new elements in the United States' stand which may have a positive effect in the search for a settlement. The Soviet Union, of course, took these new positive elements into account in its contacts with the United States on a Middle East settlement.

The latest round of fighting in the Middle East has demonstrated more clearly than ever before that perpetuation of the situation as it was when the fighting started, that is, Israel's continued occupation of Arab lands, is fraught with continued new outbreaks which can result not only in huge sacrifices and destruction for the countries of the region, but also seriously harm the policy of détente and create a real threat to universal peace.

Settlement of the Middle East conflict is in keeping with the tasks of continued détente, peace and security, with the interests of people all around the world.

Facing new round in anti-monopoly struggle

DECISIONS OF EIGHTH WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The Eighth World Trade Union Congress, held in the latter part of October, will undoubtedly go down as a major landmark in the history of the international labor movement. Its motto, 'Unity and Solidarity for a Future of Progress, Peace and Freedom,' fully

expressed the mood of the hundreds of participants and the aspirations of the millions of organized workers they represented.

The Congress adopted a *Policy Document*, a political platform defining the main tasks of the trade union movement in the coming years. It presents analyses of the basic trends in the development of the international situation, the deepening crisis of the world capitalist system, the progress of the socialist countries and the situation in the developing countries, sets forth the principles that guide the World Federation of Trade Unions in its struggle for the interests of the working people, and solemnly reaffirms the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist character of its activities.

It also approved a *Charter of Trade Union Rights and the Economic and Social Demands of the Workers in Capitalist Countries at the Present Time*. This document, drafted jointly by representatives of trade unions from 27 countries, was widely discussed long before the Congress was convened. The Charter reflects the views and concepts of the WFTU, and is doubtlessly in keeping with the aspirations of working people around the world. Many of its demands can be found in resolutions and programs adopted by other international, industrial, regional and national trade union organizations. This promises the Charter a long life as a kind of declaration of worker's demands.

The Congress also adopted a number of resolutions, appeals and statements on urgent issues, among them a statement of solidarity with the people of Chile, a decision to set up an international trade union committee of solidarity with the workers and people of Chile (the proposal was made by Soviet trade unions), and a declaration against Israel's aggressive policy in the Middle East.

The Congress wholeheartedly supported the idea of proclaiming 1975 International Women's Year. It passed a resolution on the problems of young workers, and another on problems of engineering and technical personnel. A separate document outlines demands relating to the organization of worker tourism and recreation. Even this cursory list offers a good idea of the scope of the congress and the diversity of its interests, for the WFTU takes close to heart everything bearing on the conditions and rights of the working people, their just demands, their aspirations and struggle.

The Varna Congress was the most representative of all trade union gatherings. Its participants represented almost 210 million union members, 60 million more than at the previous congress in 1969. Delegates and observers arrived from 170 regional, national and other trade union organizations, more than 110 of them not affiliated with the WFTU and belonging to other international affiliations or autonomous.

It would appear that the composition of the Congress, with WFTU members in the minority, could have bred difficulties and differences. This, however, did not happen. In spite of the open debate and variety of representation, which reflected the diversity of the modern world, the Congress showed a striking unanimity on all main items of the agenda. And this, too, was a reflection of an

important aspect of today's trade union movement, namely, that regardless of international affiliation the positions of different unions are drawing closer and the number of problems on which they share similar views is increasing. Hence the mounting quest for the way to unity with all related labor organizations.

This quest is facilitated by major positive shifts in international relations, détente, consolidation of the basis of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the growing trend for international cooperation, the beneficial effects of which on the trade unions were already discussed in this journal.*

This quest is also facilitated by the declining influence of reformist views and the steadily declining credibility of the policy of 'class collaboration.' Their outspoken defenders are appreciably diminishing in numbers, for even in the developed capitalist countries workers are openly dissatisfied with the state of affairs and are less and less inclined to heed those who preach 'class peace' with the monopolies or have faith in social justice under capitalism. The growing ferment in the working class was recently confirmed even by the International Labor Organization which, in a special study published in Geneva a week before the World Trade Union Congress, warned that there are 'more signs today than there have been for many years of acute discontent' among West European workers.

No trade union organization that is in touch with the masses can help being affected by these processes. Indicative of this is the evolution of the World Confederation of Labor over the last few years; a federation of Christian trade unions, it has been collaborating increasingly with the WFTU. And program documents adopted at its last convention in Evian (September 1973) even speak of class struggle and the need for a mass, class-based trade union movement. They also speak of capitalism's inability to resolve the fundamental issues of our time and proclaim the WCL's objective of fighting to replace capitalism with a new, democratic society based on socialization of the basic means of production.

This new approach is certainly a far cry from the old dogmas of the traditional 'Christian stream' in the trade unions. The present orientation of the WCL opens up wide opportunities for better understanding and closer collaboration with the WFTU, which has always held consistently class positions. And if such collaboration is still sporadic, the reason is the lingering cold war and the anti-communist hangover. This was mentioned with unconcealed regret at the congress by WFTU General Secretary Pierre Gensous in connection with the unjust and groundless accusations made in Evian against the WFTU.

Characteristically, however, Carlos Luis Custer (Argentina), deputy WCL General Secretary, who attended the Congress in Varna as a guest, in an interview with the Bulgarian trade union newspaper *Trud* felt obliged cautiously to 'disassociate' himself from

*See Jan Prazsky, 'The Old and the New in the Trade Union Movement.' WMR, October 1973.

those accusations, pointing out that not all participants in the Evian convention supported the hostile criticism of the WFTU and the trade unions of the socialist countries. He also stressed that both trade union centers were almost identical in their assessment of the events in Chile, the need to oppose apartheid, fight against multinational companies, etc.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) again avoided all contact with the WFTU even though it was invited to Varna. Small wonder that many of its member organizations decided to act over its head. Their representatives joined in the debate at Varna and made an appreciable contribution to the Congress.

The WFTU was perfectly justified in stating in its Policy Document that by virtue of its ideology and activity the Federation is, more than ever before, a *'worldwide, mass, class, trade union and hence democratic organization.'* In fact, it is the most mature and influential international trade union organization having an integral class philosophy and its own scientific world outlook, an organization capable of deeply analyzing every situation and drawing proper conclusions.

All these qualities have made the WFTU a universal organization, something which the other two international trade union centers - ICFTU and WCL - cannot achieve. The Federation comprises major trade union centers of developed capitalist countries, the trade unions of socialist countries and unions of Asian, African and Latin American countries. Due to its very composition, it has become a school of unity and proletarian solidarity, a school of *'peaceful coexistence'* and cooperation between trade unions, a center for comparing notes on trade union activity and for everyday mutual assistance.

In recent decades, wherever the working class had to fight against capital for its rights and demands or take up arms against imperialism and reaction, it could always rely on moral and material support from the WFTU. It was understandable, therefore, that while the Eighth World Congress was in session the Federation was repeatedly and warmly thanked for what it had done. In recognition of its aid to embattled Vietnam, the Vietnamese delegation presented a red banner to the Congress. The WFTU was thanked for its fraternal support by representatives of the workers' commissions of Spain and trade union delegates from the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Arab countries and the newly established Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

The WFTU owes its mounting popularity and growing strength to its thoroughly anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist position. It has been joined by five new national trade union centers since its Seventh Congress and its membership has increased by 17 million. At the Congress itself, another two union centers applied for membership. Neither the ICFTU, nor the WCL can boast of anything like this.

'We had known' for a long time,' Manik Saiefuddin, General Secretary of the Bangladesh Trade Union Center, told us in explaining

why his organization had decided to join the WFTU, 'that the WFTU fights for progress, for a new society free from exploitation, and we told ourselves that we, too, should belong to the family of fighters for progress, freedom and peace. Even though our workers are less class-conscious than their class brothers in industrial countries, they are awakening to the importance of unity. This is why we joined the WFTU.'

However, it is not only the workers of new states that are drawn to the WFTU. The appearance of Professor Eric Burhop of London University, President of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, on the Congress rostrum was symbolic in many respects. That association of scientists, founded immediately after World War II on the initiative of Frederic Joliot-Curie and John Bernal, tried to establish contacts with the WFTU as far back as 1949. This was prevented by the cold war, and the paths of the two organizations parted for a long time. It was only now, 24 years later, that Professor Burhop was able to offer the WFTU friendship and cooperation in line with a decision of the Assembly of the World Federation of Scientific Workers which met—likewise in Varna—in September 1973.

Professor Burhop, whom we interviewed, noted with satisfaction the increased number of scientists and engineers at the Congress. These people are satisfying themselves more and more, he told us, that they need an organization of a trade union type to uphold their interests. Contact with the world of labor is also necessary to the world of science. From the standpoint of society as a whole and in the interests of science itself, scientists need allies and see them in working men.

Many speakers stressed the need of the broadest possible alliance of democratic forces for joint struggle against imperialist reaction and capitalist exploitation, for social progress, independence and peace. Many pointed with deep concern to the growing aggressiveness of multi-national monopolies. These monopolies are behind the counter-revolutionary coup in Chile. Everywhere they spearhead big capital's attack on wages and union rights. In a pamphlet circulated among delegates, representatives of overseas unions described the 'multi-national' corporations of the U.S. as a 'modern dinosaur devouring the jobs of American people.'

Nowadays the working class positively cannot allow itself the luxury of being less organized and united internationally than its enemy, the multi-national monopolies, which regard the world as a profit-hunting ground. Accordingly, the WFTU included in the Charter approved by the Congress a special chapter (V) stating demands which are intended to curb the appetites of multi-national companies. Another step taken in Varna to further trade union unity was the decision granting non-members of the WFTU willing to cooperate with it the status of associated members.

The Varna Congress paid special attention to the role and activity of the socialist countries' trade unions. This is perfectly understandable, for they hold a prominent place in the WFTU by virtue

of both their numerical strength and their active participation in the Federation's every initiative. Indeed, seven of the ten European members operate in socialist countries. It is an open secret, however, that reaction has long since made these unions a key target of its fierce attacks on real socialism. Without bothering to prove it, slanderers allege that the trade unions in socialist countries 'have no rights,' 'cannot defend' the workers' interests and are 'controlled by the state.' Rightist ICFTU leaders recently accused the WFTU of devoting 'too much' attention to work in capitalist countries and concerning itself 'too little' with the trade unions of the socialist part of the world. It goes without saying that these accusations are used for justifying a divisive policy.

The main report, co-reports and speeches in the debate showed up the indefensibility and falsity of those allegations. Of course, the situation and role of trade unions in socialist countries, where power is in the working people's hands, are different from those of the unions in capitalist countries, where big capital lords it over everything. Under capitalism the unions fight against capitalist exploitation on the part of the monopolies and their state, which trample on the working people's interests. Under socialism, they take part on an equal footing with everyone else in managing the economy and public affairs in the working people's interests.

'We are certain,' says the main report, 'that no one can refute it if we say that the trade unions in socialist countries enjoy powers, opportunities and freedoms and have responsibilities unprecedented under any other system. . . . Let those who defame the socialist countries' unions name at least one capitalist country, where the unions have the same broad powers.'

Georges Séguy, CGT General Secretary (France), said as much in his co-report on Europe.

'The trade unions of socialist countries, especially those of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union,' he said, 'have gained immense experience worthy of more careful study by the working people of the world. In capitalist countries, no union has freedom of initiative powers, prerogatives and responsibilities comparable to those of the unions in socialist countries.'

Many other speakers gave a firm rebuttal to unscrupulous 'critics' of the socialist countries' unions. Furthermore, it was suggested at the Congress that the WFTU, ICFTU and WCL should hold an international colloquium to make a comparative analysis of the powers and freedoms enjoyed by the unions in the enterprises and in society in socialist and capitalist countries. This analysis would undoubtedly provide an excellent opportunity to clarify the issue. If 'critics' of the socialist countries' trade unions reject the idea, they will only show what their tales are really worth. The Eighth World Congress of Trade Unions was marked by a signal success of the ideas of unity and proletarian solidarity. Its decisions constitute a solid basis for more active struggle by unions against monopoly, for the working people's interests.

Varna-Prague

Mel Doig, Lev Sheidin

Socialism and democracy at factory level

Marton Buza

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The founders of Marxism-Leninism associated their firm confidence in the triumph of the new system with the creative potential of the working class and its vast organizational ability, released in the congenial conditions of socialist democracy. Lenin stressed the close interdependence of democratization of socio-political life and socio-economic progress. He wrote: 'Taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be "taken separately"; it will be "taken together" with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate its transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. This is the dialectics of living history' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 452-453).

This is strikingly manifest in Hungary, now that we have started building full-scale socialism, a task inconceivable without bringing ever wider sections of the working people to share in management. And one of the most pressing problems in this context, both from the theoretical and political standpoint, concerns the role and place of factory-level democracy, its extension and deepening at the present stage of socialist construction.

Factor of social progress

Marx wrote that the transition from capitalism to a higher economic formation is conditioned on converting labor into a direct social function. He envisaged this as 'free exchange by individuals associated on the basis of joint ownership and control of the means of production' (*Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1859*).

The antagonistic social division of labor under capitalism is manifested in the separation of the creator of material values from the manager of production. The function of labor – work – belongs to the exploited while 'the work of directing, superintending and adjusting becomes one of the functions of capital' (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Chapter on Cooperation). Socialist revolution not only abolishes exploitation in all its forms, but also provides the prerequisites for converting production into 'the product of association that allocates labor among its members' and presupposes 'control by the associated individuals over their joint production' (*Economic Manuscripts*).

Ownership of the means of production by a proletariat organized as a state is the starting point of the revolutionary re-patterning of

production relations, the foundation of the new system, the condition for elevating the working people to the status of collective owners and managers of socialist society's entire economic potential.

Optimizing planned production necessitates a tremendous expansion of the productive forces through a series of stages of economic socialization, perfection both of basis and superstructure relations and development of socialist democracy, including its extension to the sphere of material production, the cardinal sphere of social life and activity.

All this is made possible by the working class assuming political power. Its historic mission is, to use Lenin's words, *socialization of production in practice.* Working-class power abolishes the antagonistic confrontation of manager and worker in the process of labor and – for the first time in history – makes factory-level democracy an essential factor of progress in production and all other social relations.

Elements of worker participation in management will be found in some capitalist countries, but only elements, for factory democracy as a component of an integral management system is wholly contrary to the social and economic system of the old world.

Only the new social system lays an enduring basis for massive worker participation that really influences economic development. Factory-level democracy is a major element of socialist popular government, and its consistent development is a reliable way of fostering – again to use Lenin's words – the 'independent initiative of the workers, and of all the working people . . . in creative *organizational work,*' cultivating in them the feeling of efficient master of the country capable of 'directing the organizational development of socialist society' (Vol. 26, p. 409).

The Hungarian Communists attach much importance to this problem, for encouraging factory-level democracy is a component of the further socialization of labor. The present stage of socialist construction and the requirements of future years call for deepening factory democracy and strengthening its forms, such as factory trade union meetings, production conferences, technical conferences, meetings of socialist work teams, etc.

The factory is more than an economic unit producing material values. It is also a socio-political unit in which social relations are shaped and expression given to the workers' socialist consciousness. And it is important that within these units there should be an atmosphere of goodwill and comradeship enabling all members of the collective to assert their personality in matters technical and professional, as well as economic and organizational.

Bringing workers, supervisory and technical personnel to share in drafting plans and production programs, is fairly widely practised in Hungarian industry. There is a functioning system of polling and collating workers' opinions in drawing up decisions. Recent years have seen wider worker participation in management through sharing in decision-making and control of fulfilment.

That, in fact, is the very essence of factory democracy. It can

be deepened only through coordinated action of management and trade union and other factory organizations, and if both sides clearly understand what has to be done to perfect socialist production relations.

Worker and management

Worker-management relations are a key problem of factory democracy. For upon them largely depends the unfolding of the worker's organizational ability, his enthusiasm and activity. The latter finds expression not only in doing a good job, but also in the desire to be in touch with the life of his factory, its problems and difficulties, work quotas and wage rates, use of the incentive fund, etc. — matters on which information comes primarily from management.

Our 1967 Labor Code makes it obligatory for management to provide such information, which is discussed at workers' meetings. Another important aspect is gathering, collating and acting upon workers' suggestions and proposals made at these meetings, and control of fulfilment of adopted decisions.

Comprehensive development of democracy is one of the regularities of socialist construction. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has always striven to educate its members and, naturally, its economic executives, too, in this spirit. Of course, the Party fully appreciates that giving deeper content to factory democracy is a complex problem that cannot be solved by propaganda alone. What is needed is wider opportunities for practical worker participation in management, conditions designed to encourage every worker to contribute to the organization and economic development of his enterprise.

The best way to achieve that, to cultivate the worker's political awareness, is by drawing him into discussing and resolving key economic problems and checking the implementation of adopted decisions. Only in this way will the worker learn to think in terms of national goals; his interest will center not only on the needs of his own collective, but on those of the whole of society. Accordingly, the Party fashions its relations with the workers in a way that will give every worker a feeling that his opinion carries weight, his initiative is needed, that power is in his hands.

Deeper factory democracy is still, in some cases, the subject of discussion and controversy. Some fear that this would clash with the interests of efficient management, might even impinge on management functioning. Others are apprehensive lest it weaken the principle of one-man management, deprecate the authority of executive personnel by raising the importance of the democratic worker forums as 'parallel' power factors. Still others question the advisability of strengthening these forums because managers might want to shift their responsibility to them.

Experience, however, has shown that all these doubts and apprehensions are without foundation. More, as a rule deeper factory democracy tends to raise the level of effective management. And

where managers heed the opinions of workers, they obtain valuable information on most of the problems awaiting solution. For one and the same problem is seen differently at worker and management level. Managers often disregard details that could have a determining effect on fulfilment of production assignments. The worker cannot grasp the problem in all its implications, but he often does have a better understanding of some of its aspects. And combining the two, worker and management observations, is always useful.

Nor is there any valid reason to contrast managerial authority to factory democracy. Scientific socialism has never, in theory or in practice, advocated a management system in which all power is invested in specialists acting as an independent political force. The opinion of rank-and-file workers in framing and adopting decisions is just as valuable as the opinion of any specialist, be he the chief engineer, factory director or government minister. Ignoring workers' opinions runs counter to the very spirit of our system and can have damaging results – workers become reluctant to make suggestions, their creative initiative and interest in the emulation movement wane.

Needless to say, in discussing any production question (affecting one shop or the whole factory) someone must, in the end, take the decision. That has to be done by the shop foreman or the factory director, who is personally responsible for its realization. That is what is meant by one-man management.

Once the decision is made – after all the pros and cons have been properly weighed, after the positions of the workers and their organizations have been duly considered – it would be wrong to challenge the actions of management, providing, of course, they do not run counter to the interests of the collective. For this would undermine the authority of managerial personnel and would only bring elements of disorganization into the production process.

Some hold that one-man management is in general incompatible with factory democracy. The argument behind that is that organization and discipline hamper the free development of the personality, the development of humane social relations. One-man management is denounced as a product of 'bureaucratic étatism' which, the argument goes, is itself the result of state ownership of all the means of production. Centralized state direction of the economy, it is alleged, produces new forms of 'alienation.'

Our Party has repeatedly criticized views that denigrate the role of central state management as a necessary political form of the emancipation of labor. The contention that the role of the socialist state in administering production and other spheres of social life must, already now, be reduced, is contrary to the requirements of the present stage of socialist construction. 'Proper discharge of the state's function,' the 10th HSWP Congress resolution declares, 'plays an invaluable part in the history-changing activity of our people and in its achievements in accomplishing the new tasks of socialist construction. The state plays a decisive part in the ad-

ministration and organization of economic and cultural life throughout the entire period of building socialism.'

Though we are not here discussing the technical aspects of the problem, the following has to be said: The technics of modern big industry, the pace and rhythm of the production process, demand a high degree of organization and discipline and unconditional subordination to managerial competence. The main tendencies of industrial growth and technological progress are such that this demand, far from diminishing, acquires an ever greater importance.

The socio-economic aspect, i.e., coordinating the interests of the individual, the collective, and the whole of society, should not be understood as an interminable clash of the top and lower echelons. Such clashes are not ruled out, but practice has shown that in our industry they are very rare. Less and less do executives regard the development of factory democracy as a menace to their prerogatives or interpret organization and discipline as optimal conditions for their arbitrary rule. And the Party sees to it that the conditions for the 'flourishing' of such executives are steadily eliminated.

Sandor Gaspar, Political Bureau member and General Secretary of the Hungarian Trade Union Council, told the 10th Party Congress: 'The manager is not doing someone a favor by listening to criticism, or soliciting the opinion of workers and agreeing with them. For the manager factory democracy is not only a style of work, not only a code of conduct, or an expression of courtesy, but an inalienable trait of the socialist executive . . . Every manager must realize that he is serving the working class and is in duty bound to treat every worker as a representative of the ruling class. He must see to it that there is order, discipline and good work, but, at the same time, he must treat the worker as man to man.'

Role of trade unions

The trade unions have an important role to play in perfecting socialist production relations and in promoting factory democracy. Their basic task is to uphold the state power of the working class and the common interests of the people and contribute to the building of full-scale socialism.

But there is another, closely related task. As long as socialist popular government needs a special administrative apparatus, the unions will retain their function of controlling the work of this apparatus and championing the rights and interests of the working people.

Our Party long ago overcame the simplistic view of the unions as mere 'transmission belts' in the system of proletarian dictatorship - 'transmitting' directives from the top to the masses. The unions also have the reverse function of studying, and speaking for, the needs and aspirations of the workers, including the specific interests of different social strata. This makes it possible more fully to coordinate and express these in Party policy.

Our Party has taken a number of measures to raise the prestige of the unions and the effectiveness of their work. These are set out in a series of legislative acts that give the unions a wide range of authority. For instance, the Central Trade Union Council can issue binding directives on industrial safety, health protection and social insurance. Besides, the unions are in charge of the factory social and cultural fund. Any management decision on working and general conditions and management-labor relations has to be cleared with the union branch, which also has a part in all arbitration procedures.

The unions' range of activity has been further broadened by the economic reform, which gives enterprises more initiative and independence. In fact, the union can now veto any management decision that violates valid rules or contract provisions, or does not accord with socialist practices.

Though the new Labor Code has been in operation for a relatively short time, we have accumulated a fair amount of experience. And that experience shows that the unions are much more active in drafting and negotiating collective agreements and, in particular, supervising their fulfilment, also in such matters as financial discipline on the part of management, workers' grievances and much more. Addressing the 10th Congress of the Party, its First Secretary, Janos Kadar, said that 'extension of trade union jurisdiction has made for more stringent observance of laws and legal standards. It has made for more rational use of funds at the disposal of the enterprise, such as the wages fund, the social and cultural development fund, and for more worker participation in resolving related questions.'

It has to be said, however, that these many opportunities are not being used to the full. In particular, so far, the unions use their veto right only to ban overtime over and above prescribed norms, or when management violates contract provisions on work quotas and wages. Of course, if a management decision does not directly violate the letter of the law or some specific provision of the collective agreement, but nevertheless goes against the interests of some group of workers or of the entire collective, it is much more difficult to protest. In such cases recourse to the veto demands of the trade union political courage and special responsibility.

At its October 1972 plenary meeting the Central Trade Union Council noted that the unions have ample authority to look after the workers' interests on all production and economic questions arising at a given enterprise. And the Council emphasized that there was no need further to extend union rights. What is needed, however, is that the unions effectively and consistently use their rights as independent organizations within the system of proletarian dictatorship, as organs of factory democracy.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party attaches much political importance to trade union independence. This was stressed by Comrade Kadar in his speech at the 21st Trade Union Congress: 'We take a very serious attitude on this question of independence.'

So much so, that in the past 10 years – and comrades who know how the Party leadership works will bear me out – there has not been a single Party decision in any way binding on independent elective trade union bodies. Of course, the leadership principle requires that from time to time the Party should determine its position on questions affecting trade union work and take the necessary decisions. But these are obligatory only for Party members in the unions, not for independent elective trade union bodies.'

The unions have many rights, but also many obligations. For on their activity depends the continued development of factory democracy. Every union decision must be carefully and comprehensively thought out, so that it will correctly accord with the interests of the workers and the needs of the country.

There is the evidence of experience that if the factory-democracy mechanism functions properly, it helps to improve the production process. Timely examination and realization of workers' proposals on how to remove shortcomings can lead (often without additional expenditure) to better economic performance.

On the other hand, bringing the workers to share in management helps to cultivate in them a feeling of civic duty, of responsibility for the proposals they make. We can thus solve the dual problem of strengthening labor discipline and raising the workers' social activity.

Factory democracy is not only for the worker, but also for all members of the supervisory staff. It has a tremendous impact on the education and political understanding not only of the rank-and-file worker, but also on every member of management and on elected trade union officials.

Our unions account for 93.8 per cent of the national work force and we see no need in maintaining special forms of factory democracy independent of the unions. Of course, these forms can vary from country to country, depending on traditions and concrete circumstances. In our conditions the unions organize their work in a way that accords with the requirements of factory democracy at the present stage in the building of full-scale socialism.

The development process of socialist production transforms man from an agent of production into its controller. At the same time, it transforms social conditions, for 'what applies to a system of machines applies also to a combination of various forms of human activity and to the development of human intercourse' ('Economic Manuscripts'). In these words Marx formulated the cardinal difference between the Communist and capitalist formations: through socialization of production, which presupposes a harmonious synthesis of the functions of labor and management, man acquires the function of controlling and regulating social relations, becomes a self-acting member of the communist association. The development of factory democracy is an inalienable and important element of this historic process.

Whither Argentina?

Orestes Ghioldi
Member Executive Committee
and Secretariat of the CC,
CP of Argentina

CONTINUING OUR SERIES 'POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF LATIN AMERICA'

The significance of the historic turn in Argentina's political life is standing out ever more clearly. On May 25, 1973 a Justicialist government under Hector Campora came to power with the people's active support. The working people secured the immediate release of political prisoners and the repeal of repressive laws. The Communist Party of Argentina regained its legitimate rights. Thus the alignment of political forces changed in favor of the adherents of democracy. Favorable conditions were created for democratic development and national liberation. True, reaction did not lay down its arms and there is a hard struggle ahead.

It was in this new situation that the 14th Congress of the CPA* — its first legal congress in 27 years — met in Buenos Aires late in August. Our Party emerged from clandestinity strong and steeled in class battles.

The Congress motto was 'For a free country, to socialism.' Its documents contain an estimation of the Justicialist government, set out the Party's tactics in the new conditions and formulate the tasks involved in setting up a national liberation front, carrying forward democracy and fighting for socialism. The Congress was a momentous national event revealing the Party's wisdom and high ideological standard.

The Campora government took over from a reactionary military dictatorship which had oppressed the country for over six years. On the pretext of filling a 'power vacuum' and 'saving the republic,' reactionary army officers incited by the CIA and Pentagon seized power on June 28, 1966 under the catchwords of 'order, discipline, eradicating communism and ending economic instability.' The military clique, which chose the role of Latin America's policeman in the service of U.S. imperialism, gave preference to the 'Brazilian model,' a combination of the most brutal terroristic dictatorship

*The Congress (August 20-24) drew 507 delegates, 46 per cent of whom were industrial workers and five per cent, peasants. Wage workers made up 74.5 per cent of the delegates. When the Congress was convened the Party had 120,000 members organized in 2,977 branches, 965 of them operating in enterprises. The Communist Youth Federation has 39,500 members organized in 1,200 groups. Of those who joined the Party in the past year, 50 per cent were industrial workers and 30 per cent, women. About 80 per cent of the new members are one-time Peronists. Speakers at the Congress stressed that the situation made it possible to increase the Party membership to 200,000 before the end of 1974. The CYF has announced its resolve to raise its membership to 50,000.

with a marked intensification of exploitation of the masses and an open-door policy towards U.S. monopolies.

The military dictatorship at its three stages and through its three heads – Onganía, Levingston and Lanusse – implemented the Pentagon doctrine of 'internal front' and 'ideological frontiers.' This aggravated the crisis of Argentine society. The balance of foreign trade deteriorated and imbalances between various economic fields as well as between regions became more marked. Inflation, rising prices and unemployment assumed unprecedented dimensions. More than ever, wealth came to be concentrated in the hands of the landed oligarchy, big capital and foreign monopolies, whose influence on the national economy is considerable.

'Argentine society,' our Party wrote, summing up the results of military rule, 'is passing through a deep, general crisis in the economic, political and cultural field and in social relations. All the internal and external contradictions of our country are deepening, nearing an explosion. The rapid sharpening of the fundamental contradiction, that between productive forces and production relations, predetermines the ultimate crisis of an outdated, backward social and economic structure and its political superstructure.'

The dictatorship had to cede power mainly under the impact of a vast anti-dictatorial movement of the working class and the people which showed that rank-and-file Peronists and non-Peronists had swung firmly to the Left.

Socialist ideas were gradually gaining ground among the masses. Popular action until 1969 was defensive but from May 1969 on it had the characteristics of an offensive. Strikes in 1972 alone involved 14 million working people. In Córdoba, Rosario, Tucumán and elsewhere they developed into real popular revolts, which prompted the dictatorship to combine repressive measures with political maneuvering. This enabled it to head off a national rising but not a telling electoral reverse in March 1973. Almost 80 per cent of the electorate voted for democracy, against imperialism and dictatorship. Forty-nine per cent of the votes were won by Peronists and the rest, by members of the Revolutionary Popular Alliance, which includes the CPA. This was a further confirmation of the real strength of the masses.

The advent of a Justicialist government opened a new, contradictory and difficult stage in national life. The progressive forces strive to extend the prospects of democratic development while reaction is set on restricting them.

The main task of the 14th CPA Congress was to adjust the Party's tactics to the new stage and outline ways and means of achieving democracy and carrying it forward to socialism. The domestic and international situation is favorable in this respect but it will be necessary to overcome serious resistance on the part of home and foreign reaction.

Arnedo Alvarez's Congress report made a comprehensive analysis of the new situation.

The progressive aspects of the Justicialist government so far

have manifested themselves chiefly in foreign policy. Diplomatic relations were established with Cuba, the DRV, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the GDR. Argentina actively upholds the independence of Latin American states, as it showed at the OAS conference in Lima and the Inter-American Defense Council meeting in Caracas. It attended the Algiers conference of non-aligned countries.

The new government shows less determination in economic policy, said to be based on a 'social truce' between the General Confederation of Employers and the General Confederation of Labor (led by the Right-wing Peronists). The implicit aim of the 'social truce' is to prevent independent action by the working class. It is worthy of note that the economy, in which the landed oligarchy, big capital and foreign monopolies once held key positions, is now dominated primarily by the national bourgeoisie. This fact and the measures adopted by the government in the early months of its term in office warrant defining it as bourgeois-reformist. 'The government's economic plan,' said Arnédo Alvarez, 'is essentially a reflection of the national bourgeoisie's bid for a bigger say in economic management.' While it undoubtedly affects the interests of the oligarchy and monopoly, it does not provide for reshaping the outdated social and economic structures.

We consider, therefore, that while it is permissible to support bourgeois nationalism so long as it is fighting against dependence on imperialism, a proletarian party cannot carry its support further than that, or it would be renouncing its own objectives. The Congress took an explicit stand on this issue. Alvarez stated the Party's point of view, saying that we 'have no interest in government defeat,' above all in the present international situation.

This also applies to the government under Peron, who took office as President on October 12.* But it is not on the Communists alone that the government's stability depends.

The Communist Party will back every government measure provided it furthers – at least in part, directly or indirectly – the country's national liberation. However, it reserves the right to point to shortcomings and to criticize what it sees as negative. The Party will never renounce its independence or its right to have an opinion on any major problem facing the country. Argentina's Communists adhere to a militant position and will abide by it. They are determined to fight for immediate demands, maintain the freedoms won and seek new ones. The Party will work for unity of action and champion the formation of a national democratic, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist front.

In supporting Peron's nomination for the Presidency, the CPA declared for the realization of the Justicialist election program,

*In the September 23 election the Justicialists won 62 per cent of the votes (against 49 per cent on March 11). They owed this substantial gain to support from the Communists and other Left-wingers. About 24 per cent of the electors voted for the Civil Radical Union, thereby coming out against the military. Altogether more than 80 per cent of the electorate declared for democracy and national liberation.

which provides for higher wages, measures against unemployment, the nationalization of banking, the protection of national enterprises, an end to the latifundium system, an agrarian reform and declares the country's natural resources to be inalienable national property. The Party helps to realize the Justicialist election slogan 'Against dependence, for liberation.'

Anyone who wants a clear picture of Argentina's complex reality should bear in mind that the leadership of the Justicialist movement is predominantly Rightist and Centrist and that Rightist (and even ultra-Rightist) and Leftist (and even ultra-Leftist) elements coexist in the movement, bitterly fighting each other. This probably explains the Justicialist Supreme Council's unusual statement: while directed against Marxism, it admits Marxist influence over a large cross-section of Peronists, especially youth. The CPA warned in its reply against the danger of the logic of events leading to McCarthyism and paralyzing social processes which began on May 25.

However, the absolute majority of the Peronist rank and file have firmly swung to the Left and taken up class, socialist positions. This expresses itself, among other things, in increasing antagonisms between the Rightist leadership of the unions and its middle and lower echelons. More and more frequently, branch union organizations reject the views of the union bosses, who reject the working people's fight for immediate and ultimate objectives, saying that they intend to put the nation above classes (a characteristic of bourgeois nationalism).

A. Alvarez sounded a warning at the Congress, saying that rival Peronist trends may succeed each other and affect government activity. Leftists predominated at the first stage of Peronist rule under Campora. At the second stage (under Lstiri), which immediately preceded Peron's rule, it was the Center and Right that gained ascendancy.

Peron unquestionably carries much political weight in both the Justicialist movement and the country. However, neither Justicialism nor Argentina are any longer what they were in 1946 when Peron first became President or in 1955 when he was overthrown. This circumstance must be reckoned with. Peron usually says that he 'will do what the people want.' He must now choose between really doing what the people want or being rejected by the local organizations of the Peronist movement.

A realignment of forces is also taking place in other parties, the armed forces and the Church. In the Civil Radical Union, for instance, which influences the middle strata, a strong Left-wing movement based on an anti-imperialist program has established itself as the leading force.

The keynote of A. Alvarez's report and delegates' speeches was the urgent problem of setting up a national liberation front.

The nation's problems are so serious that no party or social force can solve them single-handed. Unity of all democratic and patriotic forces is the only way out. Other solutions were tried before but failed.

National unity for liberation is indispensable, for the crisis of the social and economic structure has gone too far. Moreover, our country is seriously threatened with encirclement, a threat the U.S. imperialists have created along its frontiers. There are unmistakable signs that a coup on the Chilean pattern is being hatched in Argentina. This is why the situation calls for the unity of all democratic and patriotic forces within a national liberation front.

There are numerous examples of united action in factories, residential neighborhoods, rural communities and cities. Political Youth, a united coordinating center, comprises 19 groups. The largest of these are the Peronist, Communist and Radical youth organizations representing the majority of the country's younger generation. The women's organizations of all political parties have set up a coordinating center of their own. Besides, there are two mass unitary movements: the National Encounter of Argentines* and Revolutionary Popular Alliance.**

The 14th Party Congress stressed that unity, which is steadily making headway at grass roots, is not yet strong enough to resolve the nation's deep crisis. To be sure, the groundwork for it has been laid. However, all unitary streams must merge in a national democratic, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist front that would become the mainstay of a broad-based democratic coalition government.

The requisites of this front are there. The programs of several parties – the Justicialists, Civil Radical Union, Communists, Intransigents, Revolutionary Christians – coincide on fundamental issues, such as economic independence, consolidation of the national sector of the economy, agrarian reform, democratic liberties and social justice. There are also divergences, of course, but we regard most of them as surmountable.

All popular parties consider national unity necessary for freeing the country. However, serious differences arise when it comes to deciding on forms of unity. The Civil Radical Union, for one, defines unity as a mere 'community of action,' but life has already shown simplistic concepts of this kind to be untenable. Peron, on the other hand, conceives unity only within a Justicialist framework, which means that non-Peronist political forces would virtually become an appendage of Justicialism.

The CPA maintains that national unity should be genuine unity of the people. 'The Communist Party,' it said in its theses for the Congress, 'is willing earnestly and frankly to discuss steps to establish a national liberation front – with the Justicialists or other political and social forces. This implies, first, evolving a common program of democratic solutions, secondly, reaching agreement

*A broad democratic and anti-imperialist movement founded in 1970. It comprises diverse organizations as well as prominent politicians, trade unionists and other public figures campaigning for an anti-imperialist front of the whole Argentine people.

**An alliance comprising the Communist Party of Argentina, Revolutionary Christian Party (formed as a result of a split in the Christian Democratic Party), Party of Intransigents and Union of the Argentine People (a small party founded by General Aramburu).

on who may and should belong to the front, thirdly, coming to terms on the structure and leadership of the front, and lastly, elaborating common concepts of the road or roads to power.' The struggle to form a national liberation front presupposes that the working class must play the leading role in the nationwide democratic movement.

The issue of mass and individual action is of fundamental importance. Our Party adheres to a Marxist position and combats the trend to substitute terror for work among the masses. It does not support those who believe that revolutions are accomplished by groups of dare-devils. This point of view idealizes spontaneity in the working-class movement. Seventy years ago Lenin said in *What Is to Be Done*, that the spontaneous movement leads 'to the domination of bourgeois ideology' (Coll. Works, Vol. 5, p. 386). It is appropriate to recall this today.

The Congress endorsed the position of the Party, which rejects conspiracies and strives to lead the class struggle of the proletariat and the people as a whole for pressing demands, democracy and national liberation, with a socialist perspective.

The middle strata play a big role in the struggle for the people's anti-imperialist unity. The experience of Argentina and many other countries, particularly Chile, shows that to establish a solid system of advanced democracy and defeat reaction, the working class must form a durable alliance with the peasants as well as the middle strata.

The 14th Party Congress pointed out both gains and shortcomings in work among the middle strata of town and country. It resolved to extend links with the students, members of the professions and the petty and middle bourgeoisie. It also decided on specific ways and means of improving work in the universities and in organizations of teachers, research workers, writers and artists, as well as in organizations of small and middle manufacturers and traders and in the cooperative movement. It should be remembered, however, that imperialism and home reaction use every means in trying to win over or at least neutralize the middle strata. We must resist these attempts.

A military fascist coup was accomplished in Chile last September. The junta bandits murdered Salvador Allende in cold blood. He fell fighting as a hero of Chile, a hero of Latin America and the whole of progressive mankind. The world pays tribute to his memory. Luis Corvalan's life, a life dear to all of us, is in grave danger. Many thousands of Communists, Socialists and members of other parties and movements of the Popular Unity bloc were shot or put in prison camps by the fascists.

The tragic events in Chile shook the Argentine public. The people came out into the streets to demonstrate their solidarity with their brothers across the Cordilleras and to express confidence that Popular Unity will gain new strength in struggle against fascism and achieve victory. Argentines realize that solidarity with Chile is an important part of their liberation struggle.

Our people are aware that the fascist coup carried out in Chile was a blow to the entire continent. The 60s and 70s were marked by the historic victory of the Cuban revolution, the formation of progressive governments in Bolivia, Peru and Panama and the victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile. Powerful united anti-imperialist movements have been developing in Argentina, Uruguay, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela and Central American countries.

Alarmed by the growing liberation movement in Latin America, U.S. imperialism, the CIA and monopolies launched a crusade. The coup in Bolivia was followed by a reactionary conspiracy in Uruguay and then by the bloody coup in Chile. The ring of encirclement closed around Argentina just when its national life had entered a new, difficult but promising stage.

The overthrow of Chile's lawful government is part of an overall plan of U.S. imperialism. The next targets under this plan are, evidently, Peru and Argentina. A conspiracy is in the making in our country. The reactionaries forced out of the government have entrenched themselves in the armed forces and the state apparatus. They have taken a step back to regroup and are now starting a campaign of subversion, assassination and attacks on progressives. Shortages have begun. This is plainly a result of the efforts of home reaction and the CIA. They want to create internal tensions and to provoke Peron to anti-Communist moves. If they succeed the new President will be discredited in the eyes of the workers and masses following him and of the radical-minded. It is to be hoped that Peron has learned the lessons of history. As for Argentina's Communists, A. Alvarez urged all democrats and patriots to make sure that developments do not catch them unawares.

The CPA links solution of the nation's problems with the evolution of the international situation. 'Argentina,' A. Alvarez told the Congress, 'is not an island cut off from the rest of the world. It is involved in the world revolutionary process, is influenced by it and contributes its share to it.'

The Vietnamese people's historic victory showed the alignment of world forces to be changing in favor of socialism, democracy and national liberation.

Tremendous importance attaches to the gains of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and the peace offensive of the Soviet Union under the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress. Due to them, the revolutionary class struggle of democratic and national liberation movements now has better opportunities for progress.

Our Party reaffirmed its complete solidarity with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community and with every contingent of the world Communist movement loyal to Marxist-Leninist principles. Its Congress emphasized the decisive role which the mighty Soviet Union and the socialist world system play in today's world.

The Congress exposed the bourgeois nationalist thesis of 'two imperialisms,' which is akin to the Maoist fabrication about 'two

superpowers.' It revealed the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist nature of Maoism and the harm which its disruptive activity does to the world revolutionary movement.

The Congress pointed out the need to coordinate anti-imperialist action throughout the continent. This has become more necessary since the recent reactionary coups in Latin America than ever before. 'We hope,' said A. Alvarez, 'that the Communist parties of America will be able to meet in order to strengthen their solidarity and hold a useful exchange of views.'

Many political parties – Right-wing, bourgeois democratic and petty-bourgeois – have succeeded one another at the helm of state in Argentina. Their rule invariably ended in failure. What road will Argentina take now?

There are two possibilities: either joining the countries which have won independence and are swinging to a socialist orientation, or carrying out superficial reforms not affecting the material basis of the landed oligarchy and imperialism, with the result that reaction will be able to have its revenge. The choice of road depends on the forces that will prevail in the class contest going on in Argentina.

Objective conditions and subjective factors make it possible to take the former road. It should be borne in mind, however, that the evolution of subjective factors is highly complicated. The main obstacle to it is bourgeois nationalist influence, which is considerable, if declining. The working class is prevented from exercising its leading role by the trade union leaders' control of the General Confederation of Labor. True, union verticalism is beginning to lose ground under growing pressure from the shop floor.

The Justicialist Party is under pressure from the working class and the people, including rank-and-file Peronists, and, on the other hand, from the landed oligarchy, big capital and foreign, mostly U.S. monopolies. Which of these pressures will prove the strongest? The 14th CPA Congress noted that the working people and the democratic and anti-imperialist forces have the prerequisites for gaining the upper hand.

It would be wrong to expect that democratization of national life, which has begun, will follow a straight line under all circumstances. The struggle will be arduous. U.S. imperialism will not easily give up a prize like Argentina. There will be ups and downs, offensives and retreats. However, the Communist Party of Argentina is certain that the progressive forces which are already on the move cannot be stopped. The country's future belongs to the forces seeking renovation.

Truth and falsehoods about the energy crisis

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There is much concern, even a degree of panic, over an alleged fuel and energy crisis in the capitalist world. Back in April 1973 President Nixon sent Congress a special energy message with proposals to deal with it. Electric power companies urge customers to 'save a watt,' and oil companies exhort drivers to 'dive into a pool—that is, a car pool.' West European and the Japanese governments are also engaged in serious discussions and negotiations over the problem.

The concern has an actual material foundation. But the present agitation arises more from a dramatic political development—the weakening and impending destruction of the monopoly of the U.S. and Anglo-Dutch oil trusts, representing the most profitable global economic positions of imperialism.

The material problem

At present growth rates, global energy consumption will increase five-fold by the end of this century. Supplies of energy sources, using existing materials and methods, cannot be expanded that rapidly from present already high levels without big increases in costs. Environmental damage will reach unacceptable levels with presently practised or projected techniques for preventing it.

The United States, which until recently was relatively self-sufficient in energy sources, has suddenly and dramatically become dependent on outside supplies of fuel to a great extent, as the production of oil, the principal fuel, has entered into a decline. Exploitation of new fields in Alaska and elsewhere is not expected to accomplish more than a temporary halt in this decline.

Aside from these long-range problems there is an immediate, and probably temporary, relative shortage in many capitalist countries. This is related to the inflationary economic boom proceeding simultaneously in all the main capitalist countries, following the recent recession in the United States and some other countries. Characteristically, under conditions of capitalist anarchy, fluctuations in production of raw materials of all kinds lag behind fluctuations in demand, so that there are alternating gluts and shortages. The shortage, in this boom period, is aggravated by the intensity and universality of the boom, the restriction of production by certain producing countries in order to preserve natural resources and in connection with the struggle with the oil monopolies,

and the disruption of normal transport routes consequent upon Israeli aggression.

Spurred by the successes of the socialist countries, giant corporations and capitalist governments are attempting, within limits imposed by the conditions of capitalist society, to engage in a degree of planning and organization of scientific-technical development. The recent proliferation of agreements for scientific and technical cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries, as a result mainly of the initiative of the Soviet Union, is increasing the global capacity of mankind to meet the development needs of coming decades.

And none too soon, because there is no doubt that these needs are of a higher order of urgency than ever before. But the favorable circumstances mentioned, arising from the world gains of socialism, and the certain additional gains to come, are cause for confidence that the long-range problems will be solved. And this applies particularly to the fuel and energy problem.

Basically, there is confidence that mankind will succeed in developing new superproductive, superabundant, sources of energy in time to avert an absolute global shortage. Progress being made, especially in the USSR and the United States, in the struggle to create controlled thermonuclear power based on fusion of hydrogen, is the most dramatic but far from the only direction in which these efforts are proceeding.

The United States, with six per cent of the world's population, consumes 33 per cent of the world's energy output. Its per capita consumption is twice that of West Germany and Britain, nearly three times that of Japan, and more than ten to a hundred times that of developing countries. Per capita consumption in the United States is increasing at close to six per cent per year, and consumption in other countries is increasing even more rapidly.

While the U.S. reserves of coal are sufficient to last 500 years at recent consumption rates, ecological and technical problems inhibit an increase in its role in the total U.S. energy consumption beyond the present 20 per cent. Nor can nuclear power production increase rapidly enough in the next decade or so to take the main burden off oil and gas, which now account for more than three-quarters of total U.S. energy consumption.

Domestic proved reserves of oil and gas are placed at only 10 and 11 years' supply, respectively. True, proved reserves of oil have ranged between 10 and 15 years' production for the past half century. But in the past there was always a realistic expectation of additional discoveries, and now there is not. In the continental United States, reserves are lower than they were in 1960, with declines in such traditional producing states as Texas, Louisiana, and California. Despite all-out production and the beginnings of production in Alaska, it has not proved possible to exceed the 1970 level of petroleum output. The situation is not much better with respect to natural gas.

And so imports are providing most of the increase in fuel con-

sumption, and with the economic boom they are expanding at an enormous rate. Imports of petroleum and petroleum products have doubled since 1970, and will amount to six million barrels daily, or 40 per cent of consumption, in 1973. Interior Secretary Rogers Morton has estimated that by 1985 imports of oil could reach 65 per cent of consumption, and the U.S. could have a deficit of as much as \$20 billion per year in its petroleum trade.

The situation is even worse for countries with small oil and gas resources of their own. Western Europe imports 12½ million barrels out of 13 million barrels of oil consumed daily, and Japan virtually all of its 4.6 million barrels consumed daily. Moreover, these countries are increasing their oil consumption more rapidly than the United States, and the still small consumption of developing countries is increasing even more rapidly.

The supply of oil and gas to world markets is concentrated in a relatively small group of major producers, members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC): Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Abu Dhabi, Libya, Algeria, Nigeria, Indonesia, Venezuela and Saudi Arabia. The Soviet Union is a large exporter to socialist countries, and is increasing its supplies to capitalist countries as well.

It would be technically possible for producing countries to increase supplies in line with the unrestricted demands of the capitalist countries.

The political problem

But the real problem, for the present, is of a different order. Edmund Faltermayer writes in *Fortune* (September 1972): 'It is true that the immediate energy crisis we are hearing about, which may last through the 1970s, has more to do with politics and human management than with dwindling natural resources.'

The principal political problems are the contradictions between the oil monopolies and the producing countries, competition for supplies among the imperialist powers, and conflicts between the oil monopolies and the peoples of consuming countries.

For many decades Standard Oil and other trusts of the 'Seven Sisters'* took the oil of producing countries at will and on their own terms. Their payments to producing countries were trivial in relation to the values extracted, and their positions were buttressed by military and political intervention which ensured rule by subservient local tyrants in most of the oil-producing countries.

The development of the national liberation movement, and, associated with it, the growing strength and influence of the socialist countries, is in process of rapidly changing all this. OPEC was formed in 1960 as a potential instrument of cooperation and anti-monopoly struggle among the producing countries. It succeeded in putting an end to a declining trend in per barrel payments for

*Apart from Standard Oil, these include Mobiloil, Texas, Gulf Oil, British Petroleum, Royal Dutch-Shell and Compagnie Francaise de Petrol.

oil by the monopolies, but for about 10 years was unable to achieve any significant gains.

Since 1970, however, the producing countries have taken the offensive and have scored a far-reaching breakthrough in their relations with the monopolies. Between 1970 and 1972 average per barrel payments for oil to governments in Middle Eastern producing countries increased 69 per cent. As a result of further increases already in effect, and those now under negotiation, the average actually received in 1973 will probably be double the 1970 level. Despite off-setting losses resulting from devaluation of the dollar, the residual gains are indeed impressive. When applied to increased volumes of output, the higher payments will result in 1973 total payments of about \$20 billion to governments of producing countries, as compared with a mere \$2 billion in 1960.

More important for the long term, the producing countries have moved significantly, in a number of cases decisively, towards taking over ownership and control of their oil. This ranges from the outright nationalization of major installations by Iraq, Libya and Algeria, and similar actions by Peru and some other countries to the complete nationalization scheduled by Venezuela in about a decade, and to the 25 per cent participation currently in effect, and the scheduled majority control later on the part of most other OPEC countries.

At first Iran lagged in this respect. But in January 1973 the Shah stated that his government would take over full control of the country's oil by 1979. The U.S. and Britain sent diplomatic warnings. But in the 20 years since the CIA overthrew Mossadegh and restored the oil to British and U.S. imperialism, much has changed. The Iranian Government, instead of waiting until 1979, took over 100 per cent control over its oil in March 1973, and Premier Amir Abbas Hoveida proudly claimed that Iran had become 'the first country in the world, after the Soviet Union, to have full management and ownership of her oil' (*Journal of Commerce*, March 1973).

The Premier may be forgiven for forgetting the case of other socialist countries and Mexico. While cartel technicians remain in key operational positions, and the cartel is guaranteed the bulk of the supplies for the present, this strong action by one of the more conservative oil producing governments leaves no doubt as to the direction of events.

To some extent, the pace of effective nationalization of oil may be limited only by the rate at which national technical cadres are trained. In this connection the altruistic assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is of prime importance. It was hardly coincidental that the Shah announced the imminent takeover of oil at the dedication of the Soviet-assisted first Iranian steel mill at Isfahan.

Despite certain contradictory tendencies, and the continuation of reactionary domestic rule in a number of producing countries, the situation is rapidly evolving into one wherein users will have to bargain at arms length with supplier countries for their oil, while

the 'downstream' monopoly of the cartel in refining and distribution is simultaneously undermined.

This is a tremendous blow to the world position of imperialism. The oil properties have been the largest source of foreign investment profits of U.S., British, and Dutch imperialism. Profits on foreign petroleum investments accounted for 39 per cent of all reported foreign investment profits and 47 per cent of all actually remitted profits on U.S. foreign investments in 1971 (*Survey of Current Business*, November 1972).

The revolutionary events in the world of oil since 1970 occurred together and in connection with:

- The Peace Program of the Soviet Union adopted at the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

- The victory of the heroic Vietnamese people over U.S. imperialism.

- The new relations of practical peaceful coexistence and co-operation between capitalist and socialist Europe.

- The historic agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union.

These events add up to a new stage in international relations, a marked deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The decline in the power position of the oil monopolies is an important component of this process.

The oil monopolies and their backer governments are attempting to stem the tide against them in several ways:

- Support of Israel as an aggressor power and interventionist against oil producing countries in the Middle East.

- Support of the most reactionary governments in the producing countries.

- Attempted formation of an organization of imperialist consuming countries to bargain with OPEC.

- Threats of direct military intervention.

The first two directions are involving imperialists in fresh contradictions, especially because the Arab countries are beginning to withhold oil as a weapon of pressure on the Western countries.*

Attempts to organize a bloc of consuming countries, originating in the United States, immediately foundered owing to contradictions among the imperialist powers. Japan, to start off with, immediately rejected the idea. The Japanese capitalists have only a trivial ownership stake in oil. Until relatively recently, they have been more or less at the mercy of the 'Seven Sisters' monopoly. The emergence of government-owned national oil companies in producing countries as independent suppliers reduces the cartel monopoly, and eases the situation of Japan and other consuming countries.

Thus the reluctance of the Japanese to enter a buying club with the U.S.-British cartel, which would inevitably be dominated

*Responding to the latest flare-up of hostilities in the Middle East 10 of the biggest oil-producing countries of the region decided to cut back output by 5, 10, and even 15 per cent. Eight Arab governments banned oil shipments to the United States. As a result, a number of consumer countries devised measures to reduce oil consumption.

by the latter, is understandable. The same applies to a number of West European countries and even more to developing countries.

American intentions of applying military pressure on Mid-East oil producing countries are implied in continued U.S. fleet buildups in the Mediterranean, the taking over of a 'home port' in Greece.

Fortune editorializes: 'U.S. foreign policy will have to take into account our growing reliance on Arab oil. Not only will our stake in a stable and peaceful Middle East be enormously enlarged, but the U.S. government may have to consider putting its diplomatic muscle behind the oil companies in their negotiations with the increasingly hard bargaining Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries' (September 1972).

Of course, the diplomatic 'muscle' of U.S. imperialism refers to its fleets of aircraft carriers and land-based B-52s. There is no need to comment on *Fortune's* dream version of a 'stable and peaceful,' i.e., stagnant and neo-colonial, Middle East.

Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., argues for new gunboats to 'guard' oil tankers, and 'conduct Middle East diplomacy for his State Department friends,' reports the *Wall Street Journal*, which quotes the Admiral as saying: 'To the citizen of a less technologically oriented society nothing is quite like a shipshape destroyer making a call.' (January 30).

But these threats fall short in today's world. Gunboat diplomacy can no longer reverse the accelerating drive towards national ownership and control over oil and gas resources in the producing countries.

Perspective of the international oil trade

The most likely perspective is that the capitalist countries will continue to buy increasing quantities of oil from the producing countries, but will be forced to pay reasonable prices for that oil, which has not been the case hitherto.

According to calculations made by this writer, in 1972 governments, workers and contractors of producing countries received only 15 per cent of the amounts paid for petroleum products by final users in the consuming countries. But available data based on average requirements of capital and labor at different stages of production, transportation, processing and distribution indicates that producing countries should receive 30-33 per cent of the total amount paid by final users. This allows, of course, for differential rent in favor of countries with highly productive, low-cost wells.

Under 1972 conditions, this would have required payments to producing countries and their workers of \$3.50-\$4.00 per barrel, or roughly double average actual payments. The amount would be higher this year. The average price at wells in Oklahoma in March 1973 was \$3.56 and is still rising.

A doubling of price paid to producing countries need not put an added burden on working-people users of petroleum products in consuming countries. The increase could readily be absorbed at the

expense of monopoly profiteering in the processing and distribution of crude oil — which amounts to even more than the profit derived at the crude production stage. Imperialist circles try to scare the public with alarms about being placed 'at the mercy' of producing countries when the latter control their own oil. This is nonsense.

The exporting countries need the markets in the consuming countries as much as the consuming countries need the oil. The exporting countries need many products from the oil consuming countries. The change will simply be from uneven, unilaterally determined decisions on terms of exchange, which are to the gross disadvantage of the exporting countries, to bilaterally determined, more equitable terms. The change will be from fluctuations in production imposed by the oil companies, as they play off one country against another, to the possibility of stable patterns of production, negotiated through long-term agreements, with maximum regard for resource conservation.

As a matter of fact, the taking over of oil by the producing countries increases the ability of consuming countries to end or reduce price gouging by the 'Seven Sisters.' Taking advantage of new possibilities of getting oil from producing countries, India and Italy have severely limited prices the monopolies can charge. Venezuela has decreed the takeover of all distribution facilities from the oil monopoly.

Increasing supplies of oil and gas from the Soviet Union will contribute to meeting world energy needs for decades to come, within limits imposed by Soviet internal needs and for conservation of resources. The USSR, of course, supplies the bulk of the oil and gas needs of the European socialist countries, and most of its exports go for that purpose. Also, Soviet oil has been flowing to Western European countries, and to some developing countries, in increasing quantities, for a long time. Now there is beginning an important flow of natural gas to Western European countries, under long-term contracts concluded under economic cooperation agreements. Japan, which held off really large-scale involvement in Siberian oil and gas projects, appears to be ready to abandon hesitations.

Syndicates involving six U.S. and one Japanese company are prepared to conclude multi-billion dollar orders for U.S. equipment, pipe, and vessels, and long-term supply of liquefied natural gas from Siberia to the East and West Coasts of the United States that would provide up to five per cent of U.S. needs for imported energy. Conclusion of these deals is complicated by Nixon Administration attempts to use them as a lever in political bargaining, and by opposition from the Zionist and other anti-Soviet ultras in Congress and in control of important press organs.

Such deals would be eminently logical in terms of mutual benefit, and failure to conclude them will lead to a loss of such supplies by the United States, to the advantage of other countries.

A logical result of the shifting balance of forces in the world is that the United States will no longer be able to continue to

consume one-third of the world's energy output. Even if producing countries do not directly hold down allocations to the United States, economic considerations will limit imports of oil and natural gas. According to some estimates, if present trends continue, imports of oil and gas to the U.S. in 1985 will cost \$30 billion at 1970 prices, and perhaps double that at 1985 prices. The United States will simply lack the wherewithal to pay for such huge quantities, while maintaining normal patterns of international trade in other commodities.

Monopoly profiteering in the United States

Within the United States and other capitalist countries, the 'energy crisis' is being played up and used by the oil monopolies as a God-given opportunity for an orgy of profiteering at the expense of the working people, both as consumers of oil and as taxpayers, and for the annihilation of the limited small and medium capitalist competition which exists in the petroleum business.

In the U.S. increased consumption of oil resulting mainly from the economic revival, combined with a late autumn-early winter cold snap, caused a certain decline in stocks of petroleum products this past winter. Highly publicized pictures of a school shut down in Colorado, and reports of 'threatened' cutoffs elsewhere, were used to create a panic fear of absolute shortage. The oil monopolies used it to jack up prices, with government approval, and to force the closing down of independent distributors who exercised a certain restraining influence on prices.

In the area where the writer lives, the Mobil Oil Company restricted supplies to a small fuel oil company, the only 'Black capitalist' operating in the area. The small company was forced to sell out to Mobil's major distributor. Similar devices were used in the spring with respect to automotive gasoline. By mid-May it was reported that 1,300 gasoline stations belonging to independent dealers were closed down or threatened with closing. But at the same time, with the propaganda about shortages at a peak, stocks of gasoline were actually only 10 per cent below the year earlier level and trending upwards. But the 'shortage' proved very profitable to the petroleum trust.

First-quarter profits of Esso (formerly Standard Oil of New Jersey), the very largest of the 'Seven Sisters,' for example, were up 43 per cent to an annual rate of over \$2 billion. Texaco joined the billion-a-year profit club with a rise of 15 per cent, and Standard Oil of California's profits were up 24 per cent.

Average prices of gasoline went up sharply. The Federal Power Commission authorized a 73 per cent increase in the well-head price of natural gas in the Louisiana offshore area, presaging a similar rise across the board. A key Congressional leader, Wilbur Mills, supported a 5-10¢ per gallon rise. This would increase the cost to consumers 12½ to 25 per cent, and would be another blow to the living standards of millions of workers, forced to drive long

distances to their jobs, and already wracked by soaring food and other prices and by near-frozen wages.

In April, President Nixon submitted to Congress an energy message setting forth the monopoly-sponsored program for coping with increased fuel needs:

- Complete freeing of natural gas from any price controls.
- Tripling the rate of turning over the continental shelf to the oil and gas monopolies.
- Additional tax concessions for exploratory oil and gas drilling.
- Ending restrictions on imports of oil, but substituting a fee (actually a tax) on oil imports in excess of previous quotas.
- Exhortation to users to save fuel.

Regardless of the fictitious elements in the presently proclaimed shortage, there is no doubt that actual shortages of fuel and energy will recur with increasing severity in the capitalist world, under conditions of monopoly domination and capitalist anarchy. The huge scale of production and consumption of fuels and electricity, their rapid expansion, the lack of coordination between production and consumption, and between different stages of production capacity, rivalry for supplies, uncontrolled usage, the increasing environmental damage and dangers, all point to a central conclusion:

Ownership and control of fuels and electric power by private monopolies, supported by big business governments, is increasingly incompatible with the developing requirements of normal economic activity and personal life. Within the United States a long run solution must be in these directions:

- Nationalization of the fuel and power industries under democratic control.
- Regulation of consumption under democratic control.*
- Elimination of the huge military consumption of fuel and power.
- Conclusion of long-term contracts for cooperation in development and use of Siberian oil and natural gas.
- Adoption of firm national rules to reduce pollution connected with fuel and power production and use, at the expense of monopoly capital.
- Pending complete nationalization, shifting of billions of taxes from the backs of worker-users of fuels to the presently nearly tax-free oil and coal monopolies.
- Rollback of prices of fuel and power to reasonable levels.
- A coordinated, government-controlled, well-founded plan for scientific research development of new and improved sources of energy. Intensified cooperation with other countries, especially the Soviet Union, in this area.

A fuel and energy program along these lines will be a key object of struggle for the people's anti-monopoly coalition that must be

*Incredible quantities of fuel are wasted, for example, because of near-empty flights of planes of rival airlines between the same points at the same time. Unchecked use of cars in central cities is another fuel waster, as well as a most dangerous pollutant.

built in the United States. The Watergate explosion underlines the fact that neither the Republican nor the Democratic Parties can be vehicles for such a coalition. This underlines the necessity for formation of a new political party based on the working class in alliance with the Black and Brown liberation movements.

Non-capitalist development and religion

Dulamzhavyn Dashzhamts,
Cand. Phil. (Mongolia)

The acute social and economic problems facing the peoples of Asia and Africa in the present stage of the national-liberation struggle are compounded with ideological ones. Involved in the struggle are class forces whose world outlook and politics are strongly colored by religious ideas. In some areas the national-liberation struggle is stricken by the same weaknesses as the peasant movements of the Middle Ages, which, we may recall, erupted under religious slogans. Present-day imperialism is at pains to exploit religious ideology for its neo-colonial and anti-communist aims.

And progressive political parties and public movements, too, cannot afford to ignore the religious sentiments of the illiterate mass if they want to secure massive support. V. I. Lenin called on the revolutionary – and this includes Marxist – organizations in the Eastern countries to learn to operate in their peculiar environment, and to remember that the bulk of the population there is of peasant stock, that there is virtually no working class, and that religion is, in effect, the dominant ideology. He stressed the need to 'adjust . . . the Communist Party (its membership, special tasks) to the level of the peasant countries of the colonial East' (*Coll Works*, Vol. 42, p. 202).

The intelligentsia and the revolutionary organizations in the developing countries of today espouse the foremost, socialist ideas of our age. But it takes time for them to shake off the influence of religion. Nor can they be blamed for this, because, speaking figuratively, they are tied to the concrete historical conditions. Yet they will never complete the reconstruction of society along socialist lines, remould the public consciousness and psychology, or change the life style of their peoples so long as the influence of priests and religious prejudice continue to prevail. And the job of eliminating this influence remains even after revolutionary regimes are set up and progressive socio-economic changes are carried out. The religious involvement of the masses is one of the

most difficult obstacles to overcome in the process of non-capitalist development, and therefore merits close examination.

How was the matter dealt with in Mongolia, a country where the lamaist variety of Buddhism had a tighter grip than in most other countries?

In pre-revolutionary Mongolia the domination of lamaism was based on the 'two principles' concept of theocratic feudal rule, a combination of secular and clerical power. The feudal lords, and the Manchurian colonialists in the first place, promoted religion to befog the minds of the people and thus perpetuate their rule. They built lamaseries and shrines, circulated religious writings and prayer books, and supported the lamas, whom they exempted from military service and the numerous feudal levies. The lamas, for their part, were adroit apologists of the people's suffering and oppression, portraying asceticism and obedience as the supreme virtues.

National revival and progress required a reversal of this state of affairs.

In the initial state of our revolutionary reconstruction, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the People's Government set out to limit the immense power of the lama monks, paving the way for a legislative separation of religion and state. If we had tried at that time to tear down the religious pillars that had stood for centuries, we would have lost the support of the many friendly lamas and bureaucrats. Also, we had to reckon with the deep-rooted religious sentiment among the people, and with the prestige of the lamas, especially Bogdo-Gegen, the potentate and head of the lamaist faith. Besides, quite a number of members of the MPRP, representatives of the new power, still retained their deference to the lamas and Bogdo-Gegen.

This was why the Party did not rush events by calling for a republican system, and decided to allow a constitutional monarchy after the victory of the revolution. Under the Treaty By Oath, concluded by the People's Government and the Bogdo-Gegen on November 1, 1921, the latter retained his throne. His powers were confined to religious affairs, while political power was vested in the People's Government and the local people's khurals (councils).

The Constitution of 1924 proclaimed Mongolia a republic, separated the state from the church, and assured freedom of religion and of anti-religious propaganda. A special Separation of Church from State Act was passed in 1926, defining the Party's fundamental policy towards lamaism, showing why the church had to be separated from the state, explaining the class approach to different sections of lamas, and stressing that the relationship between the state agencies and the lamas should in no way hurt religious feelings.

The Act precipitated a sharp clash with the monastic feudal lords. It took considerable effort to overcome the obstinate resistance of the lamaist gentry and mount an offensive against the monastic possessions, a deep-rooted feudal institution much more powerful

than the secular estates. According to the 1924 census, for example, 20 per cent of the country's livestock was owned by lamaseries, which also owned the country's finest pastures, were beneficiaries of huge donations, and engaged in trade, usury, and transport.

The parasitic life style of this reactionary state-within-a-state did untold damage. Yet any forcible expropriation of the property of the lamaseries in the early stage of the revolution would have touched off resentment among the mass of believers. So, the People's Revolutionary Party combated these seats of reaction and social parasitism by gradually reducing their economic potential and ending monastic exploitation of the laboring masses. Far-reaching revolutionary changes were put into effect step by step: feudal bondage was abolished, levies by lamas were banned, and the lamas' livestock and property and the incomes of lamaseries (mostly donations from the pious) were taxed. This weakened the economic and political power of the top lamas and the lamaseries, and rooted out the feudalistic relations of production which were inhibiting the growth of the country's productive forces.

The next important step in solving the religious problem was to oblige the monks to engage in socially useful labor. There were at least 100,000 monks (45 per cent of the country's male population) in the more than 700 lamaseries. Nowhere in the world was the proportion of clericals so high, or the degree of their parasitism so great. Sworn to celibacy, they had no families, which held up the growth of the population. 'Estimates show,' Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP, said in 1960, 'that if we had had no lamaism, we would by now have had a population of at least ten million.'* The lamas, bearers of the feudal-colonial ideology, of superstition and backwardness, impeded social progress, science and culture.

After the revolution, the People's Revolutionary Party set out to restrict the numerical growth of lamas. It prohibited adolescents to be committed to lamaseries, thus cutting off their chief source of recruits. Young men could not become lamas until they were 18, and this only of their own free will. Later, the Government decreed that the first-born (let alone the only son) would remain with the family, the second son goes into military service, and only the third son could, if he wished, be a lama on reaching adulthood.

The problem of lamas in the lamaseries was among the most difficult ones to solve. It had a bearing on the interests of all the classes and social groups. The 100,000 lamas were a formidable force. If reaction had succeeded to turn them against the new system, Mongolia would have had tremendous difficulties. So, the Party tried to keep the monks neutral, and to win them over gradually.

The approach was different to the different groups of lamas. The dignitaries were isolated from the rank-and-file lamas. The Party

*In 1972 the population of the Mongolian People's Republic was 1,300,000. - Ed.

exposed the ideology and policy of the reactionary monastic gentry, and sought the cooperation of the lower ranks in downgrading the influence of the lamaseries, freeing the lower lamas from exploitation by the higher, and enlisting them for socially useful labor. This was made easier by the fact that most lamas were socially close to the arats (the commoner herdsmen), with whom they had family and property ties.

By the end of the 30s the rank-and-file began leaving the lamaseries en masse. They had understood that their superiors were in contact with imperialist quarters and were using their position for selfish aims hostile to the Republic. Leaving the lamaseries, the lamas married, founded families, and joined in building the new society. The state encouraged them, helping to form producer cooperatives, and the like. In 1936 alone, more than 10,000 lamas took up socially useful work. And between January 1, 1937 and January 1, 1938, another 18,200 took up farming.

This was a major breakthrough. However, the religious dignitaries were up in arms over this, and though the Party and the People's Government displayed flexibility and patience, a collision became inevitable. The top lamas were the mainstay of reaction, were active against the People's Revolutionary Party, and fiercely resisted our revolutionary undertakings. Many lamaseries became centers of counter-revolutionary conspiracies, armed attacks were mounted against the new system and a good deal of sabotage was performed under cover of religion.

The designs of the lamaist gentry were firmly combated, and their scheming exposed by the Party and Government. This isolated the administration of the lamaseries socially and politically. Slowly but surely, its reactionary activity declined, until, denied all popular support, it ceased entirely.

To be sure, matters did not go all that smoothly. No leaders, revolutionary leaders included, are able to learn overnight to be flexible, to show the maximum consideration for the complicated situation. Furthermore, the effects of the subjectivism and distortions in the late 20s and early 30s and the Left and Right extremes in religious matters were still felt. Our experience showed that such things do considerable harm to non-capitalist development.

The Rightists had maintained that Marxism could benefit from many a point in Buddhism – and lamaism as its variety. It was therefore essential, they averred, to maintain the 'purity' of Buddhism, making only few reforms and jettisoning only the most reactionary elements of the lamaist ideology. This defeatism damaged the Party's fight against the power of the lamas. The Leftists, on the other hand, sought to stamp out religious influence chiefly by administrative methods. Occupying influential Party and government posts, they tried to drive lamas out of the monasteries, and cruelly attacked them. This aroused public discontent, with the result that many believers joined the armed counter-revolutionary outbreak in the spring of 1932.

The People's Revolutionary Party with its nucleus of steeled

Marxist-Leninists managed to overcome the undesirable effects of the Right and Left deviations, to get rid of those who sought reconciliation with lamaism, and also those who sought to eliminate lamaism by force.

Once the country overcame medieval socio-economic backwardness, our Party held, the masses would be liberated from religious prejudice. It promoted a program for increasing the productive forces, building a new economy, fortifying the democratic pillars of our political system, and expanding international contacts.

- Top priority was given to the creation of a modern system of education and science, and institutions of culture and art, for we were aware that the practically complete illiteracy of the population facilitated religious prejudice. Alongside the industrial build-up there was a far-flung educational drive, dissemination of scientific knowledge, propaganda of the lofty aims of our policy and of Marxist-Leninist ideas, and exposure of the exploitative nature of feudalism and capitalism. The People's Revolutionary Party spared no effort to show the failings of the religious ideology, its reactionary essence, and conducted atheistic propaganda.

- Steps were taken to educate the lamas who were leaving the lamaseries. Special schools were set up, and cultural work was organized, and they were given free medical treatment. Far from repelling the rank-and-file lamas from the revolutionary system, the political, economic and ideological measures of the Party and Government stimulated their civic consciousness and encouraged them to join in the progressive social reconstruction.

This provided the objective and subjective conditions for the revival of the Mongolian people and its deliverance from religion. By the early 40s Lamaism had lost not only economic and political, but also much of its ideological influence. But not due to any forcible closure of monasteries or physical extermination of lamas, as some bourgeois ideologues would have us believe. Religion lost influence, with lamas turning to socially useful work, due to the political, economic and cultural uplift of the nation in the period of non-capitalist development.

The solution of the religious question – one of the most crucial of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in Mongolia – provided splendid opportunities for economic and cultural growth. It was 'equal or nearly equal in significance to the 1921 revolution,' said Comrade Y. Tsendenbal. The People's Revolutionary Party thereby put into effect Marx's postulate that 'the abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness' (Marx, *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, Introduction).

It is wrong to think, of course, that religious problems no longer exist in the Mongolian People's Republic. Though religion has no determinative influence on the ideological climate, it still affects the consciousness and feelings of large numbers of people. Their final deliverance from surviving religious beliefs and superstitions is still, therefore, an important objective of our Party's ideological

work. Speaking at the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the CC MPRP on April 16, 1973, Comrade Tsedenbal said, in part: 'Due to the increase in some places of the number of people performing religious rites and the desire of certain elements to strengthen religious prejudice among the backward part of the population, it is necessary to conduct organized anti-religious scientific-atheist propaganda and improve the atheistic education of the people.'

Whenever atheistic propaganda is cut back, we have learned, religious prejudice and beliefs begin to revive. And this cannot but retard the development of the materialist Marxist-Leninist ideology into the accepted world outlook of all the classes, social groups and individuals of our society. Our Soviet comrades are absolutely right in saying that 'unscientific forms of ideology and survivals of the old psychology - religion, petty-bourgeois views, and philistine prejudices - do not completely disappear in socialist society; however, the considerably weaker influence of such views and notions, and their much narrower circulation, are a measure of the degree of development achieved by socialism.'*

The experience of the non-capitalist development of Mongolia under the leadership of our Party shows that Communists present no danger to believers and their religious feelings either for reasons of principle suggested by their atheist outlook, or for tactical and transient reasons. Experience also shows that the mass of believers, who regard non-capitalist reconstruction as a vital cause, can build socialism shoulder to shoulder with the atheists. The solution of the religious question in Mongolia shows, too, that the separation of the church from the state and observance of the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of conscience, religion and anti-religious propaganda provide a favorable background for the humanistic principle of tolerance and fraternal cooperation between believers and non-believers.

*Kommunist, June 1972, Moscow, p. 56.

DEAR SUBSCRIBER:

Due to a North American shortage of our regular stock of paper this issue of our journal is being printed on a substitute stock. We apologize for this, since it is beyond our control and related to the artificially-created shortage by monopoly corporations operating in North America. It is our hope that we will shortly resolve this matter.

THE PUBLISHER

Senegal: problems and difficulties

Amath Dansoko
PB Member, African
Independence Party of Senegal

In many letters received by WMR readers ask for more frequent information about the situation in Africa. In this issue we present articles on the liberation movement in the south of Africa and the problems facing Senegal.

Our country is passing through unprecedented difficulties. The habitually triumphant tone of the regime's leaders has given way to poorly disguised vexation. From what President Senghor says, these difficulties are caused—in spite of the obvious facts—by an 'overexcited minority,' a 'foreign-controlled' uncompromising opposition, a 'conspiracy of the French Left led by the Communist Party and CGT,' and natural or almost "supernatural" cataclysms.

Actually the roots of the current difficulties lie primarily in the orientation which the regime chose immediately after the declaration of independence by setting out to maintain and extend Senegal's integration into the world capitalist system. This orientation has undergone no substantial change since then despite the growing resistance of the masses, patriotic organizations, trade unions, youth, intellectuals and even a section of the bourgeoisie.

This policy is aimed, first of all, at preserving the economic supremacy of foreign, above all French, colonial monopolies in Senegal. Thirteen years after Senegal became independent, they still control over 80 per cent of the modern sector of the economy, including industry, banking, trade and insurance.

'In the case of an underdeveloped country,' said President Senghor in 1959, 'nationalization is out of the question.' He said that to nationalize foreign enterprises would be tantamount to 'killing the goose that lays the golden eggs' and that, moreover, it would pose the threat of 'international conflicts.'* No wonder that Senegal has an 'investment code' granting foreign capital special facilities, such as a 25-year tax freeze for new enterprises. This drastically restricts accumulation for a modern, national economic sector.

The country's four-year development plans follow this logic of servility and subservience to foreign interests. The fourth plan, launched this year will, as earlier plans, be more than three-quarters financed out of foreign investments.** Most of these investments

*L. Senghor, *Nation et Voie Africaine du Socialisme*, Paris, Présence africaine, 1961, pp. 81, 125.

***Le Monde*, August 7, 1973.

are to come from the European Common Market (of which, Senghor blandly declares, Africa is a natural continuation), the United States and international monetary organizations of imperialism. The modest amounts promised by Iran and some Arab 'oil sheiks' cannot alter the overall situation.

The regime is resolved to invite multinational monopolies. Many countries know from experience that the aim of these 'international octopuses' is to perpetuate and increase the dependence and backwardness of Third World countries. Senghor disagrees, however. He said at the end of last year that these firms 'can effectively help underdeveloped countries to achieve their goals in industrialization . . . Besides, they are oriented essentially on the world market and their vitality shows that exports are the key to progress in view of the present pattern of the world economy. Hence the inclusion of industrial enterprises of the Third World in a multinational ensemble may become for them a guarantee of better productivity. . . .'*

These are by no means the harmless vagaries of an abstract theorist. They underlie the regime's economic policy. Under consideration is a plan to establish a 'free industrial zone' in Dakar involving multinational monopolies. The government expects it to be made up of 'large complexes oriented primarily on the European and American markets.'**

At the same time the regime continues to restrict economic relations with the socialist community, keeping them to the bare minimum needed to boast of a so-called policy of balance between the two camps.

The working people were hit hardest of all by the regime's disastrous policies. A wage freeze was kept up for 10 years (1958-1968) on the plea that foreign investors must not be 'frightened' away and that 'national construction' must be supported. To prove to foreign capital that it really meant to stick to this policy, the government in 1960 dissolved the General Union of Working People of Black Africa, the main trade union federation. Not until after a powerful general strike (May 1968) did the regime raise minimum wages by 15 per cent and allow the renegotiation of collective agreements.

However, the government again came to the rescue of foreign business. Having recovered from the shock of 1968, it stopped the renegotiation of collective agreements, disbanded the National Union of Working People of Senegal (NUWPS)*** in 1971 and arrested its leaders. Strikes have virtually been outlawed ever since.

If one is to believe that regime's leaders, the peasants benefit from its economic policy most of all. A major objective of this policy, these leaders say, is to freeze the 'privileges' which wage workers enjoy so as to raise the living standard of the peasants, those 'genuine proletarians of Senegal.'

**Le Soleil*, Supplement, No. 892, 1973.

***Le Soleil* (Dakar), November 21, 1972.

***Successor of the General Union of Working People of Black Africa.

Yet it is precisely in agriculture that the regime's policy has fully miscarried, with the direst consequences for an immense section of the population. Here are the official figures. Under the third plan, just over, Senegal in 1973 was to have produced 1,450,000 tons of peanuts, 220,000 tons of rice (a staple of which 6,000 million CFA francs' worth is imported annually) * and 700,000 tons of millet, second in importance as a food product. The actual output was 400,000, 41,000 and 300,000 tons respectively.

To be sure, weather conditions were extremely unfavorable for years, especially in 1972. But they are far from being the only cause of the decline in agriculture and of the increased food deficit. A serious reason was Senegal's growing integration into the EEC set-up and the dependence of its economy on a fluctuating capitalist world market. Thus, the more than 25 per cent drop in the price of ground nuts after Senegal joined the Common Market badly affected the peasants, who normally derive over 70 per cent of their money income from ground nuts.

Besides, the peasants are over-exploited by the state, which makes them buy equipment and fertilizer on credit at as much as 25 per cent interest. They are robbed by the money-lender and trader, who take as security or buy at nominal prices farm implements that could be used for more efficient farming.

High hopes were pinned on cooperatives. Senghor claimed that the cooperatives would play a role of the first importance in bringing about progressive changes in the countryside. Yet the cooperative bodies set up by the authorities are dominated by speculators and the traditional aristocracy,** whose social influence is still great. The cooperative system, described by Senghor as the 'mainstay of African socialism,' is notorious for its corruption and is a source of capitalist gain.

Discontent is rife, the regime dismisses it as a 'peasant malady.' One of its expressions is reversion to subsistence farming out of sheer desperation. Another is the growing migration to the towns.

Between 1959 and 1968 the urban population increased 65 per cent, or to more than 32 per cent of the total. The pace of migration has quickened since then. The famine which this year swept the countryside sent a new large wave of migrants to the towns.

It is the physically fittest, the young people, who leave the villages, and this is bound to tell on agricultural production. While causing a shortage of rural labor, migration gives rise to mass unemployment in the towns, which as far back as 1968 stood at 38 per cent.

Social and political tensions have never abated since the 1968 general strike and resistance to the regime's present orientation is on the rise. In spite of repression (13 mass organizations have been

*CFA - African Financial Community, 50 CFA Francs = one French Franc.

**Former landowners (since 1964 the state has been the official owner of all lands in Senegal); rural chiefs and marabouts, or dervishes; rural notables, who owe their status to the surviving caste system or to gerontocratic traditions. They are all linked with the ruling party to one extent or another and most of them hold posts in its local bodies.

disbanded since 1960), the government is unable to achieve neo-colonial stability.

And who benefits from this course of development, reaping the fruits of a policy threatening national disaster? They are the imperialist monopolies whose interests are unfailingly protected by the regime, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie closely linked with foreign capital, and the usurers and traditional aristocracy whom the government's agricultural policy enables to amass wealth at the peasants' expense.

The policy of subordinating the national economy to foreign capital is highly prejudicial to domestic entrepreneurs. And though we speak of a Senegalese national bourgeoisie, the various sections and groups of domestic manufacturers have not developed into an independent class. They openly voice their dissatisfaction with the secondary role assigned them by the regime. Speaking at the First Congress of National Manufacturers (1968), the chairman of the Association of Manufacturers* said: 'The economic situation in Senegal is such that the rich are foreigners who are becoming richer and the poor are Senegalese who are becoming even poorer. . . . In a country where trade and, to a still greater extent, industry are under foreign control, the economic policy must be completely revised if the problem of backwardness is to be really solved.'** However, the government turns a deaf ear to the national bourgeoisie's demands and confines itself to appeals for a compromise between imperialism and Senegalese business which would put the latter at a great disadvantage. The Prime Minister's statement last August was in a way symbolic; he warned the national bourgeoisie against any manifestation of nationalism in regard to foreign capital.

The national bourgeoisie or, to be exact, those of its sections which would like to play this role, are opposed to all discrimination by monopoly and government. However, they are too weak and their views too contradictory for them to find a way out of the situation by themselves. Though in opposition, they need contracts, credits, bank guarantees and other forms of government aid. Furthermore, they view the popular movement with distrust. They need support to force the monopolies into retreat but they dread radical democratic and patriotic changes.

Senegalese reality is further proof that capitalist development, whether on a national basis or with the aid of foreign capital, cannot end economic backwardness or achieve genuine independence.

A different policy is needed to take the country out of the impasse into which the regime has landed it. Developments over the past five years have fully confirmed the feasibility and timeliness of the alternative of national and democratic development and

*Since abolished.

**Rapport de A. Diop, Président de l'Union des Groupements Economiques du Sénégal. Juillet 1968.

the existence of a broad basis on which the forces seeking such a solution could unite.

With this in mind, the Second Congress of the African Independence Party of Senegal (1972) called on the people to establish a broad patriotic alliance. The idea is supported by the NUWPS, the student movement, the Teachers' Union and other organizations.

Our Party urges the people to unite in support of the following fundamental demands: restoring democratic liberties in accordance with the present Constitution and the country's democratic traditions; forcing imperialism out of its positions by nationalizing the banks, industry, foreign trade and other key economic branches; effecting radical structural reforms in agriculture; reorganizing education in line with the needs of independent development; immediately abolishing the French military bases, which shackle the independence of Senegal and are a threat to other African countries.

In a policy statement adopted last May, the Central Committee of the AIP stressed that popular unity and an alliance of patriotic and democratic forces is the only way to foil the plans of the neo-colonialists, who are out to refurbish the regime without altering the substance.

'French imperialism,' the statement notes, 'plans to consolidate its neo-colonial rule by keeping Senghor and reshuffling the ruling group or by replacing it and keeping or discarding Senghor, using in either case people devoted to French interests.'

'There have lately been signs that things are moving to this kind of solution. This is not the path of democratic change wanted by the country, for the civilians or military men who will emerge as a result of the neo-colonialists' "renovating" stratagems will become as much of a barrier to the country's progress as the present regime.'

'The real way out consists in the democratic alternative to the regime, which can only be brought about by a victorious broad front of patriotic opposition.'

The African Independence Party has shown that it is not 'extraneous to the nation,' as the regime slanderously affirms. It is the leading force of the entire patriotic and democratic opposition and not a 'party of conspiracy' - as President Senghor himself had to admit in February 1971.

Now as ever, the AIP adheres to a firm class position inseparable from the policy of democratic unity. This is why our Party has strong roots among the people.

Liberation movement in Mozambique

Idris Cox
British writer

The south of Africa is an arena of turbulent events in which the unity of different detachments of the national-liberation movement fighting the Portuguese colonialists and racist regimes is being forged. The armed struggle there is an expression of joint action by the various guerrilla movements against the unholy trinity of Portuguese colonialism, white minority rule in Rhodesia and the white apartheid system in South Africa.

The Mozambique guerrilla forces, for example, are now within the region of the Cabora Bassa dam and threaten Rhodesia's only road and rail link with the Portuguese port of Beira. The dam, incidentally, is financed mainly by foreign capital and will serve the interests of the white rulers of Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as the Portuguese colonial rulers, who aim to bring at least one million people from Portugal to bolster their grip on this region.

In Mozambique the armed liberation struggle is being waged in four of its nine provinces. For nine years the freedom movement in Mozambique (FRELIMO) has made significant advances against Portugal's armed forces. One quarter of the country, with its one million people, has already been liberated (the freedom movement embarked on armed struggle in 1964, four years after its formation following the slaughter of 500 participants in a peaceful demonstration at Mueda in 1960). In July 1973 General Kaulza de Arriaga (Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese armed forces in Mozambique) admitted publicly there were 10,000 military operations against the armed FRELIMO guerrillas from the beginning of 1971 till June 1973. But the guerrillas are still gaining ground.

However, the armed guerrillas and thousands of unarmed people have paid a heavy price in their struggle against colonial rule. Last July a Catholic priest (Father Hastings) disclosed that at least 400 people were massacred at Wiriyamu and neighboring villages in December 1972. In June two Spanish priests of the Catholic faith (Father Joaquim Sampaio and Father Fernando Mendes) had declared they were eye-witnesses of a Portuguese commando raid in which villagers were burned alive. In one incident 200 men, women, and children were murdered with machine-guns.

These revelations aroused a storm of protest throughout Africa, in the socialist countries, as well as among the democratic public in capitalist countries, especially in Britain. FRELIMO also published in July a longer list of massacres and tortures. In its statement FRELIMO pointed out: 'In fact, massacres are the common practice

of the Portuguese troops in Mozambique. In our reports, we have also denounced the infamous practice which has become common among Portuguese soldiers. This is killing all pregnant women by ripping open their abdomens to take the foetus out. This is, in their own words, "to prevent the birth of new terrorists." The atrocities in Mozambique include the bombing and destruction of whole villages, plundering, forced removal of population, torture of prisoners of war, and the use of chemical weapons against the liberated areas.' (*Guardian*, 14. 7. 73).

The Portuguese authorities tried to deny these facts. But on August 2 still another revelation was made by a Belgian missionary, Father Vic Nijs, who declared that he had received testimony from a Portuguese officer of the burning alive of the entire population of a village in the north of Mozambique. The officer was quoted as saying: 'The captain of the unit ordered his men to herd into their huts all women and children in the first village they encountered. . . . The huts were set on fire. All inside were burned alive.' (*Guardian*, 3.8.73).

These and other events have once again brought Mozambique into the world limelight. The cause of the Portuguese military's bloody rampage is obvious: to maintain their colonial rule at any cost. In a country with a population of over eight million, only 200,000 are from Portugal. Yet the white settler stock from Portugal control 98 per cent of the country's wealth. As a *Guardian* correspondent pointed out, 'the rich are white and the poor are poor and Black' (*Guardian*, 27.7.1973).

Similar aspects are evident in Angola, where the armed liberation struggle started in February 1961, led by the Angola Popular Liberation Movement (MPLA) and early in 1973 it had the cooperation of the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA). One third of the country, with 500,000 people, has been liberated, and guerrilla struggles have been waged on five fronts in nine out of 15 districts.

In the guerrilla struggle in Mozambique and Angola there is close cooperation with the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) which leads the freedom movement in what is now known as Namibia; with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) which leads the struggle against white minority rule in Rhodesia; and with the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa which spearheads the opposition to apartheid rule.

The armed liberation struggle in southern Africa has the support of almost all the independent African states which are members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and which in July and since has re-affirmed its support for the armed liberation struggle, and pledged itself to render even more material and moral support to the freedom movements in southern Africa. The fighting peoples of southern Africa and the democratic movements of the continent as a whole enjoy considerable support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle in southern Africa

is making a big impact on the growth of the democratic movement within Portugal, for the people of Portugal are paying a heavy price for their government's attempts to retain overseas colonies. There are no less than 220,000 Portuguese troops in the Portuguese colonies of Africa, the cost of which is a heavy burden for the Portuguese people, constituting more than half the total budget of Portugal.

Within Portugal the popular struggle has developed on a wide front against the fascist regime and its colonial wars. It is leading to the creation of genuine independent trade unions and to the formation of broad democratic committees which bring together Communists, Socialists, Catholics, and a wide spectrum of the population in opposition to the government.

The forces of imperialism are doing all they can to bolster the Lisbon rulers and supply them with all they need to pursue the colonial wars in which Portugal uses NATO war materiel. This is indication that the capitalist governments of the NATO countries are interested in preserving the colonial system in southern Africa and strengthening the Rhodesia-South Africa-Portugal axis.

Imperialist Britain is deeply involved in the military exploits of its 'oldest ally,' for it is British capital investment which made possible the construction of 50 per cent of the railways in Portugal's colonies in Africa, and half the capital invested in them came from Britain. Within Portugal itself even the telephone lines in Lisbon, and the tram lines, are British-owned. Though the capital inflow into Portugal from other imperialist countries has recently increased, Britain still has the biggest single stake of 25 per cent.

Last summer the ruling circles of Britain and Portugal made elaborate plans to celebrate the 600th anniversary of the treaty signed in June 1273 between the English King Edward III and Fernando I of Portugal, but it was not a happy occasion for the fascist rulers of Portugal. The advance of the armed liberation struggle in Angola and Mozambique, and the mass protest demonstrations in Britain against the visit of Premier Caetano—all contributed to present a formidable challenge to fascist rule in Portugal itself.

There is a growing recognition within the Labor movement in Britain that it has common interests with the democratic mass struggle taking place in Portugal and the national-liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies in Africa. In a statement of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party, just before the centenary celebrations last July, this common struggle was made clear: 'The Portuguese working class, the Portuguese working people, the Portuguese democratic forces, are interested in establishing relations of friendship and reciprocal solidarity with the workers and progressive forces in Britain. . . . But they oppose now, and will always oppose an "alliance" (between the imperialists of Britain and Portugal—I.C.) which has meant help and systematic support from British imperialism to those who exploit and oppress the Portuguese people, and which has also meant the dependence of Portugal on a foreign im-

perialist power. The "alliance" has played an important role in maintaining the exploitation and oppression in the Portuguese colonies, where British imperialism holds very strong positions.'

It was the acceptance of the truth of this declaration which stimulated big protest demonstrations in London and other British cities against the July visit of Premier Caetano. More than 10,000 marched through the streets of London on the day of his arrival. Each day during his visit there were impressive protest actions. Big meetings were organized in which Marcelino dos Santos (FRELIMO's vice-president), along with Labor MPs, Communist leaders, and trade union leaders, spoke to big crowds.

For many years in Britain the solidarity movement with the freedom struggle in Africa against Portugal's colonial rule has been extremely active. It has organized impressive meetings and demonstrations, organized campaigns for Eduard Mondlane (former FRELIMO leader) before he was murdered and for Amilcar Cabral before his untimely death in January 1973.

Many Portuguese people in exile in Britain have become active in the solidarity campaign. For 15 years a monthly journal, *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin*, has made a profound political impact on the views of many active elements in the Labor movement.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of capitalist countries give their all-out support to the mounting struggle of the Portuguese people. In view of the special relations existing between the ruling circles of Great Britain and Portugal, British workers see expansion of the solidarity campaign with the democratic movement in Portugal as their internationalist duty.

True to its long record of solidarity with the struggle against imperialism in all parts of the world, the British Communist Party continues to be in the forefront in its support of the democratic struggle within Portugal and the national-liberation movement in its African colonies, for this is also in the best interests of the British people. It gains added strength from the fact that the solidarity movement embraces the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, progressives the world over.



Proletarian internationalism versus nationalism

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The years since the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties have been filled with significant events that have had an appreciable impact on the world revolutionary process. As repeatedly pointed out in *World Marxist Review* (see Nos. 5, 6, 8 and 10, 1973), new and complex tasks, as well as new opportunities, call for further consolidation of the unity of the world Communist movement. This means a new level of cooperation between Communist Parties more in keeping with the requirements of the time and based firmly on the principles of proletarian internationalism and their promotion in theory, ideology and day-to-day practice.

The founders of Marxism stressed that proletarian internationalism is an objective necessity. Working-class solidarity and cohesion in the fight to carry out its world-historic mission is *a priori* international and vital. It is international because 'the proletarians in all countries have the same interests, the same enemy, and they will have to wage the same struggle' (Engels). It is a vital necessity because 'nothing but an international bond of the working classes can ever ensure their definitive triumph' (Marx, Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association).

Expanding on this, Lenin wrote: 'The unity of the workers of all countries is a necessity arising out of the fact that the capitalist class, which rules over the workers, does not limit its rule to one country. . . . Capitalist domination is international. That is why the workers' struggle in all countries for their emancipation is only successful if the workers fight jointly against international capital' (Coll. Works, Vol. 2, p. 109).

Naturally, any disregard of proletarian internationalism in the revolutionary movement inevitably results in setbacks. As Marx pointed out in the Inaugural Address of the Working Men's Association, 'disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workingmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts.'

These Marxist-Leninist positions have been proven by practice. The road traversed by the world Communist and workers' movement since the 'Communist Manifesto' to the present is replete with convincing proof of their scientific validity and vital importance for the working class. It has been shown beyond a shadow of doubt that the success, nay, the very existence, of the world Communist movement depends on the adherence of all Parties to the principles of proletarian internationalism. This great truth finds indirect confirmation in the fact that no other component of scientific communism has been so abused and vilified by the international bourgeoisie and its agents as proletarian internationalism.

Proletarian internationalism appeared as the negation of its antithesis, bourgeois nationalism, and remains locked in an unending, uncompromising struggle with it. All forms of nationalism, some more, some less, have a negative effect on social development; they slow down social progress and impede the revolutionary process; the only exception is the nationalism of an oppressed nation, which plays a progressive role in the period of the struggle for independence, though only insofar as it is directed against the reactionary nationalism of the ruling classes of the oppressor nation. Nationalism is especially dangerous when it penetrates the ranks of Communist and Workers' Parties. A direct departure from worker ideology and policy, it makes common cause with 'Left' and Right opportunism or breeds them itself, and this, in turn, undermines the ideological and political foundations of international united Communist action. A party taking to the road of nationalism ultimately finds itself in isolation and breaks totally with proletarian internationalism. 'One who has adopted the standpoint of nationalism,' wrote Lenin, 'naturally arrives at the desire to erect a Chinese Wall around his nationality, his national working-class movement; he is unembarrassed even by the fact that it would mean building separate walls in each city, in each little town and village, unembarrassed even by the fact that by his tactics of division and dismemberment *he is reducing to nil* the great call for the rallying and unity of the proletarians of all nations, all races and all languages' (Vol. 6, pp. 520-521). These words are borne out, notably, by the evolution of the present leaders of the Communist Party of China: nationalism is especially harmful to the workers' cause when it penetrates the ranks of a Communist Party that is in power. (Nationalism is, of course, not the only aspect of Maoism.)

Imperialism has a special stake in nationalism in its attempts to split the world revolutionary movement, especially the socialist states, as the main force in the anti-imperialist struggle. That is why Marxist-Leninist Parties and all internationalist revolutionaries must fight continuously against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism, must constantly foster the ideas and principles of proletarian internationalism in the minds of people.

For several decades now proletarian internationalism has been creatively promoted in terms of practical international cooperation

of Communists and, especially, by international meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties. Better coordination of the actions of revolutionary parties is a matter of prime importance at all stages of the Communist movement. This is self-evident. More, in our view, the level of coordination is in some ways a function of the degree of internationalization of the revolutionary movement and of the concrete requirements of the international class struggle.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties testified to the consolidation of our movement's unity. Communists in many countries note its further progress in the four-and-a-half years since then. At the same time, our Party holds that the present degree of unity in the international Communist movement falls short of the needs of the international revolutionary process and the demands of the class struggle. To be sure, this deficiency is of a very specific kind that does not destroy the overall picture of the steady growth of the might and influence of the socialist world system and the international Communist movement as a whole. However, it is safe to assume that had it not been for this disunity, recent setbacks and defeats of some revolutionary forces could have been avoided and better use could have been made of the opportunities for advancing the anti-imperialist struggle and the world revolutionary process.

There can be no doubt that the Communist movement will use the experience of the tempestuous revolutionary reality to achieve a further cohesion of forces, for it is inherently internationalist. It would, however, be a dangerous delusion to assume that this could happen automatically, without the sustained efforts of Marxist-Leninists around the world.

International cooperation of Communists presumes a single ideology and political line. 'Giving effect to *united action* on an international scale,' Lenin wrote, 'calls for both clarity of fundamental ideological views and a precise definiteness in all practical methods of action' (Vol. 21, p. 372). Thus, if agreed action of fraternal Parties is to match the present-day requirements it is imperative to remove the ideological and political differences in the ranks of the world Communist movement.

To be sure, there are differences and differences. Some do not affect the basic theory and policy of international communism and involve specific issues or may be due to a one-sided assessment of the situation by one or another detachment of the Communist movement, to the ignoring of some factors or the overemphasizing of others, to difficulties arising because of failure to resolve outstanding problems in time, etc. Such differences can be and are, overcome in the course of joint anti-imperialist action or in bilateral or multilateral meetings of Party representatives, through exchanges of experience and constructive, comradely criticism. An important method of overcoming differences is joint elaboration of theoretical questions.

Other differences, however, involve the very fundamentals, the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and can be traced to

the pressure of the class enemy, the penetration of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, opportunist or nationalistic views into the Communist movement. They can be overcome only through implacable, protracted struggle aimed at the total ideological and political defeat of the bearers of nationalism, 'Left' or Right revisionism. There is no other way. That being the case, neutrality, tolerance towards those who undermine the ideological and political foundations of unity, is, in our view, objectively tantamount to encouraging the splitters and rendering deliberate, or unintentional, service to international imperialism.

The Communist Party of Greece stands by these obvious truths, these views of the ways of overcoming differences in the world revolutionary movement, as it strives to contribute, to the best of its abilities, to the unity of the international Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces.

Marxist-Leninists in our country fully share the view that today Maoism is the standard-bearer of nationalism and revisionism in the world revolutionary movement, the main source of the difficulties and obstacles to the growing unity of the socialist countries and the worker and national-liberation movements. A careful analysis of the Chinese leaders' international theoretical and practical activities increasingly supports this conclusion.

The basic foreign-political doctrine of Maoism today is the theory of 'two superpowers' – the Soviet Union and United States – and 'two intermediate zones' – the 'zone of oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America' and the 'zone of certain large capitalist states of West and East.' World developments are determined by the struggle between the two 'superpowers,' on the one hand, and the small and medium states of the world, on the other; the first 'zone' shares common interests with the second, hence they can, and should, unite against the two 'superpowers.' And 'enemy No. 1,' according to the Maoists, is the Soviet Union.

This 'theory,' largely borrowed from the ideological arsenal of the bourgeoisie, reveals its authors' complete break with the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Maoists' total departure from Marxism-Leninism and the general line of the world Communist movement as defined by the international meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties. The Maoists, to be sure, claim exactly the opposite and represent their own views as the last word in creative Marxism. No amount of words, however, can conceal, let alone alter, the anti-Marxist, anti-internationalist essence of their conceptions. What, specifically, are their failings?

A basic requirement of Marxism-Leninism is for social phenomena and problems to be analyzed from the class point of view, from the positions of scientific socialism. This is the ABC of Marxism-Leninism. Maoist theory is a result of rejecting this requirement.

Firstly, Maoism presents a picture of the class structure of present-day society that clashes with objective reality. It distorts the class character of the Soviet Union, calling it a 'capitalist,' 'social-imperialist' state and setting it alongside the imperialist

United States. The Maoist theory also distorts the class character of the socialist states fraternally collaborating with the Soviet Union and dubs them 'revisionist countries' in which capitalism has been restored.

Secondly, Maoism declares the main contradiction of the world today to be that between the 'superpowers,' on the one hand, and all other countries, on the other. Marxist-Leninists, however, hold that the main contradiction of the modern world is the contradiction between the world system of imperialism and the socialist world system and, consequently, that world development is determined basically by the struggle between these two opposing social systems.

Thirdly, the Maoists deny that the socialist world system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. They see this force in the 'zone of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America,' that is, in the national liberation movement. Yet it is manifest that this movement, while important, cannot by its very nature eliminate capitalism as a social and economic system. The Maoists' contention amounts to denying the leading role of the working class in the world revolutionary process, underestimating the contradiction between labor and capital and groundlessly attributing the role of leader of the world revolution to the national bourgeoisie of one-time colonies and semi-colonies.

Fourthly, the Maoists misrepresent the Soviet Union's role in the revolutionary process and in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. More than any other country, the Soviet Union has helped the revolutionary forces of the globe and continues to do so. It bears the brunt of the anti-imperialist struggle and largely shapes the destiny of the world revolutionary movement. It is building a communist society, which puts it in the forefront of social progress. That is why internationalists all over the world regard it as their primary revolutionary duty to side firmly with the Soviet Union. The attitude to the Soviet Union is a criterion of genuine internationalism.

Lastly, the Maoist pseudo-theorists' contention that the 'first zone' has interests in common with the 'second zone' is very far from reality. It suggests that the exploited peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are united by common interests with their imperialist oppressors and exploiters, for what the Maoists describe as 'certain large capitalist countries of the East and West' is the imperialist powers which held the peoples of the outlying regions of the globe in colonial subjection for centuries and continue to exploit them by neo-colonialist methods.

This proposition of the Maoist theory is clearly aimed at giving 'substance' to the assertion that the peoples of the world's periphery 'can and must unite' with the above imperialist countries to fight against their 'enemy No. 1,' the Soviet Union. Today's Chinese leaders are clearly not concerned with the real interests of the national-liberation movement whatever they may say. The only thing they want is to recruit as many supporters as possible for

their anti-Soviet campaign and to use them as a tool for achieving their hegemonist aims.

Peking's theoretical analyses of international relations are intended to justify its foreign policy. To be sure, the Maoists present that policy as an embodiment of proletarian internationalism. But anyone who looks at it from the standpoint of the real needs of proletarian internationalism is bound to see that, if anything, it is an internationalism turned inside out.

Fraternal unity of the workers and the whole of oppressed and exploited mankind in the struggle against capitalism, for national independence, democracy, peace and socialism, is a cardinal principle and substance of proletarian internationalism. Maoism, however, is out to split the international working class and its allies. It counterposes the PRC and CPC to other socialist countries and Communist Parties and wages a virulent struggle against them. It undermines the unity of socialist countries and tries hard to drive a wedge between them. Maoists divide Marxist-Leninist Parties and form, wherever they can, groups of their partisans which they call 'Communist parties' and use as a tool to aggravate the division and undermine the influence of the genuine Communist Parties. They strive to split international trade union, youth, women's and other organizations. Maoism does its utmost to dissociate the peoples of former colonies and semi-colonies from the international working class and win them over to its side. It carries on this vile divisive activity in direct or indirect alliance with all other varieties of international revisionism, 'Left' and Right-wing alike. In Greece, where the few adherents of Maoism are fighting against the Communist Party internally and the CPSU and Soviet Union internationally, they ally themselves with both Trotskyists and Right-wing revisionists, who are beginning to praise Maoism more and more.

One of the fundamental requirements of proletarian internationalism, Lenin stressed, is to subordinate the national to the international, the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of the country concerned to the supreme objectives of the world revolutionary movement. What the Maoists put first, however, is not internationalist interests but their own selfish interests, and they try to use this or that contingent of the world revolutionary movement to realize their hegemonist ambitions. In other words, they prejudice both the world revolution and the Chinese people's genuine national interests, which accord with the interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and all oppressed and exploited peoples.

An important postulate and key indication of proletarian internationalism is solidarity with the Soviet Union, the main force of the world revolutionary movement, and its defense against imperialist plots. Yet the Maoists advocate anti-Sovietism. They wage a continuous and fierce struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in every sphere of social life and by the most unscrupulous means. And they claim that this, like the struggle

against imperialism, promotes the world revolution. But it is merely a clumsy attempt to cover up betrayal of the real interests of the world proletariat, for it is impossible to defeat imperialism and achieve victory for the world revolution without close cooperation with the Soviet Union, let alone by opposing it. Furthermore, the 'simultaneous' struggle against imperialism and the Soviet Union becomes in reality a struggle against the latter only. It leads to overt or covert alliance with the imperialists and other enemies of progress and develops in the long run into struggle against the world revolution. This is what all Right and 'Left' opportunist trends came to in the past. It is also what Maoism has already come to. Surely this is seen in the fact that the Peking leaders call for a stronger Common Market and NATO as a counterpoise to the alleged 'Soviet threat,' virtually back the Chilean military junta, cooperate with counter-revolutionary emigrants serving international imperialism, join revanchists and cold warriors in resisting international détente and take a stand similar to the imperialists' on all major international political issues.

China's leaders present their anti-Soviet alliance with imperialism and its agents as application of the Leninist policy of alliances. At the Tenth CPC Congress they said that in fighting against the 'two imperialist superpowers,' China is compelled to enter into alliance with the 'less dangerous' one, the United States, against the 'more dangerous' one, the Soviet Union, so as to further the interests of the world revolution. The reference to Lenin is pure hypocrisy, for the tactics of alliances which Lenin advocated and applied presupposes taking advantage of inter-imperialist antagonisms to further the world revolution, whereas the Maoist tactics of alliance with imperialism against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries cooperating with it are designed to exploit the antagonisms between socialism and imperialism in the interests of Maoism and are therefore directed against the interests of the world revolution. And since the imperialists long to defeat the world revolution, it is natural that they should accept Maoism and extol its policy. Just as naturally, Marxist-Leninists regard exposure of Maoist theory and practice and struggle against them as their internationalist duty towards both the world revolutionary movement and the Chinese people.

The principles of proletarian internationalism, on which relations between Communist Parties are based, make up a harmonious and indivisible whole. Hence they can fully play their role in the struggle of the international working class against international imperialism provided all Marxist-Leninist Parties see to it that this harmony and indivisibility are maintained. To absolutize some principles and pose them against others is contrary to the spirit and substance of proletarian internationalism and leads to its replacement by some variety of petty-bourgeois nationalism, which, as Lenin said, 'proclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations and nothing more,' preserving 'national self-interest intact' (Vol. 31, p. 148).

The dialectics of the national and international in the Communist movement consists in the fact that international unity is based on autonomy of the Parties and that autonomy is based on the Parties' international unity and subordinated to its interests. Infringement of this dialectical connection may express itself in making an absolute of Party autonomy, that is, in recognizing only the national interests, tasks and responsibilities of the Party concerned while denying its internationalist obligations and responsibilities and the need of self-discipline.

Understandably enough, absolutization of autonomy goes hand in hand with indifference to the activity and situation of other Parties, with reluctance to help them or take account of their experiences, with denial of their own right and duty to offer comradely remarks on the activity of this or that Party if necessary, for such remarks are regarded as 'interference.' It will be seen that this interpretation of Communist Party autonomy and equality—an interpretation running counter to Lenin's—leads straight to nationalist isolationism. Should it win the upper hand, the world movement would become a mere conglomeration of parties, each of them operating within its narrow national bounds and independently of the others, which would be tantamount to liquidating the world Communist movement, that is, to do precisely what imperialism wishes.

The Right-wing revisionist group operating in our country's 'Leftist' movement and representing its petty-bourgeois nationalist conception of Party independence and autonomy as internationalism obstinately ignores this oft-repeated axiom. This group echoes the bourgeoisie's well-known calumnies against our Party. It is opposed to the internationalist line of the 1969 Meeting and is sinking deeper and deeper into the morass of anti-Sovietism. Our Party combats it firmly and has already achieved tangible results.

We believe that our country's experience, too, shows proletarian internationalism to be unthinkable without fighting against Right and 'Left' revisionism. The more consistent and effective this fight, the narrower becomes the basis of nationalism, the stronger proletarian internationalism and the greater the gains of the world revolutionary movement.

The foundations of Party strength

Milos Jakes

Chairman, Central Control and
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LENINIST PRINCIPLES AND STANDARDS IN WORK OF CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Led by their Communist Party, the Czechoslovak people are again scoring outstanding successes in the political and economic spheres and in raising prosperity standards. These have been made possible by the Party re-establishing, after the grave crisis of 1968-1969, its role of leader and organizer of the people's constructive labor effort. Looking back at those difficult days, and analyzing the reconstruction process, one cannot but reflect on the permanent validity and value of Lenin's doctrine of the Party, its organization and activity. Our Party concentrated on what was decisive in this process, namely, the re-establishment and development of Leninist principles and standards in all Party committees and organizations. In doing so, the Party was mindful of the lessons of its own history and of the international experience of the Communist movement. Both point to the absolutely clear conclusion that successes and failures, victories and reverses, are always closely linked with observance or violation of these Leninist principles and standards.

Our Party was born and developed in battle for these principles, in clashes with opportunism and reformism. In its first eight years, 1921-1929, the Party overcame the survivals of Social-Democrat views. This was a period of Bolshevization, the formative years of a genuine revolutionary party. The Fifth Party Congress (1929), expelled the Right opportunists, revisionists and liquidators, and the new leadership headed by Klement Gottwald, set the Party on a consistent revolutionary course. And though its membership declined temporarily, its mass influence increased considerably: a clear demonstration of the Leninist proposition that the Party's strength lies not only in the size, but above all in the maturity, devotion, militancy and unity of its membership. And this was further confirmed in practice: in 1929-1933 the Party led the great strikes that had reverberations throughout Central Europe. Its growing influence was measurable also in the 850,000 votes it polled in the 1935 elections, emerging as the country's second biggest party. Unity, discipline and a high degree of activity enabled the Party to head the fight against the fascist invader in 1939-1945 and, undaunted by Nazi terror, successfully to direct the struggle right up to Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army.

Every day of revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie taught the Czechoslovak Communists that the better the ruling classes organized and prepared for battle, the higher must be the organization of the proletariat, especially its vanguard, the revolutionary party, in the fight for power. That was the only way to victory. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie can effectively use all the means at its disposal only if the Communist Party fails to unite the workers, peasants, all working people and lead them to victory. But to lead them to victory the Party must itself be well organized. Realities were thus leading the Communists to a closer understanding of Lenin's ideas of Party organization and activity and of the universal applicability of the Leninist principles and standards of Party life.

The Party could fulfil its role of revolutionary vanguard precisely because it consistently applied the principle of democratic centralism, promoted inner-Party democracy, saw to it that decisions were worked out collectively, strengthened Party discipline and encouraged criticism and self-criticism.

The building of socialism poses qualitatively new problems. They are no less complex than the problems involved in the struggle for power, and the Leninist principles and standards apply in full measure.

Having taken power, the working class, laboring peasantry and intelligentsia must eliminate the exploiting classes and restructure industry, agriculture, education and culture along socialist lines. In the process the working class learns the art of management and, relying on the creative effort of the masses, builds the new society. The problems now facing it are political education and allocation of cadres, dissemination of economic knowledge, development of the theory of the socialist state by generalizing experience, etc. And all this against a background of continuing class struggle, which does not end with the capture of power but only assumes different forms.

All this makes big demands on the Party's political, organizational, ideological and educational work, on its leading role in society. It must assume responsibility for the country's development and for solution of the many problems of socialist construction. In short, it must be fully prepared for its leadership mission.

In the past decades the Czechoslovak working people have successfully coped with all the formidable problems of socialist construction because they were led by a Party of the Leninist type, theoretically well equipped, well organized, experienced in mass work, and with an international outlook.

Our enemies are well aware of that. That is why they level their attacks on the Party's leading role. What are their arguments?

They are at pains to prove that this Leninist principle is 'contrary to democracy.' And they want to impose their own understanding of democracy, the rivalry of political parties and trends for a share in the leadership of bourgeois society. Naturally, a party

that upholds the vital interests of the working class and, at the same time, of all the working people, has no place in their scheme of things. It would be naive to think that our ideological opponents are really concerned over whether or not the people of Czechoslovakia or some other socialist country are living in genuine democracy. Their only concern is to discredit the Communists, disarm the working class and prevent the building of socialism. Their so-called struggle for democracy is but a manifestation of the class struggle.

In attacking Leninism, the Right revisionists sometimes claim that it does not suit the specific conditions of one or another country, has no validity for parties operating in developed industrial societies. That 'theory' is effectively refuted by the experience of our Party, which waged the class struggle and organized the building of socialism in a developed industrial country with, moreover, many unique features. Far from hampering, application of the Leninist principles and standards actually helped the Party combine the general regularities of building socialism and the specific features of Czechoslovakia and flexibly and effectively react to changing circumstances. That holds good for all party levels, from the Central Committee to the local branch.

There were difficulties, of course, and shortcomings, but there is no challenging our achievements. In our 25 socialist years industrial output increased 7.6-fold. In fact Slovakia, once a backward area, now produces more than the whole of prewar bourgeois Czechoslovakia. There is no unemployment; every citizen has the constitutionally-guaranteed right to work. The workweek has been reduced from 48 to 42.5 hours. An outstanding characteristic of our society is the wide range of free services and facilities it provides for the population. Our public health services, for instance, hold a top place in the world in number of doctors and hospital beds per 1,000 population and in government allocations. All medical care and all medicines are free of charge. The humane nature of socialism in Czechoslovakia is evidenced also by our social maintenance system—social insurance, family grants etc.—which accounts for 25 per cent of total budget expenditure.

No capitalist country spends as much as Czechoslovakia on education, culture and the arts. The number of persons with higher education is now seven times the 1936-1937 figure.

Many more facts could be cited to show how socialism has given our working people genuine freedom, and much more that is inconceivable under capitalism.

Building socialism has not been easy. It has been a dynamic and complex process in the course of which the Party and working class had to master the art of political leadership and of directing all spheres of social life. Naturally, there were mistakes and miscalculations. Some of them were due to difficult, novel and complex tasks we had to grapple with, but some were due to subjective errors. They have been analyzed in Party documents, but the following has to be re-emphasized.

Our experience fully refutes the allegation of socialism's enemies that the mistakes were due to the Party's adherence to Leninist principles and standards. Bourgeois propaganda is deliberately distorting the truth, and with obvious purpose: to use Czechoslovakia to discredit these principles and standards. However, an analysis of the shortcomings in Czechoslovakia's political and economic development in the 60s will convince every unbiased person that these mistakes were due to deviations from Leninist principles and standards.

The voluntarism, which manifested itself primarily in overestimating the country's development level and the moral and political unity of society, and in setting unrealistic political and economic goals, was possible only because of the violation of the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership and inner-Party democracy. As was only to be expected, this weakened the Party's Marxist-Leninist unity, its link with the masses and its leading role in society. The result: wide scope, both in the Party and in society, for the Right opportunists, revisionists, also for imperialist subversion and for a counter-revolutionary offensive.

And once the Rights placed in question the Leninist principles and standards governing the life of the Party and the whole of society, the Party ceased to fulfil its leading role. This in turn adversely affected the normal functioning of the entire socialist system, generated a crisis and created the danger of a capitalist comeback.

That is why the Party Rules approved at the 14th Congress contain this clause: 'The lesson of the crisis developments in the Party and in society after the 13th Congress proves that any retreat from the Leninist organizational principles and infraction of the Rules weaken the unity and viability of the Party and its leading role in society and create the danger of liquidation of the gains of socialism.'

Contrary to what our critics maintain, we can say with full confidence: consistent observance of the Leninist principles and standards in the life of the Party and of society could have prevented the Right-wing action in Czechoslovakia.

Lenin's doctrine of the Party presupposes a close link with the masses and constant cultivation of socialist consciousness, coupled with constant struggle against hostile ideology. The Czechoslovak events have reaffirmed that compromise and retreat on the ideological front are inadmissible. The Party must not succumb to narrow practicalism, must not reduce ideological work merely to the propaganda of its policy or to abstract explanation of Marxism-Leninism. Ideological work has always been, and will always be, a major element of the class struggle. Our enemies exploit every relaxation of the Party's mass political and ideological work. Furthermore, every such relaxation inevitably leads to attempts, first to 'improve' or 'perfect' socialism, replace internationalism by nationalism and disseminate all manner of myths and, in the end, to

complete negation of socialism. The evolution of the men who engineered the so-called 'Prague Spring' provides ample proof of that.

We know from our own experience: the Party must correctly employ all the instruments of ideological influence in the interests of the working people. This applies primarily to the mass media, the press, radio, television, the cinema. They are an inseparable component of state power and of political education, and they must not be left without the control and leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party and the socialist state.

There is the evidence of history that in the period of socialist construction, with its many complex problems, we must constantly strengthen the Party's leading role and consistently adhere to the Leninist principles and standards. It is important to draw on the practical experience of other Communist parties, especially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with its long record of directing socialist construction.

Without restoring the Party's Marxist-Leninist character, its unity and leading role, we would not have been able to solve any of the problems we had to contend with immediately after the crisis. That is why the directive issued by the new Party leadership in May 1969 singled out as a priority task restoration of the Party's unity and of its leading role in the National Front. This meant rapidly overcoming petty-bourgeois spontaneity and revisionist views on the role of the Party and the principles that make it a genuine militant revolutionary organization. To do that we had to purge the Party of those who had departed from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and were committed to anti-Party policies, and whose conduct and activity were contrary to proletarian internationalism. That purge was carried out in the exchange of Party cards, when we parted company with supporters of Right opportunism and revisionism and also with part of the passive membership.

Restoration of the Party's Marxist-Leninist character was greatly helped by Central Committee policy statements, notably 'Lessons of the Crisis Developments in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress,' and 'Resolution on Pressing Questions of Party Unity.' Both were approved by the Central Committee in December 1970 and by the 14th Party Congress in 1971, and fully supported by the overwhelming majority of Party members. These two documents played an outstanding part in bringing to the Party and society a clear understanding of the crisis and its implications and were crucial in re-establishing the Party's unity and viability.

The 14th Party Congress reaffirmed anew the need to strengthen the Party on the basis of the Leninist principles and standards and enhance its leading role.

The Party never relaxes its effort to promote inner-Party democracy, conscious discipline, principled criticism and self-criticism and the activity of all members and candidate members. Systematic improvement of the composition of Party cadres and mem-

bership is still another factor in heightening the Party's leading role. The Central Committee has adopted a special decision on this question. Constant concern for improving Party membership has resulted in over 110,000 new members, most of them young workers, joining since the 14th Congress. This is cogent evidence that the Party has fully regained both its authority and revolutionary character.

This year's annual branch meetings and district and regional conferences have shown that the measures taken by the central leadership have the undivided support of the membership and the people generally and are producing good results. This has made it possible to achieve the goals set by the 14th Congress.

Czechoslovak Communists are deeply convinced that they are on the correct road, for they have made Leninism their compass. It is 50 years since Lenin departed from us, but we Communists continue to be guided by the principles of Party organization he enunciated, and by the standards he set for a Communist's conduct in his work and revolutionary struggle.

Fight for Left and democratic unity in Cyprus

Georgos Savvides
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Commission of AKEL

The WMR discussion on Left and democratic unity bears on some of the most urgent problems claiming the attention of Communists in various countries. The theses 'Marching Together' sum up the vast experience of working-class parties in solving these problems and analyze the valuable ideological heritage of our movement. Their contents are closely bound up with the conclusions of the 1969 Meeting in Moscow.

In the developing countries of Asia and Africa, general democratic unity is the decisive factor in the fight against neo-colonialism and internal reaction, for genuine national independence and social progress. This fight has distinctive features due to the nature of Afro-Asian society: its social heterogeneity, the weakness of the working class and the existence of major intermediate social forces – the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. The unification of patriotic elements goes on in the complex atmosphere of the

This is a further contribution to the discussion of problems of the Communist parties' fight for a broad democratic alliance. See the theses published in WMR, February 1973, and the articles of Alvaro Delgado (March), Urban Karlsson (April), Claude Poperen (June), S. Wickremasinghe (July), C. R. Rao (August), Tomas Sinuraja (September) and Konstantin Zarodov (October).

post-liberation period, amid continuing imperialist intrigues. The Republic of Cyprus is a case in point.

A broad Left bloc supported by the workers, peasants, artisans, small traders, democratic youth, the women's movement and numerous local clubs* came into being years ago. Trade unions and other affiliated organizations cooperate on a democratic basis, fully retaining their autonomy. The Marxist-Leninist Progressive Party of Working people (AKEL) is the leading force of this bloc and the proletariat is its core. Communists have invariably enjoyed great prestige among bloc members and the masses. As far back as 1946, the Left alliance led by Communists won more votes in municipal elections than Rightist groups. At the latest general election (1970), AKEL alone obtained 40.7 per cent of the vote against 25 per cent cast for the biggest bourgeois party.

The success of the Left bloc is due primarily to the Communists' sustained struggle for national independence and the people's fundamental interests. In 1941 the Communists founded AKEL, successor to the Communist Party of Cyprus (founded in 1926). In the incredibly difficult conditions of colonial rule, our Party worked steadfastly for the formation of strong working-class organizations. Left-wing unions have always been the backbone of the popular movement. The All-Cyprus Labor Federation comprises 50 per cent of the organized wage and salary earners. The working class plays a decisive role in upholding the ideals of democracy and social progress, promoting national sovereignty and building up a durable alliance of progressive forces.

There is also a Right-wing trade union center, the Confederation of Cypriot Workers, which unites 28 per cent of the wage and salary earners and is under bourgeois influence. Lastly, there are unions of Turkish workers organized on a communal basis under the pressure of chauvinist members of the Turkish community. These elements are out to perpetuate the division between Greek and Turkish workers.

It is in these conditions that AKEL and progressive labor organizations are doing their utmost for a united working-class movement. We already have some experience of united action in defense of the proletariat's economic interests. Joint action drives home the advantages of unity to all union members. Left unions today advocate a merger of the country's main labor federations. The rank-and-file of other unions are coming to realize that alliance with progressive labor organizations is in their interest, for these organizations have done much to improve working conditions in industry and achieve collective bargaining, social insurance and annual paid holidays.

Cooperation between the working class and working peasantry has always been one of our Party's key concerns. As early as the 40s, with active assistance from workers, we set up rural clubs for poor and middle peasants and agricultural workers. These clubs

*Used as meeting places by progressive organizations. Right-wing organizations run similar clubs.

served as the basis for a Left-wing peasant organization which afterwards was succeeded by the Union of Cypriot Peasants (UCP), founded in 1959.

However, certain sectarian mistakes by the Left in rural policy alienated part of the peasantry. And while these mistakes were rectified in the 50s, the Rightists, operating through the General Peasant Union, were able to harden the division in the peasant movement.

Our Party and the UCP are aware that the overwhelming majority of peasants, who still make up 35 per cent of the population, have many interests in common. For over 30 years we have been fighting for the rural working people's legitimate demands: giving the land to those who till it, fixing fair prices for farm produce, controlling the prices of farm machinery and fertilizers, introducing a government credit system and providing social insurance for the peasants. Communists attach special importance to irrigation, telephone communication, electrification and the construction of schools, hospitals and roads in rural areas.

The UCP has lately stepped up its efforts to coordinate the action of both Left- and Right-wing peasant organizations with a view to solving the problems, which are of equal concern to all farmers, whether they grow grain, grapes, olives or livestock. Progressive peasant organizations fully supported the idea of setting up various-type cooperatives. These cooperatives, with their present membership of over 150,000, have been instrumental in limiting exploitation by the trader and money-lender. The cooperatives run their own government supported bank. The cooperative movement has an explicitly anti-capitalist trend and is becoming a major factor in uniting the workers and peasants. This process is furthered by the activity of Left MPs, who uphold the interests of rural working people, with special attention to the poor in backward agrarian regions. All this strengthens the basis of the Left bloc – the worker-peasant alliance.

Cooperation of the Left with the urban petty bourgeoisie – artisans and small traders – is a long-standing tradition of the progressive movement in Cyprus. AKEL has always backed the legitimate demands of the progressive section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and sought alliance with it.* Petty-bourgeois strata now, too, are active in the struggle against imperialism.

Political life in Cyprus over the past 30 years has been marked by a polarization of class forces. AKEL's persistent efforts towards establishing a broad patriotic front irrespective of ideological or political divergences were rejected by the national bourgeoisie for years. Differences in the national camp intensified when, between 1955 and 1959, Rightist leaders headed by General Grivas took a markedly anti-Communist stand, declared AKEL and the Left movement 'enemies' of the liberation struggle, forbade their organizations to cooperate with them in any form and even organized

*An alliance of the Left and petty-bourgeois progressives in the 40s and 50s made for substantial gains in municipal elections.

terrorist acts against progressive leaders. This policy, which caused a wide split in the national camp, greatly prejudiced the fight against imperialism and for democracy.

However, there were periods in which the Left bloc's sustained attempts to unite the patriotic forces were crowned with success. In the 1950 plebiscite on self-determination, progressives and the national bourgeoisie took a common stand. In spite of the state of emergency imposed by the British in the mid-50s, Left- and Right-wing mayors came out jointly against the summary executions and other repressive measures by the colonial authorities.

After the declaration of independence (1960) AKEL continued to seek cooperation with the national bourgeoisie to solve the country's general political and economic problems. Spokesmen of the Left and bourgeois parties in parliament reached agreement on a five-year development program.* Following the exposure of the imperialist conspiracy against Cyprus aimed at partitioning the country and making it an appendage of the aggressive NATO bloc (1963-1964), the people rose up in defense of the country's independence and territorial integrity. This created a favorable situation for cooperation between the Left bloc and the national bourgeoisie. It was formalized in the Coordinating Committee of National Struggle composed of political, trade union and other mass organizations.

In that hour of trial, the firm support offered to the Cyprus Republic by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had a strong political impact. It made for the growth of anti-imperialist sentiment and contributed to national unity.

Now that home and foreign reactionaries have become much more active in Cyprus, the Left and the patriotic forces of the national bourgeoisie are as interested as before in a policy of safeguarding the country's independence and territorial integrity and maintaining peace on the island. They support the government under President Makarios, which wants the Cyprus question to be settled by peaceful, democratic means, through negotiation between the Greek and Turkish communities under the aegis of the UN. This is advocated by AKEL and the vast majority of the population.

An ardent champion of national unity, Makarios has rallied together all patriots. In the 1968 presidential elections he was backed by the Left forces, petty-bourgeois progressives and the national bourgeoisie, with the result that he polled 96 per cent of the vote, while the candidate of the extreme Right managed a meagre four per cent. In the latest election campaign (1973) the bloc of chauvinist ultras, which rejects all cooperation with democrats, did not venture to put forward its candidate. Makarios was elected President by acclamation, at a meeting which brought together 200,000 people.

The Left bloc and the national bourgeoisie are working for a normal situation and democratic order. They resist the ventures of

*See 'The Parliamentary Activity of AKEL,' WMR, December, 1971.

chauvinist groups incited from without, first of all the terroristic activities of General Grivas, who wants to overthrow the Makarios government and unleash a civil war. Joint action by patriotic forces has shown the people that national chauvinist slogans are merely a cover for attempts to undermine the independence of Cyprus, divide the progressives and bring about a neo-colonial regime. AKEL and the mass organizations linked with it emphatically condemned the formation of armed units of ultras under Grivas to overthrow the Makarios government and help the imperialists to achieve their plans. The Left bloc fully supports the government campaign against lawlessness, for democratic law and order.

Progressive organizations are trying to draw all patriots into the effort to bring about friendly relations between Greeks and Turks, who have lived together and cooperated in peace for centuries. The country is faced with the imperative need to end communal division for all time, since this division is at the root of the chronic internal crisis which has affected the people for more than a decade. The Left bloc persistently combats chauvinism in both communities and fights for unity of the working people irrespective of national origin. When, in 1963, extremist elements in the Turkish community staged a rebellion, AKEL and progressive organizations did much to stop the bloodshed and prevail on both the Greek and the Turkish sides to start talks and settle their differences by peaceful means, guided by a sense of responsibility for the destiny of independent Cyprus. Internationalist education of the working people and the struggle to defeat national prejudice, chauvinism and racism remain important activities of the Left.

Communal strife is the principal 'achievement' of British colonial policy. Imperialism continues to use it for its own ends. The armed clashes between Greeks and Turks in 1963, 1964 and 1967 were largely a result of NATO activities designed to undermine the republic and turn it into an instrument of NATO's aggressive plans.

Internal reaction is backed by the ruling circles of Greece and Turkey, who are closely linked with the chauvinist Right wing of both communities.

In its attempts to convert Cyprus into a NATO nuclear base and suppress the broad democratic movement, imperialism banks on overthrowing President Makarios. NATO Secretary General Luns explicitly blamed Makarios for the lack of stability in our region and praised the three bishops who insisted on the President's resignation.

Despite the resistance of extreme reactionaries, our Party and mass organizations of the Left seek cooperation with parties and organizations of the Right in the interests of unity against imperialism. A new indication of the patriots' growing desire for unity was the joint action taken in August 1973 by the All-Cyprus Labor Federation and the Labor Confederation of Cyprus, which organized a two-hour work stoppage in support of the Makarios government.

The appeal for resistance to reactionary plots won the full approval of the UCP and the masses. Pro-imperialist reaction was dealt a telling blow by the progressive and democratic forces uniting in support of the government.

The experience of our fight for Left and democratic unity shows that the working class allied with other working people is the leading force of the movement for a broad popular bloc. The working people's organizations – the trade unions and the organizations of peasants and artisans – constitute a solid foundation for this bloc.

United action with the national bourgeoisie encounters serious difficulties aggravated by the class struggle and anti-Communist obstruction. Nevertheless, there are many opportunities for cooperation on the basis of specific economic, political and, above all, general national interests.

The existence of a Marxist-Leninist party is decisive for the steady expansion and closer unity of the popular movement. This is a further indication of the correctness of Lenin's theory of the party's leading role. The party can become the leading political force in developing countries provided it faithfully upholds the working people's interests, follows a consistent anti-imperialist policy and fights for a patriotic alliance. The Cypriot Communists' policy of uniting these forces in support of democratic and anti-imperialist demands has earned the Party greater prestige and influence among the masses. Today AKEL, the party of the working class, is marching in the van of a nationwide movement championing the ideals of national independence, democracy and social progress.



The struggle for peace and the revolutionary process

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'Our foreign policy grew out of the socialist revolution. It was, and remains one of the instruments serving the revolutionary transformation of society in our country. . . . It is permeated with the spirit of solidarity with the revolutionary, progressive forces throughout the world and is an active factor in the class struggle on the international arena.' These words are taken from a new book by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, 'The Foreign Policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government,'* which includes his articles and speeches from 1964 to 1973, some in their entirety and others in part.

This 10-year period has been full of events of great historical importance; it is marked by rapid progress in international affairs, and substantial changes in the alignment and relation of forces on the world arena in favor of socialism. The book gives a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present epoch, of its motive forces and trends. Throughout the book is dominated by the idea of the organic unity between the national and international tasks of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, the inseparable connection between the successes of the socialist community and the development of the world revolutionary process.

The period covered by the book was marked by dynamic and many-faceted action by the CPSU and Soviet Government on the world scene, with the objective of improving international relations and eliminating the threat of a new world war. Outstanding in this respect is the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. It develops the traditions of Leninist foreign policy and has won the enthusiastic approval of all peace-loving forces. In analyzing the progress in implementing the Peace Program, Comrade Brezhnev reveals the causes and substance of the new turn in international affairs, defining it as the commencement of a fundamental realignment of international relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, (There was high praise for the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and the personal contribution made by L. I. Brezhnev to its realization, at the meeting of leaders

*L. I. Brezhnev, *O vneshnei politike KPSS i sovetskogo gosudarstva*. Politizdat, 1973, pp. 599.

of Communist and Workers' Parties in the Crimea.)

Bourgeois propaganda continues its attempts to distort the real essence of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. In formulating the revolutionary conception of peaceful coexistence, Comrade Brezhnev stresses that the class struggle of the two systems—the capitalist and socialist—in the sphere of economy, politics and ideology will continue, for the world outlook and class aims of socialism and capitalism are antagonistic and irreconcilable.

In the postwar decades the revolutionary process has become worldwide. The general crisis of capitalism continues to grow deeper, and assumes both the old, and also new forms. 'Imperialism is unable to regain its lost historical initiative, to reverse the development of society,' Brezhnev points out. 'The main path of the development of mankind is determined by the socialist world system, the international working class, and all revolutionary forces.' However, the worldwide revolutionary struggle does not follow a straight line, consisting only of victories. At different stages and in different sectors of the struggle, difficulties arise and at times victories are replaced by temporary setbacks. Warning against simplification, against underestimating the enemy's strength and the difficulties of the forthcoming struggle, Brezhnev emphasizes the need for a sober analysis of the situation, of the objective and subjective causes of difficulties and failures.

To a large degree the special features of modern capitalism are traceable to its striving to adapt itself to the new world situation. For this reason there is a ceaseless search for ways to perfect the system of domination and exploitation, the tactic of maneuvering and partial 'preventive' reforms, the intensive elaboration and propagation of ideological myths to mask the anti-popular, reactionary essence of bourgeois society. All these changes, naturally, cannot save capitalist society which has outlived its day, but must be taken into account in the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary forces.

The advances of the main sectors of the world revolutionary process—world socialism, the international working class, the national-liberation movement—make for successful struggle against imperialism. A special responsibility for the fate of mankind devolves on the socialist countries. 'The development and strengthening of the socialist world system,' says the book, 'is the most valuable contribution that the peoples of the socialist countries can make to the general revolutionary cause of Communists and the anti-imperialist struggle of the mass of the people throughout the world.' The book stresses the colossal scale and complexity of building a fundamentally new society and the socialist community. Success in this sphere depends decisively on the ability of the ruling Communist Parties to understand the objective demands of society at any given time, to find the best solutions to urgent problems, and correctly combine the national and international interests of the working people.

The achievements of the socialist countries in recent years, the expansion of their economic and political cooperation, and their growing influence on international affairs are vividly portrayed in the book. 'Concern for the growth of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries,' said Comrade Brezhnev in his speech at Alma-Ata on August 15, 1973, 'is an organic, ever present element in the activity of our Party. The Crimean meeting once more confirmed that this is also the approach of the fraternal Parties.'

The book devotes a great deal of attention to the struggles of the proletariat in the citadels of capitalism. Characterizing the growing socio-political crisis there, Brezhnev pays tribute to the revolutionary activities of the working class which, contrary to the fabrications of bourgeois theoreticians about its growing bourgeois outlook, has decisively proved that it remains, as always, the chief and most powerful fighter against the power of monopoly, the centripetal force for all those opposing monopoly.

Impressive successes have been made by the national liberation movement in recent years, and it is entering a qualitatively new stage. The book notes that 'emerging ever more distinctly is the fact that the struggle is no longer only for national liberation, but also – and this is now the main thing – for social liberation.' A number of states have taken the non-capitalist path, have chosen the socialist orientation. The growing economic, political and military aid rendered by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community to the national-liberation movement, is yielding, and will continue to yield, new gains.

The decisive condition for the successful development of the world revolutionary process is the further strengthening of the ranks and the growth of the influence of the Communist movement, which is the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle and the most powerful political force of modern times. And the Communists' source of success is their unity and loyalty to proletarian internationalism. 'The strength of every Communist Party, the effectiveness of the action of every national detachment of Communists is determined not only by the influence it wields in its own country, but by its ability to act in unison with other detachments of the Communist movement.' The existence of scores of Communist parties working under different conditions demands a reliable mechanism of cooperation, exchange of views and experience, and elimination of possible differences. The CPSU has made the maximum effort to create and perfect such a mechanism. It made an outstanding contribution to the preparation for, and the successful holding of, the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in 1969, which played a most important role in consolidating the Communist movement and the further unfolding of its revolutionary transforming activities.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book stresses the importance of Marxism-Leninism as a reliable foundation for the activity of Communist Parties. The power and vitality of Marxist-Leninist theory stems from its deep penetration into the laws of historical development.

It has nothing in common with all that is stereotyped or with fossilized dogmas, and is constantly enriched by revolutionary practice. Any departure from Marxism-Leninism is inevitably a betrayal of the great aims of the struggle for socialism and communism. The truth of this can be seen in the anti-Leninist, great-power chauvinist, anti-Soviet line of the Peking leaders. Decisive struggle against the Maoist ideology and foreign policy, against Right and 'Left' revisionism, and against nationalism, is the common task of all the fraternal Communist parties. The CPSU sees its most important task in defending and creatively developing Marxism-Leninism.

The appearance of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book is an important event. It will assist Communists, the working people of the Soviet Union and other countries, to understand more profoundly the times we live in, and the gigantic struggle taking place between the two social systems, the struggle between the forces of reaction and progress. It enables people to become better acquainted with the international activities of the CPSU and the Soviet Government and their struggle for the triumph of the ideas of socialism and communism throughout the world.

USSR--GDR: fruit of scientific cooperation

The first number of the *Yearbook of International Politics and Economics** has been published in Berlin. This is a new annual dealing with present-day international relations and focal economic and political problems. A joint enterprise of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of International Relations of the Academy of State and Law of the GDR, it is evidence of the fruitful collaboration between researchers of the two fraternal countries. Its main purpose is, by using generalized and varied factual material, to throw light on the most important problems and produce an annual Marxist-Leninist analysis of the fundamental aspects of world development.

By its entire content, methodology and ideological orientation, the new publication is a counterweight to the many American and West European bourgeois yearbooks of a politico-economic nature which, under the guise of 'objective information,' present a tendentious view of world events. In the articles of the new Yearbook the basic problems are examined comprehensively from the stand-

* *Jahrbuch der internationalen Politik und Wirtschaft*, Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Berlin 1973.

point of all the disciplines treating of the various aspects of international relations, world politics and economics.

The annual is patterned to include theoretical articles on topical problems, and analytical reviews of international relations in different regions. It analyzes the problems of developed socialism, and uses concrete data to show how world development is influenced by the peace-loving policy of the socialist countries, designed to further international détente and overcome the opposition of the reactionary forces clinging to the remnants of the 'cold war.'

The book includes materials which disclose the influence of the world revolutionary process on the modern system of international relations. Considerable attention is devoted to the processes in the world economic system of imperialism, the development of the monetary crisis, problems of the Common Market and also the economics of the developing countries. There is an analysis of imperialism's global political strategy and the activities of the aggressive military-political blocs. A number of articles treat of the struggle against new forms of colonialism and of the Middle East crisis.

One of the themes dealt with in the Yearbook is the activity of the UN and its specialized agencies and other international organizations. Articles containing assessments of the external and domestic policies of different countries comprise a special section. Alongside information on the contemporary history of socialist states, the chief imperialist powers and the larger developing countries, there are also materials about countries where recent developments produced international repercussions.

Although this first number deals mainly with the events of 1972, some materials transcend this chronological limit, such as the articles by N. Inozemtsev on the realization of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU; by S. Skachkov on economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the USSR and the socialist and developing countries; by W. Haenisch and S. Quilitzch on the struggle for the unity of the socialist community, and many others. All these articles contain a great deal of reference material with important facts on the subjects dealt with.

The Yearbook is intended for specialists and also a wide circle of readers interested in international affairs. It could be an important aid for researchers and teachers of social sciences, journalists, and lecturers on international affairs in many European countries.

There can be no doubt that this new international publication will make a substantial contribution to the international battle of ideas, and will assist in the consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist outlook on basic economic and political problems of the modern era.

O. B.



Labor migration in figures

A WMR Survey*

Communists devote much attention to problems of international labour migration and the condition and struggles of foreign workers. An indication of this was the international forum on 'Foreign Workers in Western Europe' sponsored by WMR early this year.** The statistical data published below throw additional light on labor migration processes in capitalist Europe.

The International Labor Office estimates the number of migrant workers (including their families and illegal migration) at 11 million and sets the annual migration rate in Western Europe between 600,000 and 1,000,000.***

In the past decade, migration has been particularly intensive in the area of Western European imperialist integration.

The share of foreign wage labor in Common Market countries (with the exception of Italy and Ireland, which are suppliers of manpower) is about 10 per cent of the work force. In the 1962-1968 period, one in every three new industrial jobs in France was held by a foreigner.

Immigrants in EEC countries

	Population (including immigrants) '000	IMMIGRANTS		Total workforce '000	IMMIGRANTS	
		Number '000	Per cent		Number '000	Per cent
France (1972)	51,485	3,673	7.1	16,500	1,600	9.7
FRG (1972)	62,100	3,500	5.6	22,900	2,352	10.3
Britain (1970)	55,900	3,068	5.5	22,700	1,786	7.9
Belgium (1972)	9,734	716	7.3	3,013	220	7.3
Netherlands (1972)	13,183	465	3.5	3,840	100	2.6
Italy (1971)	54,025	145	0.3	13,020	44	0.3
Denmark (1971)	4,950	75	1.5	1,930	36	1.9
Luxembourg (1971)	346	73	21.1	120	37	31.2
Ireland (1972)	2,980	10	0.4	740	2	0.3
All Common Market countries	254,723	11,725	4.6	84,763	6,177	7.3

Source: *Liaisons sociales*, No. 27/73, March 16, 1973. Supplement au numero 6537, Paris.

*Based on UN data, official statistics of Common Market countries, the press of West European Communist and Workers' parties, WMR, the monthly *Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya* and other sources.

**See WMR, July 1973, p. 53.

***'Migrant Workers,' International Labor Office, Geneva, 1973, p. 6.

It is interesting to note that migrants go to both big countries and highly developed small countries like Switzerland, where there were about 1,000,000 foreigners in 1971. 'Alien' workers make up 29.6 per cent of the country's total work force.

Common Market monopolies prefer workers from such countries as Spain, Turkey, Greece or Portugal. The authorization of unimpeded movement of manpower within the EEC, far from limiting this trend, intensified it. This is because Italian immigrants, as citizens of a member country of the community, are now entitled to all social security in force in the recipient country. Characteristically, the proportion of immigrants from the EEC area dropped in the FRG from 43.2 per cent in 1954 to 24 per cent in 1972.

National composition of immigrants in FRG

Country of origin	Number of immigrants '000	Per cent of total
Turkey	528.2	22.4
Yugoslavia	466.1	19.9
Italy	409.7	17.5
Greece	268.1	11.4
Spain	179.5	7.7
Portugal	69.0	2.9
Morocco	15.3	0.7
Tunisia	11.2	0.5

Source: Sozialpolitische Umschau, No. 24, Bonn, February 16, 1973.

National composition of immigrants in France

Country of origin	1962 census	1972 (estimate)
Africa		
Algeria	350,484	754,462
Morocco	33,320	194,296
Tunisia	26,569	106,846
Other Africans	15,200	65,000
EEC		
Italy	628,956	588,739
FRG	46,606	41,649
Belgium	79,069	65,427
Netherlands	10,962	9,553
Luxembourg	5,203	3,403
Other European countries		
Portugal	50,010	694,550
Spain	441,658	630,287
Yugoslavia	21,314	65,218
Switzerland	36,111	29,525
Britain	20,514	21,172
All foreigners	2,169,665	3,673,452
Total population	46,458,960	51,485,000

Source: Liaisons sociales, No. 27/73, March 16, 1973. Supplement ou numero 6537, Paris.

Spain in the 60s registered the greatest exodus of emigrants in its history – over 900,000 left the country over the decade (against 715,000 between 1901 and 1960).

Portuguese emigrants in the 60s exceeded one million, which was more than the natural population growth over the decade.

Emigration from Portugal

	1966	1970
Total	106,400	178,632
Western Europe, of which	73,134	157,406
France	59,580	135,667
FRG	9,686	19,775
North America	20,318	16,616
South America	7,641	4,723
Other regions	5,307	1,320

Source: OECD Economic Surveys: Portugal, September 1971, p. 17.

In Scandinavian countries, most migrants are Scandinavians. Sweden employs 260,000 Finns, Norwegians and Danes against 77,000 Yugoslavs, West Germans and Greeks (early 1972). Norway in 1971 had 7,700 immigrant workers from other Scandinavian countries and 4,300 British, Americans and Pakistanis.

Most foreign workers are assigned unskilled jobs. According to a poll by the French Demographic Research Institute, 76 per cent of the polled believe that foreigners take jobs rejected by Frenchmen. Data released by the Ministry for Social Affairs reveal that there are 635,000 unskilled foreign workers and over 500,000 specialized, or low-skill, workers in France. The bulk of immigrant labor is employed in the metalworking, building, textile and service industries. A spokesman of the French Industrial Construction Association said that if foreign workers left the country construction would have to be halted. In some public works, foreigners make up 80 per cent of the employees.

Early in 1972, as much as 37 per cent of all foreign workers, or 788,000, held jobs in the iron and steel industry, 19 per cent in the service industry and 16 per cent in construction.

Imported 'alien' labor is becoming a major demographic factor in immigration countries. *L'Express*, the French weekly, reported that the birth rate in France has been declining for seven years running and that at least half of the continued population growth is due to the influx of foreigners. To this could be added that 100,000 children are born to immigrants in France every year.

Most of those who arrive in the foreign labor market are young, able-bodied people. According to the French population census of 1968, 24 per cent of the immigrants were below 17 years of age, 66 per cent were in the 17-65 age group (including 10 per cent between 17 and 35) and only 10 per cent had turned 65. Men made up 65 per cent. In the FRG, 90 per cent of foreign workers are below 45 years of age and 58 per cent of them are men.

Immigrant workers are discriminated against in pay, working

hours and housing.* In Switzerland a migrant's working week averages 85 hours although the legal working day is eight hours. In France 57.3 per cent of migrant workers have to work over 45 hours a week, as compared with less than 30 per cent of Frenchmen.

Migration has assumed the character of 'rotation,' which means constant change and renovation. By rapidly replacing workers, employers prevent their physical 'wear and tear,' secure high productivity and intensive labor and improve the workers' age and professional composition. The FRG in 1970 'imported' 135,000 foreigners aged 16 to 21, while 55,200 left the country (rotation coefficient, 40.1 per cent): in the 21-35 years age bracket 525,500 foreigners arrived and 237,700 left (rotation coefficient, 45.2 per cent).**

Recent years have seen some sharp competition for cheap 'live merchandise' develop between West European monopolies. The FRG and Switzerland invite workers from French border areas while France brings workers in from other countries. Many Spaniards are compelled to emigrate and yet Spain gives jobs to tens of thousands of Portuguese, Moroccans and Tunisians.

Foreign workers are joining ever more actively in class battles, taking part in demonstrations and other mass actions in spite of repression and the constant threat of deportation. They are coming to regard themselves as participants in the West European labor movement. Effective proletarian solidarity between various ethnic groups of immigrants and between national and foreign labor is growing, as the following examples show.

Due to the staunchness and solidarity of German and Turkish workers, last spring's strike at the Mannesmann iron and steel plant in Duisburg-Hukingen, FRG, which lasted almost 10 days, was crowned with complete success. The workers won an increase in wage rates, payment of delayed bonuses, safeguards against dismissal and other demands. In August 1973 the employees of the Pierburg KG plant in Neusse called a strike which involved 3,000 migrant and 500 German workers. Their five-day struggles for higher wages forced the management to make concessions.

Foreign workers are active in the class struggle in France as well. The 'new slaves' have broken their chains, wrote *l'Express*, commenting on last spring's events at Renault's, where foreigners make up a substantial proportion of the personnel. For three weeks over 300 Arabs, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese and workers of other nationalities were on strike in protest against arbitrary sackings, with the result that the giant presses at the Billancourt automobile plant came to a standstill. Faced with the threat of a complete suspension of production, the management had to make partial concessions. In Flins, workers at Renault's, where most of the low-skilled jobs are held by immigrants, took action against speed-up. The strike extended to related enterprises in other French towns. A three-hour solidarity strike was called in Paris.

*For details see WMR, July 1973.

***Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodniye Otnoshenia*, August 1973, p. 128.

On July 22, 1973, over 10,000 Pakistanis and immigrants from Bangladesh, Kashmir and West India joined in a mass demonstration in London along with progressive British workers. They handed the government a petition in defense of the rights of non-White immigrants. A nine-week strike by 500 Black workers at the Loughborough knitwear factory last winter ended in victory. They had demanded an end to job discrimination, training facilities for higher-paid jobs and equal job opportunity.

The Communist Parties and trade union centers of France, Italy and other West European countries are fighting to improve the condition of foreign workers.

In November 1972 the French CGT held its third conference on the subject. The conference drew delegations from Britain, the FRG, Lebanon, Italy, Algeria and Yugoslavia and from the workers' commissions of Spain. It adopted a Charter of Foreign Working People's Demands. CGT General Secretary Georges Seguy, addressing the conference, declared for a European trade union dialogue on immigrant workers' problems. The conference suggested that member unions of the ICFTU and CGT hold bilateral and multilateral meetings on migration and the movement of labor power within the EEC.

In April 1973, a joint meeting of the CGT and CDTF reaffirmed their resolve to go on campaigning for equal rights for immigrants, the abolition of part-time and limited employment contracts and the maintenance and extension of union fights. At meetings of the governmental foreign labor commission, CGT and CDTF delegates jointly uphold immigrant workers' demands regarding social security, family grants, housing, illiteracy, and so on.

Last June, workers at Michelin's in Clermont-Ferrand held a solidarity meeting which was attended by local French and immigrant workers and delegations from other French towns. There were also delegates from Spanish workers' commissions and a delegation of 50 Italian trade unionists from Michelin plants in Turin, Cuneo, Alessandria and Trento. The meeting demanded immediate talks in both countries on guaranteed jobs, wages, forms of remuneration, working conditions, a shorter working day, raising qualifications, respect for and extension of union rights and freedoms, including the right to strike. The workers demanded that the company's investment plans be revealed to the unions.

The sustained fight which Communist parties and trade unions are carrying on for the right of migrant workers promotes international working-class unity.

'We wish you new advances in struggle for peace and socialism'

We continue publication, begun in our November issue, of messages to the journal on its 15th anniversary.

Many messages have come from fraternal Parties in Latin America.

'The journal has become a necessary tribune for exchanging experience by the people's vanguard . . .' writes *Volodia Teitelboim*, member, Political Commission, CC, Communist Party of Chile.

'By its contribution it is enriching the ideological treasury of the Communist and Workers' Parties. By continuing the work of its scientific predecessors, it is strengthening the positions of the proletariat.'

'The journal plays an outstanding part in the fight for still greater unity and strength of the world Communist and revolutionary movement. It is an important factor in the ideological and organizational struggle and in the dissemination and defense of the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism,' says the message from the CP of Argentina, signed by its General Secretary, *Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez*.

'We highly appreciate the journal's role in the development of the world revolutionary movement,' the Central Committee, CP Bolivia says in its greetings. 'Fighting in the difficult conditions of illegality, our Party attaches great importance to the journal's elucidation of the basic political problems of the epoch. This is of constant help in our work of training revolutionary cadres.'

'We can confidently say that a whole generation of Colombian Communists has been trained in the spirit of unity and proletarian internationalism that are so ably propagated by the journal,' writes *G. Vieira*, General Secretary, Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of Colombia. 'Live contact between fraternal Parties through *Problems of Peace and Socialism* helps us to unite our people against imperialism and the oligarchy.'

'*Problems of Peace and Socialism* is a mighty lever in advancing the cause of socialism and the struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation. It has become a most valuable ideological instrument in coordinating the actions of the international Communist movement,' *Ruben Dario Souza*, General Secretary, People's Party of Panama, stresses in his message.

The Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party notes that the 'journal acquires especial importance today, when Maoism is increasingly shifting to adventurist positions and launching a frenzied anti-Communist and, particularly, anti-Soviet cam-

paign. *Problems of Peace and Socialism* . . . has helped many Parties find the correct path to durable unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.'

The People's Progressive Party of Guyana 'conveys warm fraternal greetings in the spirit of international solidarity.'

'Your journal is making a valuable contribution to the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the pressing problems of the international workers' movement,' writes *Reidar T. Larsen, Chairman, Central Board, Communist Party of Norway*. 'Its valuable information on the workers' movement in various parts of the world makes for a better understanding of social problems and contributes to the effort of the Communist and workers' movement to solve them.'

On behalf of the *Communist Party of Belgium*, its *Chairman, Louis Van Geyt*, writes, 'From its very inception, *Problems of Peace and Socialism* has made a valuable contribution to the ideological unity of the international Communist movement, to exchange of information by the Parties, elucidation of the vital problems confronting the labor movement and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the working class and the democratic forces. Your articles and commentaries, exchanges of opinion and symposiums have enriched the theory and practice of the Communist movement throughout the world and facilitated the progress of our cause.'

Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, General Secretary, Communist Party of Sri Lanka, says in greetings to the journal: 'The Communist Party of Sri Lanka has always found the journal to be a valuable source of theoretical knowledge, a reliable source of information and practical handbook for the training of its cadres. It had also the opportunity of utilizing the medium of the journal to disseminate its own experience in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism, for the information of fraternal Parties. The theoretical conferences, etc., on the social processes unfolding in the developing countries have been of special interest to us. The Communist Party of Sri Lanka has always found them very useful in its own work in understanding the objective situation and evolving our own strategy and tactics.'

From the message of the *Jordanian Communist Party*: 'Rich and diversified in content, the journal covers various aspects of revolutionary activity of our epoch and of the struggle waged by the three main contingents, the socialist world system, the world proletarian movement, and the national-liberation movement, on numerous fronts. The materials published in the journal are unsurpassed as an alloy of scientific research, analysis and generalization of social phenomena and the laws of social development. The journal helps its readers extend their understanding of the age we live in. . . . As for Jordan, though the reactionaries have banned the "legal" distribution of the journal, we make it our job to receive it, impatiently await every issue to study and learn from it.'

'You can be justly proud - as we are proud - of what *Problems of Peace and Socialism* has accomplished over the past years, of its

fruitful and constructive efforts in such fields as propaganda, education and exchange of experience on theoretical, political and organizational questions by the three main contingents of the international revolutionary movement,' writes the *Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party*.

In a message of greetings on behalf of the *Morocco Party of Liberation and Socialism*, its General Secretary, Ali Yata, writes: 'Your journal can take pride in the results of the political and ideological struggle it has been waging for these 15 years and in the great work it has carried out in writing about the problems of the socialist countries, the international Communist and workers' movement, and the national-liberation movements of the peoples of oppressed countries.'

'The conferences, symposiums and round-table discussions the journal sponsors on various problems of the Communist and workers' movement serve to elucidate for the entire revolutionary movement the basic aspects of building socialism, make for a closer understanding of new developments in capitalism and of the social changes resulting from the domination of monopoly at the present stage of tempestuous development of the scientific and technological revolution. These forums also gives us a clearer picture of the anti-monopoly and national-liberation struggle,' the *Central Committee of African Independence Party of Senegal* says in its greetings to the journal.

We have received a message of congratulations also from the progressive *Independence Congress of Madagascar*. Its General Secretary, Mrs. Giselle Rabesahala, writes that her Party has a high appreciation of the work the journal has done 'over these 15 years in informing and training fighters and leaders of the world anti-imperialist movement and in strengthening the solidarity of its various contingents.'

We have also received messages from Communist and Progressive periodicals, Marxist research institutes and public organizations in a number of countries as well as from many of our readers.

The Editorial Board, Editorial Council and everyone involved in the editing and publication of the journal in its many languages wish to express their sincere gratitude for these messages, the high appreciation of the journal, and wishes for its success.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

CONTENTS FOR 1973

(Nos. 1-12)

EDITORIALS	No.	Page
PEACE AND SOCIALISM - OUR BANNER	1	3
THE FORCE OF UNITY	2	3
VICTORY FOR THE PEOPLES, DEFEAT FOR IMPERIALISM	3	3
SOLIDARITY IN STRUGGLE	5	3
PEACE TO THE PEOPLES	7	3
FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM	9	3
THE PEOPLE CANNOT BE VANQUISHED!	11	3
THEORY		
G. ACZEL. The Making of the New Man	7	33
J. BALINT. Effectiveness, Planning, Growth	6	13
V. BILAK. Lessons of Our Socialist Revolution and the Present	5	8
B. BISZKU. Promoting Socialist Statehood and Democracy	10	10
J. BORGOSZ, M. MICHALIK. 'Ethical' Socialism and Marxist-Leninist Ethics	4	30
P. DEMICHEV. Developed Socialism - Stage on the Way to Communism	1	10
W. EICHHORN, G. STEILER. Source of Progress	3	33
K. ERLEBACH. Peaceful Coexistence - Political Reality, Form of Class Struggle, Revolutionizing Factor	2	42
E. GIEREK. Road of Rapid Socialist Development	7	8
E. HONECKER. Responsibility of the Communists in Joint Struggle Against Imperialism	10	3
N. INOZEMTSEV. The Nature of Contradictions Today	9	56
I. KAPITONOV. Development of Inner-Party Democracy in the CPSU	11	17
K. KATUSHEV. The Main Direction. Tendency and Objective Necessity for Closer Unity of Socialist Countries	8	3
P. KOSOLAPOV. Soviet Society: Analysis of its Structure	5	32
F. KOZMA. Dialectics of Equalizing Development Levels and Socialist Integration	8	39
F. KRAUSE. 'Marxistische Blaetter'	3	45
J. KUCZYNSKI. Law of Surplus Value in Present-Day Capitalism	11	38
A. LEVKOVSKY, H. SAFARI. Nature of State Sector in Asian and African Countries	10	18
B. MARX, I. POZGAY. Marxist Understanding of Social Administration	6	21

	No.	Page
L. MULLER, F. RISCHE. Strategy of International Concerns	1	32
A. NORDEN. Program for the Liberation of Mankind	1	23
E. PANFILOV. Creative Party Approach	2	61
A. PELSHE. Leninist Party in Struggle and Construction	4	8
N. PETRAKOV. 'Market Socialism' Myths and Economic Reality	2	49
B. PONOMARYOV. Communists and the Young Generation	6	3
J. SANTAL. Through the Prism of Class Struggle	3	43
M. SCHAEFER. 'Democratic Socialism' in SDP Theory and Politics	8	30
G. SUTO. National Interests, Internationalist Aims	2	62
T. TIMOFEYEV. Leninist Line of the CPSU	1	60
N. TREDAFILOV. The Dialectics of the New Society	3	39
H. WARNKE. Social Requirements: Their Formation and Satisfaction	3	24
S. WIDERSZPIL. Sociology and Problems of the Working Class	10	40
A. WIRTH. A Twofold Task	2	56
T. ZHIVKOV. Revolutionary Experience, Weapon of the Working Class	9	8
Y. ZHDANOV. Social Responsibility of the Scientist	12	23
CONSISTENT DEMOCRACY IN THE PASSAGE TO SOCIALISM. (International research group on the present-day relevance of V. I. Lenin's 'Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution')	1	42
IMPERIALISM IN THE SEVENTIES: DEEPENING CRISIS OF THE SYSTEM. (International Marxist Discussion)	2	11
SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS, COMMUNIST PARTISANSHIP. (International research group on the present-day relevance of V. I. Lenin's 'Materialism and Empirio Criticism')	3	8
THE DIALECTICS OF PROGRESS. (Research group examines results of discussion of contradictions in socialist society)	4	18
REVOLUTIONARY GUIDE	5	30
THEORETICAL BASIS OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE. (International research group on the present-day relevance of V. I. Lenin's 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism')	5	17
CARDINAL ISSUE OF THE REVOLUTION. (International research group on the present-day relevance of V. I. Lenin's 'The State and Revolution')	8	15
THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS PARTY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIALIST SOCIETY. (International theoretical conference)	9	19

	No.	Page
THE VANGUARD AND THE MASSES. (International research group on the present-day relevance of V. I. Lenin's '“Left-Wing” Communism – an Infantile Disorder’)	19	25
ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE MODERN WORLD. (International Discussions)	7	18
	11	27
	12	32
CONTOURS OF A GREAT PLAN. (International research group on the present-day relevance of V. I. Lenin's last works)	12	8
POLITICS		
C. ALBA. Nationalism Is Contrary to National Interests	7	75
S. ALVAREZ. Peasants Still Most Important Allies	10	57
N. ASHHAB. Colonialist Policy of Israeli Aggressors	8	88
B. AVRAMOVA, S. MITRA, M. DOIG, T. VARELA. The Unity Lenin Forged	2	7
B. AVRAMOVA, S. MITRA, R. SEVORTYAN. Bangladesh: The Making of Freedom	7	83
F. BALAGTAS. The Maoists in the Philippines	6	84
D. R. BEJARANO. Something New in Honduras?	5	67
L. BUCHALI, J. FUCHS, S. ZAPIRAIN, Ts. NAMSARAI, M. PEREIRA, F. MALAYA, P. COURTIEU, V. NOVY, S. TOYODA. Man in the New Society	3	56
E. BURHOP, G. SCHAFFER, I. MONTAGU. Common Responsibility for Peace	4	79
M. BUZA. Socialism and Democracy at Factory Level	12	66
C. M. Infamy	9	90
I. COX. The Liberation Movement in Mozambique	12	101
M. DAN. Rumania's Young Builders of Socialism	2	100
A. DANSOKO. Senegal: Problems and Difficulties	12	96
D. DASHZHAMTS. Non-Capitalist Development and Religion	12	90
A. DELGADO. Latin America's Priests in Revolt	3	68
M. DOIG, L. SHEIDIN. Facing a New Round in the Anti-Monopoly Struggle	12	60
W. EHRLICH. Bankruptcy of a Reactionary Idea	3	75
O. GHIOLDI. Whither Argentina?	12	73
G. HALL. A Correct Policy at the Right Time	9	66
S. J. HANDAL. El Salvador: A Precarious Balance.	6	46
A. KARIM. Agrarian Changes in Algeria: Their Nature, Significance and Perspectives	1	89
W. KASHTAN. What the Canadian Barometer Indicates	4	50
S. KHALIL. The Land We Are Fighting For	6	62
E. KOLEV, M. KOWALEWSKI, A. LEVIKOV. The Socialist Economic Executive. (Bulgarian, Polish and Soviet Publicists give a Composite Social Portrait)	5	71
N. K. KRISHNAN. The Initiative Is in the Hands of Left and Democratic Forces	4	60

	No.	Page
A. LERUMO. The Struggle of the South African Working Class	11	56
S. LORENZ. World Youth Forum	6	78
B. MAGNUSON. Turning Point in Battle for Labor Unity	7	91
E. MORA VALVERDE, R. DUCH, J. M. TAMAYO. At the Walls of the Citadel	8	80
K. MROUE. The Arab National-Liberation Movement	2	65
P. ORTEGA DIAZ. For the Overthrow of Monopoly Power	10	65
V. OSIPOV. Problems that Occupy 'Problems of Communism'	1	95
L. PADILLA, M. ROSSI. The Peoples' Will, the Peoples' Cause	12	3
V. PERLO. Truth and Falsehoods about the Energy Crisis	12	81
J. DEL PRADO. The Revolution Continues	1	64
J. PRAZSKY. The Political Gains of Détente	8	92
J. PRAZSKY. The New and the Old in the Trade Union Movement	10	79
J. PRAZSKY. Non-Alignment: Role and Perspectives	11	92
L. C. PRESTES. Threat to Democracy in Latin America	11	46
Y. PRIMAKOV. The Fourth Arab-Israeli War	12	52
B. RAMELSON. Class Struggle in Britain	6	51
C. R. RAO. Left and Democratic Unity Against the Right Threat	8	49
L. RIBEIRO. Behind the Facade of the Brazilian 'Miracle'	11	55
M. ROSSI. Right-Center Cabinet Must Be Overthrown	1	84
H. SAFARI, M. DOIG, I. ILYINSKY. The Ruling Class in the Sejm and at Work	2	91
E. SCHARF. Threat to Austria's Neutrality	10	51
H. SCHMITT. Monopoly Hunting Ground	3	63
J. SEDLAK. World Will Not Forgive American Imperialism Its Crimes	2	74
R. D. SOUZA. Panama Chooses Her Road	3	50
J. STEWART. Northern Ireland: The Crisis Drags On	9	80
L. STROUGAL. Main Tool in Building Socialism	7	44
A. SUAREZ. The Oligarchy or the People?	2	77
F. SUAREZ. Chile: Tear Out the Roots of Fascism	12	48
T. V. Advantages of Studying the New Society	2	73
V. TEITELBOIM. For a Victorious Revolution, With Account of the Tragic Experience in Chile	11	5
J. TOEPFER. Emulation: A Form of Socialist Democracy	2	86
P. G. TORRES. Dictator Versus People	4	68
V. R. After the War, Peaceful Rehabilitation	4	86
G. VIEIRA. General and Particular in the Liberation Struggle	10	45
C. VLAD, D. MAZILU. Direction of Socialist Society	6	70

	No.	Page
M. WARNENSKA. Victorious Vietnam	6	59
D. ZAGASBALDAN, T. BALKHAZHAY. Birth of a Class	4	73
S. ZAPIRAIN. Freedom for Camacho and His Comrades	5	81
P. ZAREV. The Writer's Conscience and Public Mission	11	64
HOW SHOULD THE ECONOMY BE RUN? (Views of planning directors of socialist countries)	1	72
BORN AND TESTED IN STRUGGLE. Renato Guttuzo on the Political Poster	2	108
REALITY OF THE FASCIST MENACE	4	38
(International Marxist discussion)	5	41
SOUTHERN AFRICA: ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM	5	83
WOMEN IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CAPITAL. (International Marxist discussion)	6	34
FOREIGN WORKERS IN WESTERN EUROPE. (International exchange of views)	7	53
RESOLVE OF THE PEOPLE. (Interviews with DRV statesmen and public leaders)	7	71
THE CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMY: ACHIEVEMENTS, PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS. (Round-table discussions)	8	57
SOCIALIST INDUSTRY ON THE UPGRADE. (Report on Czechoslovakia's industrial development)	9	71
SOLIDARITY, YOUTH MOTTO	10	73
THE SECOND FRONT OF THE STRUGGLE. War, Peace, the Revolutionary Movement and Maoist Theory. (International theoretical colloquium)	11	73
THE PARTY		
C. ALBA, J. FUCHS. Consolidating Cooperation	8	97
M. ALEKSANDROV. The Triumph of Lenin's Doctrine of the Party. 70th Anniversary of the Second RSDLP Congress	9	91
R. ARSMENDI, J. SIRKAR, C. G. URRUTIA, P. VERGES, J. VILLEGAS, KH. ROY. The Communist Word	5	105
E. BABIUCH. Socialist Ideals and the Youth	8	104
D. BEJARANO RAMOS, M. A. SOLER. Building up Strength	3	95
G. COHEN. Communists and the Labor Movement	11	98
P. COURTIEU. The FCP Fights for Popular Unity	3	82
G. DANELIUS. Third Congress of the SUPWB	2	119
A. DOBIESZEWSKI. Principled Policy, Effective Action	3	100
J. FARIA. From Division to Unity	5	101
FLORAKIS-YOTIS. Proletarian Internationalism Versus Nationalism	12	105
T. FORSBERG. Communists and the Trade Unions	3	89
F. FUERNBERG. Proletarian Internationalism - Past and Present	6	90
S. GENOV. Structure of Society - Structure of the Party	7	110

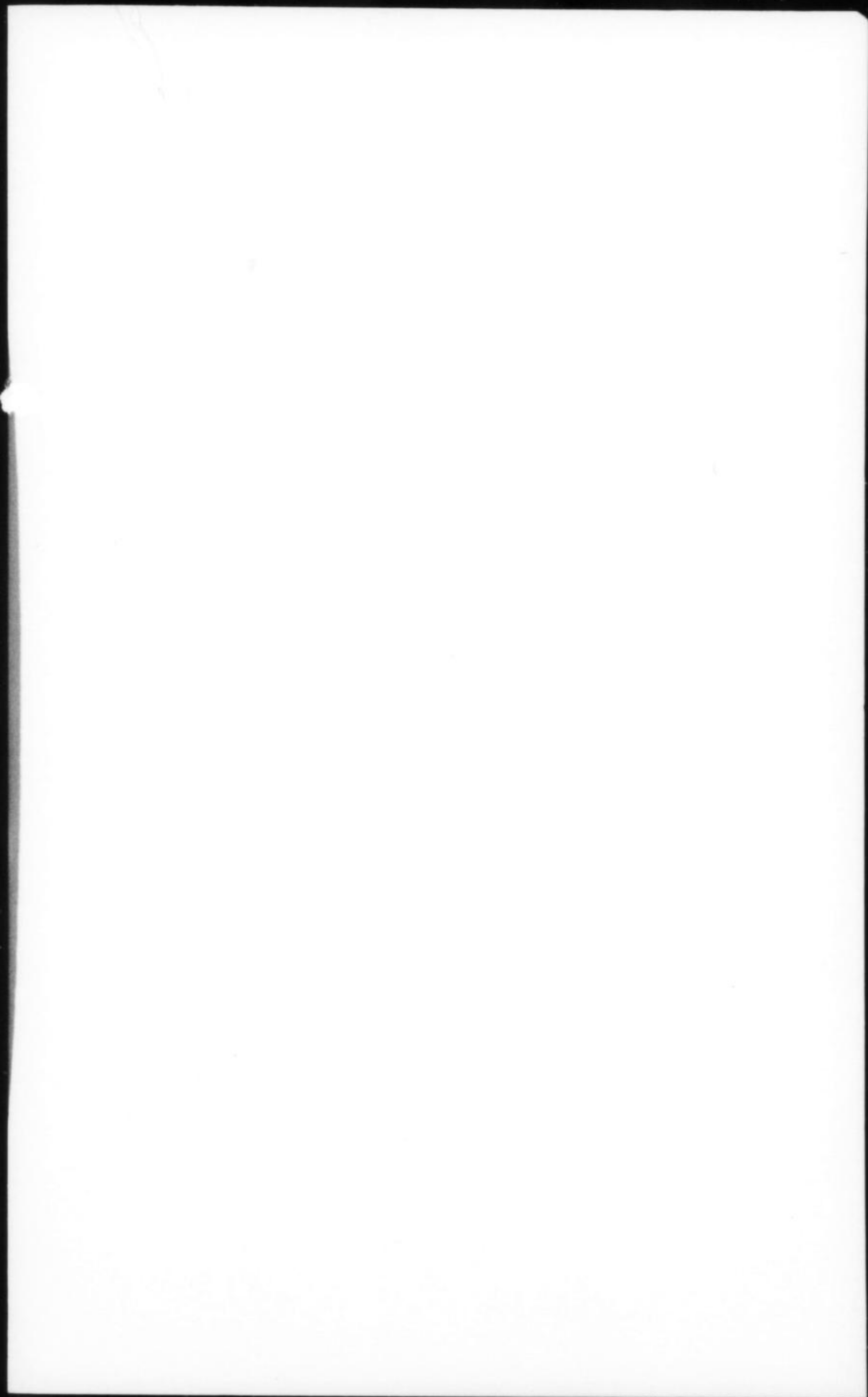
	No.	Page
E. GLUECKAUF. Despite Everything	8	110
H. HAGBERG. Despite All Trials	10	106
T. IWABAYASHI. Greater Numbers, Greater Influence	2	124
M. JAKES. The Foundations of Party Strength	12	113
G. JUNKICHI. Communist Gains in Elections and a New Situation in Japan	6	106
U. KARLSSON. The Possibilities of Cooperating with Social Democrats	4	89
G. McLENNAN. From Discussion to Resolution and Action	10	103
C. A. MENON. Left-Democratic Coalition in Power	11	108
I. NORLUND. Ideological Basis of Unity	10	85
L. PADILLA, E. GLUECKAUF, M. ROSSI, K. PAFITIS, T. WREBIAK, A. MASYAGIN. Signs of the Times. (Report from the GDR)	7	114
O. PODOLSKY. Educating Young Communists	5	114
C. POPEREN. Fight for Popular Unity and Lessons of the French Elections	6	99
L. C. PRESTES. How I Became a Communist	1	114
G. SAVVIDES. The Fight for Left and Democratic Unity in Cyprus	12	118
T. SINISALO. Youth in the Communist Movement	10	114
T. SINURAJA. Struggle for Unity. A Few Lessons from the History of the CP of Indonesia	9	101
K. TELLALOV. Strengthening Unity: A Law of the Communist Movement	5	92
G. UNZUETA. Towards the Party Congress	4	95
R. URBANY. United Against the Monopolies	6	114
J. VARHOLIK, O. CMOLIK. Communist Party and Youth of Czechoslovakia	11	114
P. VERNER, J. COLPIN, F. B. TEIXEIRA. Working with the Youth	4	4
A. VOLKOV. A Sense of the Times	3	107
W. WACHS, P. EMANUEL. Workday Aspects of the Struggle	1	103
S. WICKREMASINGHE. Sri Lanka United Front Program	7	101
A. YANEZ, G. BANCHERO. Chile: Continuing Confrontation	9	95
K. ZARODOV. The October Revolution and the United Front Issue	10	91
MARCHING TOGETHER. The Role of Communists in Building a Broad Alliance of Democratic Forces	2	111
COMMUNIQUE ON A MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES	4	3
THE PRESS		
G. BECKER. On Criticism of Bourgeois Ideology	4	115
A. GALKIN. The Historic Mission of the Working Class	4	103

	No.	Page
M. KAPLUCK. Communist Factory Newspapers	6	126
O. LACIS. A Reminder of Known Facts	4	116
E. LUAN. An Inside View of Social Democratic Policy	9	115
S. MITRA, S. WACLAWSKI. China's Foreign Policy Option	10	123
O. B. USSR-GDR: The Fruit of Scientific Cooperation	12	127
P. RODIONOV. The Impact of Lenin's Doctrine of the Party	10	120
J. TODD. The News Business	7	123
V. TYAGUNENKO. Trends, Motive Forces of National Liberation Revolution. Literary Survey	6	119
V. VINOGRADOV. The Struggle for Peace and the Revolutionary Process	12	124
CHAPTERS OF REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY	4	110
THE FACE OF PRESENT-DAY ANTI-MARXISM	6	130
COMMUNISTS, INTELLECTUALS, CULTURE. Scanning the Pages of Books and Journals	9	109
POLITICAL AFFAIRS. Theoretical Organ of the CPUSA	10	127
NAMYN AMYDRAL. 50th Anniversary of the Mongolian Communist Journal	10	126

READERS' COLUMN

M. BA. Mauritania Builds a New Life	11	131
G. BANCHERO. Who is to Blame?	3	117
G. BANCHERO. Reactionaries Stymied	5	125
H. BETHGE. In Defense of Democratic Rights	11	133
K. BOGDANOVA. Lenin's Party Card	6	137
T. BUCK. Weapon of Victory	2	133
R. CHANDRA. New Developments in the Peace Movement	5	120
G. COGNIOT. The Thorez Institute	11	123
P. COURTIEU. School Unions	6	140
I. COX. Uniting Scientific Socialism with Social Activity of Working People	2	134
J. GONZALES. New Attacks on Democracy	8	126
J. NAGY. Meetings with Lenin	8	119
V. NIKOLAYEVA-TERESHKOVA. Women in the First Socialist State	9	122
E. PAPAIOANNOU. All That Glitters Is Not Gold	2	132
Jan PRAZSKY. Whose Axe Does Extremism Grind?	1	130
Jan PRAZSKY. East-West Economic Relations. A Sphere of Peaceful Coexistence	3	120
Jan PRAZSKY. One More Round of the Monetary Crisis	4	121
Y. el-SEBAI. Solidarity	11	129
T. VARELA. Centrism: A Variety of Opportunism	1	126
T. VARELA. Moncado - Symbol of the People's Heroism	8	122
G. WILLARD. Truthful Pages of History	4	128
TO OUR READERS	1	123
FREEDOM FOR PARAGUAYAN PATRIOTS!	9	128

	No.	Page
DATA		
<i>Brief Information about Communist and Workers' Parties</i>		
Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP), German Communist Party (GCP), Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL)	3	125
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), Communist Party of Colombia (CPC), Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB)	4	131
Rumanian Communist Party (RCP), Communist Party of Finland (CPF), Lebanese Communist Party (LCP)	5	128
Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), Communist Party USA (CP USA)	6	141
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), Communist Party of Canada (CPC), Communist Party of Chile (CPC)	7	136
Communist Party of Japan (CPJ), Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), Left Party - Communists of Sweden	8	128
Communist Party of Belgium (CPB), Communist Party of Bolivia (CPB)	9	137
Iraqi Communist Party (ICP), Communist Party of Luxembourg (CPL), Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CPSL)	10	130
The Army of Wage Labor	1	136
The Working Class in the Socialist Countries	2	138
Wage Labor in the Developing Countries	3	128
Strike Struggles in Developed Capitalist Countries	4	134
Education and Science in Socialist Countries	5	131
International Monopolies	7	139
Capitalist Mass Communication Media	8	131
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW - First Fifteen Years	9	132
Neo-Colonialism. Economic Methods and Manifestations	10	133
'We Wish You New Advances in the Struggle for Peace and Socialism.' Brother Parties Greet	11	135
WMR on Its 15th Anniversary	12	134
Labor Migration in Figures	12	129
IN MEMORIAM		
Marc Drumeaux	1	142
Amilcar Cabral	3	139
Tim Buck	5	141
Walter Ulbricht	9	139



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1973

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Communist and Workers' Parties from 19 countries, including a delegation of the CC CPSU.

Following an introductory address by General Secretary Jorge del Prado, the Congress discussed the CC report presented by Ruben Mollepas, member of the CC's Political Commission, and endorsed it. The Congress delegates unanimously adopted a political resolution on the CC report.

The Congress delegates warmly greeted speeches by representatives of fraternal Parties from Argentina, Venezuela, Cuba, Chile and other countries.

The Congress approved the new Party Program.

It resolved to convene a national conference to discuss Party development. The conference will be preceded by a discussion of amendments to the Rules in all Party organizations.

In view of the vast importance of trade union unity, the Congress found it advisable to call in January 1974 a national Party conference with a view to deciding on relevant measures.

The delegates passed a resolution urging the country's democratic forces to campaign for diplomatic relations with the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

The Congress elected a new Central Committee of 40 full and five alternate members.

The new CC re-elected Jorge del Prado General Secretary of the CC PCP.

RUMANIA

The CC RCP met on November 27 and 28, 1973, with CC General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu in the chair. It resolved to convoke the 11th Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party in the last quarter of 1974.

YUGOSLAVIA

On November 6, 1973 the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia resolved to convene the 10th Congress of the LCY in May 1974. It also decided on the procedure of electing delegates to the Congress.

Brief reports on the congresses of Communist, Workers' and national-revolutionary parties held in December 1973 will be published in the first issue of the *Information Bulletin* for 1974. Records of the congresses will be carried as they come in. Ed.

CONTENTS

INFORMATION BULLETIN Nos. 1-24, 1973

(Documents and Materials of the Communist and Workers' Parties)

	No.	Page
AFGHANISTAN		
For a Reliable Security System in Asia. Visit by N. V. Podgorny to Afghanistan	10	19
ARGENTINA		
Statement of CP of Argentina	3	39
CP Argentina Will Take Positive Stand on the New Government. CC CPA Statement	7	31
Political Resolution of CPA 14th Congress	19	5
AUSTRIA		
Communique on Visit of Austrian CP Delegation to the GDR	11-12	91
In Brief. See Nos. 4-5, 23-24		
BANGLADESH		
Declaration of the CPB on Election of the National Assembly	6	37
Against the Ideology and Politics of Maoism	8-9	100
Communist Party Statement	11-12	75
BELGIUM		
Meeting with CPB Delegation at the CC CPSU	4-5	90
Joint Communique of French CP and CP of Belgium	11-12	86
Communique on Visit of CPSU Delegation to Belgium	11-12	93
BOLIVIA		
Fascism Exposed in Fight for Democratic Freedoms	4-5	37
BRAZIL		
Communist Work in Trade Union Movement. Document adopted by CC CPB Executive Commission	8-9	64
Information on the Situation in Brazil	21	37
BRITAIN		
More Communists, More Morning Star Readers. Report to CP Executive	3	29
Joint Communique of British and Italian Com- munist Parties	4-5	84
Time for Changed Foreign Policy Say Communists	10	33
British Labor Party Delegation in the USSR	11-12	88

	No. .	Page
Meeting of British CP Executive	15-16	12
CP Press Comments on CPC Congress	20	18
Joint Statement of Communist Parties of Great Britain and Ireland	21	43
Press the Offensive—Win Breakthrough for Left. Report by John Gollan to 23rd CPGB Congress	22	26
Take Communist Aims Boldly to Young People. Speech by Gordon McLennan	22	34
Discrimination — Enemy of Unity of Left	22	36
Congress Resolutions	22	39
BULGARIA		
Friendly Visit of L. I. Brezhnev to People's Republic of Bulgaria	19	50
CP Press Comments on CPC Congress	20	21
Joint Korean-Bulgarian Communique	21	49
Communique on Visit to Hungary of a Bulgarian Party and Government Delegation	23-24	94
BURMA		
In Brief. See. No. 23-24		
CANADA		
Public Ownership and Democratic Control of Our Energy Resources	4-5	73
For an Independent, Sovereign and United Trade Union Movement	8-9	92
CPC Central Executive Press Release	22	47
CHILE		
Manifesto of Communist Party of Chile	3	41
Political Cohesion and Unity in Economic Management	10	27
15th National Communist Party Congress This Year	11-12	51
Statement of CPC Central Committee	15-16	71
Joint Statement of Political Commissions of CC CPC and CC SPC	15-16	72
CP Press Comments on CP China Congress	20	23
Communist Party Appeal to People of Chile	20	32
International Solidarity Is a Decisive Requisite International Solidarity Is a Decisive Requisite for Saving Lives of Thousands of Democrats.		
SPC Statement	22	48
CHINA, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF		
Tenth Congress of CPC	20	5
COLOMBIA		
Mobilize the People to Defend Severance Pay.....	4-5	76

	No.	Page
Step Up Struggle for Popular Unity. CC CPC Plenum Political Resolution	13-14	108
CONGO		
Joint Soviet-Congolese communique	10	55
CUBA		
Joint Cuban-Czechoslovak Communique	8-9	97
Speech by Fidel Castro	15-16	54
Speech by Fidel Castrol at Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries	19	44
CYPRUS		
All-Cypriot AKEL Conference	13-14	64
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
25th Anniversary of February 1948 Victory.....	4-5	5
Joint Cuban-Czechoslovak, Communique	8-9	97
Plenum of C CCPC	15-16	16
Results of Friendly Meeting in the Crimea	17-18	65
Communist Party Press Comments on CP China Congress	20	24
Joint Czechoslovak-Yugoslav Communique	21	45
In Brief. See No. 8-9		
DENMARK		
Political Resolution of CPD 24th Congress	4-5	18
For a Better Life	6	13
In Brief. See Nos. 2, 9		
ECUADOR		
Communique of CC CPE	11-12	60
Communique of CC, Communist Party of Ecuador Plenum	17-18	31
In Brief. See No. 23-24		
EL SALVADOR		
A Lie About a "Communist Plot." Statement of CP Political Commission	8-9	81
FINLAND		
Resolution of CC CPF on International Situation..	11-12	17
In Brief. See No. 8-9		
FRANCE		
20th Congress of French Communist Party	2	14
Report by Georges Marchais	2	16
Statement on Vietnam	2	37
Appeal to the French People	2	38
Political Resolution	2	40
Resolution on <i>L'Humanité</i>	2	51
FCP Politbureau Statement on Results of the Parliamentary Elections	6	50

	No.	Page
Extracts from Report of G. Marchais to CC FCP		
Plenum	8-9	45
Joint Statement of Italian and French Communist		
Parties	10	44
Closing Speech at CC FCP Meeting by G. Marchais	11-12	19
Joint Communiqué of French CP and CP of		
Belgium	11-12	86
An Insensate Nuclear Arms Race. FCP Statement	15-16	59
FCP Appeal to Armed Forces	15-16	59
Against Maoist Ideology and Policy	15-16	85
Report by G. Marchais on the Domestic Political		
Situation	19	13
CP Press Comments on CPC Congress	20	25
Joint Communiqué of FCP and WPPV	22	59
In Brief. See No. 8-9		
GDR		
Against the Ideology and Politics of Maoism	8-9	100
L. I. Brezhnev's Friendly Visit to the GDR	10	49
Ninth Plenum of CC SUPG	11-12	5
Communiqué on Visit of Austrian CP to the GDR	11-12	91
CP Press Comments on CPC Congress	20	25
In Brief. See No. 19		
FRG		
An Event of Historical Significance. Visit by		
L. I. Brezhnev to the FRG	10	5
Preparations for Hamburg Congress of GCP	11-12	64
Against Maoist Ideology and Policy	15-16	87
Hamburg Congress of German Communist Party	23-24	17
Report by Executive of German CP	23-24	18
Decisions of Hamburg Congress of GCP	23-24	30
Appeal of Hamburg GCP Congress to the		
Working People	23-24	43
In Brief. See No. 19		
GREECE		
Appeal of CC CPG to the Greek People	10	38
GUINEA		
In Brief. See No. 9		
GUYANA		
Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference	6	52
17th Congress of People's Progressive Party	8-9	22
HUNGARY		
Against Maoist Ideology and Policy	15-16	88
CP Press Comments on CPC Congress	20	27
Plenary Meeting of HSWP Central Committee	23-24	53

	No.	Page
INDIA		
Current Policies of Maoism. Article by N. K. Krishnan in <i>New Age</i>	2	60
CPI Central Executive Resolutions	4-5	62
Against Maoist Ideology and Policy	15-16	90
CPI Central Executive Reviews Present Situation	15-16	25
In Brief. See No. 23-24		
IRAN		
Complete Implementation of Oil Nationalization Law — an Urgent Demand of the Iranian People. Communique of Executive Bureau, CC Tudeh Party of Iran	7	38
IRAQ		
Plenary Meeting of Central Committee, Iraqi CP.....	11-12	33
For a Just and Lasting Peace in the Middle East	21	32
Joint Statement of Communist Parties of Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria	22	52
Meeting between L. I. Brezhnev and A. Mohammed	22	54
IRELAND		
Only Real Democracy Can End Violence	4-5	93
Joint Statement of Communist Parties of Great Britain and Ireland	21	43
ISRAEL		
Sixth Plenary Session of CC CPI	11-12	70
For a Just and Lasting Peace in the Middle East.....	21	32
In Brief. See Nos. 6, 9, 19		
ITALY		
Report by E. Berlinguer at CC and CC ICP Meeting	4-5	43
Joint Communique of British and Italian Communist Parties	4-5	84
Communique of Talks between Delegations of CPSU and Italian Communist Party	6	8
Against Ideology and Politics of Maoism	8-9	102
Joint Statement of Italian and French Communist Parties	10	44
Report by E. Berlinguer to CC ICP Plenum	15-16	32
CP Press Comments on CPC Congress	20	28
Imperialism and Coexistence in Light of the Events in Chile. Article by E. Berlinguer	20	40
The Democratic Way and Reactionary Violence. Second article on the events in Chile by E. Berlinguer	21	51
In Brief. See Nos. 2, 8-9		
JAPAN		
Against Ideology and Politics of Maoism	8-9	103

	No.	Page
Against Maoist Ideology and Policy	15-16	90
In Brief. See Nos. 8-9, 23-24		
JORDAN		
Resolution of CC JCP Plenum	19	20
Joint Statement by Communist Parties of Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria	22	52
KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC		
Joint Korean-Bulgarian Communiqué	21	49
In Brief. See No. 19		
LAOS		
Communiqué on Meeting between Delegations of the CPSU and the Loatian Patriotic Front	10	54
Memorandum of CC, Patriotic Front of Laos	11-12	78
LEBANON		
Interview of LCP Political Bureau Member to <i>France Nouvelle</i>	3	52
Plenum of LCP Central Committee	6	23
Against Maoist Ideology and Policy	15-16	91
LCP Statement on Situation in the Arab World	19	33
Joint Statement of Communist Parties of Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria	22	52
For a Just and Lasting Peace in the Middle East	21	32
LUXEMBOURG		
Fight in Common for Social and Democratic Progress	8-9	32
In Brief. See No. 6		
MALAGASY REPUBLIC		
AKFM Review of Developments in the Malagasy Republic	8-9	72
Seventh Congress of AKFM	17-18	5
MARTINIQUE		
Resolution of Fifth MCP Congress	3	22
In Brief. See No. 2		
MEXICO		
Joint Statement of Mexican CP and CPUSA	4-5	81
In Brief. See No. 23-24		
MONGOLIA		
Against Ideology and Politics of Maoism	8-9	104
CP Press Comments on CPC Congress	20	30
NETHERLANDS		
In Brief. See No. 19		
NICARAGUA		
CC Report to Coming 10th Congress of Socialist Party of Nicaragua	2	5
In Brief. See No. 23-24		

	No.	Page
NORWAY		
Desire for Unity Recognized. Statement of CPN National Conference	8-9	31
In Brief. See Nos. 2, 23-24		
PANAMA		
UN Security Council Meeting in Panama. Statement of Political Bureau, People's Party of Panama	6	54
Plenum of CC People's Party of Panama	17-18	33
PARAGUAY		
Fourth Plenum of PCP Central Committee	13-14	99
PERU		
In Brief. See No. 23-24		
PHILIPPINES		
Political Resolution Adopted by Fifth Congress of The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas	13-14	44
Program of Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas	17-18	16
POLAND		
For Active Involvement of Younger Generation in Building Socialist Poland	4-5	51
Joint Polish-Yugoslav Statement	10	40
L. I. Brezhnev's Friendly Visit to Poland	10	46
First All-Poland PUWP Conference	22	41
Implementing Program of Sixth Congress	22	42
Resolution on Exchange of Party Cards	22	45
In Brief. See No. 8-9		
PORTUGAL		
Statement of PCP in Connection with the Assassination of Amilcar Cabral	3	49
For a New Major Offensive. Statement of CC PCP Political Commission	8-9	74
For a Vast Mass Political Campaign.		
CC PCP Resolution	17-18	34
Plenum of CC PCP	15-16	22
PUERTO RICO		
Puerto Rico, U.S. Communists Urge Stepped Up Anti-Imperialist Fight	7	53
RUMANIA		
Plenum of CC Rumanian Communist Party	11-12	72
In Brief. See No. 23-24		
SAN MARINO		
In Brief. See No. 5		
SENEGAL		
Statement of CC, African Independence Party of Senegal	15-16	64

	No.	Page
SOUTH AFRICA		
Plenary Meeting of SACP Central Committee	6	29
Unity Is the Key. SACP Statement	7	14
Support South Africa's Militant Black Workers. Statement of the CC SACP	13-14	118
SPAIN		
First European Conference of CPS Organizations in Exile	23-24	47
SRI LANKA		
Statement by Political Bureau on Current Political Situation	8-9	95
SWEDEN		
Program of Left Party—Communists	7	5
In Brief. See No. 8-9		
SYRIA		
Joint Statement of Communist Parties of Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria	22	52
URUGUAY		
CC CPU Statement on Grave Military and Political Crisis in the Country	4-5	77
Two Documents of the CPU	15-16	70
In Brief. See No. 2		
USSR		
Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Foreign Delegations in Moscow	1	5
Joint Anniversary Meeting of CC CPSU, Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR	1	11
Report by L. I. Brezhnev	1	17
To the Peoples of the World	1	65
To the Soviet People, to the Working People of All Nationalities in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	1	69
Emphatic Condemnation of Brutal Repression in Guatemala	1	74
Speech by M. A. Suslov at French CP 20th Congress	2	29
L. I. Brezhnev Meets Le Duc Tho	3	11
A Great Victory for Just Vietnamese Cause	3	17
Communique of Talks between Delegations of CPSU and Italian Communist Party	6	8
Following the Correct, Leninist Course. Second Anniversary of 24th CPSU Congress	7	41
70th Anniversary of Second RSDLP Congress	8-9	87
Leninism Lights the Road to Communism. 103rd Anniversary of Lenin's Birth	8-9	5

	No.	Page
International Activities of CC CPSU to Implement the Decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress	8-9	55
An Event of Historical Significance. Visit by L. I. Brezhnev to the FRG	10	5
For a Reliable Security System in Asia. Visit by N. V. Podgorny to Afghanistan	10	19
L. I. Brezhnev's Friendly Visit to Poland	10	46
L. I. Brezhnev's Friendly Visit to the GDR	10	49
Communique on Meeting between Delegations of the CPSU and the Laotian Patriotic Front	10	54
Communique on Visit of CPSU Delegation to Belgium	11-12	93
British Labor Party Delegation in USSR	11-12	88
Major Contribution to a Healthier International Climate. L. I. Brezhnev's Visit to the USA	13-14	5
Magnificent Road of Struggle and Victories. 70th Anniversary of Second RSDLP Congress.....	13-14	21
Speech by L. I. Brezhnev	13-14	21
Report by M. A. Suslov	13-14	24
A Friendly Meeting in the Crimea	15-16	5
Against Maoist Ideology and Policy	15-16	91
Petty Juggling Over Big Issues	15-16	93
Speech by L. I. Brezhnev in Alma Ata	15-16	75
Statement of CC CPSU Concerning Military Coup in Chile	17-18	68
Concerning Certain Principles of Foreign Policy Course of China's Leadership	17-18	69
Friendly Visit of L. I. Brezhnev to People's Republic of Bulgaria	19	50
On 10th Congress of CP China	20	6
For a Just, Democratic Peace, for the Security of Nations and International Cooperation. Speech by L. I. Brezhnev at World Congress of Peace Forces Cause of the October Revolution Lives in the Achievements of the Party and the People. Report by A. P. Kirilenko	21	7
Meeting Between L. I. Brezhnev and A. Mohammed	22	5
Joint Soviet-Yugoslav Communique	22	54
Plenum of Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union	22	55
Decision of CC CPSU Plenum on Drafts of the State Plan for Development of the National Economy of the USSR and the State Budget of the USSR for 1974	23-24	62
	23-24	63

	No.	Page
The Cause of the Whole Party, the Whole Nation. Pravda Editorial	23-24	64
USA		
On Struggles in Next Four Nixon Years. Report by Gus Hall	2	57
Joint Statement of Mexican CP and CPUSA	4-5	81
To Combat the Secret Plan. Statement by Henry Winston	11-12	95
The Meaning of Watergate	13-14	111
In Brief. See No. 5		
VENEZUELA		
Against Maoist Ideology and Policy	15-16	92
Communists in the Present Political Situation	15-16	41
CP Press Comments on CP China Congress	20	31
VIETNAM, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF		
Appeal of CC WPPV and DRV Government	3	5
Speech by Bguyen Duy Trinh	3	16
Decision of Political Bureau of CC WPPV on Training Party Cadres	6	46
Strictly Observe the Paris Agreement on Vietnam. Statement for Press by Le Duc Tho	10	35
Visit in the USSR of DRV Party and Government Delegation	13-14	79
Visit of DRV Party and Government Delegation in PRC, MPR, KPDR, HPR	13-14	95
Joint Communique of the FCP and WPPV	22	59
In Brief. See No. 9		
VIETNAM, REPUBLIC OF		
Address of NLF CC and PRG of the Republic of South Vietnam	3	9
Statement by Provisional Revolutionary Govern- ment of the Republic of South Vietnam	7	39
YEMEN, PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF		
Statement of National Front, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen	11-12	84
YUGOSLAVIA		
Fourth Conference of the LCY. Report by Stane Dolanc	10	22
Joint Polish-Yugoslav Statement	10	40
Joint Czechoslovak-Yugoslav Communique	21	45
Joint Soviet-Yugoslav Communique	22	55
Resolution of 44th Session of the LCY Presidium	23-24	70
In Brief. See Nos. 9, 23-24		

MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL MEETINGS

	No.	Page
Communique on Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe	4-5	5
Appeal for Convocation of a World Congress of Peace Forces	6	5
Communique of International Consultative Meeting	6	6
Latin America. Statement of Communist Parties of the La Plata Basin	19	63
Statements by Communist and Workers' Parties on the coup in Chile	19	65
Declaration of Arab Communist and Workers' Parties on the Israeli Aggression	20	46
Consultative Meeting of Communist Parties of Capitalist Europe	20	50
Communique of Meeting of Representatives of Fraternal Parties on the Journal <i>Problems of Peace and Socialism</i>	20	53
Meeting of Representatives of Communist Parties of Capitalist Countries of Europe	23-24	78
International Symposium on Problems of the Monetary Crisis	23-24	81
Conference of Central Committee Secretaries of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist countries	23-24	83

BILATERAL MEETINGS

See Nos. 4-5, 7, 8-9, 10, 11-12, 15-16, 20, 22, 23-24

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

Against the Ideology and Politics of Maoism. Recapitulation of articles in Communist and progressive newspapers in March, April and May, 1973	8-9	100
Against Maoist Ideology and Policy	15-16	85
Yves Moreau. A "Humanist" Against Détente	15-16	96
WORLD CONGRESS OF PEACE FORCES	21	5

PANORAMA

See No. 4-5, p. 97

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